

Al-Nuwayrī's classification of Arabic scripts

by Adam Gacek

A number of classical and post-classical Arabic texts on penmanship have come down to us. Some of them have been edited and translated, some are known to exist in manuscript, and still others, reported in various sources, are yet to be discovered¹. At the same time, many studies of varying calibre have been written on penmanship by both Islamic and European authors. Despite this, we are far from having a clear picture of the development of various Arabic scripts, their relationship to each other and their appellations. The root of the problem lies in the classical and post-classical literatures of the various Islamic regions. For, as A. D. H. Bivar rightly observes, 'Like other branches of Arabic technical literature (e.g. archery), calligraphy shows in certain periods traces of a divided tradition, the compiler and the practitioner being no longer the same. Thus writers, perplexed by the constantly changing fashions and terminology, lost touch with the practical meaning of the technicalities in their sources, understanding them only in hollow etymological terms'².

This, of course, does not mean that this literature should be ignored. On the contrary, if we are to arrive at a clearer picture of Islamic calligraphy, the available literature ought to be carefully studied and subsequently confronted with dated specimens, preferably those of master calligraphers. Furthermore, the attempt at reconstructing the picture will be more meaningful if it is done for certain geo-political regions and periods of Islamic history. This would enable us to differentiate between, for example, *al-Riqā'* as practised in Mamluk Egypt and *al-Riqā'* as practised in the Persianate world. The correct identification of various scripts, as well as their nomenclature, will remain a great dilemma, unless stylistic differences of region and period have been properly understood and isolated³.

The text presented below has been found quite by chance and as far as we know is not known to those whose interest lies in Arabic calligraphy. It was composed by Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb AL-NUWAYRĪ, an Egypt historian and polymath, born in 677/1278 in Qūṣ, a small village situated north of Luxor. He was in the service of Sultan al-Nāṣir and died in Cairo in 733/1333⁴. At first sight he seems an unlikely candidate to have written anything about penmanship. Yet, when piecing together his biographi-

cal data, one learns that al-Nuwayrī must have been quite a skilled penman. Ibn Taghrībirdī reports, for example, that he practised the so-called 'proportioned writing' (*al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb*), copied three gatherings (*karārīs*) a day and executed *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī eight times, each time selling it for 1,000 dinars: quite clearly a considerable amount of money in those days⁵. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have included a section on penmanship in his *opus magnum* entitled *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*⁶.

This short text, one of the earliest of Mamluk writings on penmanship, should be looked at in the context of other works of the period, namely those of Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, al-Qalqashandī, al-Hitī and al-Ṭibī⁷. It supplies us with much additional information on the scripts, their names and relationship to each other, as well as some of their features. Of significance here is the classification itself based on the idea of fundamental (*aṣl*) and derived (*far'*) scripts. The author quite rightly talks about the five primary scripts (*al-aqlām al-khamsah*) and not the so-called *sittah* (i.e. *al-aqlām al-sittah*), for the simple reason that *al-Rayḥān* is not an *aṣl*-script but a derivative of *al-Muḥaqqaq*.

AL-NUWAYRĪ'S CLASSIFICATION

'The final stage of learning how to write concerns proficiency of penmanship (*kitābat al-tajwīd*). It is the basis (*aṣl*) of all that we have written before. The person who wants to attain it has to master the [different] scripts (*aqlām al-kitābah*) and acquire knowledge of their rules, as laid down by al-Wazīr Abū 'Alī ibn Muqlah⁹, when he 'arabised' the writing by transforming it from its *Kūfī* form to its new form, and elaborated on by 'Alī ibn Hilāl al-Kātib, known as Ibn al-Bawwāb¹⁰.

This knowledge of scripts is based on five principal hands (*al-uṣūl al-khamsah*): *qalam al-Muḥaqqaq*, *qalam al-Naskh*, *qalam al-Riqā'*, *qalam al-Tawāqī'* and *qalam al-Thuluth*. These five are the primary scripts from which other scripts branch off. God willing, we shall mention those later. The reasons for, and etymology of, their appellations should [first] be mentioned. It is said that *al-Muḥaqqaq* was so named because it is the foundation of penmanship (*aṣl al-kitābah*) and requires

exactness (*taḥqīq*) in the execution (*waḍ'*) and the composition (*tarkīb*) of the letters¹¹; *al-Naskh*, because books are copied in it, and it was developed as the means most suitable for their transcription (*naskh*) on account of the straightness of its lines, the fineness of its letters and the uniformity of its constituent parts¹²; *al-Riqā'*; because it was used for writing messages (*riqā'*) for everyday purposes — do you not see how much beauty there is in them? If they were written in a script other than this, they would not be well-regarded by people¹³; *al-Tawāqī'*, because it was used for writing decrees (*tawāqī'*) issuing from caliphs and kings¹⁴; *al-Thuluth*, for writing edicts (*manāshīr*), which were written on [paper etc. of] the *thuluth* format (*qaṭ' al-thuluth*)¹⁵. These are the reasons for giving these scripts the above names.

Each of the above-mentioned scripts (*al-aqlām al-khamsah*) branches off into other scripts, since each script can have its large (lit. thick, *ghalīz*), small (lit. light, *khafīf*) and median (*mutawassīṭ*) variety¹⁶. Thus, *al-Muḥaqqaq* branches off into *Khafīf al-Muḥaqqaq* and *al-Rayḥān*¹⁷; from *al-Naskh* is derived *al-Matn*, which is its larger version, *al-Ḥawāshī*, which is its smaller version, and *al-Manthūr*, which separates one word from another with a [long] blank space¹⁸; *al-Riqā'* branches off into *al-Ghubār*, which is its smaller variety, like *al-Ḥawāshī* in relation to *al-Naskh*¹⁹, and is used for writing on small pieces of paper (*mulatṭafāt, baṭā'iq*), as well as *al-Muqtarin*, which is employed for writing in pairs of lines (*saṭrān muzdawijān*)²⁰, although this can be done in another script than this, but then it is called differently; in addition, *al-Riqā'* is characterised by 'chaining' of its letters (*musalsal*): *al-Tawāqī'* [also] has its letters 'chained' by means of thin hairlines (*tash'īrāt*)²¹. From *al-Thuluth* and *al-Muḥaqqaq* stems *al-Ash'ār*²².

There is also *al-Dhahab* (lit. gold), which may be written either in the form of *al-Thuluth* or *al-Tawāqī'*, but without the hairlines, because of its *tarmīk* in a colour other than the gold. (The *tarmīk* is a process of outlining a letter with a very fine calamus in a colour other than that used for the letter)²³. There is also *al-Ṭūmār* of the *kāmil* variety, the largest of all scripts, used for writing at the heads of scrolls (*durūj*), and *al-Ṭūmār al-Mu'tād*, i.e. the non-*kāmil*²⁴. These, then, are the primary (*uṣūl*) and derived (*furū'*) scripts. There are also *al-Ṭūr*, *al-Manhaj*, *al-Tamghāwāt* and others...²⁵.

NOTES

¹ A select bibliography of printed Arabic texts on penmanship has been appended to this article. For other works composed on, or of relevance to, this subject see N. Abbott, 'Arabic paleography', *Ars Islamica* 8 (1941), pp. 85-87 and W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der*

königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin, 1887-1899), vol. 1, pp. 9-10. See also Kūrki's 'Awwād, 'al-Khaṭṭ al-'arabī fī āthār al-dārisīn qadīman wa-ḥadīthan', *al-Mawrid*, 15, no. 4 (1986), pp. 377-412.

² See his review of Y. H. Safadi's *Islamic calligraphy* (London, 1978) in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London*, vol. XLII, pt. 3, pp. 564-565.

³ The first attempt to analyse Arabic sources on calligraphy was made by N. Abbott in her two studies: 'Arabic paleography', *Ars Islamica* 8 (1941), pp. 65-104 and *The rise of the North Arabic script and its ḳur'ānic development* (Chicago, 1938). A good and, to our knowledge the only, example of a study concerning a particular region and period is P. Soucek's 'The arts of calligraphy', *The book in Central Asia, 14th-16th centuries*, ed. B. Gray (Paris; London, 1979), pp. 7-34. The problem of nomenclature is Islamic calligraphy was raised by M. U. Zakariya in his paper 'Establishing a correct nomenclature for Arabic scripts', presented to the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Nov. 1982. In view of the importance of attaching the right label to a script, the names used in this and other Arabic sources have been emphasised in relevant footnotes.

⁴ Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī wa-al-mustawfī ba'd al-wāfī*, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf Najātī (Cairo, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 361-362; Ja'far ibn Tha'lab al-Adfuwī, *al-Ṭāli' al-sa'īd*, ed. Sa'd Muḥammad Ḥasan (Cairo, 1966), pp. 96-97.

⁵ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *loc. cit.* That al-Nuwayrī was a practitioner of this art can be seen from a specimen of his handwriting included in Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirkilī, *al-Alām*, 4th ed. (Beirut, 1979), vol. 1, p. 165.

⁶ This thirty-volume work is still in the process of being edited. The relevant section on scripts can be found in vol. 5, pt. 9, pp. 220-223.

⁷ For bibliographical details see *Appendix* nos. 17, 19, 21 and 22. To this list should be added at least two more very important exponents of the art of penmanship, namely al-Ziftāwī and al-Āthārī (nos. 16 and 18). Although now enumerated in the Select bibliography, the two works of al-Ziftāwī and al-Āthārī and a few others came to my notice after this paper had been submitted for publication. Consequently, they are absent, when relevant comments and comparisons are made, in the footnotes.

⁸ It is not clear when the expression *al-aqlām al-sittah* established itself in calligraphic circles. Qādī Aḥmad, for example, states: 'May it not be hidden from the minds of the clear-sighted that Ibn-Muqla was the inventor of the «six styles of writing (*sitta*)' (*Calligraphers and painters*, trans. V. Minorsky, Washington, 1959, p. 56). However, the more likely scenario is that these six scripts (*al-Thuluth, al-Naskh, al-Muḥaqqaq, al-Rayḥān, al-Tawqī', al-Riqā'*) became at some stage the most widely-used scripts. Ḥājji Khalīfah in his section on *al-Khaṭṭ al-'arabī* (*Kashf al-zunūn*, Istanbul, 1941, repr. Beirut, n.d., vol. 1, col. 711) after having mentioned Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī (d. 698/1298) goes on to say, 'and then the six scripts become known among the people'. This view is shared by P. Soucek who says: 'the repeated references to the six scripts as a group does suggest that by the 13th century they had a definable, even predictable, relationship to each other' (*ibid.*, p. 12).

⁹ Full name: Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muqlah (d. 328/940), see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 3,

pp. 886-887, s.v. 'Ibn Muḳla'. For the appraisal of his contribution to calligraphy see N. Abbott, 'The contribution of Ibn Muḳlah to the North-Arabic script', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 56 (1939), pp. 70-83; see also E. Schroeder, 'The so-called Badī' script, a mistaken identification', *Bulletin of the American Institute of Iranian Art and Archeology*, 5 (1937), pp. 146-147; Idem, 'What was the Badī' script', *Ars Islamica*, 4 (1937), pp. 232-248; M. Minovi, 'The so-called Badī' script', *Bull. Am. Inst. Iran. Art*, 5 (1937), pp. 143-146.

¹⁰ Also known as Ibn al-Sitrī (d. 413/1022), see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 3, pp. 736-737, s.v. 'Ibn al-Bawwāb'; see also *The unique Ibn al-Bawwab manuscript, complete facsimile edition of the earliest surviving naskhi Qur'an*. 2 vols. Graz, 1983.

¹¹ The word *muḥaqqaq* (not *muḥaqqiq*) was used in the sense of a standard of excellence, as well as a script (see N. Abbott, *The rise of the North Arabic script*, pp. 28-29).

¹² *Al-Naskh*, not *Naskhī*. This is one of the most abused words in Arabic calligraphy. No Arabic source which I have consulted uses the term *Naskhī*.

¹³ Al-Qalqashandī (*Subḥ al-a'shā*, vol. 3, p. 115) is more explicit when he says that the name is derived from small pieces of paper (*ruq'ah*, pl. *riqā'*) used for short messages.

¹⁴ Al-Qalqashandī uses the term *al-Tawqī'* but says that some people refer to this script in its plural form, namely *al-Tawqī'āt* (*ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 100). The broken plural is also used by Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, al-Hītī and al-Ṭībī. As regards the appellation al-Qalqashandī states that the name is associated with signatures of caliphs and viziers (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁵ Those Arabic sources which have their texts vocalised always use the term *al-Thuluth*, not *al-Thulth*, although from the point of view of grammar, both forms are acceptable. According to al-Qalqashandī (*ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 58) *al-Thuluth* was written on the format of paper called *qaṭ' al-thuluthayn* or *qaṭ' al-niṣf* and not *qaṭ' al-thuluth*; the latter was used for *al-Tawqī'* (*ibid.*, p. 100). As for the appellation, al-Qalqashandī relates two opinions: it was so named because one-third of its lines are straight and two-thirds are curved or because it is one-third of the width of *al-Ṭūmār*, the largest script, whose letter width is equal to twenty-four horsehairs (*ibid.*, pp. 48, 58).

¹⁶ Other words used to express this relationship are, on the one hand, *jalīl*, *kabīr*, *thaqīl*, and, on the other, *ṣaghīr* and *laṭīf*. Thus a script can be referred to as e.g. *Thaqīl al-Thuluth* or *al-Thuluth al-Thaqīl*.

¹⁷ *Al-Rayḥān*, not *Rayḥānī* or *Rīḥānī*. The relation of *Al-Rayḥān* to *al-Muḥaqqaq* is not stated. *Al-Rayḥān* is usually regarded as a smaller relative of *al-Muḥaqqaq*. There is no doubt that *al-Muḥaqqaq* and *al-Rayḥān* are part of the same family. Al-Ṭībī says that both are written with a pen cut obliquely (*muḥarraf*) and that *al-Rayḥān* in relation to *al-Muḥaqqaq* is like *al-Hawāshī* to *al-Naskh* (*Jāmi' maḥāsin*, p. 17). According to M. U. Zakariya *al-Muḥaqqaq* has yet another relative called *al-Maṣāḥif* characterised as being smaller and slightly less stiff (*The calligraphy of Islam*, Washington, 1979, p. 25).

¹⁸ Al-Ṭībī in his *Jāmi' maḥāsin* illustrates *al-Naskh al-Faḍḍāh*, *al-Hawāshī* and *al-Manthūr* (pp. 63, 89, 40). Al-Ṭībī's *al-Naskh al-Faḍḍāh* seems to be synonymous with *al-Matn*, i.e. a larger version of *al-Naskh*. Contrary to some opinions *al-Matn* is not another name for *al-Maṣāḥif*. According to the author of 'Risālah fī al-kitābah al-mansū-

bah' (p. 126) these two scripts were already distinguished by Muḥammad ibn Asad, one of the teachers of Ibn al-Bawwāb.

¹⁹ According to al-Qalqashandī its letter-shapes are those of *al-Thuluth* and *al-Tawqī'*, but it is finer and rounder than *al-Tawqī'* and rarely uses serifs (*tarwīs*) (*op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 115). *Al-Ghubār* is also known as *qalam al-Janāḥ* and *qalam al-Baṭā'iq* because it was used for messages delivered by pigeon-post. It is derived from *al-Riqā'* and *al-Naskh* (al-Qalqashandī, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 128; Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, *Tuḥfah*, p. 100).

²⁰ For a specimen of *al-Muqtarin* see al-Ṭībī, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

²¹ *Al-Tawqī'* and *al-Riqā'* are very much a pair of scripts with close affinities; the joining of letters, especially those which are not normally joined, being their major characteristic. Al-Hītī, when discussing various letter-shapes, refers to *al-Tawqī' al-thuluthīyah* and *al-Tawqī' al-riqā'īyah*, clearly linking together *al-Thuluth*, *al-Tawqī'* and *al-Riqā'* (see his *Umdah*, pp. 12, 17, 21). With *al-Ghubār* they form a group of scripts known as *al-aqlām al-layyīnah* (also *muraṭṭabah* or *muqawwarah*), i.e. the 'soft' or curvilinear scripts, as opposed to *al-aqlām al-yābisah* (also *mabsūṭah*), i.e. the 'dry' or rectilinear scripts whose main representative is *al-Muḥaqqaq*.

²² According to al-Ṭībī *al-Ash'ār* is a hybrid of *al-Muḥaqqaq* and *al-Naskh* and is also known as *al-Mu'annaq* (*op. cit.*, p. 18). See also D. James, 'Some observations on the calligrapher and illuminators of the Koran of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshnagīr' *Muqarnas*, 2 (1984), p. 148 — '*ash'ār* (*tash'ir* in Arabic and Persian usage) normally refers to script that is outlined in hairlike strokes (Arabic *sha'ra*, a 'hair': pl., *ash'ār*). ...'. In view of the definition of *qalam al-Dhahab* given by al-Nuwayrī it may be surmised that al-Nuwayrī would probably like us to say that Ibn al-Waḥīd's script is *al-Dhahab* written in the form of *al-Tawqī'*. (That it is more likely to be *al-Tawqī'* and not *al-Thuluth* see also Zakariya, *op. cit.*, p. 24). As to the *Ash'ār* script, I would rather agree with al-Maqrīzī and say that the Qur'an copied for Baybars al-Jāshnagīr was executed in this script rather than *al-Ṭūmār* (see James, *Ibid.*, 150 and Idem, *Qur'ans and bindings from the Chester Beatty Library*, London, 1980, p. 40).

²³ *Qalam al-Dhahab* takes its name from writing in gold ink. Other appellations of this kind are *qalam al-Bayāḍ*, *qalam al-Muraṣṣa'* and *qalam al-Washy*. Although the word *tarmīk* appears twice in the text in this form, it is most probably a mistake originating from an unpointed text. The word should read *tazmīk* (see James, *ibid.*, pp. 150, 153, 154, 157).

²⁴ *Al-Ṭūmār*'s smaller variety is also known as *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭūmār*, *Khafīf al-Ṭūmār*, *Ṣaghīr al-Ṭūmār* and *al-Khīrfāj* (see Abbott, 'Arabic paleography', p. 91).

²⁵ As regards *al-Tūr*, the editors of *Nihāyat al-arab* think that it is a mistake and the word should read *al-Asṭūr*, the arabicised form of *Asṭūrmār al-Kabīr* (!). Nothing is known about *al-Manhaj*, or could it be *al-Mudmaj* mentioned by Ibn al-Ṣā'igh (p. 39)? *Al-Ṭamghāwāt* probably refers to a chancery script; *ṭamghā* being a variant of *tamghā* and *damghā* and meaning, among other things, 'cachet d'un prince' and 'diplôme du souverain' (J. Th. Zenker, *Turkish-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1866, repr. 1979, p. 309).

APPENDIX

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CLASSICAL AND POST-CLASSICAL TEXTS ON PENMANSHIP

N.B. Those works which have been used by N. Abbott in her *Rise of the North Arabic script* and 'Arabic paleography' have been marked with an asterisk.

*1.

IBN AL-MUDABBIR, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad, fl. 3/9th cent.

'Risālat al-'adhrā', *Rasā'il al-bulaghā*, ed. M. Kurd 'Alī (Cairo, 1946), pp. 236-238. See also Zaki Mubarak, *L'art d'écrire chez les arabes au III^e siècle; étude critique sur la Lettre vierge d'Ibn el-Mudabbir* (Cairo, 1931), pp. 22-25.

2.

AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, fl. 3 9th cent.

'Kitāb al-kuttāb wa-ṣifat al-dawāh wa-al-qalam wa-taṣrīfuhā', ed. Hilāl Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 2. no. 2 (1973), pp. 43-78. Also D. Sourdel, 'Le «livre des secrétaires» de 'Abdallāh al-Baghdādī', *Bulletin d'études orientales*, 14 (1952-54), pp. 115-153.

3.

IBN MUQLAH, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (Abū 'Alī al-Wazīr), d. 328/940

'Risālat Ibn Muqlah', *Calligraphie arabe vivante* by Ḥasan al-Mas'ūd (Hassan Massoudy) (Paris, 1981), pp. [40-41]. — A facsimile ed. of a MS, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah (Ṣinā'āt, 14). See also M. Torki, 'Un text inédit attribué à Ibn Moqla', *Actes du 18^e Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Leiden, 1931), pp. 243-244 (description of the same work on the basis of a MS, Maktabat al-'Aṭṭārīn bi-Tūnis, Or. 672).

*4.

AL-ṢULĪ, Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā (Abū Bakr), d. 335/946

Adab al-kuttāb, ed. Muḥammad Bahjah al-Atharī (Cairo, 1341 H, repr. Beirut, n.d.), passim.

*5.

IBN DURUSTŪYAH, 'Abd Allāh ibn Ja'far, d. 347/958

Kitāb al-kuttāb, ed. Louis Cheikho (Beirut, 1927), pp. 66-76. Also edited by Ibrāhīm al-Samarrā'ī and 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Fatī (Kuwait, 1977), pp. 113-127.

*6.

IBN AL-NADĪM, Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, d. 380/990

Al-Fihrist, various editions, for example, G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871), vol. 1, 4-12; English translation: B. Dodge, *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm; a tenth-century survey of Muslim culture* (New York, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 6-20.

7.

IBN WAHB, Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, fl. 4/10th cent.

Al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān, ed. Aḥmad Maṭlūb and Khadijah al-Ḥadīthī (Baghdad, 1967), pp. 344-349.

8.

IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ', 4/10th cent.

Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', various editions, see e.g. Beirut, 1957, vol. 1, pp. 219-222. English translation: H. G. Farmer, 'An early Arabic treatise on calligraphy', *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions*, 10 (1940-41), pp. 21-26.

9.

IBN AL-BAWWĀB, 'Alī ibn Hilāl, d. 413/1022

'Al-Qaṣīdah al-rā'iyah', *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī* by Zayn al-Dīn Nājī (Baghdad, 1968), p. 372. Also in al-Ṭibī's (q.v.) *Jāmi' maḥāsīn*, pp. 19-20. English translation in *The calligraphy of Islam; reflections on the state of the art* by Mohamed U. Zakariya (Washington, 1979), p. 14. For commentaries on *al-Rā'iyah* see *Sharḥ Ibn al-Wahīd 'alā Rā'iyat Ibn al-Bawwāb*, ed. Hilāl Nājī (Tunis, 1967), and 'Sharḥ al-manzūmah al-mustaṭabah fī 'ilm al-kitābah' (an anonymous compilation comprising the comments of Ibn al-Wahīd and Ibn Baṣīṣ), ed. Hilāl Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 15, no. 4 (1986), pp. 259-270. See also 'Risālah farīdah li-Ibn al-Bawwāb fī ṣinā'at al-khaṭṭ katabaha ilā ba'd al-ru'asā', *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī*, p. 371.

10.

ABŪ ḤAYYĀN AL-TAWHĪDĪ, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, d. after 400/1009

'Risālah fī 'ilm al-kitābah', *Thalāth rasā'il li-Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Kaylānī (Damascus, 1951), pp. 29-48. English translation: F. Rosenthal, 'Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī on penmanship', *Ars Islamica*, 13-14 (1948), pp. 1-30 (including the Arabic text). Rosenthal's article was reprinted in his *Four essays on art and literature in Islam* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 20-49. See also 'Risālah fī al-kitābah al-mansūbah', ed. Khalīl Maḥmūd 'Asākir, *Majallat Ma'had al-Makḥūṭāt al-'Arabīyah*, 1 (1955), pp. 121-127 (a treatise likely to have been composed by Abū Ḥayyān).

*11.

IBN BĀDĪS, al-Mu'izz, d. 454/1062

'Umdat al-kuttāb wa-'uddat dhawī al-albāb', ed. 'Abd al-Sattār al-Ḥalwajī and 'Alī 'Abd al-Muḥsin Zakī, *Majallat Ma'had al-Makḥūṭāt al-'Arabīyah*, 17 (1971), pp. 68-77. English translation: M. Levey, 'Mediaeval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. 52, pt. 4 (1962), p. 41 (a confusing rendering of the Arabic).

12.

IBN AL-SĪD AL-BAṬALYAWSĪ, 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad, d. 521/1127

Al-Iqtidāb fī sharḥ adab al-kuttāb (Beirut, 1973), pp. 87-90.

13.

IBN SHĪTH AL-QURASHĪ, 'Abd al-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī, fl. 6/11th cent.

Ma'ālim al-kitābah wa-maghānim al-iṣābah, ed. Qusṭanṭīn al-Bāshā al-Mukhlīṣī (Beirut, 1913), pp. 52-61.

14.

AL-ḤAMAWĪ, Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh, d. 626/1228

Mu'jam al-udabā' (= *Irshād al-arīb ilā ma'rifat al-adīb*), ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Rifā'ī (Cairo, 1936-38), pt. 6, p. 60.

15.

AL-NUWAYRĪ, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (Sharaf al-Dīn), d. 733/1333

Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab (Cairo, 1933-, repr., n.d.), vol. 5, pt. 9, pp. 220-223.

16.

AL-ZIFTĀWĪ, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Alī) d. 806/1403-4

'Minhāj al-iṣābah fī ma'rifat al-khuṭūṭ wa-ālāt al-kitābah', ed. Hilāl Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 15, no. 4 (1986), pp. 185-248.

*17.

AL-QALQASHANDĪ, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, d. 821/1418

Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā' (Cairo, 1963, repr., n.d.), vol. 3, pp. 1-222; vol. 6, pp. 194-195. See also *Daw' al-ṣubḥ al-musaffar* (abridgement of *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*), ed. Maḥmūd Salāmah (Cairo 1906, pp. 181-191 (in particular).

18.

AL-ATHĀRĪ AL-QURASHĪ, Sha'bān ibn Muḥammad (Zayn al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd), d. 828/1425

Al-'Ināyah al-rabbānīyah fī al-ṭarīqah al-sha'bānīyah', ed. Hilāl Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 8, no. 2 (1979), pp. 221-284.

*19.

IBN AL-ṢĀ'IGH, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Yūsuf, d. 845/1441-2

Tuḥfat ulī al-albāb fī ṣinā'at al-khaṭṭ wa-al-kitāb, ed. Hilāl Nājī (Tunis, 1967). This work, under the title 'al-Lum'ah fī 'ilm al-khaṭṭ', was ascribed to Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakrī (d. 952/1545) and translated by Edward Robertson in his 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān on calligraphy', *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* (Glasgow Univ. Oriental Society) (Glasgow, 1929), pp. 57-83. Robertson's translation used by N. Abbott covers pp. 23-76 (of the above Arabic edition) only. The same text can be found in *Mizān al-khaṭṭ* (= *Mizān ul-hatt*), six treatises on calligraphy by Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī Afandī, known as Ḥakkāk zādah, a Turkish calligrapher who died 1268/1852 (Istanbul, 1986), pp. 1-39.

20.

AL-SINJĀRĪ, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, fl. 846/1442

'Biḍā'at al-mujawwid fī al-khaṭṭ wa-aṣūlih', ed. Hilāl Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 15, no. 4 (1986), pp. 249-258. Also in *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī* by Zayn al-Dīn Nājī (Baghdad, 1968), pp. 392-395.

21.

AL-HĪTĪ, 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Alī, d. 891/1486

Al-'Umdah, risālah fī al-khaṭṭ wa-al-qalam, ed. Hilāl Nājī (Baghdad, 1970).

22.

AL-ṬĪBĪ, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, d. after 908/1502-3

Jāmi' maḥāsin kitābat al-kuttāb (= *The kinds of Arabic calligraphy according to the method of Ibn al-Bawwab*), ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Beirut, 1962).

23.

ṬĀSHKUBRĪZĀDAH (*Ṭāshköprüzāde*), Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā, d. 968/1560

Miftāḥ al-sa'ādah wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyādah fī mawḍū'āt al-'ulūm (Hyderabad, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 75-91.

*24.

ḤĀJĪ KHALĪFAH (KĀTĪB ČELEBĪ), Muṣṭafā ibn 'Abd Allāh, d. 1067/1657

Kashf al-zunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa-al-funūn, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1835), vol. 3, pp. 149-157. Another edition: Istanbul, 1941 (repr. Beirut, n.d.), vol. 1, col. 707-714.

25.

AL-ṢAYDĀWĪ, 'Abd al-Qādir, fl. before 12/18th cent.

'Waḍḍāḥat al-uṣūl fī al-khaṭṭ', ed. Hilāl Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 15, no. 4 (1986), pp. 159-172. Also extracts in *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī* by Zayn al-Dīn Nājī (Baghdad, 1968), pp. 388-391.

26.

AL-ZABĪDĪ, Muḥammad Murtaḍā, d. 1205/1790

'Ḥikmat al-ishraq ilā kuttāb al-āfāq', *Nawādir al-makḥūṭāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo; Baghdad, 1954), vol. 5, pp. 50-99. A study on the above work is under preparation by David James. It is to be published shortly by Oxford University Press in the series 'Oxford Studies in Islamic Art'.

27.

AL-RIFĀ'Ī AL-QASTĀLĪ, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (Abū al-'Abbās), d. 1256/1840

'Nazm la'ālī' al-simṭ fī ḥusn taqwīm badī' al-khaṭṭ', ed. Hilāl Nājī, *al-Mawrid*, 15, no. 4 (1986), pp. 173-184.

WORK IN PROGRESS

a

AL-NAḤḤĀS, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (Abū Ja'far), d. 338/950

'Umdat al-kuttāb', being edited by 'Abd al-Qaddūs Abū Ṣāliḥ of Jāmi'at Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd al-Islāmīyah, Riyāḍ (see *Akḥbār al-Turāth al-'Arabī*, no. 23, 1986, p. 21).

b

MĪR 'ALĪ al-Tabrīzī, d. 819/1416

'Al-Mashq fī khaṭṭ al-Nasta'liq' (a late 17th century Arabic translation), being edited by Bashrā 'Abd al-Mahdī of al-Mu'assasah al-'Āmmah lil-Athār wa-al-Turāth bi-Baghdād (*Akḥbār*, no. 16, 1984, p. 21).

c

'Amm ibn Khaldūn fī ṣinā'at al-kitābah', being edited by Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī of the University of Cairo (*Akḥbār*, no. 3, 1982, p. 19).