Arabic Typography in the Netherlands: A Brief Introduction

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Citation

Vrolijk, A. (2014). Arabic Typography in the Netherlands: A Brief Introduction. *Txt*, *1*(1), 146-160. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/30061

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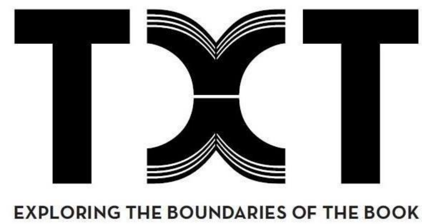

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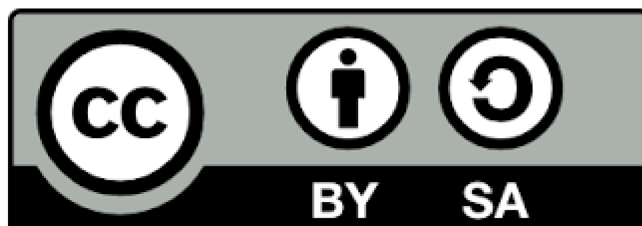


232

ب والابن والروح القدس الاله
الواحد *

ن الجليل التلميذ الرسول يوحنا
ي حبيب ربنا يسوع المسيح *

الفصل الاول *

1 البدء كان الكلمة والكلمة
كان عند الله والله هو
2 الكلمة * كان هذا قديما
3 عند الله * كل به كان
وبغيره لم يكن شيء مما
4 كان * وبه كانت
الحياة والحياة هي نور
5 اضا في الظلمة والظلمة لم تدركه ۞
6 ارسل من الله اسمه يوحنا هذا جاء

يوح

8 للشهادة ليشهد للنور لي
9 النور بل ليشهد للنور ۞
10 يضي لكل انسان ات الي
11 والعالم به كون والعالم
12 وخاصته فلم تقبله * قا
سلطانا ان يصيروا بني الل
13 ولبس هم من دم ولا من
14 لكن ولدوا من الله ۞
فينا ورأينا مجده مجدا م
15 الممتلي نعمة وحقا ۞ يوحنا
هذا الذي قلت انه ياتي ب
16 مني ۞ ومن امتلايه نحن
17 نعمة * من اجل ان النا
والحق وجبا بيسوع المس
الفصل
18 الله لم يره احد قط الابن الو
19 ابيه هو خبر ۞ وهذه شها
اليه من يروشليم كهنة ولا
20 انت * فاعترف ولم ينكر
21 فسالوه فمن انت ايلياء فقال
22 كلا * فقالوا له فمن انت
23 ارسلونا مادا تقول عن نفسك
الصارخ في البرية سهلوا طريق

Arabic Typography in the Netherlands

A Brief Introduction

By Arnoud Vrolijk
Curator of Oriental Manuscripts and
Rare Books at Leiden University Library

Few people realise that Arabic is the only living language to have been taught almost continuously in the Netherlands for more than four centuries.[1] Admittedly, Latin, Greek and Hebrew have a longer track record, but these three languages were closely linked to the Dutch cultural and religious heritage. Arabic, on the other hand, was the language of an alien and—more often than not—hostile territory and religion. Nevertheless, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century there were several good reasons for learning Arabic. Typically for a mercantile state such as the Dutch Republic, trade was one of the more important considerations. In 1599, only four years after the first Dutch expedition to Muslim Southeast Asia, the governors of Leiden University appointed Philippus Ferdinandus, a Jewish convert from Poland, as the first official lecturer of Arabic, expressing the opinion that 'the Arabic language is much used in those parts'. Since the man in question died before he could take up his position, however, this came to nothing.[2] In 1612 sultan Ahmed I of the Ottoman Empire granted extensive privileges to the Dutch Republic, the so-called Capitulations, which opened up much of the Middle East up for commerce. A similar treaty had been concluded with Morocco two years earlier. Other important reasons for learning Arabic were the ambition to refute Islam by the force of arguments ('know thine enemy'), or to foster relations with Christian minorities in the Middle East. Furthermore, Arabic was presumed to be useful for grasping the deeper meaning of Biblical Hebrew, a cognate language. And indeed, until the late nineteenth century it was perfectly normal for ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church to have a smattering of Arabic. Finally, there was a lively interest in the scientific literature of the Arabic-speaking world in disciplines such as geography, history, mathematics, astronomy and medicine.

Naturally, the study of Arabic required the production of grammars, dictionaries and textbooks, but the Arabic script could only be printed with a proper typeface.[3] This could not be realised, however, without first solving two basic problems. The first is that Arabic runs from right to left, but this posed no major obstacle to printers who were already used to printing Hebrew. The second is that Arabic is a cursive script. This means that the letters cannot be printed separately with spaces in between like the Latin alphabet; instead, they have to be linked together in the manner of Latin-script handwriting. Since printing was formerly based on the principle of movable metal type, however, this was impossible to achieve before the era of computer typesetting. In early printed Arabic books there are clearly discernible gaps between letters that are supposed to be joined smoothly. In addition, Western typeface designers have invariably failed, and still generally fail, to meet the high standards of Arabic calligraphy, one of the best-developed and most respected artistic traditions in the Islamic world. This was one of the main reasons why the art of printing was slow to penetrate the Muslim world: printed books were not only regarded as un-Islamic, but also as un-aesthetic. Likewise, they were regarded as a potential threat to the vested interests of the professional scribes, usually members of the lower clergy, whose livelihood depended on copying manuscripts.

Curiously, the first printed Arabic alphabet in a Western book survives in a woodcut by the Dutch artist, engraver and publisher Erhard Reuwich or Rewijc from Utrecht, who established a press in Mainz, Germany. In 1483-1484 Rewijc accompanied the canon Bernhard von Breydenbach from Mainz on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Von Breydenbach's travel account, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, was printed and illustrated by Rewijc in 1486. The book was also translated into Dutch, most probably by Rewijc himself, under the title *Die heylighe beuarden tot dat heylighe grafft in Iherusalem* (1488, see the Arabic woodcut on fol. 84b).[4]

The modest beginnings of Arabic printing with movable type, however, lie in Italy. In 1514, some sixty years after Gutenberg's Bible, Pope Julius II ordered the Venetian printer Gregorio de' Gregorii to print an Arabic *Horologion* or book of daily prayers for the Greek Orthodox Christians of the Levant, a religious minority among whom the Roman Catholic Church sought to increase its influence. It is the first full-text Arabic book ever to be printed with movable type, the design of which is generally regarded as clumsy and ill-balanced.[5] Before 1531 Guillaume Postel, a pioneer of Arabic studies in France, printed the first Arabic grammar in Europe, *Grammatica Arabica*, which fared even worse in terms of typographical design. After such isolated attempts, however, things were quick to improve. In 1584 Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici arranged for the establishment of a professionally equipped Arabic printing press in Rome which was superior to all earlier attempts, the Typographia Medicea. The press, the first of its kind, engaged the services of the best printer of his day, the Frenchman Robert Granjon, who designed supremely elegant Arabic typefaces which even now do not fail to impress. The press published a plethora of religious and secular scientific works destined for Arabic-speaking Christians in the Middle East, some of them illuminated with exquisite engravings.[6]

Raphelengius

This first success, backed by the power and wealth of the Catholic Church, was of course difficult to emulate in the Protestant North. The first who tried and succeeded was the Fleming Franciscus Raphelengius or Frans van Ravelingen, born in 1539 in Lannoye in present-day French Flanders.[7] This son-in-law of the famous Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin came to Leiden in 1585 to take over the Leiden branch of Plantin's printing office. A year later he was appointed professor of Hebrew at Leiden University, and on an informal basis he also taught Arabic. In 1595 he presented his own Arabic type specimen, admittedly based on the example of its Roman precursor. This *Specimen characterum Arabicorum Officinae Plantinanae Franc*[*isci*] *Raphelengij*, printed in Leiden, forms the beginning of a long tradition of Arabic typesetting and printing in the Netherlands which continues until this day.[8] (see Fig. 1)

Raphelengius's printing establishment was based in his own home on the current site of 'Sociëteit Minerva' at Breestraat 50, Leiden, on the corner of the Vrouwensteeg. A commemorative plaque from 1965 marks the site.[9] Raphelengius shared his premises with the typefounder Thomas de Vechter, and it must be assumed that he also cast types for Raphelengius. The cutting of the types has been attributed to the engraver and cartographer Jodocus Hondius (1563-1612), but there is no material evidence for this.[10] Raphelengius's type, which was extremely large and therefore un-economical in its use, was to remain a white elephant. Its first practical application was in an influential study on the calendar systems of the world by

Alphabetum Arabicum. 4

t	Ta	a	Alph
thd	Thda	b	Be
y	Ain	t	Te
gh	Ghain	th	The
ph	Phe	g	Gim
qe	Caph	hh	Hha
k	Kaph	ch	Cha
l	Lam	d	Dal
m	Mim	dh	Dhal
n	Nun	r	Re
h	He	z	Zain
v	Vau		Sin
j	Ie	sc	Scin
			Sad
la	Lam Aliph	dh	Dhad

Fig. 1. Franciscus Raphelengius's Arabic type specimen, *Specimen characterum Arabicorum* (Leiden, 1595), p. 4. Leiden UB, 21521 F.

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), *De emendatione temporum* (1598), which was finished only after Raphelengius's death in 1597. The Leiden Plantinian printing office was continued by Raphelengius's sons, who produced a few more books in Arabic, most notably the *Grammatica Arabica* of Thomas Erpenius (see below) and an Arabic-Latin dictionary prepared by their father (1613).

Erpenius

Thomas Erpenius (1586-1624) finished his liberal arts study at Leiden University in 1608 and subsequently departed on a European tour to study Arabic, first to England and afterwards to Paris, then the most important centre of Arabic studies in

Fig. 2. *Novum D.N. Jesu Christi Testamentum Arabice* by Thomas Erpenius, typeset at his own 'Typographia Erpeniana' (Leiden, 1616), pp. 232-233. Leiden UB, 842 D 36.

Western Europe. Staying there until late in 1611, he travelled onwards to Venice and Germany, returning to Leiden in the spring of 1612.[11] In May 1613 Erpenius was the first to occupy the newly-founded chair of Arabic, an event that has been widely commemorated at Leiden in 2013. Erpenius's profound knowledge of Arabic, gathered mainly in France with some assistance from a native speaker of Arabic, found its fruition in his most important work, *Grammatica Arabica*, printed by the Raphelengius brothers (1613). Based on the grammatical models of Latin, the language that students and scholars were most familiar with, this grammar would become a bestseller that survived well into the nineteenth century. In 1614 Erpenius published his last book with the Raphelengius press, a collection of two-hundred Arabic proverbs.[12] In the spring of that year the Arabic typesetter of the Plantinian office died and the Raphelengius brothers gave up printing in Arabic. The press shut down in 1619.

This sudden absence of printing facilities in Arabic greatly interfered with Erpenius's ambitious publishing programme of Arabic text editions and learning aids. Driven by necessity he designed his own Arabic typeface, which was probably cut and cast by Bartholomeus and Arent Cornelisz. van Hogenacker, who owned a typefoundry in the Haarlemmerstraat.[13] Punches and matrices survive in the collection of Museum Enschedé, Haarlem.[14] Erpenius did his typesetting from home in the Breestraat (currently no. 21), most likely with the help of trained compositors, and his publications proudly bear his own imprint 'In Typographia Erpeniana

Linguarum Orientalium'. But the actual printing and distribution of his books was left to professional Leiden printers/booksellers such as the Raphelengius brothers and after 1619 Joannes Maire. After 1625 Erpenius's publications were also offered by the well-known firm of Elzevier, the official academy printer, who owned a printing press and bookshop next door to the Academy building on Rapenburg.[15] With his elegant and economical typeface Erpenius published, among others, a re-edition of his own grammar (*Rudimenta linguae Arabicae*, 1620), an Arabic edition of the New Testament (*Novum D.N. Jesu Christi Testamentum Arabice*, 1616) and a history of the Islamic world by a medieval Christian Arab author, which was finished by his most gifted student Jacobus Golius (*Historia Saracenica*, 1625). (See Fig. 2)

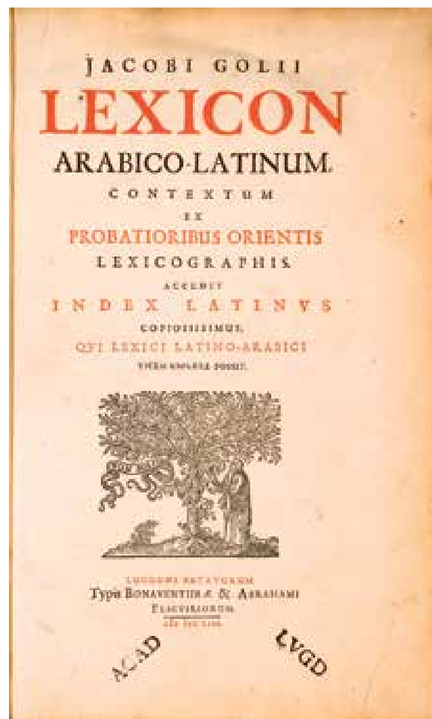


Fig. 3. Jacobus Golius's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, printed in Leiden by Elzevier (1653), title page. Leiden UB, 842 A 1.

The Elzeviers

Erpenius's career came to an untimely end in 1624, when he succumbed to the plague at the age of forty. During his last days he was nursed by his favourite student Jacobus Golius (1596-1667), who in 1625 succeeded him in the chair of Arabic at Leiden.[16] Erpenius's collection of Oriental manuscripts was sold to the Duke of Buckingham, whose widow donated them to the University of Cambridge. His printing materials, however, could be preserved for the academic community in Leiden: they were sold to Isaac Elzevier, the academy printer, for the staggering amount of 8,000 Dutch guilders.[17]

Unlike his predecessors, Golius was to take full advantage of the diplomatic network of the young Dutch Republic and he travelled widely in the Islamic world. In 1622-1624 he was attached to a diplomatic mission to Morocco and not long afterwards, in 1625-1629, he travelled in the company of a Dutch consul to Aleppo and later to Istanbul. During his travels Golius acquired Middle Eastern manuscripts wherever he could, both for the University of Leiden and for his private library.[18] His collection provided him with the necessary source materials to compose his *magnum opus*, the *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*. This impressive folio edition was finally published in 1653 by the Leiden firm of Elzevier. The title page bears the names of Bonaventura and Abraham Elzevier, both of whom died in 1652, but the printing was only finished under the short-lived

VITA ET RES GESTÆ
SULTANI,
ALMALICHI ALNASIRI,
SALADINI,
ABI MODAFFIRI JOSEPHI F. JOBI. F. SJADSI.
AUCTORE
BOHADINO F. SJEDDADI.
Nec non EXCERPTA ex Historia Universali
ABULFEDÆ,
Easdem Res Gestas, reliquamque Historiam temporis, compendiose exhibentia.
Itemque specimen ex Historia Majore
SALADINI,
Grandiore cothurno conscripta
AB
AMADODDINO ISPAHANENSI.
Ex MSS. Arabicis
ACADEMIÆ LUGDUNO-BATAVÆ
Edidit ac Latine vertit
ALBERTUS SCHULTENS.
Accedit
INDEX COMMENTARIUSQUE GEOGRAPHICUS
ex MSS. ejusdem Bibliothecæ contextus.
LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud SAMUELEM LUCHTMANS
Academiæ Typographum. 1732.

Fig. 4. Albert Schultens, *Vita et res gestae Sultani … Saladini*, printed in Leiden by Luchtmans (1732), title page. Leiden UB, 855 A 8.

partnership of Jan and Daniel Elzevier.[19] (see Fig. 3)

Needless to say, the types used were those of Thomas Erpenius. The general lay-out and the systematic arrangement of the lexicographical material set the standard for all subsequent dictionaries of its kind. Even today, modern bilingual Arabic dictionaries do not look much different from the 1653 Golius edition. In the long run, however, the dictionary grew scarce and at a certain point prodigious amounts were paid for copies, especially if they were annotated by well-known Arabists. Only in 1830-1837 a modernised version of Golius's Arabic-Latin dictionary was published under the same title in Germany by Georg Wilhelm Freytag (1788-1861). Not long after, Latin gave way to the modern vernaculars of Europe in Arabic lexicography.[20]

The Elzeviers, however, were not the only Leiden printers of Arabic in their time. In 1646 Johann Georg Nissel (Johannes Georgius Nisselius) came from the Palatinate to study Oriental languages at Leiden under Jacobus Golius. He tried in vain to obtain a position at a Dutch university; instead, he started his own Oriental printing office in 1654 with types bought from Elzevier. When he died in 1662 his printing materials were taken over by his friend, the Danish Orientalist Theodorus Petraeus from Flensburg (c. 1630-1672), who also tried his luck in Leiden and afterwards in Amsterdam. In 1663 he printed his own work *Clavis linguae Arabicae, Persicae, et Turcicae* in Leiden. A curiosity is his one-leaf proof of an Ottoman Turkish Bible translation made in Istanbul by Ali Ufki Bey alias Albertus Bobovius.[21]

Stubborn survivor

In the eighteenth century the Erpenius typeface remained popular in the academic world, perhaps out of necessity. In 1713 the Elzevier press with the bulk of its equipment, including the Arabic typeface of Thomas Erpenius, was taken over by the Leiden printer and bookseller Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733), who became university printer in 1715.[22] However, he was never very active as a printer of Oriental publications. In Leiden the Erpenius typeface was used to more advantage by the firm of Luchtmans ('S. et J. Luchtmans'). Jordaan Luchtmans (1652-1708) established a printing shop in 1683, and his son Samuel (1685-1757) secured an appoint-

ment as printer to the University in 1730 as a successor to Van der Aa.[23] Meanwhile, Arabic studies at Leiden had gone into rapid decline after Golius's death in 1667, only to be revived in 1729 at the arrival of Albert Schultens (1683-1750), who had previously taught in Franeker. In 1732, for instance, Samuel Luchtmans used the Erpenius typeface in Schultens's edition of a biography of sultan Saladin, *Vita et res gestae Sultani almalichi alnasiri Saladini* […]. (see Fig. 4) Albert Schultens's fame, however, rests mainly on his publications in which he expounded his favourite theory that Arabic is the twin sister of Biblical Hebrew, and that Arabic, the 'Handmaiden of Theology', was of invaluable assistance in the exegesis of the Old Testament. Three successive generations of Schultenses held the chair of Arabic at Leiden, the last of them, Hendrik Albert, dying in 1793.[24] The contribution of Luchtmans in the field of Oriental studies should, however, not be overrated, as their production of Oriental titles never rose above ten percent of the total output.[25]

In other eighteenth-century university cities in the Netherlands such as Utrecht, Harderwijk, Franeker and Groningen, Arabic studies held their own, albeit on a more modest level, thus creating a certain demand for Arabic printing. The Erpenius typeface proved a stubborn survivor in the provinces. In Utrecht the printer Willem Broedelet (active 1692-1719) used the Erpenius typeface for publications by the well-known Islam scholar Adriaan Reland (1676-1718), who is most famous for his enlightened study of Islam, *De religione Mohammedica* (1705, 2nd ed. 1717). The best example of an Arabic book published by Broedelet is Reland's edition of a text by Burhan al-Din al-Zarnuji (d. 1223), *Ta'lim al-muta'allim*, which appeared in 1709 under the title *Enchiridion studiosi* ('The student's handbook').[26] Around 1770 Everard Scheidius (1742-1794), professor of Oriental languages at the now defunct university of Harderwijk, purchased Erpenius types from a certain

POEMA
ABI ISMAEL
TOGRAI
QUOD VULGO DICI SOLET,
LAMICUM PERSARUM.

1 *Firmitas mentis servavit me a lapsu,*
Et decus Virtutis ornavit me in neglecto statu.
2 *Glo-*

Fig. 5. H. van der Sloot, *Poëma Tograi*, printed in Franeker by Willem Coulon (1769), p. 3. Private collection.

Abraham Elzevier (not to be confused with the two earlier Leiden printers of that name).[27] He set up his own Arabic typesetting workshop, but had his books

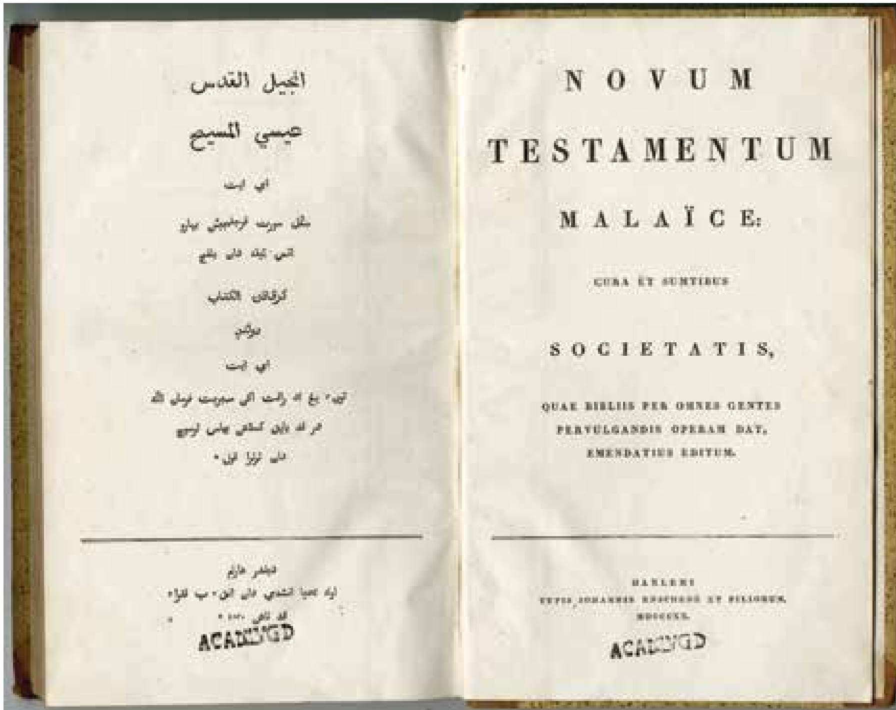
printed by local Harderwijk printers such as Jan Moojen or Mooien (active 1737-1795). Scheidius became professor of Oriental languages at Leiden after the death of the last Schultens in 1793, but died the following year. Farther to the north, the Erpenius typeface was used in the Friesland university town of Franeker by printers such as Wibius Bleck (active 1695-1739) and after him Willem Coulon (active 1727-1782). How worn and shabby the types could become in the hands of printers who apparently had no access to the matrices is shown by Henricus van der Sloot's *Poëma Tograi ex versione Latina Jacobi Golii, cum scholiis et notis*, printed by Coulon in Franeker in 1769 (see Fig. 5). In Groningen the German-born Nicolaus Wilhem Schroeder (1721-1798) taught Oriental languages from 1748 to his death. Although he published mainly on Hebrew subjects, his ideas on the affinity between Hebrew and Arabic, a popular topic at the time, ensured that Arabic made a frequent appearance in his books. The best example is perhaps *Observationes selectae ad origines Hebraeas* (1762), printed in Groningen with the Erpenius types by Jacobus Bolt (active 1744-1796).[28] Of course these are merely preliminary observations. So far, the tale of Arabic printing outside Leiden remains largely untold.

All ways lead to Enschedé

Next to the Erpenius typeface, however, there were other serious efforts in the Netherlands to create new printing materials for Arabic, predominantly in Amsterdam. Some of these efforts were undertaken by famous publishers such as Joan Blaeu (d. 1673), of *Atlas Maior* fame, who had an Arabic typeface made, allegedly by the French engraver Nicolas Briot (d. 1646). This typeface passed to the Amsterdam firm of Ploos van Amstel in 1780.[29] Besides the Blaeu typeface, Ploos van Amstel also carried a second Arabic hailing from a predecessor.[30] In 1742 the German punch cutter Johan(n) Michael Fleischman(n) (1707-1768) , based in Amsterdam, cut an Arabic typeface for the firm of Wetstein.[31] In The Hague, the De Groot/Van Staden Company also carried their own Arabic typeface. In 1798 this establishment was taken over by the Amsterdam firm of Harmsen & Co.[32] With some adaptations, the eighteenth-century Arabic typefaces were frequently, or perhaps even predominantly, used for Malay-language printing in, or destined for, the Netherlands East Indies.

In the course of time all these type foundries or printing offices were gradually absorbed by the Haarlem firm of Enschedé, established in 1703. In the first decades of the nineteenth century this progressive takeover left them without any serious competition in the field: Wetstein was bought up in 1743, Ploos van Amstel followed suit in 1799, Harmsen & Co. in 1818.[33] Moreover, in about 1770-1773 Johannes Enschedé had also obtained the antiquated Erpenius typeface, apparently from the heirs of Pieter van der Aa, but he added it to his typographical collection rather than using it for commercial purposes.[34] As a result, Enschedé carried an impressive assortment of more or less antiquated Arabic typefaces until the early twentieth century, as is shown by their Oriental type specimen (*Letterproef van Oostersche schriften*) from 1907.[35]

Yet Enschedé was not wholly dependent on the work of their forerunners in the Netherlands. In 1816 the recently-

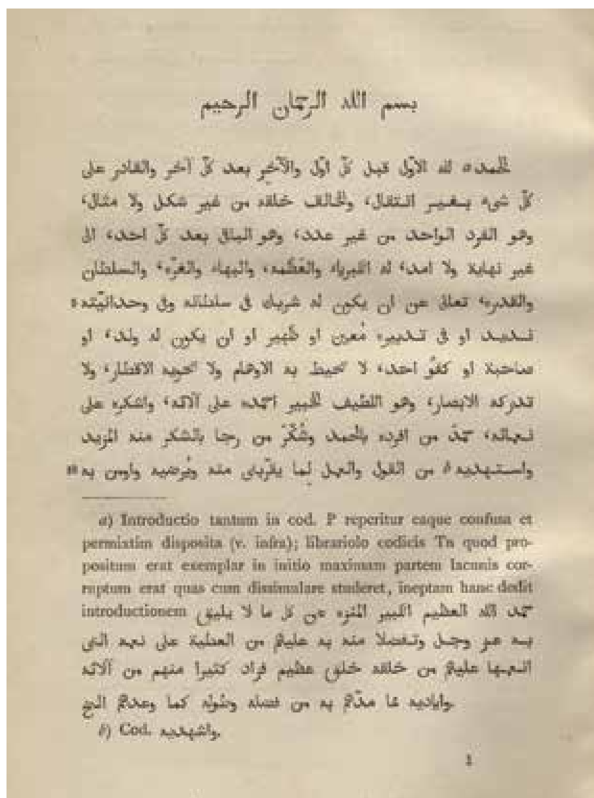

انجيل القدس
عيسى المسيح

NOVUM
TESTAMENTUM
MALAÏCE:
CURA ET SUMTIBUS
SOCIETATIS,
QUAE BIBLIIS PER OMNES GENTES
PERVULGANDIS OPERAM DAT,
EMENDATIUS EDITUM.

Fig. 6. Malay Bible translation of the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, printed in 1820-1824 by Enschedé, Haarlem. Title pages in Latin and Malay of vol. 3, New Testament. Leiden UB, 859 C 20.

founded Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap (Dutch Bible Society, NBG), also based in Haarlem, requested Enschedé to develop a new Arabic typeface for a new edition of the seventeenth-century Malay Bible translation by Melchior Leijdecker (1645-1701). Apparently Enschedé turned to an English engraver named J. Colwell (further details unknown), who provided a set of matrices three years later.[36] The translation, *Biblia, id est Vetus et Novum Testamentum Malaïce*, appeared in 1820-1824 under the editorship of the Amsterdam Orientalist Joannes Willmet (1750-1835)[37] (see Fig. 6). The same typeface occurs in a type specimen from the typefoundry Lettergieterij "Amsterdam" voorheen N. Tetterode, who obtained it in 1851 from the foundry of Broese & Comp. in Breda. In this specimen it is ascribed to the Amsterdam professor Taco Roorda (1801-1874), who would have designed it in 1845.[38] Actually, the typeface in question was designed by the printer and typefounder Richard Watts (d. 1844) for the sister organisation of the Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap, the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), founded in London in 1804. An early example of Watt's use of this typeface is an Arabic edition of the New Testament, *Kitab al-'ahd al-jadid ya'ni Injil al-muqaddas* (London, 1821).[39]

Finally, in the years 1885-1886 Enschedé's punchcutter G. Schlegelmilch made a large Arabic font for title pages under the supervision of the Leiden professor of Arabic Michael Jan de Goeje (1836-1909, see also below), perhaps the last creative contribution of the Dutch to Arabic typography in the lead-type era. For this design De Goeje reportedly used the Leiden manuscript Or. 1217, a large-



بسم الله الرحمان الرحيم

الحمد a لله الأول قبل كل أول والآخر بعد كل آخر والقادر على
كل شيء بغير انتقال، والخالق خلقه من غير شكل ولا مثال،
وهو الفرد الواحد من غير عدد، وهو الباقي بعد كل احد، الى
غير نهاية ولا امد، له الكبرياء والعظمة، والبهاء والعزة، والسلطان
والقدرة، تعالى عن ان يكون له شريك في سلطانه وفي وحدانيته
نديد او في تدبيره معين او ظهير او ان يكون له ولد، او
صاحبة او كفو احد، لا تحيط به الاوهام ولا تحويه الاقطار، ولا
تدركه الابصار، وهو اللطيف الخبير احمده على آلائه، واشكره على
نعمائه، حمد من افرده بالحمد، وشكر من رجا بالشكر منه المزيد
واستهديه b من القول والعمل لما يقربني منه ويرضيه وأومن به

a) Introductio tantum in cod. P reperitur eaque confusa et permixtim disposita (v. infra); librariolo codicis Tn quod propositum erat exemplar in initio maximam partem lacunis corruptum erat quas cum dissimulare studeret, ineptam hanc dedit introductionem حمد الله العظيم الكبير المنزه عن كل ما لا يليق به عز وجل وتفضلا منه به عليهم من العطية على نعمه التي انعمها عليهم من خلقه خلق عظيم فراد كثيرا منهم من آلائه واياديه عا مدهم به من فضله وطوله كما وعدهم النح
b) Cod. واشهديه.

1

Fig. 7. Al-Tabari's *Annales*, published by Brill, Leiden, in 1879-1901. Opening page, vol. 1, p. 1. Leiden UB, OOSHSS 813 C 1.

almost entirely in his hands, although Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis, whose mother was a Luchtmans, was appointed director in 1821.[42]

Johannes Brill, who also continued to print under his own name, most probably started out with the Arabic typefaces supplied by Enschedé. This is evident from an 1825 Arabic edition by Hendrik Arent Hamaker, professor of Oriental languages at Leiden from 1822 to his early death in 1835. The Arabic part of the book is set in a font that bears a strong resemblance to the typeface cut by Fleischman for Wetstein in 1742, while the Arabic passages in the Latin commentary are in the BFBS font created in England by Richard Watts and used by Enschedé for the publications of the Dutch Bible Society.[43]

Around 1830, however, Johannes Brill suddenly veered away from the time-honoured fonts of Enschedé and opted for a modern typeface of German origin, which had been introduced a decade or so earlier by the Prussian Government printing office in Berlin, the Deckersche Geheime Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei ('Decker's Secret Supreme Royal Court Printing Office').[44] The typeface was not only more economical, but also appealed more to the tastes of the time. The Decker archives were largely destroyed in the Second World War, so its origin cannot wholly be established, but it appears that the 'Royal types' (Typi Regii),

format Qur'an from Persia.[40] The firm of Koninklijke Enschedé still survives today as a highly sophisticated printer of security documents, post stamps and banknotes. Their private museum is a magnificent repository of the firm's long history in typography and printing. [41]

The 'Brill types'

Until the turn of the nineteenth century Luchtmans carried on its business much as usual, but in 1802 they appointed the Leiden printer Johannes Brill (1767-1859) as their general manager. When the last direct male descendant of the Luchtmans family died in 1812 the business was left

as they were called, made their first appearance in Germany in the early 1820s. A very early, or perhaps the earliest, instance of Johannes Brill's use of this new typeface is a thesis by the Leiden Orientalist Hendrik Engelinus Weijers (1805-1844), published in 1831. No one knows who suggested the use of the German typeface to Johannes Brill, but it could have been Weijers's professor Hamaker, who had not only published with Luchtmans before, but who as an expert Orientalist must have been aware of recent developments in neighbouring Germany.[45]

In 1848 the Luchtmans firm was acquired by Johannes Brill's son Evert Jan (1812-1871), who continued the business under his own name, E.J. Brill. After his death the firm was taken over in 1872 by the theologian Frans van Oordt (1840-1903) and the secondary school teacher Frans de Stoppelaar (1841-1906), who retained the name of E.J. Brill.[46] It was only under the partnership of these two that the company acquired its international reputation as a major publisher of Oriental editions. This could never have happened without the support of the indefatigable philologist Michael Jan de Goeje (1836-1909), professor of Arabic at Leiden and the most prolific text editor of his time. Under his editorship a team of Arabic scholars from all over Europe reconstructed the Annales or world history of the early-tenth-century scholar Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari and published the text at Brill's (1879-1901). (Fig. 7) With nearly 10,000 pages in print and set in the Berlin types, it is the largest Arabic text edition ever to have been produced in the Western world. Eventually, and doubtless under the influence of Brill's domination in Oriental publishing, the Berlin typeface became generally known as the 'Brill types' or 'Leiden types', and its true provenance was all but forgotten.

In the late nineteenth century Brill also adopted other foreign typefaces, such as the one developed by the Leipzig firm of Carl Tauchnitz for the stereotyped Qur'an edition of Gustav Leberecht Fluegel, Corani textus Arabicus, first published in 1834 and republished several times in the nineteenth century. Another case in point is the typeface designed by the American missionary Eli Smith (1801-1857) and cut by Homan Hallock (1803-1894) for the press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Beirut, Lebanon. These types, also cast by Tauchnitz and first introduced in Beirut in 1841, found their most prominent use in the translation of the Bible by the same Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck, which was published for the first time in Beirut between 1860 and 1865 and reprinted innumerable times. With its eight or nine hundred different letters and ligatures the typeface initially proved to be beyond the technical capacity of the Brill typesetters, but eventually they mastered it and in later years used it quite frequently, for instance in the monographs printed for the E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, co-published with Luzac in England. Rather incongruously, Brill's most prominent use of this Bible typeface was A.J. Wensinck's massive Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane (1936-1988), a concordance to the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (Hadith), the most sacred source of Islamic doctrine after the Qur'an.[48]

However, for those who are familiar with the impeccably designed Catalogue de caractères étrangers or Specimens of type faces published by Brill at regular

intervals, and who know that Brill took genuine pride in their Oriental typesetting, it may come as a surprise that Brill never actually created their own fonts. This misunderstanding is partly of Brill's own making, since they never indicated the sources of their Oriental typefaces. In 1989 Brill gave up printing altogether and continued exclusively as a publisher.[49]

Epilogue

Johannes Brill's adoption of foreign typefaces from c. 1830 onwards all but ended the independent role of the Dutch in mainstream Arabic typography. In the course of the twentieth century almost all printers of Arabic texts in the Netherlands, including Brill, switched to the hot metal typography of the Linotype, Monotype and Intertype companies and subsequently to photosetting.[50] Those who could not afford a professional typesetter, mainly those toiling away in Academe, often took recourse to photographic reproductions of hand-typed texts. Many Arabists of the older generation still remember the popular Erika typewriter from the former German Democratic Republic and the IBM Selectric typewriter with its ball-shaped font element.

The age of digital typesetting is beyond the scope of this contribution, but one name deserves to be mentioned: Thomas Milo. A Dutch Arabist and a veteran army officer, he has spent most of his career designing Arabic fonts for computer typesetting that are Unicode compatible and, more importantly, reflect both the rigid requirements of classical Islamic calligraphy and the indigenous tradition of Arabic typesetting in the Middle East during its heyday in the late-nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. His company Decotype was founded in 1985.[51] A prototype from his company was acquired by the Microsoft Corporation and still comes with the MS Word program. Although his approach has been criticised in some circles as historicising, his new package Tasmeem has been met with great approval in the Arab world. So after all, Arabic typography in the Netherlands is not dead, it liveth. ■

Notes

1. On the general history of Arabic studies in the Netherlands now see A. Vrolijk and R. v. Leeuwen, *Arabic studies in the Netherlands: A short history in portraits, 1580-1950,* (Leiden etc.: Brill, 2014). For the beginnings of Arabic studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth century see W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1931). The eighteenth century is well covered in J. Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen in Nederland in de 18e en de 19e eeuw* (Purmerend: Muusses, 1929).
2. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, pp. 47, 52; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, p. 30.
3. On the history of printing and typesetting in Middle Eastern languages in Europe see E. Hanebutt-Benz, D. Glass, G. Roper et al. (eds), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution: Eine interkulturelle Begegnung = Middle Eastern languages and the print revolution: a cross-cultural encounter* (Westhofen: WVA Verlag Skulima, 2002). For Oriental type specimens from the Low Countries see E. Hanebutt-Benz, 'Schriftproben orientalischer Schriften aus Europäischen Giessereien = Type specimens of Oriental scripts from European type foundries', ibid, pp. 20-22. On early Arabic printing in Europe see G. Roper, 'Early Arabic printing in Europe = Arabischer Frühdruck in Europa', ibid., pp. 129-150.
4. Ibid., pp. 129-130; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, pp. 13-14.
5. *Kitâb salât al-sawâʿî* ([Fano (i.e. Venice): Gregorio de' Gregorii, 1514]); G. Roper, 'Early Arabic printing in Europe', in E. Hanebutt-Benz et al. (eds), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution*, p. 131; A. Vrolijk, 'The oldest printed

book in Arabic: The 1514 Melkite Horologion in the Scaliger collection', *Omslag: Bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut* (2009) 3, pp. 3-4.

6. H.D.L. Vervliet, *Cyrillic & Oriental typography in Rome at the end of the sixteenth century: An inquiry into the later work of Robert Granjon, 1578-90* (Berkeley CA: Poltroon Press, 1981); A. Tinto, *La Tipografia Medicea Orientale* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1987).
7. On Raphelengius see Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, pp. 36-45; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, Arabic studies, pp. 17-20.
8. John A. Lane, R. Breugelmans and J.J. Witkam, *The Arabic type specimen of Franciscus Raphelengius's Plantinian Printing Office* (Leiden: University Library, 1997). (Small publication of the University Library). For a general overview of printing in 17th and 18th-century Leiden see P. Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's schild: Het Leidse boek in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw', in A. Bouwman, B. Dongelmans, P. Hoftijzer, E. van der Vlist and C. Vogelaar (eds), *Stad van boeken: Handschrift en druk in Leiden, 1260-2000* (Leiden: Primavera Pers and Uitgeverij Ginkgo, 2008), pp. 155-265. For Dutch printers and their periods of activity I consulted the register of printers maintained by the University of Utrecht at drukkers.library.uu.nl.
9. E. v. Gulik and H.D.L. Vervliet, *Een gedenksteen voor Plantijn en Van Raphelingen te Leiden, waarin opgenomen de Catalogvs Librorvm residorvm Tabernae Raphelengianae* (Leiden: Brill, 1965).
10. R.M.Th.E. Oomes, *Thomas de Vechter: A typefounder around 1600* (Haarlem: De Priegelpers, 1990), pp. 8-9; Lane et al., *The Arabic type specimen*, p. xix.
11. On Erpenius see Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, pp. 59-118; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, pp. 31-40.
12. A. Vrolijk, 'The Prince of Arabists and his many errors: Thomas Erpenius's image of Joseph Scaliger and the edition of the Proverbia Arabica, 1614', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 73 (2010), pp. 297-325.
13. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, pp. 78-81; Ch. Enschedé, *Typefoundries in the Netherlands from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century*, transl. H. Carter and N. Hoeflake, ed. L. Hellinga (Haarlem: Stichting Museum Enschedé, 1978), pp. 68-75.
14. Museum Enschedé, Haarlem, Inv. No. HBA 5839 - MTR 15. See Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, pp. 36, 38, with special thanks to the Museum's curator Johan de Zoete.
15. R. Breugelmans, *Fac et spera: Joannes Maire, publisher, printer and bookseller in Leiden, 1603-1657* (Leiden: [s.n.], 2003), pp. 14-16.
16. On Golius see Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, pp. 119-183; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, pp. 41-48.
17. A. Willems, *Les Elzevier: Histoire et annales typographiques*, repr. (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1974), pp. xlvii-xlviii; Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, pp. 116-118; Enschedé, *Typefoundries in the Netherlands*, pp. 70-71. On the firm of Elzevier and their typefaces now see P. Hoftijzer (intr.), *A tale of fonts, 1658-1713: Exploring the heritage of the Elzeviers* [With facsimiles of Elzevier type specimens from 1658 and 1713] (Amsterdam, Leiden: Elsevier, 2013).
18. J.J. Witkam, *Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) en zijn handschriften* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980). (Oosters Genootschap in Nederland).
19. Willems, *Les Elzevier*, p. 179 No. 723: 'Par un louable sentiment de piété filiale, les éditeurs ont tenu à ce que cet ouvrage, véritable monument typographique, dont l'impression avait duré des années et avait offert des difficultés extraordinaires, parût sous le nom de leurs parents décédés.'
20. A. Vrolijk, 'Hoeveel geluk kun je hebben? Jacobus Golius en zijn Lexicon Arabico-Latinum', in J. Bos and E. Geleijns (eds), *Boekenwijsheid: Drie eeuwen kennis en cultuur in 30 bijzondere boeken. Opstellen bij de voltooiing van de Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2009), pp. 121-136.
21. On Nisselius and Petraeus see Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars*, pp. 211-215; A. Vrolijk, J. Schmidt and K. Scheper, *Turcksche boucken: The Oriental collection of Levinus Warner, Dutch diplomat in seventeenth-century Istanbul* (Eindhoven: Lecturis, 2012), pp. 84-88.
22. On Pieter van der Aa see P.G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733): Leids drukker en boekverkoper* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999). On the sale of the Elzevier press and its equipment see p. 27, and more recently Hoftijzer, *A tale of fonts*, pp. 25-27.
23. On the Oriental imprints of the Luchtmans family see J.J. Witkam, 'De Leidse uitgeverij Luchtmans en de oriëntalistiek', *Omslag: Bulletin van de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden en het Scaliger Instituut* (2008) 1, pp. 2-4.
24. On the three Orientalists of the Schultens family see J. Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 37-103; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, pp. 73-89.
25. Witkam, 'De Leidse uitgeverij Luchtmans', p. 3.
26. On Reland see Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 12-21; Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, pp. 65-72, see p. 70 for an illustration of *Enchiridion studiosi*.

27. Personal communication from Mr Johan de Zoete, curator of Museum Enschedé, Haarlem. The museum preserves documents concerning the purchase under Inv.nr: HBA 05839 (Archiefdoos 180/05). On Scheidius's activities as an Orientalist and a publisher see also A. Vrolijk, '"Entirely free from the urge to publish": H.A. Schultens, J.J. Reiske, E. Scheidius and the 18th-century attempts at an edition of the proverbs of al-Maydani', in *S. Brinkmann and B. Wiesmüller (eds), From codicology to technology: Islamic manuscripts and their place in scholarship* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009), pp. 59-80.
28. On N.W. Schroeder see Nat, *De studie van de Oostersche talen*, pp. 74-79.
29. *Letterproef van Oostersche schriften uit de Lettergieterij van Joh. Enschedé & Zonen te Haarlem* ([Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé & Zonen, 1907]), p. viii. See also the type specimen, p. 5; Enschedé, *Typefoundries in the Netherlands*, pp. 117-119. There is no mention of either Joan Blaeu or Briot in J.A. Lane, M. Lommen and J. de Zoete, *Dutch typefounders' specimens from the library of the KVB and other collections in the Amsterdam University Library with histories of the firms represented* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers; Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1998). For Enschedé's *Letterproef* of 1907 see ibid., p. 100 No 196.
30. *Letterproef van Oostersche schriften*, p. viii, see the type specimen, p. 10; Enschedé, *Typefoundries in the Netherlands*, pp. 380, 384-385; Lane et al., *Dutch typefounders' specimens*, pp. 55-57.
31. *Letterproef van Oostersche schriften*, p. viii, see the type specimen, p. 6; Enschedé, *Typefoundries in the Netherlands*, pp. 216-217; Lane et al., *Dutch typefounders' specimens*, pp. 61-68.
32. *Letterproef van Oostersche schriften*, p. viii, see the type specimen, p. 11; Lane et al., *Dutch typefounders' specimens*, pp. 117-119.
33. Lane et al., *Dutch typefounders' specimens*, pp. 62, 64.
34. *Letterproef van Oostersche schriften*, p. vii; Enschedé, *Typefoundries in the Netherlands*, p. 73 (where the source is regarded as unknown); Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa*, p. 32 n. 87.
35. *Letterproef van Oostersche schriften*, pp. vii-ix, 1-11.
36. Ibid, p. viii (where the name is spelled 'Collwel'), see the type specimen, p. 8.
37. J.L. Swellengrebel, In *Leijdeckers voetspoor: Anderhalve eeuw Bijbelvertaling en taalkunde in de Indonesische talen*, 2 vols. ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974-1978), vol. 1, pp. 23, 27. Swellengrebel mentions this re-edition of Leijdecker's translation, but ignores the typographical history. With special thanks to my colleague Dr Marie-Odette Scalliet, who drew my attention to this publication.
38. *Proeven van Oostersche schriften, Lettergieterij "Amsterdam" voorheen N. Tetterode* (Amsterdam, [1910]), pp. 37, 39, 41; Lane et al., *Dutch typefounders' specimens*, pp. 123-125, 217 (No. 1285).
39. N. Green, 'The development of Arabic-script typography in Georgian Britain', *Printing history* (2010), pp. 15-30, via www.academia.edu/1268414/ (19 May 2014).
40. *Letterproef van Oostersche schriften,* pp. viii-ix, 4.
41. See the museum's website http://www.museumenschede.nl/ (19 May 2014).
42. On the history of Luchtmans and Brill see S. van der Veen, Brill: *325 years of scholarly publishing* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). For the transition between Luchtmans and Brill and its aftermath under E.J. Brill see pp. 33-55.
43. H.A. Hamaker, *Incerti auctoris liber de expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriae …*, by pseudo-Waqidi (Leiden: S. et J. Luchtmans, 1825).
44. On Brill's typography and its foreign origins see A. Vrolijk, '"The usual Leiden types": A compositor's personal account of Brill's Arabic printing in the late 19th and early 20th century', to appear in R. Gleave (ed.), *Books and bibliophiles: Bio-bibliography in the Muslim World*. Studies in *honour of Paul Auchterlonie* (Oxford: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, *forthc*.). The first to identify the Berlin origin of the typeface was Rijk Smitskamp, a former employee of Brill, who in 1992 took over Brill's antiquarian bookshop in Leiden and continued it until 2006 under the name 'Het Oosters Antiquarium'. On Rijk Smitskamp see L. Buskens, 'Vanishing Orientalism in Leiden', *ISIM Review* 18 (2006), pp. 44-45.
45. H.E. Weijers (ed.), *Specimen criticum: Exhibens locos Ibn Khacanis de Ibn Zeidouno, ex mss. Codicibus Bibliothecae Lugd. Bat. et Gothanae editos* (Leiden: S. et J. Luchtmans, 1831).
46. On E.J. Brill, Van Oordt and De Stoppelaar see Van der Veen, *Brill*, pp. 37-74.
47. On De Goeje see Vrolijk and Van Leeuwen, *Arabic studies*, pp. 103-113.
48. Vrolijk, 'The usual Leiden types'.
49. Van der Veen, *Brill*, pp. 144-145.
50. T. Nemeth, 'Arabic type-making in the machine age: The influence of technology on the form of Arabic type, 1908-1993' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Reading, 2013). See pp. 287-299 for the groundbreaking ideas of the Dutchman Dr Edward Bernard Plooij, which were, however, never applied commercially.
51. www.decotype.com. (19 May 2014).