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**THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
MAGHRIBĪ ROUND SCRIPTS**

—

**ARABIC PALAEOGRAPHY IN THE ISLAMIC WEST  
(4TH/10TH-6TH/12TH CENTURIES)**

**VOLUME I**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to study the origin and development of Maghribī round scripts, i.e. the highly distinctive writing styles employed in the Arabic manuscripts and documents produced from the 4th/10th century onwards in the western Islamic world, and more specifically in the Iberian Peninsula, North-West Africa, and the Balearic Islands. In order to reconstruct the activity of Maghribī calligraphers, copyists, and secretaries, and to follow the development of their practices, the present work lists and discusses the earliest dated material written in Maghribī scripts, in chronological order: 123 non-Quranic manuscripts, 25 Quranic codices and fragments, nine chancery documents, and two private contracts, all of which produced between 270/883 and 600/1204. The palaeographic analysis of the scripts has made it possible to distinguish between different Maghribī sub-styles and ‘schools’ of calligraphy, some of which have been given a new definition. A particular attention has been devoted to the geographical and historical context in which these scripts developed – i.e. Umayyad al-Andalus – and to the cultural, and even ideological implications of their use and diffusion throughout North-West Africa. Codicological aspects have also been taken into consideration, such as the quality of scribal supports, the composition of quires and gatherings, the methods of ruling the pages, the choice of inks and pigments of different types, the style and techniques of illumination. Where possible, the autoptic study of the material has been combined with the information offered by primary sources of various kinds (historical treatises, biographical dictionaries, handbooks for notaries...) so as to present a comprehensive picture of the Maghribī scribal tradition until the Almohad period. The resulting image is that of a calligraphic culture as rich and sophisticated as the eastern one, which constituted a key element in the creation and promulgation of the Andalusī identity throughout the Mediterranean, but whose formative process and full aesthetic range were still poorly understood.



*Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante  
trita solo. Iuvat integros accedere fontis  
atque haurire, iuvatque novos decerpere flores...*



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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AHN: ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL, MADRID  
BAV: BIBLIOTHECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, VATICAN CITY  
BNE: BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE ESPAÑA, MADRID  
BNF: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, PARIS  
BNT: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE TUNISIE, TUNIS  
BNRM: BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU ROYAUME DU MAROC, RABAT  
BL: BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON  
CBL: CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY, DUBLIN  
DKW: DĀR AL-KUTUB AL-WAṬANIYYA, CAIRO  
EI<sup>2</sup>: ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM (SECOND EDITION)  
FIMMOD: FICHER DES MANUSCRITS MOYEN-ORIENTAUX DATÉS  
HATA: HISTORIA DE LOS AUTORES Y TRANSMISORES ANDALUSÍES  
İÜK: İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ KÜTÜPHANESİ  
PUA: PROSOPOGRAFÍA DE LOS ULEMAS DE AL-ANDALUS (ONLINE DATABASE)  
RBE: REAL BIBLIOTECA DEL MONASTERIO DEL ESCORIAL

d.: died  
ed.: edited  
f.: folio (plural: ff.)  
fig.: figure (plural: figs.)  
ms.: manuscript (plural: mss.)  
n.: note (plural: nn.)  
No.: number (plural: Nos.)  
pl.: plate (plural: pls.)  
r.: reigned

## A GLOSSARY OF THE GENERAL TERMINOLOGY PERTAINING TO ARABIC PALAEOGRAPHY EMPLOYED IN THIS WORK

**ANGULAR** (French: *angulaire/anguleux*; Italian: *angolare*; Spanish: *angular*; Modern Standard Arabic: *\*mustaqīm, yābis, muzawwī*).<sup>1</sup> Synonym: **broken**. Antonym: **curvilinear**. It defines a script in which angles predominate and curved strokes are few. Because fully angular scripts are extremely rare, the term must be generally understood as meaning ‘predominantly angular’.

A markedly angular *ductus* is typical of certain (especially early) calligraphic hands, such as most Kufic and New Style Quranic scripts. Angular elements are also found in early Arabic bookhands, up until the 5th/11th century (such as Abbasid bookhands, most Ifrīqī scripts from Qayrawān, and the distinctive hands of early Arabic-Christian manuscripts from Palestine and Sinai). In these cases, however, the scribes appear to have employed angularity as an archaising and conservative trait, rather than as a calligraphic feature with a purely aesthetic purpose.

In epigraphy, angular traits are common both in formal Kufic, where they are employed for aesthetic purposes, and in graffiti, due to practical reasons (straight and broken lines are more easily incised than curved ones).

As far as Maghribī round scripts are concerned,<sup>2</sup> a number of angular letter variants derived from earlier scripts are preserved and employed as calligraphic features in Quranic scripts and in particularly fine bookhands (i.e. full bookhands and enhanced bookhands).

**BOOKHAND** (French: *écriture livresque*; Italian: *scrittura libraria*; Spanish: *escritura libraria*; Modern Standard Arabic: *\*qalam/khaṭṭ al-warrāqīn*). A formal script employed for copying non-Quranic texts by professional scribes and learned scholars belonging to the same geographic and cultural milieu, according to the same set of graphic and aesthetic norms.

Bookhands are regular and polished scripts, predominantly cursive, showing a number of standardised traits (or indicators) which constitute the so-called **usual script** of a given region and period (French: *écriture usuelle*; Italian: *scrittura (libraria) usuale*; Spanish: *escritura usual*; Modern Standard Arabic: *khaṭṭ mu‘tād*). Bookhands equally avoid the careless shortcuts typical of casual scripts, and the flourishes of calligraphy. They follow strictly the rules of orthography, and are essentially aimed at being easily read. The overall writing line and the baseline of each word are generally horizontal and tend to coincide; lines are parallel and evenly spaced.

Bookhands feature prominently in the manuscript tradition of the entire Arab world throughout its history, from their earliest appearance in the Egyptian papyri of the first centuries of the *Hijra*, up until the introduction of the printing press.

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<sup>1</sup> The Arabic terms marked by the asterisk are attested in medieval sources.

<sup>2</sup> As explained in the introductory chapter ‘Maghribī Round Scripts: a new definition’, the adjective ‘Maghribī’ is here used only with reference to the scripts of the westernmost part of the medieval Islamic world, including al-Andalus (where Maghribī round scripts originated), and to the exclusion of the regions of Barqa (Cyrenaica), Ifrīqiya (Tripolitania, Tunisia, and eastern Algeria), and Sicily.

Maghribī round scripts originated in the late 3rd/9th century within the sphere of bookhands, and by the end of the 4th/10th century they became the common script employed by most scribes in Umayyad Iberia, both Muslim and Christian.

Since their earliest appearance, Maghribī bookhands can be divided into two distinct sub-groups: **half-bookhands** and **full bookhands**. In the first case, due to the limited spacing between words and lines, the script appears diminutive and restrained in its ascenders and descenders (letter tails, stems, etc.). In the second case, a more commodious layout of the text allowed the scribes to pen each letter in its full form.

Starting in the late 5th/11th century, some bookhands employed for copying luxury editions of religious works began to feature a partly composite *ductus* as well as a few calligraphic traits. These scripts are best described by the expression ‘**enhanced bookhands**’.

**CALLIGRAPHY** (French: *calligraphie*; Italian: *calligrafia*; Spanish: *caligrafia*; Modern Standard Arabic: *\*ḥusn al-khaṭṭ, khaṭṭ mujawhar/zukhrafi*). Synonym: **display script**. Antonym: plain script. A special script characterised by ornamental features and/or extravagant dimensions, letter shapes, ligatures, colour schemes, *ductus*, inclination of the baseline, etc. These mannered traits are generally introduced for aesthetic/decorative purposes where legibility is not the main aim of the text, and the content is either already known to the reader (or at least predictable), or subordinate to the aesthetic message conveyed by calligraphy itself (sacredness, authority, luxury...). A system of graphic norms (such as fixed proportions between the different letters) may or may not be respected, rather independently from the principles established in the treatises on Arabic calligraphy.

A calligraphic style can be cursive and flowing (such as chancery hands) or composite and meticulously traced (such as Quranic scripts), angular or curvilinear.

Although Maghribī round scripts originated as bookhands, already in the 5th/11th century they began to develop into a variety of calligraphic styles employed in different scribal contexts and for different purposes.

**CASUAL SCRIPT** (French: *écriture ordinaire*; Italian: *scrittura ordinaria, quotidiana*; Spanish: *escritura ordinaria*; Modern Standard Arabic: [*khaṭṭ*] *muṭlaq, khaṭṭ ‘afuwī*). Synonym: **informal, ordinary script**. Antonym: formal, canonised script. A non-standardised script employed by untrained people in their everyday life, or by scribes in their private notebooks or in other informal contexts. Casual scripts are generally irregular and sketchy, often lacking diacritics, and mix personal traits with others echoing those of bookhands. They are always very cursive and difficult to date or relate to a specific region, given the scarcity of palaeographic indicators they offer. The overall writing line of casual scripts tend to be wavy, and does not necessarily coincide with the baseline of the single words; lines are irregularly spaced and not parallel.

Note that the expressions ‘casual’ or ‘ordinary script’ are not synonymous with **usual script** (the latter refers to the set of common traits shared by the standardised scripts of one region during a given period).

In medieval al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, casual scripts appear in different contexts, from short texts written on animal bones to the drafts of literary and religious works, and can differ noticeably from Maghribī round bookhands.

**CHANCERY SCRIPT** (French: *écriture de chancellerie*; Italian: *scrittura cancelleresca*; Spanish: *escritura cancelleresca*; Modern Standard Arabic: *\*qalam/khaṭṭ al-kuttāb, khaṭṭ dīwānī*). A cursive, calligraphic script derived from standard bookhands, employed by the clerks and functionaries of an administrative office or chancery (*dīwān*) under the authority of a caliph, sultan, emir, etc. to pen official documents such as charters, edicts, treaties, and formal correspondence.

The Arabic chancery hands of the pre-modern period usually share the same standardised traits of the bookhands employed in the respective regions, but are more cursive in that they feature ligatures between letters that are normally isolated. This expedient was also aimed at avoiding interpolations of words that could alter the meaning of the official text.

Chancery scripts may also feature a number of calligraphic flourishes aimed at providing the documents with a more solemn and attractive appearance. Their overall writing line is generally freer than that of bookhands, and not always horizontal.

In medieval al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, the earliest evidence for chancery scripts comes from the official documents issued by the *dīwān* of the Banū Ghāniya in Majorca and the Almohad caliphs in Marrakesh, during the second half of the 6th/12th century. These very distinctive hands are clearly derived from Maghribī round scripts, with the addition of exaggerated coils and flamboyant ligatures.

**CHIRODICTIC** see **CURSIVE**.

**COMPOSITE** (French: *composé*; Italian: *composito*; Spanish: *compósito*; Modern Standard Arabic: *murakkab*). Antonym: cursive; (technical) chirodictic. It defines a formal script in which strokes are carefully penned and spaced through a frequent, although disguised, lifting of the pen. The writing pace is slow, allowing the scribe to follow a set of fixed proportions, so that similar letters share similar dimensions and the same relation to the size of the other letters.

Composite hands lack the spontaneity of casual scripts, as well as the flowing character of most bookhands and chancery scripts, whose *ductus* is essentially cursive. In fact, compositeness is an important aspect of Arabic calligraphy and mannered styles, with the notable exception of chancery scripts. Note that composite scripts can be equally angular or curvilinear.

In medieval al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, composite scripts derived from standard round bookhands were employed for copying the Qurʾān, but also for embellishing the title pages, headings, and colophons of luxury books as early as the 5th/11th century.

**CURSIVE** (French: *cursif*; Italian: *corsivo*; Spanish: *cursivo*; Modern Standard Arabic: *khaṭṭ jār, layyin*). Synonym: **flowing**; (technical) **chirodictic**. Antonym: composite. It defines a script written with a running hand, so that the letters are rapidly formed with a minimal lifting of the pen. The writing pace is fast, and angles are generally turned into curves to increase the writing speed. For the same purpose some letter forms are often simplified, with curves turned into straight strokes (as in initial and medial *sīn* and *shīn*) and loops turned into curved strokes (as in medial and final *hāʾ*, or *tāʾ marbūʿa*).

A cursive *ductus* is typical of casual scripts and most bookhands, but also of some calligraphic hands – such as chancery hands – where it was employed for aesthetic

purposes. During the 5th/11th century, the calligraphic scripts used for copying the Qur'ān and the title pages of luxury books started to imitate the cursive *ductus* of contemporary Mashriqī and Maghribī bookhands. However, given the mannered and composite nature of these calligraphic styles, it would be improper to describe them as 'cursive'. In these instances, the expression **curvilinear calligraphy** is to be preferred.

The same observation can be made for the carved inscriptions reproducing the cursive *ductus* of the *naskh* hands employed in manuscripts, a phenomenon which also originated in the 5th/11th century. In fact, the category of cursiveness is extraneous to monumental epigraphy on stone, plaster, wood, etc., which is composite by nature, being the result of several consecutive operations (preparatory drawing, engraving, edge bevelling...) whose traces are disguised in the finished work.

Note that the adjective 'cursive' does not imply a qualitative judgement on the script (cursive hands can be rough and hurried, but also smooth and elegant).

Although Maghribī round scripts can be generally described as cursive, some enhanced bookhands employed during the 6th/12th century for copying luxury editions of religious works show a partly composite *ductus*.

**CURVILINEAR** (French: *curviligne*; Italian: *curvilineo*; Spanish: *curvilineo*; Modern Standard Arabic *\*muqawwar*). Antonym: angular. It defines a script in which curved strokes predominate. Because fully curvilinear scripts are extremely rare, the term must be generally understood as meaning 'predominantly curvilinear'. A curvilinear *ductus* is the key feature of cursive scripts: it was developed by the scribes of the first centuries of Islam to increase the speed (and ease) of writing Arabic.

After an initial phase where curvilinear scripts coexisted with angular scripts (especially Quranic calligraphy and archaising bookhands), the 5th/11th century witnessed the final triumph of curvilinear scripts in both informal and calligraphic contexts, with only a few exceptions. Since then – and somewhat paradoxically – curved strokes have been employed to simplify certain scripts and beautify others.

In monumental epigraphy, curvilinear traits were introduced in the late 5th/11th century to imitate the cursive *ductus* of the *naskh* scripts employed by coeval scribes, but angular styles continued to be used widely until the present day.

In medieval al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqsā, curvilinear scripts on supple supports seem to have become prevalent earlier than in Ifrīqiya and the Mashriq, possibly as a response to the modesty of the local tradition of angular calligraphy, or perhaps under the influence of the Visigothic cursive scripts employed by the Mozarab scribes of al-Andalus. In fact, since the end of the 3rd/9th century, the main feature of Maghribī round bookhands has been the prominence of their curvilinear strokes, and in particular, the accentuation of the semi-circular shapes of certain letters.

**DUCTUS**. Synonym: **duct**. A Latin word indicating the manner in which pen strokes are traced on the writing surface. It is employed to describe the general 'nature' or aspect of a given hand (clumsy or elegant, slant or rectilinear, cursive or composite, angular or curvilinear). In Arabic palaeography, a particular *ductus* is made up of the combination of such factors as the angle at which the *qalam* was held in relation to the way it was cut, the degree of pressure applied to it, and the direction in which it was moved. Therefore, the *ductus* has more to do with the dynamics than the statics of letters and scripts.

**FORMAL** (French: *formel*; Italian: *formale*; Spanish: *formal*; Modern Standard Arabic *rasmī*). Synonym: **standardised**, **canonical**. Antonym: casual, personal. A polished type of script that consistently adheres to a graphic model or set of fixed canons, especially in its letter forms and notation system.

Formal scripts show a number of standardised traits (or indicators) which constitute the so-called **usual script** of a given region and period, and are therefore extremely useful for dating undated manuscripts and tracing their origin.

Formal scripts also tend to follow a series of writing conventions that developed within the different genres/scribal contexts to which they are applied (secular literature, religious works, Quranic manuscripts, chancery documents...). Note that the adjective ‘formal’ is not synonymous with ‘mannered’ or ‘calligraphic’.

**KUFIC** (French: *coufique*; Italian: *cufico*; Spanish: *cífico*; Modern Standard Arabic *\*khaṭṭ kūfī*). Synonym: **angular calligraphy**. A calligraphic script used in both manuscripts and monumental epigraphy, characterised by a marked angularity and a certain monumentality. It is normally understood as a generic term, albeit a misnomer, for a variety of scripts used between the 2nd/8th and the 5th/11th century mainly for copying the Qur’ān. It is also improperly used for describing graffiti, whose angularity is not dictated by aesthetic purposes, but simply by practical reasons (straight and broken lines are more easily incised than curved ones).

From the 5th/11th century onwards, Kufic scripts have been only employed by scribes in the *sūra* headings of Quranic manuscripts (an archaising feature with ‘sacred’ connotations), in particularly extravagant frontispieces, and in calligraphic albums. On the other hand, the tradition of Kufic monumental epigraphy has continued to flourish until today.

To date, there is no evidence to suggest that the Kufic Quranic scripts employed in the Maghrib between the 3rd/9th and the 5th/11th century were different from their Mashriqī equivalents. However, the angular calligraphic scripts developed from the 5th/11th century – under the combined influence of monumental epigraphy on different media (plaster, wood, etc.) and Maghribī bookhands – do show a variety of typically Maghribī traits, such as foliated serifs and interlaced shafts. These scripts, mainly employed in *sūra* headings and *ḥadīth* titles, can be better defined as Western **neo-Kufic**, and contrasted with the parallel tradition of Eastern neo-Kufic calligraphy.

**MANNERED** (French: *maniéré*; Italian: *artificioso*, *manierato*; Spanish: *amanerado*; Modern Standard Arabic: *\*mabsūṭ*, *muṣṭana*). Synonym: **stylised**, **calligraphic**. Antonym: plain, regular. A generic term used to define those scripts characterised by graphic mannerism, i.e. formal scripts with calligraphic features, often entailing a deviation from standard letter forms and ligatures.

Mannered scripts tend to appear solemn and ‘dilated’ if compared with ordinary scripts or standard bookhands, hence the Arabic term *mabsūṭ*.<sup>3</sup> A mannered *ductus* is typical of Quranic scripts (Kufic, New Style, *muḥaqqaq*, *thuluth* etc.) and calligraphic hands in general (including cursive ones, such as chancery scripts). Note that the adjective ‘mannered’ does not imply a qualitative judgement on the script.

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<sup>3</sup> “*Al-mabsūṭ huwa al-khaṭṭ al-mamdūd al-manthūr*”. Thus BAHNASSI 1995, 137.

Although Maghribī round hands can be generally described as plain scripts, some bookhands employed during the 6th/12th century for copying luxury editions of religious works show a noticeable degree of stylization and a more mannered *ductus*, due to the influence of Quranic *mabsūṭ* scripts.

**ORDINARY SCRIPT** see **CASUAL SCRIPT**.

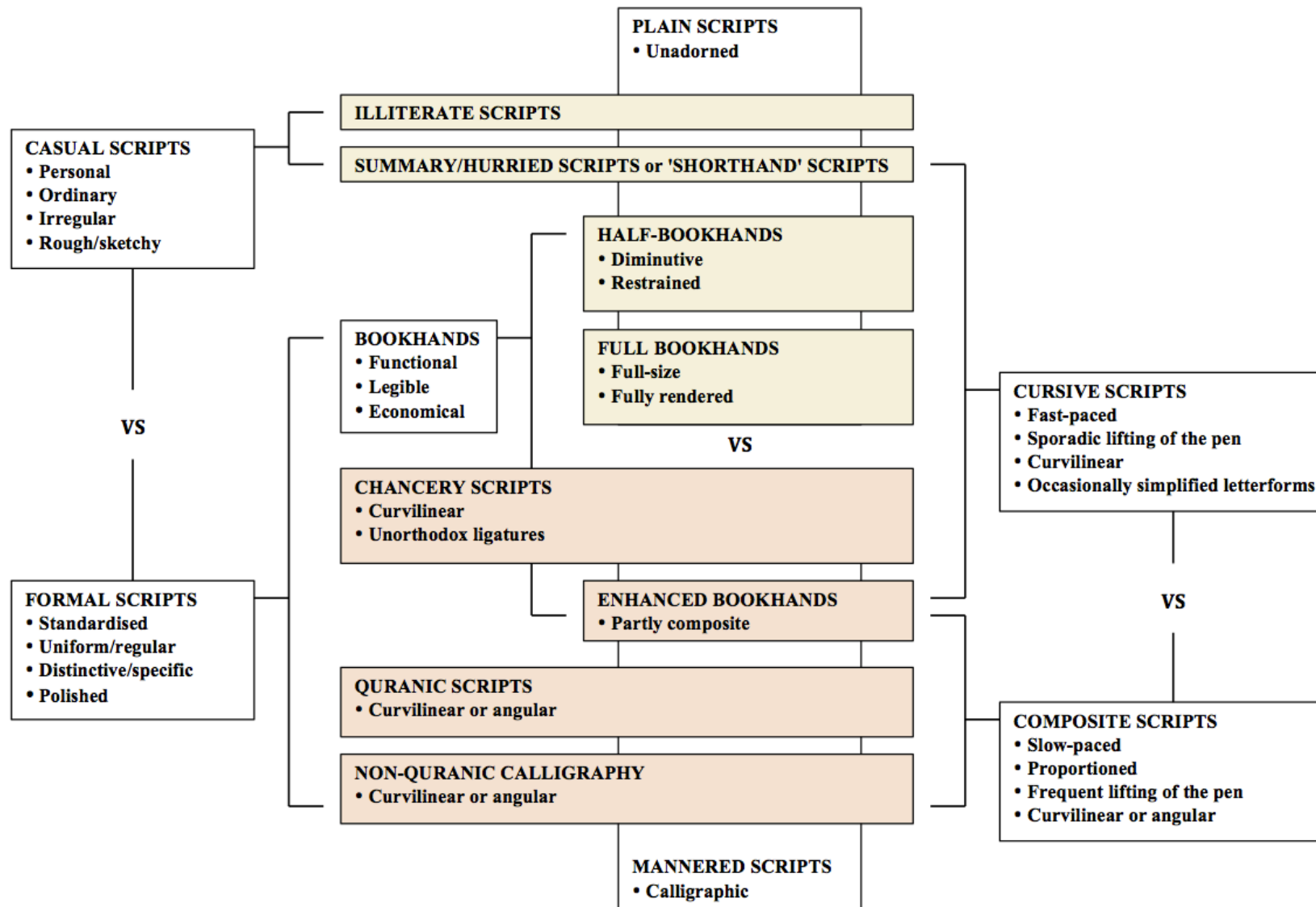
**QURANIC SCRIPT** (French: *écriture coranique*; Italian: *scrittura coranica*; Spanish: *escritura coránica*; Modern Standard Arabic: *\*qalam/khaṭṭ al-maṣāḥif*). A calligraphic script employed for copying the Sacred Book. During the first three centuries of Islam, Quranic scripts were the field of penmanship in which all calligraphic styles were elaborated, before being exported to other contexts (carved epigraphy, textiles...).

These scripts are characterised by a marked angularity, the abundance of *scriptio defectiva*, grammatical and orthographic vagueness, and a somewhat ‘rarefied’ appearance. With the 4th/10th century the influence of bookhands began to modify the character of Quranic scripts, making them more legible and closer to the scripts employed for copying all the other books; thus, early Abbasid bookhands inspired the development of the so-called New Style, and the modern *naskh* of the end of the 4th/10th century was soon adapted for use in Quranic manuscripts (the first dated instance being the Qur’ān penned by Ibn al-Bawwāb, CBL ms. 1431, dated 991/1000-1). From the late 5th/11th century, virtually all Qur’āns were copied in calligraphic scripts derived from cursive bookhands.

The earliest evidence for the use of Maghribī round scripts in western Qur’āns dates from the year 398/1008. We know, however, that Kufic scripts continued to be used for copying the Sacred Book well into the 5th/11th century. During the 6th/12th century, Maghribī Quranic scripts developed into several sub-groups of different size and thickness (from miniature to monumental), and were equally used in *ḥadīth* collections and other important religious books.

**ROUND** (French: *arrondi*; Italian: *tondo, tondeggiate*; Spanish: *redondo, redondeado*; Modern Standard Arabic: *\*mudawwar*). It defines a curvilinear script whose round shapes are accentuated, and whose curved strokes tend to be semi-circular. In particular, the adjective ‘round’ applies to the cursive scripts and curvilinear calligraphy typical of the handwritten tradition of al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, from the 4th/10th century onwards, including bookhands, Quranic scripts, and chancery hands.

**STYLISTED** see **MANNERED**.





## MAGHRIBĪ ROUND SCRIPTS: A NEW DEFINITION

### Geography and chronology

Among the few key tenets of the still emergent field of Arabic palaeography lies the distinction between western (or *Maghribī*) scripts and eastern (or *Mashriqī*) scripts. This dichotomy between writing styles and practices at the two poles of the medieval Islamic world – the Maghrib and the Mashriq – is historically rooted in the traditional division of the *Dār al-Islām* into two main macro-regions differing from one another in numerous respects: ethnic composition, religious doctrine, visual culture, etc.

As far as scripts are concerned, the distinction between Maghribī and Mashriqī is attested in Arabic literary sources since a very early date. The 3rd/9th-century treatise *Shawq al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aqlām* (“The yearning of the besotted for the knowledge of written symbols”), a work on cryptic alphabets and their talismanic properties, begins by introducing the reader to three basic alphabets known as Kufic, Maghribī, and Hindī.<sup>1</sup> The first is described as the primeval Arabic script; the third is the *abjad* or alphanumeric system, where each Arabic letter corresponds to an Indian numeral; the second is the Arabic alphabet employed in the Muslim West and al-Andalus (“*al-qalam al-Maghribī wa-huwa al-Andalusī*”). The oldest surviving manuscript of this work (Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 6805) was copied in 1165/1751 from an exemplar dated 413/1022, which, in turn, reproduced an autograph allegedly from the year 241/856.<sup>2</sup> Despite the alterations that may have occurred during the two subsequent transcriptions, the chart presenting each Maghribī letter captioned by its Mashriqī equivalent [fig. 1] is a precious indicator of the differences which had arisen between the two writing systems already in the early Abbasid period.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Shawq*, a certain Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Waḥshiyya, has been convincingly argued to be a pseudonym, to whom are attributed several works dating from the late 3rd/9th to the early 4th/10th century. See ‘Ibn Waḥshiyya’ in *EF*<sup>2</sup>, Brill Online, 2014. For an English translation of the *Shawq al-Mustahām*, see IBN WAḤSHIYYA 1806; for the latest Arabic edition, see IBN WAḤSHIYYA 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Access to the digitised manuscript through [www.gallica.bnf.fr](http://www.gallica.bnf.fr).

<sup>3</sup> BNF, ms. arabe 6805, ff. 5a-b; IBN WAḤSHIYYA 2008, 21.

In the work of early Arabic geographers such as al-Muqaddasī (d. around 380/990), the Maghrib is generally identified with all the Muslim territories to the west of Egypt and the district of Barqa (ancient Cyrenaica).<sup>4</sup> These lands are historically divided into the following regions: *Ifriqiya* or *Maghrib al-Adnā* (meaning “Near West”), comprising today’s Tripolitania, Tunisia, and the eastern third of Algeria (the Constantine province) as well as the islands of Sicily and Malta; *Maghrib al-Awsat* (“Central West”), corresponding to the remaining part of Algeria; *Maghrib al-Aqṣā* (“Far West”), comprising modern Morocco and northern Mauritania; *al-Andalus*, embracing Muslim Iberia and the Balearic Islands, often considered as a separate geographical entity.<sup>5</sup> In spite of this wide geographical span, I shall argue that the expression ‘Maghribī scripts’ should only be used to designate those writing styles originally employed to the west of Ifriqiya, a region which, until the late 6th/12th century, was politically and culturally oriented towards Egypt and the Mashriq, before becoming ‘Maghribised’ under the Almohads and Hafsids.

In this regard, a passage from Ibn Khaldūn’s *Muqaddima* (completed in 779/1377) includes some precious references to the “Ifriqī script [*al-khaṭṭ al-Ifriqī*], the old form of which is still known at this time”, which was “close to the form of the eastern script”.<sup>6</sup> Being himself a trained calligrapher and an expert of different scribal traditions, Ibn Khaldūn remarks on how the Andalusīs, escaping from the Christian *Reconquista*, “spread all over the coast of the Maghrib and Ifriqiya”, bringing along their characteristic writing style which “replaced the Ifriqī script and wiped it out. The scripts of Qayrawān and Mahdiyya were forgotten, [...] and all the various scripts of the inhabitants of Ifriqiya were assimilated to the Andalusī style used in Tūnis and the adjacent regions, because there were so many Andalusīs there after their exodus from the East of al-Andalus”. As a consequence, “the script of the inhabitants of Ifriqiya [...] became one of the finest types of Andalusī script [*khuṭūṭ ahl al-Andalus*]”.<sup>7</sup> A reconsideration of this important passage seems worthwhile for two reasons: firstly, it clearly sets the early Ifriqī scripts apart from the writing styles employed further west, a

<sup>4</sup> AL-MUQADDASĪ 2001, 183-206.

<sup>5</sup> See ‘al-Maghrib’ in *EF*, Brill Online, 2014. Among modern Maghribī historians, the tendency is to apply the term Maghrib exclusively to North Africa, and to use the expression *Gharb al-Islām* when considering medieval al-Andalus as well.

<sup>6</sup> “*Yaqrub min awḍā’ al-khaṭṭ al-Mashriqī*” (IBN KHALDŪN 1999, II, 750). For an English translation, see IBN KHALDŪN 1958, II, 385-387.

<sup>7</sup> IBN KHALDŪN 1999, II, 751.

statement supported by the surviving corpus of Mālikī legal manuscripts from the library of the Great Mosque of Qayrawān, copied during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries in local variants of eastern Abbasid bookhands.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, Ibn Khaldūn remarks on the crucial role played by the Andalusīs in the ‘Maghribisation’ of his hometown Tunis and the surrounding region, suggesting a close connection between Muslim Iberia and the development of Maghribī scripts which I hope to be able to demonstrate in the following pages.

Although Ifrīqiya did eventually become a centre of production of manuscripts in Maghribī scripts, when this happened precisely is not clear. A diplomatic letter addressed to the archbishop of Pisa, issued by the chancery of the Khurasanid emir of Tunis in 552/1157, was penned in a style visibly influenced by eastern (i.e. Fatimid) models.<sup>9</sup> In the surviving correspondence between the Almohad governors and notables of Tunis and the Pisan government, dated between 596/1200 and 624/1227, Maghribī scripts make their earliest appearance (see D8) along with Mashriqī and hybrid hands.<sup>10</sup> However, two important Ifrīqī documents of the second half of the 7th/13th century – the inventory of the library of the congregational mosque of Qayrawān (dated 693/1294), and the Arabic text of the 1270 treaty between the French king Philip III and the Hafsid sultan al-Mustanşir – were not penned in Maghribī scripts.<sup>11</sup> To my knowledge, the earliest dated document written in a Maghribī hand to have survived from the Hafsid chancery is a letter by sultan Muḥammad II to James II of Aragon, dated 708/1309.<sup>12</sup> The earliest dated book in Maghribī script undoubtedly produced in Ifrīqiya is a parchment Qur’ān copied in Tunis in 706/1306 by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b.

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<sup>8</sup> See *infra*, 25 ff.; BONGIANINO 2015; DÉROCHE 2004, 69-70; DÉROCHE 1987-1989, Nos. 18, 19, 24, 25, 30, 33. See also STANLEY 1999, 32-34, with the palaeographic description of a Mālikī legal text from Qayrawān, dated 406/1015, from the Khalili Collection (MS 303).

<sup>9</sup> Pisa, National Archive, *Prima Serie* I. Michele Amari describes the script of this document as a “grande, franca, e bella scrittura neskhi, della maniera che chiamano thulthi” (AMARI 1863, 395).

<sup>10</sup> AMARI 1863, pp. 400-407 (*Prima Serie*, docs. VI-IX, XI-XIII, XXI, XXVI, XXVIII).

<sup>11</sup> For the Qayrawān inventory, see CHABBOUH 1956; GACEK 1989; DÉROCHE 2010. Published images of this document are in CHABBOUH 1956, 339-372, and AL-NAYYĀL 1963, 13. For the 1270 treaty between Philip III and al-Mustanşir (Paris, Musée des Archives Nationales, AE.III.4) see GARRIGAU-GRANDCHAMP 1912, pl. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cartas árabes, No. 122 (see *PERFUME DE LA AMISTAD* 2010, 114-117; *IBN JALDÚN* 2006, II, 112-113). Also in “buona e chiara scrittura affricana” is the commercial treaty between the Hafsid caliph Abū Yahyā Zakariyā’ and the Pisans dated 713/1313 (Pisa, National Archive, *Prima Serie* XXIX): see AMARI 1863, pp. 415-416.

Aḥmad al-Azdī, the fourth and last volume of which is now in the British Library.<sup>13</sup> By the mid-8th/14th century Maghribī scripts had apparently become the norm throughout the Maghrib al-Adnā and beyond, as suggested by a passage of the *Rawnaq al-taḥbīr* written by the Nasrid secretary and court poet Ibn Simak al-‘Āmilī (d. after 820/1417): “The script of the people of the West [*al-Maghāriba*] is the one which is employed nowadays from the Far Maghrib and al-Andalus to Alexandria, and it has been in use for more than five hundred years [*wa-yutadāwal al-katb bi-hi azyada min khamsami’a sana*]”.<sup>14</sup>

The vast majority of the manuscripts discussed in the present work were copied to the west of Bijāya (in present-day Algeria), a town traditionally considered to be the easternmost limit of the Maghrib al-Awsaṭ.<sup>15</sup> This is essentially a matter of chronology, since this thesis will deal exclusively with the handwritten material produced before the year 600/1203-4, roughly coinciding with the heyday of the Almohad dynasty. Besides the obvious numerical convenience, two main reasons lie behind this choice: the first is historical, as the Almohads were the last Muslim dynasty to rule over the entire Maghrib and al-Andalus in a situation of (relative) cultural and aesthetic homogeneity, and as Ibn Khaldūn writes, when “the shadow of the Almohad dynasty receded [...] writing also suffered a setback, and its forms deteriorated”.<sup>16</sup> The second reason is palaeographic, since all the different variants of Maghribī scripts (Quranic calligraphy, bookhands, chancery scripts, etc.) appear to have originated and developed fully between the 3rd/9th and the 6th/12th centuries; hence, it would exceed the scope of this thesis to include a survey of the manuscript production in the late Almohad period, let alone in Nasrid Granada, Marinid Morocco, or Hafsid Tunisia.

In spite of this geographical focus on al-Andalus and the western Maghrib, a few manuscripts penned in Ifrīqiya and the Muslim East will also be discussed, representing the work of travellers and expatriate scholars clinging to the writing styles of their homeland (items 4, 57, 75, 94, 96). Thanks to Dominique and Janine Sourdél’s recent edition of 147 original pilgrimage certificates dating from the Ayyubid period, we now

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<sup>13</sup> BL, Ms. Add. 11638 (see LINGS & SAFADI 1976, 40, No. 49). Another square parchment Qur’ān copied in Tunis (by Aḥmad b. Ismā’īl b. Muḥammad al-Ghassānī), dated 712/1312-3, is now in the BAV, Vat. Arab. 215 (see ANZUINI 2001, 60-62).

<sup>14</sup> IBN SĪMAK 2004, 48. This passage is quoted in JAOUHARI 2015, 44, and BINSHARĪFA 1994, 83.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, for instance, Ibn Khaldūn. See ‘al-Magħrib’ in *EP<sup>2</sup>*, Brill Online, 2014.

<sup>16</sup> IBN KHALDŪN 1999, II, 751.

have evidence of scribes who employed Maghribī scripts in Mecca from as early as 596/1200, a fact that offers some insight into the activity of Maghribī immigrants in the Middle East.<sup>17</sup> Important Ayyubid and Mamluk cities like Alexandria, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Damascus were all home to significant Maghribī communities whose members, although sometimes emarginated, made important contributions to the local intellectual debates and to the written transmission of knowledge.<sup>18</sup> It must be noted, however, that the presence of Andalusī and Maghribī scholars in the Mashriq became significant only from the 7th/13th century onwards: the most famous case is perhaps that of the Murcian mystic and philosopher Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240), whose autograph manuscripts, although dating from his years in Damascus, are written in a distinctive Andalusī script with the addition of a few Mashriqī features.<sup>19</sup>

### **Nature and fortune of a regional script**

All the twenty-nine letters of the “*qalam Maghribī*” as illustrated in the Paris manuscript of the *Shawq al-Mustahām* [fig. 1] were penned in a deliberately plain script. Although we cannot know how closely they reproduce those in the lost original, it is quite clear that they were never meant to include any mannered feature, in sharp contrast with Ibn Waḥshiyya’s own rendition of the Kufic script, with its serifs and flourishes.<sup>20</sup> While the latter style appears intrinsically calligraphic, the Maghribī script is simply presented as a regional variant of what the author arguably considered to be the Arabic script *par excellence*, namely the standard Mashriqī bookhands of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, known today as Abbasid bookhands.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> SOURDEL & SOURDEL-THOMINE 2006, 22, n. 16, pls. V-VI. An interesting biography in this regard is that of the Andalusī imam and preacher Ibn Masadī al-Gharnāṭī (PUA id. 10808, 599/1203-673/1275), who travelled to Egypt and Syria before establishing himself in Mecca. According to the biographical dictionary of Muḥammad al-Fāsī (d. 831/1428), he “had a beautiful and fast script, and could write in both Maghribī and Mashriqī styles” (JUVIN 2013, 155).

<sup>18</sup> POUZET 1975.

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, the autograph manuscript of Ibn ‘Arabī’s *Dīwān* now in the David Collection, written in Damascus before the year 634/1237, discussed in HIRTENSTEIN 2006. The earliest dated manuscript of some of Ibn ‘Arabī’s treatises was copied by one of his pupils in Malaṭiyya (Anatolia) in 602/1205, in Maghribī script (CHRISTIE’S 1/5/2001, lot 57). One *Kitāb Sībawayh* copied in Damascus in 632/1234 by a Majorcan scribe is now in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, ms. Şehit Ali Pasha 2499 (HUMBERT 1995, 279-281).

<sup>20</sup> BNF, ms. arabe 6805, f. 4a-b.

<sup>21</sup> See ‘Abbasid bookhand’ in GACEK 2012, 1-2.

In recent literature on Arabic palaeography, the English term ‘bookhand’ has been used as an equivalent of the French expression *écriture livresque*, to indicate a standardised script used for copying non-Quranic texts that abides by the rules of orthography and has the ultimate purpose of being easily read. In Arabic, such scripts were simply called *qalam al-naskh* or just *naskh* – from the general term meaning “any handwritten copy of a text” – to distinguish them from other scripts with more technical names, employed for special purposes. Another way of referring to bookhands, already attested in the 4th/10th century, was the expression *khuṭūṭ al-warrāqīn*, meaning “the scripts used by scribes”, as opposed to *khuṭūṭ al-maṣāḥif* (“Quranic scripts”), and *khuṭūṭ al-kuttāb* (the “secretarial hands” employed in chanceries).<sup>22</sup>

Since the earliest documented stages of Arabic book production, the common feature of bookhands consisted in the gradual adoption and normalisation of different forms of cursiveness, a stylistic device originated in casual scripts that allowed the copyist not only to minimize the lifting of the pen from the page, but also to increase the speed of his work, turning angles into curves.<sup>23</sup> As pointed out by François Déroche, one must be aware of the problems which can arise when extending the notion of cursiveness to the analysis of Arabic scripts, where ligatures and breaks between the different letters are key elements of the orthography itself (unlike Greek, Latin, or Hebrew scripts, where they are purely stylistic features).<sup>24</sup> For this reason, the term *cursif* has now been rejected altogether by the French school of Arabic palaeography, and replaced with other adjectives such as *courant* and *chirodictique*.<sup>25</sup> In spite of this, I have decided to uphold and use in the present work the terms ‘cursive’ and ‘cursiveness’, which, I believe, remain valid and useful for describing Arabic scripts as well, provided of course they are correctly understood according to their etymology (*cursivus* = written with a running hand; *currere* = to run).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. ‘Bookhands’, 36, ‘Chancery hands’, 56, and ‘Scripts and hands’, 241-243.

<sup>23</sup> Two other key aspects of cursive Arabic scripts have been identified by Geoffrey Khan in his seminal work on early Arabic papyri, namely the transformation of curves and loops into straight strokes, and the reduction of the distance covered by the pen. See KHAN 1992, 40.

<sup>24</sup> See DÉROCHE 2003; DÉROCHE 2005, 214. On the concept of ‘cursiveness’ in Arabic scripts see GROB 2010, 161 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Déroche defines “composite” the formal scripts masking all traces of the movement of the hand from one letter to the other, while “chirodictic” are the scripts that leave such traces apparent (namely, cursive scripts): *Ibid.*, 215; see also DÉROCHE 1998, 376-378.

<sup>26</sup> It must also be noted that some Arabic scripts (such as chancery scripts) impose illicit additional ligatures for calligraphic purposes. In these cases, the adjective ‘cursive’ is doubly appropriate.

The material evidence presented in the following pages indicates that the Maghribī script described by Ibn Waḥshiyya – the ancestor of the scripts still used today by the traditional scribes of the Muslim West – was devised as a bookhand, with the aim of creating and systematising an improved form of cursiveness, and overcoming the sometimes awkward angular traits of earlier bookhands, Ifrīqī scripts in particular. This extremely important event in the history of Arabic scripts finds a close parallel in the transition from ‘old *naskh*’ to ‘modern *naskh*’ that occurred in the Muslim East during the late 4th/10th century (the so-called ‘reform’ of Ibn al-Bawwāb), but in comparison it has received very little attention.<sup>27</sup> This neglect is even more perplexing if we consider that the ‘Maghribī bookhand reform’ was not only as successful and consequential as the Mashriqī one, but also seems to have predated it significantly, and to have developed in complete autonomy. My aim here is precisely that of reconstructing the origin and development of this important Maghribī tradition of cursive scripts through the analysis of their distinctive palaeographic features, based on a sequence of dated manuscripts (items 1-123).

I shall begin by discussing the earliest evidence for the appearance of such features in Andalusī bookhands during the late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th century (chapter I). Then, I shall concentrate on the evolution of these scripts and their appearance in other scribal contexts – especially Quranic manuscripts – during the 5th/11th century, a period of intense political and cultural ferment (chapter II). As time went by, these ordinary bookhands began not only to diversify into distinct sub-regional styles, but also to develop a wide variety of mannered and stylised features that in some cases transformed them from plain into calligraphic scripts, used especially, but not exclusively, for transcribing the Sacred Book (Q1-25). New characteristic ligatures, notation and punctuation marks, colour schemes, etc. were introduced, the derivation of which will also be examined. During the 6th/12th century, the stylistic expansion of the family of Andalusī scripts was matched by a geographical one, into the Maghrib al-Aqṣā and the Maghrib al-Awsaṭ: cities like Marrakesh, Fes, Ceuta, Tlemcen, Sijilmasa, and Bijāya assimilated fully the scribal practices of al-Andalus and became thriving centres for the production of manuscripts (chapter III). Finally, I shall discuss the earliest dated occurrence of Maghribī documentary and chancery scripts (D1-10), as

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<sup>27</sup> For this important phase in the development of eastern Arabic scripts, see GEORGE 2010, 126 ff.; BLAIR 2006, 160 ff.

well as the appearance in both epigraphy and manuscripts of a special calligraphic style known today as *thuluth Maghribī*, which became particularly popular under the Almohads. With this sole exception, the scripts employed by Andalusī and Maghribī copyists, calligraphers, and secretaries until the end of the 6th/12th century remained specific to the written page and were never exported to other media.

The subject of this work being a regional script, a particularly pressing issue has been that of choosing the most suitable geographic designation for it. From a purely chronological standpoint, we should arguably be talking of ‘Andalusī scripts’ tout court, since Muslim Iberia is where they originated. However, while al-Andalus ceased to exist as a geo-political entity in 1492 AD, these scripts continued to evolve and be employed in North-West Africa for the following five centuries, until today. Besides being historically reductive and somewhat dismissive of the rich cultural heritage of modern North African countries, the label ‘Andalusī’ risks to create a polarity between ‘Andalusī scripts’ and ‘Maghribī scripts’ which is essentially untrue: as specified in the *Shawq al-mustahām*, these two expressions were originally perceived as interchangeable (“*al-qalam al-Maghribī wa-huwa al-Andalusī*”). This is why I have decided to uphold the more expansive definition of ‘Maghribī scripts’ throughout my thesis, even for the period when their use was limited to the Iberian Peninsula: al-Andalus, after all, was part of the Maghrib, and its leading role within the region until the 6th/12th century, at least with regard to scribal practices and the arts of the book, will certainly not be downplayed here.<sup>28</sup> My choice will probably raise many an eyebrow among Spanish scholars, some of whom seem to be increasingly tempted to narrow the focus of manuscript studies towards a “protected designation of origin” of Andalusī manuscripts, isolating them from the broader Mediterranean horizon to which they belonged.<sup>29</sup> Be that as it may, I hope this thesis will demonstrate that al-Andalus was but the cradle of an extremely wide range of momentous scribal reforms, which soon invested the entire Maghrib and forever changed the way its inhabitants conceived and transmitted all kinds of written texts. Failing to see this, I believe, would do more harm than good to our field of study.

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<sup>28</sup> Perhaps an even more correct alternative to ‘Maghribī scripts’ would be ‘Andalusī-Maghribī scripts’, although its length would make it hardly practicable, especially if combined with other adjectives (e.g. ‘Andalusī-Maghribī round scripts’).

<sup>29</sup> Thus the title of ESPEJO & ARIAS 2008 (“*El manuscrito andalusí: hacia una denominación de origen*”).

## The state of scholarship

Already in the late 18th century, some of the scholars involved in compiling the first catalogues of the Arabic manuscripts kept in the great European libraries used to distinguish between books copied in eastern and western hands. This practice reflects the extreme ease with which Maghribī scripts could be identified, even before the birth of Arabic palaeography as a field of study. Thus, for instance, John Uri (1787) opted to describe the Maghribī and Andalusī manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with the Latin expressions “*litera Africana*” and “*scriptura Mauritanica*”,<sup>30</sup> a terminology maintained in the catalogue by Alexander Nicoll (1821),<sup>31</sup> and in the work of William Cureton and Charles Rieu (1846) on the Arabic manuscripts of the British Library (“*character occidentalis sive Africanus*”).<sup>32</sup> In the same decades, at the Bibliothèque Royale (now Nationale) de France, a group of eminent Arabists, among whom Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, Michele Amari, Hartwig Derenbourg, and William McGuckin De Slane begun tentatively to develop new palaeographic criteria and classifications – “*écriture barbaresque*”, “*écriture maghrébine*”, “*écriture maghrébine espagnole*”, etc. – to better label the writing styles of the manuscripts held in the Parisian library.<sup>33</sup> Other French linguists and philologists also included in their grammar books notes and tables dedicated to the handwriting of the people of the Maghreb, so as to acquaint their students with the ‘eccentric’ manuscript tradition of the North African colonies [fig. 2].<sup>34</sup>

Only in 1886, however, did the category of Maghribī scripts receive appropriate attention in an article by the French Orientalist Octave Houdas (1840-1916), who lived most of his life in Algeria and Tunisia.<sup>35</sup> Houdas understood that the primary difference between eastern and western cursive scripts rested in the nature of the writing implement and the thickness of the strokes. He listed and discussed for the first time some of the letter shapes and scribal conventions (diacritics, *abjad*...) peculiar to the Maghribī context, formulating sensible hypotheses on their origin and approaching from

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<sup>30</sup> URI 1787.

<sup>31</sup> NICOLL 1821.

<sup>32</sup> CURETON & RIEU 1846-1871.

<sup>33</sup> DE SLANE 1883-1885.

<sup>34</sup> PIHAN 1856, 22-26; BRESNIER 1855, 80, 131-132, and pls. I-II, IV-VII, XXX-XXXIX.

<sup>35</sup> HOUDAS 1886.

a sound palaeographic perspective issues that had never been properly raised. At the same time, Houdas was largely dismissive about the aesthetic qualities of western Arabic scripts, especially in comparison with the calligraphic tradition of the Muslim East. Moreover, he based his article on a historical misconception still held today by many North African scholars, namely that Maghribī cursive scripts originated in Qayrawān before spreading westwards, questioning the veracity of Ibn Khaldūn’s account without providing reliable evidence to support his own theory. Also, his classification of Maghribī scripts into four categories – Qairawānī, Andalusī, Fāsī, Sūdānī – appears arbitrary and misleading, based as it is on modern regional labels rather than on the analysis of the earliest manuscript material and its context of production. Unfortunately, this obsolete and insubstantial taxonomy, upheld by Nabia Abbott in her seminal work on Quranic scripts (1939), is still very influential today, and contributed to preventing further studies from being conducted in the first three quarters of the 20th century, as well as to the general dismissal of the Maghribī tradition of penmanship as a second-rate subject.<sup>36</sup>

The long silence on the matter was broken in 1977 by Pieter Van Koningsveld, in his published thesis on the Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library (Cod. Or. 231), the product of a bilingual scribe active in late 6th/12th-century Toledo.<sup>37</sup> While analysing the script of the Leiden glossary, the Dutch philologist lamented the underdeveloped state of scholarship on the palaeography of western Arabic scripts, epitomised by the vague terminology and laconic descriptions appearing in the library catalogues and facsimile albums compiled by Arab and French academics alike, including those by Edgard Blochet (1925) and George Vajda (1958) from the BNF.<sup>38</sup> Despite the by-then general use of such expressions as “*khaṭṭ Andalusī qadīm*”, “*naskhī Maghribī*”, “*naskhī Andalusī*”, and “*naskhī Tūnisī*”, based on the (scant) geographical indications contained in the colophons, Van Koningsveld admitted very honestly that, from a purely palaeographic perspective, no differences between Maghribī and Andalusī scripts had yet been determined. Nevertheless, he undertook a comparative study of a dozen manuscripts unquestionably copied in al-Andalus between the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th century, and was able to identify two different groups of scripts, the first

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<sup>36</sup> ABBOTT 1939, 41-44 and pl. VII.

<sup>37</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1977, 25-31.

<sup>38</sup> BLOCHET 1925; VAJDA 1958.

characterised by a cursive and plain *ductus*, and the second more mannered, with inclusions of angular shapes and archaising features. Because of the small size of the sample, however, he oversimplified this dichotomy into two distinct chronological phases, the first related to the *ṭāʿifa* kingdoms of the 5th/11th century, and the second to Almoravid and Almohad rule in the 6th/12th century, ignoring the numerous instances of overlap between the two styles.

In 1989, Nico Van Den Boogert published a short article featuring charts and descriptions of the letter forms and ligatures peculiar to the western Arabic scripts of the 19th and 20th centuries [fig. 3], as “a concise manual for the reading of Maghribī manuscript material, which often poses problems, even for native speakers of Arabic”.<sup>39</sup> He also distinguished for the first time between what he calls the “Maghribī script proper” and *thuluth Maghribī*, a calligraphic (and epigraphic) reinterpretation of the *thuluth* script employed in the East, “whence it was imported into the Maghrib, probably around the 13th century AD”.<sup>40</sup> Although limited in its scope, Van Den Boogert’s work provided an excellent methodological model, as well as an ideal basis for a thorough work of analysis and dating of more ancient material based on the earliest appearance of particular letter forms and ligatures, which, alas, was never undertaken. The two important studies on West African and Sūdānī scripts carried out by Adrian Bivar (1968) and Adrian Brockett (1987) are based on Quranic manuscripts copied no earlier than the 11th/17th century, and avoid venturing into the field of medieval Maghribī bookhands, from which most Saharo-Sahelian scripts derive.<sup>41</sup>

This evident impasse could only be broken by a trained palaeographer with a wide-ranging expertise in all the scripts employed in the first centuries of Islam, such as François Déroche. His article (1999) on the different scribal traditions attested in the Maghrib between the 4th/10th and the 5th/11th century was decisive not only because it provided a preliminary list of the oldest dated manuscripts copied in Maghribī bookhands, but also because it set the origin of these scripts in the correct chronological and geographical context – namely, Umayyad Iberia – considering also their relation to coeval Abbasid bookhands, angular Quranic styles (“*écritures abbasides anciennes*”),

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<sup>39</sup> VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 30.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 32. This statement needs of course to be reconsidered, both because this style appears in manuscripts already in the 6th/12th century (items 89, 108, 112, 119; Q5, Q7-9, Q11, Q14-15, Q21-25), and because it was much more than a simple imitation of eastern calligraphy: see chapter III, 151 ff.

<sup>41</sup> BIVAR 1968; BROCKETT 1987. The same can be said for BLAIR 2008.

and eastern scripts.<sup>42</sup> In particular, Déroche insisted on the independence of Maghribī cursive hands from the earlier scripts of the region: “*La tradition maghrébine pourrait bien être le reflet d’une évolution au cours de laquelle l’écriture livresque abbaside aurait représenté un courant parallèle et concurrent du maghribi, non pas un précurseur*”.<sup>43</sup> Here and in his following publications, however, the French scholar developed a questionable theory on the derivation of Maghribī cursive scripts from the scripts used in early Egyptian papyri, which, as we shall see, has very little historical and palaeographic foundation.<sup>44</sup>

After Déroche’s important contribution to the debate, the Iberian origin of the family of Maghribī scripts has increasingly become accepted (although somewhat implicitly), and more western Arabic manuscripts dating from the high medieval period have been published and studied, with varying degrees of accuracy and a special focus on Quranic calligraphy.<sup>45</sup> However, no progress has since been made in understanding the development and mutual relations of even the most basic Maghribī sub-styles, generally identified in library catalogues and museum inventories on the basis of their dimensions: small, medium, and large/monumental.

The 1990s also witnessed the formation of a group of Moroccan scholars who begun working on the material aspects of the manuscripts kept in the country’s libraries, starting with Muḥammad al-Manūnī and Aḥmad Shawqī Binbīn (the latter is currently director of the Bibliothèque Royale, Rabat).<sup>46</sup> Their work and that of their followers, mostly published in Arabic, provided interesting insights into sources which had so far escaped the attention of western scholars, such as sections of biographical dictionaries dedicated to Moroccan and Andalusī scribes and their activity, editions of Maghribī treatises and poems on penmanship, or anecdotes on writing practices and tools taken from minor works of *adab* and history.<sup>47</sup> On the more empirical level of palaeography, however, Moroccan scholars tend to operate without a clear set of scientific parameters (chronology, distinctions between manuscript genres...), and to perpetuate extravagant

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<sup>42</sup> DÉROCHE 1999. Eight years earlier, Déroche had already published two early Quranic fragments in Maghribī cursive scripts: *ID.* 1991. Déroche’s most recent contribution on the subject of Maghribī cursive scripts is *ID.* 2010B.

<sup>43</sup> *ID.* 1999, 243.

<sup>44</sup> See especially *ID.* 2004, 67-96: 75.

<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, KHEMIR 1992; STANLEY 1995, 20 ff., BLAIR 2006, 221-228.

<sup>46</sup> AL-MANŪNĪ 1989B; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991; *AL-MAKHTŪT* 1994.

<sup>47</sup> See especially ŞABRĪ 2013; BINSHARĪFA 1994; AL-AMJAD 1994.

schemes of development [fig. 4] which are evidently too theoretical, and not sufficiently based on the evaluation of material data.<sup>48</sup> Even the distinction between later calligraphic styles such as the “*khatt mabṣūʿ*”, the “*khatt mujawhar*”, and the “*thuluth Maghribī*” or “*mutamaghrab*” [fig. 5], although fascinating and apparently valid, has never been properly backed by literary evidence or palaeographic studies. Mubārak Bū ‘Aṣab has recently published an important study of the chancery scripts employed under the Alawite dynasty (r. 1040/1631 to present day), but the palaeographic analysis presented, although extremely detailed, does not take into account the medieval origin of the stylistic elements discussed.<sup>49</sup>

In 1994 Van Koningsveld returned on the subject of Christian-Arabic manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula, and based on previous work by Malachi Beit-Arié and Adriaan Keller, stressed the direct derivation of some of their codicological features from the Latin-Visigothic tradition (use of quaternions; observance of Gregory’s rule; combination of parchment and paper in the same quires, also found in Hebrew manuscripts from 7th/13th-century Toledo).<sup>50</sup> As far as the scripts of these documents are concerned, however, Van Koningsveld’s superficial analysis remained anchored to his 1976 views. Furthermore, the inadequacy of his palaeographic model is confirmed by his misattribution of all the Arabic glosses contained in about 30 Latin-Visigothic manuscripts exclusively to scribes working in Toledo between the late 7th/12th and the early 8th/13th century, despite the fact that some of these annotations must date from a much earlier period, as argued by Cyrille Aillet in his recent book on the Mozarabs (2010).<sup>51</sup>

At present, our still embarrassingly shallow knowledge of the stylistic aspects concerning the Arabic handwritten tradition of the Maghrib is epitomised by the meagre entries in the latest edition of Adam Gacek’s *Arabic Manuscripts: a Vademecum for readers* (2012), under the headings ‘Maghribī script’ and ‘Andalusī script’.<sup>52</sup> In the last years, however, two independent series of conferences have gradually paved the way for new research in the field. The first one was organised between 2008 and 2015 in

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<sup>48</sup> This approach is epitomised by AFĀ 2013A.

<sup>49</sup> BŪ ‘AṢAB 2014.

<sup>50</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1994; see also his previous article: *ID.* 1992, and the supplement: *ID.* 1991. Van Koningsveld’s codicological arguments are based on KELLER 1989, and BEIT-ARIÉ 1981, 37-39, 48-49.

<sup>51</sup> AILLET 2010, 19-20, 153 ff.; see also *ID.* 2008.

<sup>52</sup> GACEK 2012, 8-9, 147-149.

Casablanca and Cordova by Mostafa Ammadi, María Jesús Viguera, and Francisco Vidal, under the title *Primavera del Manuscrito Andalusi*.<sup>53</sup> The numerous papers given by the Spanish, Moroccan, French, and American scholars who attended these meetings focus on the manuscript tradition of al-Andalus, and cover a wide variety of subjects, from textual transmission to paper manufacture to book conservation, while among the palaeographic studies abound those dedicated to Nasrid chancery scripts and *aljamiado* texts. The second series of conferences concentrated exclusively on the “*écritures des manuscrits de l’Occident musulman*”, and was convened between 2012 and 2015 at the Centre Jacques Berque (Rabat) by Mustapha Jaouhari. During the inaugural meeting, Arianna D’Ottone presented a groundbreaking paper on the possible influences exerted on Maghribī cursive scripts by the writing tools and modes of Christian Andalusī copyists trained in the Latin tradition of Visigothic scripts.<sup>54</sup> At last, it seems that the attention of scholars is now rightly shifting towards a serious investigation of the handwritten material dating from the formative period of Maghribī scripts.

### **General features of Maghribī cursive scripts**

If one were to trace the distinctive features of Maghribī scripts back to a single stylistic principle, it would surely be that of roundness. Already in their earliest surviving manuscripts, the copyists of al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā showed a consistent tendency to accentuate the curves of most letters, to the point of making them look almost circular or semi-circular. This practice was not only in contrast with the partially angular *ductus* of eastern Abbasid bookhands and Ifrīqī scripts, but also with the *naskh* and new ‘proportioned’ scripts (*khuṭūṭ al-mansūba*) developed in the Mashriq since the late 4th/10th century, whose curvilinear strokes were generally flattened and kept within stricter bounds. This overall characteristic of Maghribī hands was first noted by al-Muqaddasī in his geographical treatise (*circa* 375/985), reporting that “the people of al-Andalus are the most skilled [*aḥdhaq al-nās*] in the craft of bookmaking [*wirāqa*], and their scripts are rounded [*mudawwara*]”.<sup>55</sup> For these reasons, I would like to propose

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<sup>53</sup> *PRIMAVERA* 2009-2014. Also edited by María Jesús Viguera is *MANUSCRITOS ÁRABES* 2006.

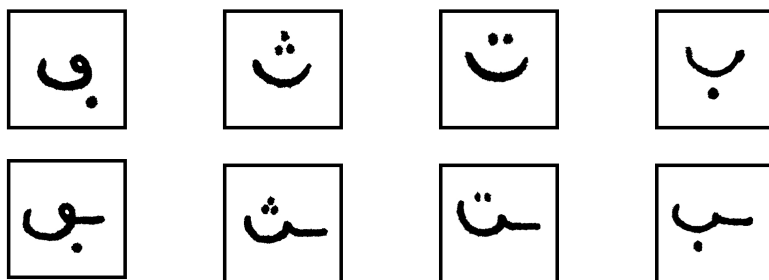
<sup>54</sup> D’OTTONE 2013A.

<sup>55</sup> AL-MUQADDASĪ 1950, 48-49.

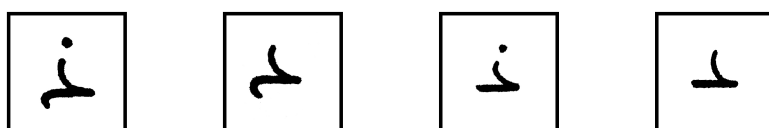
here the expression ‘Maghribī round scripts’ as a suitable definition for this entire family of scripts.

Since its first appearance and throughout the centuries, the *mudawwar* character of Maghribī bookhands rested on the distinctive shape of certain letters. These are:

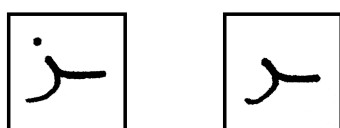
- *Bā*’, *tā*’, *thā*’ and *fā*’ in isolated position with their concave form, and in final position with their closing denticle in the shape of an inverted comma;



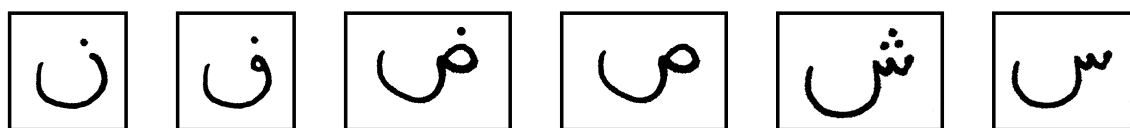
- *Dāl* and *dhāl* in isolated position, with their concave downstroke and final downward spur (*dāl kāfiyya*), resembling “pursed lips seen from the side”,<sup>56</sup>



- *Dāl* and *dhāl* in final position with a marked semicircular descender, resembling the letters *rā*’ and *zā*’;



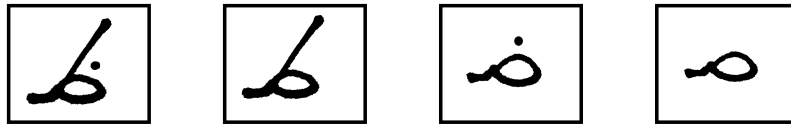
- *Sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *qāf* and *nūn* in final position with their exaggerated semi-circular descenders, often described as ‘swooping’ or ‘plunging’, stretching below the following word;<sup>57</sup>



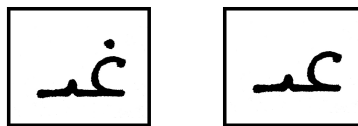
<sup>56</sup> Thus BLAIR 2006, 223.

<sup>57</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 106-107; ABBOTT 1939, 42; BLAIR 2006, 222; GACEK 2012, 149.

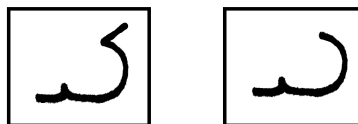
- *Ṣād* and *ḍād* with their oval or semi-circular body and lack of denticle, also found in the letters *ṭā'* and *zā'*;<sup>58</sup>



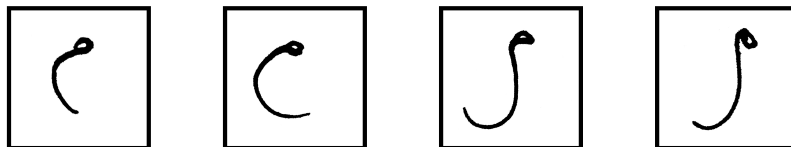
- *ʿAyn* and *ghayn* in initial position with their oversized curl;<sup>59</sup>



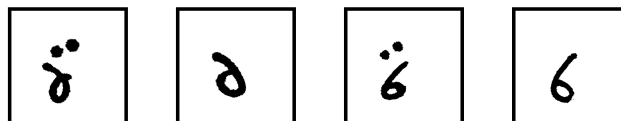
- Initial and medial *kāf* often drawn as a semicircle topped by a diagonal stroke;<sup>60</sup>



- Final and isolated *mīm* with its long curved tail in two variants (concave or convex);



- *Hā'* and *tā' marbūṭa* in isolated position, drawn in the shape of a '6', sometimes inverted.



An important characteristic of the *ductus* of Maghribī round scripts is the generally uniform thickness of the strokes, in contrast with the swelling and contracting, widening and tapering lines of eastern Arabic scripts (also known as 'shading').

<sup>58</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 106; ABBOTT 1939, 42; VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 30; GACEK 2012, 149.

<sup>59</sup> GACEK 2012, 149.

<sup>60</sup> BLAIR 2006, 222.

Historically, this phenomenon has been explained as the result of a difference in the nature and preparation of the reed pen (*qalam*) employed by western scribes. According to Octave Houdas, Maghribī calligraphers used to cut their *qalam* from a particular species of cane (*Arundo donax*) not found in the Mashriq:

La difficulté toute matérielle de se procurer aisément dans le Maghreb les bambous qui sont indispensables pour tracer avec élégance le caractère *neskhy* n'a pas eu d'effet non plus sur l'adoption de l'écriture maghrébine; elle a seulement accentué la différence qui sépare le *neskhy* du coufique. Le roseau (*Arundo donax*) dont on se sert dans le Maghreb ne peut pas être taillé de la même manière que le bambou. La mince pellicule qui recouvre extérieurement ce roseau n'adhère pas d'une façon intime à la moelle intérieure, et l'on n'arrive pas à donner au bec de ces plumes la consistance nécessaire pour résister à la pression de la main sur le papier qu'en conservant une couche assez épaisse de moelle. Les pointes de la plume restent donc toujours mousses, et il est impossible de leur donner cette section rectiligne nette et résistante qui est indispensable pour obtenir un trait aux bords réguliers et présentant dans sa largeur les alternatives du fin délié et du plein bien accusé.<sup>61</sup>

Unfortunately, this explanation is not entirely convincing. Firstly, *Arundo donax* is a widespread species of cane found in the entire Mediterranean Basin, as well as in Arabia and Mesopotamia.<sup>62</sup> Secondly, medieval sources are generally very vague about the specific types of reed (*qaṣab*) employed for crafting pens in the different region of the *dār al-Islām*, and they can only be of minimal help in absence of archaeological finds. In his *Arabische Paläographie*, Adolf Grohmann outlined a tripartite map of the early Islamic world based on the type of *qalam* employed: in Egypt, both archaeological and textual evidence suggests that reed pens made of *Juncus arabicus maritimus*, *Phragmites communis*, and *Saccharum biflorum* (wild sugarcane, *qaṣab al-sukkar* in Arabic) were used for writing on papyrus; in Baghdād and the Muslim East, where archaeological evidence is lacking, the sources mention “Persian” and “Nabataean reeds”, as well as the celebrated brown reeds growing in the swamps of Wāsiṭ; as for North Africa and the Maghrib, Grohmann only touches upon “pens made of red reeds from Knidos”, and others cut from unspecified white-yellow reeds.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 97-98.

<sup>62</sup> MARIANI *et alii* 2010.

<sup>63</sup> GROHMANN 1967, I, 118-119.

It is only thanks to the ethnographic study of modern practices, especially among the traditional scribes of Fes and the Atlas region, that the distinctiveness of western reed pens can be properly understood, and possibly related to medieval prototypes.<sup>64</sup> A standard Moroccan *qalam* [fig. 6] is generally cut from a reed of relatively large diameter and slit into half along its length, as opposed to the slender, whole reeds employed in the East [fig. 7].<sup>65</sup> One extremity of the half-reed is then trimmed into a point with a blunt nib that gives a rounded uniform outline to the letters, very different from the transverse cut in the form of a chisel (either square or angled) used in eastern nibs, producing lines of varying thickness.<sup>66</sup> Because the internal duct of the reed can no longer be used as an ink reservoir, an open diamond-shaped hollow is carved under the nib for this purpose.<sup>67</sup> Reference to the typically Maghribī pointed nib – compared to the head of a sharp spear (“*ka-l-rumḥ*”) – is included in an early 19th-century poem on penmanship composed by the Moroccan calligrapher Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rafā‘ī al-Ḥasnī al-Ribā‘ī (d. 1256/1840).<sup>68</sup> But the topos of the spear-like *qalam* is indeed much older, and was already employed by the Valencian poet Ibn Ghālib al-Ruṣāfī (d. 572/1177) in his short *Maqāma fī waṣf al-qalam*: “It is but a short piece of reed, and yet / it has the sharpness of the longest lances”.<sup>69</sup>

If we accept that the surviving Moroccan reed pens from the past two centuries are cut more or less in the same way as their medieval ancestors, as the script they produce seems to suggest, how can we explain in historical terms their difference from Mashriqī implements? According to Houdas, the Islamic West had stuck to the traditional manner of cutting the *qalam* with a pointed tip, while Ibn Muqla’s reform in

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<sup>64</sup> It is important to note, however, that reed pens of the eastern type were sometimes used by copyists writing in Maghribī cursive scripts. See, for instance, CHRISTIE’S 8/10/1991, lot 108. The only early source from the Muslim West discussing “the different kinds of reed pens most suitable for writing on parchment, papyrus, and paper” is Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīh’s *Al-Iqd al-Farīd*, written in the early 4th/10th century, mentioned in PEDERSEN 1984, 62. Unfortunately, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīh’s work is completely dependent on eastern traditions, anecdotes, and poetry imported from ‘Irāq, including his chapter on writing tools, so that it can be hardly used as evidence for any Andalusī writing practice. I thank Dr Isabel Toral-Niehoff for this information.

<sup>65</sup> AFĀ 2013B, 71.

<sup>66</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 97-98; VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 30; DÉROCHE 2005, 104-106; BLAIR 2006, 222 n. 65; see also GACEK 2012, s. v. ‘Calamus’, 40-42.

<sup>67</sup> DÉROCHE 2005, 104.

<sup>68</sup> ṢABRĪ 2013, 81-85.

<sup>69</sup> PUA, id. 10227; DE LA GRANJA 1962 (“*Qaṣīr al-anābīb wa-lakinna-hu / yatūl maḍā’ tiwāl al-rimāḥ*”). Ibn Ghālib’s *Maqāma* draws upon the *Risāla fī al-ṣayf wa-l-qalam* of the Cordovan poet Aḥmad Ibn Burd al-Aṣghar (d. 445/1054), where the reed pen is likened both to a spear and to a deadly arrow (DE LA GRANJA 1960, 396).

the East had sanctioned the use of reed pens with a flat and bevelled cut nib.<sup>70</sup> More recently, as we have already seen, Déroche observed that the Maghribī *qalam*, with its pointed yet soft nib, presents some analogies with the utensils employed by Egyptian copyists writing on papyrus in the first centuries of Islām, implying a possible East-to-West transmission of scribal practices along the North African coast at a very early stage of Islamic history.<sup>71</sup> This hypothesis seems to be supported by Grohmann’s remarks on the similarities between certain scripts used in the Egyptian literary papyri of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries and certain features of Maghribī round scripts, such as the ample initial ‘*ayn*, final *alif* ending with a spur below the baseline, and the right-leaning stem of *ṭā*’ and *zā*’.<sup>72</sup> For these Egyptian scripts, the German scholar coined the term “*Protomağrabī*”.<sup>73</sup>

Now, while it is hardly surprising that some of the scripts employed in early Egyptian papyri share a stylistic substrate with Maghribī hands (and indeed with other coeval bookhands, such as the Ifrīqī scripts attested in Qayrawān from the end of the 3rd/9th century), this does not necessarily imply a derivation of the latter from the former. Moreover, the main feature of Maghribī cursive scripts – their roundness – does not find the slightest correspondence in the Egyptian manuscript tradition. The transition to fully cursive and curvilinear scripts only happened in Egyptian documents alongside the shift from papyrus to paper in the first half of the 4th/10th century, under the influence of eastern scripts and scribal practices.<sup>74</sup> Hence, this transition must be considered a parallel – or even later – phenomenon, unrelated to the development of Maghribī round scripts further west. As for the *qalam* connection, it seems equally problematic to argue that writing implements designed for a support so peculiar to the

<sup>70</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 96; DÉROCHE 2005, 106.

<sup>71</sup> DÉROCHE 2004, 75.

<sup>72</sup> GROHMANN 1966, 94; ORSATTI 1990, 300. Already in 1939 Jean David-Weill, examining a papyrus codex found at Tell Edfu and copied around the year 276/889, had defined its script as “*écriture maghrébine ancienne*” because of some graphic similarities with later Maghribī bookhands. See DAVID-WEILL 1939, I, p. IV. Given also the subject of this anomalous manuscript – the *Jāmi*’ of Ibn Wahb, i.e. a *ḥadīth* compendium with strong Mālikī leanings – I believe that its script should rather be related to contemporary Ifrīqī hands from Qayrawān. On the early transmission and circulation of Ibn Wahb’s *Jāmi*’ in the Maghrib, consult the HATA database at [http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/hata\\_kohepocu](http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/hata_kohepocu). It is worth noting that a copy of this work is preserved among the oldest manuscripts of the Great Mosque of Qayrawān (see DÉROCHE 1987-1989, 349, No. 33, copied before 290/903).

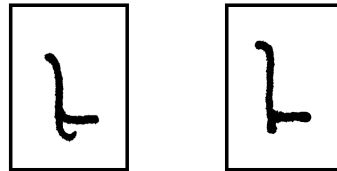
<sup>73</sup> GROHMANN 1962, 244; see also DÉROCHE 1987-1989, 364.

<sup>74</sup> RUSTOW (forthcoming), 79. I would like to thank Dr Rustow for sharing with me the final draft of her book. See also KHAN 2008, 896-868, although he is more inclined to date the transition to cursive scripts in Egyptian documentary hands to the 3rd/9th century.

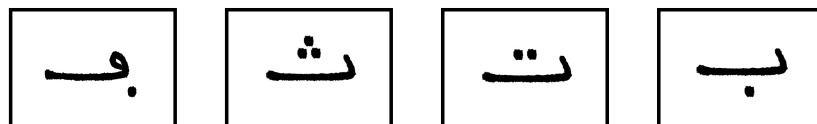
Egyptian tradition could have been adopted in the Muslim West, where papyrus was never produced nor employed.

As observed by Geoffrey Khan, “the ‘eastern’ innovation in Arabic script which had a radical impact on the documentary hand in Egypt did not have such a thoroughgoing influence on the Arabic script used in the Maghrib in the far West of the Islamic world, which retained many of the features of the early script down to modern times”.<sup>75</sup> In fact, parallel to the distinctly semi-circular shapes developed by certain letters, Maghribī round scripts also retained a series of vestigial features derived from earlier angular scripts. A complete list includes:

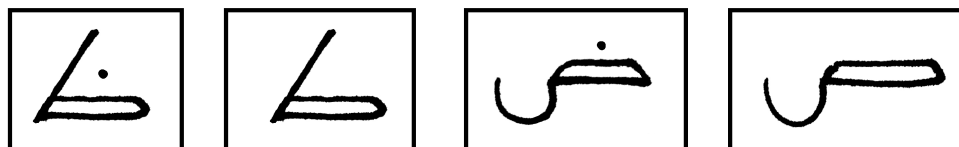
- *Alif* in final position drawn from top to bottom, often forming a spur or denticle below the baseline;<sup>76</sup>



- *Bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ* and *fāʾ* in isolated and final position, in their alternative ‘open’ and stretched form lacking the closing denticle (known as *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ* and *fāʾ mawqūfa*);



- *Ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ẓād* and *zād* in their alternative angular form, resembling an elongated rectangle or trapezium;<sup>77</sup>

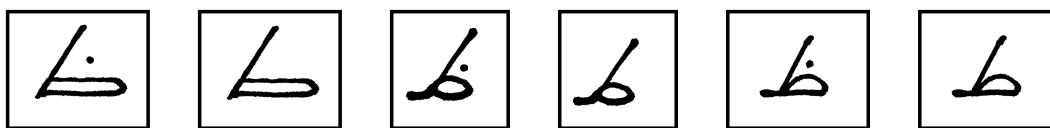


<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 897-898.

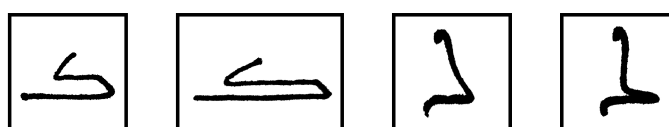
<sup>76</sup> VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 30; DÉROCHE 2004, 81; BLAIR 2006, 222; GACEK 2012, 149.

<sup>77</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 107-108.

- *Ṭā'* and *ẓā'* with their diagonally drawn stem, normally traced before the loop;<sup>78</sup>



- *Kāf* in final and isolated position with its tall vertical stem curving at the bottom, sometimes easily mistaken for *dāl* (*kāf dāliyya*).<sup>79</sup> As for initial and medial *kāf*, they often show a marked angularity in their parallel, often elongated horizontal lines, linked by a diagonal stroke.



The persistence of these ‘fossilised’ elements and letter variants has led numerous scholars to hypothesise the ‘direct derivation’ of Maghribī scripts from ‘Kufic’, following Octave Houdas’s first observations.<sup>80</sup> As a matter of fact, this assumption is imprecise and misleading: as clarified by Déroche, Houdas used the term *coufique* in a very loose sense to mean any ancient angular script employed in the Muslim West, with no distinction between calligraphic Quranic styles and plain Ifrīqī bookhands;<sup>81</sup> given their nature and function, however, Maghribī round scripts are much more likely to have ‘developed’ from the latter than the former. As already pointed out, the situation in al-Andalus does not seem to have been any different from the Mashriq, where modern curvilinear *naskh* gradually evolved from local (‘Abbasid’) bookhands; hence, there is no reason to believe that Maghribī scripts “retained more of the Kufic elements than the cursive scripts of the East” because “the West considered the Kufic as *the* Arabic script and kept closer to it than did the East”.<sup>82</sup> In opposition to this theory, Déroche argued that Maghribī round scripts may have developed from an early

<sup>78</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 106; VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 30; DÉROCHE 2004, 81; GACEK 2012, 149.

<sup>79</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 107-108; VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 30.

<sup>80</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 98, 108; ABBOTT 1939, 41-42; VAN KONINGSVELD 1977, 26; LINGS 1976, 203; WELCH 1979, 70; BAHNASSI 1995, 141; LINGS 2005, 51; BAKER 2007, 29.

<sup>81</sup> DÉROCHE 1994, 76-77: “En réduisant son argumentation à l’affirmation de la filiation entre *coufique* et écriture maghrébine, ceux qui ont suivi O. Houdas ont gauchi sa thèse en tenant insuffisamment en compte l’ambivalence du mot *coufique*”.

<sup>82</sup> ABBOTT 1939, 41-42.

chancery hand (“une écriture documentaire, utilisée par exemple par les chancelleries ou pour les actes juridiques”) derived from the scripts used in Egyptian papyri, and only secondarily influenced by Abbasid bookhands.<sup>83</sup> These conjectures are evidently destined to remain such, given the complete lack of evidence for Maghribī chancery scripts before the 6th/12th century.

There is however one feature, especially found in calligraphic Maghribī hands, which suggests that western Arabic scribes did remain faithful to certain aesthetic canons typical of earlier Quranic scripts, and that is the general lack of fixed dimensions of, and proportions between, individual letters traced by the same hand.<sup>84</sup> In other words, the size, stretch, and even shape of most homographs can vary noticeably depending on the word they appear in, or on the position of such word in the line or page: for instance, initial *kāf*, medial *tā*, or final *bā* can appear in two consecutive words according to their elongate, compact, rounded, or angular variants. The lack of interest shown by Maghribī calligraphers in the proportions and uniformity of letter forms, which was (and still is) instead a key principle of eastern cursive scripts, is usually explained as resulting from the different training received by scribes at the two poles of the medieval Islamic world.<sup>85</sup> In the words of Ibn Khaldūn:

“We are told about contemporary Cairo [*Miṣr*] that there are teachers there who are specialized in the teaching of calligraphy. They teach the pupil by norms and laws how to write each letter [*waḍʿ kull ḥarf*]. [...] The pupil’s habit thus becomes one of the most perfect kind. [...] Writing is not learned this way in al-Andalus and the Maghrib. The letters are not learned individually [*taʿallum kull ḥarf bi-infrādi-hi*] according to norms the teacher gives to the pupil. Writing is learned by imitating complete words [*innamā tutaʿallam bi-maḥākāt al-khaṭṭ fī hātihi al-kalimāt jumlatan*]. The pupil repeats [these words], and the teacher examines him, until he knows well [how to write] and until the habit [of writing] is at his fingertips. Then, he is called a good [calligrapher]”.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> DÉROCHE 1999, 243-244; *Id.* 2004, 75; see also *Id.*, ‘Écritures magrebines’, in *ART DU LIVRE ARABE* 2001, 65; GACEK 2012, 148.

<sup>84</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 100-101, 107-108; WELCH 1979, 70; GACEK 2012, 148.

<sup>85</sup> On the Eastern concept of proportioned scripts (“*khuṭūṭ al-mansūba*”) see GACEK 2012, 209. Traditionally, the invention of proportioned scripts is attributed to Ibn Muqla (d. 328/940), but as Sheila Blair correctly pointed out, there is no material or textual evidence for the codification of proportional norms in Arabic calligraphy before the Mamluk period (BLAIR 2006, 158-159).

<sup>86</sup> IBN KHALDŪN 1999, II, 744-745.

This freer and more flexible approach of Maghribī scribes to their craft, focused on the visual balance between full words rather than individual letters, is particularly visible in later Quranic calligraphy, but as we shall see, its roots can be found already in the finest Andalusī bookhands of the 4th/10th century.

One last element that cannot be omitted from our discussion of the general features of Maghribī scripts is the typically western way of distinguishing between the letters *fā*ʾ and *qāf* through a single diacritic dot placed below the former and above the latter.<sup>87</sup> This practice, attested in virtually all the manuscripts copied in the Muslim West until the 19th century, originated in the early Islamic period along with other concurrent diacritic systems. In fact, it can be observed in numerous Ḥijāzī and Kufic Qurʾāns dating from the first two centuries of the *Hijra*, most of which were arguably copied outside the Maghrib.<sup>88</sup> At the end of this initial phase, placing one dot on the *fā*ʾ and two dots on the *qāf* became the norm in the Mashriq, while western scribes adhered to a different (and apparently earlier) method.<sup>89</sup>

With the remarkable exception of the chart included in Ibn Waḥshiyya’s *Shawq al-mustahām* [fig. 1], the earliest source discussing the distinctively Maghribī way of dotting *fā*ʾ and *qāf* is the *Muḥkam fi naḥḥ al-maṣāḥif* (“The Precise on the Vocalisation of Qurʾāns”) compiled by the Andalusī scholar Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd al-Dānī (371/982-444/1053). In this treatise, the author observes that “the people of the Mashriq mark *fā*ʾ with one dot above it, and *qāf* with two above, while the people of the Maghrib mark *fā*ʾ with one dot below it, and *qāf* with one above; thus they all distinguish between the two letters”.<sup>90</sup> As one may expect from the title of his work, al-Dānī’s remarks exclusively concern the dotting of Quranic texts, which in the Maghrib were still largely copied in angular ‘Kufic’ scripts well into the 5th/11th century.<sup>91</sup> However, the manuscript material discussed in the following pages confirms that this alternative diacritic system was already employed in Maghribī cursive scripts at least a hundred

<sup>87</sup> DÉROCHE 2005, 220-221; GACEK 2012, 145.

<sup>88</sup> Other early diacritic systems employed a single dot (or stroke) above the *fā*ʾ and below the *qāf* (i.e. the exact opposite of the Maghribī system). The practice of only dotting the *fā*ʾ and leaving the *qāf* unmarked is also attested: see DÉROCHE 2005, 220-221, nn. 67-69. Also in early literary papyri *fā*ʾ and *qāf* are punctuated according to different systems, including the Maghribī one: see GROHMANN 1966, 95.

<sup>89</sup> There were, however, exceptions: a paper Qurʾān in the Bodleian Library (ms. Arab. e. 179), copied in ‘Irāq or Persia as late as the 4th/10th century in a partly curvilinear New Style, still has the *qāf* marked with a single dot below and the *fā*ʾ with one dot above. See SMALL 2015, 42-43.

<sup>90</sup> AL-DĀNĪ 1960, 37 (the translation is mine).

<sup>91</sup> For a survey of some Maghribī Kufic Qurʾāns from the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, identified thanks to their distinctive system of vocalisation, see GEORGE 2015.

years before the *Muḥkam* was written. Parallel evidence also comes from the 29 animal bones incised with the Arabic alphabet that have been unearthed at various sites in the Iberian Peninsula, and are datable to as early as the 3rd/9th century [fig. 8].<sup>92</sup>

While readers from the Arab East probably never had difficulties in identifying the shape of letters as they were written in the West (and vice versa), there is enough evidence to suggest that the two different systems of dotting the *fā*ʾ and the *qāf* did generate some confusion across the medieval Islamic world. Abū al-Hajjāj Yūsuf al-Balawī (528/1134-604/1208), a scholar from Malaga who travelled to Alexandria in order to study with the local *shaykh* and *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī, recounts in his *Kitāb Alif Bā*ʾ an autobiographical anecdote which is worth presenting here in its English translation:

“I was in Alexandria, reading to the *ḥāfiẓ* al-Silafī (may Allāh have mercy upon him) a passage of his own work, when I got to a *ḥadīth* transmitted by his masters on the authority of al-Shāfiʿī (may Allāh be pleased with them). The *ḥadīth* read: “Broad beans [*fūl*] strengthen the brain, and a bigger brain increases the intelligence”. However, the people of those lands mark the letter *fā*ʾ with one dot above it, and *qāf* with two dots also above it, and because of a distraction, I mistook the *fā*ʾ for a *qāf* and read instead: “Speech [*qawl*] strengthens the brain”. The *ḥāfiẓ* burst into laughter (he was an amiable witty person, may Allāh have mercy upon him) and declared: “Speech exhausts the brain!” or something to that effect. I replied that the word ‘speech’ was in my book, but he corrected me: “It’s broad beans!”, informing me about their way of dotting the letters. Then I asked him: “How can beans strengthen the brain? In my country we say the exact contrary!”. He laughed and replied: “I posed the very same question to my master so-and-so (I have forgotten his name). I asked him: “How can Ṭabaristān be the greatest producer of broad beans in the whole world, while its inhabitants are the most empty-headed?”. He replied: “Were it not for their beans, they would all be flying!”.<sup>93</sup>

Because diacritical marks are not simply stylistic elements, but form part of the orthography of the Arabic written language, it is not surprising to find *fā*ʾ and *qāf* dotted according to this alternative system in manuscripts from the Muslim West which were not written in Maghribī round scripts: a case in point is the famous *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣʿab* of the Qarawiyyīn Library [fig. 15a-b], a codex of Mālikī *fiqh* dated 359/970 and penned for the Umayyad caliph of Cordova al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir (r. 350/961-

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<sup>92</sup> DOMÉNECH & LÓPEZ 2008; CARMONA & MARTÍNEZ 2010.

<sup>93</sup> BINSHARĪFA 1994, 75-76 (the translation is mine).

366/976),<sup>94</sup> but also some of the surviving legal works in Ifrīqī scripts endowed to the Great Mosque of Qayrawān between the 4th/10th and the mid-5th/11th century.<sup>95</sup> The same can be said for the colophons and endowment certificates of another Tunisian manuscript from the Qayrawān library, the renowned Nurse's Qur'ān (*circa* 410/1019-20), although written in a beautiful chancery script akin to the style of coeval Fatimid Egyptian decrees.<sup>96</sup> Our list may also include a Greek-Arabic Gospel Book produced in a Sicilian or southern Italian scriptorium in 1043 AD, penned in an angular bookhand of eastern derivation, but with *fā'* and *qāf* dotted in the Maghribī way.<sup>97</sup> As for 6th/12th-century Sicily, this diacritical system seems to predominate in the Arabic documents of private nature, while among the official charters of the Norman *dīwān* – modelled on Fatimid chancery practices but penned by scribes who may have been of insular or Ifrīqī origin – some consistently use the eastern system, some do so only sporadically, and only two documents seem to feature exclusively the Maghribī dotting.<sup>98</sup>

### **Ifrīqī scripts and the Maghrib**

The importance of Qayrawān and its scholarly milieu for the early Islamic Maghrib, with special regard to the textual transmission of the fundamental works of Mālikī jurisprudence, demands a brief discussion of the Ifrīqī bookhands there employed before Maghribī cursive scripts were introduced from further West, and an evaluation of the mutual interactions between the Andalusī and the Ifrīqī scribal traditions during the 4th/10th and the first half of the 5th/11th century.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 874. See AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 538-539; SCHACHT 1965; LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1934, and *infra*, 29-30.

<sup>95</sup> It is also true that diacritic dots are only sparsely used in these manuscripts: see *infra*, 26 ff.

<sup>96</sup> For the Nurse's Qur'ān in general, see *DE CARTHAGE À KAIROUAN* 1982, 272-273; BLAIR 2006, 150. For two of its colophons and one of its endowment certificates (on display at the Musée National d'Art Islamique of Raqqāda) see ROY & POINSSOT 1950-8, I, 28-34, figs. 7-8.

<sup>97</sup> GÉHIN 1997.

<sup>98</sup> I thank my supervisor, Professor Jeremy Johns, for this useful information (see also JOHNS 2002, 276).

<sup>99</sup> It should be remembered here that no Arabic codices written in Ifrīqiya seem to have survived from between the year 448/1057 and the late 7th/13th century, due to the severe decline of Qayrawān as a centre for learning after the Hilālīan invasion and the devastation of the city in 449/1058. Thus MURÁNYI 1997, *passim*, and in particular 270: “*Ein Hörerzertifikat von Muḥarram 455/Januar 1063 auf dem Endblatt eines Fragmentes aus dem Tafsīr al-Muwaṭṭa' [...] ist das einzige Dokument, das auf eine gewisse Lehrtätigkeit nach der Hilāl-Invasion schließen läßt*”.

As already pointed out, the approximately 50 ancient works of Mālikī *fiqh* from the library of the Great Mosque of Qayrawān (now kept in the Library of the Centre d'Études de la Civilisation et des Arts Islamiques of Raqqāda), dated or datable from around the year 270/883 to the year 448/1056, were generally penned in a stark angular style derived from contemporary eastern bookhands, with little to no use of diacritics.<sup>100</sup> The same can be said for the Qayrawānī manuscripts of this type that made their way to other parts of the Islamic world, as well as to a number of European libraries and private collections.<sup>101</sup> This style is well exemplified by the work of al-Ḥārith b. Marwān [fig. 9], a copyist active between 406/1015 and 408/1018.<sup>102</sup> Ifrīqī hands such as this can surely be defined as conservative, in that they clearly show a tendency to imitate the archaic style of the oldest and most revered Mālikī manuscripts of Qayrawān, originally stored in the *maqṣūra* of the congregational Mosque of Sīdī 'Uqba.<sup>103</sup> However, while al-Ḥārith's models were confined to the local scribal tradition, there is enough evidence to suggest that the cultural contacts between Ifrīqiya and the western Maghrib during this period did generate visible changes in the scripts employed by other Qayrawānī copyists.

During the 4th/10th and the first half of the 5th/11th century, the *fuqahā'* of al-Andalus used to keep constantly up to date with the juridical practices and the new commentaries on the fundamental texts elaborated in Qayrawān; at the same time, numerous Ifrīqī jurists were teaching in the mosques of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>104</sup> Also, many Andalusī scholars used to travel to Qayrawān and spend some time there, entering the circles of local professors and personally copying their works from the originals. The presence of anthologies of *fiqh* authored by Cordovan scholars such as Ibn Ḥabīb and al-'Utbī in the Raqqāda manuscript collection is itself an indicator of the openness of the Qayrawānī school to the legal interpretations developed in the other Mālikī

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<sup>100</sup> For a historical discussion of this corpus see MURÁNYI 2015; VOGUET 2003. For some palaeographic notes on these manuscripts, which remain to date largely unstudied, see BONGIANINO 2015.

<sup>101</sup> For the Qayrawānī fragments discovered in the Great Mosque of Damascus, now in the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum in Istanbul, see SOURDEL & SOURDEL-THOMINE 1964; SOURDEL-THOMINE & SOURDEL 1965, Nos. 18 and 26. These mss. were most likely brought to Damascus by (fleeing?) Ifrīqī scholars already in the second half of the 5th/11th century.

<sup>102</sup> Among the texts copied by him, two sections of Saḥnūn's *Mukhtalifa* are in the Khalili Collection, dated 406/1015 (MSS 303, see STANLEY 1999); another one was auctioned in 2010 (SOTHEBY'S 5/10/2010, lot 15), and other manuscripts are kept in Raqqāda (see CHABBOUH 1956, 362-363; SCHACHT 1967, 235-236, 251-252).

<sup>103</sup> BONGIANINO 2015, 12-14.

<sup>104</sup> MARIN 1985, 50.

regions further West.<sup>105</sup> Evidence for the mobility of *fuqahā* and manuscripts between Ifrīqiya and al-Andalus is provided by two sections of a multi-volume copy of Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana*, also in the Raqqāda collection, which display an audition certificate dated 413/1022-3 and written in the Great Mosque of Toledo.<sup>106</sup> Even more significant is a manuscript kept in the Chester Beatty Library (item 4), containing part of the *Kitāb al-dhabb 'an madhhab Mālik* ("Apology for the school of Mālik"), copied in Qayrawān in 371/982 by a visiting Andalusī scholar – a certain Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Andalusī – and collated with the autograph of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996), the author of the work and one of the leading Ifrīqī jurists of the time.<sup>107</sup>

Given these interactions, it comes as no surprise to see the manuscript production of Qayrawān moderately influenced by Maghribī round scripts, already widespread in al-Andalus by the period in question. In the Raqqāda collection, for instance, a fragment of al-Mājishūn's *Kitāb al-ḥajj* (No. 1628), copied at the end of the 4th/10th century, shows extremely large initial 'ayn-s, which are clearly derived from contemporary Andalusī hands [fig. 10].<sup>108</sup> A coeval manuscript in the British Library, the fragment of a *Mudawwana* dated 381/991 and indisputably attributed to the Qayrawānī milieu by Miklós Murányi [fig. 11], was also copied with evident stylistic quotations of Maghribī bookhands, mainly in the round shape of final *qāf*-s, and in some isolated *dāl*-s and *dhāl*-s, with their concave downstroke recalling the letter *kāf* (*dāl kāfiyya*).<sup>109</sup> In the first half of the 5th/11th century the influence of Andalusī scripts intensified, as shown by a multi-volume copy of the *Mudawwana* endowed by the Zirid prince al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs to the Great Mosque of Qayrawān in 424/1033.<sup>110</sup> On the title page of every *juz*' the scribe (perhaps a scholar from al-Mu'izz's court, or an employee in the *khizāna amīriyya*, as suggested by Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb) wrote the *riwāya* of the text in a particularly rounded, mannered script [fig. 12], and the main text itself features exaggerated initial 'ayn-s and plunging final *qāf*-s and *nūn*-s.

<sup>105</sup> VOGUET 2003, 538.

<sup>106</sup> MURÁNYI 1997, 44-46.

<sup>107</sup> Dublin, CBL, ms. Ar 4475. See ARBERRY 1955-1966, V, 156.

<sup>108</sup> MURÁNYI 1995, 8-9 and plates.

<sup>109</sup> Ms. London, BL, Or. 9810 C; see MURÁNYI 2003, 330.

<sup>110</sup> Ms. Raqqāda, *Rutbī* 2/424; see 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB 1955, 85; AL-NAYYAL 1963, 14, No. 6; MURÁNYI 2015, figs. 1-2.

As proven by the material evidence, the ‘semi-Maghribī’ character of these scripts – a minority within the full range of Ifrīqī hands – can no longer be considered an intermediate stage in the development of Maghribī round bookhands proper, as theorised by Houdas with regard to the manuscripts he bought in Tunisia and later donated to the Library of the École Nationale de Langues Orientales (now INALCO) in Paris.<sup>111</sup> Instead, these scripts merely demonstrate that the copyists of Qayrawān were acquainted with the distinctive writing style employed by their colleagues further West, and occasionally borrowed some of its features to embellish their own work. It is therefore crucial to distinguish between ‘semi-Maghribī scripts’, an expression which I propose should be used to designate these hybrid hands, and ‘proto-Maghribī scripts’, instances of which will be discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, within the context of 4th/10th-century al-Andalus.<sup>112</sup>

If we turn now to the influence that Ifrīqī scripts played in Muslim Iberia and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, a comparable body of evidence is now beginning to emerge, suggesting that angular bookhands derived from eastern scripts were indeed used in these regions before the complete takeover of round cursive hands. Moreover, two codicological elements concerning the layout of the pages allow us to establish a direct link between Qayrawānī practices and some early Andalusī and Moroccan manuscripts.

Firstly, it was the custom for Qayrawānī copyists such as al-Ḥārith b. Marwān to arrange the title page of every part (*juzʿ*) of a given work into two parallel lines of text (one for the title, the other for the dedication) written in a monumental style, separated by one or more lines in a smaller script, containing the *riwāya* of that particular work, i.e. its line of transmission. A section from a compendium of Mālikī jurisprudence kept in the Schøyen collection (ms. 5319) offers an excellent example of this practice [fig. 13]. The already mentioned *Mudawwana* of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs also features one of these typical monumental titles [fig. 12], along with many more manuscripts in the Raqqāda collection.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> HOUDAS 1886, 93-94, pl. 2.

<sup>112</sup> The expression ‘semi-Maghribī’ seems to have first been employed in LÖFGREN & TRAINI 1975, 134. I have so far been unable to conceive a more suitable definition for those North African scripts of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century partly influenced by Andalusī round bookhands, except perhaps that of ‘pseudo-Maghribī’.

<sup>113</sup> I wish to thank prof. Mourad Rammah for letting me access his image archive of the manuscripts preserved in the Raqqāda Library.

The second feature of *fiqh* manuscripts from Qayrawān that is of interest here is the way in which the text of most pages is often divided into two paragraphs of roughly the same size by a blank line or half line, irrespective of the logical partition of the content.<sup>114</sup> These breaks in the text are found in the manuscripts copied by al-Ḥārith b. Marwān [fig. 9], in the *Kitāb al-Ḥajj* from Raqqāda [fig. 10], in the *Mudawwana* of the British Library [fig. 11], and in other Qayrawānī fragments also in the BL.<sup>115</sup>

However, a number of other manuscripts sharing the same type of scripts and page layout are not so easily attributable to Qayrawān. Instead, their provenance and marginalia (ownership marks, audition certificates, etc.) reveal a possible connection with the Maghrīb al-Aqṣā and/or al-Andalus. They are generally works of Mālikī *fiqh*, which from time to time appear on the market and are sold at auction.<sup>116</sup> An important exception is the *Kitāb Sībawayh* of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (X 56 *sup.*), a beautiful undated volume copied in a semi-Maghribī hand, but collated and annotated in Maghribī round script as early as 517/1123 [fig. 14].<sup>117</sup> While it is currently impossible to prove beyond doubt that these manuscripts were produced any further west of Ifrīqiya, others seem to provide a more decisive kind of evidence.

One of them is the already mentioned *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ‘ab* of the Qarawiyyīn Library, apparently the only book to have escaped the destruction of the library of al-Ḥakam II, which was copied in 359/970 by Ḥusayn b. Yūsuf, “servant” (*‘abd*) of the Umayyad caliph, almost certainly in Cordova [fig. 15a].<sup>118</sup> This work, penned in a composite variant of eastern Abbasid bookhands, shows that the archaic, angular *naskh* typical of coeval Qayrawānī manuscripts was indeed used also in al-Andalus, concurrently with cursive round hands, at least until the second half of the 4th/10th

<sup>114</sup> SCHACHT 1967, 225. A possible explanation for this peculiarity seems to be that the copyists were trying to make the pages look less densely written. Alternatively, these blank lines may reflect scribal or dictation practices which we are no longer able to reconstruct.

<sup>115</sup> They are Mss. London, BL, Or. 9010D and Or. 9010E; see MURÁNYI 2003, 330-331.

<sup>116</sup> See, for instance, SOTHEBY’S 28/4/1993, lot 160; SOTHEBY’S 3/5/2001, lot 25; BONHAM’S 17/10/2002, lot 9; and SOTHEBY’S 5/10/2010, lot 14 (previously in the Khalili Collection).

<sup>117</sup> LÖFGREN & TRAINI 1975, No. CCLIII, 134. Two pages of this manuscript have been published in AL-MUNAJJID 1960, pl. 17. See also BONGIANINO 2015; HUMBERT 1995, 170-186, 199-203, pl. I.

<sup>118</sup> Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 874; see *supra*, 24-25, n. 94. The colophon (f. 174a) reads: “*Wa-kataba Ḥusayn b. Yūsuf ‘abd al-Imām al-Ḥakam al-Mustansir bi-Allāh Amīr al-Mu‘minīn. Atāla Allāh baqā‘a-hu wa-adāma khalāka-hu. Fī Sha‘bān min sana tis‘a wa-khamsīn wa-thalathamī‘a*” (AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 538-539). See also SCHACHT 1962, 273-274; VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1975, 92-94.

century.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, its frontispiece presents a title written in a thick and wavy calligraphic style [fig. 15b], which bears a striking resemblance to its Ifrīqī equivalents.

Perhaps Ḥusayn b. Yūsuf was a Qayrawānī scholar employed in the caliphal library of Cordova? The use of the word *‘abd* in the colophon suggests that he was quite literally at al-Ḥakam’s service, and although impossible to rule out conclusively, the hypothesis that the *Mukhtaṣar* was not copied in al-Andalus seems rather far-fetched. What I would argue is that Ḥusayn’s work attests to the existence of a cultural network linking Ifrīqiya and al-Andalus through the circulation of Mālikī works of *fiqh* composed according to the same scribal canons. It is well-known that al-Ḥakam II gathered in his library numerous intellectuals, scribes, and binders from outside al-Andalus, and some of them – such as the Sicilian Abū al-Faḍl ‘Abbās b. ‘Amr (d. 379/989) – had been previously active in Qayrawān.<sup>120</sup> Hence, it is perfectly reasonable to believe that the Umayyad ruler commissioned a copy of such an important work as the *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ‘ab* – “*l’exposé systématique le plus ancien de la doctrine malikite*”<sup>121</sup> – written in an impeccably Qayrawānī style, although on Andalusī paper.

Another important manuscript of the Qarawiyyīn Library may hold some clues to the parallel circulation – and perhaps, production – of juridical texts written in Ifrīqī scripts in pre-Almoravid Morocco. It is an ancient copy of the *Kitāb al-nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt* (ms. 793), an expanded compilation of Saḥnūn’s *Mudawwana* authored by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996). The manuscript is divided into many sections, copied at different times.<sup>122</sup> The most ancient ones are datable to the end of the 4th/10th and the 5th/11th century, and were written in semi-Maghribī hands closely related to some of the Ifrīqī scripts just discussed. In particular, I am referring to a fragment containing the first *juz*’ of the *Kitāb al-iqrār*, with a collation certificate dated 383/993;

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<sup>119</sup> The angular script of this codex was first noticed and analysed in VAN KONINGSVELD 1977, 26-27. However, the Dutch scholar mistook this feature as a sign that cursive scripts had not yet developed in al-Andalus by that time. A similar script was used to copy eight parchment folios dated 353/964, auctioned in 2000, and belonging to an astrological treatise also attributable to Umayyad Iberia (CHRISTIE’S 10/10/2000, lot. 40).

<sup>120</sup> PUA, id. 4127; PUERTA 2007, 146-148. Also the copyist and protégé of al-Ḥakam II Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Tārīkhī al-Warrāq (d. 350/961), born in Guadalajara, had resided and studied for a long time in Qayrawān (see *Ibid.*, 149; PUA, id. 10783). Other Qayrawānī immigrants of the period were the parchment- and papermakers ‘Uthmān b. Sa‘īd al-Ṣayqal and Ibrāhīm b. Sālīm al-Warrāq al-Tūnisī (PUA, id. 102 and 6153), and the scribe and illuminator Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith al-Khushanī (PUA, id. 8774). See ‘ABD AL-WAHHĀB 1956, 41-42; AL-‘ABBĀDĪ 2005, 36-37.

<sup>121</sup> SCHACHT 1962, 274.

<sup>122</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 432-436.

a mutilated portion of the *Kitāb al-ṭahāra*, with its monumental title penned in the typically elongated and wavy style [fig. 16a]; and a fragment of the *Kitāb al-qisam*, dated Sha‘bān 472/1080 [fig. 16b].<sup>123</sup> The latter’s awkward script, in particular, clumsily imitates the *ductus* of Andalusī round bookhands, revealing at the same time the scribe’s unfamiliarity with coeval Andalusī practices.<sup>124</sup> It is very unlikely that this section of al-Qayrawānī’s treatise could have been copied in the Iberian Peninsula, where the use of fully cursive scripts had become the norm since the previous century. On the other hand, given the severe decline of Qayrawān after the destruction of the city in 449/1058, it is difficult to believe that our *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* could have been transcribed there. In fact, it would be tempting to associate this manuscript with the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, and to interpret its features as a sign that the round, harmonious traits mastered by then by all Andalusī scribes were still something of a novelty in more conservative milieux such as 5th/11th-century Fes.

A number of Ifriqī scholars are known to have fled their hometowns and sought refuge further West after the Hilalī invasions, bringing with them their scribal modes as well as physical manuscripts.<sup>125</sup> The most ancient parts of the *Kitāb al-nawādir* of the Qarawiyyīn Library, for instance, were most likely copied and collated in Qayrawān while their author was still living, before being endowed in Fes. Another possibly Qayrawānī fragment is now in the National Library of Rabat, and consists of 24 parchment folios from an unidentified work of Mālikī *fiqh*, penned in an undotted Ifriqī script in the year 384/994 [fig. 17].<sup>126</sup> Our *Kitāb al-qisam*, however, was almost certainly transcribed as a replacement for an older volume, perhaps in the Qarawiyyīn mosque itself. Another section of the *Kitāb al-nawādir* from the BNF [fig. 18], dated Rabī‘ II 472/1079, can equally be attributed to the Far Maghrib: its partly angular script

<sup>123</sup> JAOUHARI 2013, 20 (group 1, type A). It is worth remembering here that the earliest surviving manuscript in Maghribī round script to have been copied in Morocco (item 39) was produced as late as 502/1108, in Marrakesh.

<sup>124</sup> The colophon mentions the name of the scribe, a certain Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Farrāwī (?), and that of the patron, the *wazīr* and *faqīh al-‘arabī* Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī (d. 494/1100, PUA, id. 26).

<sup>125</sup> See *infra*, 121-122.

<sup>126</sup> Rabat, BNRM, ms. 2673 K. The script is extremely similar to that employed in a portion of ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Zayd’s *Mukhtaṣar al-Mudawwana*, copied in 371/981, 19 folios of which were auctioned in 2001; see BONHAM’S 2/05/2001, lot 15.

is very similar to that of the Fes fragment, and its rather late date would exclude an Andalusī or Ifrīqī context of production, for stylistic as well as historical reasons.<sup>127</sup>

In conclusion, the evidence suggests that also in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā there were copyists who continued to follow well-established Qayrawānī practices in their work, up until the 5th/11th-century. Eventually, however, these regions came to adopt new scripts and scribal conventions originated in Muslim Iberia, as a result of the massive waves of immigration from al-Andalus which took place in the Almoravid period (see chapter III). This momentous change did not mean that all Ifrīqī practices were immediately abandoned after the triumph of Maghribī round scripts on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar. In fact, the typically Qayrawānī way of dividing full-text pages with a central blank line endured in some *fiqh* manuscripts produced in al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā in the first half of the 5th/11th-century. It is the case, for instance, of a multi-volume *Mudawwana* (item 40) copied between 506/1113 and 510/1116 in Qal'at Rabāḥ (Calatrava la Vieja), a town then located on the frontier between Almoravid Iberia and the kingdom of Castille, thousands of miles away from Ifrīqiya and the city of Saḥnūn.

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<sup>127</sup> BNF, ms. arabe 6095 (BLOCHET 1925, 186). See also VAJDA 1958, pl. 51; DÉROCHE 1999, 240.

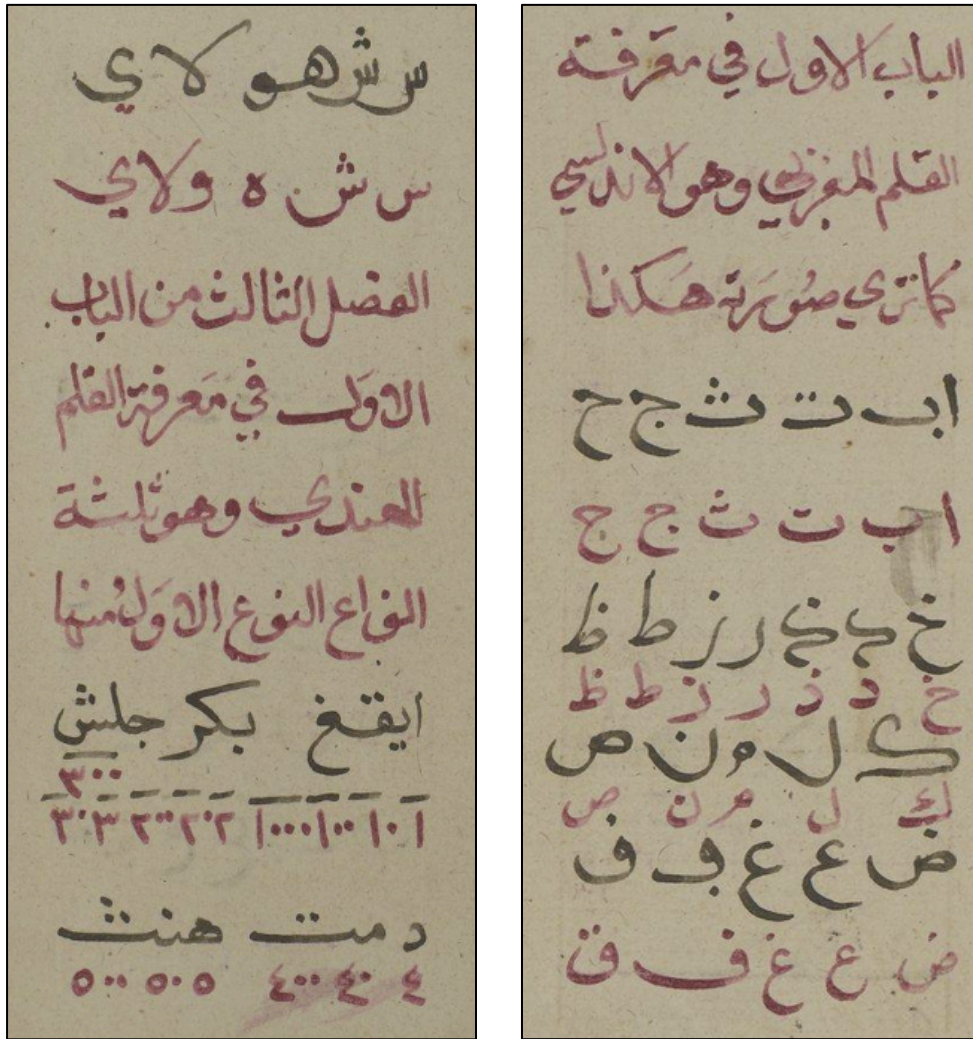


Fig. 1 – The Maghribī alphabet as illustrated in the *Kitāb shawq al-mustahām*. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 6805, ff. 5a-b.

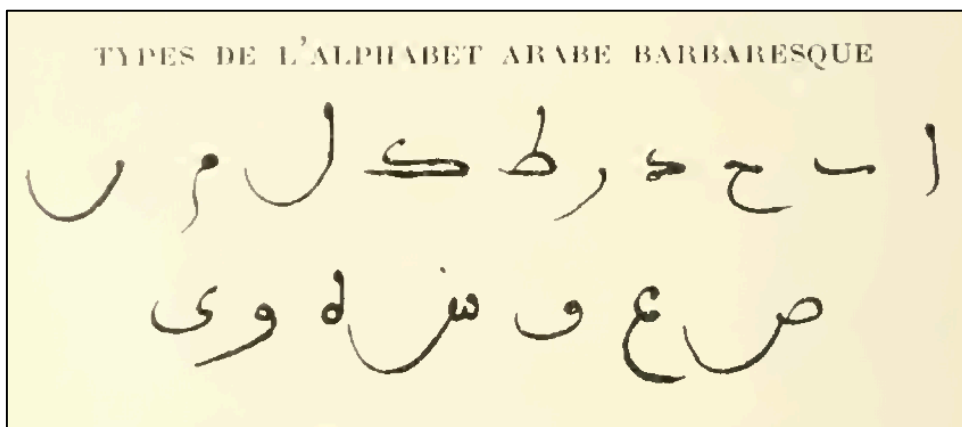


Fig. 2a – Maghribī letter forms illustrated in BRESNIER 1855, 132.

CARACTÈRES BARBARESQUES

11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1  
ه ه ه ه ه ه ه ه ه ه ه

Figs. 2b and 2c – Specimens of Maghribī scripts from BRESNIER 1855.

IV. ECRITURE BARBARESQUE ELEGANTE

سورة الزلزلة  
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
إِذَا زُلْزِلَتْ الْأَرْضُ زِلْزَالَهَا وَأَخْرَجَتْ الْأَرْضُ  
أَنْقَالَهَا، وَقَالَ الْإِنْسَانُ مَا لَهَا، يَوْمَئِذٍ تُخْرِصُ  
أَخْبَارَهَا، بِأَنَّ رَبَّهَا أَوْحَى لَهَا، يَوْمَئِذٍ  
يَصْرُرُ النَّاسُ أَنْظَارًا، لِيُرَوْا أَعْمَالَهُمْ، يَوْمَئِذٍ  
يَعْمَلُ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ، وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ  
ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ

V. ECRITURE BARBARESQUE USUELLE

امعز الله تعلو مفاع المعطع المارفع الممام (كلا نفع مومانا -  
الروكلا قلن مسيرنا حمير بانساع اعطاء الله مرخيات  
الرنيا واللاخر، ما يجب ويشا

<i>TĀ/ZĀ' (18)</i>		<i>DĀL/DHĀL</i>	
in.		fin.	
med.		sep.	
		-d-'	
fin.		-d-r	
		-d-y	
sep.		<i>ʾAYN/GHAYN</i>	
		in.	
		med.	
		fin.	
		sep.	

Fig. 3 – Palaeographic tables of modern Maghribī letter forms, from VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989.

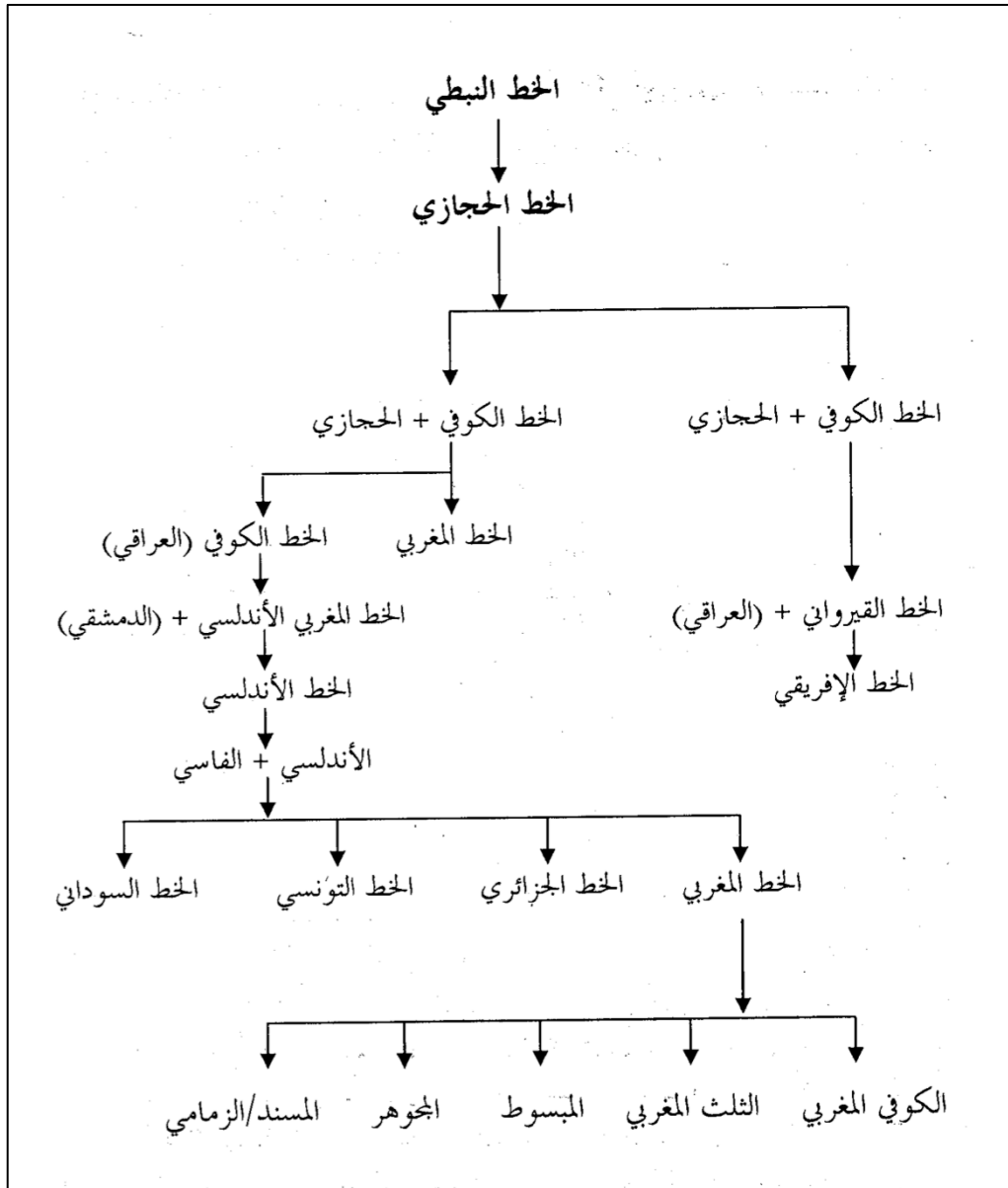


Fig. 4 – ‘Genealogical’ table of Maghribī scripts, from AFĀ 2007, 34.

نماذج من الأنواع الخمسة للخط المغربي

ثم صرت الكتب في الكوفة حتى استفاد خطي وجاد،  
وترزق أوكاد، ولا زنت ابن عمنا الشيخ مولاي أحمد  
رحمة الله. وكان لنا خط حسن، مرونق مستحسن، وكان  
يعلمني انتظام الحروف وأصنافها، ويفترق لي النسبة من  
الكتابة وتعرفها.

الخط الكوفي المغربي

ثم صرت الكتب في الكوفة حتى استفاد خطي وجاد،  
وترزق أوكاد، ولا زنت ابن عمنا الشيخ مولاي أحمد  
رحمة الله. وكان لنا خط حسن، مرونق مستحسن، وكان  
يعلمني انتظام الحروف وأصنافها، ويفترق لي النسبة من  
الكتابة وتعرفها.

الخط المبسوط

ثم صرت الكتب في الكوفة حتى استفاد خطي وجاد،  
وترزق أوكاد، ولا زنت ابن عمنا الشيخ مولاي أحمد  
رحمة الله. وكان لنا خط حسن، مرونق مستحسن، وكان  
يعلمني انتظام الحروف وأصنافها، ويفترق لي النسبة  
من الكتابة وتعرفها.."

الخط المجهول

ثم صرت الكتب في الكوفة حتى استفاد خطي وجاد،  
وترزق أوكاد، ولا زنت ابن عمنا الشيخ مولاي أحمد  
رحمة الله. وكان لنا خط حسن، مرونق مستحسن، وكان  
يعلمني انتظام الحروف وأصنافها، ويفترق لي  
النسبة من الكتابة وتعرفها.."

خط الثلث المغربي

ثم صرت الكتب في الكوفة حتى استفاد خطي وجاد،  
وترزق أوكاد، ولا زنت ابن عمنا الشيخ مولاي أحمد  
رحمة الله. وكان لنا خط حسن، مرونق مستحسن، وكان  
يعلمني انتظام الحروف وأصنافها، ويفترق لي  
النسبة من الكتابة وتعرفها.."

الخط المسند الزمامي

Fig. 5 – The ‘five styles’ of Maghribī scripts according to AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 13-14.



Figs. 6a and 6b – Traditional Maghribī reed pens, from AFĀ 2013B, 72, 74.





Fig. 7 – Traditional Mashriqī reed pens.

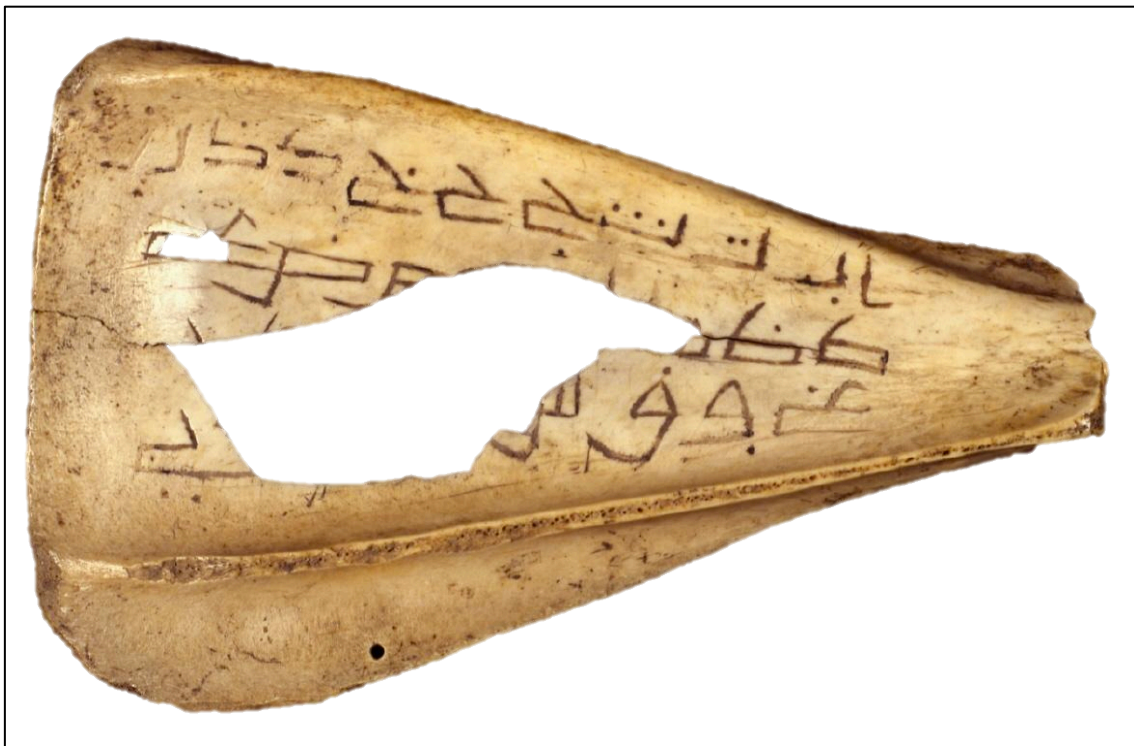


Fig. 8 – Bovine scapula with incised Arabic alphabet, 10th century, excavated near Guadalajara. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. 1950/55/1.

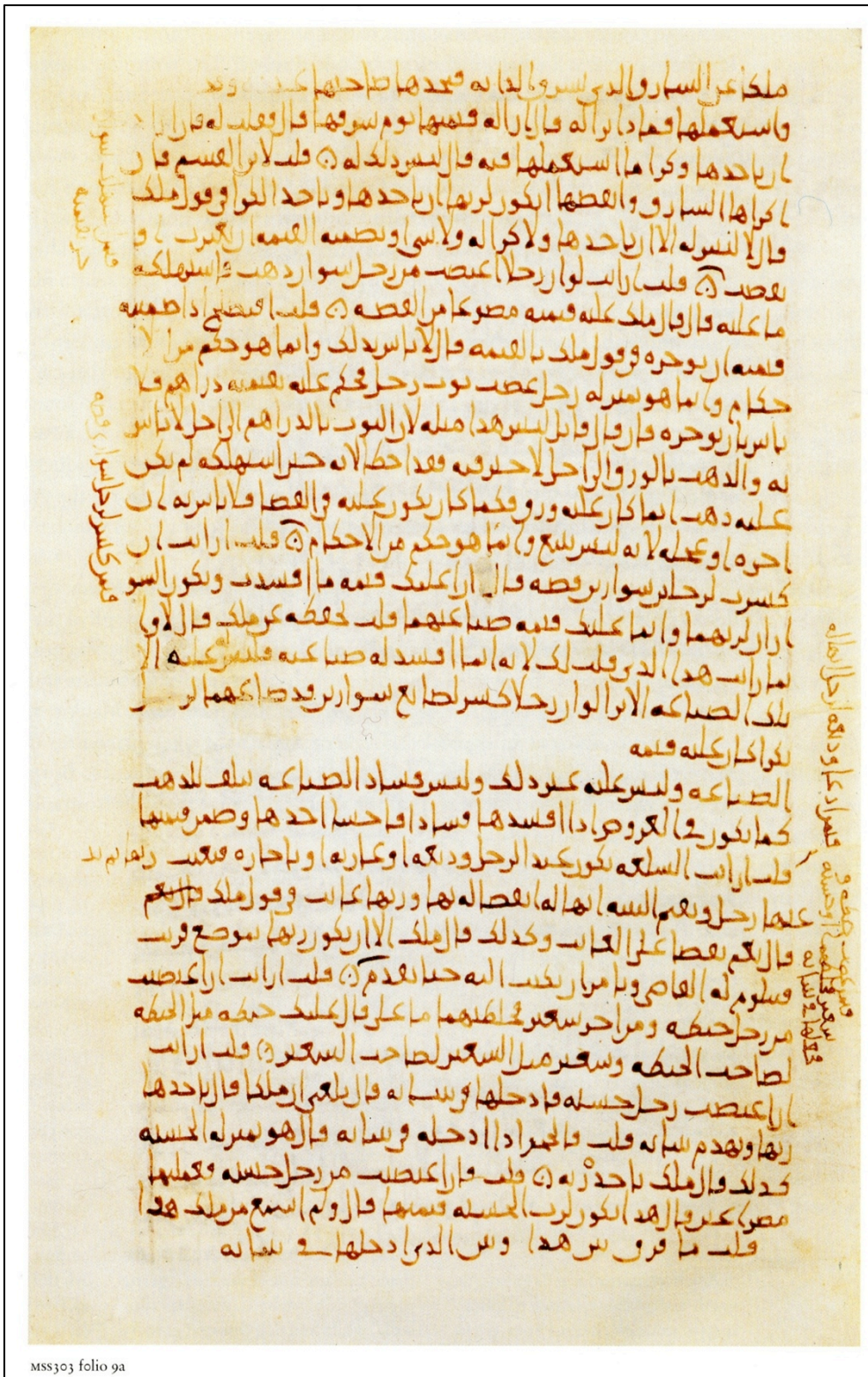


Fig. 9 – Khalili Collection, ms. 303 (from STANLEY 1999). Copy of Saḥnūn’s *Mukhtaliṭa*, written in Qayrawān in 406/1015 by Ḥārith b. Marwān. Note the typical blank line in the middle of the page.

تصوّر الله الموحّد من الأحكام

الحاج

فلا تتدبّر في كيد العبد في ما قاله الله بكل سنة من الحج الأشهر معلومات  
 ممنوع من هذا الحج وأرث ولا يسوق ولا يتدبّر الحج وما يفعلوا من حديد  
 بعلمه الله ونزوه وأما خير الأمان النبوي وانفون نواف الألباب وقال الله  
 وأذن في المسارح بالوقوف رجالاً وأوعى كل دعاء من يدعيه من الحج خمبو  
 وقال وانفوا الحج والعمرة لله فإن احصون وقال ونه كل الناس حج البيت من  
 استطاع إليه سبيلاً والإسكان كما جعلنا منكم حجاً وزياد الحج فليحذر فيه  
 كل كلام على جهة البهره وقد حج رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم  
 فلما الناس منكم وأكلهم ما أخذ لهم في حجهم وحجهم وما حرم  
 عليهم فحذر رسول الله وأمر بالتحريم ونها عن نيس الفحص والسراويلات  
 والياض والعمائم والحجاب والغائب ولا تنقب المراه ولا تلبس الثياب وما  
 سوا ذلك من لبس المساب فهو حلال للمرأة وللرجال والنساء ان يجاهدوا من  
 من الثياب ما سجدوا

وان سئد لو أمتها ما كرهوا إذا ذكر في ذلك ثم ما ثبت منه من النبي  
 أو من معاصيه المذكور في الورس ومزاد ان ليس ثبته معاصيه المذكور ان  
 النبي عليه السلام في الذهب لونه ويزوج ريشه والجب انوار الثياب التي  
 في الثياب البيضاء من غير حريم أساساً لها معاً من غير الحجاب وما  
 على طه من كيد الله نوبير من كبر المشوق فقال يا أيها الذين آمنوا  
 انظر انكم ابيح بغيره بكر الماندر في الله عز وجل لا يبرك في الثياب وما  
 كما في الأثر وهو وقت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من غير ما سجد  
 المدينة من في الحليته واهلها من حججه والخذ من ثيابهم من غير  
 وقال فيما بلغنا هذه المواقيت لا يبرك في ثيابها من غيرهم ومن كان الهدى  
 مزدور هذه المواقيت هذه المواقيت من اراد ان يبرك في ثيابها  
 معنسا فان ذلك لا يبرك او يفتنسل منه من ثياب احرامه من غير  
 اراد ما لأصيب فيه الأثني احريم واي كرهه من ثيابها ما سجد  
 في راسه رداء في حده بعد حريمه ثم يدخل في حده من ثيابها

Fig. 10 – Qayrawān, Raqqāda Library, ms. 1628 (from MURÁNYI 1985A).  
 Incipit of the *Kitāb al-hajj* by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mājishūn, copied before 389/999.  
 Note the typical blank line in the middle of the page.

موصفاً فلا يعجز هذا النخاع قلت أراب ان جميع الابد الذي روح الله من فطره او ضمن عنه  
الصدق والخور ما ضمن عنه اذا ج في قول ملا فالذا في قول جابور لان ما لم يزل له وان موصف بعد ما ج  
ما زال الصغار قد ثبت مع الله

## في الكاح صدق اول مربع دسار

قلت أراب ان روحها على عرض قيمته اول مربع حنبلو بلاته دراهم او على دراهم كمال الروايات حانها  
وساخ نهار ربع دينار رضى بدله الروح وانها في النخاع اذا لم يكن حنبلها وان حنبلها احوطها ربع دينار وليس  
هذا النخاع عند موصف النقص بل لم احرته قال لا اختلاف الناس في هذا الصدق ولا من منهم من  
قال هذا الصدق جابور ومنهم من قال لا تجوز سكونه وقد قال بعض الرواه لا يجوز قبل دخول النار ربع  
وان لم الروح ربع دينار فان ماتت بالاحول فلها صدق او مثله لان الصدق اول المربع في العفة له قلت  
اريت ان كلفها قبل البناء بها ليعملها نصف الدرهمين ام العتقة ام نصف ربع دينار قال لها نصف  
الدرهمين قلت لم فالله صدق وقد اختلف فيه وار الروح لو لم يرضى ان يبعها ربع دينار لم احره على ذلك الا  
ان يكون قد حنبلها وهو اذا كلفه فليس لها الا نصف الدرهمين لا اختلاف الناس فيه انه صدق او قال  
ولا اربح احيان يتزوجها من ربع دينار قلت اراد ان يتزوجها عتق ربع درهمين ولم يبيعها اربع  
النخاع ام غير ربع لها الرضا او قبلها او ترفعها الا اذا ما تستعمله النساء في قول ملا وكثير اربح  
قد بناها ما لا تجوز لها من الصدق وهو ينزك هذا النخاع بله صلا يبيع اذا احره قد بناها ما لا يبيع  
عقولها ام من غير ربع ما اذا ادرهم قبل ان يحنبلها افرو النخاع ولم يبيع ما زال اربحها وار اربحها ربع دينار  
هذا ان يبيع على بلاته دراهم ولا يبيع ويبيعها وان قلت اراد ان يتزوجها ولم يبيعها ولم يبيعها حتى كلفها  
ونصف مهرها اول من العتقة ان يكون لها نصف مهرها ام العتقة قال لم اسمع من قول ملا في هذا  
شيئا الا ان ملها من كل مكافه لم يبيعها ولم يبيعها رجما حتى يطمعها على النخاع ولا ينزلها من الصدق ويركها العتقة

## في صفة الصداق

قلت اداب الرجل اذا تزوج المراه ولم يسم  
لها صداقاً ثم سقى لها بعد ذلك فلان ما زال الصدق وذلك  
به الويل وكلفها قبل البناء بعد ما سقى لها الا ان التسمية لم تنزل في أصل النخاع انجورها نصف هذه  
التسمية ام تكون لها العتقة ولا تكون له من هذه التسمية شي لا يرضى له في أصل الصدق  
النخاع فالويل ملد بخورها نصف هذه التسمية اذ رضى به الا ان يرضى له في أصل الصدق  
والويل من حوز امره عليها وهو الاجرة انتمه المكرهات فان كان رضى عنها فانها رضى  
وقال الويل له الرضى والفرض اهل من صداق مثلهما قال الرضى الويل وليس لها لان امرها ليس بخور في  
نفسها قال ان الرضى ولو كان له في فرض الروح لها هو صداق مثلهما فقال قد رضى في وقال الويل  
لا اربح ان العور قولها ولم يكن لويلها منها فوز واما بدعها لان الرجل اذا نكح على نفوس  
فرض المراه صداق مثلهما لزم له المراه والويل ولم يرضى لها ولا للويل اربح ناد قلت فان قال  
لا رضى وقال الويل في رضى ما زال العور قول الويل اذا كان له صداق مثلهما قلت فان كانت  
ابها قال الرضى رضاها ولا تملك الرضى الويل مع رضاها وان كان رضى عنها ولو لا ان يرضى  
عليها لم يجز ما فرضها الروح وان رضى بعد ذلك لباريه الا ان يكون مرأسداً يعلم انه يكون مصر  
مثلهما ولا يجوز ما وصفت له اذا كلفها من النصف الاله وحدها لان الوصفه لا يجوز الا للاب

هذا النخاع عند موصف النقص بل لم احرته قال لا اختلاف الناس في هذا الصدق ولا من منهم من قال هذا الصدق جابور ومنهم من قال لا تجوز سكونه وقد قال بعض الرواه لا يجوز قبل دخول النار ربع وان لم الروح ربع دينار فان ماتت بالاحول فلها صدق او مثله لان الصدق اول المربع في العفة له قلت اريت ان كلفها قبل البناء بها ليعملها نصف الدرهمين ام العتقة ام نصف ربع دينار قال لها نصف الدرهمين قلت لم فالله صدق وقد اختلف فيه وار الروح لو لم يرضى ان يبعها ربع دينار لم احره على ذلك الا ان يكون قد حنبلها وهو اذا كلفه فليس لها الا نصف الدرهمين لا اختلاف الناس فيه انه صدق او قال ولا اربح احيان يتزوجها من ربع دينار قلت اراد ان يتزوجها عتق ربع درهمين ولم يبيعها اربع النخاع ام غير ربع لها الرضا او قبلها او ترفعها الا اذا ما تستعمله النساء في قول ملا وكثير اربح قد بناها ما لا تجوز لها من الصدق وهو ينزك هذا النخاع بله صلا يبيع اذا احره قد بناها ما لا يبيع عقولها ام من غير ربع ما اذا ادرهم قبل ان يحنبلها افرو النخاع ولم يبيع ما زال اربحها وار اربحها ربع دينار هذا ان يبيع على بلاته دراهم ولا يبيع ويبيعها وان قلت اراد ان يتزوجها ولم يبيعها ولم يبيعها حتى كلفها ونصف مهرها اول من العتقة ان يكون لها نصف مهرها ام العتقة قال لم اسمع من قول ملا في هذا شيئاً الا ان ملها من كل مكافه لم يبيعها ولم يبيعها رجما حتى يطمعها على النخاع ولا ينزلها من الصدق ويركها العتقة

Fig. 11 – London, BL, ms. Or. 9810 C, f. 7b.  
Page from the *Kitāb al-nikāh* of the *Mudawwana*, dated 381/991.



Fig. 12 – Qayrawān, Raqqāda Library, ms. *Rutbī* 2/424. Fragment from a *Mudawwana* (*Kitāb al-īlā' wa-l-li'ān*), endowed to the Great Mosque of Qayrawān by al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs in 424/1033.



Fig. 13 – Schøyen Collection, ms. 5319 (from [www.schoyencollection.com](http://www.schoyencollection.com)).  
Fragment from *Al-Nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt (Kitāb al-mukātib)*, title page.

غير انه قد العيز ومزده لا قوله في هار فوكر وانما الاصل هار  
 غير انه قد فوا الصمزه كما في فوا يا موند وكما في ابدل من العيز  
 وزعمون سوار فوما يقولون هو يوقها ولا هو خمر واهار ايضا  
 خمر واهار كما قالوا وخذل كما هو خمر وازا كما قالوا التبور  
 كما هو خمر والبا ومزده لا تزه ويدع يقولون وتزه كما قلت  
 هو و وميت ومن قال هو يوقها لانه لا يبيع لها ريفيس عليه كما  
 لا يبيع على من قال التبور وانيسيمان الا ان تسمع من العود شيئا فتوده  
 وخرى منظاره مما ليس على القياس واما بونس خمر في اربا عمرو كان  
 يقول هو يوقها ان يقول ميت وبيع في يوقها يوقها وخرى كما  
 في يوقها في اربا في ناس ليس في فوا ما في فوا القياس  
 وليس من العود انه يقول الا يوقها ومنهم من يقول انيس خمر الا نيس  
 ومزده لا رجا يبيع وادام خمر خيرا مزده وسوا مزده فله خمر  
 مزده وسوا مزده لا رده الرماه كما لا رده ما هو من نفس الخردون

**هذا باب في غير كل حرف كان فيه بدل**

فانه قد في الابدل وتزد من اصل الحرف اذ احقرته كما تقول اذا  
 كسرتة للجمع فمزده لميزان وميزان وميزان نقول مؤنث  
 ومويعيد ومويعيت وانما البدل لا تستغفروهمه الواو بعد الحسوه  
 فلما ذهب ما تستغفرونه الحرف الى اصله وكذا لا فعلوا حين كسروها  
 للجمع فابوا موازن وموازن وموازن وميزان وخوه نقول فوكل  
 كما قلت اقول وانما البدل في الواو الجاهل واما عند فان خمره عيب  
 لا هم الزموا هذا البدل في الواو الجاهل ولم يقولوا عواد كما قالوا في الواو  
 دت بمنزله حمزه فابان فان قلت فقد نقول في الواو الجاهل

على هذا المعنى  
 مثل العود  
 وهو يبيع له اربا  
 لعله  
 واه في  
 ٧١٣

Fig. 14 – Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. X 56 sup. Volume of the *Kitāb Sībawayh*; 5th/11th century, Maghreb or al-Andalus.

في نسخة  
 وخلق من قوله تعالى  
 ذلك المصدر في ما ذكره في نسخة  
 ونسب هذا نسخة  
 واما حروفه  
 فحرف ما من الزجر المروج  
 في نسخة  
 في نسخة  
 تم مختصرا ومصعب احمد بن ابي بكر  
 الزهري رواده ابو اسحق بن سعيد بن سعيد  
 بن عثمان المدني والحمد لله كثيرا  
 على عونه واحسانه وقابله وصنعه  
 وكتبه الحسن بن يوسف عبد الامام المكي  
 المستنير في سنة 359 للهجرة  
 اصاب الله بفضله واهل بيته  
 في سبعين من سنة تسع وخمسين وثلثمائة  
 وعلى الله على بنده محمد وآله  
 وسلم كثيرا  
 القائل من نسخة  
 في نسخة  
 في نسخة

Fig. 15a – Fez, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 874. *Mukhtaṣar Abī Mus‘ab*, copied in 359/970 for the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam II. Page of the colophon (after KHEMIR 1992).

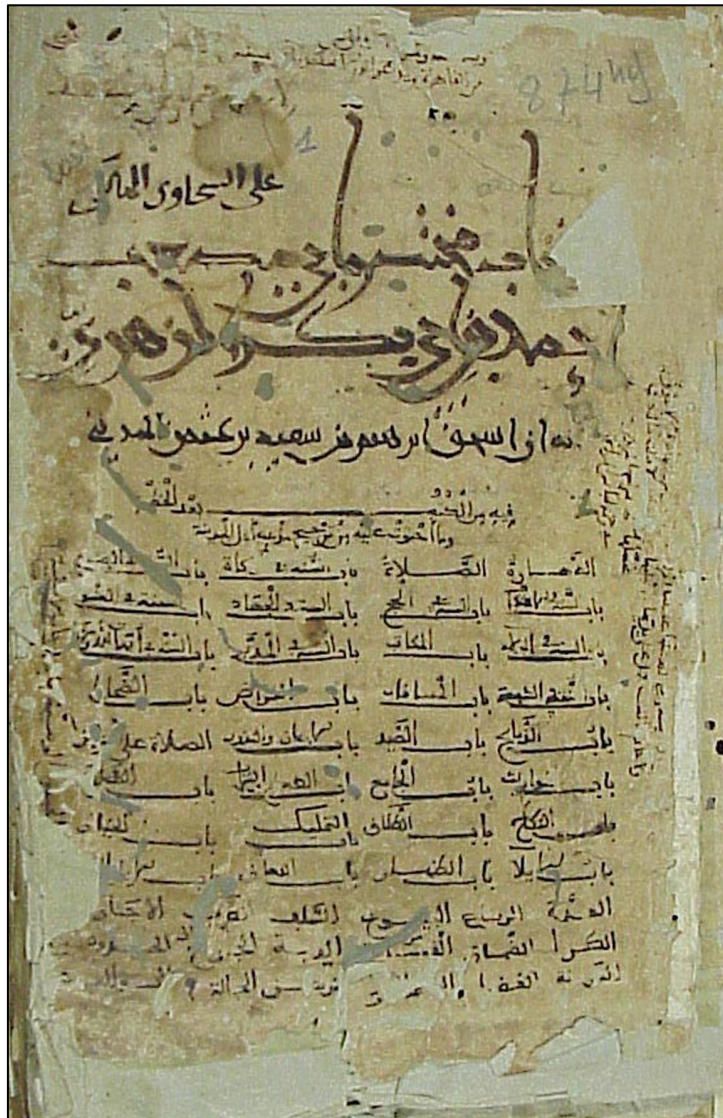


Fig. 15b – Fes, Qarawiyyin Library, ms. 874. *Mukhtaṣar Abī Mus‘ab*, copied in 359/970 for the Umayyad Caliph al-Ḥakam II. Title page.



Fig. 16a – Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 793/1.  
 Title page and incipit of the *Kitāb al-ṭahāra* from *al-Nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt*.  
 Note the typical blank line in the middle of the page.

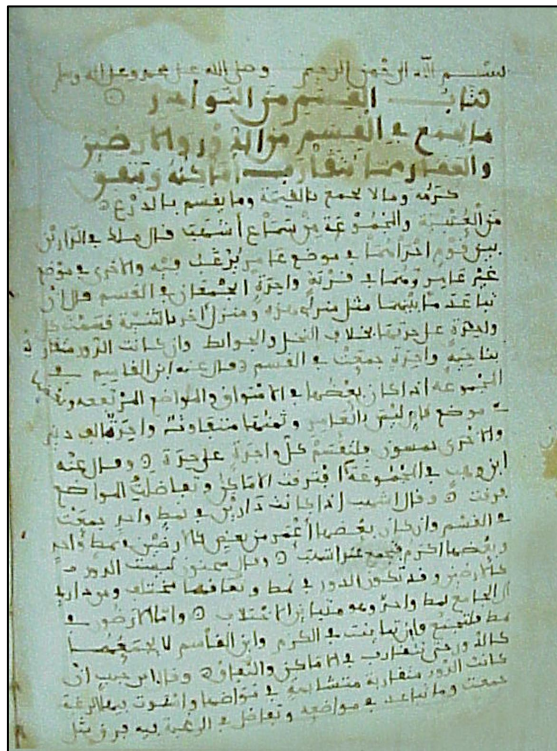


Fig. 16b – Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 793/14.  
 Incipit of the *Kitāb al-qisam*, dated Sha‘bān 472/1080.

التصور بواجبها له الآداب ثم مود وهو امر كان يلزمه الآداب فاما  
 وداعون عسبه ما لم يمه فاذا مات الصنف من المود سعت عنه فالير  
 المودون وكذا سعة المودون فمن يطلع ويعد من بعض ورثه مما يدسار  
 ويعد من خمسة دنانير مخصوصا لثمنه وسعدانه فمصر الفسح او كان المسمون  
 احسن فكتب اليه بكون الحكم فان استبرأ امرا وحاف ان يكون عمل على  
 ما لا يلقى بكونه وتكسبه ويحصل والفعل في العوض اصعد واما  
 ان يصح الامر ولم يكن الربح معروفا ولا عرفته لثمنه الا انه محدود في  
 كمال الصرافة لا يجوز السع الا ان يكون في الكفاة احوار المفسونين  
 لبعض والمعروفه في كونه وكذا انه سر حليل فمرا في الاصل  
 فهو يدار برحمة ودنير وسعد ذلك فكيف اليه هذا الافراد  
 احدته الفاس وهو يمد وحملة عندنا حمل الصدقة اذا كان  
 لدار من معروفين ان ملك الآداب يرد ولا يعرف الا بالسر ما قال وهو  
 خارج لهما فذلك خارج الاما سكر هو مردك

**جامع القول في الخبارة لما وهب لولده  
 لصغير وكف اراد حل معه كثيرا**

او احلها او خستها وكذا بما سكر مردك او اسع به  
 من كفاة بر حليل وقصا عا من وكبره فيمحل اليه الصغير حله  
 اره ان يولي له ذلك ويجوزه فلان ملك لله بوجه الفصوله والنو كبر  
 وكذا لك لم يزل عليه من يطلع او يلو فلان الما حشون فما يصدق  
 به عليه مما يفسر او سكر فيمحل اليه الآداب وسكره بعد  
 الصدقة فهو ياكل وان سكر بعضه فلا وكبر حله  
 فمحلها سكر حله وان لم يفتح ماله سكرها او صدقة

Fig. 17 – Rabat, BNRM, ms. 2673 K, f. 1v.  
 Page of an unidentified work of *fiqh* copied in 384/994, probably in Qayrawān.

الطالب فلا تحت اذ لا يهدر على دبعه ٥ وروي عن مالك في  
 الوارث ان يرفع الى السلطان ويعلمه اسمه فمعه من رده اليه  
 فيكون ومن كتاب ابن عديس حال الوارث من قبله طهار  
 من مع الرجل في المناع فذلك وحلف له فبنيه اياه الى اجل  
 فقال له التابع واذا اهلك عترة دنا يبر ملا واسر بذلك ان يعلم  
 انه يريد ان يسعين بها في الفضا ٥ ومن كتاب ابن الموار وان حلف  
 لا يصيبه حقه من طعام او سلعة او قاله وان كان في الشهر و  
 في السلعة لو استوت لم تحت قبل ذلك ان قضاء وتعدا عنه في ال  
 ملك لا يعين ٥ قال ابن القسيمي كانه اراد الامتنواض ويؤيد نقدا  
 المطلوب عند الطالب ٥ ومن كتاب ابن عديس وقال الشيخ  
 فمن عليه لسعون بن الرجل في المهور فدفع منها الى ابن اخت  
 له فصوعشون بمقدرا المعرف فحالبه وحله لدفع السبعين  
 الى ابن اختي اذا فرمت مصروفه وسر العسرين قال يدفع اليه  
 سبعين ثم اخذ منه العسرين وكذلك في كتاب ابن الموار وقال  
 ما اخذها منه ان اقرها او قامت بها بينه وقاله اللين ٥ ومن  
 كتاب ابن الموار ومن حلف لم يصيبه حقه لساحل الجسامة ولا  
 يتران وجاه بالموقف ٥ في الخالب لا يعارفة  
 الاخفة بقضاه لم يوجد فيها خاسا او ناقصة  
 او قضاء اجود عينا او من حيا نه احتياها او حلف  
 لم يصيبه كل يوم فتراها وذل لا يعارفة الا حلف له  
 فلو سوا جسد الهلوس من مجموعته  
 قال ابن القسيمي واسهب وان حلف ان لا يعارفة الاخفة  
 وقضاه ثم عارفة بوضاب بعضها خاسا او صامنا او بينه  
 النعمان او سمعت فعدت وقال اسهب الا ان يكون نون في  
 جهمك وقد اختلفت فلا تحت في الفينا وان قامت عليك منه لم يقبل  
 منك ٥ قال ابن القسيمي ومن استنوى بواعلان يدفع كل يوم فتراها  
 وحلف لم يصيبه كذلك فاجسد الهلوس وصارت فليس بليس  
 وكان العلس ولس بليس وان عطفه كما كانت فتراها فليس بليس  
 لانه على ذلك حلف ومن العقبه والمجموعه قال ابن القسيمي  
 عن ملكة عبد حلف لم يصير عترة الرجل كذا ولما خا في الخت  
 فمضت عن بولسيده ما فضا عن امر السيد واستزوج ذلك  
 السيد فلا تحت العبد بربان جال الاجل فلا كذلك لوس ومن مال  
 سيده ما قضاء قيل وان جاز ذلك السيد بعد الاجل قال مالار من

Fig. 18 – Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 6095, f. 57b.  
 A fragment of the *Al-Nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt*, dated 472/1079, probably copied in  
 Morocco (after VAJDA 1958).

## I. MAGHRIBĪ ROUND SCRIPTS IN THE 3RD/9TH AND 4TH/10TH CENTURIES

### Book culture and production in Umayyad Iberia

It has long since become commonplace for historians to acknowledge that, already in the 4th/10th century, al-Andalus had equalled and perhaps surpassed ‘Irāq as a flourishing centre of Arabic philology and written culture, a land of passionate bibliophiles and great libraries, a paramount hub for making and marketing books. As we have seen, al-Muqaddasī praises the unmatched skills of the Andalusīs in the art of *wirāqa*: the geographer’s remark seems particularly trustworthy in view of his first-hand knowledge of the binder’s craft, an activity which he exercised occasionally to raise money for his travels.<sup>1</sup> However, if one excludes this important testimony from the Muslim East, contemporary sources are generally silent on Andalusī copyists and bookmakers at such an early period, and one has to rely mostly on the work of later historiographers, only tangentially interested in these topics: Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), Ibn Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076), ‘Abd al-Wahīd al-Marrākushī (d. 647/1250), Ibn ‘Idhārī (d. after 712/1312-3), Ibn Abī Zar‘ (writing at the beginning of the 8th/14th century), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1446), and al-Maqqarī (d. 1041/1632) who based his compilation on the works of Ibn Ghālib (6th/12th century) and Ibn Sa‘īd (7th/13th century).

In the wake of Julián Ribera’s seminal article – *Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana* (1896) – a remarkable number of studies were published in the last decades, which failed to add substantial new elements to our knowledge of the “*amanuenses y artes del libro qurtubíes*” in the Umayyad period.<sup>2</sup> Centred as it is almost exclusively on the hyperbolic accounts about the library of al-Ḥakam II (r. 350/961-366/976) and its collection of more than 400,000 books, our understanding of where, how, and by whom religious and secular manuscripts were copied is still

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<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, 14, n. 55. Reference to al-Muqaddasī’s activity as a bookbinder is included in his own work (AL-MUQADDASĪ 2001, 92). See also BOSCH, CARSWELL & PETHERBRIDGE 1981, 12.

<sup>2</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A; GOZALBES 1972; IMADUDDIN 1983, 48-76; WASSERSTEIN 1990-1991; SÁNCHEZ-MOLINÍ 1999; TOUATI 2003, *passim*; VIGUERA 2005; MAZZOLI-GUINTARD 2006; GÉAL 2006; PUERTA 2007, 138-193; *Id.* 2013, 75-79. See also VIGUERA 2016, 43-44.

extremely limited for 4th/10th-century Cordova, and virtually non-existent for the other cities of al-Andalus in the same period. The little we know needs therefore to be expanded through the information contained in biographical dictionaries such as those of Ibn al-Faraḍī (*Tāʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, early 5th/11th century), Ibn Bashkuwāl (*Kitāb al-ṣīla*, dated 534/1139), Ibn al-Abbār (*al-Takmila li-Kitāb al-ṣīla*, mid-7th/13th century), and Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (*al-Dhayl wa-l-Takmila*, late 7th/13th century), through the study of practices related to the transmission of particularly widespread works (especially religious, grammatical, and lexicographic), and of course through the analysis of the extant manuscript material.

The immense palatine library of al-Ḥakam II (*al-khizāna al-ʿilmiyya*) was first and foremost an active centre for the copying and collation of written texts from all over the Islamic world and beyond, and was consequently based on the work of local and foreign scholars, scribes, and bookbinders. The original collection consisted of the books of at least three earlier libraries: that of the *amīr* Muḥammad I (r. 238/852-273/886), that of al-Ḥakam’s father and predecessor ʿAbd al-Rahmān III (*amīr* from 300/912 to 316/929 and caliph from 316/929 to 350/961), and that of al-Ḥakam’s deceased brother Muḥammad (or ʿAbd Allāh, according to other sources);<sup>3</sup> hence, it is possible that this institution also inherited the organisation of labour and the scribal practices of earlier palatine scriptoria, of which we know virtually nothing. Even before his accession to the throne, however, al-Ḥakam had gathered in his service “the most skilful experts [*al-ḥadhdhāq*] in the art of copy [*ṣināʿat al-naskh*], and the most famous specialists in vocalisation [*al-ḍabṭ*] and in the art of bookbinding [*al-ijāda fī-l-tajlīd*]”.<sup>4</sup>

In the caliphal library, under the supervision of the eunuch and chief librarian Tālid al-Khaṣī,<sup>5</sup> worked numerous Andalusīs whose excellent handwriting and bookmaking skills are recorded in biographical dictionaries. The most important among them were Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fihrī, copyist and editor of the work of the Baghdādī lexicographer Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (invited to Cordova by al-Ḥakam);<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 191-192; MAZZOLI-GUINTARD 2006, 13, n. 22.

<sup>4</sup> See AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, I, 386, quoted in PUERTA 2007, 144, n. 15.

<sup>5</sup> PUA, id. 2708.

<sup>6</sup> PUA, id. 8642. See also RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 192; PUERTA 2007, 144. Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī al-Baghdādī moved from ʿIrāq to Cordoba with his entire library in 328/939, and died there, highly honoured, in 356/967. His work was still well known and transmitted in al-Andalus more than a century after his death, as demonstrated by item 28 (for more information on the Andalusī transmission of al-Qālī’s works, consult the HATA database at [http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/hata\\_kohepocu](http://kohepocu.cchs.csic.es/hata_kohepocu)).

Muḥammad b. Ma‘mar al-Jayyānī (from Jaén), his collaborator;<sup>7</sup> the female scholar Lubnā *al-kātiba* (d. 374/984 or 394/1004), slave and secretary of the caliph, grammarian, poet, and expert calligrapher;<sup>8</sup> and Fāṭima b. Zakariyyā’, daughter of the influential *mawlā* al-Shabulārī, another prolific *kātiba* with an elegant and careful handwriting.<sup>9</sup> Other scribes seem to have worked both inside and outside the caliphal library, practicing the craft of *wirāqa* probably in their own workshops in contemporary Cordova.<sup>10</sup> In the sources, these individuals are normally labelled with the generic term *warrāqūn* (sing. *warrāq*), which could designate a copyist, a parchment or paper maker, a calligrapher, an illuminator, a bookbinder, a stationer, a bookseller, or any combination of such professions.<sup>11</sup> Among the most prominent *warrāqūn* of the end of the 4th/10th century were Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Warrāq (d. *circa* 362/972) from Estella, Yūsuf al-Ballūṭī, and Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Tārīkhī al-Warrāq, from Guadalajara.<sup>12</sup>

The partial destruction and dispersal of al-Ḥakam’s library after his death, ordered by the new caliph’s *hājib* (“chamberlain”) and *de facto* ruler Ibn Abī ‘Āmir al-Manṣūr (r. 366/976-403/1002), was essentially a political move which by no means marked the end of the employment at court of renowned copyists and bookbinders, at least until the sack of Cordova in 399/1009 and the break of the civil war (*fitna*) which led to the end of the caliphate in 421/1031.<sup>13</sup> We know that al-Manṣūr had a vast private library and a personal librarian: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (or Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān) b. Ma‘mar al-Lughawī (d. 423/1032), grammarian and historian of the Amirid dynasty, who also worked for al-Manṣūr’s son ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, but then took shelter in the Balearic islands after the fall of the Amirids.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> PUA, id. 10548. See also RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 192; PUERTA 2007, 144.

<sup>8</sup> PUA, id. 7695; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 192; ÁVILA 1989, 166, No. 59; PUERTA 2007, 200-201. Al-Ḥakam’s father ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III also had a female secretary, a skilled calligrapher named Muzna (d. 358/968, PUA id. 10878, mentioned in AL-MUNAJJID 1995, 144-145).

<sup>9</sup> PUA, id. 7453; ÁVILA 1989, 158, No. 32; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 192; PUERTA 2007, 200-201.

<sup>10</sup> On the broad meaning of the word *wirāqa* (with special regard to the Maghrib) see BOSCH, CARSWELL & PETHERBRIDGE 1981, 10-11; DÉROCHE 2003, 48-49; PUERTA 2007, 153.

<sup>11</sup> It is particularly important to note the difference between the job of the *warrāq* and that of the *kātib*, an administrative functionary involved in the drafting of official documents, certificates, and letters. For a general discussion of the terms *warrāq*, *kātib*, *nassākh*, and *khattāt*, see DÉROCHE 2002. See also ‘Warrāq’ in *EF* 2014; MAKKI SIBAI 1987, 40-42.

<sup>12</sup> PUA, id. 9026, 11943, 10783; PUERTA 2007, 148-149.

<sup>13</sup> SAFRAN 2014, 151-154; MAZZOLI-GUINTARD 2006, 18-19; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 205-206; PUERTA 2007, 150-151.

<sup>14</sup> PUA, id. 9354; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-1889, I, 119, No. 417; see also ECHEVARRÍA 2011, 16-17.

As suggested by Mariam Rosser-Owen among others, the feverish scribal activity in the caliphal scriptoria of Cordova during the 4th/10th century may have contributed to the origin of Maghribī round scripts and their diffusion throughout al-Andalus.<sup>15</sup> However, one must bear in mind that the only surviving manuscript associated with the library of al-Ḥakam II – the already mentioned *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ‘ab* of the Qarawiyyīn Library [fig. 15a-b]<sup>16</sup> – was penned not in a Maghribī round bookhand, but in an angular Ifrīqī script. This seems to substantiate the picture painted by the sources of a cosmopolitan institution characterised by a variety of stylistic influences, and not a milieu where a single, local script was ever elevated to an ‘official’ status. Apart from the already discussed Qayrawānī and Sicilian personalities there at work,<sup>17</sup> the contribution of eastern scribes and calligraphers to the growth of the caliphal library was also considerable: suffice it to mention here Zafar al-Baghdādī (d. 350/961), who “established himself in Cordova and was one of the chief copyists [*ru‘asā’ al-warrāqīn*] famous for their precise vocalisation and beautiful handwriting [*al-ma‘rūfīn bi-l-ḍabṭi wa-ḥusn al-khaṭṭ*], such as ‘Abbās b. ‘Amr al-Ṣiqillī and Yūsuf al-Ballūṭī [...], and al-Ḥakam took him in his service as a copyist [*istakhdama-hu al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh fī-l-wirāqa*]”.<sup>18</sup> In fact, while al-Ḥakam’s library certainly played a significant role for the image and ideology of the Umayyad caliphate, “its importance for cultural practices, even for those of the scholarly group, was rather restricted”.<sup>19</sup>

The appreciation by the Andalusī elites of ‘Irāqī treatises on penmanship such as the *Adab al-kuttāb* of Ibn Qutayba (213/828-276/889) and the work of calligraphers like Ibn Muqla (272/885-328/940) and Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. *circa* 413/1022) suggests a marked discrepancy between the eastern models of high culture sponsored by the Umayyad establishment and the actual practices of local copyists, who had devised a completely new and distinctive script which, as Déroche writes, represented a definitive “graphic secession” from the rest of the Islamic world.<sup>20</sup> Hence, the attention of those

<sup>15</sup> ROSSER-OWEN 2010, 22.

<sup>16</sup> See *supra*, 24-25, n. 94, and 29, n. 118.

<sup>17</sup> See *supra*, 30, n. 120.

<sup>18</sup> PUA, id. 4046; AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, III, 111, quoted in PUERTA 2007, 148.

<sup>19</sup> HIRSCHLER 2012, 127.

<sup>20</sup> DÉROCHE 2003, 67; PUERTA 2007, 152. For the ‘inferiority complex’ of the Andalusīs towards the cultural achievements of the ‘Irāqīs (and the Baghdādīs in particular) see FIERRO 2009. It seems that the interest of the Andalusīs for the calligraphic tradition of the Muslim East was never reciprocated. In his

wanting to shed some light on the origins of Maghribī round scripts should perhaps shift to the private libraries of 4th/10th-century Cordova, expressions of a less cosmopolitan culture, and to the activity of the copyists there employed.<sup>21</sup>

The largest and most famous of these private institutions was no doubt the library of the affluent scholar Ibn Fuṭays (d. 402/1012), where six scribes were employed constantly to increase their master’s collection of books, hired at a fixed salary rather than at piece rates, lest they be tempted to rush their handwriting.<sup>22</sup> A second important library was that of an earlier intellectual, Qāsim b. Sa‘dān al-Rayyī (from Rayya, i.e. Malaga, d. 347/958), which after his death was constituted *waqf* and became a semi-public institution attended by many Cordovan scholars.<sup>23</sup> Ibn al-Faraḍī also reports that Yaḥyā b. Mālik (d. 375/985), a renowned *faqīh* from Tortosa who taught in the great mosque of the capital, gradually had to sell most of his vast library to meet his living expenses.<sup>24</sup>

During the heyday of the Umayyad caliphate, even lesser personalities such as schoolteachers, female scholars, and merchants were eager book collectors.<sup>25</sup> To cater for this enormous demand of books, more than 60,000 manuscripts were being copied in Cordova every year, at least according to Ribera’s calculations;<sup>26</sup> it comes as no surprise, then, that biographical dictionaries abound with references to *warrāqūn* renowned for their calligraphic skills (“*kāna ḥasan al-khaṭṭ*” is by far the commonest expression), unfortunately without going into much detail about their scribal activities.<sup>27</sup> Penmanship was evidently a desirable and prized talent, but not worthy of more than a passing mention in the biography of a scribe or scholar. An interesting exception is

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famous *Fihrist* (completed in the year 377/988) Ibn al-Nadīm did not include any reference to the scripts and scribal practices of the Maghrib; in fact, not a single author or work from the Islamic West is mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm’s catalogue (I thank prof. Maribel Fierro for this information). The same lack of interest can be found in the *Risāla* on penmanship by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 922/1023), where the only reference to the Muslim West is the laconic mention of an “Andalusī Kufic” script (ROSENTHAL 1948, 3). This is especially puzzling since the scholarly circle attested by al-Tawḥīdī in Baghdad also included an Andalusī intellectual – Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥammūd al-Zubaydī al-Ishbīlī (PUA, id. 5087) – whom al-Tawḥīdī knew and quoted in his own work (FIERRO 2009, 89-90).

<sup>21</sup> SÁNCHEZ-MOLINÍ 1999, 89-95.

<sup>22</sup> PUA, id. 4555; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 195.

<sup>23</sup> PUA, id. 7580; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 196.

<sup>24</sup> PUA, id. 11629; IBN AL-FARADĪ 1891-1892, II, 58-59, No. 1597; quoted in RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 196-197.

<sup>25</sup> Famous are the Cordovan libraries of ‘Ā’isha bt. Aḥmad (d. 400/1009, PUA, id. 4066), and Aḥmad al-Ṭalamankī al-Muqri’ (d. 429/1038, PUA, id. 1811), who was also a prolific copyist. See VIGUERA 2016, 46; SÁNCHEZ-MOLINÍ 1999, 94-95; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 197 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>27</sup> See, for instance, PUA, id. 102, 1425, 2022, 2175, 3871, 8850, 11075, 11830.

found in al-Ḍabbī's portrayal of the poetess and gifted calligrapher Ṣafīyya bt. 'Abd Allāh al-Rayyī (d. 1027/417), which includes three verses written by her in response to another (female?) scholar who had disparaged her penmanship:

She demeaned my handwriting, and I said to her: "Desist,  
and I will show you the pearls in the stringing of my lines".  
I called upon my hand to be generous and bestow its art,  
and drew nigh my reed-pens, my parchment, and my inkwell.  
And so [my hand] penned three verses, which I arranged  
so that my calligraphy would show in them, and said to her: "Behold!"<sup>28</sup>

If one considers the eleven extant manuscripts copied in Maghribī round scripts by the end of 4th/10th century – to be discussed shortly – at least one name of an unidentified (Cordovan?) *warrāq* can be added to the total ('Ubayd Allāh b. Sa'īd, who copied item 9), as well as those of many more religious scholars and other intellectuals who also transcribed books for personal or collective use (such as the copyists of items 3, 4, 5, 8, 10). It is probably thanks to them, and not to the calligraphers of the palatine library-scriptorium, that Maghribī round scripts were codified, spread across Muslim Iberia, and soon became the sole vehicle for the written culture of al-Andalus.

With regard to the religious works of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh* which form the vast majority of the surviving Andalusī manuscripts not only from this early period, but also from the later centuries, a parallel line of enquiry can be followed to better understand their context of production, namely the study of learning practices among the '*ulamā*'. This field of research was also inaugurated by Ribera at the end of the 19th century, but since then it has only recently begun to provide data on the actual modes and places of instruction of religious scholars, where the written sources of their knowledge were copied and kept.<sup>29</sup> Given the absence of institutions comparable to eastern *madrasas* in Umayyad al-Andalus, it appears that the typical setting for teaching sessions, involving a lecturer and a group of students, consisted of reading and discussion circles held in mosques (*ḥalqa* and *majlis* are the two words most commonly used in the sources), authorised by *fatwas* that assured the faithful of the acceptability – and indeed merit –

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<sup>28</sup> PUA, id. 3991; AL-ḌABBĪ 1885, 527-528, No. 1583.

<sup>29</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928B; see also MARÍN 1987. A more thorough work has been done on the political power and social role of the '*ulamā*' of al-Andalus; see, for instance, MARÍN 1994A; SORAVIA 1994; FIERRO 2011.

of such practices.<sup>30</sup> In these contexts, semi-public collections of books were at disposal of both teachers and pupils, kept in the mosques' *khizana* (plural: *khazā'in*), a term indicating one or more cupboards or cabinets filled with the work of scholars who had copied (sometimes from dictation) and collated a religious text, and then donated a copy to the mosque where they were educated or where they taught.<sup>31</sup>

The practice of *waqf*, known in the Muslim West as *hubs*, is well attested in the Umayyad period with regard to books of religious sciences as well as Quranic manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> The *Kitāb al-wathā'iq wa-l-sijillāt* of the Cordovan scholar Ibn al-'Aṭṭār (d. 399/1009) is a handbook for notaries containing templates of different legal acts, such as marriage and sales certificates, wills, and pious endowments to religious institutions, including book donations for educational purposes.<sup>33</sup> The two categories taken into account are books of law (*dawāwīn 'ilm*), donated in favour of "trustworthy students [*thiqāt ṭalabat al-'ilm*]" so that they could borrow them in order to copy or study them, and copies of the Qur'ān (*maṣāḥif*) for those who wished to read them; in this case, a thorough description (*ṣifa*) of their binding (*jalīd*), cover (*ghilāfa*), and Kufic script (*khatt Kūfī*) was required.<sup>34</sup>

Another important aspect of Andalusī book culture is the local tradition of parchment- and papermaking, as these two activities were intrinsically associated with the craft of the *warrāqūn*. The production of fine parchment (*raqq*) to be employed as a scribal support in Umayyad Cordova is well documented by the sources: an entire quarter of the city was named *Rabaḍ al-raqqāqīn* ("district of the parchment makers"), and it was situated next to the Seville Gate or *Bāb al-'aṭṭārin* ("gate of the perfumers"), where dyes and inks were also produced and sold.<sup>35</sup> Based on the biographies of a few parchment makers from Ifrīqiya who established themselves in Cordova in the 4th/10th century, some scholars have suggested that this craft was in fact imported into al-Andalus from Qayrawān;<sup>36</sup> however, the influence of the local Christian-Visigothic tradition should not be underrated.

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<sup>30</sup> MARÍN 1996; MAKKI SIBAI 1987, 27-34; MAKDISI 1973.

<sup>31</sup> SÁNCHEZ-MOLINÍ 1999, 95-97. For a broader discussion of mosque libraries, although largely based on eastern sources, see MAKKI SIBAI 1987.

<sup>32</sup> GARCÍA SANJUÁN 2007, 73, 223-224, 298.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 187-188.

<sup>34</sup> IBN AL-'AṬṬĀR 1983, 206–207 (For a Spanish translation see *ID.* 2000, 367–368).

<sup>35</sup> AL-'ABBĀDĪ 2005, 36.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*; 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB 1956, 41-42.

At the end of the 4th/10th century al-Muqaddasī, used as he was to the paper commonly employed by then in the eastern Islamic world, remarked how “all the Qur’ānic manuscripts and the books in al-Andalus are written on parchment leaves [*kull maṣāḥifi-him wa-dafātiri-him maktūba fī ruqūq*]”.<sup>37</sup> The predilection for parchment of Andalusī and Maghribī scribes, perceived in the Muslim East as an old-fashioned oddity, was a cultural phenomenon that persisted until the 6th/12th century, and numerous scholars have tried to explain it in several different ways.<sup>38</sup> Already in the 4th/10th century, however, paper (*kāghid*) was well known in Umayyad Iberia, thanks to literary works such as Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīh’s *Al-‘Iqd al-farīd*,<sup>39</sup> and to the import of eastern paper books, from which Andalusī scholars transcribed their own copies on parchment.<sup>40</sup> By the middle of the century, substantial quantities of paper must have been available in Cordova for the lexicographer Ibn Hānī’ (d. 362/973) to give his students sufficient to copy works from his private library.<sup>41</sup> Despite the complete lack of reference to paper production in the western Arabic sources of this early period,<sup>42</sup> three paper manuscripts have survived from Umayyad Iberia – the *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ‘ab* penned for al-Ḥakam II, and two others (items 5 and 11) which will be discussed shortly – and there is no reason to believe that their support was imported from the Mashriq rather than produced locally.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, the paper employed in item 4 attests to the availability of this commodity in Qayrawān during the second half of the 4th/10th century, predating by several decades the earliest paper letters from Ifrīqiya discovered in the Cairo Geniza.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> AL-MUQADDASĪ 1950, 48-49.

<sup>38</sup> See, for instance, DÉROCHE 1995, 35 ff.; BLOOM 2001, 85; DÉROCHE 2004, 77 ff.

<sup>39</sup> See *supra*, 18, n. 64. Paper is also mentioned, along with parchment, in a poem from Ibn Ḥazm’s *Tawq al-ḥamāma*, written in the first half of the 5th/11th century: see VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1978, 94-95.

<sup>40</sup> The biography of Muḥammad b. ‘Isā b. Rifā‘a al-Khawlānī, known as Ibn al-Qallās (PUA, id. 10201, d. 337/948) mentions copies of religious works which he transcribed on parchment from the original manuscripts, written on paper in the Mashriq; see IBN AL-FARADĪ 1891-1892, I, 352-353, No. 1243. This anecdote is translated in MONÉS 1964, 75, although erroneously attributed to another scholar. I thank Dr Maria Luisa Ávila for bringing this passage to my attention.

<sup>41</sup> Thus BLOOM 2001, 87.

<sup>42</sup> VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1978, 89-91, argues that some of the water mills on the Guadalquivir (Cordova) mentioned by the 4th/10th-century chronicler al-Rāzī may have been paper mills.

<sup>43</sup> The 38 paper folios at the end of the Mozarabic Breviary and Missal of Silos (the first Christian manuscript partly copied on paper, datable to the late 10th or early 11th century) were clearly produced in Spain (possibly in Toledo), under the direct influence of Andalusī practices; see *Ibid.*; GAYOSO 1972, 85-96; VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1970, I, 4-5, 8-9.

<sup>44</sup> According to Miklós Murányi, the oldest manuscript on (locally produced?) paper in the Raqqāda Library is a copy of Ashhab b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s *Kitāb al-da‘wa wa-l-bayyināt*, bearing a reading certificate dated 273/886-7 (MURÁNYI 1998, 241, n. 1. The ms. is encased in a parchment bifolio).

## The earliest evidence of round scripts in al-Andalus

Fortunately, what the sources omit to tell us about book production and writing practices in early Umayyad Iberia can be partly reconstructed from the evidence provided by a corpus of eleven dated manuscripts (some of which unpublished) copied between the years 270/883 and 399/1008.<sup>45</sup> These are not only the most ancient Arabic manuscripts in our possession to have been produced to the west of Ifrīqiya, but also the earliest witnesses to the establishment of Maghribī round bookhands as the canonical script of al-Andalus. Among them, item 4 represents a false exception: although copied in Qayrawān, it cannot be considered indicative of Ifrīqī scribal practices, since it is the work of an Andalusī visiting scholar.

Although fragmentary, badly preserved, and in most cases extremely difficult to access, these manuscripts necessarily constitute the basis upon which any serious study of Maghribī scripts should be grounded. The dispersal of these codices, now kept in libraries and private collections in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, is indicative of their troubled history, and they can certainly be considered as fortunate survivors, of the hundreds of thousands books that were irremediably lost after the downfall of the Umayyad caliphate. A great deal of care is therefore required when trying to draw conclusions from their palaeographic and codicological analysis, as issues of survival may undermine our interpretation of the evidence, and certain features might not be as representative as one would like them to be.

What follows is a list of these eleven manuscripts, presented in chronological order:

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<sup>45</sup> Van Koningsveld and Déroche have demonstrated the unreliability of the dated colophons of two other manuscripts written in Maghribī round script. These are Ms. Dublin, CBL 3001, a paper copy of the *Mudawwana* dated 277/890, but attributable to the 8th/14th century on the basis of its palaeographic and codicological features (see VAN KONINGSVELD 1977, 29, although he erroneously proposes a 12th-century date); and Ms. Istanbul, İÜK A6753, a paper copy of the Qurʾān dated 238/853, whose format, script, and writing support betray a much later period of production (see DÉROCHE 1999, 239). One should constantly be aware of the fact that colophons may ‘lie’ about the date of production of certain manuscripts, especially when the scribe decided to reproduce *verbatim* the colophon of the original manuscript in his copy. However, it seems that this practice was not very common in the Maghrib. Moreover, the main reason for ‘cloning’ colophons was to endow the copy in question with a certificate of the antiquity and ‘soundness’ of its content; therefore, as in the two cases mentioned above, the ‘forged’ dates usually refer to the first centuries of Islam, making these rare instances easily identifiable.

1. **270/883** [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb al-siyar, part 2* ["On the laws of war"], by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fazārī [d. after 185/802]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 1968;<sup>46</sup>
2. **346/957** [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb ma'rifat al-bawl wa-aqsāmi-hi* ["On urine and its constituents"], by Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī al-Miṣrī al-Qayrawānī [d. 932]. Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Arab. 310;<sup>47</sup>
3. **364/974** [Ṣafar-Rabī' I, copied in Toledo]: *Kitāb jāmi' fī-l-ḥadīth, parts 4-10* ["Collection of traditions"], by Ma'mar b. Rāshid al-Yamanī [d. 153/771]. Ankara University, Library of the faculty of Language, History and Geography, ms. Ismail Saib Sencer No. 2164;<sup>48</sup>
4. **371/982** [Sha'bān, copied in Qayrawān]: *Kitāb al-dhabb 'an madhhab Mālik, parts 2-3* ["Apology for the school of Mālik"], by 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996). Dublin, CBL, ms. Ar 4475;<sup>49</sup>
5. **379/990** [Shawwāl]: *Kitāb al-siyar, parts 1, 3-5* ["On the laws of war"], by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fazārī [d. after 185/802]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 1968;<sup>50</sup>
6. **382/993** [Dhū al-Qa'da]: *Mukhtaṣar i'rāb al-Qur'ān, part 2* ["Compendium on the vocalisation of the Qur'ān"], by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj [d. 923]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 333 Q;<sup>51</sup>
7. **383/993** [Muḥarram]: *Kitāb tafsīr al-Qur'ān, parts 13-19* ["On the interpretation of the Qur'ān"], by Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Taymī al-Baṣrī al-Qayrawānī [d. 815]. Tunis, BNT, ms. 7447;<sup>52</sup>

<sup>46</sup> MURÁNYI 1985. See also DÉROCHE 1994, 79-80. A description of this ms. is not included in al-Fāsī's four-volume catalogue of the Qarawiyyīn manuscripts (AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989), but only in an unpublished, typed handlist compiled by former director Muḥammad al-Dabbāgh.

<sup>47</sup> LEVI DELLA VIDA 1935, 26 (the month in the colophon was here misread as Rabī' I). See also TISSERANT 1914, xxxvii, pl. 51a; LEVI DELLA VIDA 1962, 138-139; ORSATTI 1993, 294, 297; DÉROCHE 1999, 239-240; D'OTTONE 2013B, 44, pl. xxix; D'OTTONE 2016, 301, n. 25, pl. I.

<sup>48</sup> Mentioned in VIGUERA 2016, 28; SEZGIN 1955, 128.

<sup>49</sup> ARBERRY 1955-1966, V, 156.

<sup>50</sup> MURÁNYI 1985. See also DÉROCHE 1999, 240.

<sup>51</sup> Uncatalogued. See SHARĪFĪ 1982, 253-255, fig. 6; AL-MAGHRĀWĪ 2013, 44.

<sup>52</sup> HAMADA 1994, 154. See also *MAKTŪB BILYAD* 1968, 14, No. 24; CHABBOUH 1989, 16, No. 25. Another ancient (but undated) copy of this work, also in Maghribī round script, is in the Raqqāda Library (see AL-NAYYĀL 1963, 26).

8. **391/1000** [Muḥarram]: *Jāmi‘ al-bayān ‘an tā’wīl āy al-Qur’ān*, part 31 [“On the interpretation of the verses of the Qur’ān”], by Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī [d. 310/923]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 791/7;<sup>53</sup>
9. **391/1001** [Rajab]: *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭa’*, parts 18-19 [“The well-trodden path”], by Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣḥabī [d. 795/179]. Auctioned in 1995;<sup>54</sup>
10. **394/1004** [Jumāda II]: *Kitāb al-nakhl* [“On the palm tree”], by Abū Ḥātim Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Sijistānī [d. circa 255/868]. Palermo, Regional Library, ms. III. D. 10;<sup>55</sup>
11. **399/1008** [Rabī‘ I]: *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-‘ayn* [“Compendium of the book on the letter ‘ayn”], by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī al-Andalusī [d. 379/989]. Granada, Sacromonte Library, ms. árabe 2.<sup>56</sup>

Although these manuscripts were copied in different contexts, for different purposes, and by different scribes, their scripts bear a close affinity in terms of *ductus* and letter forms, all unmistakably relatable to the family of Maghribī round scripts: items 1 and 7 present a diminutive style which can be best defined as proto-Maghribī; items 3, 5, and 11 were penned in half-bookhands; items 6, 8, and 9 feature full bookhands; items 2, 4, and 10 were written in casual scripts. Despite these subdivisions, which will be examined and explained in due course, the homogeneity of the sample is remarkable, suggesting that already in the 4th/10th century a fully codified writing model had become the norm among Andalusī scribes for copying both secular and religious texts.

The full geographic extent of these shared canons in such an early period is difficult to reconstruct, as it can only be inferred from the origin of the manuscripts themselves, which is very rarely specified in Maghribī colophons before the 6th/12th century. In fact, only in items 3 and 4 did the scribes state explicitly where the books were copied, namely the city of Toledo and Qayrawān respectively. However, the origin

<sup>53</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 429-430. An undated portion of the same manuscript is kept in Riyadh, Library of the Sa‘ūd al-Bābṭayn Charitable Centre for Heritage and Culture, ms. 912 (see *QABS MIN MAKHTŪṬĀT* 2010, II, 430, No. 464).

<sup>54</sup> SOTHEBY’S 18/10/1995, lot 35. This ms. was previously kept in the Library of the King Faysal Centre, Riyadh, and appeared in the catalogue of the exhibition *UNITY OF ISLAMIC ART* 1985, 26-27, No. 10. See also DÉROCHE 1999, 240.

<sup>55</sup> LAGUMINA 1889, 394. See also CUSA 1873, 13-34, 309-369; LAGUMINA 1891; *EREDITÀ DELL’ISLAM* 1993, 180-181.

<sup>56</sup> ASÍN 1911, 255-256. See also ESPEJO & ARIAS 2005, 42-43.

of several other manuscripts in the list can be deduced from the name of the copyists and/or the dedicatees, as well as from the ownership marks, reading certificates (*ijāzāt al-tadrīs*), and audition certificates (*ijāzāt al-samāʿ*) inscribed in their margins:

1. **270/883: *Kitāb al-siyar*, part 2.** Folio 1a is inscribed with an ownership note of the *faqīh* ʿAbbās b. al-Aṣḡagh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Hamdānī (306/918-386/996), who lived and taught in Cordova his entire life.<sup>57</sup> According to Miklós Murányi, this manuscript was copied within the Cordovan scholarly circle of Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī (199/815-287/900), whose name is also included in the title page as the final transmitter of the text.<sup>58</sup>
2. **346/957: *Kitāb al-bawl*.** It is certainly an Andalusī manuscript, but its origin is unknown. An ownership note in Hebrew script (f. 1b) attests that this book was in the possession of Shimʿōn ben Moshe Mōṭōṭ, identified by Giorgio Levi della Vida with a Sephardi mathematician who lived in northern Italy in the second half of the 15th century.<sup>59</sup> However, the Hebrew script of this *ex libris* seems contemporary with the main text, and palaeographically ascribable to the 4th/10th century.<sup>60</sup>
3. **364/974: *Kitāb jāmiʿ fī-l-ḥadīth*.** It was copied in Toledo (“*bi-madīnat Ṭulayṭula*”) by Kathīr (or Kuthayr) b. Khalaf b. Saʿd al-Murādī, a scribe who remains unidentified.<sup>61</sup>
4. **371/982: *Kitāb al-dhabb ʿan madhhab Mālik*.** It was copied in Qayrawān (“*bi-madīnat al-Qayrawān*”) by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, an unidentified scholar from Muslim Iberia who signed his work with the geographical *nisba* “al-Andalusī”. The manuscript was collated with the author’s autograph.
5. **379/990: *Kitāb al-siyar*, parts 1, 3-5.** It was copied, most probably in Cordova, by ʿAbbās b. al-Aṣḡagh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Hamdānī, the same Cordovan *faqīh* who was also in possession of item 1. The manuscript also bears several audition and

<sup>57</sup> PUA, id. 4121.

<sup>58</sup> MURÁNYI 1985, *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> DELLA VIDA 1962, 138-139.

<sup>60</sup> Thus Dr Judith Olszowy-Schlanger (personal communication, June 2016).

<sup>61</sup> Instances of the *nisba* al-Murādī are known among the religious scholars of Umayyad Toledo (see MARÍN 1992, 233).

reading certificates registered during al-Hamdānī's teaching sessions, mentioning the names of his Cordovan students; the last one is dated 385/995.<sup>62</sup>

8. **391/1000: *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī***. It was copied by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hārūn (Marwān), possibly to be identified with the Cordovan scholar and expert in *tafsīr* 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hārūn (Marwān) al-Anṣārī al-Qanāzī'ī (341/952-414/1022).<sup>63</sup>
9. **391/1001: *Al-Muwatta'***. It was copied by a certain 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sa'īd al-Warrāq, a scribe who remains unidentified.
10. **394/1004: *Kitāb al-nakhl***. The copyist, Muḥammad b. Ḥakam b. Sa'īd, can be plausibly identified with the Cordovan scholar Muḥammad b. Ḥakam b. Sa'īd al-Khāl (d. 397/1006).<sup>64</sup> Ibn al-Abbār tells us that he "personally wrote many books of science [*funūn al 'ilm*], that he "was a gifted bookmaker [*anīq al-wirāqa*]" and that "people used to contend for his work, until the present day [*ilā al-yawm*]", namely until the first half of the 7th/13th century.<sup>65</sup> A later ownership note on f. 1b mentions the Cordovan poet and litterateur Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Awsī, known as Ibn al-Arkushī (507/1113-586/1190).<sup>66</sup> A Cordovan origin of this manuscript is therefore possible, if not probable.
11. **399/1008: *Mukhtaṣar al-'ayn***. This copy was made exactly 20 years after the death of the author of the *Mukhtaṣar*, the famous Cordovan grammarian al-Zubaydī, mentor of al-Ḥakam II. The original manuscript was probably an official edition of the work, written or verified by al-Zubaydī himself, referred to as "*al-nuskha al-kubrā*" in the colophon.<sup>67</sup> It is therefore likely that this manuscript too was produced in Cordova.

Despite the inevitably small size of the sample, these data allow us to appreciate the importance, if not the primacy, of the Cordovan milieu for the production of manuscripts in this early period, confirming the picture offered by literary accounts. The political and cultural capital of the Umayyad caliphate certainly played an essential role

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<sup>62</sup> MURÁNYI 1985, 76.

<sup>63</sup> PUA, id. 4574.

<sup>64</sup> PUA, id. 8845.

<sup>65</sup> IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-1889, I, 110, No. 379.

<sup>66</sup> PUA, id. 11642.

<sup>67</sup> I am more inclined to translate the expression "*al-nuskha al-kubrā*" as a synonym of *al-nuskha al-umm* or *al-nuskha al-aṣl*, i.e. "archetype", "holograph" (see GACEK 2001, 140), rather than as a reference to the *Kitāb al-'ayn* of al-Farāhīdī (d. 170/786), of which al-Zubaydī's *Mukhtaṣar* is an abridgement.

in the codification of Maghribī round scripts as well as in their transmission to provincial centres such as Toledo. In the second half of the 4th/10th century, the Toledan school of Islamic sciences was utterly dependent on the juridical practices and theological views elaborated in Cordova, to the point that most local scholars would have first studied for a few years with Cordovan teachers before returning to their home town to exercise their profession.<sup>68</sup> It is therefore tempting to see in the script employed for copying item 3 a reflection of Cordovan scribal practices, exported to the other cities of al-Andalus along with the official doctrine of the Umayyad State.

Before moving on to the palaeographic analysis of the hands in which our eleven manuscripts were penned, it seems worth spending a word on their codicological features, which are also important to understand their context of production.

1. **270/883: *Kitāb al-siyar*, part 2.** The manuscript is complete and made up of 18 parchment folios (25.5 x 17 cm), one of which (f. 3) lacks the bottom outer corner (the outer margin of the text on ff. 3a-b was modified to tally with this pre-existing flaw in the parchment). Despite its very bad state of preservation, it is still possible to reconstruct the original composition of quires, which consist of two quaternions, plus two single folios.<sup>69</sup> The arrangement of the folios follows Gregory's rule: in each page spread the two facing folios always display the same surface, hair or flesh. The written surface of each page, or textbox, measures about 22 x 14 cm, and features 30 to 36 lines per page.
2. **346/957: *Kitāb al-bawl*.** The manuscript is complete and made up of 51 small parchment folios (21.5 x 14.5 cm). Its gatherings consist of ternions, arranged according to Gregory's rule. The textboxes measure about 18 x 11 cm, and are ruled in dry point in the left and right margins. The lines of text per page range between 22 and 24.
3. **364/974: *Kitāb jāmi' fī-l-ḥadīth*.** The manuscript lacks a few folios at the beginning; the rest of it is complete and made up of 79 parchment folios (24 x 19 cm), several of which lack the bottom outer corner (here too, the margins of the text

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<sup>68</sup> MARÍN 2000, 74-75; MANZANO 2006, 377.

<sup>69</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 448.

follow the defective profile of the pages). Due to its bad state of preservation the original composition of the gatherings cannot be reconstructed; however, Gregory's rule does not seem to have been observed. The textboxes measure about 22 x 15 cm, and are ruled in dry point in the left and right margins. The lines of text per page range between 29 and 32.

4. **371/982: *Kitāb al-dhabb 'an madhhab Mālik***. The manuscript is acephalous and made up of 153 small paper folios measuring 18 x 12 cm. It is likely that the scribe used locally produced paper sheets, which would make this the earliest dated evidence for paper manufacture in Ifrīqiya. The textboxes measure about 15 x 9 cm, and are ruled in dry point in the left and right margins. The lines of text per page range between 20 and 22.
5. **379/990: *Kitāb al-siyar, parts 1, 3-5***. The manuscript is complete and made up of 59 buff paper folios (25.5 x 17 cm). Due to its bad state of preservation the original composition of the gatherings cannot be reconstructed. The lines of text per page range between 35 and 39.
6. **382/993: *I'rāb al-Qur'ān***. The manuscript is the only extant section of a multi-volume work. It is made up of 137 fine parchment folios (24 x 18.5 cm). Gatherings mainly consist of senions; Gregory's rule was not observed. The textboxes measure about 17.5 x 14 cm, and are ruled in dry point in all four margins. The lines of text per page range between 16 and 18.
7. **383/993: *Tafsīr Ibn Sallām***. The manuscript is the only extant section of a multi-volume work. It is made up of 99 small, fine parchment folios (22.5 x 16.5), arranged in gatherings of different types (including quaternions and ternions), always according to Gregory's rule. The textboxes measure about 19 x 12.5 cm, with the left and right margins ruled in dry point. It features around 32-33 lines to the page.
8. **391/1000: *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī***. The manuscript is the oldest section of a multi-volume work copied at different times. It is made up of 36 fine parchment folios (26 x 20 cm) featuring textboxes of 20 x 14 cm, and 15 lines of text per page. Its mixed gatherings (ternions and quinions) are arranged according to Gregory's rule.

9. **391/1001:** *Al-Muwattaʿ*. The manuscript is the only extant section of a multi-volume work. It is made up of 78 fine parchment folios (27.5 x 22 cm). It features 17 lines of text per page.
10. **394/1004:** *Kitāb al-nakhl*. The manuscript is complete and made up of 27 small parchment folios (19.5 x 14 cm). The gatherings consist mostly of ternions, arranged according to Gregory's rule. The textboxes are ruled in dry point in all four margins. The lines of text per page range between 11 and 18.
11. **399/1008:** *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿayn*. The manuscript lacks a few folios at the beginning; the rest of it is complete and made up of 181 small, buff paper folios (20 x 16 cm). The textboxes measure about 16 x 13 cm, but no signs of ruling could be observed. It appears to have been reassembled and rebound centuries after its production, so that the original composition of the gatherings cannot be reconstructed. Each page features 21 to 23 lines of text.

The fact that eight of these eleven manuscripts were copied on parchment confirms the commonly held view about the delayed and only gradual introduction of paper in al-Andalus and the Maghrib, from about the second half of the 4th/10th-century.<sup>70</sup> That three were not indicates that paper was known, manufactured, and employed in Umayyad Iberia for both religious (item 5) and secular manuscripts (item 11).<sup>71</sup> The paper folios of item 10 are the only ones to have been properly studied, and have revealed the use of a vegetal laid mould, a tool which was to be replaced by rigid metal-wire moulds in the 6th/12th century.<sup>72</sup> The mould used in producing the paper for this manuscript left no trace of chain lines, while the space occupied by 20 laid lines measures 35 mm; the fiber employed is flax.<sup>73</sup> The curvature of the laid lines visible in

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<sup>70</sup> BLOOM 2001, 85-89.

<sup>71</sup> See *supra*, 40. Mention must also be made of the biscuit-coloured, incredibly thin paper of the *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣʿab* penned for al-Ḥakam II in 359/970 (see *supra*, 29-30), which does not show marks of either chain or laid lines.

<sup>72</sup> Thus VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1970, 8-9; BOSCH, CARSWELL & PETHERBRIDGE 1981, 29; LOVEDAY 2001, 38. Based on his study of the paper employed in slightly later Maghribī mss., Jean-Louis Estève suggested that vegetal laid moulds were made out of split palm leafstalks (petioles), or possibly leaf midribs from the European fan palm (also known as Mediterranean dwarf palm): See ESTÈVE 2001B, 50.

<sup>73</sup> These data were gathered by Prof. Teresa Espejo Arias, whom I thank for her kind cooperation. The absence (or scarcity) of chain lines is probably due to the remarkable distance between chain wires in the mould, a feature which suggests the use of flexible laid moulds of the vegetal type (thus ZERDOUN 2011, 58).

the margins suggests that the mould was flexible, i.e. not provided with a rigid frame.<sup>74</sup> The same features are observable in the Ifrīqī paper of item 4, although here the laid lines run vertical to the page, and the folios have a buffer hue and crisper feel to them. Whereas the quality of these rather coarse papers is noticeably inferior to that used in the Middle East in the same period, the folios of most of the parchment manuscripts in our corpus were produced with great skill, obtaining excellent visual and tactile effects (especially in items 6, 7, 8 and 9, where the vellum is particularly polished and thin). Leafing through these high-quality copies of important religious texts, where the surface of each page was carefully treated and burnished so as to minimise the difference between flesh and hair sides, one is reminded of al-Muqaddasī's remarks about the unmatched talent of the Andalusīs for bookmaking.<sup>75</sup>

From the examination of the manuscripts it appears that the difference of scribal support entailed the use of two distinct recipes for black inks: to write on parchment, gallnut-based inks (sing. *hibr*) were preferred, containing tannic vegetal extracts and sometimes metallic salts such as vitriol, while carbon-based inks (sing. *midād*) mostly made from soot were employed on paper.<sup>76</sup> This was probably done not to corrode the more delicate surface of paper sheets with the acidity of gallnut-based inks, as observed by the 7th/13th-century scholar Muḥammad b. Maymūn al-Marrākushī in his treatise on inkmaking.<sup>77</sup> The difference between the two recipes is visible from the colour and density of the inks: those of items 4, 5, 11, and the *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣ'ab* of the Qarawiyyīn Library [figs. 15a-b] are pitch-black and dense, while those of the remaining items have lost their blackness and appear today brown and rather watery, due to the deterioration of their components.

As for the different gatherings employed in these eleven manuscripts, they can be interpreted as the result of al-Andalus being situated at the confluence of three distinct scribal traditions – Islamic, Christian, and Jewish – each with their own established practices. Quaternions, in particular (items 1, 7), are generally associated

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<sup>74</sup> JIMÉNEZ 2011, 88.

<sup>75</sup> See *supra*, 14.

<sup>76</sup> For this distinction see ZERDOUN 1983, 13-21 and 123 ff; DÉROCHE 2005, 111-115. Although these two terms are sometimes used interchangeably in later sources, the distinction between corrosive *hibr* and smeary *midād* is clear in the work of the Maghribī scholar Ibn al-Ḥājj al-'Abdarī (d. 737/1336): see CANOVA 2008, 228.

<sup>77</sup> CHABBOUH 1995, 69. The existence of inks suitable either for parchment or paper in al-Andalus is confirmed by al-Qalalūsī's *Kitāb tuḥaf al-khawāṣṣ fī turaf al-khawāṣṣ*, dating from the end of the 7th/13th century: see *Ibid.*, 69; AL-'ABBĀDĪ 2005, 39-40.

with the products of Latin-Visigothic scriptoria, also characterised by the observance of Gregory's rule (items 1, 2, 7, 8, 10).<sup>78</sup> The use of ternions (items 2, 7, 8, 10) likewise constitutes an Iberian idiosyncrasy, which would later become the norm in Maghribī Qurānic manuscripts; however, it is also found in Hebrew codices from 13th-century Toledo.<sup>79</sup> Other types of quires such as quinions and senions (item 6) are more in line with coeval practices in the eastern Islamic world, where Gregory's rule was never respected outside Christian milieux.<sup>80</sup> Also, the rather wide range of formats in our small corpus seems to speak of a complex and multifaceted book culture, where either single-volume or multi-volume codices of different sizes were meant to serve different purposes in different contexts. A case-by-case evaluation of the types of scripts employed in these eleven manuscripts may help us get a more precise idea of their nature and function.

### **Andalusī bookhands and casual scripts**

Because Maghribī round scripts developed within the sphere of bookhands, it is not surprising that eight out of these eleven manuscripts were copied in standardised, uniform, and polished scripts clearly identifiable as formal bookhands. Even the three items penned in casual scripts (2, 4, and 10) show the use of more formal styles in their title pages and headings, comparable with the scripts employed in the other eight.<sup>81</sup>

Because the development of Maghribī round bookhands – both *ductus* and letter forms – had already fully occurred in the 4th/10th century, the stages of this process can only partially be inferred from the scripts employed in items 1 and 7, which I would classify as proto-Maghribī due to the persistence of a few angular traits that were later abandoned. In item 1, for instance, it is quite clear that the copyist was still adhering to the 'broken' way in which certain letters were traced in Ifrīqī scripts, especially final *lām*, *nūn*, *sīn* and *shīn*, with their sharply bent descenders, and the awkwardly rendered

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<sup>78</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 448.

<sup>79</sup> DÉROCHE 1995, 35-37; see also BEIT-ARIÉ 1981, 48; ORSATTI 1993, 297-299, 325-327.

<sup>80</sup> DÉROCHE 2005, 78-80.

<sup>81</sup> In particular, item 2 shows on f. 1b a table of contents penned in an elegant bookhand by the same scribe who then switched to a more cursive casual script for copying the rest of the book.

final *jīm*, *ḥā*’, and *khā*’.<sup>82</sup> In item 7, the script is much more cursive and harmonious, but the curvilinear strokes of final *nūn*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *dād*, *qāf*, and *mīm* are somewhat restrained and do not show the roundness typical of coeval Andalusī bookhands. While the proto-Maghribī features of item 1 are certainly explicable in terms of its remarkable antiquity, item 7 seems to indicate the survival of eccentric and more conservative hands until the end of the 4th/10th century, perhaps related to secondary centres of production or intellectual contexts.

As already mentioned, the scripts of the remaining six items fall into two distinct sub-categories that I have labelled ‘full bookhands’ (items 6, 8, 9) and ‘half-bookhands’ (items 3, 5, 11). The difference between these two styles is mainly in the spacing and size of the scripts, both in absolute terms and in relation to the fineness of the nib of the *qalam*.

Full bookhands are traced commodiously, with a limited number of words per line and lines per page, allowing more space for the full rendering of their upstrokes as well as their rounded curls and tails. The writing tools employed are generally of a higher quality (i.e. with finer nibs) and particularly sensitive to the pressure applied by the hand; the result is a neater *ductus*, featuring letters with head serifs and thin, hair-like extremities. Due perhaps to the low density of the script, full Maghribī bookhands often employ elongated and more angular variants for the emphatic letters *ṣād* and *dād* (and to a lesser extent *tā*’ and *zā*’), a vestigial feature derived from earlier scripts which is never found in half-bookhands. Also, the pages of manuscripts copied in full bookhands are generally ruled more accurately and feature a consistent number of lines.

Half-bookhands, on the contrary, are diminutive and compact scripts, densely written and noticeably restrained in their ascenders and descenders (letter tails, stems, etc.). The writing tools employed are of average to poor quality (i.e. with blunt and limp nibs) producing strokes of even thickness and occasional blurs. The varying and always very high number of lines per page suggests that the scribes employing these scripts were constantly striving to minimise the expenditure of parchment (or paper).

Despite these differences, full bookhands and half-bookhands have much in common from a purely palaeographic perspective, and there does not seem to be any reason to believe that the scribes employing the latter could not also master the former,

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<sup>82</sup> My opinion, however, is that this script is much closer to fully-fledged Maghribī round scripts than to the *écritures livresques abbasides* with which Déroche compared it (DÉROCHE 1999, 237).

once given access to first-rate tools and unlimited supplies of writing material. Full bookhands appear to have been used especially in lavish, multi-volume manuscripts, probably commissioned from professional copyists who were paid for their work and provided with the necessary implements and supports. These *warrāqūn* were valued craftsmen who occupied a respected position in society, and were probably organised in guilds.<sup>83</sup> In the colophon of item 9, the scribe ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Sa‘īd added to his name the title *al-warrāq* perhaps as a sign of pride, commitment to his profession, and awareness of the status attached to it. Like items 6 and 8, this multi-volume religious text, copied on fine parchment, was arguably destined to enter an important private library or to be endowed to a prominent mosque, where it would have served as a valued reference work for the local ‘*ulamā*’. On the other hand, half-bookhands seem to have been employed by scholars mostly to transcribe texts for themselves, their students, and the members of their intellectual circles. The margins of items 3, 5, and 11 are densely inscribed with glosses, reading certificates, death records, and other personal notes, suggesting that they were probably used as textbooks over a long series of lessons, and handed down from master to pupil. When portions of these works frayed irremediably, they would have been replaced with new ones transcribed by the current owner, as it happened with item 5, which was copied to restore the missing chapters of item 1 more than a hundred years later.

Extensive use of diacritic dots, short vowel marks, case endings (*i‘rāb*), and diacritic symbols for homographs (*‘alāmāt al-ihmāl*) is already found in both full bookhands and half-bookhands in this early period, suggesting that a certain degree of grammatical accuracy was required in both. This may also be said of contemporary casual scripts, which, despite their very cursive and irregular *ductus*, were either partly (items 2 and 4) or fully (item 10) vocalised. The differences between formal Maghribī bookhands and these ordinary scripts are limited to the sketchy and variable letter forms found in the latter, as well as to their sloping writing lines and untidy page layout, mainly due to the poor ruling of the support. From the three manuscripts in our sample, two of which (items 2 and 10) deal with non-religious subjects, it can be argued that casual scripts were generally employed by learned individuals for transcribing small-

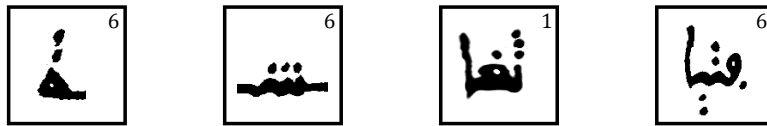
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<sup>83</sup> See *supra*, 35, nn. 10-11. It is important to stress that the majority of the secondary literature dealing with the profession and social status of *warrāqūn* is mainly concerned with the central and eastern Islamic world. A possible exception, which I have not been able to consult, is MUS‘AD 2000.

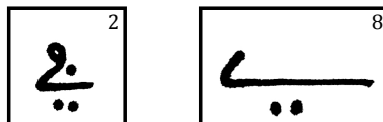
size, personal drafts of a given work.<sup>84</sup> Such drafts would then have been entrusted to a professional *warrāq* so that he could use them to copy and produce a quality edition of the text. This might explain the profusion of *iʿrāb* and diacritic marks in these otherwise mediocre booklets, especially in item 10. Most of the marginalia appearing in items 1, 3, 5, and 11 were also written in casual Maghribī scripts, as well as those found in the *Mukhtaṣar Abī Muṣʿab* [fig. 15a].

A number of distinctive palaeographic features seem to characterise these early Maghribī scripts, setting them apart from the hands that would develop in the following century. They include:

- Diacritic dots often arranged vertically in *tāʾ*, *thāʾ*, *yāʾ* and *tāʾ marbūʿa*, or horizontally in *shīn*. This feature appears in items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, although less and less frequently as one approaches the end of the 4th/10th century. The petering out of this Andalusī practice was probably due to scribal influences coming from the Mashriq.



- *Yāʾ rājiʿa* (also known as *yāʾ mardūda*, i. e. “bent backwards”) in final or isolated position. This feature appears consistently in all items and also affects the form of the common grapheme *fī*. The alternative, more elaborate way of writing final *yāʾ* (i.e. *yāʾ muḥaqqqaqa*, with its fronted, curled tail) is only found in the full bookhands of items 8 and 9.

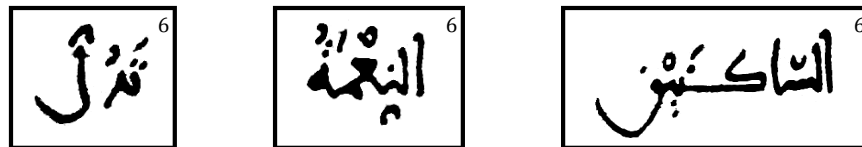


- The use of a semi-circle indicating *tashdīd*. This typically Maghribī way of marking double consonants is already mentioned by al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) in his *Muḥkam*.<sup>85</sup> He noted that the Quranic vocalisers of al-Andalus, following the practice of the Madinan

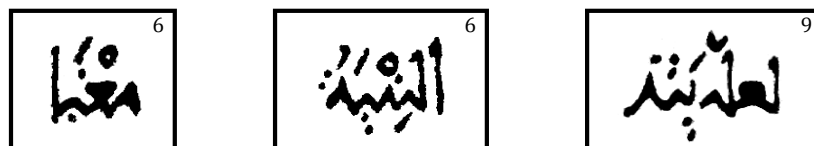
<sup>84</sup> In the title page of item 10 it is clearly stated that the book was made for (“li-”) Muḥammad b. Ḥakam b. Saʿīd, namely the very person who copied it, according to the colophon.

<sup>85</sup> See *supra*, 23.

school, employed the letter *dāl* as the sign for *shadda*, differently oriented depending on the following short vowel, as it was the final letter of the word *shadīd*.<sup>86</sup> This idiosyncrasy is found in a corpus of Kufic Qur’āns from the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries probably produced in the Maghrib, where a thin red semicircle marks *tashdīd* as well as *idghām* (namely the assimilation of the final consonant of a word to the initial one of the following).<sup>87</sup> Van Den Boogert noted that sometimes this mark tends to look like a V.<sup>88</sup> When bearing a *fatha*, the semicircle is open upwards; when bearing a *ḍamma*, it is open downwards above the letter; when bearing a *kasra*, it is open downwards below the letter. However, the use of the Mashriqī *tashdīd* (a *shīn* without dots and final descender) is also sparsely attested in items 6, 9, and 10, probably due to scribal influences coming from the East. In the 5th/11th century these influences intensified and the eastern way of marking *shadda* became equally common, if not prevalent.



- The serrated profile of the baseline ligatures between the letters *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *'ayn*, *ghayn*, *fā'*, *qāf*, *lām*, *nūn*, and *yā'*, instead of the more rounded one found in coeval *naskh* scripts from the Mashriq. This feature, perhaps derived from Latin Visigothic scripts (as discussed at the end of this chapter), is typical of full bookhands (items 6, 8, 9) and of particularly fine half-bookhands (item 11), and remained a constant trait of calligraphic and semi-calligraphic Maghribī scripts during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. At the same time, more flattened baseline ligatures would become the norm for ordinary bookhands.



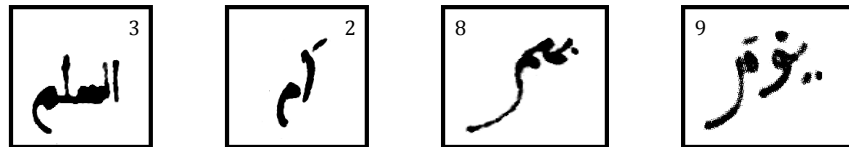
<sup>86</sup> AL-DĀNĪ 1960, 50.

<sup>87</sup> GEORGE 2015, 82 ff.

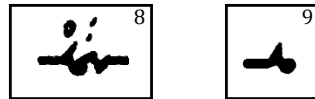
<sup>88</sup> VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 32.

Other palaeographic features normally associated with later Maghribī scripts are already attested in these eleven early manuscripts, and therefore deserve a special mention. They include:

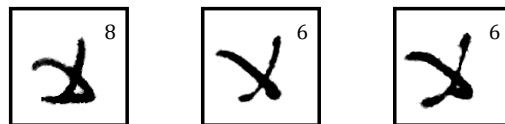
- Both variants of final *mīm*: the first with a long tail falling vertically and then curling towards the left ('concave' *mīm*, particularly accentuated in the full bookhands of items 6, 8, and 9), the second with a slightly shorter, arched tail turned backwards ('convex' *mīm*, found in items 2, 3, 5). Because of its more elaborate execution, the former soon became predominant in calligraphic and semi-calligraphic Maghribī scripts, while the latter prevailed in more cursive styles and chancery hands.



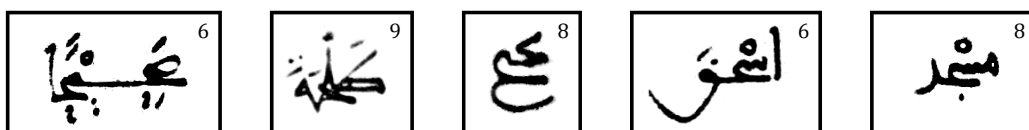
- Open initial and medial *hā'*, in the shape of a 6. It seems that the closed, round variant of this letter was only introduced in al-Andalus during the 5th/11th century, and exclusively employed as a mannered feature in particularly fine bookhands, alongside the traditional Maghribī letter shape.



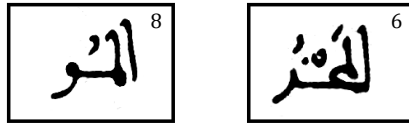
- Several complex ligatures employed as variants of the standard ones, especially in full bookhands: isolated *lām-alif* traced with two separate curved strokes, intersecting near the baseline and forming a loop in the shape of a D;



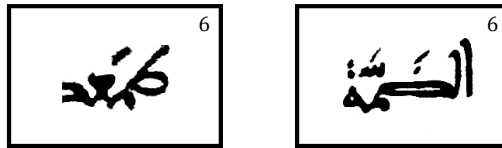
- Medial *jīm/hā'/khā'* positioned below the preceding letter;



- Initial *lām-mīm* in the shape of an *alif* forming a small loop near the baseline, to the right of the shaft;



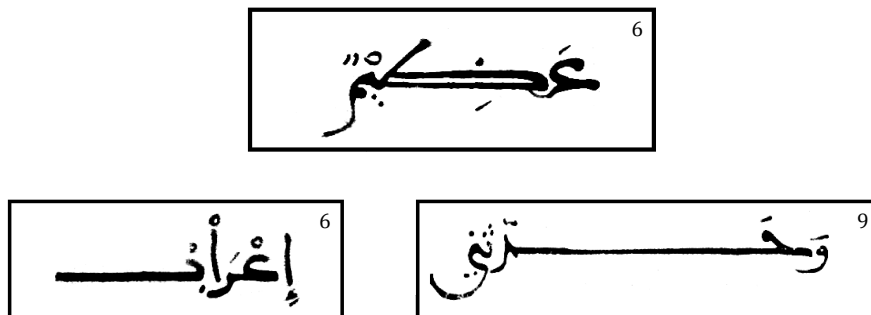
- Lowering of a word's baseline in the presence of medial *mīm*;



- Rise of a word's baseline when ending with *yā' rāji'a*, to better accommodate its tail.

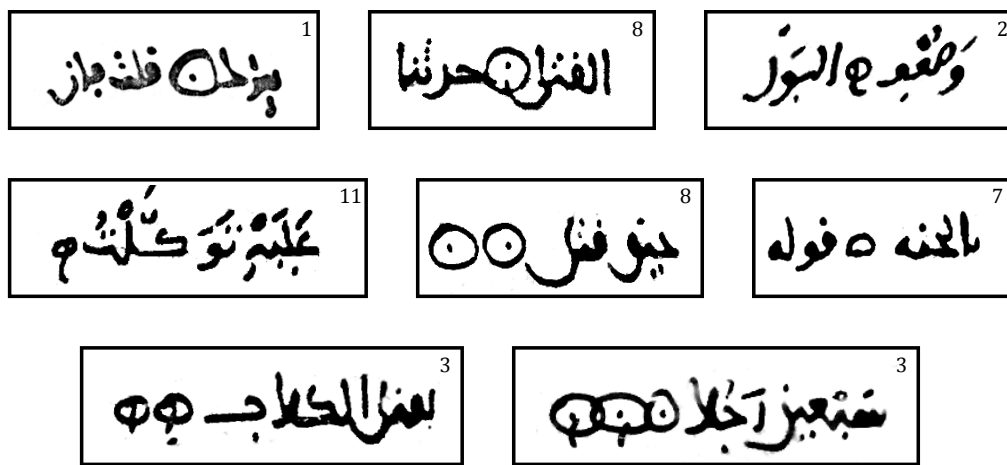


- The use of *madd* (also known as *mashq*, meaning “elongation”, “stretching”) in full bookhands. It can be observed in the alternative angular letter forms of *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā'* and *zā'*, in initial and medial *kāf*, as well as in the simple extension of the baseline between different letters.



- The use of a relatively consistent system of punctuation (*fawāṣil*) for the separation of paragraphs and chapters, involving a circle (*dāra*) with a central dot at the end of every thematic unit (usually clusters of correlated sentences which, in most religious

literature, are introduced by verbs such as [*akhbara*]-*nā*, *ḥaddatha-nī*, *qāla*, *qīla*, etc.).<sup>89</sup> This can be observed in all eleven manuscripts except items 2 and 11; in item 7, circles do not include a central dot, while in items 9 and 10 blank spaces are sometimes used for the same purpose. Occasionally, a round *hā'* with a downward spur (an abbreviation for *intahā*, meaning “finished”) indicates the end of a major section of the text (see items 3 and 9, whilst in items 2 and 11 this is the only punctuation mark). Multiple *hā'* (item 3) and multiple circles with central dots (items 3, 5, 8) are also found at the end of major sections of the text.



- The use of a bright red ink in item 11, both for the titles of the different paragraphs and the colophon.<sup>90</sup>

KEY TO THE CHART IN THE FOLLOWING PAGE	
IN: INITIAL	<input type="checkbox"/> PROTO-MAGHRIBI
M: MEDIAL	<input type="checkbox"/> CASUAL SCRIPTS
F: FINAL	<input type="checkbox"/> HALF BOOKHANDS
IS: ISOLATED	<input type="checkbox"/> FULL BOOKHANDS

<sup>89</sup> For a thorough discussion of *fawāšil* see JAOUHARI 2009.

<sup>90</sup> A scientific study of the colourants employed in the Arabic manuscripts of the Sacromonte Abbey of Granada was carried out by a team of specialists in 2007. Unfortunately, the red and black inks of item 11 (ms. 2) could not be sampled, since at that time the manuscript was undergoing restoration in Madrid. However, it is likely that cinnabar vermilion (HgS) was used for the red ink, rather than red lead (Pb<sub>3</sub>O<sub>4</sub>), as suggested by its orange hue. See ESPEJO *et alii* 2008, 84, 90.

SYNOPTIC TABLE OF THE SCRIPTS EMPLOYED IN ITEMS 1-11											
PALAEOGRAPHIC INDICATORS	ITEMS										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>Alif</i> with spur (F)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Concave <i>bā'</i> , <i>tā'</i> , <i>thā'</i> and <i>fā'</i> (F-IS)	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√		√
Open <i>bā'</i> , <i>tā'</i> , <i>thā'</i> and <i>fā'</i> (F-IS)		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl kāfiyya</i> (IS)						√		√	√		√
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl kāfiyya</i> with spur (IS)									√		
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl</i> with pronounced descender (F)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Sīn</i> , <i>shīn</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>dād</i> , <i>qāf</i> and <i>nūn</i> with semi-circular tail (F-IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√
<i>Sīn</i> , <i>shīn</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>dād</i> , <i>qāf</i> and <i>nūn</i> with broken tail (F-IS)	√										
<i>Ḍād</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with oval body	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Ḍād</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with angular body	√					√		√	√		√
<i>Ṭā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with diagonal stem	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>ʿAyn</i> and <i>ghayn</i> with oversized curl (IN-IS)	√	√	√		√	√		√	√	√	
<i>Fā'</i> with one dot below	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Fā'</i> with one dot above											
<i>Qāf</i> with one dot above	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Qāf</i> with two dots above											
<i>Kāf</i> with vertical descender (F-IS)	√		√		√	√		√	√		√
<i>Kāf</i> with vertical descender and spur (F-IS)									√		
<i>Kāf</i> as semicircle with top stroke (IN-M)			√	√		√					
<i>Kāf</i> as semicircle without top stroke (IN-M)		√	√	√							
<i>Mīm</i> with long concave tail (F-IS)	√		√		√	√		√	√		
<i>Mīm</i> with short concave tail (F-IS)	√	√	√	√			√			√	√
<i>Mīm</i> with convex tail turned backwards (F-IS)		√	√		√						
<i>Yā' rāji'a</i> (F-IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Yā' muḥaqqāqa</i> (F-IS)			√						√		
<i>Tā' marbūṭa</i> drawn as a 6 (IS)		√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Tā' marbūṭa</i> drawn as an inverted 6 (IS)											
<i>Madd</i> (elongation)	√	√				√		√	√		
Western <i>tashdīd</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Eastern <i>tashdīd</i>						√			√	√	
Stacked dots (aligned in the case of <i>shīn</i> )	√	√		√	√	√	√	√		√	√
<i>Lām-alif</i> in two strokes		√	√		√	√	√	√	√		√
<i>Lām-alif</i> in one stroke	√	√		√	√	√			√	√	

## The Mozarab connection

The number of extant Latin manuscripts copied in al-Andalus in this early period is significantly higher than that of the Arabic ones, thus allowing a much deeper insight into the book culture and scribal practices of the so-called Mozarabs. Umayyad Cordova, the *urbs regia*, had soon replaced Toledo as the cultural and spiritual capital of the Christian communities living under Muslim rule, exerting a virtual monopoly on their copious written production during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.<sup>91</sup> Although the output of Christian literary works seems to have declined rapidly in al-Andalus during the second half of the 3rd/9th century, high-quality parchment codices – mainly liturgical, and sometimes illustrated – were still produced in the caliphal period, not only in Cordova and in the scriptoria of the surrounding area, but also in other centres such as Seville and Toledo.<sup>92</sup>

As we shall see in the following pages, there also survives a significant amount of material evidence indicating that the Mozarab scribes of this period employed – and indeed mastered – the very same Arabic bookhands adopted by their Muslim counterparts, namely Maghribī round scripts. This is hardly surprising, given how much Christian sources insist (often with polemic intent) on the high degree of Arabisation attained by the native population soon after the conquest. A case in point is the tirade of the Cordovan theologian Paulus Alvarus (*circa* 800/184-861/247) against the local Christian intellectuals, who “eagerly read and study only Arabic books, spare no expense to fill their libraries with them, and keep proclaiming how beautiful and worthy that literature is”.<sup>93</sup> Among the works written in Arabic by members of the Mozarab cultural elites is worth mentioning the so-called *Calendar of Cordova* (*Kitāb tafṣīl al-zamān wa-maṣāliḥ al-abdān*), authored and dedicated to al-Ḥakam II by bishop Recemundus (Rabī‘ b. Zayd al-Uṣqūf al-Qurṭubī), an influential member of the caliphal court who also acted as ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I.<sup>94</sup> The *Calendar* is a hybrid text, based on the almanac written by ‘Arīb b. Sa‘d al-Kātib (d. 370/980) – the *Kitāb al-anwā’* – to which Recemundus added a compilation of Christian festivities,

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<sup>91</sup> AILLET 2010, 70.

<sup>92</sup> There even survives a book inventory, dated 882 AD, from the library of the monastery of Saint Zoilus (40 km to the north of Cordova), included in the so-called *Codex Ovetensis* (RBE, ms. R.II.18) – see DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1983.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted in RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 201; see also AILLET 2010, 153-154.

<sup>94</sup> *CALENDRIER DE CORDOUE* 1961, VII-XVI.

agricultural cycles, artisanal practices, and administrative procedures. Mention is also made of the work of parchment makers, “carried out [from May] until the end of July with the skins of fawns and gazelles [*tu ‘milu ruqūq al-akhshāf wa-l-ghazlān ilā ākhir shahr Yulīh*]”.<sup>95</sup> This and other long-established traditions of the Mozarab craftsmen were listed in the *Calendar* and ‘offered’ to the caliph, a symbolic act paralleled by the transfer of knowledge and practices that seems to have occurred between Christian and Muslim bookbinders and scribes.

From the Visigothic tradition, the Muslim *warrāqūn* of al-Andalus borrowed the preference for parchment over paper for luxury manuscripts (until the second half of the 6th/12th century), the so-called rule of Gregory (followed in items 1, 2, 7, 8, 10), and the use of quaternions (items 1 and 6) along with other types of quires.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, a number of practices typical of the Islamic were picked up by Mozarab copyists, who gradually began to employ dated colophons in their manuscripts, and to break the Latin *scriptio continua* with spaces between the words similar to those found in Arabic scripts.<sup>97</sup> In 1929 Luigi Schiaparelli went so far as to hypothesise the direct influence of Arabic scripts on certain traits of Visigothic scripts (mostly letter forms and ligatures, but also the use of dots instead of dashes for abbreviations), but his interesting observations<sup>98</sup> were not pursued by later scholarship.<sup>98</sup>

In contrast, the key issue to be addressed here concerns the possibility that Latin Visigothic scripts played a role in the development of Maghribī round scripts, or better, that those Mozarab scribes who mastered both of them transferred some of the traits of Latin scripts to Arabic ones, contributing to the establishment of a style which would have soon become standard in Christian and Islamic manuscripts alike. The idea of a ‘Latin substrate’ in Andalusī Arabic scripts is present in modern Arabic scholarship, although not supported by literary or material evidence.<sup>99</sup> However, a small corpus of

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 90. As argued by Déroche, the term ‘gazelle skin’ must be generally understood as a metaphor for good quality parchment, and should not be taken literally. Sheep, goat, and calf skins were in fact the raw material mainly used by Muslim and Mozarab parchment makers alike; see DÉROCHE 1995, 19-20.

<sup>96</sup> Elena Rodríguez Díaz also mentions the folding system and the numeration of quires as two other practices borrowed from the Christian bookmakers, although they can only be observed in later Islamic manuscripts from al-Andalus; see RODRÍGUEZ 2011, 86.

<sup>97</sup> D’OTTONE 2013A, 14.

<sup>98</sup> SCHIAPARELLI 1929, quoted in D’OTTONE 2013A, 15. Elena Rodríguez Díaz has a completely different view on the matter: “*La escritura visigótica no parece acusar tampoco ninguna influencia árabe [...]. Los cristianos del sur o escriben en visigótica, o escriben en caracteres árabes, pero no parece existir una contaminación recíproca de los respectivos hábitos gráficos*”; see RODRÍGUEZ 2011, 88.

<sup>99</sup> See, for instance, WAWRAQIYYA 2009, 59; AL-TŪNJĪ 1986, 156-157; HĀRŪN 1989, 27.

Arabic texts penned by bilingual Mozarab scribes during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries has recently attracted some attention for its documentary value, and deserves to be further discussed from a palaeographic perspective in order to shed some light on this delicate issue.

The most important of these documents is probably the so-called ‘Sigüenza *bifolium*’, a miraculously preserved fragment of a bilingual Bible containing two sections of Saint Paul’s *Epistle to the Galatians* – re-employed as an end sheet to a later Latin codex – that belonged once to the Library of the Sigüenza Cathedral, and is now kept in the Vatican Library [fig. 19].<sup>100</sup> The original manuscript from which this parchment *bifolium* was extracted functioned like a standard Latin book to be read from left to right, with two columns of text on each page, the Latin on the left hand side and the Arabic on the right. The accurate layout and the matching ink of the two columns leave no doubt that the Latin and the Arabic scripts are contemporary; in fact, the Arabic version was probably copied first, immediately followed by the Latin.<sup>101</sup>

The Sigüenza *bifolium* is undated, but since its discovery in 1910 there has been a consensus among Latin palaeographers that its Visigothic script resembles those employed in the late 3rd/9th or early 4th/10th century, and must therefore date from around the year 900 AD.<sup>102</sup> Only very recently has Cyrille Aillet argued that its particularly advanced system of abbreviations may actually point to a later date.<sup>103</sup> Be that as it may, the Arabic script featured in the Sigüenza *bifolium* is a Maghribī round bookhand very similar to those discussed in the present chapter, in particular those found in f. 1b of item 2 (dated 346/957) and throughout item 9 (dated 391/1001). The only significant difference is that in the *bifolium* certain letters such as *ṭā*’ and *zā*’ are more often penned according to their angular variant, initial *kāf* has a marked trapezoid form, and the loop at the bottom of *lam-alif* is almost always triangular. These archaic features, along with the exclusive use of the western, semi-circular *tashdīd*, indicate that the manuscript must have been copied in the first half of the 4th/10th century.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> BAV, Vat. Lat. 12900, ff. 2a-b. For a recent palaeographic discussion of the Arabic text of this fragment see D’OTTONE 2013A. On the cultural significance of the *bifolium* and its Arabic version of the *Epistle to the Galatians* see DE BRUYNE & TISSERANT 1910; AILLET 2010, 192-193.

<sup>101</sup> DE BRUYNE & TISSERANT 1910, 324; D’OTTONE 2013A, 12.

<sup>102</sup> DE BRUYNE & TISSERANT 1910, 324; EHRLE & LIEBAERT 1912, No. 25; CHERUBINI 2005, 144, 151.

<sup>103</sup> AILLET 2010, 192-193.

<sup>104</sup> Pace Cyrille Aillet, who hypothesised a date of copying as late as the 6th/12th century (AILLET 2010, 192, n. 63). The palaeographic indicators in the Arabic script on which he based his argument – full

In a recent article, Arianna D’Ottone has convincingly argued that the Latin and the Arabic texts of the Sigüenza fragment were penned by the very same scribe, on the basis of several striking similarities between the rhythm of the pen strokes and certain letter forms in the two columns, which seem to suggest that the copyist was carrying over into the Arabic script a number of traits typical of Visigothic scripts and their *ductus*, probably unintentionally.<sup>105</sup> These similarities are:

- The distance, height, and angle of the shafts of certain letters, both straight (Latin *b*, *l*, *h*, Arabic *alif*, *lām*, final *kāf*) and leaning (Latin *d*, Arabic *lām-alif*, *ṭā*’, *zā*’);
- The angular shape of Latin capital *S* and Arabic initial and medial *kāf*;
- The semi-circles marking superscript *u* in Latin and the Arabic *tashdīd*.

Others graphic comparisons drawn by D’Ottone appear less convincing and may in fact be accidental.<sup>106</sup> There is another important parallel, however, that she did not mention, namely the serrated profile of the baseline ligatures resulting from certain sequences of letters: *a*, *d*, *l*, *i*, *t*, and *u* in Latin, medial *bā*’, *tā*’, *thā*’, *sīn*, *shīn*, ‘*ayn*, *ghayn*, *fā*’, *qāf*, *lām*, *nūn*, and *yā*’ in Arabic. The saw-toothed *ductus* characterising all these medial letters in the Maghribī round scripts of the 4th/10th century, with absolutely no equivalent in Eastern Arabic scripts, may well derive from the wavy aspect of most base ligatures in Visigothic scripts [fig. 20], and seems to substantiate the hypothesis of a ‘Latin substrate’ of Maghribī bookhands.

Despite these similarities, it is evident that in the Sigüenza *bifolium* the scribe did not employ the same writing instrument for the two different texts: the Latin script shows a certain contrast between thick and thin strokes, most likely produced by a quill with a transversely cut nib, while the Arabic script has the typical uniformity of Maghribī hands, obtained through the use of a reed or wooden *qalam* with a pointed nib.<sup>107</sup> This important fragment seems to suggest that, while the Christian copyist

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diacritic marks and vocalisation, roundness of the *nūn*, etc. – are certainly found in later hands as well, but were already a standard feature of Andalusī scripts in the 4th/10th century.

<sup>105</sup> D’OTTONE 2013A, 10-13.

<sup>106</sup> They are: Latin capital *E* and Arabic isolated ‘*ayn* and *ghayn*; Latin ligature *th* and Arabic final *lām-alif*.

<sup>107</sup> Arianna D’Ottone failed to notice the fundamental difference between the varying thickness of the Latin script and the uniformity of the Arabic, and suggested that the same writing implement was used for copying both texts. On this basis she argued that “*le type de calame – un calame pointu – de l’écriture du latin pourrait aussi avoir influencé, voire modifié l’écriture de l’arabe*”; *Ibid.*, 14.

attempted to keep the two texts visually distinct, certain stylistic traits noticeably seeped from one script to the other, as if by osmosis.

Although no other Christian manuscripts written in Maghribī scripts have survived from this early period, around 30 of the 352 extant Latin codices copied in the Iberian Peninsula between the 3rd/9th and the 7th/13th century bear Arabic annotations in their margins.<sup>108</sup> The content and significance of these glosses had received only little attention until very recently, when Cyrille Aillet made them the object of a series of articles.<sup>109</sup> On some of the most ancient manuscripts of this corpus, the Arabic marginalia were inscribed shortly after the main text was copied, sometimes alternating with glosses in cursive Visigothic scripts penned by the very same annotators. A palaeographic study of these important documents is therefore necessary to understand the adoption of Maghribī round scripts in Mozarab milieux, and to evaluate the possible influences of Visigothic scripts on their development.

These marginal annotations were mostly jotted down in casual scripts that offer insufficient indicators to those trying to date them on purely palaeographic grounds. Hence, their approximate age can only be estimated from external factors, such as the date when a certain codex was brought out of al-Andalus to the northern part of the Peninsula (or elsewhere in Europe), where the presence of an Arabic glossator would be unlikely.

Two Visigothic manuscripts contain what are probably the most ancient of these Arabic marginalia, namely the *Codex Miscellaneus Ovetensis* of the Escorial and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of the León cathedral.<sup>110</sup> The former is a composite manuscript, whose earliest parts were copied as early as the 1st/7th century, while the latest ones were penned in the Cordovan scriptorium of the monastery of Saint Zoilus in the 3rd/9th century; this manuscript had already reached the Asturian city of Oviedo around the year 900 AD.<sup>111</sup> The latter, a palimpsest copy of Eusebius's historical work, also produced in Cordova in the 3rd/9th century, made its way to the Abellar Monastery (León) no later than the early 4th/10th century.<sup>112</sup> Both manuscripts bear only short

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<sup>108</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1977, 45-52; AILLET 2010, 153-175.

<sup>109</sup> AILLET 2008; *Id.* 2009; *Id.* 2014.

<sup>110</sup> Respectively RBE, ms. R.II.18, and León, Archivo de la Catedral, ms. 15. For the former see also *supra*, 59, n. 92.

<sup>111</sup> AILLET 2010, 158-159; *Id.* 2008, 97-98, 122, pl. 5; DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1983, 17-53.

<sup>112</sup> AILLET 2014, 192, 198, fig. 2; *Id.* 2010, 159-160, pl. 2.

lexical glosses – eleven in the *Codex Ovetensis* and three in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* – safely datable to the second half of the 3rd/9th or the very beginning of the following century, penned in a thin, cursive script not showing any particular roundness [fig. 21].<sup>113</sup> Casual scripts essentially similar to these were also employed in the late 4th/10th or 5th/11th century – see, for instance, the single Arabic gloss of the *Codex Miscellaneus Patristicus* of Urgell cathedral,<sup>114</sup> or some of the earliest marginalia of the Seville Bible (offered to the cathedral of the city in the year 988 AD)<sup>115</sup> – and into the 6th/12th century, as attested by a group of Latin codices annotated in Arabic by the Mozarab clerics of Toledo well after the Castilian conquest of the city in 478/1085, among which is a copy of Saint Isidore’s *Etymologiae* now in the National Library of Madrid [fig. 22].<sup>116</sup>

In at least three cases, however, the scripts employed in the Arabic marginalia of these Christian manuscripts are decidedly more in line with the round bookhands used by coeval Muslim copyists. The earliest example is a single, long annotation occupying the margins of two consecutive pages in a 3rd/9th-century codex in the Escorial library that contains, among other texts, the Epistulary of the archdeacon Evantius of Toledo.<sup>117</sup> Around the year 730 AD, Evantius wrote a letter to reprimand certain Christians in Zaragoza for claiming that animal blood and the meat of strangled animals were unclean: his aim was to avoid Christian practices being contaminated by the principles of the Mosaic Law observed by the Jews as well as by the newly arrived Muslim conquerors of Iberia.<sup>118</sup> Two centuries later, it seems that the Mozarab communities of al-Andalus had largely forgotten about Evantius’s tirade, instead adopting Islamic

<sup>113</sup> It is interesting to remark that in the *Codex Miscellaneus Ovetensis* the same annotator employed the same ink and pen to write glosses in Arabic and in a Latin Visigothic script still close to the uncial style of the 8th century (AILLET 2008, 98).

<sup>114</sup> I would like to thank Dr Cyrille Aillet for having shared with me his photographs of this manuscript (the Arabic note is on f. 155b).

<sup>115</sup> Madrid, BNE, ms. Vit. 13.1. See AILLET 2010, 164-165, pl. VIII. This important codex bears 201 Arabic glosses penned by different annotators at different times and in different places, including 6th/12th-century Toledo. The earliest ones probably date from the 5th/11th century, the ms. having been produced in the year 988 AD or shortly before: as argued by José María Casciaro Ramírez, “*hay que añadir a la fecha de escritura del codex [...] el tiempo prudencial para que el manuscrito fuese relegado de uso público, de modo que permitiese en un ejemplar tan cuidado y rico apostillar unas glosas un tanto desmaneradas*” (CASCIARO 1970, 327). A remarkable exception is the Arabic annotation that the illuminator of the Bible of Seville included in his drawing of a heron on f. 201b (AILLET 2014, 207, fig. 12), which must therefore be dated to the very year in which the codex was produced. The note reads: “*Iqra’ khabar Danyil [read the story of Daniel!]*”.

<sup>116</sup> Madrid, BNE, ms. Vit. 14.3. See AILLET 2010, 169-170, pl. V.

<sup>117</sup> RBE, ms. &.I.14, ff. 166b-167a. See AILLET 2010, 160-163; *Id.* 2008, 119-121, pl. 4.

<sup>118</sup> For the historical context of Evantius’s epistle see BAXTER WOLF 2000, 89.

dietary regulations for the sake of peaceful coexistence with the Muslim population.<sup>119</sup> The doctrinal basis for this compromise was found in a passage of the *Acts of the Apostles* (15:29), where the dietary interdictions of the Old Testament are reiterated: this is precisely the content of the Arabic note in our manuscript, an impassionate critique of Evantius's arguments for the purity of animal blood. The tenor of this polemic and the archaic, sometimes awkward syntax of the Arabic induced Aillet to date this gloss to the late 3rd/9th or early 4th/10th century.<sup>120</sup> The script, although still quite casual and cursive, shows a number of palaeographic indicators that correspond to what one would expect from a bookhand of this early period, including the tendency to align or stack diacritic dots and the exclusive use of western *tashdīd* [fig. 23a-b]. In this case, however, the writing tool employed by the glossator seems to be of the Latin type, given the constant change in thickness of the pen strokes, not found for instance in the Arabic text of the roughly contemporary *bifolium* of Sigüenza [fig. 19].

It is remarkable that the content and the style of this annotation are so much in tune, conveying the same message of shared cultural practices – dietary and scribal – between the Christians and Muslims of al-Andalus. The hand of Evantius's glossator is in fact absolutely comparable with the casual script of item 2 (copied in 346/957), and yet shows some additional angular traits clearly pointing to an earlier date, especially in the initial *kāf* and isolated *dāl* and *dhāl*. Even so, the stylistic precocity of this gloss emphasises the profound connection between the Arabic scripts used by both Muslim and Mozarab copyists already in the pre-caliphal period.

Moving on to the second half of the 4th/10th century, two sets of Arabic glosses datable to this period have been preserved in the margins of two other Visigothic codices: one containing (among other works) the *Epistle of Beatus of Liébana and Etherius of Osma to Elipandus of Toledo* (38 glosses), and the other being a copy of Saint Gregory's *Moralia in Iob* (about 100 glosses).<sup>121</sup> Of the 38 glosses of the former, however, only three are of interest here, namely those penned in the same red ink as the rubricated titles of the main Latin text, which are most likely to be contemporary with

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<sup>119</sup> Thus the bishop of Cordova in his response to Saint John of Gorze, who visited the capital of al-Andalus around the year 955 AD: see JOHN OF SAINT-ARNOUL 1999, 148-151.

<sup>120</sup> AILLET 2010, 163.

<sup>121</sup> Respectively Madrid, BNE, ms. 10018, ff. 9a, 14a, 37b, and Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, ms. 11.4. See *Ibid.*, 165-166, 168-169, pl. III; *Id.* 2008, 98, 122-123, 127-128, pls. 6-7.

the production of the codex. The remaining marginalia were written in black ink and by a much later hand, probably in 6th/12th-century Toledo.

In both sets of glosses [fig. 24-25] the script is polished and carefully traced, with perfectly semi-circular tails for *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *qāf* and *nūn*, ‘convex’ *mīm*, and final *kāf* with its vertical shaft curving at the bottom. All the features of formal Maghribī bookhands are here discernible and employed with absolute confidence (compare, for instance, the script of item 5, copied in 379/990). While a pointed *qalam* of the Islamic type was used for annotating the text of the *Moralia*, the Arabic script in the margins of the *Epistle of Beatus of Liébana* clearly reveals the use of a quill or some other implement with a softer nib. In this case, the glossator also wrote notes in Latin, framed by wavy lines in the same red ink, which once again share the same rhythm and a few letter forms with the Arabic ones [fig. 24b].<sup>122</sup> In both manuscripts the punctuation of the Arabic glosses follows the Islamic convention of employing circles, with or without a central dot.

As a provisional conclusion it can be said that, although decisive evidence for the direct influence of Visigothic scripts on the origin of Maghribī round scripts still has to be produced, the extremely early links between practices, tools, and writing modes of Muslim and Mozarab scribes in al-Andalus should undoubtedly be acknowledged and taken into greater consideration, radically revising the widespread misconception that “*los cristianos del sur o escriben en visigótica, o escriben en caracteres árabes, pero no parece existir una contaminación recíproca de los respectivos hábitos gráficos*”.<sup>123</sup> From the corpus of Arabic documents so far examined it appears that affirmations such as this no longer hold true.

As already suggested by Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, Giorgio Levi della Vida’s assumptions about the existence of a distinctively Mozarab script (“*une écriture [...] typiquement mozarabe*”) should also be seriously questioned in the light of material evidence.<sup>124</sup> In point of fact, it is quite clear that the Mozarab scribes mastered Maghribī bookhands in all their aspects and traits, to the same degree and with the same results of

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<sup>122</sup> See, for instance, the inclination of the shafts of Latin *d* and Arabic *lām-alif*, but also the two superimposed dots used as an abbreviation in the Latin gloss, identical to the Arabic diacritics arranged according to the early Maghribī fashion. The typical saw-toothed base ligatures can be seen, for instance, in the Arabic word *tastanqīt*, in the gloss of f. 14a.

<sup>123</sup> Thus RODRÍGUEZ 2011, 88.

<sup>124</sup> URVOY 1998, 419; LEVI DELLA VIDA 1971, 124.

their contemporary Muslim colleagues, and continued to do so throughout the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, as we shall see in the following chapters (items 18 and 60). The evidence also suggests that the idea of possible scribal influences coming from the Oriental Christian tradition, such as that of the Mar Saba monastic scriptorium in Palestine, should be altogether discarded as both unrealistic and unproven.<sup>125</sup> While angular archaic (or archaising) letter shapes do feature prominently in the surviving Mozarab manuscripts, they can now be understood and explained as an entirely Andalusī phenomenon, and convincingly compared with the same stylistic elements found in the bookhands of coeval Islamic manuscripts.

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<sup>125</sup> This hypothesis is found in DE BRUYNE & TISSERANT 1910, 330, and in TISSERANT 1953, 17, and is still upheld by URVOY 1998, 420.

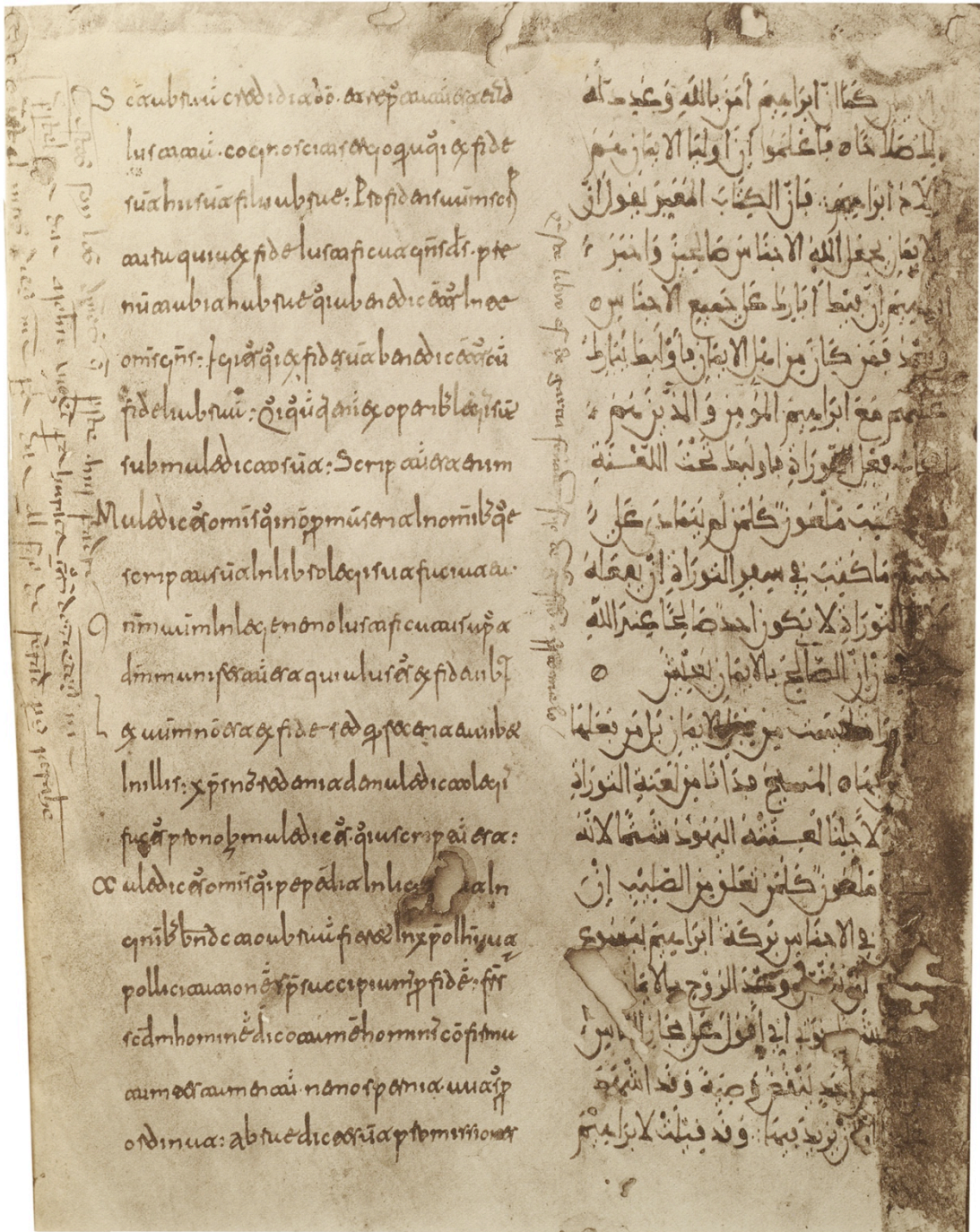


Fig. 19 – Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 12900, detail of f. 2b.  
 A bilingual fragment of Saint Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians*.  
 Al-Andalus, first half of 4th/10th century.

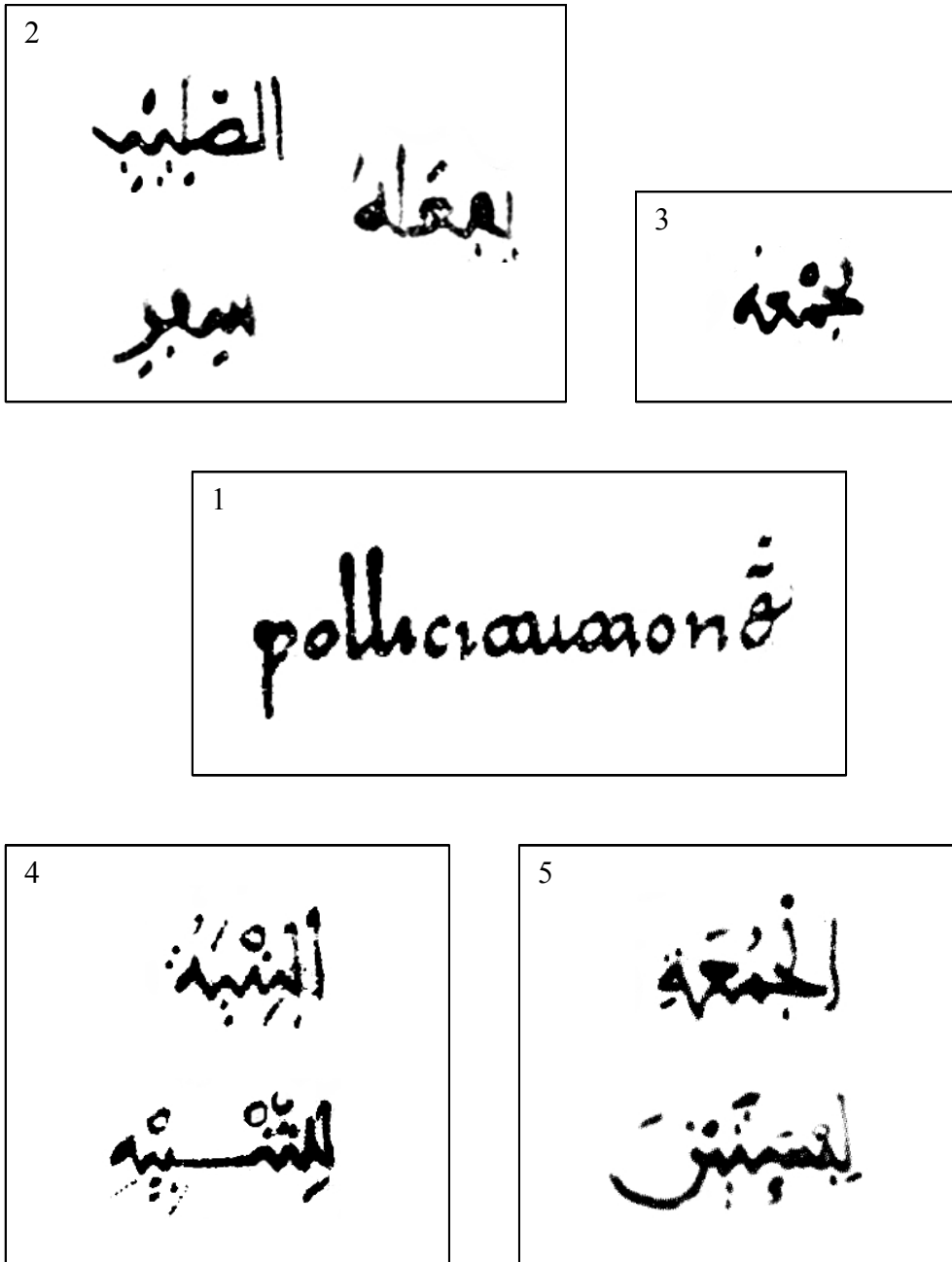


Fig. 20 – Comparison between saw-toothed base ligatures in 4th/10th-century Visigothic and Maghribī round scripts. 1) Vat. Lat. 12900, *pollicitationem*; 2) Vat. Lat. 12900, *al-ṣalīb; yaḡʿalu-hu; siḡr*; 3) Item 2, *bi-jumʿi-hi*; 4) Item 5, *al-binya; li-l-tanbī-hi*; 5) Item 8, *al-jumʿa; libsatayn*.

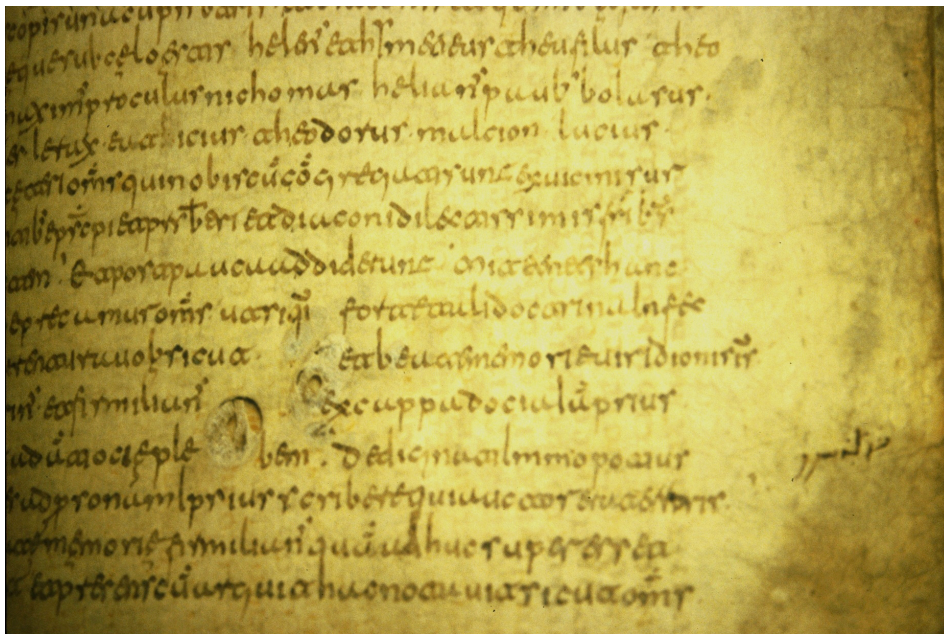


Fig. 21 – León, Archivo de la Catedral, ms. 15, f. 120a. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, by Eusebius of Caesarea, a 9th-century palimpsest copied in al-Andalus (Cordova?) on a 7th-century manuscript. The three Arabic notes in a casual script can be safely dated to the second half of the 3rd/9th century.



Fig. 22 – Madrid, BNE, ms. Vit. 14.3, f. 118b. *Etymologiae*, by Isidore of Seville, a 10th-century codex copied in al-Andalus, with more than 1200 Arabic annotations in a casual script probably penned in 6th/12th-century Toledo.



Fig. 23a and 23b – RBE, ms. &I.14, ff. 166b-167a. Evantius of Toledo, *De scripturis divinis edita contra eos qui putant immundum esse sanguinem*. Copied in the 3rd/9th century (Toledo ?). Arabic gloss criticising Evantius’s arguments and reasserting the impurity of animal blood, end of 3rd/9th or beginning of 4th/10th century.



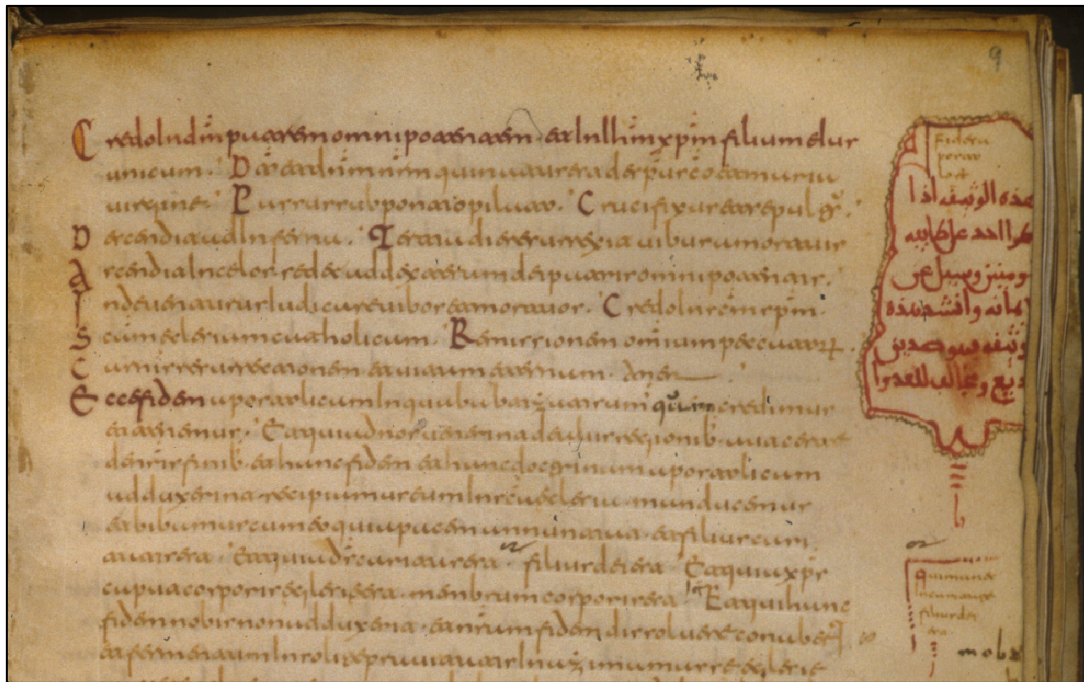
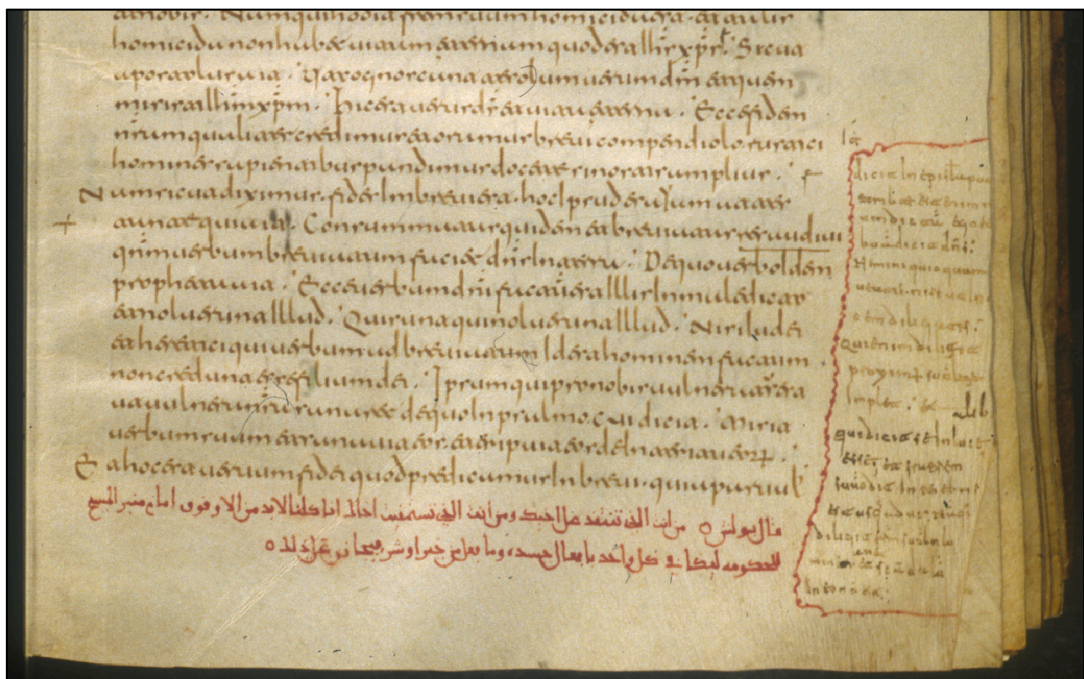


Fig. 24a and 24b – Madrid, BNE, ms. 10018, ff. 9a, 14a. *Epistle of Beatus of Liébana and Etherius of Osma to Elipandus of Toledo*, copied in the 4th/10th century. Two Arabic notes in a rather formal Maghribī script, penned in the same red ink as the rubricated titles of the main text. Latin notes in brown ink by the same glossator.



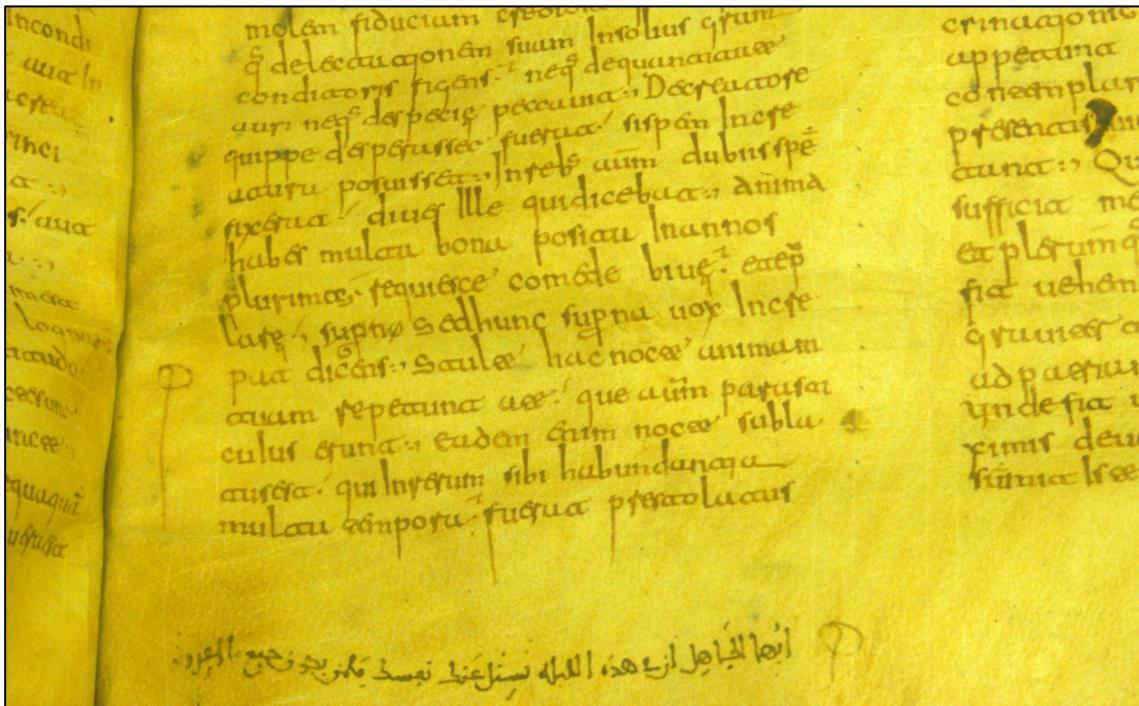
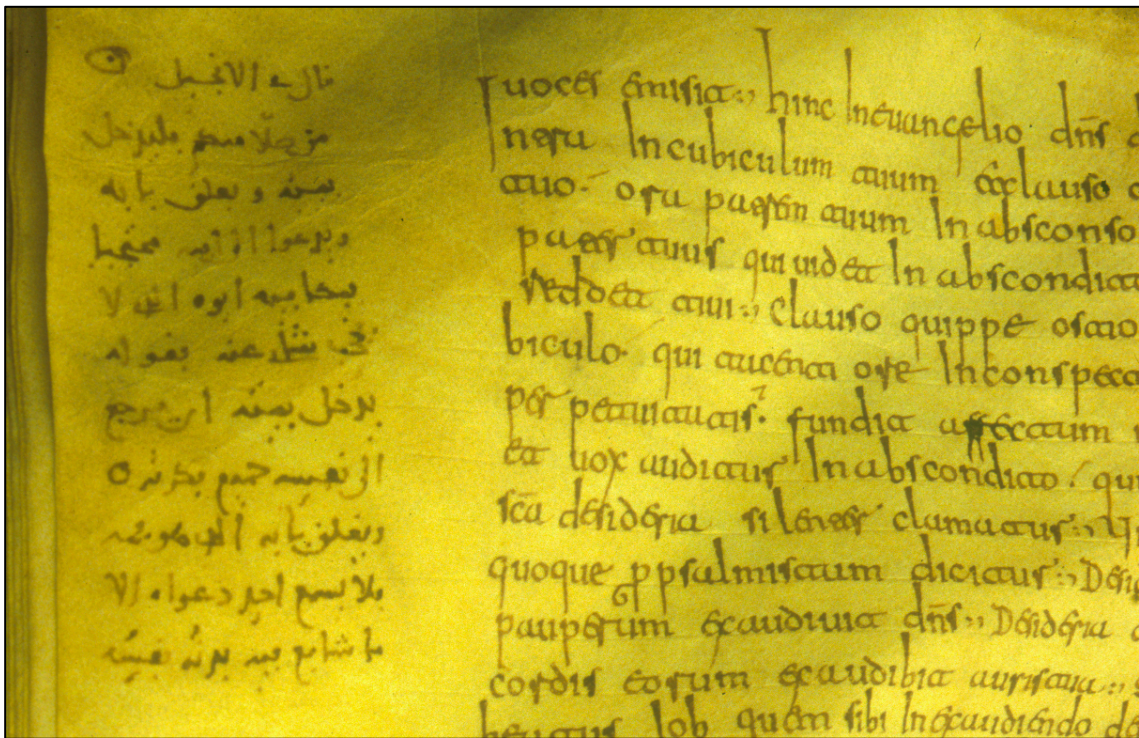


Fig. 25a and 25b – Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, ms. 11.4, ff. 249a, 256b. *Moralia in Iob*, by Pope Gregory the Great, copied between 914 and 956 AD, probably in Zamora. Arabic notes in formal Maghribi script from the second half of the 4th/10th century.





## II. MAGHRIBĪ ROUND SCRIPTS IN THE 5TH/11TH CENTURY

### Book culture and production in the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms

According to the scientist and judge of Toledo Ṣā'id b. Aḥmad al-Andalusī (d. 462/1070),<sup>1</sup> it was the dispersal of the books of the caliphal library of Cordova during the *fitna* that caused the cultural flourishing of al-Andalus in the period of the so-called 'petty kingdoms' (*tawā'if*, sing. *ṭā'ifa*, roughly 402/1013-487/1094).<sup>2</sup> In the winter of 401/1011, during the siege of the Umayyad capital by the Berber troops of Suleymān b. al-Ḥakam, the *ḥājib* Wāḍiḥ sold most of the caliph's books for a very low price, so as to raise money for the defence of the city; the remainder was plundered when the besiegers entered Cordova shortly thereafter.<sup>3</sup> In his *Ṭabaqāt al-umam* ("Book of the generations of peoples"), written in 460/1068, Ṣā'id reports that, with the outbreak of the civil war:

"The kings of the great civilisation of Cordova became preoccupied with these revolts to the neglect of science and learning, and were finally forced to sell the treasures stored in the palace of Cordova, including their collection of books and the other furnishings [*sā'ir al-matā'*]; objects were sold at trivial values and at the cheapest prices. As a result, those books were scattered all over al-Andalus. This is why one may find precious segments of old scientific books that were saved when the library of al-Ḥakam was destroyed during the reign of al-Manṣur b. Abī 'Āmir. All of the people of al-Andalus who so desired disclosed [*aḏhara*] what was in their possession of these ancient scientific works. From then on, interest in learning the ancient sciences kept growing little by little, and the capitals of the *tawā'if* began more and more to acquire the appearance of scientific centres. The present state, thanks to Allāh the highest, is better than what al-Andalus had experienced in the past; there is freedom for acquiring and cultivating the ancient sciences and all past restrictions have been removed".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> PUA, id. 3951.

<sup>2</sup> For a general history of the *ṭā'ifa* period, see WASSERSTEIN 1985; CLÉMENT 1997.

<sup>3</sup> AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, I, 386; see also GARCÍA GÓMEZ 1947, 270.

<sup>4</sup> ṢĀ'ID AL-ANDALUSĪ 1991, 62 (translation slightly revisited). For the original passage in Arabic, see *ID.* 1912, 67.

While the surviving material evidence generally confirms the cultural diaspora portrayed in this and other accounts, it is equally true that Cordova continued to be an important centre for the production and consumption of books under the new rulers of the Banū Jawhar (422/1031-462/1070) and the Banū ‘Abbād of Seville (until 484/1091), although with a drastically reduced level of royal patronage.<sup>5</sup>

In this period, one of the most important private libraries in the city was that of Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ghāfiqī (d. 433/1042), known as Ibn al-Mawṣūl, allegedly the largest ever assembled in Cordova after that of caliph al-Ḥakam II, which was entirely sold and dispersed after Ibn al-Mawṣūl’s death.<sup>6</sup> The sources tell us that he could distinguish the different hands of the scribes of his time and was often consulted on this matter (“*kāna [...] ‘arīf bi-khuṭūṭi-hā yuḥtakam ilay-hi fī dhalika*”).<sup>7</sup> Also remarkable was the library that the Cordovan polymath Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), inherited from his father, that consisted of 400 volumes copied in his own hands.<sup>8</sup> Another famous bibliophile, the geographer and court poet to al-Mu‘tamid of Seville and Cordova (r. 461/1069-484/1091), Abū ‘Ubayd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), kept his books rolled in napkins used “for [cleaning one’s lips after] drinking” and other textiles (“*kāna yumsiku-hā fī sabānī al-sharb wa-ghayri-hā*”) in order to protect them.<sup>9</sup>

Also attested in the *tā’ifa* of Cordova are the activities of numerous ‘freelance’ copyists who catered for local men of letters and science eager to expand their personal book collections, as well as for those ‘ulamā’ and religious scholars interested in purchasing works of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* for themselves, their pupils, and their mosques.<sup>10</sup> A typical case is that of Yumn b. Muḥammad al-Warrāq, who was born in Raya and then moved to Cordova, transmitted the work of many of his period, and was known for his “elegant handwriting [*malīḥ al-khaṭṭ*] and exact vocalisation, samples of which were contended for because of their beauty [*khaṭṭu-hu yutanāfas fī-hi li-ḥusni-hi*].”<sup>11</sup> Speed was also a quality for which certain copyists and transmitters were admired, such as the

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<sup>5</sup> For the cultural milieu of the *tā’ifa* of Cordova, see VIGUERA 1992, 131-134.

<sup>6</sup> PUA, id. 10675; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 122, No. 427; MARÍN 1994B, 544.

<sup>7</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 206; PUERTA 2007, 153-154.

<sup>8</sup> MARÍN 1994B, 544.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*; PUA id. 5211; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-1883, I, 282, No. 628; see also GARCÍA SANJUÁN 2008.

<sup>10</sup> MARÍN 1994B, 545; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 207.

<sup>11</sup> PUA, id. 11773; IBN AL-FARADĪ 1891-1892, II, 64, No. 1612, quoted in PUERTA 2007, 154. For other prolific *warrāqūn* of 5th/11th-century Cordova see PUA, id. 2676, 9851.

Cordovan judge Ḥumām b. Aḥmad al-Aṭrūsh (d. 421/1030) who, according to Ibn Bashkuwāl, could transcribe more than twenty pages of text every day (“*kāna [...] qawī ‘alā al-naskh yansakh min nahāri-hi nayyif wa- ‘ishirīn waraqa*”).<sup>12</sup>

Under the princes of the Banū ‘Abbād (414/1023-484/1091), the city of Seville begun to emerge as an independent cultural pole, celebrated for its libraries (“*khazā’in*”) and booksellers/copiists (“*warraqūn*”).<sup>13</sup> The biographical dictionaries abound with the names of local scribes and poets who made their living copying books and pamphlets (“*kutub*”, “*asfār*”, sing. “*sifr*”), or of bibliophiles who personally transcribed countless works of *adab* and sciences for their own libraries, which after their demise were usually sold for exorbitant prices.<sup>14</sup> At the court of the poet-king al-Mu‘tamid calligraphy was held in high regard and practised by the members of the royal family: al-Maqqarī reports that the ruler’s son Abū Bakr Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dawla (d. after 502/1109) was not only a book collector but also an excellent scribe, “patient in the copying of poems [*muthābir ‘alā naskh al-dawāwīn*]”, which he penned in a style so delightful as “the flowers of sweet-smelling plants [*mufattiḥ fī-hā min khaṭṭi-hi zahr al-rayāḥīn*]”.<sup>15</sup> When al-Mu‘tamid was dethroned by the Almoravids and exiled to the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, Yaḥyā accompanied him and had to earn a living as a professional copyist in Marrakesh.<sup>16</sup> Several volumes of a splendid *Muwaṭṭa’* copied by him in 502/1109 have survived in the Qarawiyyīn Library, and will be discussed in the next chapter (item 39).

The *tā’ifa* of Badajoz, ruled by the Banū al-Aṭṭās (413/1022-488/1094), became famous for the library and circle of intellectuals established by king al-Muẓaffar (r. 437/1045-461/1067), being himself the author of an encyclopedic work in fifty volumes (the *Kitāb al-Muẓaffarī*) and of a Quranic commentary.<sup>17</sup> However, the only extant manuscript from this period associated with a royal scriptorium (item 24) comes from the *khizāna* of his son al-Mutawakkil (r. 464/1073-488/1094), and attests to the continuation of intellectual and scribal activities at the court of Badajoz until the

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<sup>12</sup> PUA, id. 2987; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, I, 156, No. 347; MARIN 1994B, 548.

<sup>13</sup> IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 350, No. 1013; mentioned in RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 208. See also IBN AL-QŪTIYYA *et alii* 1926, 170 (Arabic text: 197). The word *khizāna* was here translated by Ribera as ‘bookshop’.

<sup>14</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 208-9. For the cultural milieu of the *tā’ifa* of Seville, see LIROLA 2011; VIGUERA 1992, 135-142.

<sup>15</sup> AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, IV, 96.

<sup>16</sup> LIROLA 2011, 301-302.

<sup>17</sup> SORAVIA 1990; RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 211.

downfall of the dynasty and the Almoravid conquest, at least in regard to religious sciences. Here and in the other main *ṭawāʿif* of al-Andalus the phenomenon of the ‘*savants courtesans*’, educated in Cordova but then emigrated to the new centres of power, favoured the formation of different schools of religious thought, literary circles, and palatine *studia*, in contrast to the centralisation of learning which had characterised the Umayyad caliphate.<sup>18</sup>

Under the Banū Dhī al-Nūn (r. 423/1023-478/1085), Toledo continued to be a key centre for the circulation of books, and the home of renowned bibliophiles, as well as patient (“*ṣubūr ‘alā al-naskh*”) and prolific copyists.<sup>19</sup> Among them were ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ḥaṣṣār (d. 438/1046), preacher at the Great Mosque of the city, who is said to have copied and collated a small religious work (the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn ‘Ubayd) in a single day;<sup>20</sup> the skilled scribe Qāsim al-Hilālī al-Qaysī (d. 458/1066);<sup>21</sup> and the book collector of Cordovan origin Ḥātim al-Tamīmī, known as Ibn al-Ṭarābulusī (d. 1077/469).<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately nothing remains of the manuscripts owned or penned by these men of letters before Alfonso VI of Castille conquered Toledo in 478/1085. Among the hundreds of sale contracts and various documents in Arabic which have survived from medieval Toledo (not discussed in the present thesis) only one was drafted before the Castilian takeover (D1, see chapter III).<sup>23</sup>

The same lack of material evidence applies to other important cultural capitals of the period, first and foremost Almería, where the *wazīr* of the local *amīr* Abū al-Qāsim Zuhayr (r. 419/1028-429/1037), Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. ‘Abbās (decapitated in 429/1037), is reported to have gathered a library of 400,000 books.<sup>24</sup> But the sources also mention the presence of eager bibliophiles and expert calligraphers in the *ṭawāʿif* of Malaga,<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup> SORAVIA 1994, 293 ff.

<sup>19</sup> For the cultural milieu of the *tāʿifa* of Toledo, see VIGUERA 1992, 53-57.

<sup>20</sup> PUA, id. 4527; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, I, 323-324, No. 701 (here called Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭār, probably a mistake); MARIN 1994B, 548.

<sup>21</sup> PUA, id. 7617; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, II, 464, No. 1016.

<sup>22</sup> PUA, id. 2829; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, I, 158-160, No. 351. These and other figures are mentioned in RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 212.

<sup>23</sup> GONZÁLEZ 1926-1930, II, 1.

<sup>24</sup> PUA, id. 1094; AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, III, 535. For other bibliophiles and *warraqūn* of Almería, see RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 210. For the cultural milieu of the *tāʿifa* of Almería, see GIBERT DE VALLVE 1970, 64-67; VIGUERA 1992, 95-101.

<sup>25</sup> PUA, id. 9076; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 234-235, No. 768 (“*kāna [...] baṣīr bi-l-khuṭūṭ mumayyiz la-hā ḥusn al-khaṭṭ mawṣūf bi-l-itqān wa-l-dabīʿ*”).

Zaragoza,<sup>26</sup> and Dénia,<sup>27</sup> while cities such as Valencia and Granada seem to have flourished in this respect especially during the following century, under Almoravid and Almohad rule.<sup>28</sup>

From Murcia, a political and cultural centre of secondary importance, there survives one significant manuscript (item 32) written in 492/1099, eight years after the Almoravid army seized the city from the king of Seville.<sup>29</sup> Its four extant volumes attest to the activity of a local *ḥadīth* scholar and transmitter, Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā Ibn Sa‘āda (d. 522/1128), who is known for having brought to al-Andalus a great quantity of Arabic books gathered during his travels in the East, a practice which was far from uncommon among his contemporaries.<sup>30</sup> To judge from the quality of his penmanship, he was certainly not a calligrapher; nevertheless, it sometimes happens that the biographical dictionaries praise the work of prolific copyists of this period in spite of their bad writing skills (“*radī’ al-khaṭṭ*” and “*da’if al-khaṭṭ*” are the expressions most commonly used).<sup>31</sup>

During the 5th/11th century al-Andalus, probably because of its political fragmentation, seems to have accentuated its cultural distance from the central Islamic lands, then under firm Fatimid hegemony. Although both commercial and scholarly relations with the East continued, there was a marked decrease in the number of religious scholars and men of letters from other Muslim regions who visited the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>32</sup> To the eyes of the few who did travel that far, the idiosyncrasies of local scripts and scribal practices must have looked conspicuous, while their own writing style was apparently perceived as foreign by the locals: in 431/1039 Mūsā b. ‘Āṣim b. Sufyān, a cultivated merchant from Tunis, sojourned in al-Andalus, but while his penmanship is praised by Ibn Bashkuwāl, it is clearly stated that it followed “the form

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<sup>26</sup> PUA, id. 4866; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 456, No. 1311. For the cultural milieu of the *tā’ifa* of Zaragoza, see BEECH 2008.

<sup>27</sup> In Dénia the prince Mujāhid al-‘Āmirī (r. 400/1010-436/1045) surrounded himself with famed scholars and established an important palatine library, where the famous copyist Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bashkulārī (d. 456/1063, PUA, id. 9677) worked as librarian; see CERQUA SARNELLI 1964; BRUCE 2013, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, a famous *warrāq* active in 5th/11th-century Valencia was Khalaf b. ‘Umar al-Akhfash (“the short-sighted”, died after 459/1067-8, PUA, id. 3140), constantly absorbed in his craft (“*kāna bi-mulāzamati-hi al-naskh wa-l-wirāqa*”), mentioned in PUERTA 2007, 162. The Valencian ‘Abd Allāh b. Hayyān al-Anṣārī (d. 487/1094) was an important book collector (PUA, id. 5090).

<sup>29</sup> For the cultural milieu of the *tā’ifa* of Murcia, see VIGUERA 1992, 91-94.

<sup>30</sup> PUA, id. 11100; AL-ḌABBĪ 1885, 441, No. 1330.

<sup>31</sup> MARIN 1994B, 547 (notably PUA, id. 10110 and 10442).

<sup>32</sup> URVOY 1978, 81, pl. XXVI.

of his country [*jamīl al-khaṭṭ ‘alā hay’at baladi-hi*].<sup>33</sup> Although the Andalusīs’ “fixation on oriental models, in literature and scholarship alike” lost little of its strength at the court of the petty kings, new local trends and poetic forms emerged, original in both their structural and linguistic aspects, such as the *muwashshahāt*.<sup>34</sup> In material culture, the production of manuscripts penned in distinctively Andalusī styles continued to highlight the contradictory coexistence of eastern theoretical models and unique local practices, a paradox inherited from the Umayyad period.<sup>35</sup>

As David Wasserstein observed, “despite the relative ease with which scientists and other scholars could move from one *ṭā’ifa* court to another [...] it is possible to see in the scientific endeavours and royal patronage of this period the beginnings of various cultural regionalisms in the peninsula which persisted for long after the end of the *ṭā’ifa* kingdoms”.<sup>36</sup> The 5th/11th century was arguably the moment when distinct Andalusī hands started to emerge from the different regions of the peninsula, as may be the case with the *khaṭṭ Ishbīlī*, a calligraphic style typical of Seville frequently alluded to in Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s historical treatises (mid-8th/14th century).<sup>37</sup> More concretely, in Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī’s biographical dictionary (*Al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila*, late 7th/13th century) the handwriting of a Mursian scholar who died around 620/1223 is described as “following the manner of the people of the East of al-Andalus [*ṭarīqat ahl Sharq al-Andalus*].”<sup>38</sup> Despite the late date of this reference, the distinctive script of item 32 (copied in Murcia) seems to suggest that a stylistic dichotomy between eastern and western Andalusī hands already existed at the end of the 5th/11th century. As recently pointed out by Mustapha Jaouhari, the region called *Sharq al-Andalus* by medieval sources – comprising the eastern Iberian coast from Tortosa to Almería, the *tawā’if* of Valencia, Dénia, and Murcia, and the Balearic Islands – established privileged commercial and cultural links with Egypt and the Mashriq, and this may have resulted

<sup>33</sup> PUA, id. 11104; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, II, 553, No. 1124; mentioned in MARIN 1994B, 547.

<sup>34</sup> WASSERSTEIN 1985, 185-186, with bibliography (nn. 62-63).

<sup>35</sup> See *supra*, 36, n. 20.

<sup>36</sup> WASSERSTEIN 1985, 183.

<sup>37</sup> See Pascual de Gayangos’s note in AL-MAQQARĪ 1840-1843, I, Appendix, XLII; mentioned in RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 208.

<sup>38</sup> AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VI, 96, No. 240. The scholar in question is Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ru‘aynī al-Mursī, PUA id. 7869. For a discussion of this and other passages in al-Marrākushī’s work referring to the handwriting of Andalusī copyists, see JAOUHARI 2015, 26-29, and *infra*, 114 ff.

in the development of a regional variant of Maghribī scripts that, as we shall see, featured a number of typically eastern traits.<sup>39</sup>

No record of treatises on penmanship or bookmaking written in al-Andalus survives from the *ṭā'ifa* period, which may indicate that the only works available on the subject were still the eastern ones. The persistence of Mashriqī theoretical models for calligraphy is confirmed by the enduring prestige enjoyed by the *Adab al-kuttāb* (“The instruction of the scribes”) of the ‘Irāqī scholar Ibn Qutayba (213/828-276/889) which, between the age of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdoms and that of the Almoravids, was the object of a commentary by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127), entitled *Al-Iqtidāb fī sharḥ adab al-kuttāb* (see items 46, 54, 99).<sup>40</sup> Given his background as a grammarian, Ibn al-Sīd’s approach to Ibn Qutayba’s text is mainly lexicological, focusing on the terminology related to the different types of scribes, writing instruments, and ‘classical’ eastern scripts – “*qalam al-niṣf*”, “*qalam ri’āsī*”, “*qalam al-thulth*” and “*al-thulthayn*”, “*qalam al-riqā*”, etc. – while little attention is paid to the technical and aesthetic aspects of penmanship.<sup>41</sup> There is virtually nothing in the *Iqtidāb* referring (or even alluding) to specifically Andalusī practices or scripts; however, despite his deep knowledge of Ibn Muqla’s work, frequently cited in the text, the author avoids discussing the norms regulating the proportions between individual letter forms, which may be indicative of his association with the Andalusī milieu, where these norms were not followed.<sup>42</sup>

Mention should also be made of a famous treatise on inkmaking, papermaking, and bookbinding written in 5th/11th-century Ifrīqiya, namely the *‘Umdat al-kuttāb wa-‘uddat dhawī al-albāb* (“The staff of the scribes and implements of the discerning”), attributed to the Zirid ruler al-Mu‘izz Ibn Bādīs (398/1008-454/1062).<sup>43</sup> Although it is

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 29; for the commercial links between Dénia and the eastern Mediterranean see TRAVIS 2010 and TRAVIS 2013, 27-57.

<sup>40</sup> AL-BATĀLYAWSĪ 1973, 67-105; PUA, id. 5392. See also SORAVIA 2004, SERRANO 2002. The entries related to the *kitāba* included in the lexicon (*Kitāb al-mukhaṣṣaṣ*) of Ibn Sīda al-Mursī (d. 458/1065, PUA id. 6384) are also based on the same eastern models (see GACEK 2004, 10, No. 30).

<sup>41</sup> PUERTA 2007, 222-226. As pointed out by SORAVIA 2004, 543, n. 14, Ibn al-Sīd’s lexicological description of the *kātib*’s instruments also draws from another treatise by Ibn Qutayba, entitled *Kitāb ālāt al-kuttāb*.

<sup>42</sup> See *supra*, 22-23. On the scarcity of references to al-Andalus in Ibn al-Sīd’s work see PEÑA 1991.

<sup>43</sup> For the Arabic text see IBN BĀDĪS 1971; for an English translation see *Id.* 1962; the chapters on bookmaking are quoted and discussed in BOSCH, CARSWELL & PETHERBRIDGE 1981, and SCHEPER 2015, 148-152; those on papermaking in VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1978, 63-77; BLOOM 2001, 85-86; IRIGOIN 1993, 278 ff.; those on inkmaking in ZERDOUN 1983, 127-135. A few chapters are translated into Spanish and discussed in AL-‘ABBĀDĪ 2005.

often cited as a ‘Maghribī’ work, one must bear in mind that, as we have seen, Ifrīqī scribal practices differed noticeably in this period from those developed in al-Andalus and later exported into the Far Maghrib. Once again, the *‘Umdat al-kuttāb* seems to be based on eastern models and, as pointed out by Jonathan Bloom, it is disappointingly “long on theory, but short on practical advice”.<sup>44</sup> The single chapter dedicated to the “importance of the pen and writing” insists on the correct way in which the *qalam* should be ideally cut, carved, sharpened, slit, and dipped in the inkwell, but in a way which does not allow the reader to imagine the actual effect of these operations on the type of script produced, and leaves us in the dark as to the application (and possible regional variants) of these formulaic principles.<sup>45</sup>

The 5th/11th century witnessed the establishment of paper as the main support for Andalusī manuscripts, with the notable exception of Christian codices (item 18), Qur’āns (Q1-Q4), luxury copies of Mālik’s *Muwatta’* (item 30), and a few important religious texts (items 22, 24, 33, 35, 36), which continued to be written on parchment. The remaining religious manuscripts and all the dated books on grammar, linguistics, history, medicine, and sciences that have survived from this period were made of paper, with the sole exception of a copy of al-Qālī’s philological treatise *Al-Amālī* (item 28). This seems to indicate the persistence of the use of parchment for fine copies of secular works dealing with *adab*, poetry, sciences, and even lexicography, as confirmed by other undated Andalusī manuscripts written on vellum and attributable to the 5th/11th century on palaeographic grounds [figs. 26-28].<sup>46</sup> Therefore we may say that, while paper became the predominant medium, parchment maintained a privileged status and an aura of quality and prestige that would have survived unblemished for at least one more century. The paper employed in this period was most probably locally produced, and it

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<sup>44</sup> BLOOM 2001, 86.

<sup>45</sup> In Levey’s translation of the text (IBN BĀDĪS 1962, 14) the quill pen is mentioned, a writing implement unknown in the Muslim east, but possibly employed in the Maghrib and al-Andalus (for the use of quills among Mozarab scribes and glossators see *supra*, 66). This is however a mistake, due to the similarity between the term *rīsha* or *riyāsh* (‘quill’) and *riyāsī* or *ri’āsī* (a type of script named after Faḍl b. Sahl Dhū-l-Riyāsatayn, secretary and prime minister of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma’mūn), which is what the Arabic text actually refers to (*ID.* 1971, 73).

<sup>46</sup> See, for instance: a 5th/11th-century luxury copy of al-Zubaydī *Kitāb al-‘Ayn* in the Qarawiyyīn Library (ms. 1238); a fragmentary parchment *Almagest* partly in the Qarawiyyīn Library (ms. 654, see AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 238) and partly in the Khalili Collection (MSS 375, see MADDISON & SAVAGE-SMITH 1997, I, 176-177); seven parchment folios of ms. 47 from the Library of the Sa‘ūd al-Bābtayn Charitable Centre for Heritage and Culture (Riyadh), a portion of an Andalusī commentary upon the poetic *diwān* of an unknown author (see *QABS MIN MAKHTŪTĀT* 2010, I, 94-95, No. 41).

is likely that most capitals of the *ṭāʿifa* kingdoms were self-sufficient in paper manufacture. However, and despite the erroneous notion perpetuated by some scholars, it is only from the following century that the presence of papermills in Xàtiva, Valencia, and Toledo is attested to by the sources.<sup>47</sup>

As far as book decoration is concerned, this was also the time when illuminated motifs and devices typical of Quranic manuscripts made their first appearance in luxury copies of of Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭaʿ*, the fundamental text of Maghribī *Sunna* (item 30). This interesting phenomenon, which later spread to other works of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* (and under the Almohads, to the writings of Ibn Tūmart), may be explained by the actual veneration for the *imām* Mālik and his work intrinsic to the religious milieu of medieval al-Andalus.<sup>48</sup> The fact that the founder of the Malikī school had condemned the practice of Quranic illumination – on the grounds that it could distract the readers – does not seem to have prevented the Andalusīs from decorating with gold headings and polychrome designs the margins of both their Qurʾāns and the work of Mālik himself.<sup>49</sup> Surprisingly, however, this practice seems to have equally invested luxury copies of non-religious manuscripts, as suggested by a majestic illuminated codex containing al-Zubaydī’s *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿAyn*, copied on fine parchment and now kept in the Qarawiyyīn Library (ms. 1238). Its script – an elegant full bookhand with numerous angular letter variants and extensive use of *mashq* – and its style of illumination – chapter headings in neo-Kufic chrysography and marginal palmettes very similar to those found in item 30 – leave no doubt about it being a 5th/11th-century presentation copy of al-Zubaydī’s lexicographical work, possibly produced for one of the *ṭāʿifa* kings seeking to revive the splendours of al-Ḥakam II’s library, for which the treatise had been originally composed [fig. 28].

No scientific analyses have been undertaken on the pigments employed in 5th/11th-century Andalusī manuscripts which could allow us to assess to what extent

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<sup>47</sup> To quote Jonathan Bloom: “The first specific mention of a papermill [in al-Andalus] dates from 1056, when a certain Abū Masafya (or Mescufā) is reported as owning one “next to the old irrigation-channel” near the city of Shatiba [...]. In 1095, nearly forty years after Abū Masafya’s mill at Shatiba is mentioned, his son Matumīn fled Valencia to establish another papermill in Ruzafa. In 1085, the year in which Christian forces retook the city of Toledo, a “rag-paper mill” is mentioned there” (BLOOM 2001, 87-88, based on VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1970, I, 5, and BOSCH, CARSWELL & PETHERBRIDGE 1981, 27). However, as argued by Augustí Ventura and Valls i Subirà himself, the story of Abu Mescufā and Matumīn is legendary and not based on textual evidence (VENTURA 1990, 126-127; VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1978, 130-132).

<sup>48</sup> TURKI 1971.

<sup>49</sup> JAHDANI 2006, 275.

the scribes followed (or departed from) the norms and recipes contained in such treatises as the *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb*, or whether or not they imitated contemporary eastern practices. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that their techniques of preparing and applying colours to the page were those still in use in the following two centuries, about which we are better informed (and which will be discussed in the following chapter).<sup>50</sup> On occasion, interesting details and anecdotes concerning this and other aspects of the copyists’ craft emerge from biographical dictionaries: for instance, Ibn Bashkuwāl informs us that the *qāḍī* of Cuenca Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Masʿūd, known as Ibn al-Saqqāṭ (d. 485/1092), used to prepare his ink (“*ṣana ʿa al-ḥibr*”) with water drawn from the Zamzam well in Mecca.<sup>51</sup>

### The evidence of dated manuscripts

With the exception of four Quranic manuscripts which will be discussed separately, I have been able to identify 25 dated manuscripts copied in Maghribī round scripts during the 5th/11th century. This number is likely to increase after an exhaustive study is carried out on the vast and only partially catalogued collection of the Qarawiyyīn Library in Fes, which I have only been able to survey briefly over a period of four days.<sup>52</sup>

12. 415/1024 [Ramaḍān]: *Kitāb al-tārīkh al-kabīr ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam, part 4* [“Large compendium of *Ḥadīth* narrators”], by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Juʿfī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 5908,<sup>53</sup>
13. 421/1030: *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Juʿfī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Cairo, DKW, unknown shelf mark,<sup>54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> GONZÁLEZ, LÓPEZ & ESPEJO 2014; ESPEJO & ARIAS 2009, 110-117, 151; ESPEJO *et alii* 2008; ROGER, SERGHINI & DÉROCHE 2004; see *infra*, 117.

<sup>51</sup> PUA, id. 8929; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, II, 501, No. 1111. Mentioned in MARIN 1994b, 548.

<sup>52</sup> The four-volume catalogue of the Qarawiyyīn Library (AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989) lacks detailed information on the content of numerous cases holding miscellaneous fragments of multi-volume works of Mālikī *fiqh* – such as mss. 574, 793, 794, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800 – some of which may bear further dated colophons. A manuscript which I have been unable to examine is a copy of al-Azdī’s *Kāmil* in the library of the Zāwiya Sīdī Ḥamza (Midelt), allegedly completed in 468/1075-6 (AL-MANŪNĪ 1999, I, 409-410).

<sup>53</sup> BLOCHET 1925, 137; VAJDA 1958, pl. 41; FIMMOD No. 14.

14. **423/1032: *Kitāb i'jāz al-Qur'ān*** [“On the inimitability of the Qur'ān”], by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baqillanī [330/930-403/1013]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 1435;<sup>55</sup>
15. **435/1043 [Rabī' I]: *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-'ayn, part 2*** [“Compendium of the book on the letter 'ayn”], by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zubaydī al-Andalusī [316/928-379/989]. Madrid, CSIC Library, ms. RESC/35;<sup>56</sup>
16. **435/1044 [Jumādā II]: *Kitāb al-istidhkār fī madhāhib al-amṣūr, part 1*** [“On religious doctrines”, commentary on the *Muwatta'* ], by Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī al-Qurṭubī [368/978-463/1071]. Auctioned in 2004;<sup>57</sup>
17. **438/1047 [Sha'bān]: *Kitāb al-muwatta'*, part 3** [“The well-trodden path”], by Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣbahī [d. 795/179]. Taza, library of the Great Mosque, ms. 139;<sup>58</sup>
18. **1049 AD [October]: *Kitāb al-qawānīn al-muqaddasa*** [“Canons of the Church of Spain”], Arabic translation of the Acts of the Councils of Toledo. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 1623;<sup>59</sup>
19. **458/1066 [Jumādā II]: *Kitāb gharīb al-Qur'ān*** [“On the lexical difficulties of the Qur'ān”], by 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba al-Dīnawarī [213/828-276/889]. Auctioned in 2015;<sup>60</sup>
20. **459/1067 [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb al-nukat wa-l-furūq min al-Mudawwana wa-l-Mukhtaliḡa, part 1*** [“Annotations on, and discrepancies between, the *Mudawwana* and *Mukhtaliḡa* of Saḥnūn”], by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ṣiqillī [d. 466/1073]. Madrid, BNE, MSS/5231;<sup>61</sup>
21. **465/1073: *Kitāb al-zuhd wa-l-raqā'iq*** [“On ascetism and the softening of hearts”], by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak al-Ḥanzalī [d. 181/797]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 1061;<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Uncatalogued. See MORITZ 1905, pl. 175. I have not been able to trace this manuscript in the catalogue of the Khedivial Library of Cairo (for the pages dedicated to Bukharī's *Jāmi'* see DĀR AL-KUTUB 1883-1892, I, 180-203), nor in any of the subsequent catalogues of the manuscripts in the DKW.

<sup>55</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, III, 79.

<sup>56</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ & ASÍN 1912, 134-135, pl. 1; VAN KONINGSVELD 1991, 819.

<sup>57</sup> SOTHEBY'S 28/4/2004, lot 20.

<sup>58</sup> AL-'ILMĪ 2002, I, 473-474.

<sup>59</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, III, 168; ABU HAIDAR 1987; AILLET 2010, 202-205 (for a complete bibliography on this ms. see *Ibid.*, 202, n. 112).

<sup>60</sup> CHRISTIE'S 24/4/2015, lot 248.

<sup>61</sup> GUILLÉN 1889, 38, No. LXXVIII.

<sup>62</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, III, 176-177; JAOUHARI 2013, 21-22 (group 1, type E).

22. 471/1079 [Rajab]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā (Kitāb al-awwal min kirā' al-rawāḥil wa-l-dawābb)* ["The great legal compilation (First book on hiring riding animals and beasts of burden)"], by Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 799/1/2;<sup>63</sup>
23. 471/1079 [Sha'bān]: *Kitāb al-asābi' li-Abuqrāṭ, sharḥ Jālīnūs* ["Galen's commentary on Hippocrates's Book of Sevens"], translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī [192/808-260/873]. Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. Arab. 802;<sup>64</sup>
24. 472/1080 [Sha'bān, copied in Badajoz]: *Kitāb al-tamhīd fī-l-radd 'alā al-mulḥida* ["Introduction on the refutation of the heretics"], by Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Bāqillānī [d. 403/1013]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 6090;<sup>65</sup>
25. 477/1085 [Dhū al-Qa'da]: *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh* ["Annals"], by Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ al-Shaybānī [d. 240/854]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 199 Q;<sup>66</sup>
26. 478/1085 [Jumādā II]: *Kitāb al-majisfī* ["Claudius Ptolemy's Almagest"], translated by Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī [d. 298/910]. Tunis, BNT, ms. 7116;<sup>67</sup>
27. 485/1092 [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb sirr al-khalīqa, wa-huwa Kitāb al-'ilal* ["Apollonius of Tyana's Book on the causes of ailments"], translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī [192/808-260/873]. Madrid, BNE, MSS/5012;<sup>68</sup>
28. 486/1093 [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb al-amālī* ["Book of dictations"], by Abū 'Alī Ismā'īl al-Qālī al-Baghdādī al-Qurṭubī [288/901-356/967]. Cairo, DKW, ms. 1859 Adab;<sup>69</sup>
29. 486/1093 [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb al-munakhkhal* ["On what is passed through the sieve"], by Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [370/980-418/1027]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 605;<sup>70</sup>
30. 490/1096-7: *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭa'* ["The well-trodden path"], by Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣḥabī [d. 795/179]. Auctioned in 1992 and 1993;<sup>71</sup>

<sup>63</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 472. This particular fragment is not mentioned in al-Fāsī's catalogue.

<sup>64</sup> AUMER 1866, 351-352. See also *DAS BUCH IM ORIENT* 1982, 151, No. 84.

<sup>65</sup> BLOCHET 1925, 184; VAJDA 1958, pl. 42; FIMMOD No. 68; *ANDALOUSIES* 2000, 159.

<sup>66</sup> AL-MURĀBIṬĪ 2001-2002, 283. See also JAOUHARI 2013, 22 (group 1, type F).

<sup>67</sup> HAMADA 1994, 40 (with several mistakes). See also CHABBOUH 1989, 44, No. 117.

<sup>68</sup> GUILLÉN 1889, 65-66, No. CXXXI. Guillén read "*Jālīnūs*" instead of "*Bālīnūs*" and misattributed this work to Galen. See also VAN KONINGSVELD 1992, 101, No. 78.

<sup>69</sup> Uncatalogued. See MORITZ 1905, pl. 176; *DĀR AL-KUTUB* 1989, 94.

<sup>70</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, I, 414-415.

<sup>71</sup> SOTHEBY'S 23/10/1992, lot 143; SOTHEBY'S 22/10/1993, lot 586.

31. **490/1107** [Ramadān]: *Kitāb al-jāmi' al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ*, parts 73-96 ["Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*"], by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Taroudant, Library of the Great Mosque, ms. K 149;<sup>72</sup>
32. **492/1099** [Dhū al-Qa'da, copied in Murcia]: *Kitāb al-jāmi' al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ*, four volumes, parts 26-96 ["Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*"], by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 1332 D;<sup>73</sup>
33. **494/1101** [Dhū al-Ḥijja]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā (Kitāb al-salam al-awwal)* ["The great legal compilation (First book on salutation)"], by Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, mss. 574/5/28;<sup>74</sup>
34. **494/1101** [Ramadān]: *Kitāb al-fuṣūl li-Ibuqrāt, tafsīr Jālīnūs* ["Galen's Commentary on Hippocrate's aphorisms"], translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-'Ibādī [192/808-260/873]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 791;<sup>75</sup>
35. **496/1103** [Sha'bān]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā (Kitāb al-nudhūr al-thānī)* ["The great legal compilation (Second book of vows)"], by Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 574/8/56;<sup>76</sup>
36. **499/1106** [Sha'bān]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā (Kitāb al-sharika)* ["The great legal compilation (Book of partnership)"], by Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 574/6/39.<sup>77</sup>

A small group of other dated manuscripts and documents will not be taken into consideration here, for different reasons:

- **421/1030**: *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭa'* ["The well-trodden path"], by Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣbaḥī [d. 795/179]. Midelt, Library of the Zāwiya Sīdī Ḥamza (Zāwiya Ḥamziyya or Zāwiya 'Ayyāshiyya), ms. 208;<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Uncatalogued. Now kept in the Imām 'Alī Institute of Taroudant.

<sup>73</sup> ALLOUCHE & REGRAGUI 1954, I, 67. For a facsimile of the first extant volume of this manuscript (i.e. the second of al-Bukhārī's work) see LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1928. See also VAN KONINGSVELD 1977, 27; AL-MANŪNĪ 1999, I, 102 ff.; JAOUHARI 2013, 23 (group 2, type A).

<sup>74</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 95-110: 110.

<sup>75</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 2-3.

<sup>76</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 95-110: 110. Other fragments of this work copied by the very same scribe are kept under the shelf marks 799/1 (dated 496 and 497), 796/3/7-8-9, and 796/4/2 (see *Ibid.*, 460).

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-110: 110.

- **453/1061**: *Kitāb musnad shihāb al-akhbār, part 1* [“The blazing star of transmitted *Ḥadīth*”], by Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Quḍā’ī [d. 454/1062]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 752;<sup>79</sup>
- **1073 AD** [25th of May]: **Peace treaty between Sancho IV of Navarre and al-Muqtadir of Zaragoza**. Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional. Clero. San Juan de la Peña, carpeta 701, No. 11;<sup>80</sup>
- **472/1079** [Rabī‘ II]: *Kitāb al-nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt ‘alā mā fī-l-Mudawwana* [“Book of curiosities and additions to the *Mudawwana*”], by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī [d. 386/996]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 6095;<sup>81</sup>
- **472/1080** [Sha‘bān]: *Kitāb al-nawādir wa-l-ziyādāt ‘alā mā fī-l-Mudawwana (Kitāb al-qisam)* [“Book of curiosities and additions to the *Mudawwana* (Book of Oaths)”], by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī [d. 386/996]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn library, ms. 793 XIV;<sup>82</sup>
- **474/1081** (?): *Kitāb al-istidhkār fī madhāhib al-amṣūr* [“On religious doctrines”, commentary on the *Muwatta’*], by Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Barr al-Namarī al-Qurtubī [368/978-463/1071]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 986;<sup>83</sup>
- **483/1090** [Sha‘bān]: *Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ al-Andalus* [“History of the learned men of al-Andalus”], by Muḥammad b. Ḥārith al-Khushanī [d. 361/971]. Rabat, Royal Library, ms. 6916.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> According to the librarian of the Zāwiya Ḥamziyya, the book has been stolen from the library; I was therefore unable to examine it or to obtain images of it. This ms. is mentioned in AL-MANŪNĪ 1999, I, 384; BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 293.

<sup>79</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 41-42. This paper ms. (34 ff.) was copied in Fustāt by the jurist Jumāhir b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Ṭulayṭulī (d. 466/1074, PUA id. 2809) in a highly sketchy and casual script close to eastern *naskh*, with only very few Maghribī traits.

<sup>80</sup> VIGUERA 1981, 156. The document is entirely written in Latin, except for one line of Arabic, containing al-Muqtadir’s ratification of the treaty, penned in a rather awkward Maghribī script which can hardly be taken as an example of chancery hands from the *ṭā’ifa* period.

<sup>81</sup> BLOCHET 1925, 186. This ms. was probably copied in Fes, in a semi-Maghribī script. See *supra*, 31-32, n. 127, fig. 18.

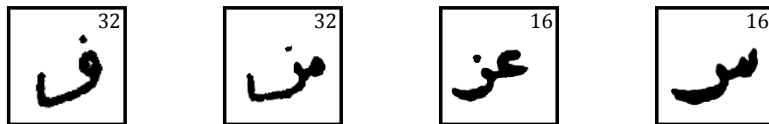
<sup>82</sup> This ms. too was probably copied in Fes, in a semi-Maghribī script. See *supra*, 31, n. 123, fig. 16b.

<sup>83</sup> This handsome paper ms. in the RBE was dated to the 1st of Ṣafar 474 (23rd of July 1081) by Casiri; in VAJDA 1963, 62-63, it is stated that “*dans l’état actuel du volume, seule la lecture de l’année demeure assurée*”. However, after a thorough examination of the ms., I was unable to find in it any reference to its year of completion. I am convinced that this ms. cannot possibly date from the 5th/11th century: the script, the layout of the pages and chapter headings, and the zig-zag arrangement of the glosses (which look virtually contemporary with the main text) seem to point to a late-6th/12th or even 7th/13th-century date.

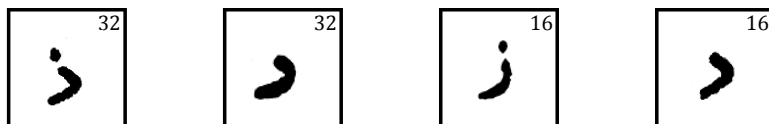
<sup>84</sup> According to the director of the Royal Library, Dr Aḥmad Shawqī Binbīn, the book “disappeared” in the 1980s; I was therefore unable to examine it or to obtain images of it. This ms. is mentioned in MUNTAKHABĀT 1978, 136; BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 79.

From a purely palaeographic perspective, two of the 25 items here discussed have to be singled out forthwith. In fact, while the majority of these manuscript were penned in stylistic continuity with the Cordovan round bookhands of the previous century, the scripts of items 16 and 32 show a number of eastern features representing a marked departure from earlier and coeval Andalusī hands. As already mentioned, these two manuscripts seem to provide the earliest dated evidence for the existence of ‘eastern Andalusī bookhands’, employed by scribes trained in the *Sharq al-Andalus*, noticeably distinct from those used in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula (*Gharb al-Andalus*).<sup>85</sup> The palaeographic indicators of such eastern Andalusī scripts, arguably derived from eastern *naskh* hands of the same period, are:

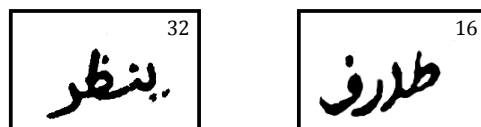
- Suppression of the semi-circular descenders of final *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *dād*, *qāf* and *nūn*, replaced by less ‘plunging’ ones;



- Small and semi-circular *dāl* and *dhāl* in isolated position, without the typical concave downstroke and final spur (i. e. absence of *dāl* and *dhāl kāfiyya*);

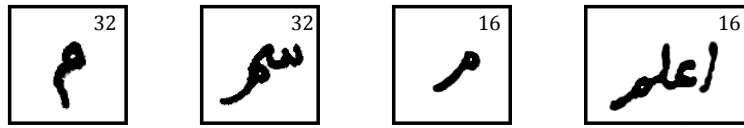


- *Ṭā*’ and *ẓā*’ with vertical or almost vertical stems;

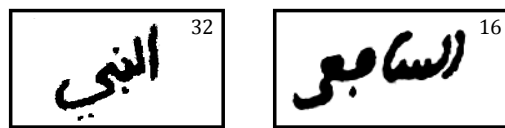


<sup>85</sup> See *supra*, 73-74. For a first definition of eastern Andalusī scripts, see JAOUHARI 2015.

- Final and isolated *mīm* with a short, concave tail, drawn close to the baseline;



- Frequent suppression of *yā' rāji'a* in final or isolated position, replaced by *yā' muḥaqqāqa*, with its fronted, curled tail, although never in fixed graphemes such as *fī* and *abī*.



The eastern Andalusī origin of items 16 and 32 can be easily demonstrated thanks to both the information contained in the text and the biography of their copyists:

- 16. 435/1044: *Kitāb al-istidhkār*.** The manuscript, produced during the lifetime of its author (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Namaṛī died in 463/1071), is either an autograph, or a copy executed by a pupil or secretary of the famous scholar.<sup>86</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Barr was born in Cordova, but lived most of his life in the *Sharq al-Andalus*, especially in Valencia and Dénia, before dying in Xàtiva.<sup>87</sup>
- 32. 492/1099: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, volumes 2-5.** The final colophon of vol. 5 (f. 171b) states that the manuscript was copied in Murcia, but does not give the name of the copyist.<sup>88</sup> It is only thanks to a transmission certificate written on the title page of vol. 2 (f. 1a) that we can identify him as Abū 'Imrān Mūsā Ibn Sa'āda (d. 522/1128), a scholar from Valencia who lived in Dénia and Murcia.<sup>89</sup> The five lines of text of this *ijāza* were penned by Abū 'Alī al-Ṣadaḥī (m. 514/1120), another Murcian scholar who was the teacher and son-in-law of Ibn Sa'āda, in the year 493/1100.<sup>90</sup> As pointed out by Jaouhari, al-Ṣadaḥī's script shares many features

<sup>86</sup> SOTHEBY'S 28/4/2004, lot 20.

<sup>87</sup> PUA, id. 11873.

<sup>88</sup> LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1928, 12-17.

<sup>89</sup> PUA, id. 11100; AL-ḌABBĪ 1885, 441, No. 1330.

<sup>90</sup> PUA, id. 2937; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, I, 145-148, No. 327.

with his pupil's, and can be equally considered an example of *khatt Sharq al-Andalus*.<sup>91</sup>

As a consequence, it may be argued that the remaining 22 manuscripts in the sample were copied in the West of Muslim Iberia, or by scribes trained in that region. To the exclusion of item 24, produced for the library of the king of Badajoz, it is difficult to attribute them with any certainty to one or another city of the *Gharb al-Andalus*, since during the 5th/11th century most colophons continued to make no mention of the place where the manuscripts were copied. The origin of a few items in the list could be supposedly established thanks to the names of the scribes, collators, and owners appearing on their pages, but none of these names seems to find a match in the sources published to date:

15. **435/1043: *Mukhtaṣar al-‘ayn***. This manuscript comes from the unsold stock of manuscripts of a Morisco bookseller active in the 16th century, discovered in 1884 in an ancient house in Almonacid de la Sierra (west of Zaragoza).<sup>92</sup> On f. 1a it is stated that the book belonged to the *imām al-jamā‘a* ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ghālib, a still unidentified figure.
18. **1049 AD: *Canons of the Church of Spain***. The codex was partially penned by a priest named Vincentius (“Binjinshīsh”), by order of a mysterious bishop called ‘Abd al-Malik (see colophons on ff. 333a and 394a-b). Its context of production, a deeply arabised and flourishing Christian community in which Vincentius was in charge of the administration of justice, may be tentatively identified with the cities of Cordova, Seville, or Toledo.<sup>93</sup>
23. **471/1079: *Kitāb al-asābi‘***. According to the information contained in the title page, the book was copied for ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad [...] al-Ma‘āfirī, a still unidentified figure.
25. **477/1085: *Ta’rīkh al-Shaybānī***. A collation mark under the final colophon reads: “in the hand of [*bi-yad*] Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ash‘arī”. This name too has yet to be identified.

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<sup>91</sup> JAOUHARI 2015, 30-33.

<sup>92</sup> CODERA 1884, 272-273.

<sup>93</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 444; ABU HAIDAR 1987, 226.

26. **478/1085: *Almagest*.** The last line of the colophon (f. 237b), as well as a later note on the first folio, states that this copy belonged to Abū Muḥammad al-Arūshī (called *al-wazīr al-jalīl*) and that it was collated with the copy of the *shaykh* Abū al-Qāsim al-Munajjim, which in its turn was collated with a book owned by the *shaykh* Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī. Unfortunately, none of these names have yet been identified.
29. **486/1093: *Kitāb al-munakhkhal*.** The manuscript bears an ownership note (f. 86b) of ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ma‘āfirī, a still unidentified figure.
31. **490/1097: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.** The manuscript was copied by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāḍī, a still unidentified figure.
35. **496/1103: Fragment of the *Mudawwana*.** The text was copied by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Masarra b. Khalaf al-Yaḥsubī (470/1077-552/1157), an Andalusī jurist and man of letters who lived his whole life, died, and was buried in Cordova.<sup>94</sup> His knowledge and beautiful handwriting are praised by Ibn Bashkuwāl (“*wa-kāna mimman jama‘ Allāh la-hu al-ḥadīth wa-l-fiqh ma‘a al-adab al-bāri‘ wa-l-khaṭṭ al-ḥasan*”).<sup>95</sup> It is likely that these folios were transcribed by Ibn Masarra in Cordova.
36. **499/1104: Fragment of the *Mudawwana*.** The text was copied by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Zawāghī for Yaḥyā b. ‘Īsā b. Abī Lamān, two still unidentified figures.

As already mentioned, the majority of these manuscripts – 15 items in total – were copied on paper; nine of them (items 13, 18, 22, 24, 28, 30, 33, 35, 36) were copied on parchment; and one of them (item 16) is made of so-called ‘mixed quires’, consisting of a parchment bifolium on the outside, several paper bifolia in the middle, and a second parchment bifolium on the inside, forming the centre of the quire.<sup>96</sup> This appears to be the earliest dated evidence of a typically Andalusī practice which reached its peak between the 6th/12th and the 7th/13th centuries, adopted by Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scribes alike to increase the sturdiness of paper manuscripts and economise on the use of parchment.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> PUA, id. 5854.

<sup>95</sup> IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-1883, I, 358-359, No. 773.

<sup>96</sup> SOTHEBY’S 28/4/2004, lot 20. Unfortunately the catalogue does not mention the number of folios forming the different quires.

<sup>97</sup> DÉROCHE 2005, 81-82. A famous Christian manuscript featuring mixed quires of parchment and paper is the bilingual Leiden Glossary, datable to the year 1193 AD (Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 231,

While the parchment produced and employed in the *tā'ifa* kingdoms continued to be of good to excellent quality (see especially item 24, with the incredibly glossy and polished surface of its folios), the paper of this period shows a wide variety of textures, colours, and treatments, ranging from the soft, porous, cream-coloured support of items 12 and 27, to the crisp, burnished, and biscuit-coloured one of items 15, 21 and 29. Generally speaking, chain lines are either still absent (item 14) or rare and almost indiscernible (items 15, 21, 29), rather wavy, and irregularly spaced (from 2.8 to 3.5 cm and beyond). Oriol Valls i Subirà thought this could mean that the paper moulds of the time still lacked chain-wire support ribs: “as a consequence, the unsupported mould mesh sagged with use, thereby producing the generally observable effect of sheets which are appreciably thicker in the middle than at their edges”.<sup>98</sup> It seems more likely, however, that the wavy aspect of chain lines was simply caused by the manipulation of a supple reed mould.<sup>99</sup> Laid lines are relatively thick (20 of them normally occupy between 3.5 and 4 cm), and also often curved in proximity to the margins. Sometimes their profile is rather sharp, which indicates the use of vegetal stalks or reeds cut in halves.<sup>100</sup> In at least two instances (items 21 and 29) laid lines run vertically to the page (that is, parallel with the long side of the folios).

With regard to the type of quires employed in this period, despite being sometimes impossible to determine due to the manuscripts' bad state of preservation, it is possible to observe an increase in the number of quinions – the standard solution for assembling Arabic manuscripts in the East – which may be read as a departure from local Latin practices (items 12, 14, 15, 21, 24, 27). An expected exception is item 18, the only Christian manuscript in the sample, made exclusively of parchment quaternions. From a few notes in this manuscript it is evident that the composition of the text was the result of a teamwork, whereby a number of clerics were asked to transcribe the canons of the different Spanish councils of the past on paper folios (“*waraqā min al-kāghid*”), which were then employed as a draft for the final translation

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see VAN KONINGSVELD 1977, 22-25). For similar Hebrew manuscripts from Sefarad, see BEIT-ARIE 1981, 37-39.

<sup>98</sup> VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1970, I, 8-9.

<sup>99</sup> ESTÈVE 2015, 256.

<sup>100</sup> ESTÈVE 2001B. Despite Valls i Subirà's suggestion, the use of “meshes of hempen threads previously boiled in oil” and even horsehair, instead of laid moulds made of reeds or palm stalks, seems highly unlikely. For a general discussion of Valls i Subirà's misunderstandings concerning Andalusī paper, see ESTÈVE 2015.

and collation, carried out on parchment quaternions (referred to as “*karārīs*”, sing. “*kurrāsa*”) under Vincentius’s supervision.<sup>101</sup> In a colophon on f. 394b, the priest complains to his patron that a fellow cleric had written the first three quires of Book 8 “in a coarse hand [*khatṭ khashin*]”, and that he had to correct them “in adjoined script, not justified [*khatṭ mu ‘allaq ghayr manzūm*]”, namely by means of marginal glosses.<sup>102</sup>

In most parchment manuscripts, Gregory’s rule continued to be followed (items 18, 22, 24, 33, 35, 36, and Q4). Also, an increased degree of accuracy in the page layout of both parchment and paper codices can be observed, especially in those featuring full-bookhands (items 17, 21, 22, 24, 29, 33, 36): the number of lines per page becomes consistent, probably as a result of the improvement of ruling techniques. It must be noted, however, that Andalusī copyists continued to score the right and left margins of the textbox in dry pen even when writing on paper, and do not seem to have ever employed a ruling board (*mistara*) for the single writing lines, with only a few exceptions, at least until the 8th/14th century. Alternatively, they may have used a *mistara* that did not leave any visible mark on the pages.

### **The evolution of Andalusī bookhands**

The scripts employed in these 25 manuscripts fit perfectly within the tripartite typology already outlined for the previous century, featuring half-bookhands (items 13, 21, 25, 26, 32, 34), full bookhands (items 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 33, 35, 36), and casual scripts (items 12, 14, 16, 19, 31), with the latter showing occasional shifts to more formal styles in chapter headings and at the beginning of each section. An important exception is item 30, where one can observe the earliest dated example of a Maghribī ‘enhanced bookhand’, i.e. a calligraphic and partly composite script employed for copying luxury editions and presentation copies of important religious works, such as in this case Mālik’s *Muwatta’*. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad – the calligrapher who signed the colophon of this manuscript – carefully scored every single line of the text and made extensive use of *mashq* and complex ligatures requiring a frequent lifting of the pen, which sets his work aside from the cursiveness of earlier and contemporary full

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<sup>101</sup> AILLET 2010, 203.

<sup>102</sup> “In a cursive script” (!) according to VAN KONONGSVELD 1994, 444.

bookhands alike. Probably the most outstanding calligraphic trait of this script is the rightward stretching of the body of medial and final *jīm*, *ḥā*’, and *khā*’ below the preceding letters until the beginning of the word, which creates the curious effect of having two, sometimes three different baselines. Also remarkable is the fastidious attention paid to the execution of the semi-circular tails of final *jīm*, *ḥā*’, *khā*’, *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *dād*, *‘ayn*, *ghayn*, *qāf*, *lām*, and *nūn*, as well as *alif maqṣūra*.

The increased occurrence of full bookhands from the 5th/11th-century onwards can be explained in terms of the generalised adoption of formal traits – which had previously been the prerogative of master scribes – by a new generation of copyists with a wide range of fine writing models to follow (elegant titles with fully rendered letter shapes also appear in items 21 and 26). In the same way, the casual scripts of this period seem to have fully embraced the roundness typical of Andalusī bookhands, and are more easily recognisable as Maghribī by comparison with those of the previous century. These rough and extremely cursive hands appear in paper booklets that served as drafts for the final edition of a given work (such as item 19), or in volumes copied by scholars and men of letters for themselves (“*li-naḥṣi-hi*”, as stated in the colophon of item 31).

An interesting phenomenon that affected 5th/11th-century Andalusī scripts is the shrinking in size of full bookhands: this was apparently due to the employment of reed pens with finer nibs, which still allowed the scribes to carry out all the letters’ upstrokes, downstrokes, curls, and tails fully, but in a reduced amount of space (see especially items 15, 17, and 24). This evolution of writing implements, along with the increasing dexterity of the scribes, would gradually lead to the disappearance of half-bookhands in the following century, or better, to their absorption into the category of full bookhands. An important exception is item 18, where the priest Vincentius used a *qalam* with a thick rounded nib, producing a bold script which can be certainly defined as conservative, harking back to the large lettering found in certain manuscripts of the Umayyad period (such as items 6 and 8). This may be explained by the slight delay in the assimilation of the latest Islamic innovations and trends into the relatively isolated Mozarab scriptoria of this later period.<sup>103</sup> However, the parts of item 18 not copied by

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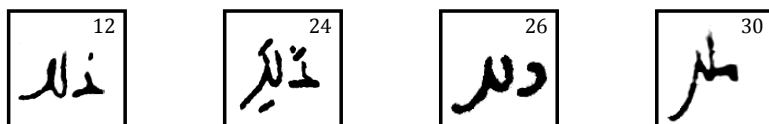
<sup>103</sup> The parts of the ms. copied by Vincentius are: ff. 229a-280b, 378b-433b.

Vincentius himself were penned in a noticeably finer and smaller hand, probably by a subordinate cleric who had trained as a calligrapher.<sup>104</sup>

Despite the close connection between Maghribī round scripts and the Maghribī pointed *qalam*, the *ductus* of the scripts of item 24, and to some extent of item 29, betrays the use of a writing implement with a transversely cut nib, more similar to a *qalam* of the eastern type. In the former case it is likely that Aḥmad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, the skilled calligrapher working for the king al-Mutawakkil of Badajoz, wanted to give his work a Mashriqī ‘flavour’ by accentuating the thick and thin strokes of each letter (especially in the chapter headings) in homage to the eastern master scribes and their treatises on penmanship. That Andalusī calligraphers did sometimes employ reed pens cut according to the eastern tradition already in the 5th/11th century is also confirmed by a parchment fragment of a *Mudawwana* auctioned in 1991, bearing a collation note dated 497/1104, and presenting impressive chapter headings in a bold Maghribī script characterised by a marked shading of the letters [fig. 29].<sup>105</sup>

In terms of the evolution and transformation of certain letter forms and graphemes in the bookhands of this period, the following features can be observed:

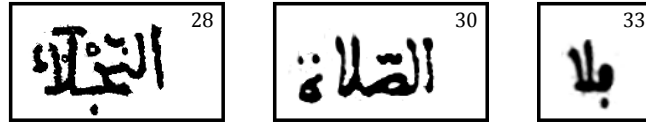
- Final *kāf* is sometimes rendered as a long, curved downstroke starting from the top of a vertical stem – which may or may not be topped by a diagonal stroke – and stretching below the first letter of the following word (items 12, 14, 16, 24, 26, 30, 32). This cursive trait derives from the eastern way of tracing final *kāf* already present in some half-bookhands at the end of the previous century (item 11), and represents a departure from the typically Maghribī final *kāf* with a vertical central stem curving at the bottom (*kāf dāliyya*).



<sup>104</sup> A number of Arabic glosses in Latin-Visigothic manuscripts are datable to the 5th/11th century: some are found in the Bible of Seville (BNE, ms. Vit. 13.1), a codex donated to the cathedral of Seville in 988 AD; others are in the so-called *Codex Visigothicus Legionensis* (León, Biblioteca de la Colegiata de S. Isidoro, ms. 2), another Bible copied in Valeránica in 960 AD; see AILLET 2014, 192, fig. 13; *Id.* 2010, 164-165. José Maria Casciaro Ramírez, writing about the 353 Arabic glosses of the Bible of León, remarks that “*el instrumento con que han sido escritas – a excepción de las de los folios 190 y 305 – no parece que haya sido la pluma de ave, como era costumbre entre los cristianos, sino la caña, habitual en la scriptura arábiga medieval*” (CASCIARO 1970, 305).

<sup>105</sup> CHRISTIE’S 8/10/1991, lot 108.

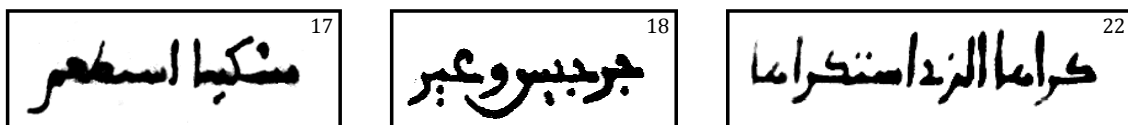
- A calligraphic variant of the *lām-alif* ligature in final position, where the two letters are traced parallel to each other and linked at the bottom by a short horizontal stroke. This feature, which would become typical of the bookhands of the following centuries, can be already observed in the scripts of items 28, 30, and 33.



- The use of *yā' rāji'a* ("bent backwards") in final or isolated position seems to decrease towards the end of the century (items 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33) in favour of *yā' muḥaqqqa*, with its fronted, curled tail, although never in fixed graphemes such as *fī* and *abī*. However, *yā' rāji'a* remains a characteristic of the most formal and conservative scripts (see items 18, 21, 22, 27, 30, 35).

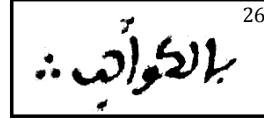
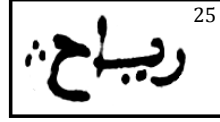
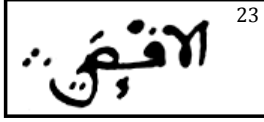


- The serrated profile of the baseline ligatures between *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *'ayn*, *ghayn*, *fā'*, *qāf*, *lām*, *nūn*, and *yā'* has evolved into a more flattened one in half bookhands, while it is still visible in the more conservative full bookhands of items 20, 27, 29.







- A new punctuation mark is introduced sometimes in the mid-5th/11th century to indicate the end of short periods, consisting of three dots arranged in a triangle (items 23, 25, 26, 27, 33, 35). However, it must be noted that in the manuscripts featuring the finer scripts, punctuation marks are only rarely employed, and the separation between periods and paragraphs is emphasised through empty spaces, the use of *mashq*, and words in bolder scripts (see, for instance, items 15, 24, 30). This seems to suggest that the most skilled Andalusī calligraphers of the period, especially those who copied

religious works of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, considered punctuation signs as an unnecessary innovation and a superfluous addition to the text.



Rather surprisingly, the use of coloured inks to highlight chapter headings, paragraph titles, and particularly important portions of text is still very limited in the Andalusī manuscripts of the *ṭāʾifa* period. In item 12, the scribe employed a bright red ink (and a *qalam* with a slightly thicker nib) to highlight the beginning of each alphabetical section of al-Bukhārī’s dictionary of *ḥadīth* transmitters. The only other item featuring coloured inks (if we exclude the illumination of item 30) is the Mozarab codex of the Canons of the Church of Spain (item 18), where both vermilion red and verdigris green were used to emphasise rubrics and headings, as well as to draw diagrams and synoptic tables.

**KEY TO THE CHART IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES**

IN: INITIAL		CASUAL SCRIPTS
M: MEDIAL		HALF BOOKHANDS
F: FINAL		FULL BOOKHANDS
IS: ISOLATED		ENHANCED BOOKHANDS

SYNOPTIC TABLE OF THE SCRIPTS EMPLOYED IN ITEMS 12-23												
PALAEOGRAPHIC INDICATORS	ITEMS											
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
<i>Alif</i> with spur (F)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Concave <i>bā'</i> , <i>tā'</i> , <i>thā'</i> and <i>fā'</i> (F-IS)	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Open <i>bā'</i> , <i>tā'</i> , <i>thā'</i> and <i>fā'</i> (F-IS)	√	√	√	√		√	√		√	√	√	√
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl kāfiyya</i> (IS)				√		√	√		√			√
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl kāfiyya</i> with spur (IS)												√
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl</i> with pronounced descender (F)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Sīn</i> , <i>shīn</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>dād</i> , <i>qāf</i> and <i>nūn</i> with semi-circular tail (F-IS)	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Sīn</i> , <i>shīn</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>dād</i> , <i>qāf</i> and <i>nūn</i> with broken tail (F-IS)												
<i>Dād</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with oval body	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Dād</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with angular body				√			√		√			
<i>Tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with diagonal stem	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>ʿAyn</i> and <i>ghayn</i> with oversized curl (IN-IS)				√		√	√	√		√	√	√
<i>Fā'</i> with one dot below	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Fā'</i> with one dot above												
<i>Qāf</i> with one dot above	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Qāf</i> with two dots above												
<i>Kāf</i> with vertical descender (F-IS)	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Kāf</i> with vertical descender and spur (F-IS)							√					
<i>Kāf</i> as semicircle with top stroke (IN-M)			√		√				√		√	√
<i>Kāf</i> as semicircle without top stroke (IN-M)			√									
<i>Mīm</i> with long concave tail (F-IS)		√		√		√	√	√		√	√	√
<i>Mīm</i> with short concave tail (F-IS)	√				√							
<i>Mīm</i> with convex tail turned backwards (F-IS)	√		√	√		√	√	√	√			
<i>Yā' rāji'a</i> (F-IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Yā' muhaqqāqa</i> (F-IS)				√				√			√	√
<i>Tā' marbūṭa</i> drawn as a 6 (IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
<i>Tā' marbūṭa</i> drawn as an inverted 6 (IS)												√
<i>Madd</i> (elongation)				√		√	√		√		√	√
Western <i>tashdīd</i>	√	√		√	√	√		√	√	√		√
Eastern <i>tashdīd</i>	√		√						√			√
Stacked dots (aligned in the case of <i>shīn</i> )												
<i>Lām-alif</i> in two strokes	√	√		√		√	√		√		√	
<i>Lām-alif</i> in one stroke	√		√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√

**SYNOPTIC TABLE OF THE SCRIPTS EMPLOYED IN ITEMS 24-36**

	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	32	33	33	34	35	36
<i>Alif</i> with spur (F)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Concave <i>bā'</i> , <i>tā'</i> , <i>thā'</i> and <i>fā'</i> (F-IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√
Open <i>bā'</i> , <i>tā'</i> , <i>thā'</i> and <i>fā'</i> (F-IS)	√			√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl kāfiyya</i> (IS)	√			√	√	√	√					√	√
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl kāfiyya</i> with spur (IS)				√			√						
<i>Dāl</i> and <i>dhāl</i> with pronounced descender (F)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Sīn</i> , <i>shīn</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>dād</i> , <i>qāf</i> , <i>nūn</i> with semi-circular tail (F-IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√
<i>Sīn</i> , <i>shīn</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>dād</i> , <i>qāf</i> and <i>nūn</i> with broken tail (F-IS)													
<i>Dād</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with oval body	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Dād</i> , <i>ṣād</i> , <i>tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with angular body	√			√	√	√	√					√	√
<i>Tā'</i> and <i>zā'</i> with diagonal stem	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√
<i>ʿAyn</i> and <i>ghayn</i> with oversized curl (IN-IS)	√	√			√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√
<i>Fā'</i> with one dot below	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Fā'</i> with one dot above													
<i>Qāf</i> with one dot above	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Qāf</i> with two dots above													
<i>Kāf</i> with vertical descender (F-IS)	√	√		√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√
<i>Kāf</i> with vertical descender and spur (F-IS)				√			√			√	√	√	
<i>Kāf</i> as semicircle with top stroke (IN-M)			√		√		√	√			√		
<i>Kāf</i> as semicircle without top stroke (IN-M)		√	√					√					
<i>Mīm</i> with long concave tail (F-IS)	√				√	√	√			√		√	√
<i>Mīm</i> with short concave tail (F-IS)									√	√	√		
<i>Mīm</i> with convex tail turned backwards (F-IS)	√	√	√	√	√		√	√			√	√	
<i>Yā' rāji'a</i> (F-IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
<i>Yā' muhaqqāqa</i> (F-IS)		√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√		√	√
<i>Tā' marbūṭa</i> drawn as a 6 (IS)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√		√
<i>Tā' marbūṭa</i> drawn as an inverted 6 (IS)								√				√	
<i>Madd</i> (elongation)	√	√		√	√	√	√			√	√	√	√
Western <i>tashdīd</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√
Eastern <i>tashdīd</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√			√	
Stacked dots (aligned in the case of <i>shīn</i> )				√			√						
<i>Lām-alif</i> in two strokes	√			√	√	√	√				√		√
<i>Lām-alif</i> in one stroke	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

ويُقَالُ لِقَبْتِ بَيْتِهَا بَارِحًا وَلَقَيْتُ مِنْهُ الْبَحْرَ وَالْبَحْرَ جِبْرًا وَلَا لِأَجْرٍ  
 صَدْرِي بِبَيْتِهَا هَذَا مَا رُوِيَ وَفِيهِ خَلَاطٌ مِنَ الطُّوبَى مَا حَدَّثَ مَعَهُ مِنْ  
 أَمْرِ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ أَمْرًا حَدَّثَ وَالْمَجْرُومُ الْإِلَهِي

**عَلَّمَ جِبْرًا مَلَأَ عَلَى كِبَالِ الْخَيْلِ سَبَابًا وَأَمْرًا مَمْرًا دَسْرًا**

قَالَ الطُّوبَى مَيْبَتًا إِذَا بَلَغَ الضَّيْبُ عِنْدَهُمْ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ نَفْسًا لَمَسَتْ عِنْدَهُمْ  
 مَيْبَتًا لَا يَضْبَعُونَ إِخْرًا وَلَا يَنْتَوُونَ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ إِذَا بَلَغَ عِنْدَهُمْ الضَّيْبُ  
 وَقَوْلُهُمْ كَلِمَةً لَمْ يَلْقُوا لَأَقْبِرُوا الْأَكْبَالَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 نَبِيَّ كِبَالِ الْخَيْلِ فَتَمَّ كَلِمَةً لَمْ يَلْقُوا لَأَقْبِرُوا عَلَيْهِمْ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 وَالْبُزْؤَانُ لَكَ وَالْبُزْؤَانُ الْعَلَمُ الرَّجُلُ يُقَالُ رَجُلٌ بُزْؤَانٌ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 فَوَيْبٌ وَالسُّوْمُ الْمَالُ الرَّابِعُ وَيُقَالُ سَامَ الْمَالُ لَمْ يَسْمُومُوا إِذَا رَجَعُوا وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ  
 أَعْلَى سَامَةَ أَيْ عَجَبَتُهُ وَيُقَالُ خَيْلُهُ وَسُومُهُ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 أَبُو عَيْبَةَ السُّوْمُ يَفْعُ عَلَى الْمَنْعِ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي وَالسُّوْمُ الْمَالُ  
 أَوْ يَضْبَعُ الْوَلَدُ مِنْ تَسَامِيهِ وَالرَّشْرُ الْكُنْبُ وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 فِي الْخَيْرِ شَحْلٌ فِي رَسْمِ اللَّهِ خَذَبَ لَهُ الدُّوْرُ الْأَجْرِي إِصْحَابُ الْأَمْوَالِ  
 الْكُنْبُ وَقَوْلُهُمْ هَذَا الْأَجْرِي لَمْ يَنْصُرُوا وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 الْبَيْرُ وَالرُّبُوبُ وَيُقَالُ أَمْرًا دَسْرًا وَأَمْرًا مَمْرًا وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 وَالرُّبُوبُ عَلَى عَيْبِهِ الرُّشْرُ وَالرُّشْرُ مَا لَا يَبْرُ مَا هُوَ مِنْ كُنْفَتِهِ

**جَمَادِيَةُ الْبَيْتِ بَيْتِهَا بَارِحًا وَالْبَحْرُ وَالْبَحْرَ جِبْرًا**

كَرَاهِيَةُ الْبَيْتِ وَفِيهِ وَالضَّلَافَةُ قَالَ أَبُو سُوَيْبٍ وَالطُّوبَى جَمَادِي  
 أَضْرًا لَأَنْتَ مَا هُوَ الْبَيْتُ وَيُقَالُ أَيْضًا سَبَابَةُ جَمَادِي لَا مَجْرُومَ مَا وَفَاءُ  
 جَمَادِي لَأَنْتَ مَا هُوَ الْبَيْتُ وَالْبَحْرُ الْبَحْرُ وَالْبَحْرُ الْبَحْرُ وَالْبَحْرُ الْبَحْرُ  
 تَبَّتْ وَقَوْلُهُمْ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 تَبَّتْ وَقَوْلُهُمْ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي وَفِيهِ بَعْضُ مَا حَدَّثَ الْبَيْتَ الْإِلَهِي  
 جَمَادِيَةُ الْبَيْتِ بَيْتِهَا بَارِحًا وَالْبَحْرُ وَالْبَحْرَ جِبْرًا

Fig. 26 – Riyadh, Sa‘ūd al-Bābṭayn Library, ms. 47. A parchment folio from an undated Andalusī commentary upon the *Diwān* of an unknown poet (5th/11th century, from *QABS MIN MAKHTŪṬĀT* 2010).

نسبه حكه واكاب  
الذك كتابا كما  
كانت نسبة حكة  
عبر كالا حكة كما  
نالي عن حطبه اثني  
اربع جزا الشبع



وتلا ثمن جزا ص . ما بين هذا مبلغ ما تقدم وعنده من قده الاشياء  
واه وقد عرفت ان من زها في الثلثين السبعة من الثلثين فثمان  
على هذه النسبة اذا اخرجنا كل واحد من الاضلاع كانت ثغرتنا  
كما اعدنا الموضوعة للثمن قبل التي الوفوي وبعها ووجب ضرورة  
ان يكون قوس حيم كما قد فرس قوس والفوس الاخر اليها فيه قوس اخر  
والا ليوست قوسه لانه مقدمه بوجهه على هذا النحو وبع انه ان  
وطبق مثلث العبا با حيم وطلع با حيم اكو ابع ضلع الو حيم حكة  
حيم واليسين حيم حيم حكة الو حيم كانت نسبة حكة حيم والاي حكة  
داليا اعلمكم من نسبة لادويه الو با حيم والادويه الو حيم با حيم والادويه  
على هذه النسبة والاي حيم حكة الو حيم والادويه الاضلاع  
وتخرج حكة الو حيم على الاضلاع وليتبعها على حكة راى

بمادة الا جزا ثمان ماب و خمسة وسنوي جزا و خمس فاني و اربع  
وشلا ثمن ثمانية فانها من ثمانية على عدد والثلث اعلاه و خمسة  
وسنوي جزا و خمس فاني و اربع و شلا ثمن ثمانية الثلاثة الا لا ي  
و خمس ماب و سبعة و خمس جزا و خمس اربع و حيم فده مخرج  
من النسبة فتكون اربع جزا وستة فاني و خمس اربع و ثمانية اثنا عشر  
طبعه وهو جزا و حيم واحد و اربع و ثمانية و طبعه و ثمانية و حيم  
حكة كما ان وهو واحد على حطاه وبع عدد حكة راى حيم وهو ثمانية  
وعشر جزا و خمس عشر جزا فده و ست و اربع و ثمانية ثمان و حيم  
لنا حكة كما ان اربع جزا و حيم و حيم واحد و اربع و ثمانية ثمان و حيم  
لكال الاضلاع جزا و حيم واحد و اربع و ثمانية ثمان و حيم واحد  
الو راى وستة اربع و شلا و حيم واحد و اربع و ثمانية ثمان و حيم  
حكة حيم راى حيم سبعة اربع و شلا و حيم واحد و حيم و خمس و حيم و ثمانية  
ملائمة او ضالاب راى ماب جزا الا حكة بها حكة الو راى ستا جزا و حيم  
دقيه فيها حكة راى حيم واحد و حيم واحد و اربع و ثمانية و الا جزا  
التي بها حكة الو راى حيم واحد و حيم واحد و اربع و ثمانية و حيم  
جزا وستة و عشر جزا و حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد  
ستة و ثمانية و حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد  
لها على الاضلاع لانه حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد و حيم واحد

المرسل

Fig. 27 – Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 654, ff. 5b-6a. Parchment folios from an undated Andalusī Almagest, penned in a typical 5th/11th-century full bookhand.



Fig. 28 – Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 1238, f. 152a.  
Undated parchment copy of al-Zubaydī's *Mukhtaṣar al-ʿAyn*, with illuminated chapter headings, penned in a typical 5th/11th-century full bookhand.

الزرع له والوضيعة عليه وكان عليه اجر الزحوا والبيت لانهما اجرة  
 وكان عمله كأنه رأس المال قال ومنه من يرب اصله فويل لله والله اعلم  
**في الصانعين** **تستر كان يعمل ايديهما**  
**بمرض احدهما او يغيب**  
 قلت رأيت فصار بين او حرا الدين او اعمل الصناعات  
 كهم اشترى لواكل نوع على ان ما رزق الله بينهما مرض احدهما وعمل الاخر  
 قال قال مالك انما الشريك او كانه في خانة فاجتمع مرض احدهما وعمل الاخر  
 والعمل بينهما فلا يمرضهما وكذلك ان غاب احدهما اليوم واليومين وما  
 اشبهه وعمل الاخر والعمل بينهما لان من امر جاري من الشركات قال ابن  
 القاسم ولكن ان مرض فتكاوله مرضه او ما يشبهه او غاب فتكاول  
 ذلك فهذا في حال عمل الحاضر والصحيح واجب ان يجعل  
 نصيب العمل لشريكه الغائب او المريض من غير شريك كان بينهما  
 في اصل الشركة اذ من مرضه ما مثل المرض الكحول او غاب عنها الغيبة  
 البعيدة فما عمل الاخر فهو بينهما فانه لا يميز من الشركة لبيتهما والشركة  
 فامسدة فلت تجعك مزا عن ذلك من المرض الكحول او الغيبة  
 الكسولة قال لا الا ان ملكا فلديعا ونز الشريك في المرض والشغل  
 فقلت ان ذلك على المرض الخفيف والغيبه والغيبه فقلت فان مرض الترتب  
 بينهما وامسرت هذه الشركة بينهما كيف تصح فاعمل ان يكون  
 ما عملا ان يوم ما مرض او غاب بينهما على قدر عمله او على عمل الصحيح  
 بعد المرض او الحاضر بعد الغائب وذلك العامل ولا يكون لصاحبه  
 في الشريك الصانعين **تعمل ايديهما**  
**بمرض احدهما او يغيب**

رأيت فصار بين او حرا الدين او اعمل الصناعات  
 كهم اشترى لواكل نوع على ان ما رزق الله بينهما مرض احدهما وعمل الاخر  
 قال قال مالك انما الشريك او كانه في خانة فاجتمع مرض احدهما وعمل الاخر  
 والعمل بينهما فلا يمرضهما وكذلك ان غاب احدهما اليوم واليومين وما  
 اشبهه وعمل الاخر والعمل بينهما لان من امر جاري من الشركات قال ابن  
 القاسم ولكن ان مرض فتكاوله مرضه او ما يشبهه او غاب فتكاول  
 ذلك فهذا في حال عمل الحاضر والصحيح واجب ان يجعل  
 نصيب العمل لشريكه الغائب او المريض من غير شريك كان بينهما  
 في اصل الشركة اذ من مرضه ما مثل المرض الكحول او غاب عنها الغيبة  
 البعيدة فما عمل الاخر فهو بينهما فانه لا يميز من الشركة لبيتهما والشركة  
 فامسدة فلت تجعك مزا عن ذلك من المرض الكحول او الغيبة  
 الكسولة قال لا الا ان ملكا فلديعا ونز الشريك في المرض والشغل  
 فقلت ان ذلك على المرض الخفيف والغيبه والغيبه فقلت فان مرض الترتب  
 بينهما وامسرت هذه الشركة بينهما كيف تصح فاعمل ان يكون  
 ما عملا ان يوم ما مرض او غاب بينهما على قدر عمله او على عمل الصحيح  
 بعد المرض او الحاضر بعد الغائب وذلك العامل ولا يكون لصاحبه

اعمل

Fig. 29 – Current location unknown (image from CHRISTIE’s 8/10/1991).  
 Parchment folio from a dispersed copy of the *Mudawwana*, copied before Sha’bān  
 497/1104, by an Andalusī scribe who employed a *qalam* with a transversely cut nib.

## Maghribī round scripts and the Qur’ān

The earliest material evidence of the adoption of Maghribī round scripts for copying the Qur’ān – in the form of four dated items which will be discussed shortly – dates from the very end of the 4th/10th and the 5th/11th century. Prior to that time, Quranic manuscripts produced in al-Andalus featured angular calligraphic scripts belonging to the family of the so-called ‘ancient Abbasid scripts’, simply referred to as Kufic (“*khatt Kūfī*” or “*Kūfiyya*”) in medieval Andalusī sources.<sup>106</sup> The historian Ibn Fayyād (or Ibn Abī al-Fayyād, d. 459/1066) reports that he saw in the eastern part of Cordova 170 women copying the Qur’ān “*bi-l-khatt al-Kūfī*”, attesting to the continuation of the Andalusī Kufic tradition well into the 5th/11th century, alongside the rise of round Quranic scripts.<sup>107</sup>

The specificities of this tradition, differing from the eastern one mainly (but not only) in the notation system, have recently received some scholarly attention, and a group of fragmentary *maṣāḥif* (plural of *muṣḥaf*, meaning “Quranic manuscript”) from several European and Middle Eastern collections have been convincingly attributed to Umayyad al-Andalus.<sup>108</sup> However, the study of these early parchment codices in horizontal format – featuring scripts related to Déroche’s groups D.II and D.III – is still at an embryonic stage, and the holdings of many North African libraries (first and foremost the Qarawiyyīn) are still waiting for a thorough survey to be carried out by specialists of early Quranic palaeography and codicology, which will certainly shed new light on the relationship between *maṣāḥif* penned before and after the introduction of Maghribī round scripts.<sup>109</sup>

The problematic labels of “Maghribī Kufic” and “Western Kufic” are still applied rather carelessly to different types of angular scripts appearing in Quranic fragments of North African provenance, but whose actual place of copying is far from

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<sup>106</sup> See, for instance, IBN AL-‘AṬṬĀR 1983, 206–207 (For a Spanish translation see *Id.* 2000, 367–368).

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Fayyād’s passage (taken from his lost *Tā’rīkh Qurtuba*) is quoted in the work of the Almohad historian ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (see AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1963, 456–457).

<sup>108</sup> GEORGE 2015.

<sup>109</sup> Some of the earliest Kufic Qur’āns in the Qarawiyyīn (and other Moroccan libraries) are published in *DALĪL MA’RĪḌ MAṢĀḤĪF AL-MAGHRIB* 2011. All references to Déroche’s taxonomy of the *écritures abbasides anciennes* are based on DÉROCHE 1983, DÉROCHE 1992, and GEORGE 2010, 147–161.

clear.<sup>110</sup> Needless to say, geographical designations such as these are of little use if not supported by stylistic or textual evidence. One of these early Quranic scripts (D.Vc) has even been considered a precursor to Maghribī round bookhands because of the swooping, semi-circular shape of its final *nūn* and the curved tail of *mīm* [fig. 30].<sup>111</sup> Its appearance in some of the manuscripts from the ancient library of the Great Mosque of Qayrawān (along with a wide array of other styles) may well indicate that this script was employed or even devised in Ifrīqiya. However, we have seen that Maghribī round scripts did not originate in North Africa but in the Iberian Peninsula, and if the influence of Ifrīqī bookhands upon those of al-Andalus was virtually non-existent, there is no reason why a Quranic calligraphic style should have had any at all. In fact, given the mid-4th/10th-century date generally attributed to D.Vc, it is much more likely that its round features were inspired by those of Andalusī bookhands – established at least since the end of the previous century – and not vice versa. The same can be said for the numerous Quranic fragments in semi-Maghribī and Maghribī round scripts also from Qayrawān, datable to the first half of the 5th/11th century and still unpublished, most likely penned either by visiting Andalusī scribes or by local ones deeply influenced by Andalusī modes.<sup>112</sup> The most interesting among these unbound folios belong to a small horizontal *muṣḥaf* endowed to the mosque of Madīnat ‘Izz al-Islām (i.e. Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya) by Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kātib, head of the financial administration (“*ṣāhib bayt al-māl*”) of the Zirid *amīr* al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs, in 446/1054 [fig. 31].<sup>113</sup> Far from demonstrating the existence of a local tradition of round Quranic scripts predating the Andalusī one, these fragments suggest that the adoption of round scripts in Iberian Qur’āns had an impact on the Ifrīqī manuscript production in the years immediately before the sack of Qayrawān and the abandonment of Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya in 449/1057.

<sup>110</sup> See, for instance, AFĀ 2013A, 36-37; PUERTA 2007, 49; LINGS 2005, 51; KHEMIR 1992, 115; LINGS & SAFADI 1976, 29-30. An interesting case of “*écriture coufique maghrébine*” is ms. 1 J of the BNMR, consisting of two volumes from a large Qur’ān in a vertical format, written in a grandiose angular script with extravagant serifs, and datable to the 5th/11th century: see *SPLendeurs de l’écriture* 2017, 36; *DALĪL MA’RĪD MAṢĀHIF AL-MAGHRIB* 2011, 34-35; *DE L’EMPIRE ROMAIN* 1990, 78, 248-249, Nos. 494-495.

<sup>111</sup> LINGS & SAFADI 1976, 29-30; SCHIMMEL 1984, 8; BLAIR 2006, 121-122. For manuscript fragments featuring this script, see RAMMAH 2009, 40; DÉROCHE 1992, 109, No. 58; *DE CARTHAGE À KAIROUAN* 1982, 274-275, No. 358.

<sup>112</sup> I thank Dr Mourad Rammah for having provided me with several images of these folios.

<sup>113</sup> The name of this important functionary of the Zirid administration is only known through the endowment certificate appearing in this Quranic manuscript, which reads: “*Amara bi-awqāf hadhihi al-rab’a bi-jāmi’ Madīnat ‘Izz al-Islām ... Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-kātib ṣāhib bayt al-māl ibtighā’an li-thawāb Allāh al-‘azīm fī Muḥarram sanat sitt wa-arba‘in wa-arba‘mi’a*”.

The use of angular Quranic scripts in Umayyad al-Andalus appears to have reflected eastern practices and models with only minor stylistic divergences: precious and ancient *maṣāḥif* coming from the Mashriq were not only revered as relics but probably also considered as archetypes by local Quranic scribes. The most important among them was the so-called ‘Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān’, a codex placed by al-Ḥakam II in the Great Mosque of Cordova in 354/965, now lost, which probably dated from the 2nd/8th century, as most of the extant *maṣāḥif* attributed to the hand (or the reign) of the third rightly-guided caliph.<sup>114</sup> The ‘Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān’ remained in al-Andalus until 552/1157, when the Almohad ruler ‘Abd al-Mu’min brought it to Marrakesh; here, it seems to have performed an even more important ceremonial function than it had in Cordova.<sup>115</sup> The high symbolic status of these early Qur’āns is reflected in the accounts of the personal copies owned and cherished by the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III (r. 300/912-350/961) and by the *hājib* and *de facto* ruler al-Manṣūr (r. 366/976-403/1002). The former, a *muṣḥaf* in 12 volumes according to Ibn Ḥayyān’s *Muqtabis*, was lost to the Christian enemy during the battle of Alhándega (327/938) and later retrieved to the great relief of its owner.<sup>116</sup> The latter, penned by al-Manṣūr himself, was carried by him on his journeys and military expeditions.<sup>117</sup>

Already before the adoption of Maghribī round scripts in Andalusī Qur’āns, the biographical dictionaries point to the existence of a distinct category of scribes and *warrāqūn* specialised in the copy of Quranic manuscripts and their vocalization – the so called *nuqqāt* (plural of *nāqīṭ*, literally “dotter”). Because of the nature of their craft, these men and women were trained in Quranic exegesis, recitation, and textual variants,

<sup>114</sup> According to Ibn Marzūq (who bases himself on earlier sources): “On Sunday, 8 Jumādā II in the year 354 (11th June 965) this Qur’ān was placed in the great mosque of Cordova and arranged so that the *imām* could read from it after the morning prayer each day, following the example of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, who had written it with his own hand” (see ZADEH 2008, 334; BENNISON 2007, 139; DODDS 1990, 100-101). The same manuscript is also mentioned in Ibn Ḥayyān’s *Muqtabis* (see BURÉSI 2008A, 276, n. 12). For the extant “Qur’āns of ‘Uthmān” in Istanbul, Cairo, Tashkent, and St. Petersburg, see DÉROCHE 2014, 2-3, nn. 12-15; DÉROCHE 2013; ALTİKULAÇ 2007; REZVAN 2000.

<sup>115</sup> BENNISON 2007. The vicissitudes of the “Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān” are discussed by several late medieval sources, including IBN MARZŪQ 1981, 456-463 (for a Spanish translation, see IBN MARZŪQ 1977, 377-383). A similarly revered manuscript was the so-called *muṣḥaf* of ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’, which also belonged to the Almohad caliphs (BINEBINE 1992, 211). This ms. can be identified with a Qur’ān now in the Topkapı Palace Library (ms. E. H. 44), whose colophon states that it was copied for ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ by Ḥadīj b. Mu‘āwiya al-Anṣārī in the year 47/667 (see KARATAY 1962, I, 81; AL-MUNAJJID 1972, 83, figs. 42-44).

<sup>116</sup> IBN ḤAYYĀN 1965, 436, 475. The passage is mentioned in BENNISON 2007, 139; AL-‘ABBĀDĪ 2005, 75.

<sup>117</sup> IBN ‘IDHĀRĪ 1983, II, 288: “*Inna-hu khaṭṭa bi-yaday-hi muṣḥaf kāna yaḥmilu-hu ma‘a-hu fī asfāri-hi, yadrus fī-hi wa-yatabarraka bi-hi*”.

as is the case of the Cordovan scholar Abū al-Qāsim Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (or al-Ḥajjām, d. 397/1006), who “learnt the Qur’ān from Abū al-Ḥasan al-Anṭakī al-Muqri’ according to the reading of Nāfi’ and the *riwāya* of Warsh and Qālūn. He was expert in both variants, taught them to other people, and copied and vocalised Quranic manuscripts as he had learnt from al-Anṭakī”.<sup>118</sup> Another pupil of al-Anṭakī’s, a certain Ibn Sharīf al-Bakrī (d. 395/1004), set up a stall (“*dukkān*”) near the Great Mosque of Cordova, where he would spend his days vocalising *maṣāḥif* and teaching Quranic recitation to beginners (“*kāna [...] yunqaṭ al-maṣāḥif wa-yu’allim al-mubtadi’īn*”).<sup>119</sup> To the ranks of these Umayyad *nuqqāṭ* also belonged Ḥubaysh Ibn Abī al-Fawārish, the son of the *qāḍī* of Seville under al-Ḥakam II, who could write an entire *muṣḥaf* in just two weeks;<sup>120</sup> the famous Cordovan poetess and polymath ‘Ā’isha bt. Aḥmad (d. 400/1009);<sup>121</sup> Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Abī al-Shā’irī al-Warrāq al-Muqri’ (d. after 350/961), also from Cordova;<sup>122</sup> and Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (d. 363/974), from Medina-Sidonia.<sup>123</sup> All these personages are praised not only for their exact vocalisation and exquisite penmanship, but also for their piety and moral virtues. Outside of Cordova, the city of Toledo seems to have represented a second important centre for the production of Quranic manuscripts in both the Umayyad and the *tā’ifa* periods. Here worked the famous Naṣr al-Muṣḥafī al-Nāqīṭ,<sup>124</sup> the skilled Yūsuf b. Sa’īd b. Mashkarīl (d. 375/985),<sup>125</sup> and the prolific Ismā’īl Ibn al-Shaykh (347/958-440s/1050s), who “spent his entire life copying *maṣāḥif* in a beautiful script, from his early years in Cordova until his death in Toledo [*kāna khaṭṭāṭ bāri’ al-khaṭṭ fī-l-maṣāḥif wa-afnā’ umura-hu fī kitābati-hā min awwal nashā’ti-hi bi-Qurṭuba ilā an māta bi-Ṭulayṭula*].”<sup>126</sup> The pious activity of transcribing the Sacred Book was also fashionable among the royal élites, from the daughter of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II, al-Bahā’ (d. 305/917), who used to endow her work probably to a Cordovan

<sup>118</sup> IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-1883, I, 162, No. 356.

<sup>119</sup> PUA, id. 184; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-1883, I, 91, No. 190.

<sup>120</sup> PUA, id. 8562; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-1889, I, 108, No. 364.

<sup>121</sup> PUA, id. 4066; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-1883, II, 630, No. 1412.

<sup>122</sup> PUA, id. 1425; mentioned in PUERTA 2007, 148-149.

<sup>123</sup> IBN AL-FARADĪ 1891-1892, I, 367, No. 1304.

<sup>124</sup> PUA, id. 11212; mentioned in PUERTA 2007, 154.

<sup>125</sup> PUA, id. 11836.

<sup>126</sup> PUA, id. 3833; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-1883, I, 198, No. 443.

mosque founded by herself,<sup>127</sup> to the already mentioned al-Manṣūr, to the Zirid sultan of the *tā'ifa* of Granada ‘Abd Allāh b. Buluqqīn (r. 465/1073-483/1090).<sup>128</sup>

As already mentioned, the work of the earliest Quranic copyists of al-Andalus only survives in the form of fragmentary codices and dispersed leaves, without any colophon mentioning their date or place of production, or the name of the scribe who penned them. The written sources do not make any reference to a distinctive ‘Andalusī Kufic’ which may (or may not) have been employed in these manuscripts, so that the identification of such script is entirely dependent on the research of Arabic palaeographers.<sup>129</sup> There was, however, a distinctive Andalusī way of dotting (i. e. vocalising) the Qur’ān, based on the practice of the people of Medina, which probably developed in the recitation circles established by Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) and was later adopted in the lands where the Mālikī doctrine became predominant, especially in Muslim Iberia.<sup>130</sup> The Andalusī scholar al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) insists on the specificity of the dotting employed by the “vocalisers of our country [*nuqqāṭ bilādi-nā*]”, based on the authoritative model established by Ḥakam (Ḥakīm) b. ‘Imrān al-Muqri’, “*nāqiṭ ahl al-Andalus*”, in a *muṣḥaf* written in 227/842, which al-Dānī describes as follows:

“The vowels were indicated by red dots, the *hamzāt* by yellow [dots], and initial *alifāt al-waṣl* [*mubtada*’, i.e. after a pause in recitation] by green [dots]. *Ṣilāt*, *sukūn*, and *tashdīd* were marked in a thin red pen [*bi-qalam daqīq bi-l-ḥumra*], in the way that we have related about the vocalisers of our land. The *ṣila* was above the alif if preceded by a *fatha*, below it if preceded by a *kasra*, and along its middle if preceded by a *damma*. Alifs omitted in the rasm [*al-alifāt al-maḥdhūfāt min al-rasm*] were included in an abbreviated form [*ikhtisār*] in red. There was a small circle in red for unpronounced letters [*hurūf zawā’id*] and *mukhaḥḥaf* letters, as in “*anā la’awḍa ‘ū*” [Q. 9:47], “*a-fā’in mitta*” [Q. 21:34], “*ul[ā]’ika*” and “*a-man huwa q[ā]nitun*” [Q. 39:9], as we have shown about the people of Medina, and as became the custom of the people of our land”.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> ÁVILA 1989, 155, No. 19.

<sup>128</sup> IBN AL-KHAṬĪB 1973-1977, III, 379-380: *Wa-kāna [...] ḥasan al-khaṭṭ. Kāna bi-Gharnāṭa rab’a muṣḥaf bi-khaṭṭi-hi fī nihāyat al-ṣan’a wa-l-itqān* ».

<sup>129</sup> The only exception, as we have seen, is the laconic reference to an “Andalusī Kufic” style in al-Tawḥīdī’s *Risāla* (see *supra*, 36-37, n. 20).

<sup>130</sup> GEORGE 2015, 7-11; DUTTON 1999, 117-120.

<sup>131</sup> AL-DĀNĪ 1960, 87. This passage is translated and discussed in GEORGE 2015, I, 8-9. See also DUTTON 1999, 119.

The extent to which these very detailed norms were actually followed by Andalusī copyists is difficult to assess. There are indeed some Quranic fragments whose notation corresponds almost entirely to that employed by Ḥakam al-Muqriʿ, but other manuscripts which may have been copied in the Muslim West depart noticeably from this practice (they can be entirely vocalised in red ink, for instance).<sup>132</sup> What is sure is that the ancient vocalisation system of Abū al-Aswad al-Duʿalī, based on coloured dots rather than on the modern symbols of *kasra*, *ḍamma*, and *fatha*, still appears in the earliest *maṣāḥif* penned in Maghribī round scripts, such as Q1 and Q2. In fact, the 5th/11th century was a crucial period of gradual transition for Andalusī Quranic manuscripts, which not only involved the yielding of angular Kufic to round scripts, but also the replacement of al-Duʿalī’s system of vocalisation with that of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, and the shift from the horizontal format to the vertical one.

The four dated items attesting to this ‘mutation’ in the Quranic tradition of al-Andalus are the following:

- Q1. 398/1008** [Rajab]. Single folio from a codex in horizontal format. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. ŞE 13216/1;<sup>133</sup>
- Q2. 432/1040** [Şafar]. Single folio from a codex in horizontal format. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, inv. ŞE 13644/1;<sup>134</sup>
- Q3. 470/1078** [Ramaḍān, copied in Cordova]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in miniature square format. Auctioned in 2006 and again in 2008;<sup>135</sup>
- Q4. 483/1090** [Jumādā I]. Last volume from an eight-volume set in medium, quasi-square format. Uppsala, University Library, ms. O.Bj. 48.<sup>136</sup>

The two single folios of Q1 and Q2, providentially discovered by Déroche in 1991, are fundamental to establish a chronological frame for the mutation of the aspect – and the notion itself – of the *muṣḥaf* in 5th/11th-century al-Andalus.

<sup>132</sup> GEORGE 2015, II, 90 ff.; *DALĪL MAʿRĪḌ MAṢĀḤĪF AL-MAGRĪB* 2011, 86-87.

<sup>133</sup> DÉROCHE 1991.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> BONHAM’S 12/10/2006, lot 5; CHRISTIE’S 7/10/2008, lot 97.

<sup>136</sup> TORNBERG 1849, 245-246, No. CCCLXXI; *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 224, No. 127; DÉROCHE 2001, 608; *ANDALOUSIES* 2000, 158, No. 179. BARRUCAND 2005, 76, n. 11, gives for this ms. the shelf mark No. 371, which is its number in Tornberg’s catalogue.

Palaeographically, Q1 displays a fully-fledged script with marked calligraphic traits, “*d’assez grand module*”,<sup>137</sup> which may already be defined as ‘*mabsūṭ*’ (in the sense of “dilated”, “stretched”), a term generally applied by modern Moroccan scholars only to later Quranic styles.<sup>138</sup> The earliest Andalusī author employing the adjective *mabsūṭ* with reference to calligraphy is the Nasrid secretary Ibn Sīmak al-‘Āmilī (d. after 820/1417) in a passage of his *Rawnaq al-taḥbīr*, speaking of “the Quranic script used nowadays”.<sup>139</sup> Despite the absence of references to ‘Maghribī *mabsūṭ* scripts’ in earlier sources, I believe this expression to be both sufficiently appropriate and useful, and I have therefore decided to adopt it for the few instances of Quranic (and non-Quranic) calligraphy dating from the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries, which was not executed in miniature styles.

The confident and elegant flow of the *ductus* in Q1 denotes the existence of a set of calligraphic canons that was already established during the second half of the 4th/10th century for copying the Qur’ān in Maghribī round scripts. In Q2 the script is also elegant, meticulously traced, and well rounded, but smaller in size and more sober. Quite surprisingly, the colophon is here written in an angular style derived from ancient Abbasid scripts (related to Deroche’s group D), which defies the popular perception of the ‘sacred’ character of Kufic and of its primacy over curvilinear scripts within the sphere of Quranic calligraphy. Moreover, this clearly attests to the persistence of the use of Kufic in Andalusī Qur’āns until the mid-11th century at least, corroborating Ibn Fayyāḍ’s account.

Despite their palaeographic maturity, Q1 and Q2 clearly belong to a transitional phase and still present two features typical of earlier Kufic Qur’āns: the horizontal format, and the ancient system of notation of Abū al-Aswad al-Du’alī, although marked exclusively in red ink, contrary to al-Dānī’s principles. The *tashdīd* is indicated by the typical Maghribī semicircle. A parallel can be drawn between these two fragments and two other dispersed folios, undated, but strikingly similar in terms of style and format: one from the Vatican Library [fig. 32],<sup>140</sup> and the second from the Lygo Collection [fig.

<sup>137</sup> DÉROCHE 1991, 230.

<sup>138</sup> For the style called ‘*maghribī mabsūṭ*’ see AFĀ 2013A, 62-63. The general definition of *mabsūṭ* is the following: “*Al-mabsūṭ huwa al-khaṭṭ al-mamdūd al-manthūr*” (BAHNASSI 1995, 137).

<sup>139</sup> IBN SĪMAK 2004, 48 (quoted in JAOUHARI 2015, 44).

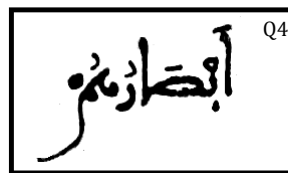
<sup>140</sup> Ms. Vat. Ar. 1605/73. See LEVI DELLA VIDA 1947, 51, pl. XIX.

33].<sup>141</sup> The fact that they are already vocalised according to the modern system of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad suggests a slightly later date than the Istanbul fragments, i. e. around or after the mid-5th/11th century. The script of the Vatican folio is neat but diminutive, cursive, and without any particular calligraphic tendency, comparable to the full bookhands of items 15, 20, 22, and 27. The Lygo folio is much larger (19 x 29 cm vs. the 12.5 x 20 cm of the former) and presents a bolder script, fairly mannered, betraying a frequent lifting of the *qalam*, comparable to that of Q1. This more solemn and ‘dilated’ style – *al-khaṭṭ al-Maghribī al-mabsūṭ* – also appears in Q4, and derives its aspect from the accentuation of some traits already present in Maghribī round bookhands, which are developed into calligraphic elements:

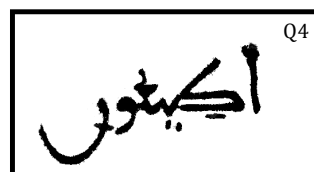
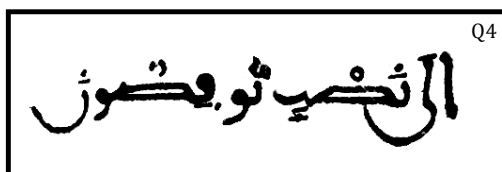
- The semi-circular tails of *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *dād*, *qāf*, *lām*, *nūn* and *alif maqṣūra* in final or isolated position become even wider and more plunging, to the point that they often overlap each other;



- The tail of final and isolated *mīm* becomes longer, and its extremity is usually curved leftwards (‘concave’ *mīm*);

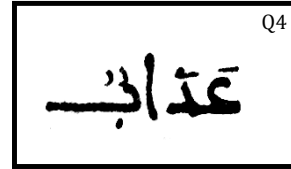


- The emphatic letters (*ṣād*, *dād*, *ṭā'* and *zā'*) tend to appear more frequently in their rectangular or trapezoidal form, in a clear reference to ancient Abbasid scripts;



<sup>141</sup> KWIATKOWSKI 2013, 84, n° 45. Two folios most probably from the same manuscript were auctioned in 2005 (see SOTHEBY’S 13/10/2005, lot 5).

- Some letters such as *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭāʾ*, *ẓāʾ* and *kāf* in medial position, or *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ* and *fāʾ* in final position often present marked elongations (*mashq/madd*). Final letters are often left open, as in ancient Abbasid scripts (*bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ* and *fāʾ mawqūfa*);



- In general, the reed pens employed for this script are thicker than the average, but with a soft blunt nib, which gives the strokes a rounded outline and a uniform aspect. However, certain letters such as *alif*, *kāf* and *lām* present rounded serifs, and the long tails of *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *qāf*, *lām*, *nūn* and *alif maqṣūra* in final position tend to taper gradually in a very graceful manner.

Now, it would be a mistake to assume that these calligraphic traits were developed with the specific aim to create a ‘Quranic script’ visually distinct from Maghribī round bookhands. In fact, they can already be observed in the bold titles and chapter headings of some non-Quranic manuscripts dating from the 4th/10th-century, such as items 6, 8, and 9. Here too the emphatic letters show archaising trapezoidal bodies instead of standard oval ones, often stretched into flat shapes of varying length. The lack of fixed dimensions and proportions for these letters, and the coexistence of graphic variants (angular or rounded) used interchangeably, are fundamental features that the Andalusī scribes would continue to employ in the following centuries, both in their Quranic manuscripts and in their finest copies of important works of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, grammar, and *adab*.

In this period, even the amanuenses working in the Mozarab *scriptoria* employed bold round scripts of the same type as Q1, Q2, and Q4, as can be seen in item 18. Especially in the parts of the *Kitāb al-Qawānīn* copied by the priest Vincentius (ff. 229a-280b and 378b-438b) the size of the *qalam* used for the chapter headings is rather large, elongations abound, and the semi-circular tails of certain letters are sometimes so long that they intersect those in the next word or even in the following line. This style could not possibly be perceived as ‘Quranic’ in a Christian context, but only as an

elegant bookhand intended to embellish a completely different type of *muṣḥaf* – in fact, the term *muṣḥaf* is used to define each of the ten chapters of the manuscript.<sup>142</sup>

The definitive abandonment of the horizontal format during the second half of the 5th/11th century is attested by Q3 and Q4. The aspect of these codices can already be defined as either square (8 x 8 cm for Q3) or close to square (18.8 x 15.5 cm for Q4, although the margins are drastically trimmed and the size of the original folios may have been closer to square). This particular format – which would become the norm for Andalusī Quranic manuscripts in the following century – was apparently chosen independently from the type of *muṣḥaf*: it could have been a single-volume ‘pocket’ Qur’ān such as Q3, or a set of medium-size volumes such as Q4 (originally eight, probably contained in a case of some sort).<sup>143</sup> Also, the two main calligraphic styles traditionally associated with Maghribī square Qur’āns are both already attested in the 5th/11th century: one is the relatively large *mabsūṭ* script employed in Q1 and Q4, discussed above; the second is the ‘miniature style’ employed in Q3, characterised by thin threadlike strokes produced by a small *qalam* with a sharp nib, possibly made of metal.

Once labelled ‘Andalusī’ to distinguish it from the other types of Maghribī scripts, this miniature style was in fact equally employed by Quranic copyists on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar, hence the wise decision to abandon this misleading geographical designation.<sup>144</sup> Despite the opinion of some scholars, the fact that *fā’*, *qāf* and *nūn* in final position always bear a diacritical dot is not a feature exclusively associated with this style.<sup>145</sup> In fact, what sets these miniature scripts aside from all the other Maghribī hands is their angular aspect, obtained through the complete suppression of the oval bodies of *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā’*, and *zā’*, and of the rounded variant of initial and medial *kāf*, with its semi-circular stem; these elements are all replaced by parallel lines, often extremely elongated, joined together by short strokes, either perpendicular or oblique. The aim of the scribes was arguably that of giving these scripts an archaising aspect, evoking the angularity of Kufic. However, both Q3 and Q4 are vocalised according to the modern system of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, with a tripartite colour scheme

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<sup>142</sup> ABU HAIDAR 1987, 228.

<sup>143</sup> On the origin of the square format, see DÉROCHE 2001, 613 ff.

<sup>144</sup> GACEK 2012, 8-9; STANLEY 1996, 21-22.

<sup>145</sup> See for instance AL-MANŪNĪ 1969, 16; JAMES 1992, 89-91.

derived from that described by al-Dānī a few decades earlier: red symbols for *ḍamma*, *fatha*, *kasra*, superscript *alif*, and *ṣila*; blue ones for *sukūn* and *tashdīd* (exclusively of the eastern type in Q4); yellow/orange dots for *hamza*.

Just like Maghribī *mabsūt* scripts, this miniature Maghribī style does not seem to have been devised as an exclusively Quranic script. In fact, its key features can be observed already in non-Quranic manuscripts copied during the 5th/11th century, such as item 30. The enhanced bookhand employed in this luxury edition of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'* is decidedly minute, and shows marked angular traits with an abundant use of *mashq*.

An interesting calligraphic element of both Q3 and Q4 is the typically stretched ligature between *ḥā'* and *mīm* in the word *rahmān* of the *basmala* at the beginning of each *sūra*, already remarked on by Déroche in reference to later Maghribī *maṣāḥif*.<sup>146</sup> Even this feature, however, does not seem to have had a Quranic origin: *basmalāt* of the same type appear in items 2, 7, 10, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26, and 30, while other *basmalāt* with *mashq* between the letters *bā'* and *sīn* of the word *bismi* – i.e. more in line with the eastern calligraphic tradition – were also employed in items 6, 15, 17, 18, and 20 [fig. 34].

Although there is nothing intrinsically Quranic in these miniature Maghribī scripts, it is nonetheless clear that their angularity was intentionally emphasised by the scribes to evoke the writing styles of the first centuries of the Hijra, especially in those religious manuscripts (Quranic and non-Quranic) which were revered for their antiquity and authoritativeness. This would also explain why *sūra* titles continued to be penned in neo-Kufic scripts even when round ones became the norm for Maghribī *maṣāḥif*, starting from Q3 and Q4, until the 8th/14th century and beyond. On the contrary, the colophons of Andalusī Qur'āns are nearly always written (in gold) in more innovative calligraphic styles, often curvilinear (such as in Q4), and from the second quarter of the 6th/12th century, in a script conventionally known as *thuluth Maghribī*, which radically differs from Maghribī round bookhands.<sup>147</sup> This bold and winding style, inspired by eastern calligraphy, would become equally common in the colophons and chapter headings of non-Quranic manuscripts such as items 90, 109, 113, 119, which may well suggest that it too did not originate as a Quranic script. The proliferation of Maghribī

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<sup>146</sup> DÉROCHE 2011, 375.

<sup>147</sup> AFĀ 2013A, 63-64.

*thuluth* under the Almohads, who seem to have employed it as a real ‘dynastic brand’ on coinage, monumental epigraphy, precious textiles, and of course manuscripts, will be discussed in the next chapter.

At the end of this brief overview of the transformations that affected the production of Quranic manuscripts during the *ṭāʾifa* period, it is important to mention the only aspect of this production that remained unaltered, namely the exclusive use of fine parchment as a scribal support. As suggested by Q4, Gegory’s rule continued to be followed by the Quranic scribes of this period, with ternions becoming the preferred type of gathering.

The status of codices such as Q3 and Q4 can be inferred from the little contextual information included in their colophons and, contrary to what one may expect, it does not seem to have been proportional to their size: while the small and relatively modest Q3 was specifically copied for, and dedicated to, an important personality of Abbadid Cordova, the *wazīr* ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sirāj (d. 489/1096),<sup>148</sup> the eight-volume set to which Q4 originally belonged was apparently produced to be put on the market, as suggested by the closing formula of its colophon: “May God have mercy upon its copyist, its buyer [*kāsibi-hi*], and its reader, amen, amen”.

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<sup>148</sup> PUA, id. 5752.



Fig. 30 – Qayrawān, Raqqāda Library, ms. *Rutbī* 33.  
Folio from a *muṣḥaf* written in D.Vc (33 x 49 cm).  
Probably Qayrawān, second half of 4th/10th century (from RAMMAH 2009).

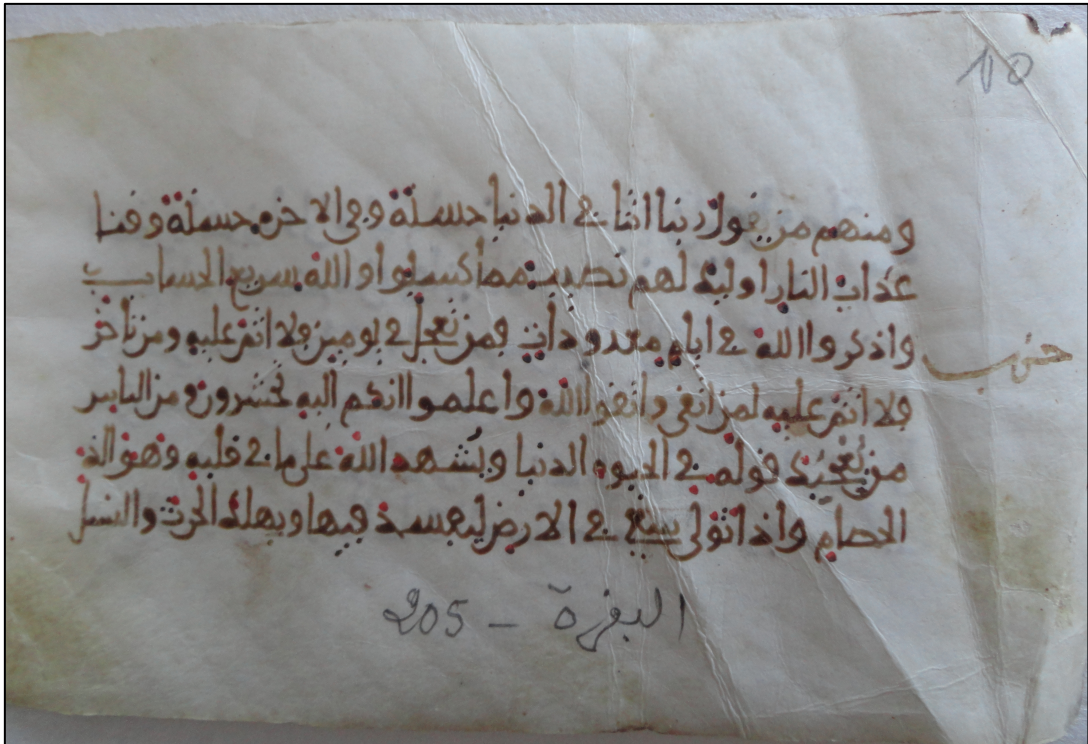


Fig. 31 – Qayrawān, Raqqāda Library.  
 Sparse leaf and endowment certificate from a small *muṣḥaf* in horizontal format  
 (9.5 x 16 cm) donated by Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh al-Kātib to the mosque  
 of Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya in 446/1054.

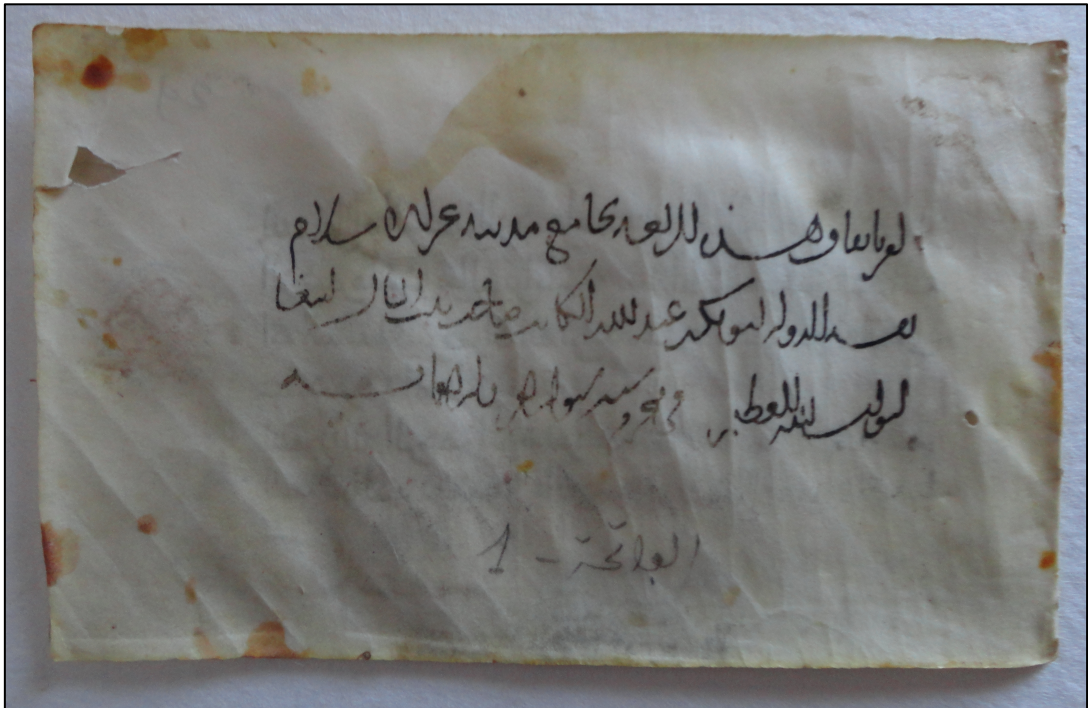




Fig. 32 – Vatican City, BAV, Ms. Vat. Ar. 1605/73.  
 Single folio from a *mushaf* in horizontal format, mid-5th/11th century (12.5 x 20 cm).  
 Image from LEVI DELLA VIDA 1947.



Fig. 33 – London, Lygo Collection.  
 Single folio from a *mushaf* in horizontal format, mid-5th/11th century (19 x 29 cm).  
 Image from KWIATKOWSKI 2013.

 <p>Q1</p>	
 <p>Item 3</p>	 <p>Item 2</p>
 <p>Item 6</p>	
 <p>Item 10</p>	 <p>Item 7</p>
 <p>Item 17</p>	 <p>Item 15</p>
   <p>Item 18</p>	

Fig. 34a – Comparative table of the introductory *basmalāt* employed in some of the manuscripts discussed above.

<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p>
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>Item 20</p>
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>Item 21</p>
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>Item 23</p>
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>Item 26</p>
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>Item 30</p>
<p>بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ</p> <p>Item 33</p>

Fig. 34b – Comparative table of the introductory *basmalāt* employed in some of the manuscripts discussed above.



### III. MAGHRIBĪ ROUND SCRIPTS IN THE 6TH/12TH CENTURY

#### Book culture and production in Almoravid and Almohad Iberia

Starting from 483/1090, the gradual Almoravid conquest led by Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn resulted in major political changes for al-Andalus.<sup>1</sup> The ruler was again one, boasting the pseudo-caliphal title of *amīr al-muslimīn*, under whose authority all the Muslim territories of the Peninsula were eventually reunited. However, as Berber leaders with their capital in Marrakesh, the Almoravid emirs were only occasionally present on Andalusī soil, to receive the allegiance of the local governors and wage *jihād* against the armies of the Christian kings. This meant that the new political centralisation was not matched by a cultural one, and different Iberian cities continued to act, and rival each other, as thriving intellectual and artistic centres. From the former capitals of the *tā'ifa* kingdoms, now under the control of Almoravid administrators, came the vast majority of the viziers, chief judges, and court functionaries appointed by the new rulers, in particular their chancery secretaries, whom Yūsuf and his son and successor 'Alī selected from among the same urban élites favoured by the previous kings.<sup>2</sup>

The important intellectual centre of Zaragoza was lost to the Christians in 512/1118, only eight years after 'Alī b. Yūsuf had seized it from the emirs of the Banū Hūd.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand Seville, Cordova, Valencia, Granada, and Almería continued to represent the main cultural poles of Almoravid Iberia, as suggested among other things by the number of scholars mentioned in Ibn al-Abbār's *Takmila* who were born and died in these cities between 540/1145 and 599/1203, or visited them in the first half of the 6th/12th century.<sup>4</sup> This continuity also embraces the period of the so-called 'second

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<sup>1</sup> For the Almoravid conquest of al-Andalus, see especially MESSIER 2010, LAGARDIÈRE 1998, and VIGUERA 1997.

<sup>2</sup> BURÉSI 2004, 141; MOLINA MARTÍNEZ 1997, 160.

<sup>3</sup> BEECH 2008, 296. Although no Arabic manuscripts copied in Zaragoza have survived from the period preceding the Aragonese conquest, the Archive of the Parish of Nuestra Señora del Pilar holds 16 Arabic and bilingual documents (mostly sale contracts), the most ancient of which dates from 510/1117 (see *infra*, D2).

<sup>4</sup> ZANÓN 1997, 570-573.

*tā'ifa* Kingdoms' and of the Almohad takeover of al-Andalus in the second half of the century, with the sole exception of Almería, which entered a phase of decline after its temporary capture and destruction by Alfonso VII in 542/1147, and only seems to have flourished again during the 7th/13th century. Under the Almohad caliphs, also of Berber origin and also ruling from Marrakesh, the cities of al-Andalus continued to prosper as centres for learning and manuscript production: first and foremost Seville, chosen as the new Iberian capital by Abū Ya'qūb in 558/1163, which retained its supremacy until the Castilian capture of the city in 646/1248, but also Valencia (seized by the Aragonese in 636/1238), Cordova (lost to the Castilians in 633/1236), and the two insular centres of Majorca and Menorca (conquered, again by the Aragonese, between 626/1229 and 628/1231).

The activity of Andalusī bibliophiles, librarians, and copyists in the 6th/12th century is better documented than that of earlier ones, mainly because of the first-hand information contained in the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1183) and Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260), whose lifetimes roughly spanned the Almoravid and Almohad periods respectively. It is thanks to their work if we know that in post-Abbadid Cordova learned men continued to assemble vast libraries – such as the *wazīr* Ibn Mukhtār al-Qaysī (d. 535/1140)<sup>5</sup> – while others transcribed or purchased great quantities of books – such as Ibn 'Awn al-Ma'āfirī (d. 512/1119)<sup>6</sup> – sometimes importing them from the Mashriq at very high prices.<sup>7</sup> From Almoravid Cordova there have survived a fragmentary parchment codex of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (item 43, although penned by a Sevillian scribe) and a lavishly illuminated Qur'ān (Q6). As for the Almohad period, an important Cordovan product is the earliest dated copy of Ibn Bashkuwāl's biographical dictionary, the *Kitāb al-ṣila*, transcribed in a semi-calligraphic bookhand from the author's original ("*min aṣl al-mu'allif*") by a certain Aḥmad b. 'Alī (item 76). The earliest known manuscript of Averroes' *Kulliyāt fī al-ṭibb* (item 98) was also copied in Almohad Cordova, by a disciple of the famous polymath who transcribed and collated the text with his master's autograph, while the latter was still alive.

<sup>5</sup> PUA, id. 2800; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, I, 131, No. 294.

<sup>6</sup> PUA, id. 8308; IBN BASHKUWĀL 1882-3, II, 514, No. 1144 ("*Kāna [...] kathīr al-kutub, jāmi' la-hā, bāḥith 'an-hā*").

<sup>7</sup> For other important scribes and bibliophiles in 6th/12th-century Cordova see RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 207.

The same Averroes, arguing with the Sevillian physician Avenzoar (Ibn Zuhr) about which city was the most cultured, once said: “If a scholar dies in Seville, his books are taken to Cordova, but if a musician dies in Cordova, his instruments are taken to Seville”.<sup>8</sup> This anecdote highlights the cultural proximity, and indeed interconnection, between the two centres and their inhabitants. Just as in Umayyad Cordova, there was in Almohad Seville a quarter or a street of booksellers (*warraqūn*), where Ibn al-Abbar reports to have met the renowned *ḥadīth* transmitter Ibn Khalfūn in 626/1229.<sup>9</sup> A famous Sevillian scholar and copyist was Muḥammad Ibn Khayr (502/1109-575/1179), the author of an important bibliographical treatise (*“Fahrasa”*) listing all the works of Quranic sciences, *ḥadīth* sciences, and Mālikī *fiqh* he studied and transmitted during his life.<sup>10</sup> His books were “extremely precise and accurate [*fi ghāyat al-ṣiḥḥa wa-l-itqān*]”, due to the long time he spent “correcting them and annotating them in his beautiful hand”.<sup>11</sup> He died in Cordova, but his body was taken to his hometown and buried there; after his death, his private library sold extremely well due to its prestige.<sup>12</sup> The poet and physician Abū al-Ḥakam Ibn Ghalinduh, a refugee from Zaragoza, also worked in Seville as a copyist, before moving to Marrakesh and dying there in 581/1185-6.<sup>13</sup> According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s biographical dictionary of medieval physicians – *‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fi ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*, completed in the third quarter of the 7th/13th century – Abū al-Ḥakam mastered both Andalusī scripts (*“Kāna [...] ṣāhib kutub kathīra wa yaktub khaṭṭayn Andalusīyyayn”*), probably meaning the eastern and the western Andalusī scripts, given his Zaragozaan origin.<sup>14</sup> In the same years, the preacher of the Great Mosque of Seville ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lakhmī (d. 601/1204) received as a private donation the vast library (*“khizāna”*) of the famous scholar Abū Marwān al-Bājī.<sup>15</sup>

Although there are no extant manuscripts safely attributable to scribes working in Almoravid Seville, an important source referring to parchment- and paper-making in

<sup>8</sup> AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, I, 155, 463.

<sup>9</sup> IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 350, No. 1013.

<sup>10</sup> PUA, id. 8946.

<sup>11</sup> IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 240-242, No. 780.

<sup>12</sup> See PUERTA 2007, 157.

<sup>13</sup> PUA, id. 6029; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 539, No. 1516.

<sup>14</sup> IBN ABĪ UṢAYBI‘A 1965, 535; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 40. PUERTA 2007, 157, hypothesises that the dual of *“khaṭṭayn Andalusīyyayn”* should refer to cursive and Kufic scripts, but this seems unrealistic for a copyist of non-Quranic manuscripts.

<sup>15</sup> PUA, id. 4553; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 580-581, No. 1626.

this period is Ibn ‘Abdūn’s *Risāla fī al-qadā’ wa-l-muhtasib* (“Handbook for market inspectors”), which offers valuable insight into the crafts and social life of the city at the beginning of the 6th/12th century.<sup>16</sup> The jurist Ibn ‘Abdūn was appointed supervisor of the markets in Almoravid Seville, and in his treatise complains that tanners and parchment-makers (“*raqqāqūn*”) should not occupy with their hides the streets leading to the cemeteries of the city; that papermakers should slightly increase the size and burnish of their paper sheets (“*yuzād fī qālab al-kāghid wa-fī dalki-hi qalīlan*”); and that only well-scraped parchment (“*raqq mabshūr*”) coming from healthy sheep should be produced.<sup>17</sup> Though there is no direct mention of it in its colophon, a manuscript of the *Kitāb Sibawayh* dated 562/1166-7 is thought to have been copied in Almohad Seville, on the basis of its line of transmission and the bibliography of its copyist, the local grammarian Ibn Kharūf al-Duraydanuh (item 79).<sup>18</sup> Its mixed quires of fine parchment and cream-coloured paper, with light zigzag marks visible on both supports, attest to the contiguity of parchment- and papermaking techniques in this period. Three Quranic manuscripts penned and illuminated in Seville survive from the second quarter of the 7th/13th century, two on parchment and one on paper, which will not be discussed in this thesis for chronological reasons.<sup>19</sup> Also, the most important illustrated manuscript produced in the medieval Maghrib, the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* of the Vatican Library, although undated and unsigned, has been tentatively attributed by some scholars to an atelier active during the last, golden decades of Almohad rule in Seville.<sup>20</sup>

We are less informed about the cultural milieu of pre-Nasrid Granada, with only a few sources (especially Ibn al-Khaṭīb’s *Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa*, mid-8th/14th century) mentioning local scholars who were also bibliophiles and copyists. Among these names stands out that of Ibn Sārra (or Ṣāra) al-Shantarīnī (d. 519/1125), a

<sup>16</sup> IBN ‘ABDŪN 1934; for a French translation, see IBN ‘ABDŪN 1947.

<sup>17</sup> IBN ‘ABDŪN 1934, 217, 238, 250.

<sup>18</sup> PUA, id. 6806. See HUMBERT 1995, 145-154, 234-239.

<sup>19</sup> They are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1 (*olim* Cod. or. 62), a parchment Qur’ān in one volume dated 624/1227 (see PRACHTKORANE 1998, No. 5; KHEMIR 1992, 310, No. 80); a parchment Qur’ān in one volume dated 627/1229, auctioned in 2000 (see BONHAM’S 11/10/2000, lot 35); Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 429, volume 16 from a paper Qur’ān originally in 20 volumes, dated 632/1235, endowed by the penultimate Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā to the dynastic funerary complex of Tīnmal in Ramaḍān 649/1251 (see BEN LARBI 1994, 37; *DALĪL MA’RID MASĀHIF AL-MAGHRIB* 2011, 96-97).

<sup>20</sup> D’OTTONE 2013B, 51. However, Cynthia Robinson has argued that, because of the Almohads’ austerity and aversion to courtly love and wine drinking (two of the main themes in the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*), “we are drawn to consider extra- (or even anti-) Almohad centers of cultural production as the probable provenance for our manuscript and its image program” (ROBINSON 2007, 88).

renowned poet who took up residence first in Seville and then in Granada, where he lived for a period of time copying books (“*ta‘ayyasha bi-l-wirāqa zamānan*”) in a beautiful and accurate script.<sup>21</sup> Despite the scarcity of documentary evidence, one of the most impressive manuscripts to have survived from 6th/12th-century al-Andalus, a luxury copy of Mālik’s *Muwatta‘* penned in a beautiful enhanced bookhand (item 72), was copied in the Great Mosque of Granada a few years before the Almohad conquest of the city, between Dhū al-Ḥijja 542 and Muḥarram 543 (April-May 1148). This fragmentary codex shows the important role of congregational mosques as the main centres for teaching and learning Islamic sciences in this period, and may also indicate the existence of mosque scriptoria where master calligraphers and bookbinders such as Hishām b. Sa‘d b. Khalaf al-Ghassānī – who signed the colophon of item 72 – produced lavish editions of certain religious works for the mosque’s library.<sup>22</sup>

Almería, the premier Mediterranean port of al-Andalus, knew a period of intense cultural and artistic activity under the Almoravids, attracting numerous intellectuals including Ibn Ṣāra himself, who spent there the last years of his life.<sup>23</sup> Abū al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Ṣaqr al-Anṣārī (492/1098-569/1173), who became known as “the most skilled and refined calligrapher of his time [*atqan ahl ‘aṣri-hi khaṭṭan wa-ajallu-hum manza‘an*]”, was born and bred in Almería, before travelling across Iberia and the Maghrib as an itinerant scholar. He came from a family of merchants and bookmakers, was appointed chief judge in Cordova and Seville under the Almoravids, and then moved to Marrakesh where he worked in the *khizāna ‘ilmiyya* of the Almohad caliph Abū Ya‘qūb until his death.<sup>24</sup> Among the renowned bibliophiles of Almería were the *qādī* ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. ‘Aṭiyya (d. 541/1147),<sup>25</sup> Maymūn b. Yāsīn al-Ṣanhājī (d. 530/1136),<sup>26</sup> and a certain Naṣr al-Warrāq.<sup>27</sup> From the Almoravid heyday of the city

<sup>21</sup> IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 462, No. 1331; IBN AL-KHAṬĪB 1973-1977, III, 439-41. Ibn Ṣāra also mentions the craft of *wirāqa* in his poems: “Bookbinding is a most painful trade / its leaves and fruits bring only poverty / he who plies it is like one who handles a needle / which clothes the naked, while its own body is naked” (see BINSHARĪFA 1994, 79; the English translation is found in MONROE 1974, 233).

<sup>22</sup> DÉROCHE 2005, 195.

<sup>23</sup> For the material culture of Almoravid Almería, famous for its production of silk textiles and carved marble, see TAPIA 1986, MOLINA LÓPEZ 1983, TORRES 1957.

<sup>24</sup> PUA, id. 1142; IBN FARḤŪN 1972, I, 211; IBN AL-KHAṬĪB 1973-1977, I, 189; mentioned in PUERTA 2007, 161.

<sup>25</sup> PUA, id. 4197.

<sup>26</sup> PUA, id. 11178; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 395-6, No. 1137.

<sup>27</sup> PUA, id. 11213; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 416, No. 1192. These names are mentioned in RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 212.

there survive a fragmentary manuscript of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (item 20, copied in 532/1138 by a scribe from nearby Guadix), and a unique miniature Qurʾān (Q5) written on paper, the work of a certain Aḥmad b. Ghalinduh, probably a relative of the above-mentioned physician and calligrapher Abū al-Ḥakam Ibn Ghalinduh. A second section of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, completed in Almería in 570/1174 (item 86), was transcribed on parchment folios of the same size, ruled in the same way, and with the same number of lines per page as the one copied 36 years earlier, thus attesting to the conservatism of practices related to the production of certain religious manuscripts.

The importance of Ibn ʿAbdūn’s *Risāla* for reconstructing the activities taking place in the markets and workshops of Seville finds a close parallel in al-Saqaṭī’s *ḥisba* work on Almoravid Malaga, although without mention of parchment- and papermakers active in the coastal city.<sup>28</sup> In the absence of dated manuscripts produced there, all we know about 6th/12th-century Malaga is that the local historian, bibliophile, and *warrāq* Ibn Mudrik al-Ghassānī sent out a ship loaded with grain to “one of the territories of the Christians [*ba ʿd bilād al-Rūm*]” which was suffering from a severe famine, in exchange for manuscripts, so that the ship returned with “many precious [Arabic] books, which many of his contemporaries had been unable to obtain”.<sup>29</sup>

Thriving cultural centres were also located in the *Sharq al-Andalus*, such as the cities of Dénia, Murcia, and Xàtiva, home to wealthy intellectuals and famed calligraphers.<sup>30</sup> The Denian *faqīh* Ibn Ghulām al-Faras (d. 547/1152), for instance, is praised by Ibn al-Abbār for his beautiful handwriting and his ability in compiling and binding books (“*kāna [...] ḥasan al-khaṭṭ, anīq al-wirāqa*”).<sup>31</sup> He performed the *ḥajj* and travelled across the Mashriq between 527/1133 and 530/1136, and while in Alexandria (“*bi-thaghr al-Iskandariyya*”), he transcribed a work of Quranic exegesis

<sup>28</sup> AL-SAQATĪ 1931. However, al-Saqaṭī mentions a merchant selling different types of Indian drugs loosely enveloped in big sheets of coloured paper (“*qarāṭīs kibār ghayr mashdūda min al-kāghīd al-mulawwan fī-hā anwāʿ min al-ʿaqqār al-Hindī*”), see *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>29</sup> “*Jalaba la-hu min-hā al-kathīr al-naḥīs alladhī ʿajaza ʿan al-ittiṣāl bi-hi kathīr min abnā ʿaṣri-hi*”. PUA, id. 9076; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VI, 213. As argued by VAN KONINGSVELD 1992, 78, “From this reference it is quite clear that the inhabitants of al-Andalus were aware of the existence of certain numbers of Arabic MSS in Christian territories”.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 215. Abū Bakr Ibn Tuqsūt (d. 539/1145, PUA, id. 3282), a scholar from Almoravid Dénia, was also a prolific and expert copyist (“*ma nī bi-l-wirāqa, kataba bi-khaṭṭi-hi ʿilman kathīran*”). Important bibliophiles living in 6th/12th-century Xàtiva were Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Saʿāda (from Murcia, d. 565/1170, PUA id. 10775) and Lubb b. Muḥammad al-Balansī (“*ṣāḥib uṣūl ʿatīqa*”, d. 631/1233, PUA id. 7690). A skilled calligrapher from Almohad Murcia was ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Daysim (d. 623/1225, PUA id. 6741).

<sup>31</sup> PUA, id. 8633; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 193-195, No. 669.

that has survived in the National Library of Cairo (item 57), signing it with the *nisba* “al-Andalusī”.

It was however Valencia that became in the 6th/12th century the undisputed capital of the Iberian east coast, thanks to the inflow of Muslim refugees fleeing from Zaragoza, Calatayud, and Tortosa (conquered in 542/1148), who significantly boosted its economy. From Zaragoza, for instance, came the family of the book merchant and scholar ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 523/1129), the father of the already mentioned Ibn al-Ṣaqr al-Anṣārī.<sup>32</sup> Ibn Maṭrūḥ al-Tujībī (d. 606/1209), who earned a living as a copyist and bookbinder,<sup>33</sup> and Ibn Abī al-Baqā’ (d. 610/1213), a scholar and prolific scribe who practiced the *wirāqa* due to his poverty,<sup>34</sup> were other Valencian personalities of Zaragozaan origin. Ibn Sīdrāy al-Kilābī (d. 548/1153) had to leave his hometown Calatayud, where his father had been a bookseller, “when the enemy conquered it [*lamma taghlab al-‘adū ‘alay-hi*]” in 514/1120, and later established his own bookshop (“*dukkān*”) in the city of the Cid.<sup>35</sup>

Many are the Valencian bibliophiles, copyists, and booksellers mentioned in the biographical dictionaries, but very little survives of the manuscripts they collected and transcribed during the 6th/12th century.<sup>36</sup> A significant exception is the corpus of eight dated Qur’āns (Q7-11, Q14, Q21-22) produced between the second *tā’ifa* of Ibn Mardānīsh (542/1147-566/1171) and the first decades of Almohad rule, which will be discussed separately. All that remains in terms of non-Quranic manuscripts from Almoravid Valencia are a few fragments of a multi-volume *Mudawwana* on parchment (item 50), and an important copy of a lexicographical treatise by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī, copied from the author’s original while he was still alive (item 47). Worthy of mention is also an undated copy of Ibn al-Sikkīt’s *Kitāb al-Alfāz* in the Qarawiyyīn

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<sup>32</sup> PUA, id. 8380.

<sup>33</sup> PUA, id. 9504; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 294, No. 902.

<sup>34</sup> PUA, id. 10385; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 302-3, No. 918.

<sup>35</sup> PUA, id. 9121; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 199, No. 677.

<sup>36</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928A, 213-214; PUERTA 2007, 162-164. Important libraries in 6th/12th-century Valencia belonged to Ibn Hudhayl al-Muqrī’ (d. 564/1168, PUA id. 6812) and Ibn ‘Ayshūn al-Ma‘āfirī (d. 573/1177, PUA id. 6025). Among the Valencian copyists of the period were Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-‘Abdarī (d. 530/1136, “*kataba bi-khaṭṭi-hi kathīran*”; PUA, id. 3801); Muḥammad Ibn al-Adīb (d. 541/1146, “*kāna ḥasan al-wirāqa ma‘rūf bi-dhalika*”, PUA, id. 10520); the notary Abū Zayd Ibn Numayl (d. 580/1184, “*yuḥtarif al-wirāqa*”, PUA, id. 4429); Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Shūnī (d. 609/1213, “*kataba bi-khaṭṭi-hi ‘ilm kathīr*”, PUA, id. 7784); Ibn Mantyāl al-Warrāq, who had his bookshop in the silk market (“*al-qaysāriyya*”) of the city (d. 611/1214, PUA, id. 4885); Ibn Sa‘dūn al-Azdī (d. 622/1225), who “was hired as a scribe by one of the notables [*istaktaba-hu ba‘d al-ru‘asā*]” (PUA, id. 5462); Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Warrāq al-Ṭurtūshī (PUA, id. 9827).

Library, which was collated and read in the year 511/1117 in the presence of al-Baṭalyawsī, at his house in Valencia.<sup>37</sup> Dating from the Almohad period is a beautifully illuminated collection of *ḥadīth*, the *Shihāb al-akhbār* of al-Qudā'ī (item 84), penned by an anonymous master in a calligraphic *mabsūṭ* script, in 568/1172.

Finally, a word should be spent on Majorca, from where a branch of the Almoravid dynasty, the Banū Ghāniya, continued to rule over the Balearic Islands until 599/1203, when the archipelago was eventually conquered by the Almohad fleet. *Madīnat Mayūrqa*, completely destroyed in the Catalan-Pisan sack of 510/1115, rose again as a thriving commercial entrepôt in the 6th/12th century.<sup>38</sup> Despite the lack of information on the role played by the city in the production and circulation of Arabic manuscripts, a grammatical commentary on the Qur'ān copied in Majorca in 562/1167 survives in the Biblioteca Lucchesiana of Agrigento, the work of a scholar originally from Menorca (item 81).<sup>39</sup> Also, three original documents issued by the chancery of the Banū Ghāniya – the first under the *amīr* Ishāq in 577/1181, and the second under his son 'Abd Allāh in 584/1188 – have been preserved in the Archives of Genoa and Pisa (D3, D5, and D7). These peace treaties between Majorca and the two Italian maritime republics represent the earliest dated evidence of Maghribī chancery hands, and bear witness to the calligraphic skills of the secretaries employed in the Balearic *diwān al-inshā'*. These anonymous penmen arguably followed the style and practices developed in other 6th/12th-century Maghribī chanceries such as the Almoravid and Almohad ones in Marrakesh and Seville, or the Murcian and Valencian ones of Ibn Mardaniš, whose documents have not survived in the original.

Also dating from the 6th/12th century is the earliest reference to the distinctive nature of Andalusī scripts included in the work of an Andalusī scholar, the *Farḥat al-anfus* of the historian Ibn Ghālib al-Gharnāṭī (d. after 565/1170), a lost treatise extensively quoted in al-Maqqarī's *Nafh al-tīb* (early 11th/17th century). According to al-Maqqarī: “[Ibn Ghālib] included among the qualities of the Andalusīs the invention

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<sup>37</sup> Ms. 1240 (1241). See AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, III, 304-305; JAOUHARI 2014, 23 (type C).

<sup>38</sup> RIERA 1993, 65 ff. For the scholarly milieu of Majorca and the intellectual life of the Balearic Island between the 5th/11th and the early 7th/13th century, see URVOY 1972; ROSSELLÓ 1968, 121-122.

<sup>39</sup> An important (although later) manuscript suggests that also in Menorca the craft of *wirāqa* was practiced by local scholars: it is a paper copy of al-Mutanabbī's *Diwān*, written in Menorca in 667/1268 by Ghālib b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā al-Kalbī (PUA, id. 7409), now in the BNF (ms. arabe 7232).

of [a family of] scripts of their own, although at first their script was of the eastern type”.<sup>40</sup> An increasing degree of awareness of matters related to penmanship can be appreciated in the biographies of 6th/12th-century Andalusī bibliophiles, some of whom could distinguish among the scripts employed by famous scholars and appreciate their distinctive qualities.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, it is mostly commenting on the work of Maghribī copyists from this period that Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (643/1245-703/1303) provides precious information on their calligraphic skills and styles, sometimes combined with extremely precise observations of palaeographic nature, in his treatise *Al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila li-kitābay al-Mawṣūl wa-l-Ṣila*.<sup>42</sup>

As its title suggests, al-Marrākushī’s biographical dictionary was conceived as a “supplement and completion” of Ibn al-Faraḍī’s and Ibn al-Abbār’s prosopographical works, and as recently pointed out by Mustapha Jaouhari, it is indeed a treasure trove for modern palaeographers due to the author’s interest in the aesthetic qualities of the manuscripts he consulted and collected.<sup>43</sup> Occasionally, al-Marrākushī corrects Ibn al-Abbār’s statements, for instance about Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Ṭā’ī al-Mursī (d. 530/1135), declaring: “Ibn al-Abbār says he was a skilled calligrapher and bookmaker [*bāri ‘al-khaṭṭ anīq al-wirāqa*]. However, I would say that his handwriting was very bad [*ḍa ‘f jiddan*] and his letters defective [*abtar*, literally “bobtailed”]. [...] I have seen many specimens of it [*waqaftu ‘alā kathīr min-hu*].”<sup>44</sup> About ‘Alī b. Idrīs al-Zanātī al-Kātib (d. 595/1198), he reports: “I think he is the same person mentioned by Ibn al-Abbār, although he describes him as having a good handwriting, whereas I deem it poor. However, the difference between a beautiful script and a weak one can depend on it being juvenile or mature [*illā an yakūn ikhtilāf al-khaṭṭ bayn al-ḍa ‘f wa-l-jūda fī ḥālay al-bad’a wa-l-intahā’*].”<sup>45</sup> Al-Marrākushī writes that Sarḥān b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī (d. after 520/1126) was “careful in spacing the words [*uniya bi-tafrīq al-kalim fī*

<sup>40</sup> “*Wa-‘adda raḥama-hu Allāh ta‘ālā min faḍā’ili-him ikhtirā’a-hum li-l-khuṭūṭ al-makhṣūṣa bi-him. Qāla: wa kāna khattu-hum awwalan Mashriqiyyan*” (AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, III, 151).

<sup>41</sup> See, for instance, the biography of Ibn Mudrik al-Ghassānī (PUA, id. 9076) in AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VI, 213.

<sup>42</sup> Of the 9 volumes of the *Dhayl* only vols. I, V, VI, VIII, and part of vol. IV have been edited (see AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984).

<sup>43</sup> JAOUHARI 2015, 27-29; see also Muḥammad Binsharīfa’s introduction to his edition of volume VIII of the *Kitāb al-dhayl wa-l-takmila* (Rabat 1984), 3-152.

<sup>44</sup> PUA, id. 9762; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VI, 396, No. 1069.

<sup>45</sup> PUA, id. 6383; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, V, I, 193-194, No. 384. Alternatively, this passage can be read as a reference to the difference between the script employed by the same copyist to write the beginning of a book (usually more accurate and elegant) and its final folios (more cursive and imprecise).

*mā kāna yaktub*”.<sup>46</sup> Muḥammad Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī (d. 575/1179) is said to have “copied a lot of books in a sound script which gratifies the eye. However, in some works transcribed when he was around 72 years old, his script became minute and with tightly spaced letters [*diqqat khaṭṭ wa idmāj ḥurūf ma ‘a al-bayān*].”<sup>47</sup> The author of the *Dhayl* is thus the first Maghribī scholar to acknowledge that the handwriting of a copyist can develop and vary through time according to his age and level of training.

Writing about the *qādī* Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Munāṣif (d. 620/1223), al-Murrākushī reports: “According to our master Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Qaṭṭān, he was proficient in thirteen calligraphic styles [*kāna yaktub thalāth ‘ashara ṭarīqa huwa fī-hā kulli-hā mujayyid*]. The present author has only seen four, and they correspond to our master’s description”.<sup>48</sup> In the biography of Ibn al-Munāṣif’s brother Abū ‘Imrān (d. 627/1230), al-Murrākushī mentions that “he was one of the best calligraphers of the Maghribī school [*kāna min abra‘ al-nās khaṭṭan fī al-ṭarīqa al-Maghribiyya*].”<sup>49</sup> Always according to the *Dhayl*, the famous grammarian from Almería Abū Mūsā ‘Isā b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jazūlī (d. circa 607/1210) used to employ “a beautiful eastern handwriting [*kāna ḥasan al-khaṭṭ al-mashriqī*],” probably due to his Cairene education,<sup>50</sup> while other scholars such as Ibn al-Munāṣif mastered both Maghribī and Mashriqī scripts, samples of which al-Murrākushī saw first-hand.<sup>51</sup>

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, in the biography of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ru‘aynī al-Mursī (d. 620/1223),<sup>52</sup> al-Murrākushī also refers to the existence of an “eastern Andalusī script” (*ṭarīqat ahl Sharq al-Andalus*), arguably different from the western one, examples of which may be found in some of the 6th/12th-century manuscripts discussed below (especially items 41, 46, 61, 63). The considerable amount of palaeographic remarks included in the *Dhayl*, still awaiting a systematic study, is based on the author’s profound knowledge of the hundreds of books that he personally owned or consulted, but also on the accounts of his masters and

<sup>46</sup> PUA, id. 3392; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, IV, 9, No. 21.

<sup>47</sup> See *supra*, nn. 10-12; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VIII, I, 299-303, No. 93.

<sup>48</sup> PUA, id. 10214; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VIII, I, 345-350, No. 134.

<sup>49</sup> PUA, id. 11129; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VIII, II, 382-386, No. 175.

<sup>50</sup> PUA, id. 7279; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VIII, II, 547-548, No. 73.

<sup>51</sup> JAOUHARI 2015, 28, n. 13.

<sup>52</sup> PUA, id. 7869; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VI, 96, No. 240.

colleagues.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, our understanding of the medieval terminology related to penmanship, and of the features which distinguished a beautiful script from a poor one in the eyes of the contemporaries, depends almost entirely on sources such as al-Murrākushī's *Dhayl*, more than on any medieval treatise on calligraphy, usually filled with rhetoric and considerations of literary rather than documentary value.

A different type of textual evidence comes from 6th/12th-century handbooks for notaries, aimed at regulating the drafting of legal acts, including endowments (*aḥbās*, sing. *ḥubs*) in favour of Andalusī mosques. A case in point is the *Maqṣad al-maḥmūd fī talkhīṣ al-'uqūd* of al-Jazīrī (d. 585/1189), which mentions formularies for donations ('*aqd ḥubs*) of personal assets and chattels, as well as Quranic manuscripts and religious books.<sup>54</sup> More specifically, the non-Quranic works (*dawāwīn*) taken as examples by al-Jazīrī in his template are the *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, the *Saḥīḥ Muslim* and Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'*, i.e. precisely the manuscripts which form the majority of our corpus for this period, and which have survived also thanks to their inalienable status (items 39, 43, 62, 68, 72, 75, 82, 85, 86, 88, 89, 92, 94, 103, 109).<sup>55</sup>

A valuable source on the production of books in 6th/12th-century al-Andalus is the treatise on bookbinding by Bakr al-Ishbīlī (d. circa 629/1232), entitled *Kitāb al-taysīr fī ṣinā'at al-tasfīr*, written during the reign of the third Almohad caliph Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (r. 580/1185-595/1198) and dedicated to him.<sup>56</sup> Not only is this the second earliest work on the subject to have survived from the entire Islamic world, after the '*Umdat al-kuttāb*,<sup>57</sup> but it is also the most detailed and comprehensive one. Because it was written by a professional binder, whose skills were greatly appreciated at the Almohad court, it is packed with practical information on tools (*adāt*), adhesives (*aghriya*), sewing and lining techniques (*tabzīn*, *tabfīn*), endbanding (*ḥabk*), leather tooling with interlacing patterns (*naqsh al-ḍirs*), and even conservation and restoration tips. Unfortunately, very few of the dated manuscripts in our corpus bear traces of their original binding, so that it is very difficult to assess whether al-Ishbīlī's observations

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<sup>53</sup> JAOUHARI 2015, 28. Although dating from the following century, it may be interesting to mention al-Marrākushī's opinion on the poet Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jayyānī (d. 663/1265), whom he met in his youth: despite his calligraphic skills, "he was not good at nibbing the reed pen [*kāna lā yuḥsinu barya al-qalam*], so that he used to have it nibbed for him" (AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, V, I, 287-301, No. 579).

<sup>54</sup> GARCÍA SANJUÁN 2007, 14 (PUA, id. 6899).

<sup>55</sup> AL-JAZĪRĪ 1998, 288.

<sup>56</sup> KANNÜN 1959-1960; GACEK 1991. See also SHEPER 2015, 152-158, and SZIRMAI 1999, 51-61.

<sup>57</sup> See *supra*, 74-75.

actually reflected contemporary practices. A remarkable exception is Q13, a small square *muṣḥaf* copied in 573/1178, held in an exquisitely tooled, painted, and gilded leather cover which waits to be studied for its technical aspects.<sup>58</sup>

While no treatises on ink-making and book illumination have survived from this period, the pigments used in a dozen Maghribī manuscripts dating from the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century have been analysed, revealing a series of specificities which depart noticeably from the recipes and techniques employed in the Muslim East.<sup>59</sup> In particular, the pigments employed in two manuscripts from our corpus (item 89 and Q24) show the exclusive use of expensive lapis lazuli blues (i.e. without recourse to azurite or indigo), verdigris greens instead of combinations of blue and yellow pigments, and luminous kermes reds made from dried cochineal insects, in contrast with the vermilion reds typical of the medieval Mashriq.<sup>60</sup> For chrysography, powdered gold was applied over portions of the text traced in a gluey solution, then burnished and outlined in black. These data find only a partial correspondence with the multifarious ink recipes described in the already discussed *‘Umdat al-kuttāb*, as well as in the later treatise *Tuḥaf al-khawāṣṣ fī turaf al-khawāṣṣ* by Abū Bakr al-Qalalūsī (d. 707/1307), who lived in Estepona between the Almohad and the Nasrid period.<sup>61</sup>

Finally, it should be stressed that in the 6th/12th century al-Andalus became renowned across the Mediterranean for the quality of the paper there produced, something confirmed by the fineness and impeccable burnish of the leaves of some of the manuscripts discussed below (especially items 46, 69, 74, 78, 87, 91, 95, 98, and 106). As suggested by Ibn ‘Abdūn’s treatise, Seville and all the main centres of Muslim Iberia must have had in this period their own paper mills and workshops, catering for the local *warrāqūn*, notaries, and secretaries.<sup>62</sup> A letter preserved in the Cairo Geniza, written from Granada in 1130 AD, made Shelomo Goitein marvel at the quality of its paper, “the best ever seen by me in the Geniza. It is almost entirely white, strong, and

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<sup>58</sup> AL-‘ABBĀDĪ 2005, 156-157; KHEMIR 1992, 308.

<sup>59</sup> ROGER, SERGHINI & DÉROCHE 2004; DÉROCHE 2005, 119-157. For the ink recipes included in an undated Maghribī treatise written by a certain “al-Ṣiqillī”, see GRIFFINI 1910 and LA ROSA 2015.

<sup>60</sup> These data are corroborated by the pigment analyses on an illuminated copy of the *Muwaṭṭa’ al-Imām al-Mahdī* (BNRM, ms. 840 J), which, though undated, is undoubtedly a 6th/12th-century manuscript.

<sup>61</sup> PUA, id. 10358; for a partial translation of this text, see AL-‘ABBĀDĪ 2005, 51-58, 193-196, and CHABBOUH 1995, 69-76.

<sup>62</sup> See *supra*, 109.

pleasantly smooth”.<sup>63</sup> The Jewish merchants whose letters have survived among the Geniza documents traded in Andalusī paper sheets and also used them as gifts between partners, usually sent in small parcels of 12 to 36 leaves.<sup>64</sup>

The finest paper in Almoravid and Almohad Iberia, however, was produced in Shāṭiba (modern Xàtiva), a town near Valencia, famous already in Roman times for its fine linen cloth, which was woven from the same flax later used in papermaking.<sup>65</sup> In the mid-6th/12th century, the geographer al-Idrīsī describes Xàtiva as “a pleasant city with fortresses of proverbial beauty and impregnability. The paper manufactured here is of such quality that cannot be found anywhere else in the world, and it is popular in both the East and the West [*wa-yu‘amm al-Mashāriq wa-l-Maghārib*]”.<sup>66</sup> Xàtiva paper – *kāghid Shāṭibī* in Arabic, *paper xativí* in Catalan – soon became an expression indicating all high-quality paper (the equivalent of ‘gazelle skin’ for parchment), and the town remained an important papermaking centre well after the Catalan conquest of 636/1238, into the 8th/14th century.<sup>67</sup> Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) still wrote that “in Xàtiva an excellent and incomparable paper is manufactured”, an opinion supported by other coeval sources.<sup>68</sup>

Starting from the 6th/12th century, some of the paper sheets produced in Xàtiva (and possibly elsewhere in al-Andalus) began to feature the so-called zigzag marks, namely scratches in ‘comb’ or diagonal-cross form running from the upper to the lower margin, drawn with a brush-like tool while the paper was still moist.<sup>69</sup> These marks are visible near the fold of some of the folios of items 38, 46, 66, 77, 79, 100, 102, 106, 110, 117, and 121, and have been interpreted in different ways. According to Valls i Subirà, they were “perhaps introduced in an attempt to imitate the marks made by the tanner’s knife and which are seen in some parchments”.<sup>70</sup> It has also been argued that the zigzag marks were the trademark of a particular workshop (a sort of primitive

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<sup>63</sup> Cambridge University Library, ms. Add. 3340; GOITEIN 1967-1993, 5, 288 n. 72. See also CONSTABLE 1994, 195-196; BLOOM 2001, 88.

<sup>64</sup> GOITEIN 1967-1993, 5, 457; CONSTABLE 1994, 195-196.

<sup>65</sup> BLOOM 2001, 88.

<sup>66</sup> AL-IDRISĪ 1970-1984, V, 556. Al-Idrīsī’s account is mirrored in the work of the Mashriqī geographer Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. in Aleppo in 627/1229), who wrote that in Xàtiva “the best paper is manufactured” and exported to the rest of al-Andalus (see BURNS 1981, 5).

<sup>67</sup> VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1978, 133 ff.

<sup>68</sup> BOSCH, CARSWELL & PETHERBRIDGE 1981, 27.

<sup>69</sup> GACEK 2012, 297. This typically Andalusī feature appears in manuscripts until the third quarter of the 8th/14th century.

<sup>70</sup> VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1970, I, 9.

watermark), and perhaps more convincingly, that they were employed on particularly thick paper sheets to make the gutter area of the quires thinner and more foldable.<sup>71</sup>

Knowledge of papermaking and its advantages travelled across the particularly ‘porous’ frontier with the Christian kingdoms: already in the 6th/12th century, tariff lists (*portazgos*) mention tolls collected on paper coming from al-Andalus in towns along the Ebro River, demonstrating that paper was moving from Muslim to Christian regions in considerable quantities.<sup>72</sup> The earliest dated paper folio in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon (the so-called Pacto de Cazola of 1178 AD) is, according to Valls i Subirà, “clearly of Arab manufacture”.<sup>73</sup> It is also likely that papermaking was established in Catalonia before the conquest of Xàtiva and the region of Valencia, since there survive archival documents from Barcelona, Girona, and Tarragona referring to local “cloth mills” as early as 1113 AD.<sup>74</sup> In Castilian Toledo, the production of paper is confirmed both by 6th/12th-century sources, referring to the city’s “rag parchment” and “cloth mills”, and by material evidence, in the form of four sale contracts from the archives of the Toledo Cathedral (dated between 1166 and 1178 AD, written in Arabic on large paper sheets),<sup>75</sup> and of the famous Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library, compiled in Toledo around the year 1175 AD using mixed quires of parchment and paper.<sup>76</sup>

This remarkable upswing in papermaking was arguably among the factors that induced Andalusī copyists to start employing paper even for Quranic manuscripts (Q5) and important copies of religious works such as the *Kitāb a‘azz mā yuṭlab* (“*The most precious thing one can ask for*”) of Ibn Tūmart, the fundamental text of the Almohad doctrine (item 95). However, high-quality parchment continued to be produced and employed, not only for copying the Qur’ān, as testified by numerous handsome codices in our corpus (items 39, 40, 43, 45, 48, 51, 56, 60, 62, 72, 79, 84, 86, 89, 107, 108, 112, 119). The perfect coexistence of fine parchment and fine paper in 6th/12th-century Andalusī manuscripts is a phenomenon that has not been fully acknowledged, and whose economical and cultural implications deserve to be further studied.

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<sup>71</sup> ESTÈVE 2001A.

<sup>72</sup> CONSTABLE 1994, 196; BURNS 1981, 24.

<sup>73</sup> VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1970, I, 9.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 14. However, BURNS 1981 points out that “cloth mill” does not equate to ‘paper mill’, and that the expression may well refer to cloth fulling mills.

<sup>75</sup> VALLS I SUBIRÀ 1978, 98-122.

<sup>76</sup> Ms. Or. 213. See WITKAM 2006-2016, I, 100-101; VAN KONINGSVELD 1977.

## The introduction of Andalusī scripts to the Maghrib al-Aqṣā

The integration of Andalusī officials, intellectuals, and secretaries into the new Almoravid state apparatus, under which the two sides of the Strait were firmly united, also resulted in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā absorbing and fully adopting the scribal practices of al-Andalus. Regrettably, no material evidence for the copying and transmission of texts in western North Africa has survived from before the late 5th/11th century, and this despite the established role of Fes as a thriving scholarly centre in contact with both Qayrawān and the cities of Muslim Iberia, and the existence of literary circles and libraries at the court of some pre-Almoravid rulers.

The Andalusī geographer al-Bakrī, writing in the third quarter of the 5th/11th century, reports that scribes were employed by the Idrisid sultan Yaḥyā IV (r. 292/904-309/921) to copy manuscripts for their master (“*wa-kāna yansakh la-hu ‘iddat al-warrāqīn*”), while numerous scholars from al-Andalus and other parts of the Islamic world attended the *majālis* taking place in his palaces.<sup>77</sup> Other sources seem to confirm the existence of intellectual activities involving the production and circulation of books under the Zanāta governors who ruled from Fes in the name of the Umayyad caliphs of Cordova.<sup>78</sup> Scholarly and commercial links between the Rīf region and the rest of the Muslim West were well established already in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, with cities like Fes, Meknes, Ceuta, and Tangiers becoming home to Andalusī merchants and jurists.<sup>79</sup> Manuscripts copied in Cordova were brought to North Africa by Andalusī scholars who settled there to teach and work as judges and notaries, while local intellectuals returned to their homeland with a great number of books gathered during their travels to Iberia, such as Yaṣaltan b. Dā’ūd al-Aghmāī (d. 372/982).<sup>80</sup>

The earliest known copyist born and active in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā is the *faqīh* Abū ‘Uthmān Sa’īd b. Khalaf Allāh b. Idrīs al-Riyāḥī, who lived in the first half of the 5th/11th century. Originally from the Idrisid city of Baṣra, then settled in Ceuta, al-Riyāḥī’s biography is featured in the *Tartīb al-madārik*, a dictionary of famous Mālikī jurists written by the Ceutan *qāḍī* ‘Iyyād b. Mūsa (d. 544/1149), who reports: “[al-

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<sup>77</sup> AL-BAKRĪ 1965, 255 (Arabic text: 132); see also BINEBINE 1992, 22.

<sup>78</sup> BINEBINE 1992, 22-23.

<sup>79</sup> PICARD 1998; see also the description of Fes in AL-BAKRĪ 1965, 226-229.

<sup>80</sup> PUA, id. 11745; IBN AL-FARADĪ 1891-1892, II, 72, No. 1647. See also IMADUDDIN 1983, 63.

Riyāhī] copied in his own hand many books (*dawāwīn*), and I have rarely seen an eminent work of the Malīkī school that was not penned by him. He also copied books of *tafsīr* and other works”.<sup>81</sup> In the same period, the circulation of manuscripts between Qayrawān and Fes is demonstrated by an undated *juz*’ of the *Mudawwana* in the Qarawiyyīn Library [fig. 35], which bears an audition certificate written in Qayrawān in 428/1037, and was later brought to Fes where, according to the *ex libris* on its title page, it entered the possession of the local scholar Yūsuf b. ‘Īsā al-Azdī al-Fāsī (d. 492/1098).<sup>82</sup>

Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn (r. 455/1063-500/1106), the founder of the Almoravid state and of the new capital Marrakesh, was neither a man of letters nor a bibliophile, but he understood the political advantage of fostering the spread of Mālikī legal manuals, which offered him a “ready-made system of law” to rule and administrate his rapidly growing empire, and surrounded himself with Andalusī *fuqahā*’ from whom he sought legal advice.<sup>83</sup> Some later sources even refer to a certain *Madrasat al-Ṣābirīn al-Murābiṭīn*, established by Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn in Fes after his capture of the city in 462/1070, a learning institution apparently endowed with a library and attended by members of the ruling elites.<sup>84</sup>

In the following years, as a result of the Almoravid campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula, many Andalusī architects and craftsmen were encouraged to cross the Strait and take a leading role in the monumental development of Marrakesh and the reshaping of Fes, accompanied by an unprecedented wave of Andalusī scribes and calligraphers. Interestingly, this seems to have triggered some contention between the more conservative supporters of traditional Ifrīqī scripts and those scholars trained in the new round styles coming from al-Andalus: Abū al-Faḍl Yūsuf Ibn al-Naḥwī al-Qayrawānī (d. 513/1119),<sup>85</sup> who settled in Fes after the decline of his hometown in the second half of the 5th/11th century, is said to have despised Andalusī scripts, thus provoking the

<sup>81</sup> ‘IYYĀD AL-SABTĪ 1965, 783-784. See also AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 18.

<sup>82</sup> Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 796/12; see AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 455. For Yūsuf b. ‘Īsā al-Azdī al-Fāsī see PUA, id. 11897; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 740, No. 2097. The manuscript was originally copied, in Maghribī round script, for a certain ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Āmir b. Qāsim, either in al-Andalus or by an Andalusī scribe in Qayrawān.

<sup>83</sup> MESSIER 2010, 89-90.

<sup>84</sup> See BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 23; GANNUN 1961, I, 75.

<sup>85</sup> PUA, id. 11940; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 740, No. 2098.

vehement response of the poet Ibn al-Barrā' al-Tujībī, from Algeciras, who wrote the following verses to celebrate the supremacy of the “*khaṭṭ ahl al-Andalus*”:

Inhale a fragrance that comes not from scent-boxes  
And stop by one of Mayya's ruined desert-camps.  
I left my homeland and ended up  
in a land of wolves disguised as lions [i.e. Ifrīqiya].  
How many of them discredit the moon in the darkest night  
and belittle the rain pouring down from the clouds!  
My people reject Yūsuf's words with scorn  
like the splendour of the Pleiades eclipsing all detractors.  
Abū al-Faḍl, do not think to be safe from my verses  
for they are like vipers from which there is no safety!  
I see you mendaciously criticize the script of the people  
to whom life reveals a smiling face [i.e. the Andalusīs].  
If what a scribe's hand adorns is a good thing  
much greater is what a calligrapher's hand adorns.<sup>86</sup>

Based on the work of earlier authors, the Moroccan historian Abū al-Qāsim al-Zayyānī (d. 1249/1833) reports in an unpublished passage of his *Turjumān al-mughrib* that 104 papermakers were active in Fes already during the Almoravid period, mostly in the neighbourhood still called *darb al-kaghghādīn*.<sup>87</sup> Among the Andalusī copyists working in the Moroccan city were the Zaragozaan Abū Zayd Ibn al-Ṣaqr (d. 523/1128-9), who owned a bookshop abutting the west side of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque;<sup>88</sup> 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī (d. after 498/1105), from Xātiva, praised in al-Murrākushī's *Dhayl* (“*kāna ḥasan al-wirāqa*”);<sup>89</sup> and a female scholar, Warqā' b. Yantān al-Ḥājja al-Ṭulayṭuliyya (d. after 540/1145), extolled as a skilled calligrapher (“*khaṭṭāta bāri 'a*”).<sup>90</sup>

Unlike his father, 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn (r. 500/1106-537/1143) was a cultivated man and had an important private library, presumably in Marrakesh, which

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<sup>86</sup> AL-BALAFĪQĪ 1982, 61-62 (the translation is mine). In the last *bayt*, the poet contrasts the script of a simple scribe (“*kātib*”, i.e. that of the Qayrawānīs), with the penmanship of a skilled Andalusī calligrapher (“*rāqim*”), able to bring his work to perfection. For Ibn al-Barrā' al-Tujībī see PUA, id. 1813; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 21.

<sup>87</sup> See BINEBINE 1992, 190; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 21; BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 23.

<sup>88</sup> PUA, id. 8380. He was the father of the already mentioned Abū al-'Abbās Ibn al-Ṣaqr al-Anṣārī: see *supra*, 110, and *infra*, 124.

<sup>89</sup> PUA, id. 5828; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, V, I, 34-35, No. 79. Al-Marrākushī saw a manuscript of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's *Istidhkār fī madhāhib al-amṣār* copied in Fes by 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī in 498/1105.

<sup>90</sup> PUA, id. 11378; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VIII, II, No. 281.

he filled with books collected during his campaigns across the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>91</sup> In this city, which also became a thriving centre for the crafts of *wirāqa*, the new emir had a splendid parchment *Muwatta* ' copied for his *khizāna*, several volumes of which have survived (item 39). The title page of each *juz* ' features the name of the calligrapher, namely the prince Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād al-Lakhmī, the son of the last petty king of Seville and Cordoba al-Mu'tamid, exiled to North Africa after the Almoravid conquest of the Guadalquivir valley.<sup>92</sup> 'Alī b. Yūsuf's decision to employ an Andalusī prince as a personal copyist, so that he could transcribe in the most exquisite round bookhand such an important religious text for his new master, can indeed be seen as an eloquent and skilful act of symbolic appropriation.

Under the Almohads, Marrakesh continued to thrive as a chief centre of attraction for Andalusī scholars, and gradually became the undisputed capital of the Empire with regard to the production and trade of books, driven by the fervent patronage of the court and the elites. Already the first Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min (r. 527/1133-558/1163) is said to have established two royal libraries – one in Marrakesh, the other in Seville – where Andalusī masters taught his children the art of calligraphy.<sup>93</sup> One of the latter, the *amīr* 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Mu'min, is praised in a couplet by the contemporary poet Ibn Mujbar, writing that “his right hand spreads flowers on the pages [*al-turūs*]”, likening his work to an enchantment (*sihr*) and his *qalam* to a sorcerer (*naffāth*).<sup>94</sup> 'Abd al-Walī al-Balansī (d. after 570/1174) was one of the master calligraphers hired as instructors for the royal princes (“*kāna ḥasan al-wirāqa wa-addaba abnā' al-sultān*”).<sup>95</sup>

It was however 'Abd al-Mu'min's successor, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (r. 558/1163-580/1184), who came to be known as the greatest bibliophile of his age, ever since his early days as governor of Seville.<sup>96</sup> His *khizāna 'ilmiyya* (or *'āliyya* according to some accounts) allegedly contained more than 200.000 volumes, rivalling that established in Cordova by the Umayyad caliph al-Ḥakam two centuries earlier.<sup>97</sup> The historian 'Abd al-Waḥīd al-Murrākushī (writing in 621/1224), an important source of information on

<sup>91</sup> VIGUERA 2016, 45; BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 23-24.

<sup>92</sup> On Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād al-Lakhmī (Sharaf al-Dawla) see *supra*, 70.

<sup>93</sup> AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 27-28; BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 25-26.

<sup>94</sup> PUA, id. 11562; AL-MANŪNĪ 1950, 271.

<sup>95</sup> PUA, id. 5940; AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, V, 71, No. 154.

<sup>96</sup> BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 26-28; BINEBINE 1992, 39 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*; AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 182, 186-187.

the scholarly circles and intellectual activities at the Almohad court, reports that Abū Ya‘qūb was constantly occupied with tracking and purchasing rare manuscripts across al-Andalus and the Maghrib.<sup>98</sup> As already mentioned, the Almerian *qāḍī* and calligrapher Abū al-‘Abbās Ibn al-Ṣaqr al-Anṣārī (492/1098-569/1173) moved to Marrakesh (with his own private library) towards the end of his life, to work as Abū Ya‘qūb’s chief copyist and personal librarian.<sup>99</sup> His son Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (d. *circa* 590/1193) was also a skilled and renowned copyist active in the Almohad capital.<sup>100</sup> In this period, an entire quarter of the city became known as the *darb al-kutubiyyīn*, where about two hundred booksellers and freelance copyists established their shops and ateliers, such as the Cordovan Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Qaysī al-Warrāq (d. 582/1186).<sup>101</sup> This area was located to the east of the new congregational mosque founded by ‘Abd al-Mu‘min and completed by his two successors, which consequently acquired the name of ‘Kutubiyya’.

The third and last of the great Almohad caliphs, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr (r. 580/1184-595/1199), further enlarged his father’s library, continued to bestow royal patronage upon scholars and men of letters, and was himself the author of a treatise on the merits of the *jihād*, the only surviving copy of which was discovered in the library of the Great Mosque of Taza by Muḥammad al-Kattānī.<sup>102</sup> While it is far from clear if, as al-Kattānī suggested, this manuscript was personally penned by al-Manṣūr, the calligraphic skills of the Almohad caliphs are referred to in the sources, which emphasise their custom of signing the official decrees in their own hand, using a special red ink.<sup>103</sup> The only surviving document issued by the central Almohad chancery in the 6th/12th century – a commercial treaty with the Pisans (D6) – dates from the reign of this caliph. To teach calligraphy to his children, al-Manṣūr hired famous Andalusī scholars such as Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥawṭ Allāh al-Malaqī (d. 612/1215), and the

<sup>98</sup> AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1963, 310-311. On Abū Ya‘qūb’s bibliophilia see also the anecdote quoted in AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 183 (for a Spanish translation see VIGUERA 2016, 47).

<sup>99</sup> He was the son of Abū Zayd Ibn al-Ṣaqr (d. 523/1128-9): see *supra*, 110.

<sup>100</sup> “*Kāna jayyid al-khaṭṭ sarī‘ al-kitāba [...] yu‘ṣh dahl ṭawīl bi-l-wirāqa*”. PUA, id. 8215; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 34. Among the numerous *warrāqūn* active in Almohad Marrakesh, two women from al-Andalus are mentioned in the biographical dictionaries: PUA, id. 3669; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 38.

<sup>101</sup> PUA, id. 2101.

<sup>102</sup> AL-KATTĀNĪ 1968, 465. See also BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 28-29.

<sup>103</sup> IBN ‘IDHĀRĪ 1963, 320; see also IBN ABĪ ZAR‘ 1972, 217. The only material evidence of an Almohad caliph’s calligraphic skills is the famous Quranic manuscript in 10 volumes copied by al-Murtaḍā (r. 646/1248-665/1266) in 654/1256: see *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 371-375 and bibliography.

already mentioned Muḥammad al-Rughaynī al-Mursī (d. 620/1223).<sup>104</sup> Outside the royal palace, a significant number of viziers, officials, and intellectuals were renowned bibliophiles and owned important private libraries in Marrakesh. Their activity and patronage seem to have endured during the first half of the 7th/13th century, despite the political decline of the Almohad State, with most of al-Andalus falling to the Christian armies, the Marinids gathering momentum in northern Morocco, and the last caliphs ruling for increasingly shorter periods over a rapidly shrinking territory.<sup>105</sup>

The importance of manuscript production and circulation for the Almohad doctrine is suggested by the numerous surviving copies of the works of the *Mahdī*, Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart, most of which are lavishly illuminated and ascribable to royal scriptoria.<sup>106</sup> Besides the already mentioned copy of the *A‘azz mā yuṭlab* on paper (item 95), two more dated codices bearing the same text are known, both written on fine parchment (items 107, 116). Moreover, four parchment copies of Ibn Tūmart’s abridged and re-arranged version of Mālik’s *Muwaṭṭa’* – known as *Muḥādhī al-Muwaṭṭa’* (“the counterpart of the *Muwaṭṭa’*”) – have been preserved in Algerian and Moroccan libraries: one penned for al-Manṣūr himself in 590/1193-4 (item 108), a slightly later one produced in Tlemcen (item 119), and two more undated codices, featuring polychrome frontispieces with lavish use of lapis lazuli blue and impressive chrysography in Maghribī *thuluth*.<sup>107</sup> Another illuminated copy of the same work, this time written on paper, was auctioned in London in 1991, and although undated, must have been completed within the first 50 years of Almohad rule [fig. 36].<sup>108</sup> Precious books such as these were meant to replace – both symbolically and physically – the works of Mālikī *fiqh* which had proliferated under the Almoravids, and were arguably

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<sup>104</sup> PUA, id. 5155, 7869; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 27: “[...] *kāna ḥasan al-khaṭṭ wa-ista‘daba-hu al-Manṣūr li-banī-hi*”; “[...] *kāna nabīl al-khaṭṭ fī ṭarīqat ahl Sharq al-Andalus wa-qara‘a ‘alay-hi ba‘ḍ awlād al-Manṣūr*”.

<sup>105</sup> BINEBINE 1992, 46-47; AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 188.

<sup>106</sup> For a general discussion of the works of Ibn Tūmart and their manuscripts, see GRIFFEL 2005, 765-770; MAROC MÉDIÉVAL 2014, 274-276.

<sup>107</sup> These two manuscripts are in Rabat, BNRM, ms. 840 J (see *SPLÉNDEURS DE L’ÉCRITURE* 2017, 40; *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 279; SCHACHT 1968, 31-32); and Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 181/40 (see *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 278; AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 188-192; *DE L’EMPIRE ROMAINE* 1991, 425, No. 510). For the analysis of the pigments of the BNRM manuscript see ROGER, SERGHINI & DÉROCHE 2004, although there the manuscript is erroneously dated to the year 544/1188-9 (sic), despite the lack of a dated colophon. This mistake is probably due to the fact that the date of Dhū al-Ḥijja 544/1150 appears in the introductory *isnād* as the month when the caliph ‘Abd al-Mu‘min officially transmitted the text of the *Muḥādhī al-Muwaṭṭa’*. Another undated (and fragmentary) copy of the *Muḥādhī al-Muwaṭṭa’* is in the Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 1449 (AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, IV, 167-168).

<sup>108</sup> CHRISTIE’S 8/10/1991, lot 88.

sent to the main mosques and teaching institutions of the Empire as powerful instruments of propaganda. In his *Rihla*, the 17th-century Moroccan scholar al-Zarḥanī records the presence of lavishly illuminated manuscripts of Ibn Tūmart’s *Muwatta’* and *Tafsīr* (sic!) in a library in Tīnmal: “They were written by a royal hand, with the contents [*barnāmaj*] in gold. Inside, the ex-libris [*tamlīk*] of the Imām al-Maḥdī were also in gold, written in a style comparable to that of Ibn Muqla [i.e. probably in an eastern script]”.<sup>109</sup> The practice of illuminating non-Quranic manuscripts, however, was not exclusively related to the patronage of the ruling elites, and also concerned *ḥadīth* collections such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (item 89), as well as treatises of Quranic exegesis such as those of al-Dānī (item 112), which had no particular connection with the Almohad ideology.

Despite the undisputed cultural prominence of Marrakesh, the scholarly milieu of Fes continued to thrive under the Almohads, and the sources abound with references to the private libraries owned by the city’s most prominent ‘*ulamā’*’.<sup>110</sup> According to Ibn Abī Zar’*s* *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* (726/1326), at the end of the 6th/12th century the city could boast 400 rag mills for the production of paper (“*ḥajar li-‘amal al-kāghid*”), although all of them fell into disuse between 618/1221 and 638/1240, due to the famine and political instability which preceded the Marinid takeover.<sup>111</sup> Among the most prolific and skilled copyists active in Almohad Fes was the Cordovan calligrapher and illuminator Ibn al-Ishbīlī (d. 570/1174), described in the sources as belonging to the “*ahl al-khaṭṭ wa-l-tadhhīb*”.<sup>112</sup> Other names include ‘Atīq b. ‘Alī al-Ṣanḥājī (d. 595/1199), originally from Meknes; ‘Isā b. Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī (d. 586/1190), who moved to the Maghrib al-Aqṣā from his hometown Carmona (near Seville); and Muḥammad Ibn Tākhmīst (d. 608/1212), a Quranic calligrapher who used to give away his manuscripts as gifts.<sup>113</sup> It must be said, however, that the earliest surviving

<sup>109</sup> AL-ZARHŪNĪ 1940, 25. Unfortunately, I have been unable to consult the Arabic edition of the text.

<sup>110</sup> AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 187-188.

<sup>111</sup> IBN ABĪ ZAR’ 1972, 49 (for a French translation of this passage see IBN ABĪ ZAR’ 1860, 58). BLOOM 2001, 86 writes that “by the end of the twelfth century [...] the city of Fez, in Morocco, had 472 papermills”, but in this case he quotes a passage of Ibn Abī Zar’ where the function of the mills is not specified (see ENNAHĪD 2011, 268, n. 11).

<sup>112</sup> PUA, id. 11677, mentioned in AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 178.

<sup>113</sup> PUA, id. 6097 and 7324. See also AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 34, 35, 38.

manuscript which explicitly mentions Fes as its place of copy dates from the year 616/1219, when the Almohad fortunes were already declining.<sup>114</sup>

A strategic seaport and entrepôt on the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta was also an important cultural centre in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā.<sup>115</sup> The local historian Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Anṣārī (d. 825/1422) reports that already in the 5th/11th century the town had several libraries (“*khazā’in al-‘ilmiyya*”), which the notables and ‘*ulamā’* had established in their own houses.<sup>116</sup> One of them belonged to the Mālikī *faqīh* Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-‘Ajūz (d. 413/1022-3), who travelled to Qayrawān and returned to Ceuta with numerous books of Qayrawānī authors.<sup>117</sup> In the following century, important collections of manuscripts were owned by the local *qāḍī* Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Īsā al-Tamīmī (d. 505/1111) and by his pupil, the famous *qāḍī* ‘Iyyād b. Mūsā al-Sabtī (d. 544/1149), who was also a prolific copyist known for his beautiful handwriting.<sup>118</sup> A skilled Ceutan calligrapher active in this period was Muḥammad Ibn Marzūq al-Taghmarī al-Sabtī (d. after 596/1200), who is said to have studied in Seville, Malaga, Almeria, and Algeciras.<sup>119</sup> Towards the end of Almohad rule, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shārrī (d. 649/1251) established in Ceuta what al-Anṣārī calls “the first library constituted *waqf* for the people of knowledge in the Maghrib”.<sup>120</sup> This institution was part of a splendid *madrassa* founded by the same patron, and contained “ancient originals and the work of rare authors [*dhāt al-wuṣūl al-‘atīqa wa-l-mu’allifāt al-gharbiyya*]”, purchased by al-Shārrī at the cost of his fortune.<sup>121</sup> It is also likely that Ceuta already had its own papermills in this period, catering for the local *warraqūn* and *kuttāb*.<sup>122</sup> An important document drafted in Almohad Ceuta is a small paper letter dated 597/1201 (D8), sent by Nāṣiḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh, probably the governor of the town, to the consuls of Pisa, to request the dispatch of an ambassador to the court of his master the caliph al-Nāṣir (r.

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<sup>114</sup> SOTHEBY’S 27/04/94, lot 46. It is a handsome copy of the *Risālat al-Qushayrī* on paper (177 folios), written for the young Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Zakariyā’ b. Abī Ḥafṣ, who would later become sultan of Tunis with the regnal name of al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh (r. 647/1249-675/1277).

<sup>115</sup> For the society, economy, and cultural life of medieval Ceuta, see FERHAT 1993.

<sup>116</sup> VALLVÉ 1962, 415-417; CHERIF 1996, 176-177; BINEBINE 1992, 24.

<sup>117</sup> PUA, id. 4632; BINEBINE 1992, 24-25.

<sup>118</sup> PUA, id. 7210; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 22-23.

<sup>119</sup> PUA, id. 8442; AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 34.

<sup>120</sup> “[...] *wa-hiya awwal khizāna wuqqifat bi-l-Maghrib ‘alā ahl al-‘ilm*” (AL-ANṢĀRĪ 1931, 154; for a Spanish translation see VALLVÉ 1962, 417). PUA, id. 6810. See also BINEBINE 1992, 190.

<sup>121</sup> “[...] *al-munfiq māla-hu fī nashri-hi wa-iqtinā’i kutubi-hi*” (AL-ANṢĀRĪ 1931, 153; VALLVÉ 1962, 413; see also AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 186).

<sup>122</sup> FERHAT 1993, 325-328; CHERIF 1996, 126, 177.

595/1199-610/1213). The only other surviving manuscripts undoubtedly produced in Ceuta during the 6th/12th century are two parchment Qur'ans, one unusually large and splendidly illuminated (Q16), while the other small and rather modest (Q20, both discussed below).

Further east on the Mediterranean coast, the important seaport of Bijāya (Bougie, in modern Algeria), conquered by the army of 'Abd al-Mu'min in 547/1152, also seems to have played a role in the reception and propagation of Andalusī scribal practices and round bookhands: a handsome paper copy of a treatise on Arabic phonetics by Ibn Jinnī was completed in this city in 563/1168 (item 83), and the Arabic translations of two diplomatic letters sent by the archbishop of Pisa to the Almohad caliph in 1182 (D4) may have been also drafted in Bijāya, according to Pascal Burési.<sup>123</sup>

As far as papermaking is concerned, it is quite clear from both the sources and the material evidence that, under the Almohads, the Maghrib al-Aqṣā equalled al-Andalus in the quantity and quality of the paper there produced. An interesting anecdote alluding to the far-reaching prestige of Maghribī paper in this period narrates that a Maghribī poet wrote to the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil (r. 615/1218-635/1238) a letter on white paper, which became silvery if read by candlelight, golden if read in full sunlight, and ink-black if read in the shade.<sup>124</sup> While the rise in the use of this support is certainly related to the expansion of the papermaking industry on both sides of the Strait of Gibraltar, it is also clear that the Almohad rulers actively fostered paper consumption by adopting it as the official support for their chancery documents and formal correspondence, as opposed to the Banū Ghāniya in Majorca. Moreover, we have seen that paper was introduced for copying luxury manuscripts of the works of Ibn Tūmart (item 95), and even for transcribing the Qur'ān itself.<sup>125</sup> This innovation seems to have first appeared in small-size *maṣāḥif* in single-volume format (Q5), and only later in large multi-volume codices, as demonstrated by four Qur'āns produced in Malaga,

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<sup>123</sup> BURÉSI 2011, 95. However, Amari deemed them written by a Pisan, given the “abundance of spelling mistakes” (AMARI 1863, 396). For a history of medieval Bougie and its trade, see VALÉRIAN 2006.

<sup>124</sup> “*Wa ḥukiya anna ba‘d al-Maghāriba kataba ilā al-Malik al-Kāmil b. al-‘Ādil b. Ayyūb raq‘a fī warqa bayḍā’, in quri‘at fī daw’ al-sirāj kānat fīdḍiyya, wa-in quri‘at fī al-shams kānat dhahabiyya, wa-in quri‘at fī al-zill kānat ḥibran aswad’*” (AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, IV, 326-327).

<sup>125</sup> As already mentioned, the undated copy of the *Muḥādḥī al-Muwaṭṭa’* sold at CHRISTIE’S 8/10/1991, lot 88, was also copied on paper [fig. 36].

Seville, and Marrakesh in the first half of the 7th/13th century, all of which bearing the hallmarks of royal patronage.<sup>126</sup>

An ideological motive may lie behind this phenomenon, namely the Almohads' quest for the 'fundamentals' of religion and abhorrence for hyper-normative approaches to practical matters, which had until then prevented paper from being employed for copying the Word of God and certain particularly prestigious manuscripts of *fiqh*, *sīra*, and *ḥadīth*.<sup>127</sup> Because this traditional preference for parchment over paper had no substantiation in the Qur'ān or the Sunna, the new rulers probably perceived it as one of the many superfluous innovations developed within the Mālikī School of jurisprudence. This is admittedly difficult to prove, since the issue is not explicitly raised in either Mālikī commentaries and *fatwas* or Almohad doctrinal works. Interestingly, however, with the return to Mālikī orthodoxy propagated by the Marinids and Nasrids after the fall of the Almohads, parchment was apparently re-established as the sole authorised support for Quranic codices, as shown by the numerous surviving *maṣāḥif* from 8th/14th-century Fez and Granada, which were all copied on vellum.

The age of the Almoravids and Almohads also coincided with the almost complete dispersion of the Christian communities of al-Andalus, either through their mass migration to the re-conquered regions of the Peninsula, or through their forced exile and deportation to North Africa.<sup>128</sup> In the latter case – the only one of interest here – the production of liturgical codices in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā is attested by 83 parchment folios from a Gospel Book preserved in the Qarawiyyīn Library (item 60), penned by a proficient scribe with titles and chapter headings in bright cochineal red. Although undated, this manuscript can be ascribed to the Almoravid period on palaeographic grounds, and conceivably identified with a Gospel Book completed in

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<sup>126</sup> They are: Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 430, originally in 20 volumes, copied in Malaga in 620/1223, and later endowed to the Kutubiyya Mosque (BEN LARBI 1994, 38, No. 47); Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, mss. R 21-24, in four volumes, undated, but endowed to a mosque in Marrakesh by the Almohad prince Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ya'qūb in 635/1238 (KARATAY 1962, 86-87, Nos. 306-309); Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 429, originally in 20 volumes, copied in Seville in 632/1235, and endowed to the funerary complex of Tīnmal by the penultimate Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā, in 649/1251 (BEN LARBI 1994, 37, No. 46); and the Qur'ān penned by al-Murtaḍā himself in 654/1256, originally in 10 volumes, now dispersed between the Ibn Yūsuf Library (ms. 432), the British Library (Or. 13129), and the BNRM (ms. 1278 J, see *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 371-375 and bibliography).

<sup>127</sup> The Almohad source-based approach to law, in contrast with the commentary-based one of the Mālikī *fuqahā'* who had served the Almoravids, is discussed in BENNISON 2016, 246-258.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 170-174; MOLÉNAT 1997.

Fes in the year 1175 of the Spanish Era (1137 AD), whose colophon was transcribed *verbatim* at the end of a later copy made in 1421 AD, now in the Archive of the Cathedral of León.<sup>129</sup> The passage reads as follows:

Its copying was achieved in the evening of the 19th day of the non-Arab month of June of the year 1421 from the birth of Christ, from an ancient copy written on parchment [*min nuskha 'atīqa maktūba fī al-raqq*], at the end of which was the following text: “Here ends the fourth part of the Gospel [...] Praised be God abundantly! Written by the servant of the servants of Christ, the Word of the Father, eternal God, Mīqāl the bishop, son of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, for ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān the religious scholar [*al-ḥābir*], may God grant him happiness and bestow upon him His grace! Achieved by him on Friday, the 23rd of July of the year 1575 [*sic*, read: 1175] of the Era, in the city of Fes, in the western part of the [North African] shore, in the eleventh year of the migration [*riḥla*] of the Christian of al-Andalus towards it, may God restore them! He wrote it at the age of 57. May God have mercy upon him who reads it and prays for its copyist, amen! Collated with the Latin original [*al-umm al-Laṭīniyya*], the translation of Hieronymus, the learned priest and translator, may God be pleased with him. End”.

This important colophon provides a unique insight not only into the structure of the Christian community of Fes, but also into the scribal activities of important members of the local clergy. Moreover, the folios of item 60 attest to the unbroken Mozarab practice of employing quaternions, carefully arranged according to Gregory’s rule. In the top left corner of some pages are brief annotations in the form of ordinal numbers, which refer to the position of the gatherings within the finished codex, probably penned by the same scribe to facilitate the binder’s task: on f. 33a, for instance, one can read: “*al-tāsi ‘a min al-awwal*”, i.e. “[*al-kurrāsa*] *al-tāsi ‘a min [al-juz ] al-awwal*”.<sup>130</sup> To my knowledge, this is the earliest instance of numbered quires in a Maghribī manuscript. However, the practice of marking the central bifolium of each quire with a numeral 5 in the upper right margin (‘mid-quire notation’) is already attested at the beginning of the 6th/12th century (item 38).

Further evidence of scribal activities among the Mozarabs of 6th/12th-century Fes – although indirect – comes from the colophon of another Gospel Book, now in the Bavarian State Library, which was copied in 796/1394 from a manuscript “written by

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<sup>129</sup> León, Archivo de la Catedral, ms. 35. See KASSIS 2016, XXIV-XXV; VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 427-429; TISSERANT 1953.

<sup>130</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 429.

the Deacon Abū ‘Umar [...] in the city of Fes [...]”, and “achieved on Friday, on the 30th day of the month of March of the year 1145 of the era of Christ the Lord”.<sup>131</sup> Finally, the town of Ceuta also witnessed the copy of Christian Arabic manuscript during the Almohad period, as confirmed by a parchment Psalter in the British Museum, the work of a team of scribes, completed in the year 1239 AD.<sup>132</sup>

### **The evidence of dated manuscripts**

The number of dated manuscripts and documents penned in Maghribī round scripts that have survived from the 6th/12th century is significantly higher than that of earlier periods, and a complete list could only be attained after a systematic survey of archives and libraries generally considered ‘problematic’ because of the inaccessibility and/or the overwhelming size of their collections (partly still uncatalogued), such as the BNRM, the DKW, the Qarawiyyīn, the Ibn Yūsuf Library of Marrakesh, and the Library of the Zāwiya Sīdī Ḥamza near Midelt, in the high plains between the Middle and High Atlas. Such a survey would evidently transcend the scope of this thesis: the list presented here is principally based on the manuscripts published in library/museum/auction catalogues, mentioned in secondary literature and editions of texts, or brought to my attention by colleagues conducting research in related fields. For purely practical reasons, the Arabic (and bilingual) documents and manuscripts produced in Toledo and other Iberian centres after the Aragonese, Castilian, and Portuguese conquests will not be discussed here.<sup>133</sup> On the contrary, dated books in Maghribī scripts that were copied in the Mashriq or in Christian cities of the Iberian

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<sup>131</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 238, f.90a. See KASSIS 2016, XIX-XXI. Van Koningsveld gives a wrong reading of the date in both the English translation (1140) and in the Arabic transliteration (1045). A second colophon is on f. 97b, giving the date 796/1394 for the completion of the final copy.

<sup>132</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 432-433. On f. 208° there is a *milk* note of “*Martīn al-Farḥānī, rāhib min ‘abīd Maryam al-muqaddasa*” which, according to Van Koningsveld, may indicate the existence of a monastery in 7th/13th-century Ceuta.

<sup>133</sup> For the Arabic documents of 6th/12th-century Toledo, see the classic study GONZÁLEZ 1926-1930; for a recent quantitative analysis of these documents, see OLSTEIN 2006. For the bilingual sale documents of Tudela and Tarzona, eight of which from the 6th/12th century, see GARCÍA-ARENAL 1982. For the Arabic documents (especially sale contracts) in the Archive of Nuestra Señora del Pilar in Zaragoza, nine of which drafted in the 6th/12th century, see GARCÍA DE LINARES 1904. Several other Arabic and bilingual documents from this period are kept in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, and in the Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón in Barcelona.

Peninsula by traveling (or captive) Maghribī scholars have been included in the corpus, not only for their palaeographic importance, but also because of the precious information they yield about the movements and activities of Andalusī intellectuals outside their homeland.

37. **500/1107** [Şafar]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā* (*Kitāb al-waṣāyā, kitāb al-zakāt, kitāb al-ṣiyam wa-l-i'tikāf*) [“The great legal compilation (Book of precepts, book of alms-giving, book of fasting and devotion)”], by Saḥnūn b. Sa‘īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Auctioned in 2005;<sup>134</sup>
38. **502/1108** [Rabī‘ II]: *Kitāb tabṣirat al-mubtadī’ wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī* [“Manual for the beginners and reminder for the advanced”], by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Şaymarī [d. 541/1146-7]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 4007;<sup>135</sup>
39. **502/1109** [Jumādā II – Sha‘bān, copied in Marrakesh]: *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭa’*, parts **6-13, 31-33** [“The well-trodden path”], by Mālik b. Anas al-Aşbaḥī [d. 795/179]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, mss. 605/1-2 and 2005;<sup>136</sup>
40. **510/1116** [Dhū al-Ḥijja, copied in Calatrava la Vieja]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā, various fragments* [“The great legal compilation”], by Saḥnūn b. Sa‘īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Dublin, CBL, mss. Ar. 3006 and Ar. 4835;<sup>137</sup>
41. **511/1117** [Jumādā I-II]: *Kitāb al-sunan* [“Book of traditions”], by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dāraquṭnī [d. 385/995]. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, ms. Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi 157;<sup>138</sup>
42. **512/1119** [Shawwāl]: *Kitāb al-kāmil fī al-lugha* [“The complete book on language”], by Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad [210/825-286/899]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 221;<sup>139</sup>
43. **514/1120** [Şafar, copied in Cordova]: *Kitāb al-jāmi’ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ, part 32* [“Compendium of sound Ḥadīth”], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Auctioned in 2000;<sup>140</sup>

<sup>134</sup> CHRISTIE’S 11/10/2005, lot 32.

<sup>135</sup> DE SLANE 1883-1895, 650. See also DÉROCHE 2005, 100; FIMMOD No. 18.

<sup>136</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 161-165. See also MAROC MÉDIÉVAL 2014, 226, No. 129.

<sup>137</sup> ARBERRY 1955-1966, VI, 113. A portion of this same manuscript is in the Alexandria Municipal Library Collection, BA, No. 532/B (153 folios, dated 509 AH): see *SELECTED RARITIES* 2003.

<sup>138</sup> JAOUHARI 2015, 36-39.

<sup>139</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, I, 131.

<sup>140</sup> CHRISTIE’S 10/10/2000, lot 28.

44. 514/1120 [Şafar]: *Kitāb al-īdāh fī al-naḥw* [“An explanation of grammar”], by Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī [d. 377/987]. Auctioned in 2010;<sup>141</sup>
45. 514/1120-1: *Kitāb shamā’ il rasūl Allāh* [“The qualities of the Messenger of God”], by Abū ‘Isā Muḥammad ibn ‘Isā as-Sulamī al-Ḍarīr al-Būghī at-Tirmidhī [209/824-279/892]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 1740;<sup>142</sup>
46. 515/1121 [Rabī’ I]: *Kitāb al-iqtidāb fī sharḥ Adab al-kuttāb* [“Commentary on (Ibn Qutayba’s) Instruction of scribes”], by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127). San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 503;<sup>143</sup>
47. 515/1121-2: *Kitāb al-farq bayna al-ḥurūf al-mushkila min al-ḥurūf al-mu’jam* [“On the difference between the vocalized letters of the alphabet”], by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (444/1052-521/1127). Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 134;<sup>144</sup>
48. 517-519/1123-26: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā*, various fragments [“The great legal compilation”], by Saḥnūn b. Sa’īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 574/1/5-8/55;<sup>145</sup>
49. 523/1129 [Şafar, copied in Granada?]: *Kitāb al-ḥāwī fī al-ḥamiyyāt*, part 6 [“Comprehensive book on fevers”], by Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [250/864-311/923]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 855;<sup>146</sup>
50. 523/1129 [Şafar]: *Kitāb al-kāmil fī al-jarḥ wa-l-ta’dīl* [“The complete book on the condemnation and praise (of transmitters)”], by Abū Aḥmad Ibn ‘Adī al-Jurjānī [d. 365/976]. Cairo, DKW, unknown shelf mark;<sup>147</sup>
51. 524/1129-30 [copied in Valencia]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā (Kitāb jināyāt al-‘abīd)* [“The great legal compilation (Book of criminal offenses perpetrated by slaves)”], by Saḥnūn b. Sa’īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 800/3/11;<sup>148</sup>

<sup>141</sup> GROS & DELETTREZ 23/06/2010, lot 43.

<sup>142</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, III, 249-250; *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 225.

<sup>143</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, I, 339-340.

<sup>144</sup> BEN LARBI 1994, 433, No. 1583.

<sup>145</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 95-110.

<sup>146</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 64. Although Derenbourg describes it as a “*copie datée de Grenade*”, nowhere in the ms. could I find a reference to its place of copying.

<sup>147</sup> Uncatalogued. See MORITZ 1905, pl. 175A.

<sup>148</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 473-474. See also JAOUHARI 2013, 21 (group 1, type C). Sixteen folios from this ms., containing the *Kitāb al-‘uyub*, were auctioned at Bonham’s (6/04/2006), lot 5.

52. 524/1130 [Şafar]: *Kitāb zahr al-adāb wa-thamar al-albāb* [“The flower of literature and the fruit of the hearts”], by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī [d. 413/1022]. Cairo, DKW, unknown shelf mark;<sup>149</sup>
53. 524/1130 [Yannayr-Şafar]: *Kitāb al-adwiya al-mufrada* [“Book of simple medicines”], by Yūnus Ibn Baklārish al-Isrā’īlī [active around 493/1100]. London, Arcadian Library, no shelf mark;<sup>150</sup>
54. 526/1132 [Rabī‘ I-Jumādā I]: *Kitāb al-iqtidāb fī sharḥ Adab al-kuttāb* [“Commentary on (Ibn Qutayba’s) Instruction of scribes”], by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī [444/1052-521/1127]. Tunis, BNT, ms. 16412;<sup>151</sup>
55. 526/1132 [Jumādā I]: *Kitāb muntakhab al-aḥkām, part 1* [“Anthology of juridical pronouncements”], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abī Zamanīn [324/935-398/1007]. Madrid, BNE, MSS/5043;<sup>152</sup>
56. 527/1133 [Rabī‘ II]: *Kitāb al-mudawwana al-kubrā (Kitāb al-şarf)* [“The great legal compilation (Book of barter)”], by Saḥnūn b. Sa‘īd al-Tanūkhī [160/777-240/855]. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. MS.624.2007;<sup>153</sup>
57. 528/1133 [Muḥarram, copied in Alexandria]: *Kitāb al-muḥtasab fī tabyīn wujūh shawādh al-qirā’āt* [“Manual for the clarification of obscure matters relating to Quranic readings”], by Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Uthmān Ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣilī [320/932-392/1002]. Cairo, DKW, ms. 78 Qirā’āt;<sup>154</sup>
58. 530/1135 [Şafar, copied in Tlemcen]: *Mukhtaşar al-Mudawwana* [“Compendium of Saḥnūn’s great legal compilation”], by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī [d. 386/996]. Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 578;<sup>155</sup>
59. 530/1136 [Dhū al-Qa‘da]: **Unidentified treatise of Mālikī fiqh, fragment.** Kuala Lumpur, International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation, ms. Arabic 337;<sup>156</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Uncatalogued. See MORITZ 1905, pl. 177B. The standard edition of the *Zahr*, edited by A. M. al-Bajāwī (Beirut 1978), is based on two other manuscripts of the DKW.

<sup>150</sup> IBN BAKLARISH 2008.

<sup>151</sup> MANSOUR 1969, 20; CHABBOUH 1989, 27, No. 61.

<sup>152</sup> GUILLÉN 1889, 18-19, No. XXXIX.

<sup>153</sup> A second section of this manuscript, copied in Ramaḍān of the same year, and containing 18 folios of the *Kitāb al-‘itq wa-l-şaraka*, was auctioned at Bonham’s (12/04/2000, lot 494), and then again at Bonham’s (02/05/2001, lot 16).

<sup>154</sup> IBN JINNĪ 1998, I, 72, 97-99; MORITZ 1905, pl. 177A.

<sup>155</sup> BEN LARBI 1994, 226, No. 803.

<sup>156</sup> ISTAC ILLUMINATED 1998, 157.

60. 1137 AD? [July, copied in Fes?]: *Kitāb al-Injīl, Marqush wa-Lūqa wa-Yūhanā* ["Gospel Book, according to Mark, Luke and John"]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 730;<sup>157</sup>
61. 532/1137 [Shawwāl]: *Kitāb khilq al-insān, part 2* ["The creation of humans"], by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarī al-Zajjāj [241/844-311/923]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 929 D;<sup>158</sup>
62. 532/1138 [Sha‘bān, copied in Almería]: *Kitāb al-jāmi‘ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ, part 36* ["Compendium of sound *Hadīth*"], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Auctioned in 1999;<sup>159</sup>
63. 532/1138 [Dhū al-Qa‘da]: *Kitāb al-jāmi‘ fī al-sunan wa-l-adāb wa-l-maghāzī wa-l-tārīkh* ["Collection of traditions, literature, military campaigns, and history"], by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī [d. 386/996]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 645;<sup>160</sup>
64. 533/1139 [Dhū al-Qa‘da]: *Kitāb al-taḥṣīl li-fawā‘id kitāb al-taḥṣīl, part 2* ["Commentary of the Qur‘ān"], by Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad al-Mahdāwī [d. 430/1038]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 1272.<sup>161</sup>
65. 534/1139 [Rabī‘ I]: *Kitāb al-af‘āl al-thalāthiyya wa-l-rubā‘iyya* ["On trilateral and quadrilateral verbs"], by Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Ibn al-Qūṭiyya [d. 367/977]. Agrigento, Biblioteca Lucchiana, ms. arabo I;<sup>162</sup>
66. 534/1140 [Rajab, copied in Granada]: *Kitāb al-miftāḥ fī ikhtilāf al-qirā‘āt al-sab‘a* ["The key to the seven readings"], by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Muqri‘ [403/1012-461/1068]. Madrid, BNE, MSS/5255;<sup>163</sup>
67. 534/1140 [Ramaḍān]: *Kitāb al-wathā‘iq wa-al-masā’il, part 2* ["On formal contracts and requests"], by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Wahīd al-Fihri al-Būntī [d. 462/1070]. Madrid, CSIC Library, ms. RESC/11;<sup>164</sup>

<sup>157</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 356-357; VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 427-429. See also *SPLÉNDEURS DE L'ÉCRITURE* 2017, 26-27; KASSIS 2016, XXIV-XXV; TISSERANT 1953.

<sup>158</sup> ALLOUCHE & REGRAGUI 1954, I, 363; JAOUHARI 2013, 23 (group 2, type B); FIMMOD No. 261.

<sup>159</sup> CHRISTIE'S 20/4/1999. The manuscript was auctioned again at Christie's (16/10/2001, lot 29), and Sotheby's (5/4/2006, lot 26). The 34th *juz*' of the same manuscript was sold at Christie's (28/4/1998, lot 51): 22 folios, with the colophon giving the date "Rajab 632", probably a scribal mistake.

<sup>160</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, II, 225-227. See also VAN KONINGSVELD 1994, 434.

<sup>161</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, III, 6-7.

<sup>162</sup> AMARI 1869, 3.

<sup>163</sup> GUILLÉN 1889, 23, No. XLIX.

<sup>164</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ & ASÍN 1912, 57-69; VAN KONINGSVELD 1991, 817-818.

68. **535/1141** [Shawwāl, copied in Priego de Córdoba]: *Kitāb al-jāmi' al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ, parts 4-5* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 301/21.1;<sup>165</sup>
69. **537/1142** [Rabī‘ I]: *Kitāb al-kāmil fī al-luġha* [“The complete book on the language”], by Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad [210/826-286/898]. St Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, ms. C-674;<sup>166</sup>
70. **539/1145** [Shawwāl, copied in Seville?]: *Kitāb munāfi‘ al-amdā’, parts 10-17* [Galen’s “Treatise on the uses of body parts”], translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-‘Ibādī [192/808-260/873]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 850;<sup>167</sup>
71. **540/1145-6** [Rajab]: *Kitāb al-ṣifāt al-wājiba li-llāh ta‘ālā, fragment* [“On the necessary attributes of God”], by Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. Talḥa al-Yāburī [d. 518/1124]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 98 Q;<sup>168</sup>
72. **542/1148** [Dhū al-Ḥijja, copied in Granada]: *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭa’, part 1* [“The well-trodden path”], by Mālik b. Anas al-Aṣbahī [d. 795/179]. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. MS.320.1999;<sup>169</sup>
73. **546/1152** [Dhū al-Ḥijja]: *Kitāb al-‘awīṣ, part 1* [“On strange expressions”], by Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Sīda al-Mursī [d. 458/1066]. Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 596;<sup>170</sup>
74. **556/1161** [Jumādā II]: *Sifr fī-hi shi‘r Abī Tammām* [“Collection of poems”], by Abū Tammām Habīb b. Aws al-Ṭā‘ī [d. 231/845]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 415;<sup>171</sup>

<sup>165</sup> BEN LARBI 1994, 109, No. 346; AL-MANŪNĪ 1999, I, 93.

<sup>166</sup> KHALIDOV 1986, I, 399, No. 9026, and II, 247. See also *DE BAGDAD À ISPAHAN* 1994, 100-101.

<sup>167</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 57. Although Derenbourg describes it as a “*copie faite à Séville*”, nowhere in the ms. could I find a reference to the place of copying.

<sup>168</sup> AL-MURĀBĪTĪ 2001-2002, 172-173, No. 171. See also JAOUHARI 2013, 23 (group I, type D).

<sup>169</sup> QUARITCH 1999, 33-36. Part XIV of the same manuscript was auctioned at Christie’s (20/4/1999, lot 324: 87 folios, dated Muḥarram 543/1148). Other 170 folios, probably also written in 543/1148, are in Rabat, Royal Library, ms. 2469 (SIJELMASSI 1987, 81; *DE L’EMPIRE ROMAIN* 1990, 424, No. 500, BENJELLOUN-LAROUÏ 1990, 79, although in these publications the date of the ms. is mistakenly read as 643/1245).

<sup>170</sup> BEN LARBI 1994, 437, No. 1600.

<sup>171</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, I, 277.

75. 559/1164 [Ramaḍān, copied in Damascus]: *Kitāb al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Asākir ad-Dīn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī [d. 261/875]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 1007;<sup>172</sup>
76. 560/1165 [Dhū al-Qa‘da, copied in Cordova]: *Kitāb al-ṣila fī tārikh a‘immat al-Andalus* [“Supplement on the history of the leading scholars of al-Andalus”], by Abū al-Qāsim Khalaf Ibn Bashkuwāl [494/1101-578/1183]. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1471;<sup>173</sup>
77. 561/1166 [Şafar, copied in Barcelona]: *Kitāb al-taysīr fī al-mudāwāt wa-l-tadbīr* [“Book of simplification concerning therapeutics and diet”], by Abū Marwān ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abū al-‘Alā b. Zuhr [464/1094-557/1162]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 2960;<sup>174</sup>
78. 561/1166 [Rabī‘ II]: *Two treatises on medicine*, by Abū al-‘Alā b. Zuhr [d. 525/1131]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 844/3-4;<sup>175</sup>
79. 562/1166-7: *Al-Kitāb fī al-naḥw* [“Book of grammar”], by ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān al-Baṣrī Sībawayh [d. 180/796]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 6499;<sup>176</sup>
80. 562/1167 [Sha‘bān]: *Kitāb al-kāmil fī al-luġha* [“The complete book on the language”], by Abū al-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mubarrad [210/826-286/898]. Cambridge University Library, ms. Qq. 42;<sup>177</sup>
81. 562/1168 [Dhū al-Qa‘da, copied in Majorca]: *Kitāb mushkil i‘rāb al-Qur‘ān* [“On the grammatical difficulties of the Qur‘ān”], by Abū Muḥammad Makkī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qaysī al-Qurṭubī [d. 437/1046]. Agrigento, Biblioteca Lucchesiana, ms. arabo VIII;<sup>178</sup>
82. 562/1167 [Rajab]: *Kitāb asmā’ rijāl Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* [“Dictionary of the transmitters mentioned in al-Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ*”], by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad al-Kalābādihī [d. 398/1008]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 2086;<sup>179</sup>

<sup>172</sup> VAJDA 1963, 76-79.

<sup>173</sup> IBN BASHKUWĀL 1966, I, 1-m, pls. 1-4. See also AL-MUNAJJID 1960, 4, pl. 35.

<sup>174</sup> DE SLANE 1883-1895, 529; FIMMOD No. 91. See also ESTÈVE 2001A, 47.

<sup>175</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 50-52.

<sup>176</sup> BLOCHET 1925, 280 (erroneously dated to the year 558 AH); FIMMOD No. 65. For a discussion of this manuscript and its line of transmission see HUMBERT 1995, 234-239.

<sup>177</sup> BROWNE 1900, 161; WRIGHT 1875-1883, pl. XXXVII Arabic.

<sup>178</sup> AMARI 1869, 7.

<sup>179</sup> DE SLANE 1883-1895, 370; FIMMOD No. 39.

83. **563/1168** [Rajab, copied in Bijāya]: *Kitāb sirr al-ṣināʿa wa-asrār al-balāgha* [“The secrets of ability and eloquence”], by Abū al-Faṭḥ ʿUthmān Ibn Jinnī [d. 392/1002]. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. MS.553.1999;<sup>180</sup>
84. **568/1172** [Rabīʿ II, copied in Valencia]: *Kitāb shihāb al-akhbār* [“The resplendent light of *Ḥadīth* accounts”], by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Salāma al-Qudāʿī [d. 454/1062]. Rabat, Royal Library, ms. 1810;<sup>181</sup>
85. **569/1173-4** [copied in Sijilmāsa]: *Talkhīṣ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* [“Compendium of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim”], by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart al-Mahdī [d. 524/1130]. Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 403;<sup>182</sup>
86. **570/1174** [copied in Almería]: *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ, part 9* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Juʿfī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Doha, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. MS.513.1999;<sup>183</sup>
87. **573/1177** [Shaʿbān]: *Kitāb tahdhīb masāʾil al-Mudawwana* [“A revision and commentary on the *Mudawwana*”], by Abū Saʿīd Khalaf al-Azdī al-Barādhiʿī [d. 400/1009]. Dublin, CBL, ms. Ar. 3952;<sup>184</sup>
88. **573/1177** [Shaʿbān]: *Kitāb al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿAsākir ad-Dīn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī [d. 261/875]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 148;<sup>185</sup>
89. **573/1177-8: *Kitāb al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ*** [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū al-Ḥusayn ʿAsākir ad-Dīn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī [d. 261/875]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 586 J;<sup>186</sup>
90. **575/1179** [Rajab]: *Kitāb al-Maʿida* [“On the stomach”], by Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khālīd Ibn al-Jazzār [d. 395/1004]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 852/4;<sup>187</sup>

<sup>180</sup> QUARITCH 1999, 36-37. This ms. was first auctioned at Sotheby’s (26/4/1995, lot 47).

<sup>181</sup> Uncatalogued. See SIELMASSI 1987, 57; KHEMIR 1992, 307, No. 77; BARRUCAND 2005, 77. A bifolio from this ms. is currently in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait (SAFWAT 1997, 42-43).

<sup>182</sup> BEN LARBI 1994, 129-130, No. 441. See also GRIFFEL 2005, 768, n. 53.

<sup>183</sup> This manuscript can be securely dated thanks to a collation note on f. 24a, written in Shawwāl 570/1175 in Almería, by the same hand that copied the main text and in the same ink. First auctioned at Bonham’s (14/10/1999, lot 539). Twenty-two sparse folios from parts 22 and 24 were auctioned at Christie’s King’s Street (28/4/1998, lot 44). Twenty folios from part 19 of the same ms., collated in Ṣafar 570/1174 in Almería, were auctioned at Christie’s King’s Street (26/4/2012, lot 135).

<sup>184</sup> ARBERRY 1955-1966, IV, 69.

<sup>185</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, I, 155-158.

<sup>186</sup> Uncatalogued. See ROGER, SERGHINI & DÉROCHE 2004.

91. 575/1180 [Shawwāl]: *Kitāb al-ṭibb al-Manṣūrī* [“Book of medicine for al-Manṣūr”], by Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [250/864-311/923]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 819;<sup>188</sup>
92. 576/1180 [Jumādā I]: *Kitāb al-jāmi’ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ, fragment* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Tamgrout, Nasiriyya Library, ms. 89;<sup>189</sup>
93. 577/1181-2: *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-unuf fī sharḥ gharīb al-siyar, part 2* [“The untrodden meadow in the explanation of difficult passages of the (Prophet’s) biographies”], by Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suhaylī [d. 581/1185]. Alexandria, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, ms. 1594 Sīra;<sup>190</sup>
94. 578/1183 [Ramaḍān, copied in Mecca]: *Kitāb al-jāmi’ al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ, parts 2-7* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Ju‘fī al-Bukhārī [194/810-256/870]. Auctioned in 2001;<sup>191</sup>
95. 579/1183 [Sha‘bān]: *Kitāb a‘azz mā yuḥlab* [“The most precious thing one can desire”], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Tūmart al-Mahdī [d. 524/1130]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 1451;<sup>192</sup>
96. 581/1185-6 [autograph, copied in Damascus]: *Kitāb asmā’ al-nisā’* [“Biographical dictionary of female *Ḥadīth* transmitters”], by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ma‘āfirī al-Mālaqī [d. 605/1208]. Dublin, CBL, ms. Ar. 3016;<sup>193</sup>
97. 582/1186 [Ṣafar]: *Kitāb tabṣirat al-mubtadī’ wa-tadhkirat al-muntahī* [“Directives for the beginner and reminders for the advanced”], by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ṣaymarī [d. 541/1146]. Milan, Ambrosiana Library, ms. A 86 inf.;<sup>194</sup>
98. 583/1186 [Ṣafar, copied in Cordova]: *Kitāb al-kulliyāt fī al-ṭibb* [“Book of generalities in medicine”], by Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Rushd [520/1126-595/1198]. Granada, Sacromonte Library, ms. árabe 1;<sup>195</sup>

<sup>187</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 60.

<sup>188</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 30-31.

<sup>189</sup> AL-MANŪNĪ 1985, 33-34; AL-MANŪNĪ 1999, I, 511.

<sup>190</sup> ZIEDAN & ZAHRAN 1997, 215-216.

<sup>191</sup> CHRISTIE’S 16/10/2001, lot 28.

<sup>192</sup> VAJDA, SAUVAN & GUESDON 1978-1995, III, 314-317; FIMMOD No. 36; MAROC MÉDIÉVAL 2014, 277.

<sup>193</sup> ARBERRY 1955-1966, I, 6, pl. 2.

<sup>194</sup> LÖFGREN & TRAINI 1975, 50.

<sup>195</sup> ASÍN 1911, 254-255.

99. **585/1189** [Dhū al-Qa‘da]: *Kitāb al-iqtidāb fī sharḥ Adab al-kuttāb* [“Commentary on (Ibn Qutayba’s) Instruction of scribes”], by Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī [444/1052-521/1127]. Cairo, Azhariyya Library, ms. 190 Adab;<sup>196</sup>
100. **586/1190** [Rajab]: *Two of Galen’s treatises on diseases and the inner organs*, translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq al-‘Ibādī [192/808-260/873]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 799;<sup>197</sup>
101. **587/1191** [Dhū al-Qa‘da]: *Kitāb al-jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū ‘Īsā Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā as-Sulamī al-Būghī al-Tirmidhī [209/824-279/892]. Sofia, National Library of SS. Cyril and Methodius, ms. OR 1638;<sup>198</sup>
102. **588/1192** [Ṣafar]: *Kitāb al-madd wa-l-jazr* [“On flux and reflux”], by an anonymous author. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 1636/2;<sup>199</sup>
103. **588/1192** [Shawwāl]: *Kitāb al-musnad al-ṣaḥīḥ, part 2* [“Compendium of sound *Ḥadīth*”], by Abū al-Ḥusayn ‘Asākir ad-Dīn Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī [d. 261/875]. Tunis, BNT, ms. 18476;<sup>200</sup>
104. **588/1192-3**: *Al-Kitāb fī al-naḥw* [“Book of grammar”], by ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān al-Baṣrī Sībawayh [d. 180/796]. Midelt, Library of the Zāwiya Sīdī Ḥamza, ms. 48;<sup>201</sup>
105. **588/1192-3**: *Kitāb tahdhīb masā’il al-Mudawwana, part 2* [“A revision and commentary on the *Mudawwana*”], by Abū Sa‘īd Khalaf al-Azdī al-Barādhi‘ī [d. 400/1009]. Taza, Library of the Great Mosque, ms. 220;<sup>202</sup>
106. **589/1193** [Ṣafar]: *Two treatises on dogmatics and the ninety-nine Names*, by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī [450/1058-505/1111]. Dublin, CBL, ms. Ar. 5266;<sup>203</sup>
107. **590/1193-4**: *Kitāb a‘azz mā yuṭlab* [“The most precious thing one can desire”], by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Tūmart al-Mahdī [d. 524/1130]. Rabat, Royal Library, ms. 12618;<sup>204</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Uncatalogued. See AL-BATĀLYAWSĪ 1981-1983, 25.

<sup>197</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 12-13.

<sup>198</sup> KENDEROVA 1995, 101-103, No. 64.

<sup>199</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, III, 176-177.

<sup>200</sup> MANSOUR 1975, 31.

<sup>201</sup> AL-MANŪNĪ 1999, I, 401-402. See also HUMBERT 1995, 239-243, pl. XI.

<sup>202</sup> AL-‘ALAMĪ 2002, I, 275, No. 265.

<sup>203</sup> ARBERRY 1955-1966, VII, 85.

108. 590/1193-4: *Kitāb al-muwatta' li-l-Imām al-Mahdī* [“The *Muwatta'* of the Well-Guided Imām”], by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Tūmart al-Mahdī [d. 524/1130]. Algiers, National Library, ms. 424;<sup>205</sup>
109. 590/1193 [Sha'bān]: *Kitāb al-mu'lim bi-fawā'id Kitāb Muslim* [“The advantages of Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*”], by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Tamīmī al-Māzarī [453/1061-536/1141]. Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 152;<sup>206</sup>
110. 591/1195 [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb qalā'id al-'iqyān wa-maḥāsin al-a'yān* [“The gold necklaces and virtues of illustrious men”], by al-Faḥ Ibn Khāqān al-Qaysī al-Ishbīlī [d. 535/1140]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 357;<sup>207</sup>
111. 591/1195 [Ramaḍān]: *Kitāb iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* [“The reformation of language”], by Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Ibn al-Sikkīt [d. 244/858]. Rabat, Royal Library, ms. 180;<sup>208</sup>
112. 593/1197 [Sha'bān]: *Kitāb al-taysīr li-ḥifẓ madhāhib al-qurrā'* [“Companion to the different schools of Quranic readings”], by Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān al-Dānī [371/981-444/1053]. Algiers, National Library, ms. 368;<sup>209</sup>
113. 594/1198 [Rabī' II]: *Kitāb adab al-kuttāb* [“Instruction of the scribes”], by 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba al-Dīnawarī [213/828-276/889]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 573;<sup>210</sup>
114. 594/1198 [Ṣafar]: *Kitāb kanz al-yawāqīt* [“The treasure of precious stones”], by an unknown author. Madrid, BNE, MSS/4886;<sup>211</sup>
115. 594/1198 [Dhū al-Qa'da]: *Kitāb adāb al-falāsifa* [“Aphorisms of philosophers”], by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 760;<sup>212</sup>
116. 595/1198-9: *Kitāb a'azz mā yuṭlab* [“The most precious thing one can desire”], by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart al-Mahdī [d. 524/1130]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 1214 Q;<sup>213</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Uncatalogued. See *DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN* 1990, 252-253, No. 497; *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 275.

<sup>205</sup> FAGNAN 1893, 108-109; FIMMOD No. 320.

<sup>206</sup> AL-FĀSĪ 1979-1989, I, 159-161. See also JAOUHARI 2013, 22 (group 1, type G).

<sup>207</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, I, 229-230.

<sup>208</sup> *MUNTAKHABĀT* 1978, 94.

<sup>209</sup> FAGNAN 1893, 87.

<sup>210</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, I, 397.

<sup>211</sup> GUILLÉN 1889, 52, No. CIII.

<sup>212</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 47-48.

<sup>213</sup> Uncatalogued. Previously kept in the Library of the Great Mosque of Taza (ms. 645). See GRIFFEL 2005, 767, n. 49.

117. 596/1199 [Şafar]: *Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' al-Andalus* ["A history of Andalusī scholars"], by 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Faraḍī al-Azdī [351/962-403/1013]. Tunis, BNT, ms. 15058;<sup>214</sup>
118. 597/1201 [Rajab]: *Kitāb al-iḥkām fī-usūl al-aḥkām* ["Book of knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence"], by 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥazm al-Zāhirī [d. 456/1064]. Cairo, DKW, unknown shelfmark;<sup>215</sup>
119. 597/1201 [Ramaḍān, copied in Tlemcen]: *Kitāb al-muwaṭṭa' li-l-Imām al-Mahdī* ["The *Muwaṭṭa'* of the Well-Guided Imām"], by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Tūmart al-Mahdī [d. 524/1130]. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 1222 J;<sup>216</sup>
120. 599/1203 [Sha'bān, copied in Murcia]: *Al-Kitāb al-mukhaṣṣaṣ fī al-luġha, parts 16-17* ["Dictionary of specialised terms"], by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Sīda al-Mursī [d. 458/1066]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 575;<sup>217</sup>
121. 599/1202 [Rabī' I]: *Al-Kitāb fī al-naḥw, part 1* ["Book of grammar"], by 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Baṣrī Sībawayh [d. 180/796]. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, ms. Carullah 1963;<sup>218</sup>
122. 599/1202 [Dhū al-Ḥijja]: *Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa* ["Collection of poems on valour"], by Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭā'ī [d. 231/845]. Cairo, DKW, ms. 94 Adab;<sup>219</sup>
123. 600/1204 [Rajab]: *Kitāb al-muḥkam wa-l-muḥīṭ al-a'zam, part 1* ["Great dictionary"] by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Sīda al-Mursī [d. 458/1066]. Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 270/1.<sup>220</sup>

Although copied in the 6th/12th century, the following manuscripts will not be taken into consideration here, for different reasons:

<sup>214</sup> MANSOUR 1969, 415 (under a different title, and wrongly dated to 599 AH).

<sup>215</sup> Uncatalogued. See MORITZ 1905, pl. 179B.

<sup>216</sup> Uncatalogued. See SCHACHT 1968, 33.

<sup>217</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, I, 399-400.

<sup>218</sup> Uncatalogued. See HUMBERT 1995, 248-252.

<sup>219</sup> *DĀR AL-KUTUB* 1989, 120; MORITZ 1905, pl. 178 (wrongly dated to the year 597/1201).

<sup>220</sup> BEN LARBI 1994, 435, No. 1591. Another late 12th-century (or early 13th-century) copy of this work is in the BNT, mss. 12483-8, copied by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Qaysī (PUA id. 8338), probably in Seville. The date 455/1063 recorded on the title page of the first volume (ms. 12483, f.1a) does not correspond to the year of copying (as wrongly stated in MANSOUR 1969, 150-152), but to the year in which the original manuscript was read to the author.

- **528/1134** [Sha‘bān]: *Kitāb al-rawḍa al-ṭibbiyya* [“The garden of medicine”], by Abū Sa‘īd ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Jibrā’īl Ibn Bukhtīshū’ [d. 450/1058]. San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBE, ms. D. 889/2;<sup>221</sup>
- **585/1189** (?): *Kitāb al-sunan* [“Book of Traditions”], by Abū Dā’ūd Sulaymān b. al-Ash‘ath al-Sijistānī [202/817-275/889]. Bodleian Library, ms. Marsh 292;<sup>222</sup>
- **593/1197** (?): *Al-Kitāb fī al-naḥw* [“Book of grammar”], by ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān al-Baṣrī Sībawayh [d. 180/796]. Paris, BNF, ms. arabe 5068;<sup>223</sup>
- **591/1195** [Jumādā II, copied in Damascus]: *Kitāb al-gharībayn fī al-Qur’ān wa-l-Sunna, part 2* [“On difficult passages of the Qur’ān and Sunna”], by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī al-Bāshānī [d. 401/1011]. Dublin, CBL, ms. Ar. 3864;<sup>224</sup>
- **595/1199** [Rabī‘ I]: *Kitāb al-jihād* [“Book of Holy War”], by Abū Yūsuf al-Manṣūr Amīr al-Mu‘minīn (r. 580/1184-595/1199). Taza, Library of the Great Mosque, unknown shelfmark.<sup>225</sup>

Finally, a manuscript wrongly attributed to the 12th century is ms. 4696 of the BNT, a copy of the *Kitāb al-bayān wa-l-taḥṣīl* by Ibn Rushd al-Jadd, inexplicably dated by Ibrahim Chabbouh to the year 517/1123-4.<sup>226</sup> The text was copied on Italian watermarked paper produced more than a century later.

<sup>221</sup> DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, II, 105. Although dated, the manuscript is not in Maghribī script, and was probably copied in the Levant, on eastern paper.

<sup>222</sup> The date *Ramaḍān* 585 is found in a collation note at the end of the text (f. 207a), written in a different hand from that of the main text, and can only be used as a *terminus ante quem* for the production of this manuscript. Two audition certificates in Maghribī script (ff. 207a-b) were written in Alexandria in 605 and 607 AH respectively.

<sup>223</sup> BLOCHET 1925, 56. Pace Blochet, this manuscript is undated. It bears a reading certificate written in Mashriqī script in the Great Mosque of Damascus, in Ramaḍān 593 AH (HUMBERT 1995, 243-248).

<sup>224</sup> ARBERRY 1955-1966, II, 49. Although copied by an Andalusī – Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Umawī al-Andalusī – this ms. is in Mashriqī script. The only Maghribī feature is the sporadic use of semi-circular *tashdīd*.

<sup>225</sup> This manuscript does not appear in the catalogue of the Taza Mosque Library (AL-‘ILMĪ 2002), where it was discovered by al-Kattānī in the 1960s: “*Dans cette collection se trouve aussi Kitāb al-Jihād qui a été achevé par le Khalife Ibn Yūsūf Ya‘qub ibn Yūsūf ibn ‘Abdalmu‘min* [sic], 580-594/1184-1198 G. et daté de Rabī‘ I 595/janvier 1199. Et c’est le seul exemplaire actuellement connu” (AL-KATTĀNĪ 1968, 465).

<sup>226</sup> CATALOGUE DES MANUSCRITS 1980, 140. See also CHABBOUH 1989, 19, No. 37.

## The evolution of Maghribī bookhands

The 6th/12th century can certainly be considered the age of the master calligraphers in al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, and if the efflorescence of the ‘arts of the book’ during this period is clearly and frequently remarked by sources, it is all the more evident when examining the manuscripts themselves. Two centuries after Maghribī round scripts had been devised, the copyists of this region operated within with a well-established, historicised writing tradition, having available a wide range of fully codified graphic and aesthetic norms, which they used as points of departure for developing their craft even further, experimenting with new scribal modes and calligraphic traits. Even when copying books for themselves (“*li-naḥsi-hi*”) in fast-paced (i.e. cursive) scripts, 6th/12th-century scribes employed bookhands that can be generally defined as harmonious, perfectly rounded, elegant, and confident (items 41, 42, 52, 54, 55, 68, 74, 79, 98, 106, 123). Even the few surviving instances of casual scripts from this period bespeak the copyists’ familiarity with the traits of more formal styles (items 66, 96, 101), and their irregular ductus was simply determined by haste in writing under dictation, rather than by inexperience.

During the previous century, the angular traits which characterised most full bookhands – *bā*’, *tā*’, *thā*’ and *fā*’ *mawqūfa*, rectangular *ṣād*, *dād*, *ṭā*’, and *zā*, initial and medial *kāf* traced with two parallel horizontal lines linked by a diagonal stroke, and so forth – were a sign of the traditionalism of certain scholars who copied particularly venerable religious texts, especially of Qayrawanī *fiqh* (items 20, 22, 36), and of clergymen working in Christian scriptoria (item 18). In the first half of the 6th/12th century, this graphic conservatism is still visible in some manuscripts of Mālikī jurisprudence (items 37, 40, 48, 51), and in the Gospel Book of the Qarawiyyīn Library (item 60), all tellingly copied on parchment. Towards the end of the Almoravid period, however, and more systematically under the Almohads, these archaic features largely disappear from Maghribī bookhands, and where still present, they are turned into deliberate embellishments with a purely aesthetic purpose, an expression of the experimental tendencies of some particularly extravagant calligrapher (such as in item 47). The new paper manuscripts of Mālikī *fiqh* (items 55, 59, 63, 87) acquired a much more ‘modern’ look, due to their more compact format, user-friendly page layout, and

more importantly, thanks to the neat, limpid, beautifully accurate and yet simple scripts employed by their compilers.

Because the production of Mālikī commentaries declined during the Almohad period, due to the new rulers' attempt to reform the religious landscape of their Empire, this 'new look of the book' can be best observed in manuscripts of theological works (items 71, 106), Quranic exegesis (items 57, 66, 81, 112, 114), *sīra* and *ḥadīth* literature (items 41, 45, 84, 88, 89, 93, 103, 109), and of course works of Almohad doctrine (items 85, 107, 108, 116, 119). The aspect, format, and scripts of secular manuscripts also changed noticeably during the 6th/12th century, as appears in various medical treatises of Andalusī polymaths such as Ibn Rushd and Ibn Zuhr, enriched with diagrams and tables (items 53, 70, 77, 78, 90, 91, 98, 100); works of natural sciences, also enhanced with maps and charts (item 102); grammatical and lexicographical treatises of renowned authors such as Sībawayh, Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, and Ibn Sīda al-Mursī (items 38, 44, 61, 65, 79, 83, 97, 104, 121, 122); works of *adab* and philology by al-Mubarrad, Ibn Qutayba, and al-Baṭalyawsī's commentary on the latter (items 41, 45, 54, 69, 80, 99, 113, 115); collections of poems and *chansonniers*, with a seeming predilection for the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (items 74, 123).

From the point of view of scripts, the 6th/12th century is first and foremost a period of synthesis, when the constant mobility of copyists across cities and sub-regions of al-Andalus and the Far Maghrib favoured a high degree of interactions and cross-pollination among different local styles and scribal practices. The Andalusī calligraphic tradition, exported across the Strait of Gibraltar, became a trans-regional phenomenon, a stylistic koiné employed from Valencia to Marrakesh, from Seville to Sijilmasa, from Granada to Tlemcen and Bijāya. The finest scribes of the century experimented with nibs of different sizes within the same manuscript (items 39, 45, 65, 72, 88, 89, 95, 103, 107, 111), and sometimes cut their *qalam* in an eastern-like fashion, i.e. with a transversely cut nib, so as to increase the shading of their penstrokes (items 46, 63, 95, 110, 111). The maturity reached by Maghribī bookhands in this period was the result of the full normalisation and consolidation of traits and ligatures developed in the previous centuries into a shared usual script, recognised and mastered by all Maghribī scholars, irrespective of their status, occupation, or field of study. With this maturity came also the gradual disappearance of half-bookhands, or better, their absorption into the

category of full bookhands: fully developed upstrokes, downstrokes, curls, and tails are now found even in the most minute scripts, traced with scribal implements of unprecedented fineness (items 54, 74, 79, 87, 88, 89, 95, 98, 107, 108, 119).

All the stylistic features that would become typical of later Maghribī scripts are already present in the bookhands of the 6th/12th century. These include:

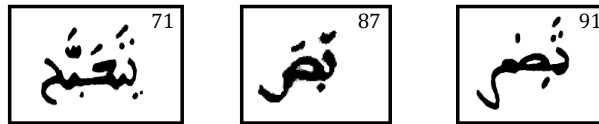
- Final *alif* curved backwards and sometimes traced in the shape of a semi-circle, especially in fixed graphemes such as *yā*, [*qāla*]*nā*, [*ḥaddatha*]*nā*, etc.;



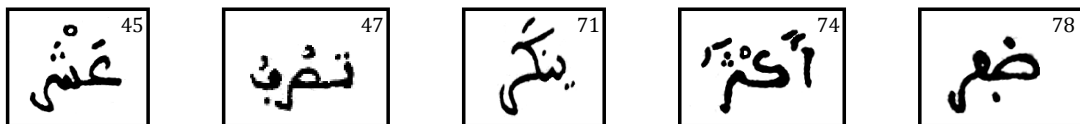
- The stem of final *alif* and medial *lām* rapidly traced in two strokes, the first upwards and the second downwards, sometimes not perfectly overlapping, so that a narrow empty space is left between the two;



- The curved and accentuated downstroke of initial *bā*’, *tā*’, *thā*’, *nūn*, and *yā*’;



- Final *rā*’ and *zā*’ traced without denticle above the baseline, in the shape of a sloping tail, sometimes ending in a small hook oriented leftwards;



- *Sīn* and *shīn* in medial position with short and rapidly traced denticles, sometimes clustered in a single thick one resembling a blur, created by the lingering of the *qalam* (most notably in the *sīn* of the initial *basmla*);

تَسْتَعِينُ 93

تَشْكُرُونَ 113

يُضْحِكُ اللَّهُ الرِّحْسَ 117

- Medial *tā'* and *zā'* traced in one stroke, with their body opened towards the vertical stem;

لِيُظِرَّ 47

الْحَيْطِ 102

بِأَنْظُلِقَ 103

حَيْطَلًا 111

- *Kāf dāliyya* in final and isolated position with a sinuous and wavy stem, and in initial and medial position with an oversized semi-circular body;

الطَّابِ 77

أَبُو بَكْرٍ 103

كُنَالَةَ 113

- Final *mīm* with a particularly long and accentuated tail turned backwards ('convex' *mīm*), traced as a continuation of the loop of the letter's body;

يَتَمُّ 45

لِغْلَالِمِ 83

نَجْوَانِمِ 91

تَدْرَمِ 97

- Medial *hā'* left open and drawn in the shape of a 6, with the lower part bent rightwards below the preceding letter;

أَسْمَلِ 83

مَهَا 91

أَسْمَا 111

- Final *hā'* and *tā' marbūṭa* simplified as a single, open curved stroke.

سَنَةٌ 45

وَضَعْنَهُ 77

نَصَهُ 83

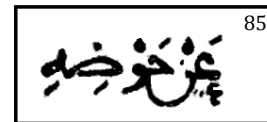
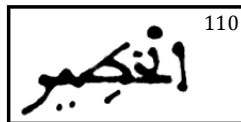
الْبَقْلَةُ 91

In addition, we can observe in the manuscripts of this period the rise and development of enhanced bookhands, i.e. semi-calligraphic scripts traced at a relatively slower pace and embellished with a number of mannered traits (items 45, 72, 85, 89, 107, 108, 110, glosses of item 84), some of which are remarkably close to the coeval miniature scripts employed for copying the Qurʾān. To an even higher level of penmanship belongs the calligraphic *mabsūṭ* script featured in item 84, one of the most striking examples of Andalusī calligraphy to have survived from the 6th/12th century, dating from the first year of Almohad domination in Valencia. Among the mannerisms characterising these enhanced bookhands, the most remarkable are:

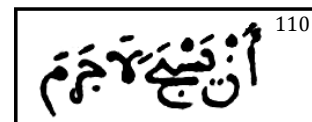
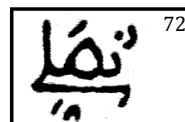
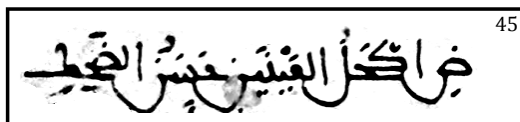
- The spur of final *alif* turned into a carefully traced semicircle, extending below the baseline and curled rightward;



- The semi-circular body of *ṣad*, *ḍad*, *tāʾ*, and *zāʾ*, resting upon a flat baseline;



- The occasional presence of multiple baselines in a single word, created by the rightward stretching of the body of medial and final *jīm*, *hāʾ*, and *khāʾ* below the preceding letters until the beginning of the word, as well as by the elongation of *yāʾ* *rājiʿa*, sometimes ending with a spur oriented leftwards;



- The copious use of elongated letters, especially *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ* and *fāʾ mawqūfa*, initial *kāf*, and final *fāʾ*, which creates the effect of a *ductus* with a marked horizontal orientation;

72  
 الفأجيرم ————— أنصب

89  
 تم كذا ————— الإيمان

110  
 الاحتماء —————

- The flattened baseline of individual words and the perfectly horizontal, regular rhythm of the writing lines, set at a 90° angle to the vertical side lines traced in dry point on both parchment and paper.

72  
 اليفعة عنده عن بكير بن عبد الله بن الأشج عن نسي بن سعيد عن جبير الله الخوازي وكان يوحى

89  
 وابن بشير قال محمد بن جعفر قال شعيبه، وحسرتنا ابو نكير نوابد شعبة قال، حمتو بن بكير

110  
 . وبي تعب من غسور الشمس نور ما ويزعم أن ما فيه لما وصري .

Concerning the evolution of punctuation marks, the 6th/12th century witnessed the introduction of new symbols as well as the increased use of old ones. In particular, the manuscripts of this period are peppered with consequent circles enclosing a central dot, pyramids of three dots, large double circles enclosing a central dot (such as in item 39), and circles with central dot followed by two diagonal strokes (such as in items 85, 112, 113, 115). Moreover, the round *hā'* with downward spur indicating the end of a major section of the text is sometimes turned into a stylised trilobed flower (items 40, 46, 54, 77, 81, 91, 102), also found in groups of three.

One last element that must be remarked in the work of 6th/12th-century Maghribī calligraphers is the abundant use of bright red inks (probably cochineal-based) for chapter headings (“*fuṣūl*”, sing. “*faṣl*”), initial words, and entry names and lemmas, in contrast with the scarcity of coloured inks observable in earlier manuscripts. The

works featuring parts of text written in red ink span from medical treatises (items 53 and 98) to *fiqh* commentaries (item 63, 72, 87), from biographical dictionaries of *ḥadīth* transmitters (items 82 and 109) to the Gospel book of the Qarawiyyīn Library (item 60). Other particularly luxurious codices present, in addition to red inks, parts of texts written in lapis lazuli blue, and even verdigris green (items 45, 84, 95, 107, 108, 119). The rich polychromy of these non-Quranic manuscripts is a distinctive Maghribī feature without parallel in the coeval Mashriq.

As noted by Amira Bennison and Christian Ewert before her, the changes in architectural and decorative styles between the Almoravid and the Almohad eras, unlike those in ideology, tended to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary, due to the elites' reliance upon pre-existing crafts and craftsmen with their specific experience, techniques, and repertoires.<sup>227</sup> This continuity can be generally seen in the 'arts of the book' as well, and it would be wrong to assume that a change of ruling dynasty could bring about major transformations in an activity – that of manuscript production – so well rooted and widespread among different social classes, from pennyless merchant-scholars to illustrious polymaths, aristocrats, and hereditary princes. However, it would be equally misguided to assume that the Almohads' innovative ideology did not seep through the scholarly and productive strata of Andalusī and Maghribī society, and had no repercussions whatsoever on contemporary scribal practices: as we have seen, this may indeed have happened with the normalisation of paper as a support for copying important religious manuscripts, and ultimately the Qur'ān.

As far as calligraphy is concerned, interesting innovations are especially visible in the surviving luxury copies of Ibn Tūmart's works, arguably produced under the direct patronage of the Almohad elites. One, in particular, can be found in an undated codex containing the *Muḥādhī al-Muwaṭṭa'* now in the Qarawiyyīn Library (ms. 181), where the master scribe used for some chapter headings a bold angular script imitating the ancient Abbasid hands typical of 3rd/9th-century Quranic manuscripts, vocalized with red dots according to the old notation system of Abū al-Aswad al-Du'alī [fig. 37]. This was possibly done in reference to the script of the so-called 'Qur'ān of 'Uthmān', one of the most precious and venerated relics owned by Almohads, which the caliph

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<sup>227</sup> EWERT 2005, 225; BENNISON 2016, 305.

‘Abd al-Mu’min had transferred from Cordova to Marrakesh in 552/1157.<sup>228</sup> The ‘Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān’, solemnly brought in processions and military campaigns, was normally kept in a special room on the upper floor of the Tīnmal mosque, near the tomb of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart.<sup>229</sup> Because it was eventually lost two centuries later, we can no longer compare its script and decoration with that of this beautiful *Muwaṭṭa’*. However, as convincingly demonstrated by François Déroche, all the surviving ‘Uthmanic’ codices in Istanbul, Cairo, Tashkent, and St. Petersburg were copied in angular calligraphic scripts very similar to that appearing in the Qarawiyyīn *Muwaṭṭa’*, between the 2nd/8th and the 3rd/9th century.<sup>230</sup>

Another calligraphic innovation brought about by the Almohads was much more widespread and consequential, and can be observed in nearly all the illuminated manuscripts – Quranic and non-Quranic – produced in the second half of the 6th/12th century: Maghribī *thuluth* [fig. 38]. The timid emergence of this special calligraphic style, clearly inspired by eastern proportioned scripts, dates from the late Almoravid period, and is first found on a few, fractional gold coins minted in Sijilmāsa under Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn.<sup>231</sup> Being a curvilinear script, it is often improperly referred to as ‘*naskh*’, ‘*naskhī*’, or ‘cursive’.<sup>232</sup> As we have seen, these terms are intrinsically related to penmanship, and make little sense when applied to monumental epigraphy and inscriptions on coinage, as is often the case. Moreover, even when appearing in manuscripts, Maghribī *thuluth* was always employed as a ‘display script’ and a calligrapher’s show of bravura, especially in chrysography, to highlight passages with para-textual function (titles, dedications, chapter headings, colophons, etc.). Its ornamental purpose and mannered nature are thus fundamentally different from Maghribī and Mashriqī standard bookhands and *naskh*, which are truly cursive scripts, i.e. written with a running hand and at a relatively faster pace.

A more suitable definition of Maghribī *thuluth*, developed by modern Moroccan scholarship, is that of *Mashriqī mutamaghrab* (“Maghribised *Mashriqī*”), due to its

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<sup>228</sup> BENNISON 2007; BURÉSI 2008A.

<sup>229</sup> DESSUS LAMARE 1938, 556.

<sup>230</sup> See, for instance, DÉROCHE 2014, 130.

<sup>231</sup> LAUNOIS 1967.

<sup>232</sup> See, for instance, *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 200, 223; BURÉSI 2013, 25; MARTÍNEZ NUÑEZ 2005, 7ff.; FONTENLA 2005, 53; FERNÁNDEZ 1992, 651 ff.

evident derivation from eastern Arabic scripts.<sup>233</sup> Indeed, Maghribī *thuluth* was probably perceived as an exotic novelty with a strong eastern flavour by the book users of medieval al-Andalus, but to the eyes of a modern scholar, it represents a highly original re-interpretation of eastern calligraphy. While this script is already present in the epigraphy and architectural decoration of the first half of the 6th/12th century, only one instance of Maghribī *thuluth* is attested in a pre-Almohad manuscript (Q5, dated 534/1139), where it appears in the colophon, in gold lettering.<sup>234</sup> The golden calligraphic scripts employed in the colophon of Q4 (483/1090) and in the headings of item 45 (514/1120-1), still featuring the roundness and regularity of Andalusī bookhands, clearly indicate that Maghribī *thuluth* had not yet been adopted by scribes by that time. The same can be said for the calligraphic titles on the first folios of items 46 (515/1121) and 53 (524/1130), which, although departing noticeably from the aesthetic of Maghribī round scripts, lack the winding ductus and sloping baselines typical of Maghribī *thuluth*.

The material evidence in our possession suggests that Maghribī *thuluth* originated as an epigraphic style sometime between the late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th century, and only made its appearance in manuscripts from the 530s/1140s onwards.<sup>235</sup> Because Maghribī round bookhands were never employed in monumental epigraphy or inscriptions in any other media, when curvilinear scripts began to appear on carved stone, stucco, and wood throughout the Mediterranean, the craftsmen working for the Almoravid emirs resorted to an epigraphic style based on eastern models, probably introduced in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā via Ifrīqiya.<sup>236</sup> As we have seen, Maghribī *thuluth* is first attested in the colophon of Q5 (copied in Almería), then in a series of Qurʾāns

<sup>233</sup> AFĀ 2013A, 63-64.

<sup>234</sup> Late Almoravid monuments featuring stucco decoration with epigraphic bands in Maghribī *thuluth* are: the Qubbat al-Barudiyyīn in Marrakesh (TABBAĀ 2008, 141); the dome and *mihrāb* of the congregational mosque of Tlemcen (ALMAGRO 2015, 222, 228-229); the *muqarnas* ceilings and foundational inscription of the *mihrāb* in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque, Fes (TERRASSE 1957, 141, pl. 10, fig. 14b); the partly excavated ‘*riyād*’ of Chichaoua (MAROC MÉDIÉVAL 2014, 222-223). In woodwork, an epigraphic ivory inlay in Maghribī *thuluth* appears on the Almoravid minbar of the Qarawiyyīn Mosque, dated 538/1147 (MAROC MÉDIÉVAL 2014, 198-199).

<sup>235</sup> MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO 2015, 154 ff.; MARTÍNEZ NUÑEZ 1997, 419 ff. On the appearance of curvilinear (“cursive”) epigraphy in al-Andalus see FERNÁNDEZ 1992, 651 ff.

<sup>236</sup> This ‘Ifrīqī connection’ is suggested by the curvilinear script employed in the tombstones of the Banū Khurasān in Tūnis, dated between 490/1096 and 516/1122, the most likely antecedent to Almoravid *thuluth* (MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO 2015, 158, pl. IX; ZBISS 1955, 54 ff., Nos. 14, 21, 22, 37, 40, 48). The earliest example (and a very rare one) of Maghribī round scripts appearing in epigraphy is an Almohad metal chandelier in the Qarawiyyīn Mosque, commissioned by the caliph al-Nāṣir between 599/1202 and 610/1213 (MAROC MÉDIÉVAL 2014, 334-337; FERNÁNDEZ 1992, 660).

produced in Valencia between 556/1160-1 and 596/1199-1200 (Q7-9, Q11, Q14, Q21-22), as well as in Q23-25. As for non-Quranic manuscripts, Maghribī *thuluth* features prominently in the headings and colophons of items 89, 108, 112, 119, as well as in the undated *Muḥādhī al-Muwattaʿ* of the Qarawiyyīn Library, where it was also used, rather extraordinarily, to write the first two pages of text, in golden, red, and blue inks [fig. 39]. The proliferation of Maghribī *thuluth* calligraphy in the second half of the 6th/12th century was a crucial component of the ‘new look’ acquired by manuscripts in this period, especially the most luxurious ones, so that a direct connection between this particular style and Almohad patronage or even ideology seems worth considering. Under the new Berber caliphs, Maghribī *thuluth* enjoyed a great vogue in all media, including funerary epigraphy, textiles, woodwork, metalwork, and more importantly, it was adopted as the official script of the reformed Almohad coinage, which strengthens the hypothesis of it having been used and propagated as a true ‘dynastic brand’.<sup>237</sup> As we shall see in the final part of this chapter, this script was also a crucial hallmark of the documents issued by the Almohad chancery.

The distinctive features shared by the Maghribī *thuluth* scripts appearing in Almohad manuscripts are the following:

- The rather ‘loose’ and winding aspect of letter shapes,<sup>238</sup>
- The frequent stacking and nesting of groups of letters and ligatures, resulting in multiple base lines and a wavy, often convoluted ductus;
- The presence of head serifs oriented rightwards in the stems of *alif*, *tāʿ*, *zāʿ*, and *lām*, less frequently in isolated *bāʿ*, *tāʿ*, *thāʿ*, *dāl*, *dhāl*, *sīn*, *shīn*, and *kāf*,<sup>239</sup>
- *Dāl* and *dhāl* traced according to their Mashriqī rounded form, i.e. without concave downstroke and final spur;
- Final *rāʿ*, *zāʿ* and *nūn* traced without denticle above the baseline (‘sloping’ *rāʿ*, *zāʿ*, and *nūn*), often ending in a small hook;
- Final and isolated *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *dād*, *qāf* and *nūn* traced with flattened and stretched tails, only moderately sloping downwards;

<sup>237</sup> PRIETO Y VIVES 1915, 23; FONTENLA 2005, 62 (although Fontenla’s explanation for the introduction of curvilinear scripts in Almohad coinage is far from convincing).

<sup>238</sup> VAN DEN BOOGERT 1989, 31.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

- *Kāf* in final and isolated position traced according to its Mashriqī form, i.e. with a diagonal rather than vertical stem, topped by an oblique stroke, and often completed by a miniature *kāf* positioned above the letter;
- Final *hāʾ* and *tāʾ marbūʿa* rendered without the loop, i.e. left ‘open’.

Despite the rise of Maghribī *thuluth*, it must be noted that chrysography in round Maghribī scripts continued to be employed in the chapter headings of manuscripts such as items 84, 95, 107.

At the end of this overview, it is important to stress that the palaeographic observations just presented – and those which will be made possible through a more in-depth study of the manuscripts discussed – should be ideally combined with codicological ones, concerning in particular the type and quality of the paper, and the methods followed by Maghribī scribes for preparing the writing surface, since both aspects appear to depart noticeably from Mashriqī practices. The wide range of papers employed in the Andalusī and Maghribī manuscripts of the 6th/12th century, of varying thickness, colour, and only featuring zigzag marks in a minority of cases, share nevertheless the same suppleness and porous texture, in contrast with the starchy and glossy aspect of coeval eastern papers. Especially during the second half of the century, the increased clarity, uniformity, and perpendicularity in the arrangement of laid and chain lines seem to reveal the use of rigid moulds, possibly already fitted with metal wire.<sup>240</sup> Because the ribbed pattern imparted by the manufacturing process is much more visible in these less treated papers, it seems that Maghribī copyists, instead of using the ruling board (*mistara*), simply continued to score the margins of the textbox in dry pen (a technique borrowed from parchment manuscripts), and then wrote each line of text following the laid lines imprinted in the folios, at regular intervals [fig. 40].<sup>241</sup> In the manuscripts of smaller format, where folios are folded *in quarto* or *in octavo* and laid lines are arranged vertically – e.g. items 66, 90, and 95 – the copyists may have followed the chain lines instead.

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<sup>240</sup> As recently pointed out by Jean-Louis Estève, however, this point still needs to be definitively proven (ESTÈVE 2015, 259).

<sup>241</sup> The only ms. in the corpus where I could possibly detect the marks left by a *mistara* of the eastern type is item 110.



Fig. 35 – Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 796/12, f. 1a.  
Undated *juz* ' of a *Mudawwana* (*Kitāb al-ḥajj al-awwal*), with an audition certificate  
written in Qayrawān in 428/1037 (right margin).





Fig. 37 – Fes, Qarawiyyin Library, ms. 181.  
Undated copy of Ibn Tūmart's *Muhādhi al-Muwaṭṭa'*, with chapter headings in a calligraphic script imitating ancient Abbasid bookhands.

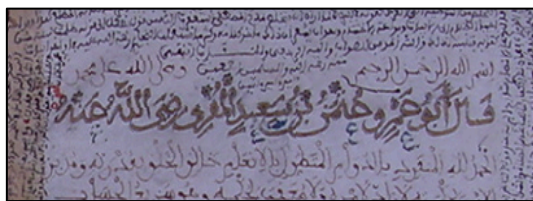


Fig. 38 – Different styles of Maghribī *thuluth* as represented in non-Quranic manuscripts produced during the Almohad period (items 89, 108, 112, 119).



Fig. 39 – Fes, Qarawiyyīn Library, ms. 181.  
Undated copy of Ibn Tūmart's *Muḥādih al-Muwaṭṭa'*, with incipit in Maghribī thuluth  
in gold, red, and blue lettering.

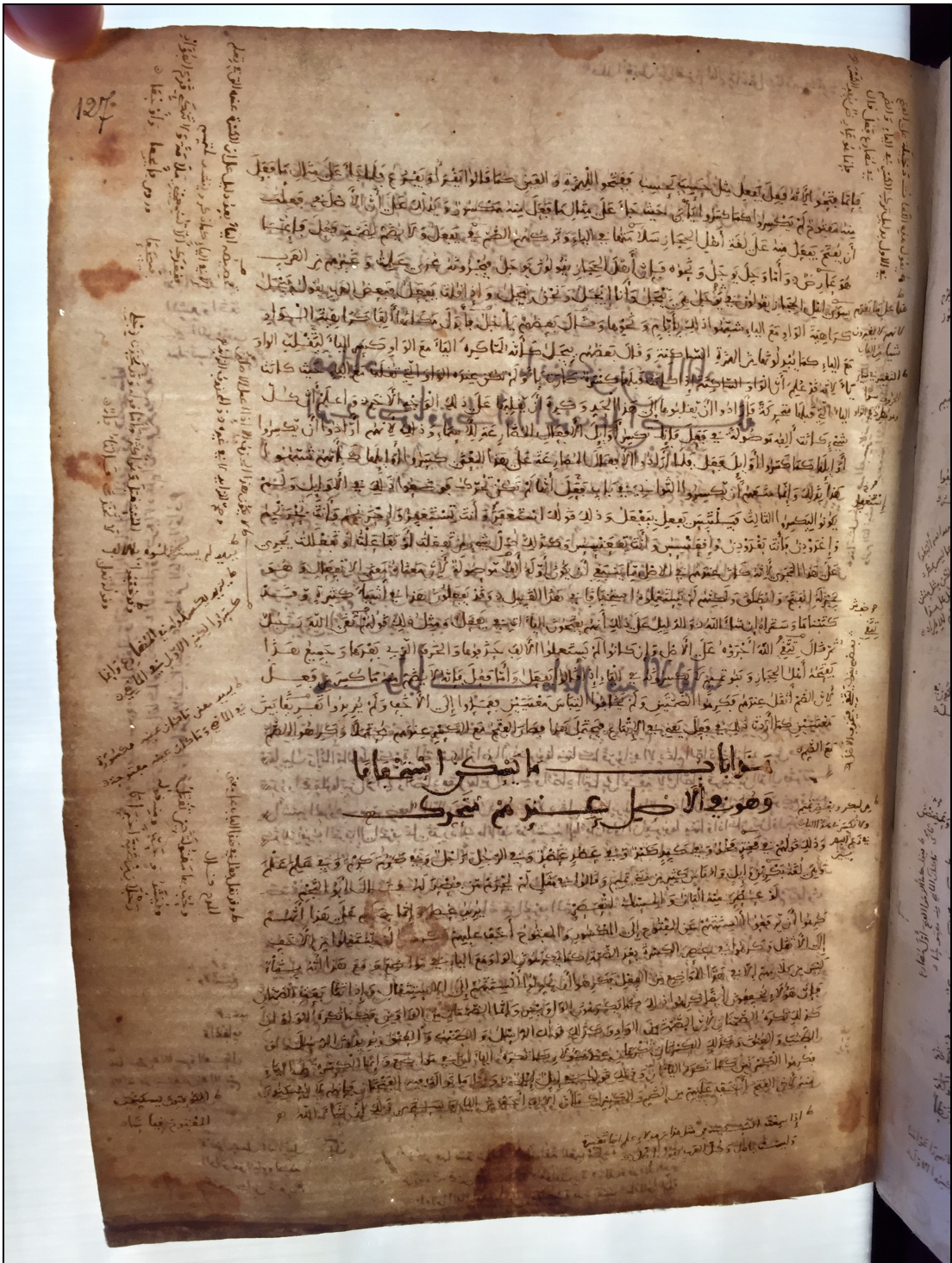


Fig. 40 – Folio 127a of item 79, seen against a light sheet. The copyist clearly followed the ribbed pattern of laid and chain lines in the paper to arrange the text. Also note the light zigzag marks in the gutter area.



## The evolution of Maghribī Quranic scripts

In both the Maghrib al-Aqṣā and al-Andalus, the material evidence for the production of Quranic manuscripts during the 6th/12th century is virtually limited to codices of relatively small format, in a single volume, featuring the typical square or near-to-square shape which has intrigued scholars for decades.<sup>242</sup> This homogeneity begs the question as to how representative the corpus of dated Maghribī Qur'āns from this period really is: their compact format is arguably what allowed them to come down to us intact and with their original frontispieces and colophons, while larger multi-volume codices that only survive in the form of sparse folios or fragments are impossible to date accurately on purely stylistic grounds. Moreover, when produced in al-Andalus, these larger Qur'āns were probably lost or destroyed during the most critical phases of the *Reconquista* due to their size, which made them impossible to hide or to transport either to North Africa or to the regions of the Peninsula still under Muslim rule.

Rather than an actual historical phenomenon determined by political, social, or cultural factors, the alleged predilection for small size *maṣāḥif* in this period could be just a false impression generated by problems of survival. In fact, a conspicuous codex such as Q16, which, in spite of being in a single volume, measures 31.5 x 26.2 cm, suggests that larger Qur'āns in Maghribī scripts were indeed produced during the 6th/12th century, at least on the south shore of the Strait (Ceuta is the city mentioned in its colophon). Moreover, portions of two monumental *maṣāḥif* dated to the first half of the following century are known, each originally comprising 20 volumes, indubitably copied in al-Andalus (more specifically in Malaga and Seville, in 620/1223 and 632/1235).<sup>243</sup> Now in Morocco, their history and endowment certificates suggest that they only survived the Castilian conquest and the turmoil ensuing the Almohad retreat from the Peninsula because they were shipped to Marrakesh, probably by direct caliphal order. Another extant Qur'ān associated with the Almohad royal family – in four volumes, undated, but copied before 635/1238 – measures 48 x 59 cm, and is one of the

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<sup>242</sup> See especially LINGS 1961; JAMES 1992; STANLEY 1995; DÉROCHE 2001; BARRUCAND 2005; ESPEJO & ARIAS 2009, 90-93.

<sup>243</sup> Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, mss. 429 and 430 (BEN LARBI 1994, 37-38, Nos. 46-47). See also *supra*, 109, n. 19, and 129, n. 126.

largest codices ever produced across the Islamic Mediterranean.<sup>244</sup> The possibility of it having some antecedents in the lost royal manuscripts copied in the late 6th/12th century – namely during the ‘golden age’ of Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf and Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr – is certainly one worth considering.

The sources, for their part, make frequent mention of monumental Quranic codices employed in the Almohad court ceremonies. First and foremost among them was the so-called ‘Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān’, an Umayyad relic brought from Cordova to Marrakesh by the caliph ‘Abd al-Mu‘min in 552/1157, where it was subsequently restored, re-bound, and enriched by order of al-Manṣūr.<sup>245</sup> The Almohad historian Ibn Ṣāhib al-Ṣalāt reports in his chronicle the name of one of the craftsmen hired by the caliph for this purpose, a certain ‘Umar b. Murjī al-Ishbīlī, who set precious stones in the *muṣḥaf*’s gilded binding.<sup>246</sup> The ‘Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān’ was placed in a flamboyant mechanical cabinet and displayed in both the Kutubiyya Mosque of Marrakesh and the mosque of Tīnmal, becoming the object of laudatory poems by Ibn ‘Ayyāsh al-Burshānī (550/1156-618/1221) and other famed intellectuals.<sup>247</sup> Another invaluable relic for the Almohad propaganda was the *muṣḥaf* personally copied by Ibn Tūmart, which, although smaller than the ‘Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān’, was equally brought in procession between the dynastic cemetery of Tīnmal and Marrakesh, as well as on military campaigns: while the first codex was transported by a red camel, the second followed on a mule.<sup>248</sup>

In the later Almohad period, and more specifically during the reign of the penultimate caliph al-Murtaḍā (646/1248-665/1266), the practice of endowing *rab‘āt* (plural of *rab‘a*, meaning a ‘Qur’ān set’ usually enclosed in a decorated box) to mosques and royal tombs in Marrakesh and Tīnmal is demonstrated by a number of surviving manuscripts in the Ibn Yūsuf Library of Marrakesh.<sup>249</sup> These multi-volume Qur’āns – among which are the Seville and the Malaga ones, mentioned above – were copied in monumental *mabsūt* scripts, and feature only very few lines of text per page (normally 5 or 6). As we have seen, the use of this calligraphic style is already attested

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<sup>244</sup> Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, mss. R 21-24 (KARATAY 1962, 86-87, Nos. 306-309). See also *supra*, 129, n. 126. Quite extraordinarily, the four volumes of this Qur’ān have been preserved in their original leather binding, exquisitely tooled and partly gilded.

<sup>245</sup> BURÉSI 2008A; ZADEH 2008; BENNISON 2007.

<sup>246</sup> Mentioned in AL-MANŪNĪ 1991, 29.

<sup>247</sup> PUA, id. 9410. For the mechanical cabinet where the ‘Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān’ was kept, and its impressive decorative apparatus, see DESSUS LAMARE 1938.

<sup>248</sup> AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 179-180; BENNISON 2007, 150.

<sup>249</sup> See *supra*, 129, n. 126.

in the 6th/12th century for non-Quranic manuscripts (item 84), but no Qur'āns featuring *mabsūṭ* scripts can be securely dated to the Almoravid or early Almohad period. Again, this may be due to the inevitable dispersal and destruction of multi-volume Qur'āns written in large scripts, as opposed to the single-volume ones copied in diminutive styles.

Another way in which the Almohads arguably exploited the symbolic power of Quranic manuscripts was to send them off as diplomatic gifts to other Muslim rulers. In 585/1190, Saladin donated to Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr two Qur'āns in proportioned scripts ("*muṣḥafān karīmān mansūbān*") as part of a diplomatic mission.<sup>250</sup> According to the historian Abū Shāma (d. 665/1268), a letter of the Ayyubid ruler for al-Manṣūr was accompanied by "a noble Qur'ān in a gold-plated box", which was deposited in the Almohad *khizāna* on the 20th of Dhū al-Ḥijja 586/1191.<sup>251</sup> Although the sources are silent on the subject, it is likely that the Almohad caliphs reciprocated these gifts with similar demonstrations of piety and wealth. Also, these anecdotes reveal the direct acquaintance of the court of Marrakesh with the finest expressions of coeval eastern calligraphy – epitomised by Ayyubid Quranic manuscripts – which may have played an important role in shaping the Almohad aesthetics of Maghribī *thuluth*.

Let us now focus on the material evidence at our disposal, and examine the twenty dated Maghribī Qur'āns that survive from the 6th/12th century, only one of which (Q25) bears the marks of royal patronage.<sup>252</sup> What follows is a list of these manuscripts in chronological order:

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<sup>250</sup> AL-NĀSIRĪ 1997, II, 182. For the correspondence and diplomatic exchanges between Saladin and al-Manṣūr, see BAADJ 2015, 146 ff.

<sup>251</sup> ABŪ SHĀMA 2002, IV, 119-120 ("*khatma karīma fī rab'a mukhayyasha*"). The term *mukhayyasha*, which I would translate as "embroidered", is glossed as "*al-mughashshā bi-l-dhahab*" by the editor.

<sup>252</sup> Four manuscripts have been excluded from the corpus: 1) ms. R. 2 of the Topkapı Palace Library, a paper codex in vertical format dated 509/1115 and 532/1137, which was not written in Maghribī script, despite what is stated in KARATAY 1962, I, 84-85, No. 302. 2) ms. R 29 of the same collection, a paper codex in Maghribī script that, although mentioning the date 555/1160 in its colophon, must be dated to the 10th/16th century based on its calligraphy and style of illumination (KARATAY 1962, I, 83, No. 297). 3) ms. 6756 of the IÜK, a miniature paper *muṣḥaf* (10.5 x 10 cm) with a colophon dated 500/1107, but which is in fact a 19th-century copy of an earlier manuscript (KARATAY 1951, I, 4, No. 12); this *muṣḥaf* was written by a certain 'Iyād ("*kataba-hu al-ḥaqīr 'Iyād 'afara Allāh la-hu*"). 4) ms. D. 1397 of the RBM, copied in Malaga by Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Mufaḍḍal in the year 701/1302, but repeatedly misdated to 500/1106-7 (DERENBOURG, RENAUD & LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1884-1928, III, 62; DÉROCHE 2001, 611) and to 601/1204 (MAROC MÉDIÉVAL 2014, 360, No. 213). A correct reading of its date has been provided in ARIAS & DÉROCHE 2001.

- Q5.** 534/1139 [Jumādā I, copied in Almería]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in miniature square format. Madrid, BNE, ms. RES/272;<sup>253</sup>
- Q6.** 538/1143-4 [copied in Cordova]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Istanbul, İÜK, ms. A 6755;<sup>254</sup>
- Q7.** 556/1160-1 [copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Auctioned in 1992 and 1999;<sup>255</sup>
- Q8.** 557/1161-2 [copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Cairo, DKW, ms. 196 Muṣḥaf;<sup>256</sup>
- Q9.** 558/1162-3 [copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Tunis, BNT, ms. 18791;<sup>257</sup>
- Q10.** 559/1163-4 [copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Tetouan, Library of the Higher Institute, ms. 1;<sup>258</sup>
- Q11.** 564/1168-9 [copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Tunis, BNT, ms. 13727;<sup>259</sup>
- Q12.** 565/1169-70. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Mount Stuart, Collection of the Marquess of Bute, ms. 359;<sup>260</sup>
- Q13.** 573/1178 [Ramādān]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Rabat, Royal Library, ms. 12609;<sup>261</sup>
- Q14.** 578/1182-3 [copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Istanbul, İÜK, ms. A 6754;<sup>262</sup>
- Q15.** 586/1190 [Sha‘bān]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Istanbul, İÜK, ms. A 6752;<sup>263</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Uncatalogued. It was originally auctioned at Christie’s King’s Street (CHRISTIE’S 9/10/1990, lot 46). See also *ALARCOS* 1995, 292, No. 136.

<sup>254</sup> KARATAY 1951, I, 5, No. 13; KHEMIR 1992, 304-305, No. 75.

<sup>255</sup> SOTHEBY’S 30/4/1992, lot 336; SOTHEBY’S 22/4/1999, lot 12. See also DANDEL 1993, 13-15.

<sup>256</sup> DĀR AL-KUTUB 1924, p. 7; MORITZ 1905, pl. 47; SHARĪFĪ 1982, 259-265. See also DANDEL 1993, 15; KHEMIR 1992, 306, No. 76.

<sup>257</sup> MANSOUR 1975, 5; SHARĪFĪ 1982, 266-269. See also DANDEL 1993, 15-16; *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 354, No. 208.

<sup>258</sup> SHARĪFĪ 1982, 259-265; AL-MANŪNĪ 1969, 6. This ms. was last seen in 1973 and, according to Dr Ahmad Shawqī Binbīn, has since disappeared.

<sup>259</sup> *MAKTŪB BILYAD* 1968, No. 4; SHARĪFĪ 1982, 272-274; CHABBOUH 1989, 9, No. 1; DANDEL 1993, 18; *MAROC MÉDIÉVAL* 2014, 354-355, No. 209.

<sup>260</sup> Uncatalogued; mentioned in JAMES 1992, 89.

<sup>261</sup> SHARĪFĪ 1982, 275-277; *MUNTAKHABĀT* 1978, 67. See also *DE L’EMPIRE ROMAIN* 1990, 250-251, No. 496; KHEMIR 1992, 308, 78. This ms. was once in the Zaydāniyya Library of Meknes (No. 3593).

<sup>262</sup> KARATAY 1951, I, 5, No. 14; DERMAN & ÇETIN 1998, 204, No. 18. See also DANDEL 1993, 18-19; LINGS 1961, 95, pl. XXXII; LINGS 1976, 214-215, pls. 100-101; LINGS 2005, 83, Nos. 155-157.

- Q16.** 587/1191 [Muḥarram, copied in Ceuta]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in large, quasi-square format. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, ms. R. 27;<sup>264</sup>
- Q17.** 591/1195 [Şafar]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Uppsala University Library, ms. O. Vet. 77;<sup>265</sup>
- Q18.** 593/1197 [Shawwāl]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Kuwait City, Tareq Rajab Museum, unknown shelf mark;<sup>266</sup>
- Q19.** 595/1198 [Muḥarram]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small, quasi-square format. Médéa, private collection, unknown shelf mark;<sup>267</sup>
- Q20.** 595/1198 [Şafar, copied in Ceuta]. Final portion of a single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small, square format. Timbuktu, Library of the Ka'ti Foundation, unknown shelf mark;<sup>268</sup>
- Q21.** 596/1199 [Muḥarram, copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, ms. R. 36;<sup>269</sup>
- Q22.** 596/1199-1200 [copied in Valencia]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small square format. London & Geneva, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, inv. QUR.318;<sup>270</sup>
- Q23.** 598/1202 [Dhū al-Qa'da]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small, quasi-square format. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, ms. R. 31;<sup>271</sup>
- Q24.** 598/1202 [Dhū al-Ḥijja]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in medium, quasi-square format. Rabat, BNRM, ms. 934 J;<sup>272</sup>
- Q25.** 599/1203 [Jumādā II, copied in Marrakesh]. Single-volume *muṣḥaf* in small, quasi-square format. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, ms. R. 33.<sup>273</sup>

Many of these manuscripts mention in their colophon the name of the calligrapher, but only a few of these individuals are recorded in the biographical

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<sup>263</sup> KARATAY 1951, I, 6, No. 15.

<sup>264</sup> KARATAY 1962, I, 83, No. 298; DERMAN & ÇETIN 1998, 205, No. 21; TANINDI 2015, 249, fig. 4.

<sup>265</sup> TORNBERG 1849, 245, No. CCCLXX. See also *ANDALOUSIES* 2000, 58, No. 180.

<sup>266</sup> *TAREQ RAJAB MUSEUM* 1994, 27.

<sup>267</sup> SHARĪFĪ 1982, 278-280.

<sup>268</sup> *FONDO KATI* 2002, 46. I thank Professor Juan Pablo Arias Torres for having provided me with a few images of this manuscript.

<sup>269</sup> KARATAY 1962, I, 84, No. 300; see also TANINDI 2014, 538, fig. 2.

<sup>270</sup> JAMES 1992, 92-95.

<sup>271</sup> KARATAY 1962, I, 83, No. 296.

<sup>272</sup> SHARĪFĪ 1982, 281-285. The results of the pigment analyses carried out on this manuscripts have been presented in ROGER, SERGHINI & DÉROCHE 2004.

<sup>273</sup> KARATAY 1962, I, 83, No. 299. See also KHEMIR 1992, 309, No. 79; LINGS 1976, 216-219, pls. 102-103; LINGS 2005, 83, Nos. 158-159.

dictionaries. It is only thanks to these ‘signed’ Qur’āns that we are aware of the existence of Aḥmad b. Ghalinduh, active in Almoravid Almería (the copyist of Q5); Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Shu‘ayb al-Anṣārī, who worked in Almohad Ceuta (Q16); Muḥammad al-Sharīshī and his son-in-law Yūsuf b. al-Mudhahhib (Q25), two servants (“‘*abdān*”) employed at the Almohad court of Marrakesh. As indicated by his *nisba*, Muḥammad al-Sharīshī was originally from Jerez de la Frontera (near Cádiz), and was among the many Andalusī calligraphers who settled in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā during the second half of the 6th/12th century.<sup>274</sup> According to the sources, other centres renowned for the production of *maṣāḥif* were Seville, Granada, and Fes, but even in smaller towns one can find references to local scholars celebrated for their mastery in copying and vocalising Quranic manuscripts, such as the *khaṭīb* Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamanāl (d. 633/1235-6), one of the most prominent religious leaders of Almohad Murcia.<sup>275</sup>

Eight Qur’āns in our corpus were penned in Valencia, by five different calligraphers, a fact that confirms the pre-eminence attributed to this city by the sources with regard to the *muṣḥaf* industry.<sup>276</sup> Many are the names associated with the Valencian school of calligraphy, but whose work has not survived the vicissitudes of time: among them are Ibn ‘Atīyya al-Shawwāsh (d. *circa* 540/1145);<sup>277</sup> Muḥammad b. Muwaffaq al-Mukattib al-Kharrāt (d. 563/1167);<sup>278</sup> Muḥammad Ibn Khushayn (d. *circa* 630/1232);<sup>279</sup> and Abū Ḥāmid b. Abī Zāhir (d. 632/1235), the imam of the Valencian mosque of Raḥbat al-Qāḍī.<sup>280</sup> Attested in both the sources and the colophons of surviving manuscripts are: Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ḥizb Allāh, known as Ibn Jallāda (the copyist of Q10, active in 559/1163-4);<sup>281</sup> Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Khaldūn (the

<sup>274</sup> For two Sevillian calligraphers specialised in copying the Qur’ān who migrated to Fes and Marrakesh, see AL-MANŪNĪ 1969, 4-6, Nos. 1 and 4.

<sup>275</sup> PUA, id. 9268; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 342, No. 1001 (“*Kāna yaktub al-maṣāḥif wa-yujayyid naqṭa-hā wa-ya‘rif rasma-hā ma‘a birā‘a al-khaṭṭ wa-ḥusn al-wirāqa*”).

<sup>276</sup> RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ 1928C; PUERTA 2007, 164.

<sup>277</sup> PUA, id. 10024; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 178, No. 629.

<sup>278</sup> PUA, id. 10598; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 221, No. 739. (“*Kāna ṣanā‘ al-yad ‘arif bi-marsūm al-khaṭṭ fī al-maṣāḥif ma‘rūf bi-l-ḍabṭ wa-ḥusn al-wirāqa*”).

<sup>279</sup> PUA, id. 10499; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 340, No. 994 (“*Kāna yaktub al-maṣāḥif wa-lam yakun aḥad min ahl zamāni-hi yudāni-hi fī al-ma‘rifa bi-naqṭi-hā wa-l-baṣr bi-rasmi-hā ma‘a ḥusn al-khaṭṭ wa-l-itqān*”).

<sup>280</sup> PUA, id. 10418; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 343, No. 1003.

<sup>281</sup> PUA, id. 10583; IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 213, No. 726. (“*Kāna yaktub al-maṣāḥif wa-yadbiṭu-hā wa-yutanāfas fī mā yūjad bi-khaṭṭi-hi min-hā ilā al-yawm, wa-waqafu ‘alā ba‘ḍi-hā bi-ḍabṭi-hi fī sanat 559*”).

copyist of Q22, dated 596/1199-1200);<sup>282</sup> and the two main members of the Ibn Ghaṭṭūs family, namely ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ghaṭṭūs (active between 556/1160-558/1163, who copied Q7, Q8, and Q9) and his son Muḥammad (d. *circa* 610/1213-4, who copied Q11 and Q14).<sup>283</sup> An unnamed brother of ‘Abd Allāh, and possibly a brother of Muḥammad, are also known to have been professional copyists.

The ‘atelier’ of Quranic calligraphy and illumination established in Valencia by the Ibn Ghaṭṭūs family has received in the past some scholarly attention due to the sources’ insistence on its unmatched reputation, and to the fortuitous survival of five small codices there produced.<sup>284</sup> Needless to say, these manuscripts represent only a very small fraction of the entire output of these Valencian artists, and can hardly be considered among their finest achievements. The Andalusī historian Ibn Sa‘īd (d. 685/1287), whose works are quoted extensively in al-Maqqarī, wrote: “The principles of eastern calligraphy [*uṣūl al-khaṭṭ al-Mashriqī*], and the recognition it has won in [our] heart and perception is indisputable, but the Andalusī script, which I have seen in the *maṣāḥif* of Ibn Ghaṭṭūs, who lived in the *Sharq al-Andalus*, and in other proportioned scripts which [the Andalusīs] employ [*ghayri-hi min al-khuṭūṭ al-mansūba ‘inda-hum*] is of a superior beauty, of an elegance that enthralls your reason, of an order which bespeaks its author’s patience and excellence”.<sup>285</sup> Ibn Sa‘īd arguably wrote these lines with an eastern readership in mind, during his travels between Cairo and Baghdad. Although born in Granada and raised in Seville, he remarkably chose to present a Valencian calligrapher as the champion of the ‘Andalusī School’, which clearly denotes the fame attained by the Ibn Ghaṭṭūs ‘brand’ throughout the Iberian Peninsula and beyond.<sup>286</sup>

It is Muḥammad Ibn Ghaṭṭūs, in particular, that the Valencian scholar Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260) praises in his *Takmila*, reporting that in his youth he had met him and studied calligraphy with him:

“Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Mufarrij b. Sahl al-Anṣārī, from the people of Valencia, known as Ibn Ghaṭṭūs; his *kunya* was Abū ‘Abd

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<sup>282</sup> Mentioned in AL-ṢAFADĪ 2000, III, 281; see also BINSHARĪFA 1994, 83.

<sup>283</sup> Respectively PUA, id. 5504 and 9690. For the former, see IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, II, 475, No. 1370; for the latter, see *Ibid.*, I, 307-308, No. 927; and AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ 1964-1984, VI, 314-315, No. 812.

<sup>284</sup> DANDEL 1993; BARRUCAND 2005, 75-69; JAMES 1992.

<sup>285</sup> AL-MAQQARĪ 1968, III, 151.

<sup>286</sup> PUERTA 2007, 169.

Allāh. I believe he transmitted from Ibn Hudhayl. He copied and vocalised Quranic manuscripts, and in that he was absolutely unequalled his time: he had a beautiful handwriting and an exquisite technique of vocalisation. Some say he made a thousand copies of the Book of God, which continue to be sought after by kings and others, up to the present day. He had sworn to himself that he would not write a single letter other than those [of the Qur’ān], with the sole desire to get closer to God and loose his heart from everything earthly through His Revelation. To my knowledge he never sinned, and consecrated his entire life to that, following [*khālif*] his father and his brother into the profession that made them famous [*hadhihi al-ṣinā‘a allatī ishtaharū bi-hā*]. He was renowned for his work and for its excellence, a miracle of his Creator: he was good, upright, ascetic, and lived withdrawn from the people. I saw him like that, I learnt some of the principles of calligraphy from him, and met him [again] in the house of my teacher Abū Ḥāmid [b. Abī Zāhir], although he did not remember. He died around the year 610”.<sup>287</sup>

What is also remarkable is the impact that the ‘Ibn Ghaṭṭūs style’ made on other Valencian calligraphers of the 6th/12th century, such as Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khaldūn and Abū Ḥāmid b. Abī Zāhir, who are explicitly referred to by Ibn al-Abbār and other authors as devoted followers of Ibn Ghaṭṭūs’s teachings and methods.<sup>288</sup> This strict adherence to the same aesthetic models is confirmed by material evidence, and becomes evident when comparing the script and illumination of Q22, copied by Yūsuf Ibn Khaldūn, with the calligraphy and frontispieces of Q11, the earlier of the two surviving *maṣāḥif* signed by Muḥammad Ibn Ghaṭṭūs.

Another medieval intellectual who was particularly fond of the work of the Valencian master scribe was Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ṣayyād al-Fāsī, on whose accounts the Levantine historian al-Ṣafadī (696/1297-764/1363) based his own short biography of Ibn Ghaṭṭūs:

“I was told by Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ṣayyād al-Fāsī in Ṣafad, in the year 726, that he [Muḥammad Ibn Ghaṭṭūs] had a room where he kept his writing tools, the parchment sheets, and all the rest, where nobody from his family entered; he would enter there and they would leave him alone. He also told me that he used to put musk in his ink, and that he would not sell a *muṣḥaf* for less than 200 dinars. One day a man came to him from a region that was forty days away, or even more, and purchased a *muṣḥaf* from him. But when some time had elapsed, [Ibn

<sup>287</sup> IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 307-308, No. 927. This passage was translated in French by DANDEL 1993, 20, and in Spanish by PUERTA 2007, 165, with one major mistake: both translations imply that Muḥammad Ibn Ghaṭṭūs was the only member of his family who devoted himself exclusively to copying the Qur’ān, which is not what Ibn al-Abbār wrote.

<sup>288</sup> IBN AL-ABBĀR 1887-9, I, 343, No. 1003; AL-ṢAFADĪ 2000, III, 281.

Ghaṭṭūs] realised that he had misplaced the dot or vowel of a certain letter, and he travelled to that country and reached that man, asking for the *muṣḥaf*. [The client] thought that he wanted to annul the purchase, and protested: “You got from me the right price, and then we parted!”. But [Ibn Ghaṭṭūs] insisted: “By all means, I must see it!”, and when the *muṣḥaf* was brought to him, he erased the mistake, corrected it, returned [the manuscript] to its owner, and headed back home. [Abū al-Ḥasan al-Fāsī] also told me: “I myself saw a Qur’ān penned by him, or possibly more, and it was indeed a marvellous thing, for the beauty of its composition and the exquisiteness of the strokes [*ri’āyat al-marsūm*]. Each vowel was marked very neatly with one colour: the *shadda* and the *jazm* [i.e. the *sukūn*] with lapis lazuli blue; *ḍamma*, *kasra*, and *fatha* with the colour of resin; green was used for *hamza* with *kasra*, and yellow for *hamza* with *fatha*. Everything was executed without blemishes, and there was not a single *wāw*, or *alif*, or any other letter or word in the margin [*fī al-ḥāshiya*] or outside [the textbox]. It was as if every imperfection had been removed”. He died in the year 610, and among those who continued this tradition of Quranic calligraphy [*mimman salaka hadhihi al-ṭarīq fī al-maṣāḥif*] was Ibn Khaldūn al-Balansī”.<sup>289</sup>

As explicitly stated in the colophons of Q9 and Q11, both Ibn Ghaṭṭūs the father and his son were also skilled illuminators, who personally decorated with gilded and polychrome frontispieces and *sūra* headings the manuscripts they transcribed. While this was arguably the case for all Andalusī Qur’āns in small format, the slightly larger Q25, copied in Marrakesh, was completed through the joint efforts of two different artists, the copyist (“*nāsikh*”) Muḥammad al-Sharīshī and his son-in-law (“*ṣihr*”) Yūsuf b. al-Mudhahhib, in charge of the illumination (*tadhhib*). The grander the *muṣḥaf* (or set of volumes), the more craftsmen would have been involved in its production. A close examination of the parchment folios of Q9 and Q11 have revealed the use of very fine calfskin, taken from an extremely young animal (i.e. not yet weaned), and converted into bifolia arranged according to Gregory’s rule.<sup>290</sup>

Just like in the previous century, these small Qur’āns were either put on the market and sold to whomever would buy them, or commissioned by local notables and religious scholar. In this case, their name would have been included in the colophon, either before (Q8-9) or after (Q22) the name of the scribe. In Valencia, Q8 was copied for the *wazīr al-ajall* Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Madhḥijī al-Lawshī;<sup>291</sup> Q9 was dedicated to a certain Yasīn b. Lubb b. Yasīn; Q22 was

<sup>289</sup> AL-ṢAFADĪ 2000, III, 280-281, No. 1433. For a Spanish translation and discussion of this passage, see PUERTA 2007, 165-167.

<sup>290</sup> I would like to thank Aurélia Streri, parchment and paper conservator, for her expertise on this matter.

<sup>291</sup> PUA, id. 6013.

commissioned by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Bītash al-Makhzūmī. In Q25, however, the colophon mentions a much more prestigious patron: this Qur’ān was produced for the Almohad prince Abū Ya‘qūb, son and heir apparent of the caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 595/1199-610/1213), in the year of his birth (599/1203). The practice of commissioning the copy of a *muṣḥaf* to commemorate a special familial event such as the birth of a child is confirmed by Q6, where the anonymous calligrapher added two illuminated finispieces inscribed with the words: “Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ghāfiqī al-Shārī was born in Murcia, in the month of Shawwāl of the year 537 [1143 AD]. May God make him happy and successful”.<sup>292</sup> In this case, we can picture the proud father of Muḥammad al-Shārī as the head of an affluent family of Almoravid Murcia, looking beyond his hometown for a first-rate artist willing to copy and illuminate a Quranic codex for him and his new-born child, in praise of God and in celebration of his own lineage. He eventually found a suitable calligrapher in Cordova, where the manuscript was produced a few months after his son’s birth.

Once in the hands of their owners, these *maṣāḥif* probably functioned as personal or travel copies, to be read from during acts of private devotion, especially in the sacred month of Ramaḍān. When they were not being used or carried around, we can imagine them stored in the book cabinets of well-to-do households, as cherished heirlooms whose margins and final folios were sometimes inscribed with birth and death records of family members.<sup>293</sup> Miniature Qur’āns such as Q5 were possibly also employed as talismans to be kept in one’s purse, pocket, sleeve, or turban. On the contrary, larger codices such as Q16 – the only one of its kind in our corpus – were arguably produced to be endowed to religious institutions for public readings and teaching purposes. A note on an undated *juz’* of an Andalusī *muṣḥaf* originally in 30 volumes, auctioned in 2004, explicitly mentions some reading sessions (*majālis*) that took place in the “*dārat al-‘ilm*” of Valencia, in Ṣafar 630/1232 [fig. 41].<sup>294</sup> During

<sup>292</sup> For Muḥammad al-Ghāfiqī al-Shārī see PUA, id. 10090.

<sup>293</sup> The dedication at the end of Q6 finds a close parallel in Ms. Or. 1270 of the British Library, an undated Andalusī Qur’ān copied and illuminated in the style of Ibn Ghattūs, whose final folio is inscribed with a birth record dated 652/1254, also executed in neo-Kufic chrysography. In this case, however, the birth record is not contemporary with the *muṣḥaf*, copied about a century earlier (WRIGHT 1875-1883, pl. LXI; LINGS 1961, pl. XXX; DANDEL 1993, 16). Another undated square Qur’ān bearing two birth records (646/1248 and 648/1250) is in Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, ms. E. H. 40 (f. 139b).

<sup>294</sup> CHRISTIE’S 12/10/2004, lot 5; BLACK & SAIDI 2000, 18-21, No. 6.

these sessions the owner and copyist of the manuscript, an important scholar named Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣadaḥī al-Shāṭibī, taught the reading of Warsh and the art of psalmody (*tajwīd*) to the writer of the note, a certain Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Wāthiq al-Ishbīlī, so that he could also become a qualified Quranic transmitter.<sup>295</sup>

Naturally, even private copies of the Qur'ān could have been at some point donated to a mosque by their owners. The already mentioned handbook for notaries written by the Andalusī jurist al-Jazīrī (d. 585/1189), entitled *Al-Maqṣad al-maḥmūd fī talkhīṣ al-'uqūd*, includes an interesting formulary template for the endowment of copies of the Qur'ān (“*‘aqd taḥbīs muṣḥaf*”).<sup>296</sup> In order for the endowment certificate to be legally binding, a description of the codex and its script was required (“*ṣifatu-hu kadhā wa-khaṭṭu-hu kadhā*”), including mention of its decoration and anything accompanying it (“*bi-ḥilyati-hi wa-‘alāqati-hi*”). Also, if the manuscript was a multi-volume codex enclosed in a box, the notary had to state it explicitly (“*wa-in kānat rab ‘a dhakarta-hā*”).<sup>297</sup>

The main problem with the scholarly literature dedicated to the earliest Qur'āns in Maghribī round scripts is that it deals with them either individually, or in small separate groups based on their provenance or format: thus, David James wrote about “the Qur'āns from Valencia”;<sup>298</sup> Déroche concentrated on “*les Corans carrés*” from al-Andalus, i.e. those in which the height of the folios does not exceed by more than 10% their width;<sup>299</sup> more recently, Zeren Tanındı discussed “*quelques Corans maghrébins conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul*”.<sup>300</sup> However, it is quite clear that all these manuscripts form part of a continuum from the point of view of their layout, decoration, and calligraphy, and should be treated as expressions of the very same cultural and religious milieu, which encompassed the entirety of the Almoravid and Almohad Empires, as well as some neighbouring polities normally treated as politically and ideologically distinct, such as the second *tā'ifa* of Murcia and Valencia under Ibn Mardānīsh. The codicological similarities shared by all Maghribī Qur'āns find a parallel

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<sup>295</sup> For Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣadaḥī al-Shāṭibī see PUA, id. 1715.

<sup>296</sup> GARCÍA SANJUAN 2007, 14.

<sup>297</sup> AL-JAZĪRĪ 1998, 288.

<sup>298</sup> JAMES 1992, 89-91.

<sup>299</sup> DÉROCHE 2001, 610 ff.

<sup>300</sup> TANINDI 2014.

in a number of equally distinctive textual features: first and foremost, the adherence to the Medinese reading of Warsh from Nāfi'; secondly, the preference for certain *sūra* titles differing from those employed in the Islamic East (e.g. “*al-Ṣamad*” instead of “*al-Ikhlāṣ*” for *sūra* 112); and thirdly, the division of the text into 27 sections called *tajziyyāt Ramaḍān* – one for each night of the Sacred Month – rather than into the canonical 30 *ajzā'* (sing. *juz'*).<sup>301</sup> The end of each *tajziyya* is generally indicated by illuminated triangles or bell-shaped devices decorating the outer margins.

The illuminated frontispieces found in most of these Qur'āns have attracted the attention of a number of scholars, but no detailed analysis of their stylistic elements or technical aspects has been published so far, nor have they been sufficiently compared with the decoration found in coeval non-Quranic manuscripts.<sup>302</sup> After the seminal work published by Muḥammad Sharīfī in 1982 [fig. 42], little progress has been made concerning the paleographic study of the highly distinctive scripts that Andalusī and Maghribī calligraphers employed to transcribe the Sacred Book. In particular, it is still very difficult to tell apart the standardised traits shared by all these scripts from the stylistic departures, variants, embellishments, and innovations relatable to individual hands. Before delving into these aspects, it seems useful to present here a table that summarises the main features of the Quranic manuscripts under discussion, partially updating those published by David James in 1992 and François Déroche in 2001.

	No. of folios	Page dimensions	Textbox dimensions	Lines per page	Interlinear space	Name of scribe
<b>Q5</b>	278	8 x 7	5.5 x 4.7	17	0.32	Aḥmad b. Ghalinduh
<b>Q6</b>	148	18.2 x 17.8	12.5 x 12	25	0.50	Master of Cordova
<b>Q7</b>	134	17 x 16.5		27		'Alī Ibn Ghaṭṭūs
<b>Q8</b>	140	18.5 x 17.5	10.5 x 11.5	27	0.38	'Alī Ibn Ghaṭṭūs

<sup>301</sup> ANZUINI 2001, 412. These features are currently being studied by Professor Juan Pablo Arias Torres, and are only touched upon in ESPEJO & ARIAS 2009, 80-88, and ARIAS & DÉROCHE 2011, 248-251. It should be noted, however, that not all the Qur'āns of our corpus show the partition in 27 *tajziyyāt*, and that *sūra* titles are anything but consistent. In fact, the very same scribe could make use of different titles rather arbitrarily: 'Alī Ibn Ghaṭṭūs, for instance, entitled the opening *sūra* “*Umm al-Kit[ā]b*” in Q7 and Q8, but “*Fātiḥa al-Kit[ā]b*” in Q9.

<sup>302</sup> DANDEL 1994; BARRUCAND 1995; BARRUCAND 2005.

<b>Q9</b>	135	17.5 x 16	12 x 11.5	27	0.44	‘Alī Ibn Ghaṭṭūs
<b>Q10</b>			17 x 12	21	0.80	Ibn Jallāda al-Balansī
<b>Q11</b>	136	16 x 16.5	11.5 x 10.7	26	0.44	Muḥammad Ibn Ghaṭṭūs
<b>Q12</b>				26		Muḥammad Ibn Ghaṭṭūs ?
<b>Q13</b>		16.2 x 15.5		26		
<b>Q14</b>	132	18.2 x 17	12.3 x 12	26	0.47	Muḥammad Ibn Ghaṭṭūs
<b>Q15</b>	135	18 x 15.5	11 x 11	24	0.46	
<b>Q16</b>	197	31.5 x 26.2	20 x 18	25	0.80	Ibn Shu‘ayb al-Anṣārī
<b>Q17</b>	133	18.4 x 17.2	13.5 x 12	22	0.61	
<b>Q18</b>				26		
<b>Q19</b>	133	21.5 x 18	15.5 x 11.5	27	0.57	Muḥammad al-Sharīshī ?
<b>Q20</b>				30		
<b>Q21</b>	134	16.5 x 16.5	10 x 10	25	0.40	
<b>Q22</b>	122	17 x 16	11.5 x 11.9	25	0.46	Ibn Khaldūn al-Balansī
<b>Q23</b>	145	20.5 x 17.5	13.5 x 11.5	25	0.54	
<b>Q24</b>	144	24.6 x 22.6	17.5 x 15.5	23	0.76	
<b>Q25</b>	137	22.3 x 18	13.5 x 11.5	27	0.50	Muḥammad al-Sharīshī

All these codices were copied in diminutive scripts, with a considerably high number of lines of text per page – between 17 and 27 – and an interlinear space kept between 0.3 and 0.8 cm; the height of the *alif* ranges between 0.25 and 0.7 cm. This gives the textbox a distinctively cramped aspect that could not be avoided in small, single-volumes Qur’āns made of parchment, where the thickness of the vellum sheets, although perfectly stretched and burnished, would not allow binding together more than 130-145 folios. The sole exception is the unusually large Q16, where a higher number of parchment quires could be employed without spoiling the proportion between the size and thickness of the codex. Even in the only paper manuscript of our corpus (Q5) the copyist maintained the same script module and textbox layout used in parchment

Qur'āns, which clearly shows the experimental nature of this early attempt to replace the traditional support with a more modern one.

A second important feature shared by all these scripts is the *qalam* with which they were traced, cut with a particularly hard and pointy nib that produced thin, threadlike strokes. This lent the calligraphy a very delicate, sometimes even faint and evanescent aspect, whose aesthetic appeal is difficult to appreciate fully from a modern perspective. To the medieval eye, the minute subtlety of these scripts, embellished with a painstakingly accurate apparatus of recitation marks of different shapes and colours, must have represented a wondrous demonstration of bravura in line with the aesthetic of 'ajab ("marvel", "prodigy") traditionally associated with God and his manifestations.<sup>303</sup>

Easier to explain is the reason behind the markedly angular aspect of some letter shapes: Ibn Ghattūs and the other Quranic copyists of this period enhanced the angular elements already present in Maghribī bookhands – *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā'* and *zā'* with a trapezoidal body, initial and medial *kāf* traced as two parallel lines topped by a diagonal stroke and linked by a vertical one, etc. – so as to give an archaising feel to the script and evoke the austerity of 'Kufic' calligraphy. In addition to that, they peppered the words of the Revelation with frequent elongations of both individual letters (especially final *bā'*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā'*, *zā'*, and *kāf*) and the baseline strokes between them (most notably in the *basmala* between the *hā'* and *mīm* of the word "*rahmān*", but also in the final word of each *sūra*, to fill the last line of text up to the left margin). This marked 'horizontalism' harked back to the *mashq* and *madd* of ancient Abbasid scripts, and must have also functioned as a visual encouragement to pronounce each word carefully, thus adding solemnity to the recitation.

Already remarked by Sharīfī in Q13 is the use of multiple baselines in some words, through the rightward elongation of the body of medial and final *jīm*, *hā'*, and *khā'*, in the shape of a line stretching below the preceding letters.<sup>304</sup> The same effect is sometimes achieved through the extension of the horizontal stroke of *yā'* *rāji'a*. This feature, already found in the enhanced bookhands of items 30 and 72, was employed in Quranic calligraphy by both 'Alī and Muḥammad Ibn Ghattūs, as well as by their disciples and the adherents to their 'School', such as Yūsuf Ibn Khaldūn (Q22) and Muḥammad al-Sharīshī (Q25).

<sup>303</sup> For a discussion of the aesthetics of 'ajīb and *gharīb* in medieval Arabic sources, see RABBAT 2006.

<sup>304</sup> SHARĪFĪ 1982, 277.

Other calligraphic traits observable in the scripts of 6th/12th-century *maṣāḥif* from al-Andalus and the Maghrib are:

- The leftward inclination of the head serifs in the vertical stems of *alif*, *lām*, and *kāf*;
- Final *bāʾ* and *fāʾ* are almost always left open, with a long terminal stroke;
- *Mīm* always has a long, plunging tail curled leftwards (concave *mīm*);
- *Lām-alif* is always drawn in two separate strokes, both curved, intersecting near the baseline;
- The baseline ligatures between the letters *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ*, *sīn*, *shīn*, *ʿayn*, *ghayn*, *fāʾ*, *qāf*, *lām*, *nūn* and *yāʾ* present an accentuated saw-toothed profile. The same can be said about the lower part of medial *ʿayn*, *ghayn*, often rendered as an open space in the shape of a triangle.

All these mannered features, introduced by some copyists to give their scripts a strikingly stylised appearance, were not equally mastered by others, who wrote the Qurʾān in rounder and more cursive styles, closer to ordinary bookhands. In general, this disregard for the canons of formalised calligraphy was matched by a poorer quality of the manuscript as a whole (illumination, preparation of parchment, etc.), as exemplified by Q17.

A few considerations can also be made concerning the difference between the hands of Ibn Ghattūs the Elder and the Younger, and the ‘evolution’ of Quranic calligraphy as represented in the work of later scribes. If one compares the script of ‘Alī b. Ghattūs during the 550s/1160s with that of his son Muḥammad in 578/1182-3, the former immediately appears slightly suppler, more irregular, and traced at a faster pace. Muḥammad’s script, on the contrary, is impeccably measured, with the horizontal strokes of elongated *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭāʾ*, *zāʾ* and *kāf* perfectly straight and parallel to each other. Also, the initial *ʿayn* is ampler, and the *lām-alif* grapheme is always closed at the bottom by a short horizontal stroke. In the work of both these Valencian artists the script looks particularly compressed due to the many elongations and high number of lines per page. While the same effect was achieved by some scribes (Q13, Q18, Q22), others preferred to increase slightly the interlinear space, reduce the module of the script, and give it a vertical boost by accentuating the height of the curls of initial *ʿayn* and the plunge of the tails of final *sīn*, *shīn*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *qāf* and *nūn* (Q6, Q17, Q24). The pinnacle of this effect was attained by Ibn Shuʿayb al-Anṣārī in Q16, a *muṣḥaf* coeval

with the apogee of the Ibn Ghattūs atelier, where the increased dimensions of the writing surface encouraged the calligrapher to employ a slightly more expansive script.

Towards the very end of the 6th/12th century, two manuscripts attest to a possible stylistic development brought about by a new generation of Quranic copyists: in both Q19 and Q25, all the elongated letters (especially *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā*’, *ẓā*’, and *kāf*) share the exact same dimensions, thus giving unprecedented rhythm and consistency to the calligraphy, contrary to what can be seen in those Qur’āns written in the manner of Ibn Ghattūs. As a matter of fact, the scripts of these two codices are so similar that they could well be the work of the same copyist, i.e. Muḥammad al-Sharīshī, a hypothesis supported by the fact that both manuscripts feature the same number of lines per page. This innovative element will persist in the finest miniature scripts of the following centuries, combined with the introduction of *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ṭā*’, *ẓā*’ traced with oval bodies as in bookhands, a feature that is never found in 6th/12th-century Qur’āns. Of course, these are but preliminary remarks, and it will only become possible to refine our chronological and geographical attributions by comparing and contrasting these 21 *maṣāḥif* with the many more undated codices and fragments that have survived, bringing together their palaeographic analysis with the study of their style and technique of illumination.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>305</sup> Undated Quranic manuscripts that can be tentatively attributed to the 6th/12th century are: BAV, Vat. Arab. 212 (possibly by ‘Alī Ibn Ghattūs); London, BL, ms. Or. 1270 (possibly by Muḥammad Ibn Ghattūs); Cairo, DKW, ms. 214 Muṣḥaf; Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1694; Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Library, mss. E. H. 40 and E. H. 47; Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, ms. 536; Dublin, CBL, mss. 1443 and 1444; Kuwait, Dār al-Athār al-Islāmiyya, mss. LNS 111 and LNS 322; Marrakesh, Ibn Yūsuf Library, ms. 619/8.



Fig. 41 – Note on the final folio of *juz' 10* of an undated Andalusī Qur'ān in Maghribī *mabsūt* script, stating that the manuscript was read to its owner and copyist, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣadafī, in the *Dārat al- 'Ilm* of Valencia, in Ṣafar 630/1232; from BLACK & SAIDI 2000.

ا	ا	ا	ا	ا	ا	ا
ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب	ب
ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج	ج
د	د	د	د	د	د	د
هـ	هـ	هـ	هـ	هـ	هـ	هـ
و	و	و	و	و	و	و
ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز	ز
ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح	ح
ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط
ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك	ك
ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل	ل
م	م	م	م	م	م	م
ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن
ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي

Fig. 42 – Palaeographic table of the letter forms employed by ‘Alī b. Ghattūs in Q11, from SHARĪFĪ 1982.

## Documentary hands and chancery scripts

The previous chapters of this thesis have focused primarily on the origin and development of those Maghribī scripts belonging to the family of bookhands, and of the two main calligraphic styles directly derived from them: the ‘monumental’ *mabsūṭ* style and the miniature style. However, there exists a third category of scripts that, although sharing the same stylistic substrate as bookhands, depart noticeably from them. In the following pages, I shall briefly discuss the earliest evidence of Maghribī documentary hands, and of their calligraphic version, namely chancery scripts, whose development resulted from the activity of groups of specialised scribes – i.e. with an additional level of training – performing a social and political function very different from that of contemporary book copyists and Quranic calligraphers.

As far as documentary hands are concerned, very little is known about the activities of Andalusī and Maghribī notaries (*waththāqūn* or *muwaththiqūn*, sing. *waththāq* or *muwaththiq*), whose job was to draft contracts of private nature concerning sales, loans, donations, testaments, dowries, and the like, during the period under discussion.<sup>306</sup> No such documents survive in the original from before the 8th/14th century, from either the cities of Muslim Iberia or North Africa, with only two exceptions:

- D1. 475/1083** [Ramaḍān, drafted in Toledo]. Sale contract concerning the purchase of a vineyard for the price of 3000 *mithqāl*, on parchment;<sup>307</sup>
- D2. 510/1117** [Dhū al-Ḥijja, drafted in Zaragoza]. Sale contract concerning the purchase of a field for the price of 1 *dīnār* and 4 *dirhams*, on paper.<sup>308</sup>

Interestingly, both documents are sale contracts sharing the same structure and formulae, and they both date from the years immediately preceding the Christian conquest of the cities where they were produced, Toledo – seized by Alfonso VI of Castile in 477/1085 – and Zaragoza – captured by Alfonso I of Aragon in 512/1118.

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<sup>306</sup> On the subject, with special regard to the genre of notarial formularies, see AGUIRRE 2000. For the norms regulating the drafting of endowment deeds in al-Andalus, see GARCÍA SANJUAN 2007.

<sup>307</sup> Madrid, AHN, Clero, Carpeta 3033, No. 1; See GONZÁLEZ 1926-1930, I, 1.

<sup>308</sup> Zaragoza, Archivo Parroquial de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, unknown shelfmark. See GARCÍA DE LINARES 1904, 174, No. I.

Palaeographically, however, they show a marked difference. D2 was written in a very cursive, casual hand, by someone who either had no training in any particular notarial style, or clearly had no interest in displaying his penmanship. Conversely, D1 appears to have been drafted carefully, in a script that already shows a number of typically notarial traits, departing from the regular *ductus* of coeval bookhands: the baseline strokes between the letters of certain words are frequently elongated (e.g. between the *shīn* and *tā*’ of the initial word *ishtarā*, meaning “he purchased”); angular letter variants are systematically avoided; final *rā*’ and *zā*’ have plunging tails ending with hooks, often connected with the following letter through abusive ligatures; *alif maqṣūra* is cursorily rendered as a *wāw* with a long, bowl-shaped tail drawn below the writing line.

During the following two centuries, the unique social and cultural milieu of Toledo produced hundreds of Arabic (“Mozarabic”) private documents that have been miraculously preserved in the archive of the city’s cathedral, and are still awaiting a serious palaeographic study.<sup>309</sup> Although that clearly lies beyond the scope of the present work, it should be remarked here that the notaries active in 6th/12th- and 7th/13th-century Toledo often show a level of scribal training and technical mastery which can only be explained if we assume that a direct channel of communication with their colleagues from the Muslim territories continued to exist under the new Christian rulers. In particular, some of the finest scripts employed in the Toledan contracts [figs. 43-44] are surprisingly close to the ornate and winding styles typical of the chancery hands of the Almohads and Banū Ghāniya: the same complex ligatures in the *basmala*, the same accentuated roundness of most letter tails, often arranged in tightly knit sequences, and so forth. Even more noticeably, and in contrast with the Arabic documentary hands employed in the East, these scripts are characterised by a much more rectilinear orientation, with lines of texts tidily and tightly arranged at regular intervals (a feature which is already visible in D1). The diachronic study of these palaeographic traits would make it possible to chart the development of certain elements and the specificities of individual hands, as well as to recognise the particular ‘flavour’

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<sup>309</sup> Most of them were brought to the National Archive of Madrid in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and are still kept there. The only palaeographic notes on the scripts of the Mozarabic documents of Toledo are found in GONZÁLEZ 1926-1930, IV, 44-47.

of these scripts when they appear in non-documentary contexts, such as the glosses of a Latin Mozarab manuscript.<sup>310</sup>

We are decidedly better informed about the role of Maghribī chanceries and the issuing of documents related to administrative practices and diplomacy during the 6th/12th century. The recent work of Pascal Burési and Hicham El-Aallaoui has focused on the scrutiny of medieval textual sources dealing with the instruction of the secretaries (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib*) employed at the court of Marrakesh, the functions of their office (*diwān al-inshāʿ*), and the activity of the “*secrétaires-épistoliers*” attached to governors of provinces and major cities (*kuttāb al-umarāʾ*, *kuttāb al-wulāt*).<sup>311</sup> A remarkable effort was also invested in the critical edition of 50 Almoravid and 160 Almohad letters, whose text has been preserved in chronicles and historical anthologies, due to their documentary as well as literary value.<sup>312</sup> However, the dearth of original documents has so far hindered most scholars from venturing into a discussion of the material, technical, and palaeographic aspects related to the *kitāba* in the western Islamic Mediterranean; and this despite the fact that eight official documents and letters have survived from the period in question, drafted not only in the Almohad cities of Marrakesh, Ceuta, and Tunis, but also in Majorca, in the chancery of the Banū Ghāniya, and in Mahdiyya, during the latter’s military occupation of the town. While these eight items were all penned in Maghribī round scripts by secretaries trained in al-Andalus or the Maghrib al-Aqṣā, other surviving documents from Khorasanid and Almohad Tunis were drafted by local scribes in chancery styles based on eastern models, and have not therefore been included in the following list:

**D3. 577/1181** [Ṣafar, drafted in Majorca]. Decennial peace treaty stipulated between Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad Ibn Ghāniya and the Genoese, on parchment;<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Such is the case of ms. Ripoll 49, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, a Latin manuscript of the *Sententiae* of Taius, bishop of Zaragoza, copied within a Christian milieu in the *Sharq al-Andalus*, which features numerous Arabic glosses written in what is clearly a documentary script (see MILLÀS 1932).

<sup>311</sup> AL-‘ALLAOUI & BURÉSI 2006.

<sup>312</sup> See LÉVI-PROVENÇAL 1941, for the letters of the early period until the end of the 6th/12th century, and ‘AZZĀWĪ 1995, for the first half of the 7th/13th century. A group of 77 Almohad appointment letters (*taqāḍīm*) of provincial officials, preserved in a 17th-century manuscript in the Royal Library of Rabat, have been recently edited and discussed in BURÉSI & EL AALLAOUI 2013.

<sup>313</sup> Genoa State Archive, Archivio Segreto, Materie Politiche, B. 2737 D, doc. I. See AMARI 1867, 593-600 (doc. I); BAUDEN 2011, 48-67, pl. I.

- D4. 1182 AD** [April and July]. Arabic translation of two complaint letters addressed to the Almohad caliph Abū Ya‘qūb by the bishop of Pisa, on paper;<sup>314</sup>
- D5. 580/1184** [Şafar, drafted in Majorca]. Diplomatic letter attached to a peace treaty stipulated between Ishāq b. Muḥammad Ibn Ghāniya and the Pisans, on paper;<sup>315</sup>
- D6. 582/1186** [Ramaḍān, probably drafted in Marrakesh]. Mercantile treaty stipulated between the Almohad caliph al-Mansūr and the Pisans, on paper;<sup>316</sup>
- D7. 584/1188** [Jumādā II, drafted in Majorca]. Ventennial peace treaty stipulated between Muḥammad b. Ishāq Ibn Ghāniya and the Genoese, on parchment;<sup>317</sup>
- D8. 597/1201** [Jumādā I, drafted in Ceuta]. Diplomatic letter sent by Nāṣiḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh (the Almohad governor of Ceuta?) to the Pisans, on paper;<sup>318</sup>
- D9. 597/1201** [Ramaḍān, drafted in Tunis]. Diplomatic letter sent by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mansūr to the Pisans, on paper;<sup>319</sup>
- D10. 600/1204** [Ramaḍān, drafted in Mahdiyya]. Diplomatic letter sent by ‘Alī b. Ghāzī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Ghāniya to the Pisans, on paper.<sup>320</sup>

A first remark to be made concerns the use of parchment in the commercial treaties issued by the *diwān al-inshā’* of the Banū Ghāniya (D3, D7), in the same years when the Almohads had already switched to paper for the production of such documents (D6). This aspect is in line with the Almohads’ adoption of the new support in scribal contexts previously dominated by parchment, and invests the chancery of Majorca with an element of conservatism that may have been a continuation of earlier Almoravid practices, of which no material evidence survives. However, it should also be noted that the Banū Ghāniya did employ (local?) paper to draft their diplomatic letters, as shown by D5 and D10.

<sup>314</sup> Pisa State Archive, unknown shelf mark. See AMARI 1863, Prima Serie, II-III; BURÉSI 2011.

<sup>315</sup> Pisa State Archive, unknown shelf mark. See AMARI 1863, Prima Serie, IV. The original treaty which this letter accompanied (Prima Serie, XLVI), written on parchment, was destroyed in 1944 in the fire of the State Archive of Naples, where it had been sent for an exhibition.

<sup>316</sup> Pisa State Archive, unknown shelf mark. See AMARI 1863, Prima Serie, V.

<sup>317</sup> Genoa State Archive, Archivio Segreto, Materie Politiche, B. 2737 D, doc. II. See AMARI 1867, 600-606 (doc. II); BAUDEN 2011, 68-81, pl. II.

<sup>318</sup> Pisa State Archive, unknown shelf mark. See AMARI 1863, Prima Serie, X.

<sup>319</sup> Pisa State Archive, unknown shelf mark. See AMARI 1863, Prima Serie, XIII; BURÉSI 2013, fig. 5a-b.

<sup>320</sup> Pisa State Archive, unknown shelf mark. See AMARI 1863, Prima Serie, XXIV. On ‘Alī b. Ghāzī, see BAADJ 2015, 161-162.

While the layout of the three commercial treaties in our corpus does not show any particularly remarkable feature (apart from the conspicuous Almohad *‘alāma*, to be discussed later), the diplomatic correspondence of Maghribī rulers was drafted in a highly distinctive way: the right margin of the text is oblique, the beginning of each line is gradually shifted leftwards, so that a triangular space is created to the right of the page. The folio is then turned upside down, and the triangular space is filled with the remaining portion of the text.<sup>321</sup> This idiosyncratic practice – already attested in D4, D5, D8, D9, and D10 – would later become characteristic of Marinid and Nasrid missives, and as such is mentioned in al-Qalqashandī’s encyclopaedic treatise *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā’ fī ṣinā‘at al-inshā’* (completed in Cairo in 814/1412):

“The practice established in the letters issued by the kings of the Maghrib is to use one sheet of paper of a standard format, [always] with a similar layout. [...] The lines start at a lower level, and slant upwards towards the end [...]. Each line is slightly shorter than the preceding one, gradually tapering to the right so that the last line only occupies a portion of the bottom left corner. The text then continues in the [right] margin, from the bottom of the sheet towards the top, beginning at the same level as the last line. [...] The first line is very short, slanting upwards at the end. The second is slightly longer and so on, until the maximum length is attained and entire lines are written. Then, the lines become gradually shorter again, so that that the last one is minuscule, written in the [upper right] corner [of the folio], next to the *basmala*”.<sup>322</sup>

However, it must be observed that this rather rigid scheme allowed nonetheless a certain number of possible variants: in the letter sent by Ishāq b. Muḥammad Ibn Ghāniya to the Pisans (D5), for instance, the lines of text written in the right margin of the folio run along its height (i.e. they are arranged perpendicularly to the *basmala*), while in Almohad and Hafsid letters they are always roughly parallel to the base of the folio (i.e. at a 160°-180° angle with the *basmala*). As opposed to the strictly orthogonal layout of official treaties, the diplomatic letters in our corpus are characterised by an overall writing angle inclined upwards (as remarked by al-Qalqashandī), with the possibility of stacking words at the end of each line.

The scripts in which all these documents were written share a remarkable number of common traits, which are essentially the same employed by the most skilled Mozarabic notaries in coeval Toledo. Although winding and cursive, the chancery

<sup>321</sup> See BURÉSI 2008B, 299-300.

<sup>322</sup> AL-QALQASHANDĪ 1913-1922, VIII, 78-79.

scripts featured in the Banū Ghāniya treaties are particularly polished and accurately vocalised (especially D7), with frequent recourse to *‘alāmāt al-ihmāl* and the consistent use of eastern *tashdīd* when combined with *fatha*, while the Maghribī one appears in the presence of *kasra* or *ḍamma*. As noted by Frédéric Bauden, the two Majorcan secretaries who drafted these documents demonstrate a certain familiarity with the rules of Quranic orthoepy in their notation of the euphonic *tashdīd* (also known as *idghām*), which marks the assimilation of final *nūn* with the initial *rā’*, *lām*, *mīm*, *nūn*, *wāw*, and *yā’* of the following word.<sup>323</sup> In the Almohad commercial treaty (D6) the script of the main text is markedly simpler, and only the Maghribī semi-circular *tashdīd* is used, with the exception of the *basmala* and the monumental *‘alāma*.

Overall, it is clear that the ultimate purpose of these chancery hands was to convey the same sense of order, proportion, accuracy, and solemnity preached by the Andalusī treatises on the instruction of scribes, in particular the *Iḥkām ṣanā‘āt al-kalām* of the Almoravid *kātib* Ibn ‘Abd al-Ghafūr (d. 531/1136).<sup>324</sup> However, the distinctive ductus and ligatures developed within this scribal context did not remain a prerogative of official documents for long: during the 7th/13th century these stylistic features gradually began to seep out from the chanceries and affect the appearance of later Maghribī bookhands, giving rise to what some modern scholars have called *mujawhar* scripts (in the sense of “ornate”, “flowery”).<sup>325</sup> Already in the late 6th/12th century, the script of item 91 suggests that some book copyists had been trained in chancery styles, and did not hesitate to show their calligraphic prowess in their everyday work.

One last feature to be discussed here is the introductory formula (*‘alāma*) appearing in the heading of official Almohad documents (“*wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh waḥdah*”, meaning “and praise be to God alone”), written with a particularly thick *qalam* in monumental Maghribī *thuluth*, as found in D6. As already mentioned, this element reinforces the impression that this special calligraphic style was used by the Berber rulers as a ‘dynastic brand’ and a fundamental visual component of their ideology of power, especially since the sources insist that the Almohad *‘alāma* was always added onto chancery documents in the caliphs’ own hand.<sup>326</sup> According to the *Rawḍ al-qirtās*,

<sup>323</sup> BAUDEN 2011, 45-46.

<sup>324</sup> SORAVIA 2005.

<sup>325</sup> For a definition of *mujawhar* scripts, see AFĀ 2013A, 67-68.

<sup>326</sup> IBN AL-AḤMAR 1964, 20-21. See also AL-MANŪNĪ 1989A, 180.

it was al-Manṣūr (r. 580/1185-595/1198) who first established that the *‘alāma* should always be personally penned by the caliph.<sup>327</sup> Hence, it is likely that the motto appearing in D6 was indeed written by al-Manṣūr himself, in a very different ink from the main text of the treaty, and with a special implement possibly designed for this specific purpose. The Nasrid scholar Ibn al-Aḥmar, however, reports that this practice had already been introduced by al-Manṣūr’s grandfather ‘Abd al-Mu’min (r. 527/1133-558/1163).<sup>328</sup> In his *Kitāb al-‘ibar*, Ibn Khaldūn positions himself between these two views, and states that it was in fact Abū Ya‘qūb (r. 558/1163-580/1185) who devised the caliphal *‘alāma*, on the basis of what “had been found written by the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart in some of his speeches [*fī ba‘d mukhātibāti-hi*]”.<sup>329</sup> The historian Ibn ‘Idhārī adds that the first missive where the Almohad *‘alāma* made its appearance was drafted in Ramaḍān 561/1166, and was addressed by Abū Ya‘qūb to his brother Abū Sa‘īd, then governor of Cordova.<sup>330</sup>

Be that as it may, the distinctive style and wording of the Almohad *‘alāma* remained unaltered until the final years of the dynasty’s rule in Marrakesh, as demonstrated by a letter sent by the penultimate Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā to Pope Innocent IV in 648/1250, which has providentially been preserved in the original in the Vatican Archives [fig. 45].<sup>331</sup> Just as al-Manṣūr’s, al-Murtaḍā’s *‘alāma* is in a bold, calligraphic *thuluth* script, completed by a characteristic final *hā’* with a long tail curving to the right (*hā’ mashqūqa*), an abbreviation of the word *intahā* (meaning “it is finished”). While both these formulae were penned in a black ink, it seems that on occasion the Almohad caliphs would have used a special red ink, as reported in a passage of Ibn ‘Idhārī’s *Bayān al-mughrib*, with reference to the Almohad caliph Yaḥyā al-Mu‘taṣim (r. 624/1227-626/1229):

“Yaḥyā [b. al-Nāṣir]’s chamberlain and personal secretary [...] was a eunuch named Abū al-Ḥamāma Bilāl, a renowned *shaykh* who had studied the Qur’ān in his youth. He was bright-minded and cunning, and Yaḥyā’s affairs depended entirely on him, to the point that he came to write the opening formula “*al-ḥamd*

<sup>327</sup> IBN ABĪ ZAR’ 1972, 217: “*Wa-huwa awwal man kataba al-‘alāma bi-yadi-hi min al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Al-ḥamd li-llāh wahda-hu, fa-jarā ‘amalu-hum ‘alā dhālika*”.

<sup>328</sup> IBN AL-AḤMAR 1964, 20-21.

<sup>329</sup> IBN KHALDŪN 1999, XII, 497-498.

<sup>330</sup> IBN ‘IDHĀRĪ 1963, 69. See also LATHAM 1981, 318.

<sup>331</sup> TISSERANT & WIET 1926. “*Il s’agit du seul écrit d’un souverain maghrébin qui ait été conservé par les papes*” (thus MAILLARD 2014, 107).

*li-llāh waḥda-hu*” on the official decrees, in eastern script [*bi-khatt Mashriqī*]. Before then, it was out of the question that someone else would write this formula instead [of the Caliph], until it was accepted that a woman would write it because Yaḥyā had a withered right hand. This was noticeable since he could not even fasten the cords of his cloak, or hold the sceptre in his hand as caliphs usually do. The people’s petitions containing their requests were submitted to him in countless numbers, and the eunuch Abū al-Ḥamāma Bilāl would write on all of them [...] in an almost white ink, with a thin pen, and with letters well spaced out, and Yaḥyā would retrace those letters in a feeble script. Sometimes he would forget some of those signatures and would not retrace them, until [the eunuch] realised the disgraceful fact, concealed it, and begun to write them with the red caliphal ink [*al-midād al-aḥmar al-ma’rūf li-l-khulafā’*].<sup>332</sup>

What is also interesting in this passage is the explicit mention of the distinctively Mashriqī character of the style employed for the *‘alāma*, which was (and still is) the most remarkable feature of Maghribī *thuluth*. As already remarked by Stern with regard to al-Murtaḍā’s missive to Innocent IV: “It is worthy of note that whereas the body of the letter is in the Maghribī script, the *‘alāma* is in ‘eastern’ ductus, perhaps because the style was traditional”.<sup>333</sup> It is indeed difficult to understand the reasons why it was apparently deemed important to include this conspicuous reference to the eastern calligraphic tradition in the official documents of the Almohad chancery, and in all the other instruments of Almohad propaganda where Maghribī *thuluth* was employed, from coinage to the manuscripts of the Maḥdī’s works. Perhaps this had to do with the ultimately eastern derivation of the principles of Almohad theology (largely based on Ash‘arism and Zāhirism) and with Ibn Tūmart’s alleged studies in Baghdad, or perhaps it should be related to the Almohad’s pretence to universal authority over the entire Islamic world, as caliphs of the Maghrib as well as the Mashriq.

Under the supervision of their Andalusī teachers, the Almohad princes were arguably trained to master Maghribī *thuluth* as the calligraphic style that they would have used to validate treaties and sign official letters once ascended the throne. An ownership mark on the title page of item 24 provides fascinating evidence for this, as it was penned in a skilled *thuluth* script by a certain Ibrāhīm b. Amīr al-Mu’minīn b. Amīr al-Mu’minīn, probably a son of Abū Ya’qūb and a brother of al-Manṣūr [fig. 46]. At the end of it, the use of a *hā’ mashqūqa* traced in exactly the same way as the one found in

<sup>332</sup> IBN ‘IDHĀRĪ 1963, 320. For a discussion of this passage and the Almohad *‘alāma* in general, see LATHAM 1981, 317-319.

<sup>333</sup> STERN 1964, 135.

the *'alāma* of D6 demonstrates that prince Ibrāhīm had a first hand knowledge of the scribal practices adopted in the Almohad chancery.



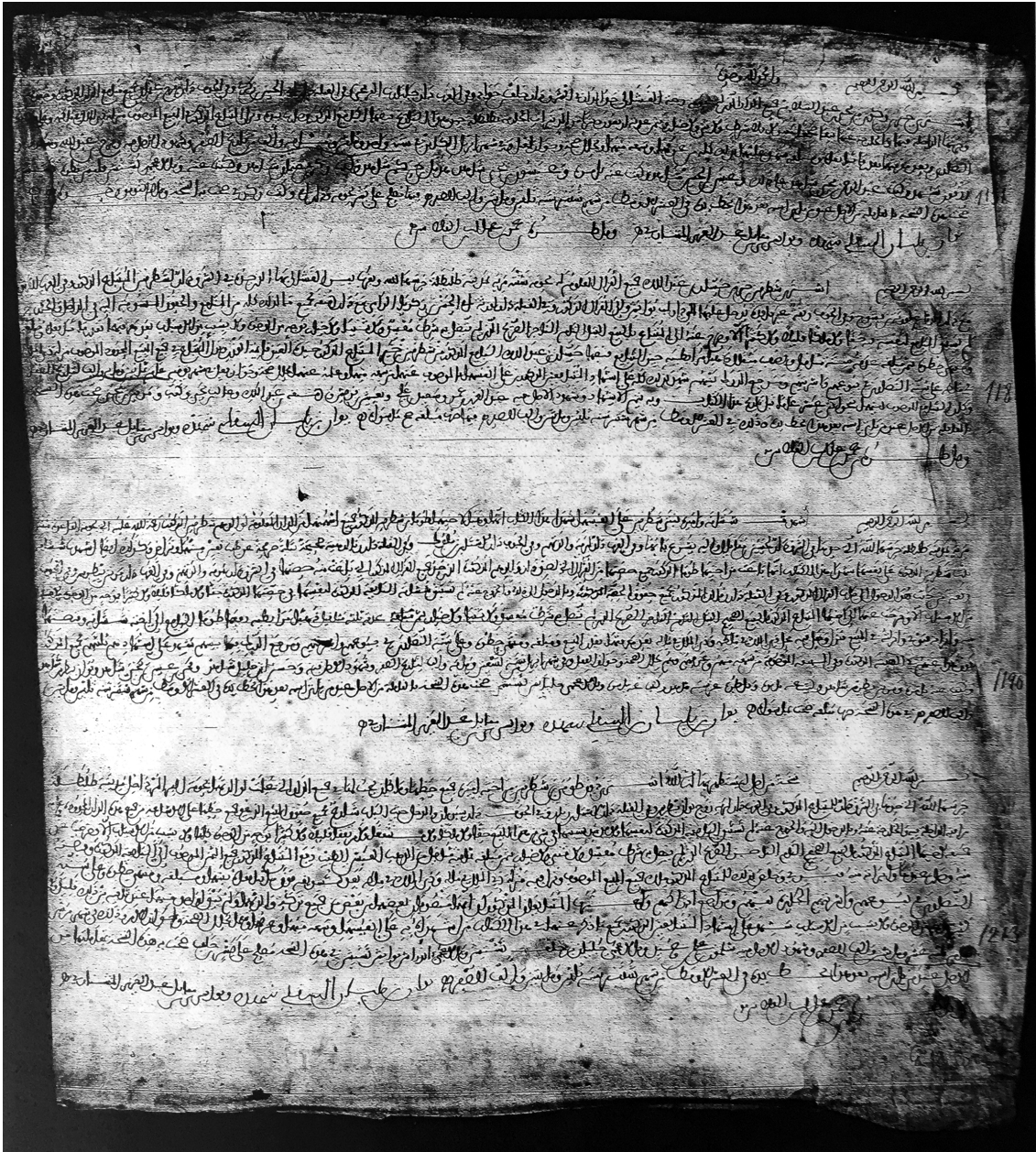


Fig. 44 – Madrid, AHN, Clero de Toledo (Documentos mozárabes), Carp. 3033, No. 2.  
Copy of a sale contract concerning a house, drafted in 1213 AH (1175 AD).  
Parchment, 48 x 44 cm.

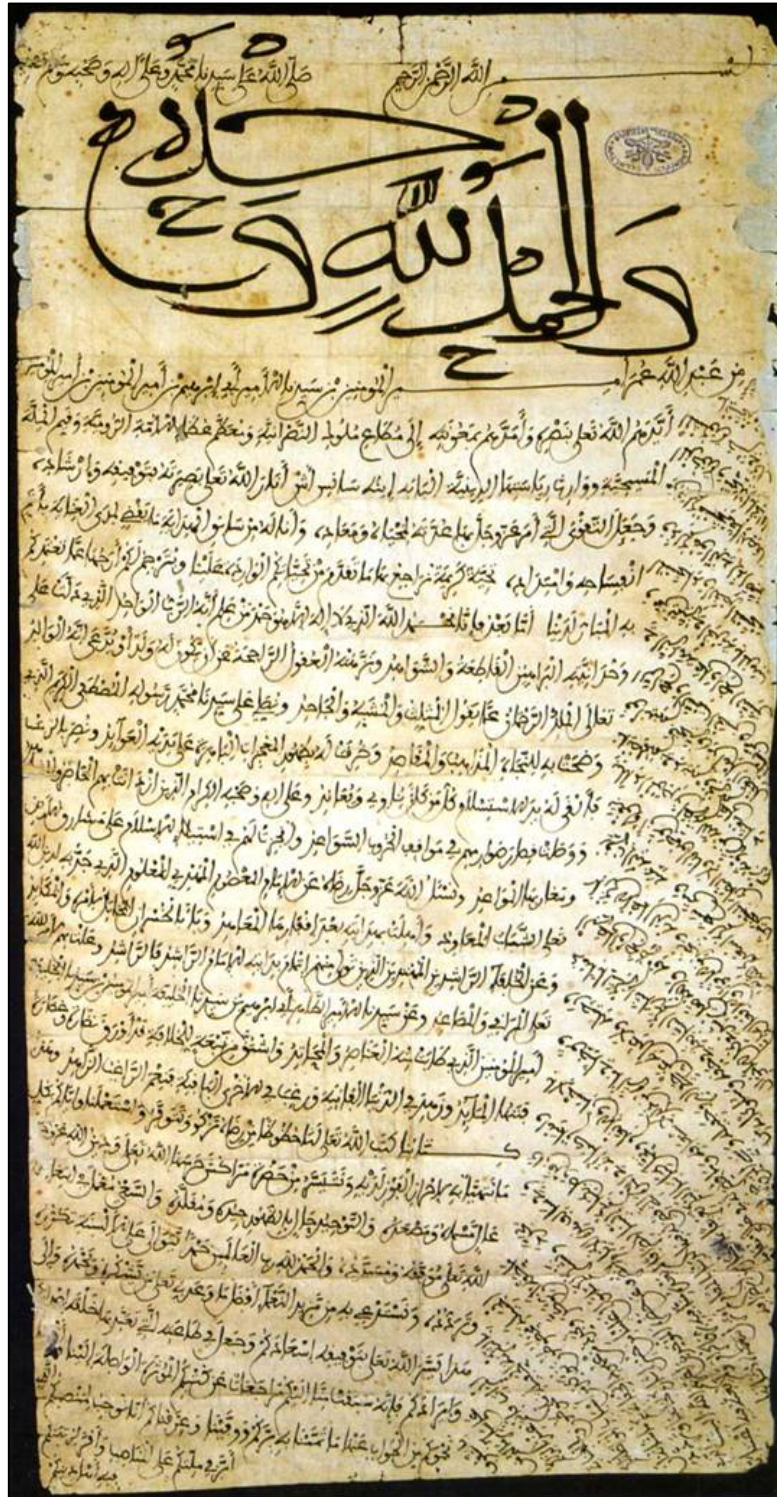


Fig. 45 – Rome, Vatican State Archives, AA. I-XVIII, 1802, 20th June 1250. Diplomatic letter drafted in Marrakesh and sent by the Almohad caliph al-Murtaḍā to pope Innocent IV, dated 648/1250. Paper, 53 x 27.5 cm.





## CONCLUSIONS

The aim that the present work is hoped to have achieved is a rather elementary one: to trace the origin, development, diffusion, and diversification of Maghribī bookhands and calligraphic scripts, based on the earliest material evidence in our possession. The first, fundamental step I had to take was to assemble and arrange in chronological order the bulk of the surviving Maghribī manuscripts and documents written before 600 AH, thus filling a yawning and disconcerting gap in scholarship. Where possible, and to a degree proportionate to the scope of this thesis, I have tried to integrate the palaeographic and historical study of the material with the information offered by primary sources of different kinds, so as to present a picture as comprehensive as possible of a rich and highly sophisticated scribal tradition, whose formative process and full aesthetic range were still poorly understood. By combining material and textual evidence, I have been able to reach the new definition of Maghribī *round* scripts, to present a detailed discussion of their original features and evolution (or lack thereof), and to draw significant distinctions among different sub-styles, in both synchronic and diachronic terms: early and mature casual scripts; early half-bookhands and full bookhands; mature ordinary and fine bookhands; enhanced (i.e. semi-calligraphic) bookhands; documentary hands and chancery scripts; *mabṣūṭ* and miniature calligraphic styles; Maghribī *thuluth*.

One of the main outcomes of my research has been that of delimiting in space and time the origin of Maghribī round scripts, which should now undoubtedly be traced to Umayyad Cordova, between the end of the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th century. As written by Ibn Khaldūn almost 500 years later: “With the Umayyads, al-Andalus became a separate political entity [*tamayyaza mulk al-Andalus bi-l-Umawiyyīn*]. They developed distinctive conditions as to sedentary culture, the crafts, and the writing styles [*fa-tamayyazū bi-aḥwāli-him min al-ḥiḍāra wa-l-ṣanā’i’ wa-l-khuṭūf*]. As a result,

their Andalusī script, as it is known today, also became special [*tamayyaza*]”.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khaldūn’s insistence on the idiosyncratic, self-contained nature of the Andalusī scribal milieu under the Umayyad dynasty, which he contrasts with the traditions developed under the Abbasids and Fatimids, in the Mashriq as well as Ifrīqiya, is the only reasonable explanation that we can advance for the birth of such a distinctive family of scripts, an event without parallel in the history of Arabic written culture.

While the centre-to-periphery model seems to be the most suitable to frame the rise of Maghribī round scripts during the 4th/10th century, with Cordova acting as the key centre of diffusion, this does not mean that a writing reform was conceived and implemented from on high, i.e. by direct intervention of the ruling elites. As we have seen, the Umayyad court culture revolved around scribal modes and models anchored in the eastern tradition, and the library of al-Ḥakam II was never meant to function as a laboratory for developing one regional form of ordinary bookhand; instead, it was an extraordinary (and relatively short-lived) setting for the best calligraphers and bookbinders of the Islamic Mediterranean to come together and put their diverse skills at the caliph’s service: a centre of attraction rather than diffusion. What really triggered the spread of Maghribī round scripts, the evidence suggests, was their adoption by the thousands of professional copyists, religious scholars, men and women of science and letters, notaries, and members of the intermediate levels of the Andalusī society who employed the new style as an instrument of cultural identity.<sup>2</sup> Being a vital component of this society, the Mozarab community adopted the very same type of scripts for copying their Christian codices, preserving certain scribal practices of the Latin-Visigothic tradition, and setting themselves apart from the Arabic-speaking Christians living in Egypt and the Levant. For these reasons, what rapidly became the sole vehicle for the written culture of al-Andalus can best be defined as a Cordovan, and yet not an Umayyad, script.

During the first two centuries after their appearance, the new round bookhands remained confined to the Arabic-speaking regions of the Iberian Peninsula and their

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<sup>1</sup> IBN KHALDŪN 1999, II, 750.

<sup>2</sup> The fascinating and multifaceted problem of an ‘Andalusī identity’, and the way this construct was forged and promoted through historical and literary works from the Umayyad period until the times of Ibn Khaldūn, is the subject of MARTINEZ-GROS 1997. I believe the origin and development of Maghribī round scripts represented a comparable phenomenon to that studied by Martinez-Gros, although sustained not through the intervention and patronage of the ruling elites, but by the learning and writing practices of all the literate members of society.

Muslim and Christian inhabitants; hence it may be argued that they should be more correctly defined as Andalusī, rather than Maghribī scripts. However, as explained in the introduction, I have deemed it preferable to uphold the broader term ‘Maghribī’ to refer to this entire family of scripts, for two main reasons. Firstly, the distinction between Andalusī and Maghribī scripts, which has often and misleadingly been made in the past, creates an arbitrary dichotomy that is backed neither by material evidence nor by medieval textual sources, unlike the demonstrated polarity between Maghribī-Mashriqī or Andalusī-Ifriqī hands. There is simply no reason to argue that the Maghrib al-Aqṣā ever developed a distinct regional script before local copyists unreservedly adopted Andalusī styles and practices starting from the late 5th/11th century. Since then, these round scripts became as Maghribī as they were Andalusī, with master calligraphers on both sides of the Strait drawing upon the same, shared stylistic substrate. This meant that the variant forms developed both in al-Andalus and the Maghrib al-Aqṣā could differ from one another to the same extent as scripts employed in different cities of the same region – such as Valencia and Seville, or Fez and Marrakesh – or by scribes active in the same city. Secondly, after the demise of Arabic writing in Spain in the 10th/16th century, these scripts remained in use exclusively in North Africa, from Libya to Mauritania, as a key component of the cultural identity of the inhabitants of these territories. Thus, Maghribī round scripts earned their designation as a result of their millennial history: they are, after all, the expression of a living tradition, in whose deeper strata is embedded the legacy of al-Andalus.

As I hope to have demonstrated, the introduction of Andalusī scripts into the Maghrib al-Aqṣā during the 6th/12th century was not merely a spontaneous development brought about by the increased socio-economic interconnection between the two shores of the Alboran Sea. In fact, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that this major change was also actively promoted by the new Berber rulers, and especially by the Almohad caliphs, who employed Andalusī secretaries and calligraphers as instruments of legitimation and propaganda. In particular, the Almohad royal manuscripts represented, and indeed proclaimed, the complete assimilation of Andalusī calligraphic styles and scribal practices, as a way of making the Almohad doctrine palatable to the Andalusī elites, and portray the new rulers less as Berber fanatics and

barbarians, and more as cultivated revivers of religious belief, an aim that the Almoravids before them never quite managed to achieve.

The military expansion of the Almohad Empire towards Ifrīqiya coincided with this phase of ideological deployment of Maghribī round scripts, which became the norm for copying books in cities like Tlemcen and Bijāya, and first appeared in documents drafted in the chanceries of Tunis and Mahdiyya, probably by secretaries trained in the Maghrib al-Aqṣā. In both luxury manuscripts and chancery documents, the dissemination of Maghribī *thuluth* as the calligraphic emblem of Almohad rule was just another indicator of how much the choice of script mattered in the construction of political and identitarian discourses, although this particular style was derived from eastern calligraphy and did not originate within the family of Maghribī round bookhands.

Based on the palaeographic observations contained in the present work, it will ideally become possible to date many of the surviving undated codices copied in al-Andalus and the Maghrib during this period, ascribing them to specific scribal contexts and, perhaps, hands. The writing ductus, letter shapes, ligatures, notation marks, punctuation, and colour schemes employed in the manuscripts of our corpus conclusively show certain patterns of development that become particularly evident if considered within the frame of individual genres and codicological families: illuminated Qur'āns, multi-volume works of religious sciences, reference books of grammar and lexicography, copies of medical treatises for personal use, elegant editions of poetic anthologies, etc. While certain aspects of this stylistic evolution may have not been taken into sufficient consideration here, it is hoped that this thesis will serve as a sound point of departure for future research, in the same way as palaeographic albums were used in the past century by scholars of different backgrounds and fields of study.

Evolution, however, is a problematic concept when applied to Arabic palaeography: the manuscripts here discussed reflect a complex network of material practices and textual traditions that not always developed in linear ways. It is therefore essential to always bear in mind the fundamental difference between archaic and archaising features, especially important for the analysis of those scripts which, just like Maghribī bookhands, constantly retained a number of vestigial elements derived from earlier angular styles, that could be either accentuated or avoided depending on the

scribe's models and intentions. In the same way, I hope to have demonstrated that some scribal milieux were more conservative than others, and that the manuscripts copied within certain religious circles tended to reproduce the scripts, layout, and format of their prototypes with very little variation. This is why, especially in the presence of undated Maghribī fragments of works of *ḥadīth* and Mālikī *fiqh* (which form the majority of the surviving material from this earlier period), the palaeographic study of the scripts should always be combined with codicological remarks on the type and quality of the support, the way it was scored or ruled, the structure of quires and gatherings, the presence and nature of zigzag marks in the paper, the type of inks employed, and so forth, which I have only partially been able to include here.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, this thesis has aimed to portray the Maghribī written tradition as a cultural phenomenon as rich and dynamic as the Mashriqī one, despite the almost exclusive focus of both scholarly research and popular interest on the latter. Just like eastern *naskh*, Maghribī round scripts originated and developed in the same period when new forms of cursiveness were being devised by scribes and calligraphers throughout the Arabic-speaking world, to suit the needs of increasing numbers and new categories of book users living in what have been called “the world’s most bookish societies”.<sup>3</sup> The material presented here, whose importance clearly goes beyond its palaeographic features, will hopefully attract the attention of textual historians and philologists, and many more elements concerning the transmission, production, and consumption of Maghribī manuscripts will emerge also thanks to the data here collected. This small, yet necessary contribution to the understanding of one of the many facets of medieval Arabic written culture has been driven by the conviction that, as Van Koningsveld wrote, “[...] manuscripts are much more than *texts* only. They are human artefacts and documents as well, reflecting the cultural history of the groups among which they were copied, studied, bought, and sold”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> HIRSCHLER 2012, 1.

<sup>4</sup> VAN KONINGSVELD 1991, 94-95.



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