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‘*Dichos bien hermanados*’. Towards a Typology of Mudéjar and Morisco Multiple-Text Manuscripts

Abstract: The main reason behind the compilation of (multiple-text manuscripts) MTMs by Mudéjares and Moriscos was the need to provide access to a basic knowledge of Islam to as many people as possible and to preserve it in spite of increasingly harsh conditions. However, functions and readers were not the same, which is the reason why I suggest a typology of Mudéjar and Morisco MTMs in two groups: on the one hand, a collection of chapters and/or small fragments copied from various works from either an earlier or a contemporaneous date; and on the other hand, the MTMs that ceased to have this miscellaneous character and began to be perceived—and therefore transmitted—as unitary manuscripts: at some point, both the copyist and the reader inevitably ended up thinking that all the texts contained in the codex were actually part of a single unit, in such a way that these MTMs started being copied and used as a unitary volume.

1 Introduction

In 2004, Gumbert clearly defined the difference between miscellaneous manuscripts (in this volume: multiple-text manuscripts, MTMs) and composite volumes by identifying possible codicological units in each codex.¹ A miscellany is a homogeneous volume in which the maker—voluntarily or on order—gathers a series of different texts at a single stroke; the result is a single codicological unit, although the texts may have different origins. This compilation can be thematically coherent (*miscellanea organica*), or lack it (*miscellanea disorganica*).² However, if a volume brings together several codicological units, it is a composite volume. Despite the im-

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¹ Gumbert 2004.

² Petrucci 2004; see also the contribution by Patrick Andrist in the present volume.

portance of this distinction for the history of the production, transmission and reception of the manuscript, the word *majmū'a* is the only one in Arabic to identify all types of manuscripts with collections of texts), whether MTMs or composite volumes. Thus, the rapid identification of the codices' nature in catalogues and studies written in Arabic is hampered. In order to identify dates, places, contents, cultural contexts, functions and uses of the book, and of course its very nature, one would have to consult the preserved manuscript which is not always easily accessible.

Between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century, the written production by the Spanish Muslim communities (Mudéjares and Moriscos)³ is mainly composed by rised MTMs. However, the presence of composite volumes grouped or bound by these communities is very rare,⁴ which is perhaps a consequence of subsequent accidents that caused their loss. Another reason could be that the texts of the former codicological units were copied together on another volume, and the copyists discarded the models since they were no longer necessary.

The approximately two hundred preserved manuscripts that Mudéjares and Moriscos had written or copied were in Arabic or Aljamía (Spanish with some specific linguistic features, written mainly in Arabic script). Most of the latter were actually translations of older Arabic originals.⁵ Can we then state that the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries MTM codices copied already extant Arabic MTMs? It has not been demonstrated that the Mudéjar and Morisco compilations faithfully copied the structure of the Arabic codices from earlier times (see below the quasi-unitary works)⁶. Further research is required, but it seems that the Mudéjar or Morisco compilers⁷ were guided by various purposes to choose the units he needed from various codices and to then copy them into a new MTM which corresponded to his own vision, and that he did so regardless of the source language. It is still unknown when exactly the Arabic-into-Aljamía translations were completed.⁸ However, the

³ It is called 'Aljamiado Literature', and seems to have been produced from the fourteenth century onward, although we only have today copies from the fifteenth through the early seventeenth centuries—this last date being the moment when the Moriscos were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. The manuscripts are either in Arabic or in Aljamía, that is to say Spanish with some specific linguistic peculiarities, being usually written in Arabic letters.

⁴ Harvey 2005, 152 draws an interesting parallel between the Morisco MTMs and the *umbati* ('that which mentions everything'), a present-day Sudanese collection of handwritten papers held together by a string.

⁵ Montaner 2002, 1035-36; Castilla (in press).

⁶ Schmidt 2016, 211.

⁷ It is very easy to find in the bibliography a mention of the translation work of and copying carried out by Mudéjares and Moriscos (see n. 5), but very little attention has been paid to the compiler's work.

⁸ Castilla 2019.

MTMs of this period seem to be the product of the Mudéjar or Morisco compilers' active and original work, which would thus indicate that they were produced between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century.

Therefore, the MTM is the most common codex among the Mudéjares and Moriscos. Its contents result from a selection process of various texts, gathered under the same binding either a) for practical reasons—several texts grouped in a single book in octavo or quarto format, as a portable library; b) for pedagogical reasons; or c) for a mixture of both reasons. The MTMs ultimate goal was to preserve the contents the Moriscos considered most representative of their cultural practices and religious beliefs.⁹ In particular, this is applicable to the sixteenth century, when Spanish Muslims were deprived of their religious, cultural and linguistic identity. These volumes¹⁰ could be seen as 'corpus-organizers'¹¹, which were mainly characterized by their Muslim religious and legal content. Far from the tradition of Arabic encyclopaedism,¹² the Mudéjar and Morisco MTMs reflect a part of these communities' microhistory, which brings them closer to the fourteenth and fifteenth-century vernacular miscellanies of the Western Christian urban bourgeoisie.¹³

My purpose is to provide an approach to the spread of MTMs in Early Modern Muslim Spain through the presentation of a double typology. Group (a): MTMs which are intrinsically miscellaneous: 'an individual collection of texts in one book that contains all its scribe or patron might need for professional or other purposes',¹⁴ and which are therefore a *unicum*. Group (b): MTMs that have ceased to have this miscellaneous character and begin to be conceived—and therefore transmitted—as unitary manuscripts.¹⁵ At some point, both the copyist and the reader inevitably ended up thinking that all the texts contained in the codex formed a single unit, and in this way these MTMs started being copied and used as a unitary sequence.

Despite this distinction in terms of the transmission of the texts, both the MTMs themselves (group a) and the almost-unitary manuscripts (group b) exhibit several shared discontinuities from a material point of view: they show simultaneous

⁹ Linking with what was indicated by Rosenthal 1955, 15 in a much broader context: 'He appears to have considered it as the repository of what he thought was most valuable in the world of literature'.

¹⁰ They can be called miscellanies, compilations, anthologies, multiple-text manuscripts or libraries within a single volume. It is very difficult to find a term that contains the full definition of the nature of the codex in the different geographic and linguistic areas. Friedrich / Schwarke 2016, 16.

¹¹ Bausi 2010.

¹² One of its most ambitious examples is the *Ultimate Ambition in the Arts of Erudition* (*Nihāyat al-arab fi funūn al-adab*). See the recent book by Muhanna 2018.

¹³ Petrucci 2011, 266.

¹⁴ Friedrich / Schwarke 2016, 2.

¹⁵ See n. 6.

changes of support (various kinds of papers, but difficult to distinguish without a specific in-depth analysis)¹⁶, of quire structure (different kinds) and sometimes of scribe (several in the same codex), but they keep the same dimensions, layout, ruling type, decoration and coloured ink(s) throughout the volume from beginning to end. However, the quasi-unitary codices (group b) exhibit more stability than those found in group (a), although less examples from this second group have been preserved.

2 Group (a). MTM: Rearrangement of older contents into new forms

Most of the Morisco MTMs contain a sequence of chapters and/or small fragments copied from various works either from an earlier or a contemporaneous date. They appear in various sizes as far as the number of folios is concerned. The language used is not always the same: a common feature of these manuscripts is actually the coexistence of Arabic, Aljamiado and bilingual units in the same volume. The contents may be varied.

In the religious and scientific communities of Medieval Islamic civilization, there is an ‘intimate alliance between textual transmission and a personal teaching tradition’,¹⁷ reflected in the reading and/or hearing certificates found in some manuscripts as well as in the marginal notes. However, in the whole Aljamiado production, there is no mark in the margins of possible strategies of collation and edition that could have been used to produce these compilations (words such as ‘*balāqā*’ or ‘*ṣaḥīḥ*’, making both reference to the collation process, are not found in these Aljamiado texts).¹⁸ This lack of information is very significant, because it ratifies the hypothesis that a formal higher education was absent within the Morisco communities, as well as the ensuing lack of a structured intellectual elite; therefore, it seems that no one could check that the transmission and copy of a text (especially on legal and religious matters) had been carried out correctly. However, despite this shortage of explicit philological activity indicated in Arabic

16 In this tradition, parchment is absent or has not been preserved, with one single exception: RESC/61.

17 Endress 2016, 171.

18 Neither is there any type of external source on these communities—and I am referring in particular to the *tabaqāt* or bio-bibliographic literature—that may shed light on the way they followed to produce the MTMs.

in the margins, there are some additions and corrections which show a discrete and collaborative collation work (see examples below, Aix 1367, BRAH T19 and BRAH T5). Furthermore, the Morisco compiler is very active, and, as is the case in the Islamic scholarly tradition, he does not only collect, but may also classify, abridge, amplify and add new information, resulting in original compositions.¹⁹ We have to presume that, in order to carry out these tasks, he would have had to have been familiar with the texts he was to reproduce, and this knowledge, in addition to enabling him to arrange, enlarge or abridge them, led him to correct mistakes or explain difficult words; clarify the spelling of a neologism or a place-name; modernize or standardize the way of writing a word or an expression; introduce marks to separate the different chapters, if possible with consistent titling practices, either through spacing, illuminations, different graphic styles and sizes; materialize the distribution of the material thanks to a table of contents. As in the rest of the Arab-Muslim production, it was expected that a good copyist would not limit himself to the reproduction of the model, but would also take care of the editing and mark-up work.²⁰ This is what skilled Morisco copyists would actually do.

We do not know how this work of selection, copying and editing of Morisco manuscripts was carried out: the use of drafts (which were later thrown away as they were no longer useful) is not recorded, but we can at least surmise that the series of units from different models carefully presented in one and the same volume indicate that the copyist made a good advance planning of the *mise en texte* and the *mise en page*.

All the Mudéjar and Morisco MTMs belonging to this group (a) are *unica*: in this kind of production, no two volumes are alike. However, it is not uncommon to find the same units—for the most part short and easy to understand²¹—in various codices. Due to the limited number of subjects and texts transmitted in this type of literature,²² we have to assume that there were not many models available. Where could they be consulted? Was there a fee to read them? Could they be borrowed or were they to be copied *in situ*?

Although the number of model texts is limited, the compilation work is always a novelty, and sometimes, as we will see below, two (or more) MTMs may be quite similar, thus allowing us to perceive that the various units²³ are autonomous. The copyist was interested in the content of each unit because the combi-

¹⁹ Exceptionally, the copyist himself or another copyist also makes corrections (see below).

²⁰ Muñoz 2018, 108.

²¹ Zanón 1995, 366.

²² López-Baralt 2009.

²³ Zanón 1995, 366.

nation of all of them would shape an exclusive volume. He did not care about which of the various Aljamiado translations was using. Actually, the same copyist could rely on different translations of the same text and use them in two similar manuscripts. This leads us to think that the units were interchangeable or substitutable.²⁴ In the same way, the sequence of the same units in two codices can be different: is the internal order of these MTMs relevant? The copyist selected the language(s) in which he wanted to transmit his collection, as well as the size and *mise en page* of the codex, thinking about the reception and uses of the volume.

Two Aljamiado manuscripts, copied in the beginning of the seventeenth century (around 1609), exhibit a very similar selection of contents and may provide some answers:²⁵

1) Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes 1367 (*olim* 1223) is a 228-folios complete copy in octavo format, the folios being covered by a clear Maghribi script with 12 lines per page.²⁶ The same Western paper without any visible watermark is present in the twenty-five quires (2 quinions, 21 senions and 2 septenions) that make up the codex. The parchment binding is modern.²⁷ For the binder, the copyist added a catchword on the lower inner part of the last verso of each quire. There is no other mark, neither a signature nor sign for the middle of the quire.

The beginning of a new text unit (or sub-unit) is underscored by the thicker characters of the script (sometimes with its shafts cut by oblique hatching), by hollow pseudo-kufic epigraphic letters of greater module, which are sometimes coloured in yellow (in the case of the sura titles of the Qur'an), and by the use of a regular script in red. Sometimes, a decorative interlace is also included to indicate the unit change. The homogeneous character of the codex is stressed by the table of contents found at its end and by a colophon in Arabic, in which only the date of 1609 is indicated, without mention of the month, place or the name of the copyist.²⁸

2) The Madrid manuscript, Real Academia de la Historia 11/9415 (*olim* T19), is fragmentary.²⁹ It has lost many of its original components, also at the beginning and end of the codex. It still has 228 folios in quarto format covered by a clear

24 Bausi 2010, 35.

25 A third manuscript codicologically and textually linked with them has to be mentioned here. Castilla (in press).

26 Castilla (forthcoming).

27 The ternions added one at the beginning and one at the end of the blank codex, made from different paper, indicate that the manuscript was bound at least once after the original binding and before the current one.

28 تَمَتْ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَحْسَنْ عَوْنَهُ وَصَلَى عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ '1609' تَلِيمَنْ.

29 Edited by Martínez de Castilla 2005.

Maghribi script with 15 lines to the page.³⁰ One and the same Western paper, with watermark and countermark, is found throughout the twenty-four fragmentary quires that have been preserved—those that are still intact being senions. The binding is also modern. Like Aix 1367, the only marks for the binder that were added by the copyist are the catchwords in the lower internal part of the last verso of each quire (there is again no signature nor sign for the centre of the quire).

The same techniques as those observed on Aix 1367 were used to identify a new unit (or subunit) and the decorations are employed for similar purposes. However, the fragmentary and disordered T19 does not currently contain any table of contents (whereas Aix 1367 does), although the copy may have included one in its original state. This prevents us from comparing it with that preserved in Aix 1367.

Judging by their very similar script and contents they transmit, both copies were produced in the same workshop. They contain forty-five (T19) and fifty-six (Aix 1367) chapters related to Islam: extracts from the Qur'ān, edifying stories (called hadith), prayers, instructions about the call to the prayer and about what has to be said during the prayer itself. There are also other chapters, which could be considered significant and are found in only one of the manuscripts: T19 is alone in transmitting fragments of *al-Mukhtaṣar* by al-Ṭulayṭūlī,³¹ others from the *Bidayāt al-hidāya* by al-Ghazālī, chapters about magic, etc.; Aix 1367 is unique in transmitting invocations (*du'ā'*) for different purposes, including those by Adam, Abraham, Noah, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad; it also transmits more prayers (see Appendix).

The table of contents of Aix 1367 has been preserved. However, in most of the Morisco production, there is no trace of this component. Although it was a miscellany, there was an obvious decision to show that the codex was a 'closed' product, a point underlined by the use of the word 'libro' ('book'). At the beginning of the table of contents, we can actually read: 'Rúbrica del presente libro' ('Table of contents of the present book').³² The way in which the contents are handled and the role of the compiler are different in this group (a) from what we will observe in group (b).

The presence of the table of contents shows how units and titles were conceived by the copyist. This distribution does not always coincide with our own

³⁰ Castilla (forthcoming).

³¹ Aix 1367 only contains a chapter where it is explicitly stated that it originated from *al-Mukhtaṣar* (unit 26, see Appendix).

³² The word 'libro' has been used once before within the manuscript in order to introduce an intertextual reference. See below.

interpretation—and understanding—of the relationship between these contents. As already indicated, the identification of the units in the body of the text, both in Aix 1367 and T19, is mainly done by the use of a thicker calamus for the first word(s), but the delimitation of the units and the method is not always the same. In many instances, either a blank line or a decorated interlace that runs the full width of the writing surface have been added with a vegetal decoration on the outer margin. However, the table of contents does not provide an interpretation of an MTM since the information itself, which was introduced by the copyist in one place or another, exhibits variants (as far as foliation,³³ titles or even division of materials are concerned). A modern reader could not replicate a Morisco manuscript's table of contents since he interprets a series of units that do not exist for the compiler through the *mise en page* and *mise en texte*; the modern reader would therefore consider as a single text what is presented in the table of contents as two or three units.

In the case of the text of 'el perguéno' ('the call to prayer', Fig. 1), fol. 80v of T19 begins with a red, black and white interlace (which may correspond to the end of the previous unit), after which the text's first sentence follows directly: 'Este es el perguéno del aşala'; while fol. 59v of Aix 1367 begins directly with the title 'El perguéno' identified with a thicker stroke, the letter of a larger module, and the shafts cut by small oblique strokes. In both cases, automatically afterwards, the Arabic text begins with vocalization in red; however, T19 systematically uses a thicker calamus for the transcription of the Arabic texts, while in Aix 1367 the calamus is the same for both languages. After the completion of the Arabic text, Aix 1367 inserts a blank line, implying that a new unit begins. By comparison with the contents of the index itself and of the layout of the same text in T19, we know that this unit does not stop here; the only difference we detect is that there is a change in the language and the next text is in Aljamía. This change of language implies a different use of coloured ink; then, the vocalization in both codices stops being written in red and is added in the same dark brown colour as the rest of the script; in the case of T19, a finer calamus is used for the Aljamiado text.

³³ A discrepancy between the folio number indicated in the index and the actual place where the text is written amounts (not in all cases) to a unit. The double page, i.d. each verso facing a recto, is apparently the meaningful reference for the copyist and would then be numbered as such and not according to the current recto/verso conception.

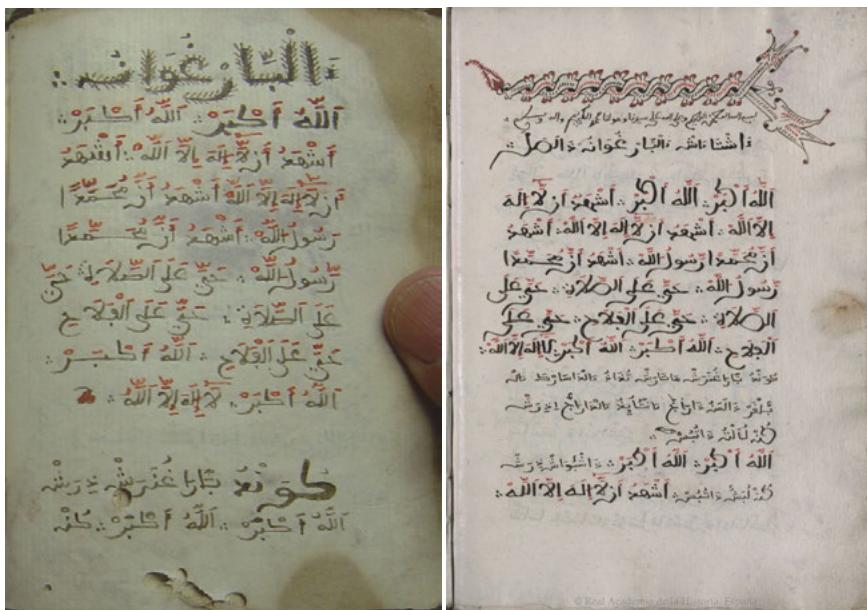


Fig. 1: Right: Madrid, BRAH T19, fol. 80v. 'Este es el-pergüeno del-aşala'. © BRAH
 Left: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes 1367, fol. 59v. 'El pergüeno'. © Bibliothèque Méjanes

For the correct identification of the sub-sections of this unit—which I have dubbed ‘Pergüeno and *alīqāma* of the *aşala*’, and which is well delimited by two interlaces—, T19 uses a thicker script, but in the same module as the rest of the text; nevertheless, Aix 1367 does not distinguish between the titles and the subtitles of this unit: both are identified by a thicker script, with the shafts decorated by oblique strokes (Fig. 2).

This absence of a clear difference between titles and subtitles in the text of Aix 1367 is reflected in its table of contents. Thus, instead of finding a single entry (as it should be understood in T19 because of the title), in Aix 1367 three different entries appear at the same level: ‘El pergüeno’, ‘su rogaría’ and ‘el-*alīqāma*’. This absence of a clear beginning and end of the unit, both in the body of the text and in the table of contents, will undoubtedly make legibility and comprehension difficult for the user. A modern scholar will also struggle to grasp the codex’s internal organization that the compiler had in mind.

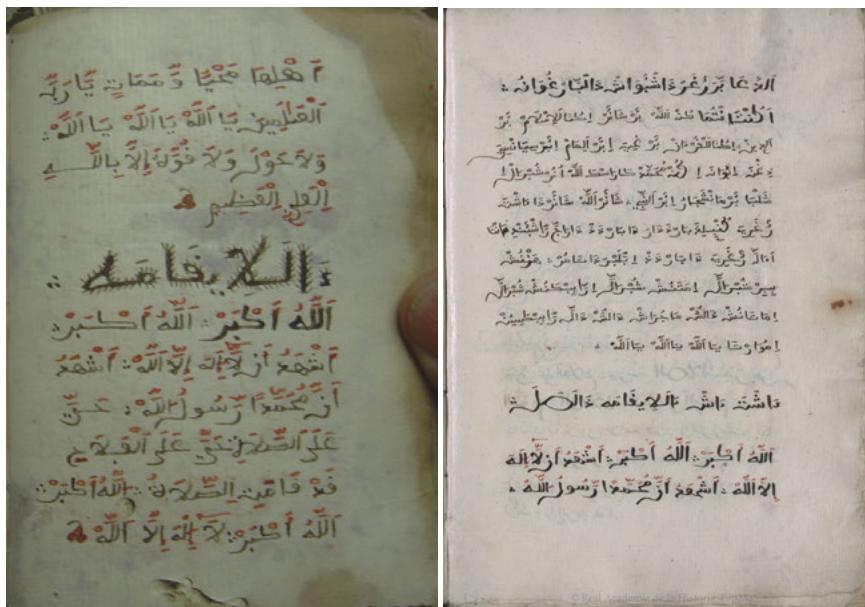


Fig.2: Right: Madrid, BRAH T19, fol. 81v. 'Esta es el aliqāmah del-aṣala'. © BRAH

Left: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes 1367, fol. 61v. 'El aliqāmah'. © Bibliothèque Méjanes

Aix 1367 and T19 have twenty-two units in common (see Appendix in bold). All of them copy from the same model, except the prayer in the chapter dedicated to the 'fadas' ('aqīqa), a kind of celebration taking place seven days after a child's birth (no. 23 of Aix 1367). However, the rest of the fadas' chapter in both manuscripts belongs to the same textual tradition.³⁴ The case of the prayer underlines the importance of the unit;³⁵ it thus yields a 'modular' product, which can be built, disarticulated, and re-built again in a completely different way according to the specific requirements of each reader.³⁶ The same copyist (or a person belonging to the same workshop) selected the sections he considered appropriate for the patron's needs and for the intended use that was to be made of the book. Without any other surviving textual witnesses of the same tradition, it has not yet been possi-

³⁴ The chapter related to the 'fadas' has been found in other manuscripts too, but the textual transmission is unstable: Aix 1223 (fols 107r–112r), BRAH 11/9495 (*olim* S3) (fols 94–95) in Latin script, BNE 4870 (fols 70–71), RESC/3 (fols 141v–142r), RESC/33 (fols 262r–263r), RESC/53 (fols 247r–248r). See Martínez de Castilla 2010, 339–345.

³⁵ The limits of the unit cannot always be interpreted easily by a modern reader.

³⁶ Maniaci 2004, 79.

ble to explain this chapter's transmission process, seemingly deriving from two different models.

To put forward hypotheses regarding the internal order of an MTM, certainty that its current disposition is identical with the original one is a prerequisite. Since many codices have lost materials, for instance during the process of restoration or re-binding, and the quires were not always put in the correct order, establishing this certainty can be difficult. Even though the disorder evidenced in T19 makes the analysis of the unit's internal order difficult, I have been able to relocate many chapters thanks to a comparative textual and codicological study using Aix 1367.³⁷

Not only do these two codices copy a series of units from the same models, but they also group the different chapters together on two occasions. However, they do not follow the same order: units 38-41 in Aix 1367 (see Appendix) correspond to 9-6 in T19. Both transmit the four units from the same textual tradition in a row, but in reverse order.³⁸ Immediately after text no. 42, Aix 1367 includes four other units, 43-46. These units are also present in T19, following the same order as in the Aix manuscript, but they are found in the first part of the volume (nos 2-5). In other words, Aix 1367 and T19 transmit eight chapters from the same model, and while four of them follow the same order, the other four are in the reverse order. Is this change of internal order meaningful? When and why was it introduced? As a minimum requirement, a third witness would be needed in order to forward a coherent hypothesis.

In any case, the given order is not the result of chance, and it implies a certain coherence. At least that is what the compiler seems to indicate through internal intertextual references. On fol. 105v for instance,³⁹ the copyist of Aix 1367 needed to refer to some chapters he copied previously (fols 58v-59r). Instead of copying them again, after the title 'el *attahiātu* [sic] y el *al-qunūt*', the copyist indicates: '[These chapters] are already in the book: *aliqāma* and *pergue[no]* and are listed in the table of contents, as it has to be'.⁴⁰ Then, although it seems that they had to be mentioned again in that specific place, the copyist preferred not to copy the same contents again and thus made an internal reference to his own volume or 'book', intimating to the reader that, if in doubt, he should consult the index for the location of these chapters and others. However, the title indicated on fol. 105v, 'el *attahiātu* [sic] y el *al-qunūt*', does not appear in the subject index, but under the

³⁷ Martínez de Castilla 2010 and Castilla in press.

³⁸ A codicological analysis shows that this is not a consequence of a later disorder.

³⁹ As part of the unit 22 (see the Appendix).

⁴⁰ 'Ya están en el libro. Y el *aliqāma* y *pergue[no]* y todo como conviene mirará en las rúbricas' (Aix 1367, fol. 105v).

generic title: ‘How to pray’.⁴¹ What is the reason for consciously repeating content in the same volume? Is it the result of bad planning? Or simply of two semantic contexts, where the reader needed to use the same units in a determined order, and the copyist, connoisseur of his book, avoided a repetition, but warned the reader that he had to read those chapters in this specific sequence? Why is this subunit not reflected in the index, but in the layout with the phrase written with a thicker *calamus*?

On the other hand, in Aix 1367’s table of contents, there is a barely decipherable entry in the middle of these two blocks (unit no. 42). There are only two words left because the paper is badly damaged at the end of the manuscript (fol. 295v): ‘*a’zzinā asiento*’ (‘adultery note’). However, Aix 1367 presents in the body of the text something lacking in T19: ‘Note about the saying of Allah, who says in the holy Qur’ān: “Flog hundred times the adulterous man and the adulterous woman”’.⁴² Although the first words of the index have been lost, it is obvious that the statement does not coincide with the words that were marked with a thicker line (‘asiento en el’) as a title in the body of the text.

According to the content, it seems to be a brief note, related to chapter 43 ‘El hadiz de Abū Šahma cuando lo mandó açotar su padre’ (‘The story of Abū Šahma, when his father ordered that they flog him’). Although it is not cited in the table of contents, there is a text inserted between this note (‘asiento’)—which I consider an introduction—, and the story of Abū Šahma, and it has nothing to do with the topic of adultery (*a’zzinā*).⁴³ With no title, I have proposed to call it ‘Maravillas del fijo de Edam [sic]’ (‘Wonders of Adam’s son’). Its first words (fols 212r–213v), are not highlighted graphically either (with a thicker stroke or with decorated letters). However, the text is copied after a blank line, which indicates a clear desire to distinguish units (Fig. 3), as reflected in other cases, although it is not mentioned in the table of contents.⁴⁴

⁴¹ ‘Cómo se á de hazer el açalá’ (fols 103r–105v). I consider that there are more chapters or sub-chapters within this unit; among those found in the body of the text, the *attahiātu* and the *al-qunūt* (from Castilla, forthcoming).

⁴² ‘Asiento en el dicho de Allah, donde dize en su onrado Alcorán: “al haziente *a’zzinā* y a la hiziente *a’zzinā* den al cada uno d’ellos cien açotes”’ (fol. 212r).

⁴³ Castilla, forthcoming.

⁴⁴ See the example below (‘Los días y noches de bañar’), where the new unit appears after a blank line, and is mentioned in the index. Its first words are written with thicker characters.

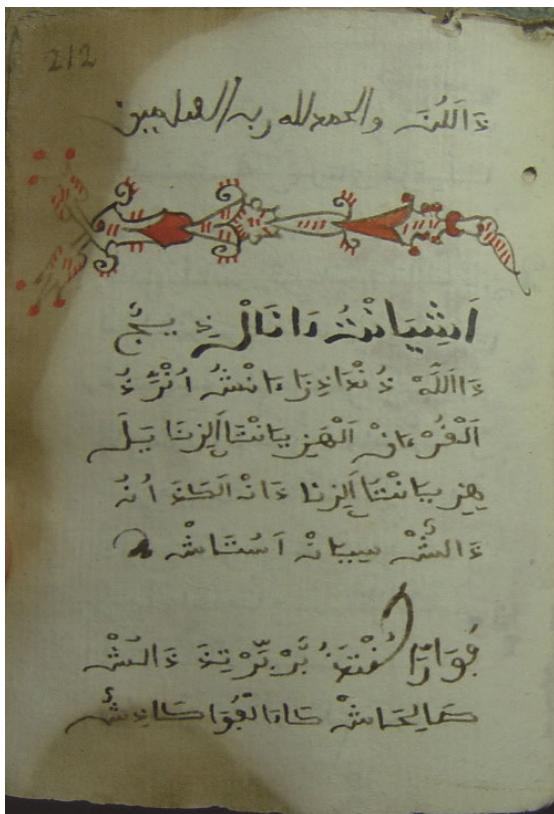


Fig. 3: Aix 1367, fol. 212r, l. 7. Beginning of ['Maravillas del fijo de Edam'], after a blank line.
© Bibliothèque Méjanes

On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why the texts about adultery—a shorter one, by way of introduction (see above), and another story in which we are told the punishment that Abū Šahma inflicts on his son for adultery⁴⁵—do not appear consecutively, as the index seems to indicate (nos 42–43). We should perhaps consider these first lines of the ‘asiento’ a reflection that the copyist added himself, and did so for his own use, thus departing from the model. This would help to explain why this fragment is not found in T19, even though the latter transmits the story of Abū Šahma from the same textual tradition as Aix 1367. However, if it is only

45 Martínez de Castilla 2003.

a note that the copyist of Aix 1367 might have added as a reminder, why did he include this ‘asiento’ in the table of contents?

As we have seen, both the table of contents and the layout of Aix 1367 tend to separate elements of what I would consider one unit. However, it is not always so. According to the index of Aix 1367 (fol. 295v), chapter 39 carries the generic title of ‘Los días y noches de bañar’ (‘The moments when ablutions have to be performed’), but this is not what the body of the text reflects, where ‘Los días de *tahhur*⁴⁶ [sic]’ (fol. 192r) and ‘Las noches que son de *tahhur* [sic] por *alfaḍila*⁴⁷ (fol. 193r) appear instead of the generic title. One could therefore interpret that it is about two different units or, as in other occasions, that it is the same (without title) but with different subsections. But how can we be sure of this? Furthermore, the difference between the body of the text and what is included in the index is even greater, since the same word is used in Spanish (‘bañar’ in the index) and in Arabic (‘ṭahūr’ in the text) despite the brief title.⁴⁸

The names of the copyists or compilers of T19 and Aix 1367 do not appear in any of the manuscripts, but they were very active. It is striking that one of them (T19) seems to be less conservative than the other (Aix 1367) although both worked in the same period and area. The T19 copyist does modernize words, including verb forms and words more appropriate in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century: ‘lie’ for ‘lee’; ‘d’aquí a’ for ‘hasta’; ‘la çaguería’ for ‘el cabo’;⁴⁹ he also corrects and updates the model with respect to Aix 1367, writing ‘arrepentidos y ataharados’ instead of ‘arrepiententes y ataharantes’.⁵⁰ Similarly, one sometimes completely departs from the other’s reading, but without a third testimony, it is impossible to identify which of them innovated with respect to the model. Thus:

Y si abrá menester lo uno y lo otro para pagar, irá al querimiento de Allah si lo querrá perdonar o meterlo en el fuego’ (Aix 1367, 159v) [‘And if both are needed in order to pay, God will determine if He pardons him or sends him to the fire’].

or

⁴⁶ ‘Los días de *tahhur*’, in bold in the manuscript.

⁴⁷ ‘Las noches que son de’, in bold in the manuscript.

⁴⁸ Although it derives from an original shared with T19, Aix 1367 is longer and there are small changes in the order with respect to T19: while T19 first provides some information about ‘las noches’, then about ‘los días’ Aix 1223 follows the reverse order. The case is similar to that seen above, but a change of order occurs within the same unit (conceived as such in the table of contents, although not in the layout). For a study about the difference in which this text is handled in the two manuscripts, see Martínez de Castilla 2005, 235–237. The critical edition of the text is in Castilla 2005, 511–512.

⁴⁹ Martínez de Castilla 2005, 668

⁵⁰ Martínez de Castilla 2005, 268.

Y si no abrá harto como está dicho y se le disfalcarán de los cinco precebtos, irá al querimiento de Allah si lo querrá perdonar o meterlo en el fuego' (T19, 109v) ['And if that is not enough, as has been said, and his following of the five precepts is discounted, God will determine if He pardons him or sends him to the fire'].⁵¹

I have already referred to the absence of an explicit collation and its respective correction marks in the margins of the Aljamiado manuscripts in contradistinction to what is found in other Arabic manuscripts. However, a clear process of joint and subsequent correction can be observed in T19 and Aix 1367, as well as in a third manuscript, BRAH T5: one of the copyists corrected the absence of one of the verses in both codices by adding it in the margin.⁵² This belated joint inclusion in these codices can only be explained by the assumption that the 'Morisco Qur'ān'⁵³ (or homogeneous Qur'ānic excerpts) was transmitted by the three codices and was derived from a common model. After two different copyists had transcribed it at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a careful process of collating the three codices with respect to a model took place, during which the missing verse was added simultaneously. The verse's translation does not belong to the same textual tradition as the rest of the unit, which means that either another model was used during the correction phase, or the error was identified in an oral transmission process, and was immediately corrected in the three codices.⁵⁴ As I did not find any similar parallel cases to date, it is difficult to establish the planning and use of the sources applied to the possible correction phase.

3 Group (b). When an MTM becomes quasi-unitary

On another hand, a few Morisco codices are quasi-unitary. In spite of their miscellaneous nature, they cannot only be considered unitary because of the grouped transmission of this set of texts,⁵⁵ but also because they had been conceived in this way from the beginning of the compilation process. Two cases are especially representa-

⁵¹ I am very grateful to Consuelo López-Morillas for her careful translation of these two Aljamiado sentences.

⁵² This latter manuscript (Madrid BRAH 11/9402 (*olim* T5) has also a final formula that was included by the same hand responsible for Aix 1367 colophon. See Castilla, in press.

⁵³ Martínez de Castilla 2014, 95 and ff.

⁵⁴ The fact that the colophons of Aix 1367 and T5 are by the same hand strongly supports the hypothesis that all three manuscripts were transcribed over a very short time span (Castilla, in press).

⁵⁵ In the previous Arabic tradition, there is a series of titles corresponding to works that were originally MTMs but were later transmitted as unitary codices.

tive: the *Breviario sunnī*⁵⁶ ('*Sunni Breviary*'), compiled by Yçā de Gebir ('Īsā b. Jābir), *faqīh* of Segovia, in 1462, but known only through later copies,⁵⁷ and the *Breve compendio de nuestra santa ley y sunna* ('The Brief Compendium of our Holy Law and Sunna'), composed by Bray [Ibrahim] de Reminjo towards the beginning of the sixteenth century:⁵⁸

Their respective prologues explain in detail how the authors—that is what they call themselves—have carried out the compilation, which materials they used, what objectives they were pursuing and how they gave it a title.⁵⁹

Several copies of the *Breviario sunnī* in Arabic and Latin characters have been preserved,⁶⁰ whereas only a unique codex of the *Breve compendio* has been passed on to us. All of them are large volumes, quarto or folio.⁶¹ Both works were well known by the Aragonese Moriscos of the sixteenth century who used them extensively. This fact is confirmed by the references to these works in other Aljamiado manuscripts, either alluding to the author or to the title of the work.⁶² In the *[Tafsīra]*⁶³ attributed to the Mancebo de Arévalo ('the young man from Arévalo'), we find a reference to 'don Isa, mu[f]tī de l'aljama de Segovia' ('don Isa, Mufti from the Moorish quarter of Segovia'),⁶⁴ and to his *Libro segoviano* ('Segovian book').⁶⁵

They are also mentioned by their title in the contemporary and later literature—the *Libro segoviano* and the *Breve compendio* or *conpeño*—as well as by reference to the author of the 'Segovian book'—'don Isa, muftí de Segovia'—and of the 'Brief Compendium'. For the latter, an allusion is made to the collaboration between a very wise *mancebo* ('young man', known as Mancebo de Arévalo), and an *alfaquí* ('*faqīh*'). However, if we read the prologue of the *Breve compendio* carefully, we are told that the

⁵⁶ Title upon RESC/1.

⁵⁷ Gayangos 1853.

⁵⁸ Harvey 1958.

⁵⁹ 'En sus respectivos prólogos se explica con detalle cómo los autores—que es como ellos mismos se autodenominan—han llevado a cabo la recopilación, con qué materiales, con qué objetivos y cómo la han titulado'. Bernabé 1995.

⁶⁰ Wieggers 1994 19, n 16.

⁶¹ Harvey 1958.

⁶² Thus, 'd'esta manera lo hallamos ta[m]bién en el *Libro segoviano* por su autor del libro. Y ansí mesmo lo hallamos en otro libro en la Ribera que se llama el *Breve conpeño*, que fue sacado de un mancebo muy sabio y de un alfaquí con él, y fue corregido de los sabios de Aragón y de los alfaquíes por cuanto el autor del libro era castellano y de gran cencia en el adín del al-islam'. RESC/12, 232r.

⁶³ Narváez Córdova 2003.

⁶⁴ RESC/62, fol. 309r.

⁶⁵ BNE 5223, fol. 191v.

main author is the *faqīh* Bray de Reminjo, and that the Mancebo collaborated with him.⁶⁶ Which of the two versions is true? In any case, it is certain that the Mancebo is one of the best-known Morisco authors.

These contemporary references underline the homogenous and unitary nature of these MTMs from the beginning. They were later used and transmitted as such by the Moriscos. Despite this unitary character, the authors of the *Breviario sunní* and the *Breve compendio* do not show any doubt that their works are the result of selection and compilation processes of materials that they borrowed from different works, and that they ordered, copied, summarized, and edited upon completing selection. The valuable testimonies found in the prologues—together with some indirect references—reveal this complex and coherent process, whereas the manuscripts themselves practically exhibit no trace of it.

The authors chose the title of their works: on the one hand, Yça de Gebir states that it seemed appropriate to him to call it *Breviario sunní*,⁶⁷ although its prologue begins with what we might consider an alternative title: *Memorial de los principales mandamientos y devedamientos de nuestra santa ley y sunna* ‘(‘Summa [compilation] of the principal commandments and prohibitions of our Law and Sunna’).⁶⁸ But in the same place, he refers to his book as a ‘brief compendium’,⁶⁹ which automatically brings to our mind the title of the book compiled by Bray de Reminjo with the help of the Mancebo de Arévalo.

The title of the latter is clear from the first line after the invocation at the beginning of the only manuscript of this work that survived: *El Breve compendio de nuestra santa ley y sunna* (fol. 0v). In the subsequent paragraph, the author refers twice to ‘la presente tafsira’ (the title by which the treatise written by the Mancebo de Arévalo is known and preserved in RESC/62), whereas at the end of the table of contents he again refers to ‘este compendio’, which, as outlined above, is also the name used in contemporary literature.

In the prologues, the authors of these compilations present themselves in the third person although they will later use the first one (with inconsistencies) to explain other issues.⁷⁰ As we know from the prologue, the Segovian *faqīh* must have worked alone unlike Bray de Reminjo. From the beginning of the compilation process itself,

⁶⁶ Cambridge, UL, Dd 9.49.

⁶⁷ ‘A la cual escritura consideré que ubiese nonbre *Bevrario* [*Breviario*] *sunní*, donde señalé mi nombre’ (RESC/1, 4v).

⁶⁸ RESC/1, 1v. The word ‘memorial’ is replaced in some copies by other words, such as ‘suma’ or ‘sumario’, among others.

⁶⁹ ‘Breve compendio’; ‘comprendido’ in the manuscript (UL, Dd 9.49).

⁷⁰ ‘Dixo el onrado sabidor muftí y alfaquí del aljama de los muçlimes de la noble y leal cibdad de Segovia que se llama Yça de Gebir’.

Bray de Reminjo (probably from Navarra)⁷¹ could rely on the collaboration of the Castilian Mancebo de Arévalo as well as the opinion of some wise men of Aragón.⁷² What kind of collaboration was involved? Why did these Moriscos from different areas work together in the same city?

The difficult task of selecting and ordering materials is made more complex by the linguistic diversity involved in the original works. According to Bray de Reminjo, for example, a text could be in Arabic and Aljamía.⁷³ The Aljamía could be archaising to varying degrees,⁷⁴ Arabized, or differ with regard to the extent of dialectal variants.⁷⁵ The origin and linguistic training of the copyist are other factors contributing to the diversity of the languages and scripts used. Being aware of this difficulty, Bray de Reminjo, worked with learned men from other regions to try to understand correctly the originals and edit them in a language and style accessible to contemporary readers.⁷⁶ This editorial work did not only include the translation and the modernization of the words, but also their correction,⁷⁷ since one of the tasks of the copyist is to help the reader to understand correctly the text.⁷⁸

The data suggest that a selection was made jointly for the preparation of the *Breve compendio*, and that Bray de Reminjo and Mancebo de Arévalo worked on a copy that was corrected by other collaborators. Is the only extant witness, manuscript UL, Dd.9.49, a copy of this draft? Is this the first copy that the author alludes to when referring to the ‘primera traslación’ (‘the first translation’), to ‘la primera alluhada’ (‘the

71 Bernabé 1995.

72 ‘El Breve compendio [...] que acopiló el onrado sabidor, alfaquí del aljama de los muslimes de Cadrete, que se llamaba Bray de Reminjo, con acuerdo y ayuda de otros muchos alimes [...] de este reyno de Aragón, y en especial con ayuda de un mancebo [...] natural de Arévalo’ (UL, Dd.9.49, fol. 0v). ‘Todo venía por mano diestra examinado y usado con decreto nahual’ (UL, Dd.9.49, fol. 5r).

73 ‘Lo más d'este compendio salió de las dichas aleyas, [...] de] muchos alquitabes arábigos y aljamidos reposados’ (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 3r).

74 ‘grande ansianidad de los vocablos’ (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 5r).

75 ‘Vocablos de muchas tierras’ (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 3r).

76 ‘Reformándolo todo lo mejor y por el mejor estilo que supe colegir; por la grande ansianidad de los vocablos [...]. Era necesario remediar aquellos vocablos y volverlos a nuestro tiempo’ (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 5r).

77 ‘también puede aber yerro en los vocablos mal entendidos, y serán aljemiados’ (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 5r).

78 ‘¿Qué hará algún leedor inorante, que a veces toma el fin de una palabra por el principio de otra, y otras veces da un sentido por otro, y otras yerras que se las hallan algunos por poco saber sin dar la trascendencia a los dichos?’ (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 5v).

first version') in his prologue, but with the aim of making a new fair copy?⁷⁹ In spite of its lavish decoration and its careful script, there are corrections, substitutions and additions that suggest that UL, Dd. 9.49 is not the latest version of the text. In many cases, the deletions of the previous writing are made very subtly, with pieces of paper pasted on the crossed out text, then decorated with wavy patterns, the same type of decoration is used in the titles (Fig. 4). In any case, and although this version, being the first, is not considered the best one,⁸⁰ only editorial team work as described by Bray de Reminjo could guarantee the internal coherence of the materials selected and compiled in the *Breve compendio*.

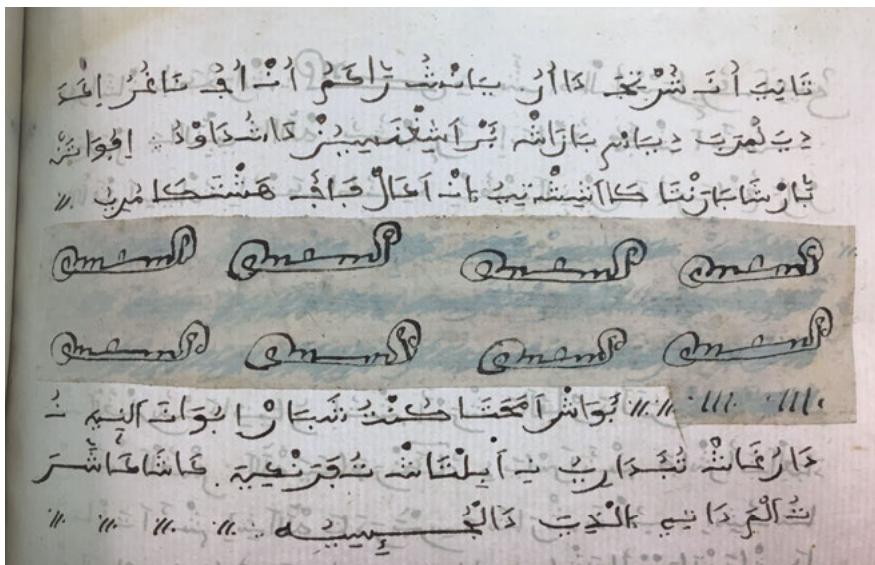


Fig. 4: Cambridge, UL, Dd.9.49, fol. 207v (detail). Deletions of the original text, decorated with wavy patterns. © Cambridge University Library

⁷⁹ 'Aunque van los dichos descarridos por ser esta la primera traslación, no lo atribuyan a poca curiosidad, porque no puede una lectura satisfacerse de la primera alluhada [...]. Los dichos no se pueden bien ermanar por ser esta la primera copilación' (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 3r).

⁸⁰ I do not believe that the author is voluntarily omitting the *Libro segoviano*, as suggested by Bernabé 1995, 312; he only refers to the fact that it is the first time that this selection of texts has been copied into a new compilation.

As we have seen, there is some information clearly indicated in the forewords: the author of the compilations, the title, and the way the compilation process was conducted. The volumes' structure is very clear: both works are divided into chapters, which is perfectly reflected in the final table of contents, the layout and order number that precedes each chapter.⁸¹ Even Yça de Gebir informs us in the prologue that his *Breviario sunní* has sixty chapters, compiled from thirteen books on religion and Muslim law.⁸² However, after completing the reading of the prologue, the reader still does not know from which thirteen books Yça de Gebir copied and summarized the chapters that now make up his own book.⁸³

For its part, the *Breve compendio* collected materials from 'a lot of Aljamiado and Arabic books'.⁸⁴ Once again, the reader does not know with certainty which books the author is referring to, although he has the sensation of knowing it, since a dozen lines of the prologue are devoted to commenting on these sources. However, it is a mere rhetorical exercise, since in reality the compiler only mentions that most of the texts come from the Qur'ān, although there are also others from 'some Arab authors'.⁸⁵

In any case, the structure of the *Breve compendio* is perfectly clear and systematic. It is divided into three parts or books; each book is divided into treatises, and the latter into chapters. At the end of the table of contents, in which the changes from a part to the next one are easily noticed, the author clearly states in a very

⁸¹ Some of the copies of the *Breviario sunní*, such as RESC/1, in Arabic characters, do not contain this table of contents.

⁸² 'Porque más breve se acorte aquí en este prólogo los libros de donde ser[á] gobernado, porque cese de l'acarrear en cada lugar en los cuales en [a]lgunos de los nobles hallarán a[u]ctoridades de lo que en este [libro] dirá, y son los siguientes: Y son treze números de libros de nuestra santa ley y sunna, los cuales cole[g]í y acopilé sesenta capítulos en los cuales resumí{ó} la fe y obras que onbre o mujer debe tener y hazer siguiendo aquello que el bienaventurado profeta Muhammad fue revelado' (RESC/1, fol. 4r-v).

⁸³ Although the sources on which Yça de Gebir relied for the elaboration of his *Breviario sunní* have not been identified, several studies have been carried out in recent years on the influence of Yça in later Morisco literature (Wiegers 1994; Suárez 2016). In spite of the fame and recognition of the *Libro segoviano*, I think that at least some of the copies that transmit some of the chapters of this book do not come directly from Yça, but from the use of common sources.

⁸⁴ 'muchos alquitas arábigos y aljamiados reposados', see n 70 (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 3r).

⁸⁵ 'Algunas aleyas de nuestro onrado Alcorán, de donde se tomó lo más d'este conpendio, en especial los actos del servicio que se debe a su divina bondad, con las demás virtudes que pude alegar de autores {g}árabes, alimes, nahues y tafsires antiguos y otros volúmenes de los usos aljama'ales'. (UL, Dd. 9.49, fols 4v-5r).

orderly manner that ‘this compendium includes twenty-five treatises, with one hundred and twenty-two chapters’.⁸⁶

The layout guides the reader perfectly in the internal division of the volume, both in terms of books and treatises, or chapters. The Second and Third Books are very easy to identify: their first folio of the text, headed by ‘Libro segundo del *Breve compendio*’ (‘Second Book of the *Brief Compendium*’) and ‘Libro tercero’ (‘Third Book’), written in a thicker stroke, is found within a decorated frame. In both cases,⁸⁷ the framed text—a summary of what is going to be treated in the section beginning there—starts at the recto of folios 90r and 169r respectively, while folios 89v and a good part of 168v were left blank (Fig. 5).

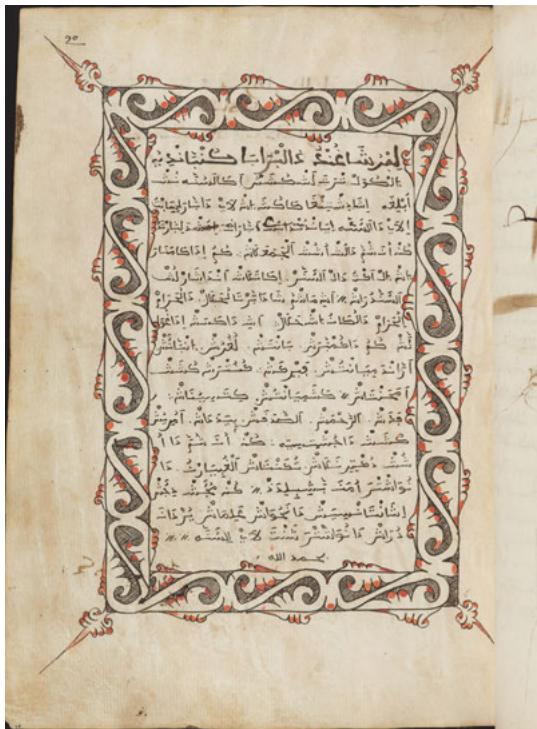


Fig. 5: Cambridge, UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 90r. Beginning of the Second Book of the *Brief Compendium*.
© Cambridge University Library

86 ‘ay en este compendio veinticinco tratados; y en todos ellos ay ciento y ventidós capítulos’, UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 253v.

87 The beginning of the First Book, without decorated frame, does not follow the same pattern, probably because of the presence of the prologue just before.

The beginning of each treatise is marked by a headband in black, or black and red, varying in each case. The titles of the treatises and those of the chapters are both written after a blank line, in the centre and with a thicker stroke. They include either a wavy decoration at the beginning and at the end of the title, or two slashes with points on its sides.

The table of contents is also divided into three components, the three parts or books of which the *Breve compendio* is composed. However, to facilitate the task to the reader, the treatises are only included by a number in the margin, and the chapters are not numbered (meanwhile in the body of the text, everything is perfectly identified). Each section indicates at its end the number of the treatises and chapters composing that part or book. This suggests that the materials collected to make this MTM could have been borrowed from three previous works, the last of which was the *Descargo de temerosos*.⁸⁸ However, it has not been possible to find any similar title in the Morisco production or any Arab title that could have been translated in this way.⁸⁹

Although he does not tell us anything about his sources, Bray de Reminjo does indicate that it was him who collected other materials ('treatises') about the conquest of Granada in another MTM called the *Dechado de annabíes* ('Prophets' model').⁹⁰ However, if this book came into being—the author invites the reader to consult it⁹¹—, there is no record of its presence in any library, and it has left no other intertextual trace than the one found in the *Breve compendio*.

We are dealing here with manuscripts whose structure and layout remind us of unitary codices. The main text always starts after a prologue where the compiler or author (as he styles himself) includes his name and explains the reasons that led him to prepare a compilation of these texts, his decision to write in the language in which his text has been transmitted, and his selection of the sources from which he took his materials; he finishes with a *captatio benevolentiae*. A table of contents is included, which is divided into chapters. The main text begins immediately after the prologue and is presented in a more uniform way than in the MTMs of group (a). The division into chapters goes hand in hand with ordinal numbers, and then we find 'first chapter', 'second chapter', etc. which conjures up in the reader's mind a sense of continuity that is not so easily achieved in the compilations we have been dealing with previously.

These prologues were not in the manuscripts I collected in group (a). They are an important source for us to understand the production process of compilations, that

⁸⁸ Thus we are told at the beginning of the Third Book (UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 169r).

⁸⁹ Harvey 1958 (2019), 189.

⁹⁰ UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 249v.

⁹¹ 'allí los hallará el que quisiere verlos'. UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 249v.

were subject to continuous change. The information given in these prologues does not need to be reconstructed on the basis of the observation (as it is the case with manuscripts of the other group), but only requires a careful reading of the text. However, we have to take into account that the information given in these prologues might also be a widely used *topos* of Christian literature, since these pieces share almost identical elements.

4 Conclusion

The main reason behind the compilation of MTMs by Mudéjares and Moriscos is the need to provide access to a basic knowledge of Islam to as many people as possible and to preserve it in spite of increasingly harsh conditions. However, functions and readers were not the same, which is the reason why it is possible to suggest a typology of Mudéjar and Morisco MTMs in two groups: on the one hand, the collections of chapters and/or small fragments copied from various works from either an earlier or a contemporaneous date; and on the other hand, the MTMs that ceased to have this miscellaneous character and began to be perceived—and therefore transmitted—as unitary manuscripts: at some point, both the compiler and the reader inevitably ended up thinking that all the texts contained in the codex were actually part of a single unit, in such a way that these MTMs started being copied and used as a unitary volume.

Both kinds of MTMs can contain a table of contents, but the size, the layout and the internal structure distinguish each type from the other, probably because readers and uses were different. The almost unitary MTMs (group b) are in larger size—folio or large quarto formats. In the prologue, the author provides his name and the title of the work. The prologue also includes the reasons why the author started compiling the contents of the volume and the sources on which he relied. This prologue comes at the beginning of a series of chapters that are numbered and it is clearly identified within the book. In spite of being an MTM, it is used as a unitary volume: it is no wonder that contemporaneous works refer to them either by the title of the book or by the name of its author. On account of its size, we could state that these manuscripts were authoritative copies and that the reading of this kind of manuscript was performed in a specific place. The MTMs of group (a) are smaller and could therefore be carried around. The contents are much more varied and the chapters are shorter, which suggests that their use was more variegated and probably occurred in the frame of oral performances. The internal coherence cannot be denied, but is much less obvious than in group (b) manuscripts. Sometimes, there are even chapters that are repeated within the same volume—perhaps because they

were required in different contexts. However, these manuscripts were probably used far more intensively than those of the other group, probably because their audience was larger.

The analysis of the prologues of group (b) MTMs that I consider as almost unitary volumes provide an array of hypotheses about the compilation work, the copying and editing of MTMs by Mudéjares and Moriscos. The information retrieved from these sources strengthens the hypotheses that have been put forward by the direct analysis of the manuscripts belonging to group (a). Everything seems to suggest that a proper compilation relies on the compiler (alone or in collaboration with others) working extensively on the texts and being involved in the transcription of various copies, attentively edited and corrected, in order to make them intelligible for a contemporaneous reader. His task will then be completed, and the ‘deseo de hermanar correctamente los dichos’ (‘the wish of matching sayings correctly’) would be satisfied since all the parts were nicely arranged together and the language register was unified. As in the rest of the Arab-Muslim book production, it was expected that a good copyist would not limit himself to the reproduction of his model, but would also take care of the editing and mark-up work. This is what skilled Morisco copyists would actually do. In a moment when the possibilities left to the Morisco communities were shrinking as far as their cultural identity was concerned, the MTMs provided a clever and compact answer for the survival of their beliefs. In the end, these volumes are the valuable containers of the literary and ideological world the Mudéjar and Morisco communities had within their reach. MTMs’ production was abundant since they were a fundamental component for the guidance of these communities in their day-to-day practices.

Appendix

Aix-en-Provence, Aix 1367. Table of contents (fols 293v-296r)	Madrid, BRAH, T19. Contents
1. [Qur'ānic excerpts]	1. [Qur'ānic excerpts. Incomplete] (43r-73) ⁹²
2. Almurxida para las Pascuas	[Probably present in the original, but lost today]
3. [...] para la mañanada	--
4. Adua para lo mismo	--
5. [Adua] para cuando irás a es[pa]ciar	--
6. [Adu]a para cuando abrás [aca]bado	--
7. [Adu]aes para tomar alwadú	--
8. El atahiatu	--
9. El alcunut	[Pergüeno y alicama del açalá] (80v)
10. El pergüeno	22. Este es el pergüeno del açalá (80v-81r)
11. Su rogaría	23. Adua para rogar después del pergüeno (81v)
12. El alicama	24. Esta es el alicama del açalá (81v-82v)
13. Rogarias para después del açalá	
14. Adua para la nube de la piedra	--
15. Lo que dezía el annabí (<i>lm</i>) cuando quería dormir	
16. Adua para cuando visitarás las fuesas	--
17. Adua para rogar por agua [Several.]	--
18. Por lo que se pierde el alwadú	
19. La senblança del bañar	
20. Por lo que se derrueca el bañar	
21. Las oras de los açalaes	
22. Cómo se á de hazer el açalá	
23. [Orden] para las fadas	17. [Capítulo de las fadas] (24r) ⁹³
24. [Estas son las lunas] por los muçlimes	10. Estas son las lunas [...] de los muçlimes (20v-21v/93r-97r)
25. [Sentencia y respuesta que envió el] muftí	--
26. [Capítulo de] los del atayamum [from <i>al-</i> Mukhtaṣar]	32. Capítulo del atayamum (91r-v) [from <i>al-Mukhtaṣar</i>]

⁹² Today it is wrongly ubicated between the nos. 20 and 21.

⁹³ Another textual tradition, the same as Toledo, BP T232.

27. [...] del maçhar los borzeguís	--
28. [...] i la ivantalla de los días de la semana	--
29. Advertencia de la obra	44? Advertencia de la obra (109r-v)⁹⁴
30. El gualardón a quien haze açalá con aljama	11. El gualardón de quien haze açalá con aljama (97r-100v/ 26r)
31. Alfadila de <i>'innā 'anzalnāhu</i>	--
32. Gualardón de quien enseña a su hijo el-Alcorán para entrar en el aljanna	--
33. Quien acoge estranjeros en la repintencia	--
34. Acalá sobre el anabí (<i>!m</i>)	--
35. Acalá sobre Jibril (<i>!m</i>)	--
36. Leer el-açora de <i>Yç</i> .	--
37. Dos arracas para el muerto	12. El gualardón [...] quien hará açalá sobre el muerto (27r-28v)
38. Las pascuas	9. Las pascuas del año (20r)
39. Los días y noches de bañar	8. [Las noches y los días de tahur por alfadila] (19r-20r)
40. Los días nozientes [...] los meses	7. Cap. [...] deballó Allah [...] el aladeb (18r-19r)
41. [...] los días nozientes [y-apro]vechantes de la luna	6. Capítulo en los nacidos por los días de la luna (13r-17v)
42. [...] aziná asiento	--
43. [...] de Abū Šahma	2. 2. [El hadiz de Abū Šahma] (1r-5r. Acephalous)
44. [...] cuan]do vio 'Umar los muertos	3. El alhadiz de 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb cuando vio los muertos (5r-6)
45. [...] Mū]çā con la paloma y-el falcón	4. L'alhadiz de Mūçā (<i>!m</i>) con la paloma y el falcón (6r-9v)
46. [...] [El de]xador del açalá	5. El castigo que dará al dexador del açalá (101r-108v/10r-12v)
47. [...] [Aduja de rogar por agua	--
48. Acalá del muerto	--
49. Acalá de la cri[a]tura	--
50. La rogaria de la setena	21. Rogaria de la setena (74r-80r)
51. Adua de Edam	--
52. Adua de Ibrāhīm	--

⁹⁴ Impossible to know the original place of this text within the manuscript.

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--	18. Aduas para rogar los siete días de la semana.
--	19. Los nonbres fermosos de Allah (35v-42v)
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--	31. Capítulo [...] derrueca el atahur. 'Del libro de Iça de Gebir' (91r)
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--	34. Este es el <i>Alquiteb de las suertes</i> de Dū'lqarnayn (133r-155r)
--	35. Capítulo en los sueños (155r-156v)
--	36. [Demandas [...] los judíos al [...] Muhamad] (157r-168r)
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⁹⁵ 13. Capítulo en el atacbira de la reverencia (22r-v) | 14. Capítulo de lo que vino el alicama (22v-23r) | 15. Capítulo de lo que vino en decir 'Allahu Akbar' (23r-v) | 16. Capítulo de quien lee [...] lo que á de leer secreto (23v).

⁹⁶ 25. Capítulo [...] alguadú adeudecido (82v-83r) | 26. Capítulo [...] alguadú açonado (83r-v).

⁹⁷ 27. Capítulo de la doctrina en el vestir (83v-85r) | 28. Capítulo en la doctrina del alguadú (85r-88v).

⁹⁸ 29. Capítulo de lo que derrueca el alguadú (88v-89r) | 30. Capítulo [...] bañar de la suciedad (89r-91r).

⁹⁹ 39. Derecho [d]el marido sobre la mujer (204v-206v) | 40. [...] Derecho [de] la mujer sobre el marido (207r-210r) | 41. Capítulo en el obedecer al padre y a la madre (210r-221r) | 42. Capítulo en el derecho del fijo sobre el padre (221r-225v) | 43. Capítulo en el derecho del vecino (225v-228v).

Cited manuscripts and abbreviations

Aix = Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes
Aix 1367 (*olim* 1223)

BNE = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España
BNE 4870
BNE 5223

BPT = Toledo, Biblioteca Pública de Castilla-La Mancha
BP T232

BRAH = Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia
BRAH, 11/9402 (*olim* T5)
BRAH, 11/9415 (*olim* T19)
BRAH 11/9495 (*olim* S3)

Cambridge, University Library
UL, Dd. 9.49

RESC = Madrid, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás, CCHS/CSIC

RESC/1	RESC/3
RESC/12	RESC/13
RESC/33	RESC/53
RESC/61	RESC/62

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