The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts

Studies in Manuscript Cultures

The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts

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DE GRUYTER

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Preface

The universal practice of selecting and excerpting, summarizing and canonizing, arranging and organizing texts and visual signs, either in carefully planned and lavishly decorated manuscripts or in roughly prepared and poorly bound modest leaves meant for personal use, is common to all manuscript cultures. Determined by intellectual or practical needs, this process never has neutral outcomes. The resulting proximity and juxtaposition of formerly remote content challenges previous knowledge, triggering further development and raising new questions: anthologies and collections have an overt or at times subtle subversive power that can give birth to unexpected changes and even drastic revolutions. The new books emanating from all this mark advances in knowledge transmission and renew book culture.

The papers collected in this volume are dedicated to manuscripts deriving from these processes of selection, collection, and reorganization. What these manuscripts all have in common is that they are made up of more than one text and have been planned and realised for a single project with one consistent intention; as a result, they are usually made of a single production unit.[1] We call such manuscripts 'multiple-text manuscripts' (MTMs).[2]

This volume provides substantial follow-up to the research work on MTMs carried out in Hamburg at the Forschergruppe 963: Manuskriptkulturen in Asien und Afrika (2008–2011) and at the Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB) 950: Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa (2011–2020), both funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The high point of this research was the 2010 conference on 'One-volume libraries' convened on the eve of the establishment of the

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1 The recent development of an in-depth reflection on the stratigraphy of manuscripts has brought about a more sophisticated distinction of the features permitting identification of the 'production units' from which they were made (and the consequent 'circulation units'). For simplicity, the intuitive terms of 'project and intention' are used here. As a background to stratigraphic codicological analysis, the fundamental reference is Andrist et al. 2013 (an English revised and expanded version will appear in 2020).

2 The form 'MTM' is used henceforth. MTM is thus opposed to 'composite manuscript'. Both terms usefully disambiguate the traditional expression 'miscellaneous manuscripts', which covers without precisely distinguishing both MTM and 'composite manuscripts'. The felicitous term MTM was coined by Harunaga Isaacson in the course of the activities of the Forschergruppe 963 and it was eventually adopted in the Sonderforschungsbereich 950.

collaborative research programme SFB 950.[3] Most of the conference papers featured in *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*, and has since become a yardstick in the research field of MTMs. The volume specifically focused on the complex relationship between MTMs and composite manuscripts, in which the distinction of single production units plays the essential role.[4]

The aim of the present volume, though different, is complementary to the previous work. It focuses on the production of MTMs—at the exclusion of composite manuscripts—by investigating concrete case studies from various cultural contexts, for this to be grasped in detail. The essays collected in this volume deal with manuscripts planned to comprise 'more than one text' as well as those planned to grow and become MTMs—irrespective of the MTM's content i.e. the description of the natural world and related recipes, astronomical tables or personal notes, documentary, religious, and highly revered holy texts. Codicological and textual features of these manuscripts reveal how similar needs received different answers in varying contexts and times and contribute from this specific angle to our understanding of a common grammar of the book.

The thirteen papers in this volume present a vast array of case studies and offer a large selection representative of manuscript cultures in the common era throughout the entire world—from China to India and the Islamic world of Asia, Spain, and Ethiopia, to the Christian world of Antiquity, and its Coptic and Medieval European phases.[5]

The contributions take on the evidence—'paracontent', 'guest texts' or 'additional texts',[6] arrangements of discrete textual units, in their 'sequence' with-

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3 This research was carried out at the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts' funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), and within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

4 See Friedrich / Schwarke 2016. In the meantime, MTMs have attracted further attention; among the most recent publications see, for instance, Corbellini et al. 2018; Vine 2019. The essays collected in Crisci / Pecere 2004 remain essential contributions.

5 Almost all contributions in the volume have been based on papers presented at the conference 'The Emergence of MTMs', held on 9–12 November 2016 at Universität Hamburg. The organizing committee comprised Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockmann, Philippe Depreux, Michael Friedrich, Cécile Michel, Jürgen Paul, Jörg B. Quenzer, and Eva Wilden. The final editorial committee consisted of Alessandro Bausi, Michael Friedrich, and Marilena Maniaci. Papers by Sonja Brentjes, Nikolay Dobronravin, Paolo Divizia, Alexandra Gillespie, Donald Harper, Andreas Lehnardt, Marilena Maniaci, Lara Sels, Niek Veldhuis, and Ronny Vollandt, could not be included in this volume. Conversely, the contribution by Patrick Andrist was not presented at the conference.

6 For the definition of 'paracontent', see Ciotti et al. 2018; for 'guest text' see Gumbert 2004, 32 and 42; and for 'additional texts' see Petrucci 1999 on 'microtesti avventizi'.

in a single manuscript and their 'distribution' within a corpus respectively, engendering different and variously defined text types ('canon', 'anthology', 'chrestomathy', 'florilegium', 'excerpta', 'epitome', and even 'bybliotheca' in its narrow sense, characterised by different degrees of modularity), and the several dynamics that determine grouping, sequence, arrangement, as well as the selection and adaptation of texts. The authors deal with one of the main tasks carried out in a manuscript culture by a MTM, that is to fix the intellectual production of a given time, plan to transmit it to the future, and interact with that transmitted from the past or excerpting and adapting new materials of different provenance from different linguistic and cultural domains. This goal is achieved by putting in direct, physical contact, and consequently in conceptual proximity, different knowledge from different times, places, and contexts, causing hybridizations, new alchemies, and new interpretations, by transferring mental assumptions to the physical level and vice-versa. In facilitating this, MTMs have played a most important role in human culture.

While in some research areas the form, content, and meaning of MTMs have already been thoroughly addressed—for instance, in classical Greek, German, Romance (with refined elaborations on the concept of 'canzoniere'); Medieval Latin, and Byzantine studies, with elaborations on a large numer of MTM subvarieties (for hagiographic, liturgical, and canonical writings, see for example 'menologion', 'calendar', 'menaion', and 'lectionary')—in other research areas the work still is at its very beginning.

The papers here concern individual undertakings or collections of texts prompted by the initiative of individuals (as in the extreme case of 'Personal Multiple-Text Manuscripts in Late Medieval Central Europe: The 'Library' of Crux of Telč (1434–1504)' by Lucie Doležalová), or originated in a courtly context (as in 'The Prince and the Scholar: A Study of two Multiple-Text Manuscripts from Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries Morocco', by François Déroche; 'Some Poetic Multiple-Text Manuscripts of the Byzantine Era', by Francesca Maltomini; 'Rolling Stones do gather: MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 and its Collection of Mineralogical Texts' by Lucia Raggetti).

Other studies take on the emergence of innovations that had a long lasting impact on the future development of specific text types, faced with difficult challenges and extraordinary fortune (as with e.g. 'The Eusebian Canon Tables as a Corpus-Organizing Paratext within the Multiple-Text Manuscript of the Fourfold Gospel' by Matthew Crawford),[7] or those which had profoundly significant conse-

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7 See now on this topic Crawford 2019 and the forthcoming Bausi et al. 2020.

quences for an entire book culture (e.g. 'The Ninth-Century Coptic "Book Revolution" and the Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts' by Paola Buzi).

A series of contributions take the form of broad overviews of large or peripheral, still less explored traditions, where MTMs are addressed for the first time ever ('Functions of Multiple-Text Manuscripts in India: The Jain Case' by Nalini Balbir; 'Multiple-Text Manuscripts in Medieval China' by Imre Galambos; 'Text Collections in the Arabic Manuscript Tradition of Harar: the Case of the *Mawlid* Collection and of *šayḫ* Hāšim's al-*Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*' by Alessandro Gori; and '"*Dichos bien hermanados*". Towards a Typology of Mudéjar and Morisco Multiple-Text Manuscripts' by Nuria de Castilla).

Two essays deviate from the prevailing literary character of the case studies considered in the volume, introducing scientific manuscripts with astronomical tables ('Mathematical Astronomy and the Production of Multiple-Texts Manuscripts in Late Medieval Europe: a Comparison of BnF lat. 7197 and BnF lat. 7432' by Matthieu Husson), and texts of a specifically legal character ('The Development of Arabic Multiple-Text and Composite Manuscripts: The Case of *ḥadīth* Texts in Damascus during the Late Medieval Period' by Konrad Hirschler).

Finally, the contribution 'Concepts and Vocabulary for the Analysis of Thematic Manuscript Books: the Example of Greek *Adversus Iudaeos* Books' by Patrick Andrist attempts to provide an innovative analysis of the guiding features for the study of MTMs (and also composite codices) as 'thematic books', based on an original theoretical reflection including the proposal of a specific terminology.

Aside from the specific conceptual approaches and the more or less conscious and refined application of the most advanced achievements of codicological research (that are presupposed but not necessarily always in the focus of the issues and case studies presented in this volume), the authors have empirically observed and described concrete MTMs in an attempt to comprehend the multifarious factors and circumstances, needs and intentions, that determined their production and emergence within their own manuscript culture and their specific historical and cultural circumstances.

A final reflection may elucidate why the 'emergence of the MTMs' was proposed as a topic. The debate was ignited by the intuition that the twofold sense of 'collection'—as 'collection of manuscripts' in a library or in an archive, and of 'collection of texts' in the MTMs—has huge heuristic potential. This perspective places the manuscript at the centre of a vast and intricate network of relationships among manuscripts and texts and addresses the issues of the MTMs from a physical, typological, and comparative point of view. In so doing, the case of multiple production units collected in a single volume (largely dealt with in *One-Volume Libraries*) represents an intermediate case. Once disposed of it,

remaining within the realm of MTMs as opposed to actual libraries enables an improved understanding of the relationship between texts and one or more manuscripts as a 'double articulation' within 'collections'.[8] In this double articulation, the first level is represented by the semantics deployed by MTMs, that is, the new meaning and new features MTMs acquire after single texts are grouped in one volume: this grouping enables a theoretically unlimited possibility of combinations, which, if randomly applied would ideally result, should time, material, and working force be available, in a real 'Library of Babel'.[9] Yet, we observe that culture, settings, patterns, and use, carefully select and determine specific forms of MTMs which are the result of precise choices and match specific needs of manuscript cultures. MTMs are therefore a key tool—like few others—for understanding processes of knowledge organization and social practices related to book use. In the substantial *continuum* from single texts to MTMs and to libraries, MTMs emerge as the most fascinating objects, in which the physical limits of the artefacts necessarily make the intention of the producers and of the users clear, crucial, and distinct.

The topic of MTMs is so complex that we cannot expect this volume to have anything like the last word on them. We are confident, however, that the papers collected here, all valuable in themselves, make a substantial contribution, from a coherent perspective, to the enhancement of research on this vital and vivid topic.

The Editors
Hamburg, September 2019

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8 As is well known, the 'double articulation' (or 'duality of patterns') of language was proposed by André Martinet in his path-breaking *Éléments de linguistique générale* (Martinet 1960): the first level consists of an unlimited set of semantic units and the second level in a limited set of phonological units. We are aware that every application of concepts developed for specific fields has its limits and must be cautiously applied; yet, these comparisons, *cum grano salis*, are fruitful and legitimate.
9 The obvious reference is to the short story 'La biblioteca de Babel', first published in 1941 by Jorge Luis Borges in the collection *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (Borges 1941).

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Overviews

Nalini Balbir

Functions of Multiple-Text Manuscripts in India: The Jain Case

Abstract: After a brief introduction on basics relating to Jain manuscript culture and a terminological discussion of the multiple-text manuscript (MTM) concept along with the treatment of Jain MTMs in manuscript catalogues, the present paper considers the possible reasons motivating the MTM phenomenon. The main part of the investigation concerns the combinations available in Jain MTMs, from binary associations to large-scale MTMs. The issue of canonized assemblages versus dynamic collections and the issue of language in MTMs which has to be connected with the coexistent use of languages in the Jain tradition (Prakrit, Sanskrit and vernaculars) are discussed with the support of instances as available in palm leaf and paper manuscripts, in pothīs and codices.

1 Preliminaries

The Jains form one of the oldest communities in India, which is still very much alive today. Although they have always been a minority in Indian society, they have a rich cultural heritage, with manuscript culture as one of its main manifestations. They are divided into monks and nuns on the one hand, and lay followers on the other. Mendicants lead a wandering life, except during the rainy-season, and depend on layfollowers for their subsistence. Jains believe in the teachings proclaimed by the Jinas. They are exceptional human beings, who reached omniscience in their last existence, after going through the cycle of rebirths, and finally reach emancipation from any kind of rebirth. In the line of 24 Jinas recognised by the tradition, the last was Mahāvīra who lived in the sixth-fifth centuries BCE and was a contemporary of Buddha. Both originally preached in Eastern India (the region known as Magadha). As a result of migrations, parts of the Jain communities then settled in the west or in the south. It is likely that Jains were always a minority within Indian society, as they are today with about four million followers (0,5% of the total Indian population). Probably at the end of the first century CE, the Jains split into two sections, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. These words refer to the external outfit of the mendicants, who wear a white monastic robe or go naked. Nudity is a central and decisive issue in this difference. Although both sections do not recognize the authority of the same scriptures, they otherwise have much in common.

Jain teachings were first transmitted orally, from master to disciple, from Mahāvīra to his direct disciples and then through various lineages of ascetics, but in the first centuries of the Common Era the need to have these teachings fixed was felt. The two Jain sectarian traditions, the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara, differ on how this was done: the former hold that their authoritative texts were put into writing around the second century CE, the latter in the middle of the fifth century. Writing is clearly viewed as a way to preserve the teaching. Traditional sources argue as follows: before the writing process started, some Jain texts had already been lost because there was no one to master them. In the time to come, more losses could happen, so writing was better than nothing. However, none of the written evidence (the manuscripts) dates back to these early periods. No Jain manuscript that we have is from an earlier date than the eleventh century. It is assumed that the rest did not survive the combination of heat and humidity that characterises the Indian climate. All Jain manuscripts were created in the Indian subcontinent. The most recent ones were written in the twentieth century, as writing by hand was never totally superseded by printing. Even now, Jain monks and nuns are encouraged to copy and to write by hand, sometimes producing true artefacts. So, despite the oral origins of the tradition, manuscripts and, in recent times, printed books are central to Jain culture.

2 Doctrinal background and Jain manuscript culture

Especially in Western India, that is Rajasthan and Gujarat, the Jains have often been a very influential minority because of the positions they occupied in economy, trade and finance. At times, these positions led them to build close relationship with dynasties in power. For earlier periods, it is difficult to determine the percentage of literacy among the Jains, but the sustained evidence of works copied in the form of manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards indicates that there were always at least some elite groups who were highly literate and considered literacy important. These groups consisted of merchants or businessmen—Seths—and their families, who were able to pay to commission manuscript production. In many cases, manuscripts were made by professional scribes and painters who had to be paid for their work. Of course, when the scribes were monks or nuns, there was no payment. Several manuscripts were produced for monks and nuns, but members of the Jain lay community could

also be the readers. The doctrine acknowledges that the close bond between the four parties making the Jain *saṅgha* is crucial. This is conceptualized in the notion of the 'seven fields' (*sapta-kṣetra*) from the twelfth century onwards, which is a particular application of the broader notions of 'gift' (*dāna*) and 'spreading, religious diffusion or propaganda' (*prabhāvanā*), i.e. spending money for the faith. The seven forms it may take are investing for 1) Jain images, 2) Jain temples, 3) Jain tradition, 4) monks, 5) nuns, and 6) other Jains. The third aspect— 'Jain tradition'—covers activities connected with manuscript production, as the manuscript is the repository of the teaching, which, as a famous twelfth-century Jain teacher explained, is the true word. He clearly states that manuscripts have to be prepared in order to preserve the teaching, and that they have to be taken care of as objects. They are intended for monks and nuns, and serve as a basis for preaching to the followers: hence, the manuscript is essential in keeping alive the link between the two parts of the Jain community—the mendicants and the followers. This is an example of how treatises on lay conduct encourage lay followers to invest their money into manuscript production, and how the diffusion of manuscript culture became a part of Jaina ethics from the twelfth century onwards. Further, Jain manuscripts become visible in yearly festivals of the religious calendar when they are cleaned, preserved with additional pieces of cloth covering them, displayed and even taken in procession. As we will see, this performative aspect has encouraged the mass production of manuscripts belonging to one particular religious text, the *Kalpasūtra*. Thus, manuscripts are central to the Jain culture of Western India (Gujarat and Rajasthan), the area treated here.

The script of the manuscripts examined here is Devanāgarī, or variations of it. Their material is either palm leaf, attested from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, or paper from the fourteenth century onwards. Palm-leaf and paper manuscripts use the landscape format (pothī), but in certain contexts the codex form could also be used. Traditional Indian manuscripts have no quires and are originally unbound (even if Western librarians often considered it their job to bind them upon receipt; sometimes even with leather, which could be offensive to religious conceptions). The leaves of palm-leaf manuscripts were kept together with the help of a string passed through holes at the centre, and with upper and lower covers, whereas the folios of paper manuscripts were kept loose (even if a thread could be passed around the bundle). Their pages can be kept between two paper covers, two wooden covers or two cardbox covers, but this is far from being the rule. Today they are usually put between paper covers or in paper envelopes, which are wrapped in a white cotton cloth. Manuscripts

in book form, on the contrary, are stitched together or may be bound. This material aspect is not without relation to the transmission of texts.

The evidence used in the present essay comes either from the direct inspection of manuscripts in the cataloguing of which I have been involved in one way or the other (British Library, Cambridge University Library, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Udine Civic Library), or from the descriptions found in catalogues, provided they are sufficiently detailed to be made use of (e.g. Kapadia 1935ff. for Pune, Schubring 1944 for Berlin, Punyavijaya 1968 for Ahmedabad to some extent, Tripathi 1975 for Strasbourg).[1] This essay is the outcome of empirical research on Jain MTMs, but I have benefitted in my approach from the papers presented during the MTM Hamburg Conference and from the reading of various general or areal studies devoted to MTMs such as Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, Connolly and Radulescu 2015 or Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, a classic.

3 Jain MTMs: issues of terminology

The issue of MTMs is not so obvious and has not necessarily been taken into account by cataloguers, at least in the field of Jain manuscripts. The issue of terminology should also be added to this: again, in this field the terms used to designate the reality which is the focus of this essay have fluctuated. Tripathi 1975, the author of the paradigmatic catalogue of Jain manuscripts preserved in Strasbourg University Library, which has a detailed introduction forming an in-depth methodological reflection on the cataloguer's work and on the notion of manuscript, makes use of a triple distinction: (1) simple, (2) collective, and (3) composite.[2]

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1 Several of these catalogues are digitized on https://wujastyk.net/mscats/. The Leipzig collection (Krause 2013) contains MTMs with two to four texts (described in Krause 2013, XXXI–XXXII 'Beschreibung der Sammelhandschriften') but is not really interesting from this angle.
2 The following remark will be of interest only to those who were familiar with the Indological department of Berlin Free University between around 1970 and 1990: both the methodological concerns and the style of the introduction of Tripathi's catalogue (which was originally presented as a Habilitationsschrift) are deeply stamped with the influence of the late Klaus Bruhn (1928–2016), who occupied a unique place in twentieth-twenty-first German indology precisely because of his deep concern for methodology and reflection on our objects of study.

> Normally a Manuscript contains one Text. Such a Manuscript shall be called a "simple Manuscript". In the present Catalogue there are 141 cases, where the terms "Manuscript", "Text" and "Entry" denote the same object from different viewpoints, because the relevant Manuscripts are "simple" ones (1975, 18).
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> Collective Manuscripts are not very common and somewhat untypical. They are conglomerates collected for different purposes [...]. They nevertheless have the outward appearance of a single Manuscript. One may quote as parallels the practice of some libraries to bind different offprints as a single book and the practice of booksellers to offer occasionally a number of small pamphlets, articles etc. as one item (1975, 18–19). [...] A collective Manuscript would consist of different Manuscripts, and not merely of different Texts combined in one and the same Manuscript (1975, 19 n. 17).
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> When the different Texts of a Manuscript are more or less closely related, we use the term "composite Manuscript" (1975, 19). [...] If the texts combined in such a Manuscript show only a minimum of unity, then we call it a composite Manuscript, treating even fragmentary or extremely small texts as separate Entries. If, on the other hand, the unit has been given the characteristics of a single text by the author himself or if the unit has developed this characteristic in the process of "Manuscript tradition", then and only then we treat the unit as a single Text in a single Entry" (1975, 19-20).

Following this trend, I also used the expression 'composite manuscripts' when describing the Jain manuscripts of the British Library (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006). But I now find it inadequate because, according to Tripathi, 'composite' is not far from 'heterogeneous', and I would not hesitate to say that it is simply misleading because 'composite' rather refers to different physical manuscripts joined together. Tripathi's 'composite manuscripts' correspond to what is now better designated as MTM. This term is much more satisfactory because it is purely factual and just takes into account the fact that a single material object contains more than one text, without any preconception about the relationship between the texts that are included. In its strict sense, an MTM would refer to a single codicological unit using the same material, the same layout, an uninterrupted foliation, written by one and the same hand and comprising more than one text: all these visual signs testify to the project of producing one manuscript. Here the purpose will be to show that when texts are put together in one manuscript, there is some reason behind it and there is some explicit or implicit link perceived between them. In most cases, texts that are part of MTMs can be transmitted independently in the form 'one manuscript one text' (Tripathi's "simple" Manuscripts). So, having them put on par with others cannot be without purpose or meaning. We thus assume that an MTM is never a random combination but the result of a deliberate process. The introduction to the recent Hamburg publication on MTMs (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016) says:

> MTM designates 'a codicological unit 'worked in a single operation' (Gumbert) with two or more texts or a 'production unit' resulting from one production process delimited in time and space (Andrist, Canart, Maniaci). On the other hand, 'composite' seemingly is already established in the sense as used by Gumbert and others and refers to a codicological unit which is made up of formerly independent units (Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 15-16).

The material evidence explored here shows that the boundary is indeed very thin between the two categories because the overwhelming material consists of texts which may be transmitted as independent units and, in a parallel process, may enter MTMs. In approaching MTMs, another factor one has to take into account is the flexibility of textual divisions and the identity of the textual units which are the basis for transmission. There are several Indian works (both in the Jain tradition and outside) that we now consider as one text, but they are divided into chapters or sections, the manuscript transmission of which shows that they can lead their own life independently. When we study the indigenous system of cross-referencing, for instance, we see that it resorts to the titles of these chapters or sections, or, in Buddhist texts, to individual sūtras—and not to the work in its globality. Therefore, it is risky and misleading to superimpose the modern perception of a text on this material, and probably more justified to think in terms of 'blocks' or 'modules'. For example, we may have a manuscript containing only the first *śrutaskandha* (chapter) of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (the second book in the Śvetāmbara Jain canon) or only the second, or another manuscript having only the 36th and last chapter of the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* etc. So, it is possible to have MTMs where one chapter of such a work would be copied along with one chapter of another work, etc. This can result into a demultiplication of texts which is the reflection of a general conception of what a text is.

4 Jain MTMs: their treatment in catalogues

The treatment of Jain MTMs in printed catalogues has been uneven and sometimes unpractical: in most cases, each text has been described as an independent entry with cross-references to other entries (Kapadia 1935ff., Schubring 1944, etc.). This is acceptable, but there should be at least an appendix of some sort where all MTMs are listed with their contents so that one can form an idea on what they represent. This has been done in the British Library Catalogue, where they have been classified according to the number of texts contained: two to ten texts or more, preceded by a note on the principles and functions of such manuscripts (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006: vol. 1 Appendix A. Composite manu-

scripts, pp. 112-133). In the pioneering catalogue of Strasbourg Jain manuscripts, the presentation seems rather complicated:

> A list of all the Texts in a particular Manuscript appears at the very end of the Entry for its first Text. The Texts within the Manuscript are numbered in the sequence in which they appear in the Manuscript, and this may be called a supplementary numbering. In the 'Description' of the first Text we use the formula 'A composite Manuscript containing ... Texts', in the 'Description' of the other Texts we use the formula 'For the description of this composite Ms. see **Ser. No. 999** (with a list of Texts 1-...)'. (Tripathi 1975, 20-21).

Nevertheless, the Appendix 1 'Correspondence table of numbers' (Tripathi 1975, 377-380) shows which manuscripts are MTMs and can be used as a basis. In general, this means that a considerable amount of preliminary work must be achieved in order to exploit the material of the catalogues with the aim to understand the processes of assemblages. Since the entries describing the textual units are scattered over the catalogue, one has to first reconstruct what the contents of a given MTM is.

The worst case is when the multiple-text character of a manuscript has been simply overlooked because the cataloguer or, more often, the person who has prepared preliminary lists has jumped directly to the end of the manuscripts without reading it carefully. In Indian manuscripts, the end part is the place where titles are given, but one should not wrongly take the title of the final text in a manuscript as being the title of the whole. Such a situation is more likely to happen where a manuscript does not contain any of the visual markers emphasizing the presence of distinct textual units. British Library Or. 2134 (manuscript D) is an extreme case where this occurred: the manuscript is written only in black ink—no red ink is used for titles, no orange or yellow pigment is used for highlighting, no larger spaces are included to draw attention to any kind of separation between the works copied. The result was that an Indian hand, probably the first buyer of the manuscript, wrote on the final folio (fol. 54) *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā patra 54* in Devanāgarī script, suggesting that the 54 folios manuscript contains only the *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā*, a philosophical work by the twelfth-century Jain scholar Hemacandra. This, however, is wrong and was assumed on the basis of the first text contained in the manuscript. The title of a part was given to the whole. In fact, the manuscript is an MTM containing four texts, which are distributed as follows:

Pramāṇamīmāṃsā	fols 1v-2r8
Pramāṇamīmāṃsā commentary	fols 2r8-43v13
Parīkṣānāmaprakaraṇa	fols 44r1-47r2
Sarvajñasiddhiprakaraṇa	fols 47r2-54v

In addition, the same grouping (without text 2, however) is already attested in an earlier palm-leaf manuscript kept in the library of Jaisalmer (Rajasthan), showing that the MTM is the result of a conscious arrangement. The British Library manuscript is not dated as a whole, but the date V.S. 1486 (= 1429 CE)[3] appears at the end of the second text.

In the manuscripts that are considered here, i.e. Jain manuscripts written in Devanāgarī script, the folio number generally appears on the verso side of the page only, whether the material used is palm leaf or paper,[4] in the bottom of the right margin; sometimes the folio number may be repeated in the top left margin as well. MTMs have a continuous foliation for the whole, which contributes to underlining the unitary character despite the inclusion of distinct texts within the same object. There are cases with double foliation noted in the same margin, one showing the continuous numbering, and the other the pagination of a specific text. However, in my experience, they are rather rare.[5]

5 Practical reasons for MTMs?

One could well argue that there are simple practical reasons behind the production of MTMs—for instance the length of the text. In this regard, there is a clear difference between the palm-leaf and the paper manuscripts in the Jain context. Palm-leaf manuscripts tend to be thicker than paper ones. The ratio of MTMs in palm leaf is higher than in paper. The former show a clear tendency to concentrate the text while the latter favour distribution or dispersion over a multiplicity

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3 Vikrama samvat, year in the Vikrama era, which is one of the main chronological systems used in Indian manuscripts. Remove 57 in order to get the date in the Common Era.
4 The foliation is generally written in the form of numbers. A system making use of letter-numerals can also be encountered, mostly in palm-leaf manuscripts and occasionally in paper manuscripts of the early period (fourteenth century).
5 Kapadia 1937, 173 gives the example of one Pune manuscript (*Meghamālāvratapūjā* No. 96 of 1898–99) illustrating this fact. For double foliation in other types of Indian manuscripts see, for instance, De Simini 2016, 262.

of supports. The extent of palm-leaf manuscripts varies between 15 to 600 leaves, the extent of paper manuscripts may vary from 1 to 400 (Kapadia 1938a, 16). Indeed, there are many examples of paper manuscripts containing a very short text, which occupies a single folio or only a part of one folio and is also transmitted independently in other manuscripts. Small-size manuscripts tend to be on the increase in later times (eighteenth-nineteenth centuries), although this is difficult to state categorically in the absence of large-scale investigation.[6] Even if the inclusion of a short prayer composed of only a few verses in larger units such as MTMs could contribute to a better preservation and would diminish the risk of the manuscript going astray, this cannot be a sufficient means of explanation. Also, in any case, we have extreme examples of single-folio paper manuscripts which are themselves MTMs.[7] Thus, statements such as the following require qualification:

> Factors of practical utility and religious usage require that tracts and hymns which are short and popular are often handed down in the Manuscript tradition as more or less compact units containing a larger or smaller number of such compositions (Tripathi 1975, 19).

The existence of extreme cases such as single-folio manuscripts which are MTMs suggests that any type of MTMs has its own rationale, whether it has been stated by those who produce them or, much more often, whether it has to be deduced, or even speculated on, by us who study this heritage.

Paratextual remarks suggesting the deliberate wish of some individual to collect several texts together are only found occasionally (see below) and mostly remain implicit in the corpus I have examined. In brief, we normally do not have statements which would say 'So and so got these texts copied in this manuscript for such and such reason'. We also lack any name of a compiler. The purposive character of the manuscript production appears between the lines. For instance, we have an undated manuscript, probably from the seventeenth

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6 For instance, collections of Jain manuscripts such as Paris and Udine, which have a large number of 'recent' manuscripts, show a high proportion of manuscripts having one folio or just a few folios.

7 Examples of one folio: several texts are Udine FP 4288 (*Saṃsāradava-avacūri*, *Samakitavi-pāka-gāthā* and *Sādhu-aticāra-gāthā*); Udine FP 4339 (*Jñānapañcamī-stavana* and *GauḍīPārśvanātha-stavana*); Udine FP 4364 (two hymns by the same author); Udine FP 4419 (two hymns); Udine FP 4423 (two hymns in Gujarati); Udine FP 4456, Udine FP 4478 (three texts), etc.; British Library Or. 15633/68 (two short Gujarati compositions by the same author, Devavijaya), Or. 15633/105, Or. 15633/113, etc. For two folios—two texts, see for instance British Library Add. 26.452 manuscript P, having two short poems in Gujarati by the same author, Ṛddhivijaya; MSS. Guj. 14, containing two works by the same author, Ṛṣi Gurudāsa; etc.

century onwards, of only ten folios where eleven short texts in Gujarati have been put together. They are either hymns or simple doctrinal texts for daily use.[8] Two of them (Nos 5 and 10) are by the same author, Ṛṣabhadāsa; some others are connected through the goddess they share in celebration, Cakreśvarī, especially addressed in Nos 4 and 11. The unitary project is further underlined through the presence of opening scribal phrases underlining the serial number of the text (e.g. *atha paṃca* at the beginning of No. 5). In addition, three of the textual units (Nos 1, 7, 11) mention the name of the person who is the reader, a lady called Vajakuara, for whom the manuscript is meant, testifying to a project targeted at a specific individual. The fact that this name appears in the initial and in the final texts of the manuscript may be considered an additional way to highlight the unitary character of the project.

6 Minimal MTMs: one manuscript, two texts

The overwhelming majority of situations exhibited by the manuscripts of the Jain collections are those where the number of texts amounts to two—so the minimal pattern. At least this is applicable if we take multiple as starting with two, which would not be acceptable to the Sanskrit grammatical tradition where a distinction is made between dual and plural—plural starting with three!

6.1 Text and commentary

Manuscripts containing a main text and its commentary can be seen as one form of MTMs. This could be disputed as being a boundary-case or could be refused as a non-MTM, but a simple fact goes against this view: a main text and a commentary can be copied independently in separate physical units and live their own lives. This happens very often. If, then, text and commentary are copied in one manuscript, one can assume a priori that there is a reason. This combination has to be linked to the importance of exegetical literature in India: commenting upon a text is a special manner of reading it and transmitting to others the way one has understood it. Jains have been using a wide range of languages

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8 British Library Or. 15633/5: 1) *Pārśvanātha-covīsa-daṇḍaka*; 2) *Ātma nī sajjhāya*; 3) *Ātma nī sajjhāya*; 4) *Caitrī nī thoya*; 5) *Śrāvaṇa-śukla-pancamī nī thoya*; 6) *Niścaya-vyavahāra nī sajjhāya*; 7) *Jina-stavana*; 8) *Pratyākhyāna-sajjhāya*; 9) *Ātma ne hita-śikṣā sajjhāya*; 10) *Ṛṣabhanātha thoya*; 11) *Olī nī thoa*.

in the course of their tradition and they were accustomed to work in and between multiple languages. Their sacred scriptures and other early authoritative texts were written in various dialects of Prakrit, coming under the broader heading Middle Indic. They were perceived as socially less restrictive than Sanskrit, a language which was identified with the Brahmanic tradition. Jains, like Buddhists, wanted to differentiate themselves from the Brahmin ideology and its connection with Sanskrit; thus they did not use it at first. However, from early in the Common Era, the Jains had been full participants in the intellectual and literary cultures of Sanskrit, the language of academic communication and knowledge *par excellence*, which they came to use both in commentaries and in treatises. Later on, all the vernacular languages written and spoken in the regions where Jain communities settled were used as literary languages and played an extremely important role in the transmission of the teaching. For the areas under consideration here, these are forms of Gujarati, Rajasthani and Hindi in particular.

The commentaries are a conspicuous application of this multiple use of languages. They also produce several modes of presentation.

In London, British Library, Or. 13741, the main text is the *Bhaktāmarastotra*, a famous Jain hymn of praise in 48 verses written in Sanskrit. Each verse is followed directly by its commentary: so, there are two texts in the manuscript, but they are not visually distinguished from each other as units. The unit is rather the verse, i.e. the root-text (*mūla*) + its commentary. In the more commonly used standard form of presentation, however, the main text is not divided into smaller units but is first copied as a whole and forms text 1; then the commentary follows as text 2. In this case, the commentator has to repeat in the original language the beginning of the phrases which he wants to explain and which are found in full several folios before. This arrangement in successive layers is less accessible if one is not familiar enough with the contents of the root-text;[9] it is most common in palm-leaf manuscripts transmitting canonical texts. In addition to the main text in Prakrit and the standard Sanskrit commentary, these manuscripts can also provide a third text, the programmatic verse commentaries in Prakrit.[10] This layer, which in fact represents the earliest phase of exegesis and is close to oral teaching, has become extremely rare and almost extinct in paper manuscript transmission.

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9 For instance Pune 26/1880−87 Anga 6 and Anga commentary.
10 E.g. Cambay No. 6 containing 1) *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-vṛtti*, thus the Sanskrit commentary, then *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-niryukti*, the Prakrit verse commentary, and finally 3) *Sūtrakṛtāṅga-sūtra*, the *mūla* in Ardhamāgadhī.

Jain manuscripts have also devised formats which seem to be specific to them within the Indian manuscript culture and where the main text occupies the centre of the page, and the commentary fills the margins. In this way, both texts are visible at the same time, and no browsing through the manuscript is required because the size of the commentary's script is adapted to the contents. There are two kinds of such layouts. In one of them, three spaces are prepared (*tripāṭha*): text 1 at the centre in larger script; text 2, i.e. commentary, in top and bottom margins. In a more sophisticated form of layout, the commentary additionally fills the left and the right margins, thus resulting in a total of five writing spaces (*pañcapāṭha*). The direction of reading is upper part – right part – left part – lower part. In all these forms, which seem to have developed not earlier than the fifteenth century, the commentary's script is often in a smaller size than that of the main text. In these cases, the main text and the commentary may be written in the same language or in distinct languages.

Another original kind of layout is specifically connected with textual transmission through translations, especially translations from Sanskrit or Prakrit into vernaculars. Whereas a part of the monastic elite was always educated in Sanskrit and Prakrit, the majority had mediated access to scriptures through vernacular languages such as Gujarati or Hindi; so, from the sixteenth century onwards, the commentaries known as *Ṭabo* developed as a sub-genre. There, the root-text is often written in large script and in the original Sanskrit or Prakrit. The Gujarati is a word to word translation, which is laid out in the form of compartments and is often emphasized through dividers. It results into a bilingual document. This is useful both for understanding the original, and it also functions as a tool for learning the language.

Thus, different layouts, evolving towards functional forms of visual organisation, correspond to different modes of transmitting knowledge, which also target distinct audiences. These layouts are challenging because they do not correspond to the expected form of MTMs, but they nevertheless deserve to be included in this category, for the format text-plus-commentary is the primary form of MTM in the Indian context.

6.2 Other binary combinations

Apart from the combination text-plus-commentary, there are other types of binary combinations of texts in a single manuscript which consistently recur and thus form established pairs. One famous example among Jains is the association between the *Kalpasūtra*, on the one hand, and any version of the Kālaka story, on the other, which, in addition, is one of the main instances of illustrated

manuscripts. This association is attested in palm-leaf manuscripts.[11] It is continued in paper manuscripts and widely attested.[12] But how are these two texts related? The *Kalpasūtra* belongs to the canonical scriptures and provides the Jains with sacred history in the first section, their early church history in the second, and a specific set of monastic rules to be observed during the rainy season in the third. During the rainy season, characterized by warmth and dampness, Jain ascetics lead a sedentary life and stop wandering from one place to the other for practical as well as ethical reasons. In the *Kalpasūtra*, the concept of respecting religious seniority and forgiveness is central. From the fourteenth century onwards, we see a growing public use of this text, manuscripts of which are carried in procession with the pictures being used for sermons. This happens in the context of a special eight-day festival of high antiquity, known as Paryushan, which takes place at the end of August or the beginning of September. The story of Kālaka, which is an eventful narrative, is closely connected to the *Kalpasūtra* because tradition, as narrated in the legends themselves, introduces the main character Kālaka as the teacher under whose authority the date of the festival end was fixed and rescheduled to be on the day before as to prevent it from colliding with a local non-Jain festival. With this association, we have a case where multiplicity can confine to unity through integration since the Kālaka story is often considered as forming the ninth part of the *Kalpasūtra*, which itself consists of eight parts. From the cataloguer's practical point of view, we can thus assume that when a manuscript of the Kālaka story has a foliation starting with a three-digit number, it means that it was originally part of a two-text manuscript from which it had been separated.[13] Even if we are not in a position to make use of statistical data and to treat them systematically, the fact that there are well-established or steady binary group-

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11 E.g. Cambay No. 42, 108 fols., first half of the fourteenth century; Cambay No. 44, 166 fols, latter half of the fifteenth century; also in Cambay No. 48 with other texts belonging to the *Kalpasūtra* corpus; Cambay No. 50, 132 fols, latter half of the fourteenth century. See also Nos 51, 52 or 54, the latter containing three texts (*Kalpasūtra* and two different versions of the Kālaka story).

12 E.g., among many others, British Library I.O. San. 3177 dated V.S. 1485 (= 1428 CE); Or. 5151, dated V.S. 1903 (= 1846 CE).

13 This is the case with Cambridge, University Library, MS. Or. 845, the folios of which are numbered 145 to 156: see https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00845/1. One manuscript from the British Library containing a version of the Kālaka story foliated 113 to 121 has wrongly been given a shelfmark (Or. 13475) different from the *Kalpasūtra* manuscript foliated 1 to 112 (Or. 13959) although they belong together forming part 1 (*Kalpasūtra*) and part 2 (*Kālaka*) of the same codicological unit.

ings is clear. Another instance is provided by manuscripts where two texts belonging to the same category follow each other. For instance, the *Aupapāti-kasūtra* and the *Rājapraśnīya*, which together constitute items 1 and 2 of the canonical category of Upāṅgas, are often copied in the same manuscript[14] while other texts of this category are transmitted individually. Common thematic unity or complementarity of subjects are other ubiquitous criteria for selection. Thus, one didactic text dealing with the classification of living beings, and another one with their place in the parts of the universe, are collected in the same physical object.[15] However, in addition to regular patterns, there are an infinite number of cases where the resulting pair could be of any kind. The reader's taste, the teacher's initiative for the pedagogical use or simply the desire to fill a half-used page with a second text could have been the motivation.

7 Canonized assemblages

7.1 MTMs and the Śvetāmbara 'canon'

Any handbook on Śvetāmbara Jainism states that the scriptural source of the mainstream teaching is made of a 'canon' which includes 45 independent works.[16] The presentation then continues with their titles and a brief description of their contents. This could suggest that the canon has been transmitted in a uniform manner and that there are MTMs including these 45 texts. However, this is far from being the case. The expected maximum combination, a 45-text MTM, is not a reality. The most common form of manuscript transmission in this case is one manuscript per text, and an uneven number of manuscripts for each of them: some have been copied very frequently, others much less. Thus, there is a broad discrepancy between the vision of a canon as a global entity and the presence of the texts in the materiality of the manuscripts, although the groupings are rather old. In the seventeenth century, when the issue of the number of scriptures building the canon became crucial for the Jains, we see individual or

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14 Pune 72/1880–81, 223 folios, with the corresponding Sanskrit commentaries by Abhayadeva (Ser. No. 190, 197, 182, 185), no date, sponsored by a laywoman named Kurandevī after she had listened to the teaching of the teacher Jinaprabhasūri (*athaupapātikopāṃga-Rājapraśnīya-pustakaṃ / niśamya deśanāṃ tāṃ sā svaśreyo 'tha vyalīlikhat*, colophon verse 17 p. 171).

15 E.g. Udine FP 4312.

16 This is true for the so-called Mūrtipūjakas. The other branch of Śvetāmbara Jains, the Sthānakavāsins, recognize as authoritative only 32 books out of these 45.

family projects formed by Jain laypeople to either collect existing manuscripts of each of the 45 texts and bring them together, or to get one manuscript of each of the 45 texts copied. However, now that the manuscripts have been displaced from the temple libraries where they originally belonged and are scattered across and outside India, it is impossible to do more than get hold of five to ten manuscripts belonging to the same project.[17] Thus, there are two extreme patterns: one text per manuscript and aborted global projects which would have included the 45 texts, but not necessarily in a unique MTM. In between, there is space for other kinds of configurations. The 45 canonical books are traditionally divided into various categories: 11 Angas, 12 Upāṅgas, 4 Mūlasūtras, 6 Chedasūtras, 2 methodological treatises, 10 Prakīrṇakas, which in theory would offer scope for reflection in MTMs. Instances of MTMs containing canonical texts do exist, but, depending on the categories, they offer partial or complete sets (leaving out binary combinations; cf. above). As for the Angas, evidence for partial sets is available in palm-leaf manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards. This usage is continued in paper manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but for some unclear reason this ratio of MTMs seems to have then decreased in favour of the pattern one text / one manuscript. The Angas which were copied in succession in MTMs are exclusively Nos 6 to 11, which share common formal features: they are written in prose, are relatively short and, except for one of them (No. 10), all have a narrative character. The maximum combination with six texts is represented by some specimens, where both the main texts and their most famous commentaries, the latter authored by the eleventh-century monk Abhayadeva, were copied.[18] Instances of MTMs of Angas with five texts are also rather rare;[19] while smaller combinations with less than six texts seem to be more frequent.[20] The colophons of palm-leaf MTMs use col-

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17 For a more detailed discussion of this issue see Balbir 2006 and 2014.
18 For instance Cambay No. 13, palm leaf, 472 folios.
19 Cambay No. 14, palm leaf, 308 folios, dated V.S. 1301 (= 1244 CE) has Angas 7 to 11, each followed by Abhayadeva's commentary. Pune 1206/1886–92, 102 folios, dated V.S. 1553 (= 1496 CE) is an example of a paper manuscript with the same combination (Ser. No. 141, 147, 157, 165, 179; manuscript not examined directly). Under Ser. 179 the date is given as V.S. 1512 (= 1455 CE). Strasbourg 4482, 105 folios, no date, very thin paper, also has the same combination (Ser. No. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10), also with Abhayadeva's commentary.
20 For instance, Cambay No. 12, palm leaf, 331 folios, dated V.S. 1184 (= 1127 CE) has Angas 6 to 9 with Abhayadeva's commentary. Examples of paper manuscripts are Pune 55/1870–71, 39 folios, 'old', Angas 7 to 9 with Abhayadeva's commentary (Ser. No. 139, 145, 154). Pune 164/1873–74, 24 folios, 'old', has the same combination (Ser. No. 140, 146, 156) as well as Pune 144/1881–82, 26 folios, 'old' (Ser. No. 142, 148, 158). Pune 120/1872–73, 67 folios, 'not modern', has Angas 9 to 11 without commentary (Ser. No. 151, 161, 175).

lective designations to refer to the object: 'manuscript containing the main text and commentary of four Angas', 'manuscript with the commentary on the main text of five Angas', or 'manuscript containing the commentary on six Angas'.[21] Such words point to these MTMs as a coherent unit rather than as a simple assemblage of works. When both the Prakrit main texts and the most famous Sanskrit commentary thereupon are combined in one physical object, the result may be a bulky palm-leaf MTM, which can count more than 470 folios. The colophons show that the production of such an object is the outcome of an explicit decision on the donors' part. Taking note of the fact that, in their time, it is impossible to have access to the Jain teaching without copying manuscripts, they had them copied, and these copies have been made use of in public preaching.[22] Such an explanatory discourse, which is no longer present in later manuscripts, seems to refer to a period where manuscript writing was still in an initial phase, as the donors clearly say that having a manuscript written is the best way to spread religious teaching.

On the contrary, Angas other than Nos 6 to 11 do not seem to be found in MTMs, the largest of which is the fifth. If it were associated with additional texts, the result would be an inconveniently oversized and unwieldy manuscript, so it stands alone. It has also given birth to de-multiplied contents, in the form of short treatises dealing with some of its technical aspects, which are then assembled in MTMs. They complement each other with regard to their subject, and are formally identical insofar as each of them has 36 verses (hence they are called *ṣaṭtriṃśikā*s). Such a phenomenon is part of a broader process where old material is extracted, reworked and reformulated. This is a general trend in Indian thought and pedagogy: creating manuals, which are sometimes more user-friendly, to suit new audiences and new forms of spreading knowledge.[23] MTMs are a way to convey these new forms.

The twelve Upāṅgas tend to be transmitted in the format one text–one manuscript, except for binary combinations involving items 1 and 2 of the group

21 Cambay No. 12: *Jñātādharmakathādy-aṃga-catuṣṭaya-sūtra-vṛtti-pustakam* (p. 27); No. 13: *Jñātādharmakathāṃga-prabhṛti-ṣaḍ-aṃgī-sūtra-vṛtti-pustakam* (p. 32 and p. 33 verse 11); No. 14: *Upāsakadaśā-pramukhya-paṃcāṃga-sūtra-yuta-vivṛteḥ pustakam* (p. 35); Strasbourg 4482 (under Ser. No. 10): *paṃcāṃga-pustakam idaṃ kumudopamānaṃ*.
22 Cambay No. 13 p. 33 verse 12.
23 See, for instance, Pune 1935 (vol. 17,1: Ser. No. 98 and following): the *Paramāṇukhaṇḍa-ṣaṭtriṃśikā*, dealing with atoms, is combined with the *Pudgala-ṣaṭtriṃśikā*, dealing with matter, the *Nigoda-ṣaṭriṃśikā*, dealing with the most minute form of living beings, and the *Bandha-ṣaṭtriṃśikā*, dealing with the formation of karman. All have Anga 5, the *Vyākhyāprajñapti*, as their source.

(see above). MTMs, however, seem to be the favoured mode of transmission of the so-called Prakīrṇakas or 'miscellanies'. This generic term can designate any kind of textual miscellany. Yet, in the context of Śvetāmbara Jainism it refers to a peripheral category of the canon which includes a collection of various texts in verse (mostly) or in prose and verse written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. In contrast with other groups of the canon, this one is characterised by its fluidity, having between 10 and 20 texts, including some disputed texts dubbed 'super-numerary Prakīrṇakas'. In the corpus of palm-leaf manuscripts perused here (Cambay, Patan), the Prakīrṇakas that are available in MTMs are found along with all sorts of other texts, whether didactic or narrative, canonical or non-canonical, even when they follow each other and thus form a group.[24] There is only one single instance of an MTM exclusively containing Prakīrṇakas. This is a 'very old' (*atijīrṇa*) manuscript of 130 folios containing a set of the following 13 texts:[25]

1. *Kuśalānubandhi* (also known as *Catuḥśaraṇa*)
2. *Āurapaccakkhāṇa*
3. *Bhaktaparijñā*
4. *Saṃstāra*
5. *Tandulaveyāliya*
6. *Candravijjhaya*
7. *Devendrastava*
8. *Gaṇividyā*
9. *Mahāpaccakkhāṇa*
10. *Vīrastava*
11. *Ajīvakalpa*
12. *Gacchācāra*
13. *Maraṇasamādhi*

This pattern, which is noteworthy because of its rarity in palm-leaf manuscripts, becomes the prevalent one in paper manuscripts where the same texts are copied in succession in the same manuscript. A Pune paper manuscript dated V.S. 1671 (= 1614 CE) has a total of 14 texts. It shows that items 1 to 13 form a kind of

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24 For instance, Patan No. 12, 238 folios, contains 20 texts among which No. 3 to 9 belong to this category; No. 95, 161 folios, contains 34 texts among which No. 11 to 13 belong to this category; No. 4 (p. 407), 178 folios, has 5 texts, out of which four are Prakīrṇakas. The Cambay collection of palm-leaf manuscripts has only instances of single Prakīrṇakas.

25 Patan No. 82 p. 60. Used by the editors of the *Paiṇṇayasuttaṃ*, Bombay, 1984 (Jaina Āgama Series), I, see English introduction p. 79. The titles have not been harmonised here, being given either in their Prakrit or in their Sanskrit forms.

nucleus. They are copied in the same sequence, but one item is added: the *Tīr-thodgāli*, belonging to the supernumerary Prakīrṇakas.[26] Another Pune manu-script, not dated but said to be 'old', has 15 texts. It also contains the same nu-cleus (items 1 to 13), although the sequence is different, and has two additional items: the *Ārādhanāpatākā* and the *Sārāvalī*.[27] Yet, another one, not dated, but said to be 'fairly old', has 11 texts. Items 1 to 11 are present, in a slightly different order, but items 12 and 13 are absent. Finally, a manuscript now kept in Cam-bridge University Library, created in 1863 CE in Bikaner (Rajasthan), contains exactly the same 13 texts as our reference palm-leaf manuscript, with only a slight variation in the sequence.[28] Despite the actual number of texts present in the manuscript, however, the final colophon gives the title as *Dasapaiṇṇā-sūtra*, 'Sacred writing of ten miscellanies', showing that the standard number was somehow regarded as being ten, even though it was more symbolic than real.[29]

7.2 MTMs and the teaching on karma

Texts sharing a common theme are often found in the same manuscript. The teach-ings relating to karma are at the centre of Indian religious traditions and address the retribution for acts committed and its consequences in this life or in next rebirths. In Jainism, this teaching is divided into a large number of categories, and this knowledge is transmitted through works known as *Karmagranthas,* 'works about karmas', written in Prakrit verses. These works are liable to be associated rather freely and are basically independent texts. There is a broad spectrum of the forms in which their manuscripts are transmitted: manuscripts can have only one text alone or one text with commentary, either in Sanskrit or in Gujarati, but they can also include between two to six of these texts. The tradition has canonized sets of five on the basis of their common authorship, an organization principle of texts in MTMs also attested elsewhere in Jain contexts: all of them have been written by Devendra-sūri, a pupil of Jagaccandrasūri of the Tapāgaccha. A sixth one, which was writ-ten by a different author (Candrarṣi Mahattara) and is complementary in its con-tents, has joined them, so that a sixfold set has also found widespread

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26 Pune 386(a)/1879–80 (Ser. No. 268), 132 folios. The count of items (p. 259) is not correct.

27 Pune 141(a)/1872–73 (Ser. No. 269), 95 folios, 'old'.

28 Add. 1816 dated V.S. 1920, Śāka 1785, 92 folios, digitized on https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01816/1

29 Add. 1816, fol. 92r *iti śrīDasa-painnā-sūtraṃ samāptaṃ // cha // 12 // dve sahasre śatāny aṣṭau / catvāriṃśac ca sapta ca / 2847/ iha prakīrṇa-daśake // ślokasaṃkhyāpramāṇakam /1//*

dissemination.[30] In such cases, the grouping is emphasized through the expression 'set of five' or 'set of six' (*Karmagrantha- pañcaka* or *-ṣaṭka*) in the manuscript colophons.

These karma classics had been accompanied by Prakrit verse-commentaries (*bhāṣya*) representing a stage of scholarship that seems to have become obsolete at some point of time. They are not well-known and have not yet been studied. Under these circumstances, the fact that they are found with the classic works in two manuscripts exhibiting a comparable arrangement is all the more remarkable:

Ahmedabad MS L.D. 1394, 26 folios dated V.S. 1530 (= 1473 CE)	British Library, Or. 2137, MS B, 40 folios, 0. *Saṃgrahaṇīratna*
1. *Karmavipāka-prakaraṇa*	1. *Karmavipāka*
2. *Karmastava*	2. *Karmastava*
3. *Karmastava-bhāṣya*	3. *Karmastava-bhāṣya*
4. *Āgamikavastuvicāra-prakaraṇa*	4. *Āgamikavastuvicāra-prakaraṇa*
5. *Ṣaḍaśīti-bhāṣya*	5. *Ṣaḍaśīti-laghubhāṣya*
6. *Sārdhaśatakanāma-prakaraṇa*	6. *Bandhasvāmitva*
7. *Sārdhaśataka-bhāṣya*	7. *Śataka*
8. *Bandhasvāmitva-prakaraṇa*	8. *Śataka-bhāṣya*
9. *Śataka-prakaraṇa*	9. *Sārdhaśataka-prakaraṇa*
10. *Śataka-bhāṣya*	10. *Sārdhaśataka-bhāṣya*
11. *Saptatikā*	11. *Saptatikā*
12. *Sattarīsāra*	12. *Sattarīsāra*
13. *Sattari-bhāṣya*	13. *Sattari-bhāṣya*

The text numbered '0' in the British Library manuscript is a classic cosmological work which does not belong to the rest of the corpus. However, it can be regarded as a logical and coherent addition since one of the main concerns of karma works is to determine in which area of the universe beings are reborn. Apart from this, the list of texts attested in both manuscripts is identical. The sequence in the first half (1–5) and in the final part (11–13) are identical, whereas the texts' sequence differs in the central parts. No convincing explanation can be provided for this difference, which can nevertheless be considered a minor issue. The main point is that the two manuscripts preserve an older and a newer type of teaching about karma in a similar way and are rare evidence of this inclusive trend.

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30 Numerous instances in the British Library collection (see Balbir / Sheth / Tripathi 2006: vol. 2 pp. 297–334); Paris BnF Sanscrit 1659; Udine FP 4421 (three Karmagranthas with Gujarati commentary).

7.3 MTMs and hymns

Hymns probably form the area of religious literature where text-production is almost unlimited. The repertoire is infinite, and new hymns are produced every day as expressions of spontaneous religiosity, while others are sophisticated literary compositions where authors display their knowledge of poetry. They are transmitted either through single manuscripts or through MTMs, with an extreme fluidity in the way they are associated and the number of components the manuscripts include. Instances of obvious regular patterns would be several hymns by the same author or several hymns dedicated to the same Jina or deity, but no other more imaginative combination can be ruled out. Yet, there has been a kind of canonization of some hymns that have been assigned special importance, antiquity or fame by the tradition, either on account of the legendary figures of their authors, or because belief in their efficiency and in their curative powers has formed progressively. Today, the collections known as 'Nine Remembrances' (*Nava-smaraṇa*s) or 'Seven Remembrances' (*Sapta-smaraṇa*s) are familiar to all Śvetāmbara Jains and illustrate this tendency. They look ready-made and eternal, but they certainly have a history and a dynamic. It is difficult to determine when the hymns building these collections came to exist as a corpus.[31]

Evidence from palm-leaf manuscripts suggests that no collection was formed in this phase. Some of the individual hymns which later became part of the 'Seven' or 'Nine Remembrances' are transmitted in MTMs, but along with all sorts of texts, not necessarily of the same literary genre.[32] However, there is some indication suggesting that in approximately the same period (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), there were seven hymns that were regarded as forming a unitary text. In V.S. 1364 (= 1307 CE), Jinaprabhasūri, a celebrated Śvetāmbara monk belonging to the Kharataragaccha monastic order and a prolific writer, composed a continuous commentary on each of the following texts in turn, giving his work the collective designation *Saptasmaraṇa-vṛtti*:[33]

1. *Ajitaśānti-stava* by Nandiṣeṇa, fols 1r–8v
2. *Ullāsikkama-stotra* or *Laghu Ajitaśānti* by Jinadattasūri, fols 9r–12v

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31 For some brief remarks on this topic see Cort 2005, 113 (n. 20–22).

32 For instance Patan No. 22, more than 142 folios, contains 47 texts, among which *Bhaktāmarastotra* (as item 32) and *Śāntistava* (as item 42). Cambay No. 126 (Punyavijaya 1966, 208–209), 129 folios, contains 14 texts among which *Bhayaharastotra* (as item 9), *Laghu Ajitaśāntistava* (as No. 12) and *Bhaktāmarastotra* (as No. 13).

33 To the best of my knowledge, this work is unpublished. The information given here is based on the manuscript AKGM 13707, 23 folios, kept at Koba (of which a PDF was graciously provided by this Institute).

3. *Namiūṇa* or *Bhayahara-stotra* by Mānatuṅga, fols 12v–16r1
4. *Taṃ jayau-stotra* by Jinadattasūri, fols 16v–17v12
5. *Mayarahiyaṃ* or *Gurupāratantrya-stotra* by Jinadattasūri, fols 17v–19v
6. *Siggham avaharau-stotra* by Jinadattasūri, fols 19v6–20r14
7. *Uvasaggahara-stotra* by Bhadrabāhu, fols 21r9 – end.

In the seventeenth century (V.S. 1695 = 1638 CE), Samayasundara, a member of the same monastic order, achieved the same project and explicitly introduced himself as following his predecessor.[34] The hymns quoted and explained in his commentary are thus the same as in his predecessor's work. This shows that the notion of seven hymns as a whole was standardized and that there were fixed contents promoted as authoritative by two Kharataragaccha leaders with a 300-year interval. The sectarian tinge is palpable in the selection of hymns as three of them are authored by Jinadattasūri (1075–1154), one of the most celebrated leaders of this group, to whom magical powers were ascribed, and who was considered a powerful miracle-maker.

However, this does not mean that the identity of the seven texts was permanently fixed without variance. Several paper-MTMs with the collective title *Saptasmaraṇa* in their final colophons contain some of the items included in the above list, and also some others, which are sometimes in a different sequence, thus exhibiting a variable degree of stability. Here are some instances:

Ahmedabad ms., V.S. 1668 (= 1611 CE)[35] *saptasmaraṇāni* in the colophon	Ahmedabad ms., V.S. 1699 (= 1642 CE)[36] ending with *saptasmaraṇāni sampūrṇāni* 'thus end the Seven Remembrances'
1. *Navakāra*	1. *Navakāra*
2. *Uvasaggahara*	2. *Uvasaggahara*
3. *Ajitasanti*	3. *Santikara-stotra* by Municandrasūri
4. *Namiūṇa* or *Bhayahara*	4. *Namiūṇa* or *Bhayahara*
5. *Bhaktāmara*	5. *Ajitaśānti*
6. *Tijayapahutta*	6. *Bhaktāmara*
7. *Laghuśānti* by Mānadeva[37]	7. *Bṛhat-śānti* by Vādivetāla Śāntisūri[38]

34 1942: 29 (Samayasundara invites the reader who is desirous to know more about the *Bhayaharastotra* to read his predecessor's commentary); 1942, 51 (final *praśasti* where Samayasundara explicitly states that he followed his predecessor).

35 Ahmedabad 7009 (Ser. No.1417).

36 Ahmedabad 4007 (Ser. No. 1412).

37 Similar contents with slight variations in the order in Ahmedabad 1707 (Ser. No. 1413), datable around V.S. 1850, Ahmedabad 4830 (Ser. 1422), datable around V.S. 1750 or Ahmeda-

In these two representatives of the manuscript tradition, we see that two items of the preceding list have been substituted by the *Navakāra* and by the *Bhaktāmara*. The former, also known as the *Pañcanamaskāra*, is always recited in its original Prakrit and is an inaugural and auspicious homage to the Five Entities, i.e. teachers and Omniscient beings. It has become a Jain identity marker increasingly used at the beginning of any work or ceremony. The *Bhaktāmara* is a famous Sanskrit hymn addressed to the first Jina, and even more so, to the concept of a Jina. Both these texts are extremely popular and have been ascribed with a protective value. It is interesting to note that they have become an integral part of the nine-element version of the Remembrances in its classical form, the *Nava-smaraṇa*:

1. *Pañcanamaskāra*
2. *Uvasaggahara*
3. *Santikara*
4. *Tijayapahutta*
5. *Namiūṇa* or *Bhayahara*
6. *Ajitaśānti*
7. *Bhaktāmara*
8. *Kalyāṇamandira*
9. *Bṛhacchānti*.[39]

Nevertheless, slightly varying MTMs are available.[40] The fundamental position of the *Pañcanamaskāra* as an unquestionable prerequisite leads to a perhaps unexpected consequence: it might not be counted with the texts comprising the MTM so that the collective designation 'Seven Remembrances' or 'Nine Remembrances' can be given to a codicological unit containing in fact eight or ten items. One instance in point is the British Library manuscript Or. 16132/9 (40 folios), which is undated, but might go back to the end of the nineteenth centu-

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bad 5658/1 (Ser. No. 1424), dated V.S. 1762 (= 1705 CE) where the author of the commentary uses a collective designation (*saptānāṃ smaraṇānāṃ ca ṭabārtho likhyate mayā*). Ahmedabad 6739/1 (Ser. No. 1415), dated V.S. 1702 (= 1645 CE), has the *Bṛhat-śānti* but not the *Laghuśānti*; Ahmedabad 6028 (Ser. No. 1414), datable around V.S. 1850 is the same.

38 Same contents in the same order in Ahmedabad 5955 (Ser. No. 1418), dated V.S. 1757 (= 1700 CE), but no collective designation.

39 See for instance Nawab 1961, Kapashi 2007 or the numerous popular editions in the form of booklets that are owned and used by practising Jains.

40 For instance, Ahmedabad 2565 (Ser. No. 1410), datable around V.S. 1650, Ahmedabad 8056 (Ser. No. 1409), datable around V.S. 1750, or Ahmedabad 7275 (Ser. No. 7561), datable around V.S. 1950, do not contain the *Kalyāṇamandirastotra* but have the *Bṛhat-śānti*.

ry, where each of the hymns is followed by its commentary in Gujarati. The collective designation, *Sātasmaraṇa*, strictly applies if the opening Fivefold homage is not included in the numbering:

0. *Navakāramantra*
1. *Uvasaggahara*
2. *Śāntikara*
3. *Tijayapahutta*
4. *Namiūṇa*
5. *Ajita-Śānti*
6. *Bhaktāmara*
7. *Bṛhacchānti*.[41]

The same situation holds true for the British Library manuscript Or. 15633/185 (77 folios), dated V.S. 1911 (= 1854 CE), an MTM including the 'Nine Remembrances', so

0. *Navakāramantra*
1. *Uvasagga*
2. *Śānti*
3. *Tijayapahutta*
4. *Bhayahara*
5. *Ajitaśānti*
6. *Bhaktāmara*
7. *Laghuśānti*
8. *Bṛhacchānti*
9. *Kalyāṇamandira*.[42]

This trick allows the inclusion of the *Laghuśānti* which is not part of the standard 'Nine Remembrances', so the standardization is relative. The same collective designations refer to moving entities. Comparing the seven-hymn and the nine-hymn versions also shows that the two lists are not separated by a tight boundary. The *Laghuśānti* present in Or. 15633/185 is often attested in the 'Seven Re-

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41 Same situation applicable to Ahmedabad 7044 (Ser. No. 1421), dated V.S. 1853 (= 1796 CE) at the end of the *mūla* and V.S. 1909 (= 1852 CE) at the end of the Gujarati commentary, Pune Ser. No. 745 (Kapadia 1940, vol. XVII [3]) with the title *Saptasmaraṇaṭīkā*, or Berlin Ms. or. fol. 1669 (Schubring 1944: Ser. No. 379), dated V.S. 1936 (= 1879 CE) by a more recent hand which designates the manuscript as *śrī-Saptasmaraṇasūtram*.

42 See other examples in Pune (Kapadia 1940, vol. XVII 3(a), Nos 738, 739, 744).

membrances', whereas the *Bhaktāmara* available in some 'Seven Remembrances' MTMs is a regular feature of the *Navasmaraṇa*s.[43] There is a nucleus which functions as a magnet around which other texts are grouped. The evidence of the manuscripts shows that, in their present understanding, the associations of the hymns into an entity are rather recent constructions.[44] In addition, the transmission of these hymns through MTMs, which function as corpus organizers, is only one possibility. The dissemination of the individual components as single texts in single manuscripts is attested in similar proportions. In more general terms, the fluidity and absence of any normative constraint observed here, despite the presence of normalizing tendencies and irrespective of the religious ideologies, is quite typical of the general Indian situation.

8 Free associations, vademecums, polyglots or monolinguals

In contrast to the MTMs discussed in the previous section, where regular sequences of texts tend to have become standardized and form a corpus, there are several which are idiosyncratic objects showing a dynamic process. They contain partly unpredictable groupings and would ideally require individual descriptions, as each MTM is unique. However, some trends can be detected.

One of the main functions of MTMs is to organize knowledge by producing objects that are not only handy in size but also rich in content. This starts with the palm-leaf manuscripts and continues when paper is increasingly used. In the paratextual information provided in some colophons of palm-leaf manuscripts such codicological units are known as *prakaraṇapustikā*s 'manuscripts containing didactic texts.' Such collective designations contribute to qualifying the manuscript as a coherent unit. One contains four texts, each dealing with the subtleties of karma theory, and was copied in V.S. 1290 (= 1233 CE) to be read by

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43 Here, my main concern is to draw attention to the issue of the Remembrances corpus, but further detailed investigations need to be carried out. It would be important to consider the *Saptasmaraṇa* commented by Siddhicandra (*śaśvat saptasmaraṇānāṃ vṛttir eṣā vidhīyate*, verse 5), a seventeenth-century monk belonging to the Tapāgaccha monastic order, and to compare his list of hymns with the Kharataragaccha ones mentioned above (Samayasundara is roughly a contemporary of Siddhicandra), in order to estimate a possible connection between the selection of hymns and the sectarian affiliation. For preliminary information see Desai 1941, 74.

44 Cf. Kapashi 2007, 12–13.

a pious Jain laywoman;[45] another one contains 14 texts and was copied in memory of a deceased parent in V.S. 1308 (= 1251 CE).[46] The most precise generic term available in such contexts is 'didactic texts' because the texts included are not always formally identical. For instance, these 14 texts are in parts treatises on ethical behaviour or cosmology; in parts, they are formulas to be recited in the performance of daily ritual or hymns of praise. In such patterns, we see free associations which have not given rise to established sets in the manuscript tradition combined with a nucleus of works which enjoyed great popularity and are liable to recur in many MTMs with the same purpose. Dharmadāsa's *Upadeśamālā*, in Prakrit, and Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra* chapters 1-4, in Sanskrit, belong to them. Functioning as magnets or attractive units, they are also found in another comparable collection, which was prepared in V.S. 1325 (= 1268 CE) for the son of a minister and is called *svādhyāyapustikā* 'manuscript for personal study';[47] and in yet another 25-text manuscript, which does not contain any self-designation, but was copied by a man in the memory of his mother in V.S. 1290 (= 1233 CE).[48] Even though we see that some of the MTM projects were intended for an individual reader, we also see that the intended readership is not clearly defined as, for example, where a manuscript had been commissioned as a pious act to commemorate a family member.

In the combinations of the kind just described as we see them in palm-leaf manuscripts, the languages used are Prakrit and Sanskrit, with Prakrit occurring more often. The bilingual formula continues to be attested in paper manuscripts, and we have countless examples of MTMs associating one canonical text in Prakrit, one didactic text in Prakrit and two in Sanskrit, for instance, even up to the nineteenth century. However, shifts in language combinations are salient in MTMs from the sixteenth century onwards. The bilingual formula was often replaced by a three-language formula, resulting into MTMs with texts in Prakrit, Sanskrit and texts in a vernacular language, i.e. predominantly Gujarati. In MTMs that comprise a 'practical canon' and contain several texts that have become popular for the dissemination of the teaching, the proportion of Prakrit may reach 10% against 90% for the vernacular. In extreme cases, the contents of a text having Prakrit as its original language is present through its Gujarati rendering. The majority of *pothī*s or codices containing more than five texts, and often even more than ten, are the equivalent of private prayer or ritu-

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45 Cambay No. 117, 188 fols (Punyavijaya 1961, 192–193).
46 Cambay No. 101, 220 fols (Punyavijaya 1961, 163–165).
47 Cambay No. 91, 160 fols (Punyavijaya 1961, 144–146).
48 Cambay No. 88, 318 fols (Punyavijaya 1961, 131–139).

al manuals (*pūjā* or *svādhyāya*). They are meant to include everything which is useful in the context of daily ritual and religious life for any pious layman, from textbooks on the doctrine (such as the *Tattvārthasūtra*) to narrative texts, hymns and *vidhi*s.[49] They are marked by multilingualism since they often exhibit Sanskrit or Prakrit texts and Gujarati compositions side by side. To mention only one extreme instance of this situation, the Koba ms. No. 22590 is an MTM dated VS 1859 (= 1802 CE) which gathers 176 texts, some of them very short, over only 60 folios, with a proportion of hardly 5% in Sanskrit, the rest being in Gujarati, Rajasthani or Old Hindi.

However, monolingual MTMs in which all textual units are in the vernacular language are also widely attested. The monolingual pattern is at the highest in MTMs where texts intended for usage in daily religious practice are copied together. Probably the oldest Jain manuscript to have entered a non-Indian library, namely British Library, Harley 415, was copied in V.S. 1673, Śāka 1540 (= 1616 CE). This 25 MTM contains a collection of Jain hymns and narrative poems, which vary in type and length but are all in Gujarati and could have represented an easily available or fashionable kind of cultural repertory of texts:

1. *Tīrthamālā-stavana*, fragment	fol. 3r
2. *Pārśvanātha-vinatī*	fol. 3r–v
3. *Śāntinātha-stavana*	fols 3r–4v
4. *Ādinātha-Śatrunjaya-maṇḍana-stavana*	fols 4v–5v
5. *Śāntinātha-vinatī*	fols 5v–6v
6. *Cauvīsa-tīrthaṃkara-vinatī*	fols 6v–7v
7. *Jīrāula-Pārśvanātha-vinatī*	fols 7v–8r
8. *Sīmandharasvāmi-stavana*	fol. 8r
9. *Śāntinātha-vinatī*	fols 8r–9r
10. *Vaṭapadra-maṇḍana-śrīCintāmaṇi-Pārśvanātha-vinatī*	fols 9r–10v
11. *Śatruṃjaya-maṇḍana-śrī-Ādinātha-vinatī*	fols 10r–11r
12. *Aṣṭāpada-stavana*	fols 11r–12r
13. *Aṣṭāpada-ṛddhi-varṇaṇa-stavana*	fols 12r–14v
14. *Ṛṣabhadeva-dhavalabandha-vivāhalu*	fols 14v–24r
15. *Gautamasvāmi-rāsa*	fols 24r–26v
16. *Sikhāmaṇi nī caupaī*	fols 26v–27r

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49 For instance Tripathi 1975: Strasbourg Ser. No. 245 (11 texts, Digambara), 306 (Kannada palm-leaf manuscript containing 18 texts, Digambara).

17. *Ādinātha-gīta*	fol. 27r
18. *Ārdrakumāra-vivāhalu*	fols 27r–28v
19. *Kamalā-gīta*	fol. 28v
20. *Āṣāḍhabhūti-gīta*	fols 29r–31r
21. *Meghakumāra-gīta*	fol. 31r–31v
22. *Śivakumāra-gīta*	fols 31v–32r
23. *Thāvaccāputra-gīta*	fols 32r–33r
24. *Gajasukumāra-sajjhāya*	fols 33r–34r
25. *Śālibhadra-caupaī*	fols 34r–41r

Although it is not a systematic process, turning to monolingual, vernacular MTMs may have been accompanied by a shift in the format of the manuscript to a codex, or a *guṭakā*, replacing the traditional pothī format. The *guṭakā* is made of 'small format paper folios which can be loose but which are usually found stitched together with a cloth or cardboard binding' (Williams 2014, 183). This format, which was used by other communities than the Jains in the same period, is defined as a container for distinct texts and seems to have worked as a rather free type of container, where material more diverse than what is found in the *pothī*s could be copied.[50] It was primarily intended to be used as an *aide mémoire* for personal use or an accessory to oral recitation. The Udine collection for instance preserves such a *guṭakā* (16 × 20 cm), which is dated V.S. 1708 (= 1651 CE), has 257 pages and contains 26 texts.[51] The first one, the *Catuḥśaraṇa prakīrṇaka*, a fairly popular Jain canonical work is in its original Prakrit, but all the other texts are in vernacular, including a Gujarati rendering of the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, another fundamental and wide-spread Jain canonical work. This is followed by a group of individual 'songs' (*gītā*). Some of them are narrative, others didactic (about varieties of karma, carelessness, etc.); then there are various narrative poems and a group of hymns to each of the 24 Jinas. In brief, such a document compiles much knowledge that is essential to a Jain. It is a kind of self-sufficient handbook which one can use for daily reading and worship, comparable to those now available in the printed form. Even if it is the only book one owns, it contains all that is basic and necessary.

Some of the Jain *guṭakā*s display cultural hybridation, accommodating both Jain and non-Jain texts in the same codicological unit. A seventeenth-century

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50 Williams 2014, 183 ff. My thanks to Tillo Detige (Ghent University) for having drawn my attention on this thesis.

51 Udine FP 4505.

manuscript, also kept in Udine, starts with a Sanskrit synonymous lexicon written by the famous Jain author Hemacandra in the twelfth century (the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, incomplete). It continues with two religious hymns to the first Jina, Ṛṣabha, but then also has two selections of Hindu *Purāṇa*s.[52] Such collections are significant to understand the religious situation in Western India in late periods (these manuscripts are not dated but are not very old). It would be wrong to consider Jainism in isolation from a prevalent atmosphere where Hindu trends are the majority; particularly in Rajasthan, they are represented by Vaiṣṇava movements and devotion to Kṛṣṇa. In the daily perception and practice of the people, interactions between Jains and Vaiṣṇavas are a reality which is illustrated by common food habits, marriages and even visits to the temples of the other faith. Such manuscripts as those under consideration are supportive evidence of this phenomenon. Indeed, the Jains have their own literary tradition, but this does not mean that they do not have a certain amount of familiarity with Vaiṣṇava or Kṛṣṇaite works.

Nothing is simple in the way the use of languages is negotiated because in the cosmopolitan culture of the Jains, different languages serve different purposes. Even those who do not possess active proficiency in Prakrit, the traditional languages of the Jain scriptures, or in Sanskrit, the cultural language *par excellence*, view them as vested with special prestige, power or efficiency. Such a perception goes beyond any individual. This is why there are certain ritual texts or hymns of praise that are always recited in these languages, with the result that language unity is not a structuring principle in MTMs. The person for whom they are meant is exposed to all these languages at the same time, and it is taken for granted that they have sufficient command, at least for the purpose of memorization: thus, we can have a three-text manuscript with two hymns to the same goddess, Sarasvatī, one in Prakrit and Sanskrit, the other one in Gujarati.[53]

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52 Udine FP 4511, dated V.S. 1704 (= 1647 CE), eight texts.
53 Udine FP 4418, 3 folios: 1 in Prakrit and Sanskrit, 44 stanzas, 2) in Gujarati, 34 stanzas.

9 MTMs and modularity

9.1 Liturgical manuscripts

An important kind of liturgical manuscript in the Jain context are those which are used in the daily ritual of confession and repentance (*Pratikramaṇasūtra* or *Ṣaḍāvaśyaka*). They are typically meant for recitation and include a variety of materials: Prakrit formulas of high antiquity in their original language, possibly accompanied by a Gujarati paraphrase, along with hymns which are known independently and may be written in Prakrit, Sanskrit or vernacular, or even narratives. Thus, these manuscripts exhibit the interplay of literary forms and languages in an exemplary fashion. The description of such objects is a challenge: since they contain texts which also circulate on their own, they could be considered as MTMs *stricto sensu*, in which case the textual units would have to be catalogued separately as we normally do in all the cases analysed above, a hymn or a narrative being found in the corresponding thematic sections. This would result in a meaningless piecemeal deconstruction of the whole. In fact, such manuscripts are best described as units made of modular structures with modules of highly varying size,[54] some of them microscopic: this is why we have preferred to describe them as entities. This variety and this modularity are fundamental and inherent to these works. In practice, the ritual of confession and repentance which belongs to the 'necessary duties' (*āvaśyaka*) is a combination of gestures, recitation of formulas and chanting of prayers to the Jinas. One of the purposes of the vast number of hymns available in the Jain tradition is precisely to be used in this context. There are core units common to various manuscripts, but there are also variables which make every manuscript unique; for example, in the selection of hymns, their number and their language.

Among those liturgical manuscripts, frequently found hymns are the *Uvasaggahara-stotra*, a five-verse protective hymn in Prakrit addressed to the 23rd Jina Pārśvanātha and the *Saṃsāradāvānalastuti*, a four-verse Sanskrit hymn encouraging the devotee to turn away from the dangers of rebirth. However, any hymn which is more specific is liable to find a place within the ritual. These *Pratikramaṇa* manuscripts are not clones of each other. In order to pay full justice to their individual character, the cataloguer has to identify as precisely as possible the different constitutive elements with a label or to even quote sen-

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54 Cf. Maniaci 2000, 2003, and '"Modularité" et articulation du codex', in Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 22–23.

tences (or their incipits) if there is no other solution.[55] In addition, the various monastic lineages that developed within Śvetāmbara Jainism in the Middle Ages tend to produce their own confession *cum* repentance manuals, so that the manuscripts may bear the mark of sectarian identity. One of them, kept at the British Library, includes in its final part a section on the procedure to be followed within the so-called Nāgorī Lunka, a branch of the aniconic school known as Lonkāgaccha, and mentions several names of its leading mendicants.[56] There have been disagreements among various schools regarding the inclusion or non-inclusion of some components within the repentance ritual: for example, some of the schools consider the recitation of prayers to subsidiary deities or local deities as inadequate, which their leaders thus reject. This has an impact on the modules comprising the manuscripts, which are thus not neutral. Including hymns that have been composed by these leaders is another way to highlight group identity or individual affiliation to a given group.

9.2 Florilegia

Among other modes for the increasing circulation of knowledge in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries are florilegia in the medieval understanding of the word, i.e. systematic collections of extracts in order to illustrate certain themes or topics. In such manuscripts, the basic textual unit is the extract from a scripture deemed an authoritative carrier of truth. They follow each other within one and the same physical object. Such manuscripts are not MTMs *stricto sensu* because the included units are paragraphs from larger texts. Rather, they represent an extreme form of the phenomenon. From the twelfth century onwards, social and religious factors had led to the emergence of a multitude of sectarian movements within the broader entity 'Śvetāmbara Jainism'. Each group, known as *gaccha*, was headed by different monks. Although they all claimed to go back to Mahāvīra and his teachings, these groups (such as Tapā-gaccha, Kharatara-gaccha, Añcala-gaccha) gave birth to separate lineages, which distinguished themselves from each other mainly in points of practice. In the premodern period (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries), when Jain manuscript culture was at its highest level, debates between religious teachers were supported by precise

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55 See for example Balbir / Sheth / Tripathi 2006: Cat. No. 244 (I.O. San. 3400), dated V.S. 1603 (= 1546 CE) or any other manuscript in the same section. It is not possible to give more descriptive details in the context of the present essay.

56 Balbir / Sheth / Tripathi 2006: Cat. No. 274 I.O. San. 1564e.

references to specific manuscripts, which were considered by many as a source even more authoritative than oral teaching. In this time when 'going by the book' was common in sectarian disputes, several manuscripts were conceived as florilegia containing authoritative quotations from the canonical scriptures which were discussed in succession in the same codicological unit. Instances of titles given to such works are *Siddhāntālāpaka*, 'Paragraphs (or Alineas, Articles) from the Jain Canon', *Ālāpaka*, 'Paragraphs', *Nānāvicāraratnasaṃgraha*, 'Collection of various disputed points', or the like.[57] These quotations follow each other in rather loose sequences or sometimes they are organized thematically. But there is nothing like the sophisticated type of organizing principles such as those one finds in the famous *Manipulus florum* by Thomas of Ireland (early fourteenth century). The genre of 'questions and answers' (*praśnottara*) authored by leading monastic intellectuals, where controversial issues were stated and discussed, is a by-product of this more general trend. It is a boundary case of MTM, where 'text' designates the smallest unit: a sentence or quotation.

10 Conclusions

This essay has been limited to significant examples of MTMs in Jain manuscript culture. In this particular environment, MTMs have several functions. One of the main ones is to accommodate texts in one or, more often, in various languages used and recognized by the tradition. Studying MTMs from the point of view of their contents, but also from their linguistic arrangement, might help to shed light on the complex ways in which knowledge was mediated and circulated either simultaneously or in succession. The absence of MTMs which would have potentially included all the canonical scriptures is meaningful and suggests that in Jain textual transmission relatively small units were, to some extent, considered viable. Finally, it would be rewarding to undertake comparisons between MTMs and MTEs (= Multiple Text Editions). There are arrangements of MTMs that are continued in printed form, but there are also printed editions with multiple texts that have not been attested in manuscript form. Such is the case precisely with the Śvetāmbara canon, which illustrates how evolutive the MTM phenomenon can be.

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57 British Library Or. 2137 (A), Or. 16132/3, Or. 5256; Pune 1948 (vol. XVII, Part 4a, Ser. No. 1329 *Siddhāntabola*, Ser. No. 1330 *Siddhāntavicāragāthā*).

Abbreviations and sigla

Ahmedabad	see Punyavijaya (1963-68).
BL	British Library; see Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi (2006)
Cambay	see Punyavijaya (1961, 1966)
Cambridge	see https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/
Paris	see Filliozat (1936)
Patan	see Dalal (1937)
Pune	see Kapadia, Hiralal Rasikdas (1935 ff.)
V.S.	Vikrama Saṃvat (remove 57 in order to get the year according to the Common Era)
Udine FP	see Balbir, Nalini (2019).

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Imre Galambos
Multiple-Text Manuscripts in Medieval China

Abstract: One of the striking features of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang is that often texts from originally distinct sources are gathered together into one manuscript. Some of the components are assembled from pieces of older manuscripts written by different persons at different times, producing a composite item with an amalgam of codicological features. But there are also physically homogeneous manuscripts with distinct texts copied together into a new collection. This paper examines such physically homogeneous multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) and attempts to shed light on the circumstances of their production. As a case study, I analyse the codicological characteristics and the textual composition of manuscripts S.5531 and P.3932, both of which are codices with a series of shorter Buddhist texts written in succession.

The Dunhuang manuscripts represent the largest body of manuscripts that survive from China's medieval period. The material was discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century in a hidden library cave, which had been sealed around 1006, possibly in order to safeguard its predominantly Buddhist contents from the advancing Islamic forces.[1] The cave contained a vast amount of written material in a dozen and a half languages and scripts, demonstrating the cosmopolitan nature of local society of the period. Manuscripts written in Chinese were by far the most numerous, numbering in the tens of thousands.[2] During the medieval period Dunhuang was a thriving oasis city at the western end of the Gansu corridor which connected China with Central Asia and regions farther west, and thus it was the first Chinese city when coming from the West. The rich collection of manuscripts provides an ideal opportunity to study medieval Chinese manuscript culture in a way that would not be possible using the considerably smaller

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1 This is merely one of several competing explanations for the reasons behind the sealing of the Dunhuang library cave, advocated in Rong 2000. For an overview of different opinions, see van Schaik / Galambos 2012, 18–28.

2 According to most recent counts, the number of catalogued items from the Dunhuang library cave is beyond 80,000. This, however, includes a large number of smaller fragments with one or only a few characters, and thus should by no means be taken as a reliable manuscript count. But it would probably not be an exaggeration to say that the number of Chinese manuscripts in the library cave exceeded 40,000.

body of material that survives in China proper. From the point of view of their physical form, a conspicuous characteristic of the manuscripts is their diversity. There are all sorts of book forms ranging from single sheets and scrolls to pothi leaves and Western-style codices, as well as a variety of combinations, many of which did not survive elsewhere or are attested only from later periods.

One of the striking features of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang is that texts from originally distinct sources are often gathered together to form part of the same manuscript. Some of the components are assembled from pieces of older manuscripts written by different persons at different times.[3] In such cases the final product is a composite item in which codicological features such as handwriting, orthography and even colophons cannot be taken as being representative of the entire manuscript. But there are also physically homogeneous manuscripts with distinct texts copied together into a new collection. This paper examines such physically homogeneous multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) and attempts to shed light on the circumstances of their production. As a case study, I analyse the codicological characteristics and the textual composition of manuscripts S.5531 from the British Library and P.3932 from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), both of which are codices with a series of shorter Buddhist texts written in succession.[4]

The texts in these two manuscripts have already been studied by scholars of Chinese Buddhism as liturgical texts and as examples of apocryphal Buddhist literature.[5] This paper attempts to look at them from a codicological point of view and see what such an analysis may reveal. Among the findings is that while paid scribes copied most of the texts in this type of manuscripts, the last text was probably written by the donor himself who through his personal involvement in the transcription process triggered the manuscript's religious efficacy.

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3 For a study of such a case of composite manuscript assembled from physically separate pieces of older manuscripts, see Galambos 2016.

4 The pressmarks of manuscripts from the BnF and the British Library are used in an abbreviated form. Thus the full shelfmark of S.5531 should be Or.8210/S.5531, and this prefix is part of other British Library manuscripts cited in this paper as beginning with 'S.' Similarly, P.3932 stands for 'Pelliot chinois 3932,' which is an abbreviation used here consistently.

5 See, for example, Teiser 1994 and Kuo 2000.

1 Manuscripts and texts

The primary form of paper manuscripts in China before about the end of the eighth century was the scroll, which had been in use since the first centuries of the common era. The beginnings of the scroll can be tied to the use of paper as writing material and the spread of Buddhist literature. A concrete example of an early paper scroll is a fragment of Dharmarakṣa's Chinese translation of the *Zhufo yaoji jing* 諸佛要集經 (Buddhasaṃgīti sūtra), acquired at Toyoq near Turfan by a Japanese expedition organized by Ōtani Kōzui 大谷光瑞 (1876–1948). The fragment includes a colophon dated to the sixth year of the Yuankang 元康 era (296 CE) of the Western Jin 西晉 dynasty (265–316 CE), which makes it the earliest Chinese Buddhist manuscript with a date known to us today.[6] The time range of the manuscripts found at Dunhuang ranges from the late fourth century until the early eleventh, and thus they include a considerable number of scrolls. Yet from about the late eighth, and especially the ninth centuries, new book forms come to the foreground and start being used for writing Chinese manuscripts.[7] The changes were probably due to the influence of Tibetan, Uighur and other Central Asian manuscript cultures. Manuscripts from this period reveal other innovations, such as the use of a hard pen instead of the Chinese brush, a different type of paper and sporadic examples of writing in a left-to-right direction.[8] In the background of these codicological developments is a series of major changes that swept across Central and East Asia and reshaped the geo-political landscape of the entire region. Dunhuang was caught in the middle and, as the Tang Empire lost its western territories, the Gansu Corridor first fell under Tibetan control and later established itself as an independent state nominally under the sovereignty of the Tang court.

Perhaps because of the size of the Dunhuang corpus, even manuscripts belonging to the same book form (e.g. scroll, concertina, codex) vary greatly in size, length, or degree of completeness. For one thing, a significant portion of

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6 A photograph of the manuscript was initially published in the large two-volume illustrated catalogue of the archaeological results of the expeditions (Kagawa 1915, v. 2, 1). Following the publication the fragment went missing and its whereabouts are still unknown. Many decades later researchers from Ryūkoku University discovered additional fragments from this same manuscript (although not the lost part) in the collection of Lüshun Museum 旅順博物館, where part of the original Ōtani collection had been kept since WWII. See Mitani 2006.

7 For an overview of various book forms, see the section 'Formes et formats' in Drège / Moretti 2014, 345–380.

8 For non-Chinese influences in Chinese manuscripts of the medieval period, see Galambos 2012.

the collection consists of incomplete manuscripts.[9] We cannot attribute this to their antiquity or the damaging effect of time, as the contents of the library cave had been sealed in the early eleventh century. It is clear that the manuscripts were already incomplete at the time when they were deposited inside the cave. In other words, the original collection, whether it belonged to a monastic library or came into being another way, already contained a multitude of such truncated and fragmentary manuscripts. Some of them pre-date the sealing of the library cave by centuries and therefore it is a reasonable assumption that time and subsequent use played a role in their damage. But other manuscripts were merely a few decades old when placed inside the cave, and thus they are less likely to have been damaged due to extensive use. Instead, it appears that incomplete manuscripts were common in medieval collections and libraries and we should not necessarily see them as damaged goods that survived by accident. Manuscripts did not always move from an initial state of completeness towards that of gradual deterioration. Even if a fragment was a remnant of a once complete manuscript, it could at the same time also be a piece of a yet to be assembled manuscript.

Naturally, we cannot deny that incomplete manuscripts in many cases started out as complete ones. They used to have a beginning and end until they were torn and became damaged. But this did not mean the end of their circulation as they were preserved and at times went through additional stages of repair and recycling. Moreover, there is evidence that many of the manuscripts were in fact never finished but the text had been interrupted midline, never to be resumed again. We are not always aware of the reasons for abruptly suspending the process of copying and there may be different explanations for different cases.[10] It is clear, however, that some texts were from the start copied only partially without

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9 By using the word 'incomplete' I am primarily referring here to the physical (i.e. codicological) condition of manuscripts. Naturally, in many cases this also meant that the textual units on them were not complete either. In either case, our main criterion for judging the incompleteness of a manuscript is our familiarity with a larger pool of similar manuscripts, some of which are intact items. In this sense, completeness is a typological category which depends on a comparison with other manuscripts.

10 An example of an interrupted manuscript is P.2710, a single sheet of paper with 28 lines of the primer *Mengqiu* 蒙求. The copying was suspended mid-line two characters before the end of the sheet, which suggests that it was not meant to be continued and that the surviving sheet was by itself already when the existing 28 lines were copied. Whoever copied the text probably knew from the beginning that they would only transcribe one sheet of it. Since this particular manuscript contains a primer, it is quite likely that the text was copied as a writing exercise.

an intent to create a full copy.[11] In any case, medieval collections did not consist of methodically arranged groups of complete manuscripts. While such items were undoubtedly also present, there were many more incomplete items, representing various stages of composition or decomposition in the life of books.

In a similar way, the texts in the manuscripts do not always form a neatly organized system and their relationship to the physical manuscript can appear haphazard. Once again, there are examples of carefully executed manuscripts with a full copy of a text or a chapter of a longer one. Such texts normally have a title at the beginning and a title at the end, which explicitly identify the text and mark its boundaries. Examples of such manuscripts are Buddhist scriptures copied as part of official sutra copying projects, and sent to Dunhuang and other parts of the empire as a means of disseminating particular scriptures and teachings.[12] As the highly regular layout and calligraphy of such manuscripts shows, the projects represented normative efforts and did not reflect how ordinary manuscripts were produced. In a sense, they provided a standard that illustrated how texts and manuscripts should ideally be created, but the surviving manuscripts attest that this was quite different from how they were usually produced under less controlled settings and, just as importantly, within the constraints of a modest budget.

The connection of text and its physical carrier is at the core of using manuscripts, as the manuscript is a first-hand witness of the circumstances that triggered the formation of that particular instantiation of the text. Like any archaeological object, it contains clues which may enhance or modify our understanding of both the text and the social conditions under which it was written or copied. Yet there is a tendency in modern scholarship to make the text the singular focus of enquiry, especially if it can be matched with a known version of the same text. Such an approach reduces the manuscript to a mere textual witness, the sole value of which is to provide yet another version of a text, and thereby contribute data for textual criticism. But if we make an effort to understand how a particular manuscript came into being, we will see that this line of enquiry in most cases is able to offer additional information that leads us beyond the text itself and helps to reconstruct the people and the context that initiated the production of the manuscript. The details learned in the course of such an enquiry in turn may very well have implications for reading the text itself.

The analysis of MTMs offered here demonstrates how the examination of the codicological makeup of a manuscript at times offer additional insights into its

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11 This phenomenon is closely related to the purpose of copying, which typically happened within the context of a specific social practice, rather than with the aim of perpetuating the text.

12 For a discussion of Tang dynasty sutras copied in the capital Chang'an 長安, see Fujieda 1961.

production and use. While the texts themselves may be interesting in their own right, their combination and physical appearance may allow us to identify some of the reasons and actors responsible for the creation of the manuscript. At the start, we should state that MTMs are not uncommon in the Dunhuang corpus. Quite to the contrary, there are many surviving examples and these attest to the versatility of medieval book culture. It is extremely common for scrolls to have a longer text on one side and several other ones on the other. In many cases it is clear that the side with the longer text was written first and should be considered the recto, whereas the shorter bits on the reverse were added later, thereby making that side the verso. But there are also times when the temporal sequence is not straightforward and there are no discernible connection between the disjointed pieces of the text. There are also manuscripts with text written in two or three languages and the multilingual bits of text can in no way be joined together to form a coherent *text* but, instead, their complex relationship reflects the ways in which the manuscript had once been used, and re-used, during its life cycle.

2 Manuscript S.5531

As a case study of Chinese MTMs, this paper examines manuscript S.5331 from the Stein collection at the British Library. This is a small codex, 12 cm × 7.5 cm in size, with dimensions approximately those of a passport, only slightly narrower. It consists of a total of 4 quires sewn together into a volume with each quire made up of 16 bifolia. It is thus clearly a Western-style codex, representing a book form that is attested in Dunhuang during the ninth-tenth centuries, and may reflect the influence of Manichaean book culture.[13] Except for the two last pages, the paper is ruled throughout the manuscript, delineating four vertical columns on each page. The top and bottom margins are about 0.5–0.8 cm wide, the side ones slightly wider. The consistency of the layout indicates that the entire book was designed from the start as an MTM for a specific occasion. As is typical for Chinese manuscripts from this period, it is written not with a brush but a hard pen.[14] The back of the codex is darker in colour, which must be the

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13 Drège 2014.

14 According to Fujieda Akira 1969, 19–22, the shift to using a hard pen for Chinese manuscripts instead of the traditional brush occurred at the end of the eighth century as a result of the Tibetans gaining control over Dunhuang and cutting it off from China proper. See also Fujieda 1968. I suspect that the move to a new technology was a result of a cultural preference, rather than the inability to import Chinese-style brushes from Central China; see Galambos 2012, 74–75.

result of wear, as its other side (i.e. the last page in the book) has the same colour as the other pages, and so does the other half of this bifolio. On the back of the book are the titles of three scriptures which partially match the contents of the manuscript and thereby can be assumed to be a sort of table of contents.

The inside of the back cover, which is also the last inscribed page, has the date 'the 20th day of the 12th month of the *gengchen* year' 庚辰年十二月廿日, which may correspond to January 31, 921, as suggested by Lionel Giles who first catalogued the Stein collection.[15] Because the year is given in the hexadecimal cyclical signs without a concrete reign title, it theoretically could also refer to 861 or 981, both of which are within the general time range from when manuscripts with this book form and hand type are attested. But they are much more common towards the middle of this range, hence the conjecture that the year is 921 is probably accurate. The practice of dating colophons with cyclical signs without reign titles is also typical of this period. In his collection of colophons in Chinese manuscripts, the Japanese scholar Ikeda On 池田温 accepts this dating, although he identifies the *gengchen* year as 920, which was true for the larger part of the year but the 20th day of the 12th month would have, according to the Gregorian calendar, been in January of the following year.[16]

The beginning of the book is missing, and in its current form the text begins on the very first page in mid-sentence. Based on the surving portion of the first text, we can calculate that the missing part amounts to about 25 pages. The titles listed on the back cover are as follows:

1. *Molizhitian jing* 摩力支天經 (< *Molizhitian jing* 摩利支天經; Sutra of the great Mārīcī)
2. *Dizhuang pusa jing* 地莊菩薩經 (< *Dizang pusa jing* 地藏菩薩經; Sutra of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha)
3. *Foshuo xuming jing* 佛說續命經 (Sutra of extending life)

The first thing that we immediately notice is that the two first titles contain relatively crude phonetic mistakes. In the first title this is in the name of Mārīcī, in which the second syllable is written as 力 (LMC: *liǎk*, Y: *li*ˋ) instead of 利 (LMC: *li*ˋ, Y. *li*ˋ).[17] The Late Middle Chinese pronunciation of these two characters was different but by the Mongol period they would have become identical in Northern China, just as they are in modern Mandarin. Although in this case we are still in the early part of the tenth century, the phonetic substitution is no doubt due to the complex linguistic situation

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15 Giles 1957, 85.

16 Ikeda 1990, 464.

17 The Late Middle Chinese (LMC) and Yuan (Y) pronunciations used here are based on Pulleyblank 1991.

of the Gansu corridor, including Dunhuang. As other manuscripts and later inscriptions testify, using the character 力 to write the second syllable was an accepted way of transcribing the name of Mārīcī in Chinese.[18] The second mistake is in the second title, in which the second syllable of the name of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva is written with the character *zhuang* 莊 (LMC: *tʂaːŋ*, Y: *tʂwaŋ*) instead of *zang* 藏 (LMC: *tsɦaŋˋ*, Y: *tsaŋˋ*). In a way, this is a more significant problem because the Chinese name of the bodhisattva is originally not a phonetic transcription but a translation of the concept of 'earth-store' and thus the semantic value of the second character is significant. Nevertheless, similar phonetic mistakes of writing even the names of bodhisattvas and other members of the Buddhist pantheon are sometimes met with in Dunhuang, especially on cartouche inscriptions attached to images on murals and silk paintings.[19]

All three texts listed on the back cover of the codex are sutras found in Dunhuang in multiple copies, often not as single-text manuscripts but, similar to the situation in S.5331, copied onto the same manuscript along with other short sutras.[20] Even though on the back of S.5331 the three titles unquestionably reference the contents of the codex, in reality the manuscript contains quite a few other texts. Most of these are explicitly identified by a title which tells us that they were not considered part of a new composite text but were indeed seen as separate textual entities, even if presented as part of the same manuscript. Moving through the booklet from the beginning, we find the following ten titles:[21]

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18 For example, the *Quan Liao wen* 全遼文 (Chen 1982, 248) records an inscription dated to 1096 from a stūpa in Jizhou 薊州 (modern-day Tianjin 天津), which mentions obtaining some relics of the Buddha at a place called Molizhitian Cliffs 摩力支天佛厓, with the name of Molizhitian written the same way as in our manuscript.

19 A similar type of phonetic mistake in writing the name of a bodhisattva is seen in painting MG.23079 from the Musée Guimet. In this painting a cartouche next to the image names Bukong juansuo pusa 不空羂索菩薩 (Bodhisattva Amoghapasa, i.e. Unerring Lasso) as Bokong juansuo kusa 伯空卷索苦薩, with an obvious disregard to the meaning of Chinese characters in the name. The date of the painting is 950, which is quite close in time to the codex examined here.

20 See relevant entries in Shi et al. 2000. For a study specifically on the *Foshuo xuming jing*, see Li 2010.

21 The titles listed here are written the way they appear in the manuscript.

1. *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Sutra of the lotus of the wonderful dharma)
2. *Foshuo jie baisheng yuanjia tuoluoni jing* 佛說解百生怨家陀羅尼經 (Dhāraṇī sutra spoken by the Buddha for dispelling hatred accumulated in the course of a hundred lifetimes)
3. ®*Foshuo Dizang pusa jing* 佛說地藏菩薩經 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha)
4. *Foshuo tianqingwen jing* 佛說天請問經 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on questions asked by a deity)
5. ®*Foshuo xuming jing* 佛說續命 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on extending life)
6. ®*Molizhitian jing* 摩利支天經 (Sutra of the great Mārīcī)
7. *Foshuo yan shouming jing* 佛說延壽命經 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on prolonging one's life-span)
8. [Untitled. Questions and answers related to Buddhist doctrine]
9. *Foshuo Yanluo wang jing* 佛說閻羅王經 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on King Yama)[22]
10. *Bore boluomiduo xinjing* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (Sutra of the heart of the perfection of wisdom)

As seen from the list, the codex contains ten different texts and all of these, except No. 8, are marked with a title. The ten titles also include the three listed on the back cover (marked here with the sign ®) but their order is different, perhaps because it was inconsequential. Moreover, both titles miswritten on the back cover appear inside the book in their correct form. The list also shows that item No. 8 is untitled and cannot be identified with a known text. Instead, this is a short collection of questions and answers related to doctrinal issues. It comes immediately after item No. 7 and neither its beginning nor end is marked. All other items in the list are well-known texts and appropriately carry a title.

Item No. 1 is the 25th chapter of the *Lotus sutra* in Kumārajīva's translation, which was extremely popular in the medieval period both in Dunhuang and elsewhere. This chapter, titled *The universal gateway of Bodhisattva Guanshiyin* 觀世音菩薩普門品, often circulated as an independent text either as a separate manuscript or as part of similar collections of shorter texts. This was one of the most popular Buddhist texts and it survives in over a hundred manuscripts, some with colourful illustrations.[23] As a result of its immense popularity and independent circulation, the chapter was also often referred to by a stand-alone title *Guanyin jing* 觀音經 (Sutra of Guanyin) or *Guanshiyin jing* 觀世音經 (Sutra of Guanshiyin), further emphasizing its self-contained status.[24] In S.5331 the sutra begins halfway through the text because the codex in its current form is incom-

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22 This is the short title that appears at the end of the text. The head title is quite a bit longer and more cumbersome: *Foshuo Yanluo wang shouji sizhong nixiu sheng qizhai gongde wangsheng jingtu jing* 佛說閻羅王授記四眾逆修 生七齋功德往生淨土經. For a detailed study of this scripture and its role in the lives of ordinary people in Dunhuang and in medieval China in general, see Teiser 1994.
23 Yü 1994, 152.
24 For a brief overview of the *Guanyin jing* in Dunhuang, see Fang 1997, 225–227.

plete. It is easy to calculate the missing portion which, including the title, would have amounted to 1,119 characters. The extant pages of the sutra in the codex have about 45 characters per page, which means that the missing portion would have taken up about 25 pages.

For the most part, the texts in the codex are clearly marked with a so-called 'head title' (*shouti* 首題) appearing at the beginning and a closing 'end title' (*weiti* 尾題). This was a typical way of marking the beginning and end of texts in Chinese manuscripts, whether they consisted of one or more texts. The two titles did not necessarily match as the head title normally represented the text's official and more complete title, whereas the end title could be an abbreviated or unofficial way of referring to the same text. Since the beginning of the manuscript is missing, we do not know what the head title of the first text (i.e. 25th chapter of the *Lotus sutra*) was but the end title says *Miaofa lianhua jing yi juan* 妙法蓮華經一卷 (*Sutra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Dharma, in one scroll*). This is an unusual way of calling the text and is technically incorrect, as it only comprises one specific chapter of this sutra. In terms of the layout, the end title appears in a new column and is followed by an empty one, dividing the text visually from the one that comes after it.

The next text is the *Foshuo jie baisheng yuanjia tuoluoni jing*, an apocryphal collection of magical spells. It begins with a full title in a separate line but the end title is absent. Instead, the text concludes with a short spell placed on its own in an indented line.[25] In this case there is no empty line to mark the division between the two adjacent texts but the indentation of the final line with the spell and the empty space following the head title of the next text unambiguously mark the boundary between texts. In the later part of the codex the titles do not always occupy a separate line but there is always enough indentation or empty space left to indicate the boundary. The very last text in the booklet is the *Bore boluomiduo xin jing* (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya sūtra*), more commonly known as the *Xin jing* 心經 (*Heart sūtra*). The title at the beginning appears in full form but surprisingly the word *juan* 卷 ('scroll') is omitted from the expression *yi juan* 一卷 ('in one scroll'). This is written correctly in the end title but the word Prajñāpāramitā is abbreviated to its last syllable *duo* 多 (i.e. *Duo xin jing yi juan* 多心經一卷).[26]

Since the beginning of the manuscript is missing, we do not know whether the entire volume had a title. The texts themselves are known from transmitted literature and are also well attested in other manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries. The versions in the codex have some discrepancies with the standard versions we are familiar with but these in most cases can be attributed to copying errors. Supporting this assumption is a series of corrections, ranging from common correction marks to insertions of longer strings of text accidentally omitted while copying. Even though comparable collections of

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25 A similar spell on a separate indented line appears at the beginning of the text after the head title.

26 This abbreviation is in fact common among the Dunhuang manuscripts.

similar texts are known from Dunhuang, none of these has the same combination and sequence of the ten texts, which suggests that the booklet was an *ad hoc* selection of texts intended for personal use. Judging from its content, this was a book meant to be used in a liturgical context similar to how volumes with multiple texts—including the same 25th chapter of the *Lotus sutra*—are still used in Buddhist temples throughout East Asia.

Structurally, the manuscript consists of 32 bifolia, folded and arranged into four separate quires of equal size. Each quire has 8 bifolia sewn together with a white thread using four roughly evenly spaced holes along the centre of the folded bifolia.[27] The thread also keeps the quires together and it is likely that the missing part from the beginning of the manuscript formed a separate quire which became detached when the thread broke. Since the missing part amounts to about 25 pages, that is a bit over 6 bifolia, it is possible that the first quire was slightly smaller than the remaining ones, each of which consists of 8 bifolia. It is also possible that the text of the sutra was preceded by a series of spells or a picture and the first quire was the same size as the surviving four in the manuscript.

Table 1 displays the relationship between the codicological vs. textual structure of the codex, using thumbnails of the original images of the manuscript. Following the right-to-left direction of the text in Chinese books, the first image is in the top right corner and the last one is the bottom left. The wide white gaps mark the boundaries of the quires and the narrower black ones, those between texts. The number of each text is signified by the white number placed at its start. As the table shows, the text boundaries never overlap with those of the quires, which means that the codicological structure of the codex was essentially irrelevant for the person copying the texts. In fact, the fourth text begins half a page into the second quire yet there is no trace of an effort to adhere to the physical division of the volume.[28] Clearly, once sewn together, the bifolia were seen as parts of an indivisible whole.

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27 It is also possible to see remnants of some red, blue and green threads in the second and third quires, although it is not clear whether the colours have any function.

28 The disregard for the boundaries of codicological units within the manuscript was also common in scrolls. Once the separate sheets of paper were glued together to form a longer continuous writing surface, scribes made no attempt to observe the physical boundaries of the sheets in the scroll.
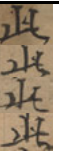
Tab. 1.: The codicological vs. textual structure of manuscript S.5531.

The handwriting in the manuscript is relatively uniform, although we can discern several distinct hands. Without trying to do a detailed palaeographic analysis, Table 2 compares the way the characters *ci* 此 ('this') and *wu* 無 ('there is no; have no') appear across the ten different texts in the codex. The examples show that there is a marked consistency between how the same character is written within the same text and, at the same time, differs from the way it looks in some others. Allowing for the possibility that the handwriting of the same person may somewhat vary depending on his mood, the amount of available time, his ability to focus or other factors, the examples in the table probably represent the work of at least four or five different hands. Looking at the character 此, for example, I would say that text 1 represented one hand, texts 2 and 3 another one, text 5 another one, text 7 another one, and text 9 yet another. As for the character 無, there are again obvious dissimilarities across different texts. The forms in texts 6 and 9 seem the most compatible with each other, whereas the form in text 4 is a completely different orthographic structure. Finally the forms in the last text are distinct from those in all other text. In sum, we can conclude that the texts in the codex are written in several hands, even though the general writing style is similar throughout the manuscript.

Tab. 2: Comparison of the characters 此 and 無 in the ten different texts in manuscript S.5531.

In terms of the overall consistency of handwriting, the last text stands out. Written in considerably larger characters, it has about 8–9 characters per line instead of the 10–13 seen in the rest of the book (Fig. 1). In addition to obviously being written by a different hand, the larger character size sets it apart from the rest of the book. While the differences in the quality or size of the characters may seem

like a trivial observation, in this case they may be of significance for understanding the function of the entire manuscript, as well as the process of its creation. As I will argue below, this final part of the manuscript was probably written by the donor who paid for the codex, whereas the other nine texts were executed prior to this by hired hands.
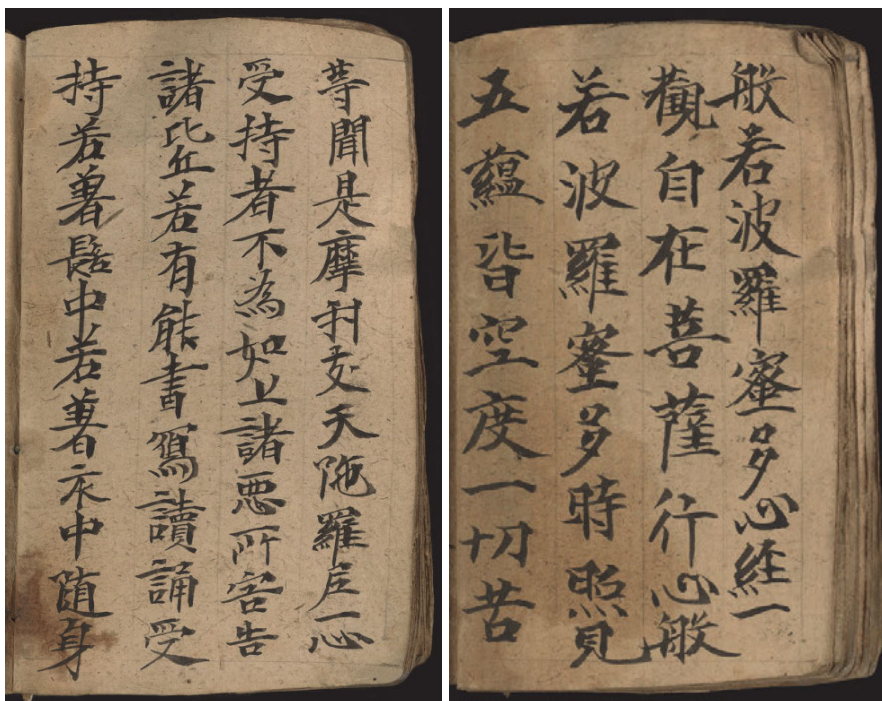

Fig. 1: Comparison of handwriting and character size in text 6 on p. 30 (left) in manuscript S.5531 with text 10 on p. 60 (right).

3 Manuscript P.3932

Although, as discussed above, S.5331 appears to be an occasional compilation, there are other comparable booklets among the Dunhuang manuscripts. One of the more similar ones is P.3932 from the Pelliot collection at the BnF. This manuscript is a small codex with dimensions matching those of S.5331 (i.e. 12 cm × 7.5

cm). Naturally, the identical book form and the unusual size point to a connection between the two items.[29] Fortunately, this manuscript is complete, so we need not guess the amount of pages missing. It comprises a total of 92 pages, that is, 46 folia, not counting the relatively hard front and back covers which, unlike in some other Chinese codices from Dunhuang, are not part of the quire structure. The booklet consists of six quires, each of which has four bifolia.[30] The leaves are sewn together, using six holes, with a red and a white thread, which still hold the codex together tightly. The manuscript is carefully ruled from the first page to the last, dividing the pages into four vertical columns with 0.5–0.8 cm margins at the top and bottom, similar to manuscript S.5531 above. The side margins are, however, narrower, only about 0.2–0.3 cm in width.

The ruling begins on the very first page which has no writing save for the character *fo* 佛 ('Buddha') in the top right corner, which very likely has a liturgical or notational significance here but is not part of the texts in the manuscript. This solitary character is written in a relatively unskilled hand in contrast with the practiced calligraphy of the following pages, and this is an indication that it was not part of the original manuscript but may have been added subsequently by a user or owner.

Turning to the next page, we find a two-page line drawing of Bodhisattva Guanyin with two donors. The bodhisattva sits on a lotus throne in a half-lotus position, whereas the donors, presumably husband and wife, kneel in front of him on a mat, hands joined together in a sign of worship. More or less contemporary scenes depicting donors in the act of worship (*gongyang* 供養) are known from other manuscripts and especially silk paintings.[31] Appearing at the beginning of the codex unmistakably shows that it is they who sponsored the production of the manuscript by paying for the copying. The picture of the bodhisattva and the donors is executed with considerable skill, confirming that it was done by a trained artist and was clearly part of the job paid for by the donors. The custom of hiring someone to copy Buddhist texts is attested in colophons among the Dunhuang manuscripts. For example, manuscript P.2893 contains *juan* 4 of

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29 I am grateful to Nathalie Monnet of the BnF for verifying that the binding of P.3932 seen in the digital images is in fact the original one.

30 A description of the manuscript, including its codicological features is available in vol. 4 of the catalogue of the French collection; see Soymié et al. 1991, 423–424.

31 An example of a manuscript with a donor image is P.3136 where a donor named Li Shunzi 李順子 is depicted with clasped hands at the end of a copy of the same *Molizhitian jing* seen in S.5531. An amusing example is Stein manuscript 209 (Ch.00213) from the British Museum, where a clumsy picture of a donor worshipping Guanyin precedes a copy of the *Foshuo xuming jing* (also included in S.5531).

the apocryphal sutra *Foshuo baoen jing* 佛說報恩經 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on requiting kindness) and a colophon at the end states that it was copied by a hand hired by the monks Xingkong 性空 and Daoyuan 道圓.[32] While this colophon is in a way exceptional in referring to the act of employing someone so explicitly, in other cases this may be the case even if not stated specifically.

In his catalogue of the dated manuscripts from the Stein collection, Lionel Giles argues that the verb *zao* 造 ('to create') should be understood in the colophons in the sense that a manuscript was 'caused to be made or copied,' and therefore indicated paying someone else for the copying of a text. He also adds that in the context of the colophons even the verb *xie* 寫 ('to copy, write') is to be generally understood as causing someone to copy, rather than copying by oneself.[33] Accordingly, Giles's translations of some of the colophons interpret the verb used for the act of copying in this causative sense. An example of such a colophon from a tenth century is manuscript S.6230, which contains the *Yanluo wang jing* seen in codex S.5531 above. The colophon dates to 926, only five years later than the date of S.5531, suggesting that the two manuscripts may have been produced and used under similar circumstances:[34]

> 奉為慈母病患，速得詮嗟（痊差），免授（受）地獄，壹為在生父母作福，二為自身，及合家內外親因（姻）等。無知□長，病患不侵，常保安樂，書寫次（此）經，免其□□（地獄?）業報。　　同光肆年丙戌歲六月六日寫記之耳。

> On behalf of my gracious mother, now afflicted with illness, that she may be speedily cured and escape the apportionment of hell [in the next reincarnation]; firstly, to produce happiness [resulting from merit acquired] for my living parents, and secondly for myself and my whole family and kinsmen by blood or by marriage [...] that we may not be attacked by disease but may constantly preserve our health and happiness, I have caused this sutra to be copied out, so that all of them would escape the karmic retribution [of the underworld?]. Copying recorded on the 6th of the 6th moon of the *bingxu* year, the 4th of Tongguang.

The colophon demonstrates that the motivation for paying for the copying of the text was to accrue karmic merits for the donor and his extended family. Even though the colophon is ambiguous regarding the person who actually copied the text, Giles is probably right in interpreting the statement as a reference to a

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32 See van Schaik / Galambos 2012, 104–105.

33 Giles 1939, 1031. In support of this argument, Giles cites a colophon that mentions cutting down expenses to be able to afford paying for the copying of a section of a sutra. Another example involves an empress 'causing' the copying of a larger group of sutras which she would not have been able to copy by herself.

34 Translation adapted from Giles 1940, 329–330.

commissioned production of a manuscript. This would probably also mean that in contrast with the main text, the colophon was written by the donor who paid for the copying. When the copying is not hired out but done by someone in person, this may be expressed using the expression 'with one's own hand' 自手, as it is seen in the colophons of manuscripts S.4601 (986) and S.4307 (987).

Coming back to manuscript P.3932, the first text beginning on the page following the picture is the 25ᵗʰ chapter of the *Lotus sutra*, just as it was the case with codex S.5531. Since the book is complete, we have a head title, which is the standard title of the text: *Sutra of the lotus of the wonderful dharma, Chapter 25: The universal gateway of Bodhisattva Guanshiyin* 妙法蓮華經觀世音菩薩普門品第廿五. In contrast with this, the end title for the same text says *Guanyin jing yi juan* 觀音經一卷 (Sutra of Guanyin in one scroll). The text takes up about two-thirds of the whole book and is written in a skilled and confident hand, which seems to confirm the assumption that it was produced by a professional scribe. We have no information whether this person was a scribe, a monk or just someone with good handwriting who offered such service in exchange for a payment. The donors, in turn, would have accrued karmic merits through the act of sponsoring the production of the manuscript.

The manuscript continues with the *Heart sutra* and several additional texts in succession, just as it was the case with the ten texts that were copied one after the other in S.5531. In fact, the first five texts in the Pelliot manuscript are all included in S.5531. Thus manuscript P.3932 contains the following texts:

> 1. *Miaofa lianhua jing Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin di nianwu* 妙法蓮華經觀世音菩薩普門品第廿五 (Sutra of the lotus of the wonderful Dharma, Chapter 25: The universal gateway of Bodhisattva Guanshiyin)
> 2. *Bore boluomiduo xinjing* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (Sutra of the heart of the perfection of wisdom)
> 3. *Foshuo xuming jing* 佛說續命經 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on extending life)
> 4. *Foshuo Dizang pusa jing* 佛說地藏菩薩經 (Sutra spoken by the Buddha on Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha)
> 5. *Foshuo jie baisheng yuanjia tuoni jing* 佛說解百生怨家陀尼經 (Dhāraṇī sutra spoken by the Buddha for dispelling hatred accumulated in the course of a hundred lifetimes)[35]
> 6. *Cishi zhenyan* 慈氏眞言 (Mantra of Maitreya) and *Jingkouye zhenyan* 净口業眞言 (Mantra for the purification of speech).

The two mantras at the end are listed here as a single item because they are written continuously without any visible break, by the same unskilled hand. These

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35 This title omits the second syllable from the word *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼經 (dhāraṇī) which may be simply a mistake.

two mantras are also the only content that does not occur in S.5531, while all other texts are shared between the two codices.

There is a difference in the sequence of texts, probably because it was inconsequential, and there was a certain degree of flexibility with regards to which texts should be included in such a manuscript. In either case, the two manuscripts are analogous not only in their physical appearance and size but also in their content, which naturally signifies a similarity in their method of production and use. There are, in fact, quite a few similar MTM volumes (e.g. S.5450, S.5531, S.5585), which contain various combinations of the same few short texts.[36]

From a palaeographic point of view, the two mantras at the end of P.3932 exhibit a disparity from the rest of the manuscript in that they are written in a noticeably less skilled hand. The other texts are also written in more than one hand, some more competent than others, but the two mantras at the end stand out with their clumsy handwriting.[37] Considering the picture of donors at the beginning of the manuscript and the skilled hands used for writing the first five texts, it is very likely that the two mantras are in the hand of one of the donors, whereas the rest of the texts represent hired hands. Adding the last text in one's own hand must have ensured the efficacy of the manuscript, a final step that helped to take complete possession of the merits generated by the act of copying.

4 Conclusions

This contribution looked at two Chinese codices from Dunhuang as examples of MTMs. Both of them consist of a series of Buddhist texts assembled into a single volume that was probably used by local people for liturgical purposes. The manuscripts were of identical size and similar physical form, and their content overlapped to a considerable extent. This points to a link between them, making it likely that they were produced under similar circumstances and probably close to each other in time. Accordingly, the date 921 seen at the end of manuscript S.5531 could be close to the time when P.3932 was commissioned. At the same time, the discrepancy between the order of texts in the two booklets and the texts only appearing in one of them indicate that there was a certain degree of arbitrariness in such collections and that their composition was not stable.

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36 Teiser 1994, 273–274, Kuo 2000, 694–695.
37 Zhang Zong (2001, 95) is of the opinion that the first three texts in P.3932 are in one hand and the last two in another one.

In both manuscripts the last text exhibited some calligraphic differences from the rest of the texts in the volume. In the case of S.5531 the last text appeared in much larger characters, which in turn affected the layout, such as the number of characters per line. In P.3932 the last text was written in a considerably less skilled hand in comparison with the rest of the codex. Since the manuscript began with a line drawing of a donor couple kneeling in front of Bodhisattva Guanyin, we can assume that the last text was copied by one of them, whereas the other texts were executed by hired hands. This type of division of labour probably also held true for S.5531, as well as other manuscripts belonging to this group. As seen from the example of codex P.3932, the commissioned manuscripts were also professionally bound, and this must have happened before being handed over to the donors. It is possible that such manuscripts were sold at monasteries or other public places as premade codices, with empty pages left for buyers to copy the last text in their own hand. This model of appropriating purchased or commissioned items may also hold true for paintings where the inscriptions in cartouches are often of markedly inferior quality than the paintings themselves.

We should also acknowledge that donors did not always have inexperienced handwriting and so the text they copied would not necessarily appear inferior to those executed by hired hands. Similarly, the calligraphic skills of scribes hired for producing such manuscripts may not necessarily have been significantly better than those of the average literate person and thus may not be of noticeably different quality from the hand of the donor. Yet even if the handwriting and layout of the last text does not differ perceptibly from the other texts in the manuscript, volumes with analogous content and format were likely produced in a similar manner. Indeed, it is the handful of manuscripts in which such a discrepancy is detectable that allow us to demonstrate the presence of the donor's hand and help us to deduce their potential role in the production of similar manuscripts.

This paper analysed only two manuscripts as examples of MTM structure, approaching them from the point of view of their physical form. A more comprehensive study would have to include all identifiable manuscripts of this type, as these would almost certainly provide additional details that may be relevant for the entire group. It is merely a modest attempt to demonstrate how the scrutiny of the physical form of manuscripts may lead to insights regarding the social and religious background of a community.

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Alessandro Gori

Text Collections in the Arabic Manuscript Tradition of Harar: The Case of the *Mawlid* Collection and of *šayḫ* Hāšim's al-*Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*

Abstract: In my paper I describe two text collections (the so-called *Mawlid* Collection and *šayḫ* Hāšim's *al-Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī*) widely attested in multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) of the Arabic manuscript culture of the Islamic city and learning centre of Harar (Eastern Ethiopia), highlight the main components of both collections and their distribution in the codices, and carry out a comparative analysis, tentatively reconstructing a possible history of their formation and diffusion.

1 The Islamic manuscript tradition in Harar

Harar, possibly the most important Islamic cultural centre of the entire Horn of Africa, is a walled city located in Eastern Ethiopia 525 kilometres east of the capital Addis Ababa (9°19′N 42°7′E; census 2012: 151,977 inhabitants).

According to the Harari Islamic tradition, as preserved in one of the chronological lists of the city's rulers,[1] an emir called Ḥabbūba is credited to have governed Harar as early as 896. However, the historical reliability of the document has been harshly questioned,[2] and in any case no further detail of the oldest phases of Harar's history is known; thus, they remain shrouded in vagueness.

Another local historical tradition claims that Harar came to play a major role in the Ethiopian political and religious landscape in 1216, when, according to the historiographical/hagiographic text of the *Fatḥ madīnat Harar*, which is

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1 It is the list prepared by Aḥmad al-Šāmī and preserved in the manuscript 276B of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa (dated April 1956; on the manuscript see Wagner 1976, 188–189 and Gori et al. 2014, 9).
2 Wagner 1976, 193–195.

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attributed to an otherwise unknown author called Yaḥyā Naṣrallāh, the saint Abādir ʿUmar al-Riḍāʾ came with 405 fellow holy men from Mecca to Harar. The group settled in the region and practically established the city's supremacy over the surrounding regions.[3]

In external historical sources, Harar is first attested in the Chronicle of ʿAmdä Ṣǝyon, where it is mentioned in the list of the Muslim regions and groups which joined the war coalition led by *qāḍī* Ṣāliḥ against the Christian state in 1332.[4] The fact that Harar only managed to contribute five *mäkʷännǝn* to the alliance on that occasion can be interpreted as an indication of Harar's relative insignificance.[5]

In 1520, Harar became the capital of the emir Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, who belonged to the Walasmaʿ/Walašmaʿ dynasty.[6] After the *ǧihād* of *imām* Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, emir Nūr b. Muǧāhid made the city the centre of his rule and built the famous defensive wall, which was to become the symbol of the city. From 1647 to 1875, Harar was the capital of an independent emirate under the dynasty of ʿAlī b. Dawūd.[7]

In 1875, the Egyptians occupied Harar and governed it from 1875 to 1885 in the framework of the expansionist policy carried out by khedive Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm.

Harar reacquired its independence in 1885 with emir ʿAbdullāhi, but in January 1887 it was conquered by Mǝnilǝk, and was thus eventually subsumed into the modern Ethiopian state.[8] A *new* overwhelmingly Christian Harar slowly grew outside the historical wall. The city, however, preserved its fame as a centre of Islam in the Horn and managed to partially revive its previous independent status, when it became a regional state (The Harari People's National Regional State) in the federal Republic of Ethiopia in December 1994.[9]

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3 The *Fatḥ madīnat Harar* has been published by Ewald Wagner (1978) who accepts with some minor reservations the general chronological and factual framework of the text, while discharging the many blatant anachronisms which are scattered in the narration of the events (see also E. Wagner, 'Fatḥ Madīnat Harar', in *EAe* vol. 2, 2005, 505b–506b and E. Wagner, 'Harär history till 1875' in *EAe* vol. 2, 2005, 1015a–1019a).

4 Marrassini 1993, 104–105; Kropp 1994, 30 (text), 36 (translation).

5 On this point, see Wagner 1976, 194.

6 On the Walasmaʿ dynasty see the introductory article of van E. van Donzel, 'Walašmaʿ' in *EAe* vol. 4, 2010, 1083a–1084b.

7 On the dynasty of ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd see E. Wagner, 'ʿAlī b. Dāʾūd dynasty' in *EAe* vol. 1, 2003, 199b–200a.

8 On the Egyptian rule in Harar see the J. Miran, 'Harär under Egyptian occupation 1875–85', in *EAe* vol. 2, 2005, 1019a–1020a.

9 Some general data on this last phase of the history of Harar has been collected by T. Carmichael, 'Harär from the late 19th century to the 20th century', in *EAe* vol. 2, 2005, 1020a–1021b.

Harar is the centre of a well-defined manuscript tradition preserving and transmitting texts in Arabic (both of local foreign authors) and in the Old Harari *ʿağamī* tradition.

It is practically impossible to even approximately calculate the number of manuscripts which have been produced and copied in Harar or have circulated in the city. A very vague estimation can be made by looking at the collections in Ethiopia and abroad that contain manuscripts originating from the walled city.

The main present locations of manuscripts from Harar are the following:

– Addis Ababa, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at the University has at least fifty manuscripts certainly coming from Harar (out of 303 items composing the whole Islamic collection);[10]

– Harar, the ʿAbdallāh Šarīf private city museum has at least 491 manuscripts[11] collected in the city and its surroundings;

– Pavia, Italy, the City Library 'Carlo Bonetta' possesses twelve manuscripts acquired in Harar in 1888–1889 by the engineer Luigi Robecchi Bricchetti, who passed them to the library in 1926;[12]

– Rome/Vatican City, eight items in the Vatican Library Arabic collection come from Harar (Vat. Ar. 1791, 1792, 1793, 1796; Cer. Et. 325, 326, 327, 328),[13] and two manuscripts from Harar are kept in Rome in the 'Fondo Conti Rossini' at the library of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (CR 75 and 129);[14]

– Berlin, twenty-one codices collected by Ewald Wagner between 1966 and 1972, which are now kept at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz;[15]

– Leiden, twenty so far uncatalogued manuscripts collected between 1956 and 1972 by the Dutch scholar Abraham Johannes Drewes in Harar and its region are preserved in the private possession in Leiden;

– Paris, the Bibliothèque nationale de France has two Harari manuscripts, which were acquired in the walled city by Philipp Paulitschke, who subsequently donated them to the library, where they were bound together in one (Orientaux divers 70).[16]

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10 On this part of the Islamic manuscript collection at the library of the IES in Addis Ababa see Gori et al. 2014, xl–xli.

11 Belle Tarsitani 2009, 10 (table 1.) affirms that the Museum of ʿAbdallāh Šarīf keeps 950 manuscripts. I can confirm that the institution certainly possesses many more than the 491 items to the images of which I have access but I am not able to provide any further estimation of the quantity.

12 The collection has been catalogued by Traini 1974.

13 Catalogued respectively by Levi Della Vida 1965, 150–155, 156–159 and Cerulli 2004, 232–238.

14 Catalogued by Strelcyn 1976, 197–198, 322.

15 Catalogued by Wagner 1997.

16 Cohen 1931, 249.

1.1 The Harari *ʿağamī* tradition

The main features of the manuscript tradition containing texts in the Old Harari language in Arabic script can be summarized as follows:[17]

The earliest attestation of manuscript tradition dates back to the first half of the eighteenth century, the oldest datable manuscript containing a text in Old Harari being 1460 Abdulahi Collection 118 (previous numbering ASh 060 5-13-5)[18] dated 27th *rağab* 1112 H. (7th January 1701). A palaeographical and philological analysis of the manuscript[19] points to the fact that it probably represents an earlier tradition which can be traced back to the seventeenth century.

A great bulk of the Harari *ʿağamī* literature in verse and prose can be qualified as pietistic and devotional (e.g. the so-called 'Canzone dei Quattro Califfi', i.e. 'The Song of the Four Caliphs', a more than 500 verse-long poem, which praises the Prophet Muḥammad and the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs), and didactical and instructional in theology and law (e.g. the *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ*). Non-religious texts also exist and are mainly represented by the anonymous *Masnoy* (poem describing the good physical and moral qualities of a perfect bride).[20]

Harari *ʿağamī* literature has had both written and oral circulation, and can still be partially considered a living tradition. However, a great part of the younger generation of the Harari people, especially outside the walled city, faces growing difficulties in reading Old Harari in Arabic script (and sometimes also Arabic tout-court). A blossoming literary production in Modern Harari written in Ethiopic script is spreading and could become in the most important way for Hararis to express themselves in writing.[21]

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17 For a general and comprehensive description of the literature produced in Harar see Banti 2010, on which the following few lines are based. In particular, for a definition of the linguistic labels 'Old Harari', 'Middle Harari' and 'Modern Harari' see ibid. 155–156.

18 The more recent numbering is the one introduced by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project (led by S. Delamarter; George Fox University) during the work conducted at the ʿAbdallāh Šarīf private city museum in May of 2011.

19 In particular, the consistency shown by the orthography used in the manuscript is a strong argument (Banti 2010, 154).

20 Cohen 1931, 328–354 gives a first description of the structure and content of the text based on the two manuscripts given by Paulitschke to the BnF (now bound in only one codex).

21 The existence of an edition of the *Kitāb al-farāʾiḍ* in Ethiopic script most probably published after 2004 in Dire Dawa at the Ḫalaf printing press points exactly at this increasing difficulty in accessing, reading and understanding the original text in Arabic script experienced by more and more Hararis (ibid. p. IV: *Yom aḫḫazal ğil aräbi-le-m ḥana ingliz sinan-le bäğiḥ-be nugda-nta-ma kil saba kutäb nawäṭho faraʾid iqot-le čaḥ tälle*, 'As the present genera-

1.2 Arabic manuscript tradition in Harar

A conspicuous Arabic manuscript tradition exists in Harar. So far, the oldest dated Arabic work written by a Harari learned man has been considered to be the the *Tanbīh al-nāʾimīn*, a work by *faqīh* Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq, an eighteenth century scholar of the Ḥanafi school of law, was completed in *ḏū al-ḥiǧǧa* 1169 (Aug.–Sept. 1756): it is copied in manuscript Vat. Ar. 1791 together with two other texts of the same author (undated but reasonably from nineteenth century).[22]

The first dated Arabic manuscript which undoubtedly comes from Harar is the *muṣḥaf* which is now in Addis Ababa, Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, IES 258 (original shelf mark Harar 20) dated (colophon fol. 256r) 25 *raǧab* 1141 H./Feb. 24, 1729. As in the case of the *ʿaǧamī* tradition, these eighteenth-century manuscripts seem to represent a writing practice which was already rather established and can most likely go back to the seventeenth century (or even earlier).

2 MTMs in the Arabic tradition in Harar

Multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) are practically the norm in the whole Harari manuscript tradition for Arabic and ʿ*aǧamī* (and the few multilingual codices).

The most common (and sometimes partial) exceptions are:

1) the Qurʾān which is copied in one volume[23] or sometimes in two halves or even in *aǧzāʾ* (30 parts, mostly meant for recitation within one month). They are exactly 30 equal parts of the text of the Qurʾān which are copied in 30 separate thin and tiny volumes. Thus, each textual section is a new codicological unit.

2) extensive handbooks of law like the much renowned and widespread *Minhāǧ al-ṭālibīn* by the highly revered representative of the *šāfiʿī* school of law Yaḥyā al-Nawawī (d. 1277), which has been copied in four distinct volumes: from the beginning to *kitāb al-ḥaǧǧ*; from *kitāb al-bayʿ* to *kitāb al-ǧuʿāla*; from

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tion is mostly unfamiliar with Arabic and English, I have transposed it into the Ethiopic script so that the *farāʾiḍ* become spread and known').

22 On Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq see the general article E. Wagner, 'Ḥāmid b. Ṣiddīq al-Hararī', in *EAe* vol. 2, 2005, 990a–990b.

23 There are some *muṣḥaf*-s where the sacred text is not only copied together with some usual invocations and propitiatory prayers (after the Qurʾān–the widespread *duʿāʾ ḫatm al-Qurʾān*–but also before it as the *istiftāḥ al-Qurʾān* in EMIP01591 Abdulahi Collection 249 or the *duʿāʾ qabl qiraʾat al-Qurʾān* in EMIP01591 Abdulahi Collection 250), but also with short treatises on the readings and the rules of recitation of the Qurʾān (e.g. the one of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḏaǧaʿī transmitting it from Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Šawʿān in EMIP01560 Abdulahi Collection 218).

kitāb al-farāʾiḍ to *kitāb al-nafaqāt*; from *kitāb al-ǧirāḥ* to the end (*kitāb um-mahāt al-walad*). In these cases, the division almost always corresponds to a logical and consistent organization of the topics and is in direct correspondence with the programme the students of law go thorough during their career.[24]

Among the most diffused MTMs in Harar, there are manuscripts which are used as handbooks for teaching and learning, thus containing texts directly related to the standard curriculum of traditional Islamic education. The main fields in which these manuscripts specialize are:

1) Arabic grammar; 2) the basics of the creed (*ʿaqīda*) and of theology; 3) the fundamentals of law and jurisprudence (*fiqh*); 4) mysticism (*taṣawwuf*); 5) magic; 6) logic (*manṭiq*) as a side subject to grammar and *ʿaqīda*.

3 MTMs of devotional/liturgical collections in the Arabic literary tradition of Harar

The phenomenology of Harar's Islamic culture is characterized by a wide and deep presence of mysticism, which has become an integral part of the daily religious practice of most of the faithful. In the great majority of cases, the sufi influence on the spiritual life of the Harari people did not trigger or necessitate full-time membership in, or a stable connection to, an organized brotherhood (*ṭarīqa*). However, a mystical dimension is evident in the deeply felt devotion with which many average believers of the walled city revere their holy men[25], and in the collective pleasure with which they perform congregational ceremonies on all the main festivities of the Muslim calendar and on other religiously relevant days: *Mawlid* (the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad on the 12th of the Islamic month of *rabīʿ al-awwal*); evenings of the fasting month of *ramaḍān*; during the pilgrimage to the tomb of a famous saint on the yearly anniversary of his death (*ziyāra*); on the night between Thursday and Friday; on *ʿĀšūrāʾ* day (10th of *muḥarram*, the first month of the Islamic calendar).[26]

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24 For the customary four-tiered division of Islamic law see e.g. Hallaq 2009, 28–29. So far, no detailed study is available on the connection between the organization of the law tradition, its study and the handbooks used in the educational institutions.

25 It is not by chance that Harar is also nicknamed *madīnat al-awliyāʾ*, 'the city of the saints': for the origin of this name see Cerulli 1936, 2.

26 On Islamic pilgrimages in Ethiopia see A. Gori, 'Islamic pilgrimages', in *EAe* vol. 4, 2010, 153b–156a. *ʿĀšūrāʾ* has a particular relevance in the Islamic practice in Harar: a fully-fledged

Participants to private parties and banquets celebrating purely secular celebrations also chant with sincere commitment supplications and invocations to God, eulogies and hymns for the Prophet and the holy men to show their piety and respect for the Islamic tenets and principles.

In the Arabic literary tradition of Harar, it is thus possible to identify collections of recurrent texts which are read and recited during some of the collective public or private festivities and form a kind of liturgical corpus, in which the above-mentioned mystical atmosphere is expressed clearly and enthusiastically.

The two most important liturgical/devotional collections of texts in the Arabic literary tradition in Harar are the *Mawlid* collection and the collection built up around the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* by *šayḫ* Hāšim.

3.1 The Harari *Mawlid* collection

The Harari *Mawlid* collection is one of the most renowned Arabic literary products from the walled city and at the same time a well-established textual basis and framework for the most important collective ceremonies performed in Harar on public and private festivities, events and occasions (in the first place obviously for the anniversary of *Mawlid*/birthday of the Prophet himself). Even a superficial visitor cannot fail to notice that this collection of texts is present in the common religious life of Harar's inhabitants.

The scholarly research on the *Mawlid* collection in Harar is still in its infancy:[27] in a previous contribution[28] I have described some of its main features, and here I will resume the analysis from a comparative perspective.

3.1.1 The Harari *Mawlid* collection: the manuscript (and the printed) circulation

Twenty-four manuscripts of the *Mawlid* collection have been identified so far. Here is the list:
–   Addis Ababa, Library of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, eight manuscripts: IES 264, nineteenth century; IES 273, second half of the eighteenth

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study on the many different rituals performed on this day has still to be conducted (see for a general introduction Ahmed Zekaria 1992).

27 An introductory article on the *Mawlid* (and *Mawlid*-related ceremonies) in Harar is S. Tarsitani, 'Mawlid in Harär', in *EAe* vol. 3, 2007, 879a–880b.

28 Gori 2010 and see also Banti 2010, 152–153.

century; IES 1855, eighteenth century; IES 2662, late nineteenth–early twentieth century; IES 2663, eighteenth century; IES 2664, late nineteenth–early twentieth century; IES 2665, late nineteenth–early twentieth century; IES 2666, late nineteenth–early twentieth century;[29]

– Harar, ʿAbdallāh Šarīf private museum, fourteen manuscripts: EMIP01438 Abdulahi Collection 96, eighteenth century; EMIP01439 Abdulahi Collection 97, nineteenth century; EMIP01440 Abdulahi Collection 98, twentieth century; EMIP01441 Abdulahi Collection 99, twentieth century; EMIP01442 Abdulahi Collection 100, twentieth century; EMIP01443 Abdulahi Collection 101, nineteenth century; EMIP01527 Abdulahi Collection 185, colophon (fol. 59r) 18 *šaʿbān* 1339 H./27 April 1921; EMIP01528 Abdulahi Collection 186, eighteenth century; EMIP01529 Abdulahi Collection 187, colophon (fol. 66v) 5 *ǧumādā al-ṯānī* 1292 H./9 July 1875; EMIP01569 Abdulahi Collection 227, nineteenth century; EMIP01576 Abdulahi Collection 234, twentieth century; EMIP01684 Abdulahi Collection 342, twentieth century; EMIP01691 Abdulahi Collection 349, twentieth century; EMIP01692 Abdulahi Collection 350, twentieth century;

– Harar, one manuscript of the private collection of the late Zakariyāʾ Ḥāmid (nineteenth century), where it was found and photographed by Dr Simone Tarsitani (Durham University) in Harar in 2007;

– Belbelletti (Harar region), one manuscript of the collection of *šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṣiddīq (twentieth century) where it was localized by Hassen M. Kawo and photographed by myself in 2008 in Addis Ababa.

From a chronological point of view, the testimonies can be ordered as follows: 12 manuscripts of the twentieth century, six manuscripts of the nineteenth century, and five manuscripts of the eighteenth century.

The Harari *Mawlid* collection has also been printed at least six times in different places and ways.

Two printed editions were carried out in Egypt in 1350 H./1931[30] and in 1366 H./1947.[31] Later in 1412 H./1991–2, the facsimile reproduction of a manuscript of an unknown copyist was carried out and distributed in Ethiopia. After the end of the year 2000, or at the beginning of 2001, the facsimile of a manuscript, the copy of

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29 For a brief description of these manuscripts see Gori et al. 2014 under the relevant entries.

30 Printed in Cairo at al-Maṭbaʿa al-ḥusayniyya in 127 pages.

31 Printed in Cairo at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa-awlāduh in 100 pages. The background of these two Egyptian editions is unknown. There are, however, several examples of Ethiopian Islamic texts printed in Egypt: see Gori 2015, 67–68.

which was completed on 26 *ramaḍān* 1421 H./23 December 2000 by the scribe Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Wazīr,[32] was reproduced and circulated in Ethiopia.[33]

One of the above-mentioned Egyptian books reprinted once in Dire Dawa, n.d. and eventually a computer typed edition (175 pp.) realized by Abū Bakr Ṯābit and printed by Dire Printing started circulating in September 2005 in Addis Ababa.

3.1.2 Textual structure of the Harari *Mawlid* collection: a short analysis

The conspicuous amount of manuscripts and the different printed editions clearly point to the extreme popularity of the Harari *Mawlid* collection among the Harari people. The origin and developments of the text collection through its manuscript and printed tradition still have to be analysed in detail. The general textual framework in which the collection can be situated is relatively clear.

In the manuscripts of the Harar *Mawlid* collection, a clear tendency towards the creation of a standardized selection of texts can be identified, which has eventually been "canonized" and disseminated in the manuscripts which have been printed out or retyped on computer. The connection of this later standardized collection with the earlier manuscript tradition is *prima face* very tight, even if the phases of the completed selection procedure still need to be investigated.

Two pivotal constellations of texts are easily detectable:
–   one built around the taḥmīs al-Fayyūmī on the qaṣīdat al-Burda (al-Kawākib al-durriya fī madḥ ḫayr al-bariyya by al-Buṣīrī);
–   another one around the *Kitāb ʿUnwān al-šarīf* by Abū al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Nāṣir
–   series of *salāmāt ʿalā al-nabī* and of pietistic poetry functions as trait d'union between the two.

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32 Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Wazīr copied also a *taḥmīs al-Warrāq ʿalā al-Witriyya* (completed on the 22 *rabīʿ al-awwal* 1412 A.H./10 October 1991) reproduced and distributed by *al-ḥāǧǧ* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Bakr Šarīf and the famous Bun Fāti(a)ḥ a mixed Arabic-Old Harari invocation for the "coffee ceremony" (manuscript completed on 19 *šaʿbān* 1409 A.H./27 March 1989; I thank Ahmed Zekaria of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and Éloi Ficquet of the French CNRS for providing me images of this text).
33 The role played by the reproduction of manuscripts when the printing press initially spread among Ethiopian Muslims would deserve specific research (see some first general observations in Gori 2015).

The influence of the reading and chanting practice on the formation of the later version of the collection has also to be studied with more attention. However, it is already clear that the performance of the texts surely triggered the insertion of more and more short invocations and supplications both in Arabic and in Harari in the texture of the collection.

The *Mawlid* collection in Harar offers an exceptionally interesting example of the interconnections among manuscript tradition, introduction and diffusion of printing press and oral performance of devotional texts: further research on it will certainly cast more light on the intricacies of these interconnections.

3.2 The *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* by *šayḫ* Hāšim

Even though the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* is evidently less relevant than any of the *Mawlid* collections, it is nevertheless rather more relevant within Harari Arabic literature. The attribution of the work to a very famous local learned man, and very revered saint and mystical guide, who is still widely venerated in the walled city has probably contributed to its fame and diffusion among the faithful. An organized devotee group (*ǧamāʿa*) of *šayḫ* Hāšim in Harar still preserves the memory of the master and his works (and especially the *Fatḥ*), chanting them during communal gatherings every Thursday evening.[34]

3.2.1 Šayḫ Hāšim al-Hararī: some biographical data[35]

Abū ʿAbdallāh *šayḫ* Hāšim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. *amīr* Hāšim al-Muḥammadī al-Šāfiʿī al-Ašʿarī al-Qādirī al-Hararī[36] (*c*.1711–1765).

Grandson of *amīr* Hāšim b. ʿAlī b. Dawūd, he became a famous Qādiri *šayḫ* (but in MS EMIP01563 Abdulahi Collection 221 f. 53v *šayḫ* Hāšim is also given the *nisba* al-Šāḏilī), a teacher and a very prominent figure in both the Arabic and the Old Harari literature.

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34 Devotional prayers and litanies cherished by *šayḫ* Hāšim's followers were copied in a manuscript reproduced in print at un unknown date under the title *Awrād maqām al-ʿārif bi-llāh Abī ʿAbdallāh Hāšim b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Qādirī*. The undated and anonymous manuscript appears to be a *waqf* of *šayḫ* Hāšim's shrine in Harar.

35 The available data on the life and works of *šayḫ* Hāšim are summarized by E. Wagner, 'Hāšim b. ʿAbdalʿazīz', in *EAe*, vol. 2, 2005, 1044a–b.

36 *Šayḫ* Hāšim has no connection with the homonymous holy man *walī* Hāšim.

In Harari he authored the poem in praise of the Prophet which exists in in a longer and a shorter version, and is known by the title of *Muṣṭafā*. The text was printed in Addis Ababa in 1974. In 1983, Ewald Wagner scientifically edited and analysed the text

He composed the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* and a series of invocations and prayers of mystical and devotional content and inspiration in Arabic.[37]

Šayḫ Hāšim died around 1765 and was buried in Harar in the Aw ʿIzzīn graveyard in the area of Assum Bari outside the city's wall. A *galma*/*zikri bet* (house of devotional congregation) where his devotees gather to sing his praises and recite his texts is located inside the wall of Harar in the area of Argob Bari.

3.2.2 *Al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*: the manuscript (and printed) circulation

So far, *al-Fatḥ al-Raḥmānī* is attested in 13 manuscripts:
– Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies three manuscripts: IES 282 (twentieth c.); IES 2670 (twentieth c.); IES 2671 (nineteenth century);
– Harar, ʿAbdallāh Šarīf private museum eight manuscripts: EMIP01444 Abdulahi Collection 102: colophon of the *Fatḥ* 169v; *ṣafar* 1168/Nov.–Dec. 1754; EMIP01446 Abdulahi Collection 104: colophon 40v 18 *ǧumada al-awwal* 1329/17 May 1911 (copyist al-*ḥāǧǧ* ʿAbd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. *ḥāǧǧ* ʿĀmid b. *qāṭ* Ibrāhīm b. *qāṭ* ʿAlī); EMIP01447 Abdulahi Collection 105, possibly nienteenth century; EMIP01448 Abdulahi Collection 106: incomplete colophon fol. 60; possibly late eighteenth century; copyist, fol. 59v, Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh; EMIP01449 Abdulahi Collection 107: colophon *ǧumāda al-ṯānī* 1392/Jul.-Aug.1972; copyist *ḥāǧǧ* Tawfiq ʿUmar Baraso); EMIP01450 Abdulahi Collection 108 twentieth century; EMIP 01451 Abdulahi Collection 109 twentieth century; EMIP01563 Abdulahi Collection 221, possibly nineteenth century;
– Pavia, Biblioteca Civica 'C. Bonetta' MS Robecchi Bricchetti 5, eighteenth century;[38]
– Riyadh, library of the King Saud University 7480 (number of the category – *raqm al-ṣinf* – 218 *fāʾ hāʾ*) and approximatively dated to the thirteenth century of the *hiǧra* (eighteenth to nineteenth century).[39]

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37 For the titles of all the so-far known shorter works of *šayḫ* Hāšim see Gori 2016, appendix 1.
38 Traini 1973, 7–10.

Chronologically, oldest dated testimony of the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* is EMIP01444 Abdulahi Collection 102 having a colophon on fol. 174v dated *ṣafar* 1168/Nov.– Dec. 1754 (a date which falls well within the lifetime of the author); three more manuscripts are possibly of the eighteenth century, three manuscripts of the nineteenth century and six manuscripts of the twentieth century.

The *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* has been printed at least three times: in Cairo at Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī in 1368 H./1949; then in Ethiopia, in Addis Ababa at the Maṭbaʿat Addīs in 1386 H./1967 (edition by the famous Harari learned man and politico-cultural activist *al-ḥāǧǧ* Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān),[40] later reprinted by Ibrāhīm ʿUmar Sulaymān at Maṭbaʿat Šimbir in *muḥarram* 1401/1980–1981.

The Ethiopian printed edition is actually a facsimile reproduction of a manuscript copied by Ibrāhīm ʿUmar Sulaymān (colophon p. 154: 7 *šawwāl* 1386/19 January 1967), who allegedly collated it with the autograph of *šayḫ* Hāšim, which is kept in custody of the *murīd šayḫ* ʿAbd al-Ǧawād *kabīr* Ismāʿīl b. al-Muqrī at the *maqām* of the *šayḫ* and dated (ibid. p. 90) Thursday 19 *šaʿbān* 1171 (28 April 1758).

As a final proof of the esteem in which the work is held in the walled city, it has to be mentioned that the renowned and discussed *šayḫ* ʿAbdallāh al-Hararī (d. 2008) has produced an abridged version (*muḫtaṣar*) of it, which was published in Beirut in 2004.[41]

3.2.3 The texts around the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*

The analysis of the manuscripts and the printed versions that I have managed to conduct[42] shows that there is no clear indication that a standardized text collection around the main core of the *Fatḥ* had been formed before the printed edition appeared: some testimonies only include a small amount of supplicatory

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39 The manuscript has not been catalogued yet, but its digitized images are accessible online under http://makhtota.ksu.edu.sa/makhtota/8142/1#.V4Umkvl97rc (last accessed 20/04/2017). The pdf of the entire codex is also downloadable under http://www.al-mostafa.info/data /arabic/depot/gap.php?file=m012776.pdf (last accessed 20/04/2017). A bibliographic record of the manuscript is also available on the web site of the King Saud University.

40 This edition is mentioned by O'Fahey 2003, 31. On Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān see Erlich 2007, 102.

41 The book was printed at the *Dār al-mašāriʿ*, the publishing house of the so-called *Aḥbāš* movement in Lebanon (see H. Erlich, ''ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Hararī', in *EAe* 5, 2014, 210b–211a on the learned man of Harari origin founder of the *Aḥbāš* group).

42 A first analysis of the texts collected in the manuscript tradition and in the printed versions of the *Fatḥ* was carried out in Gori 2015.

texts attributed to more or less famous mystical authors, while other codices contain an extremely wide selection of invocations and prayers (anonymous and authored). Even the smaller texts by *šayḫ* Hāšim which are copied together with his main work are selected and copied in the manuscripts of the *Fatḥ* without following any apparent plan.

Only the manuscript copied by Ibrāhīm ʿUmar Sulaymān in 1967[43] and sponsored by Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān shows signs that texts were consciously selected to be combined with the *Fatḥ*.

4 Some final observations

As a first conclusive observation that can be inferred from the comparison made here, it can be said that, in the local Arabic manuscript tradition of Harar, the MTMs mostly came into light as a kind of repository of texts which were selected and collected for devotional and liturgical purposes.

Prayers, invocations, hymns and eulogies of local authors (as *šayḫ* Hāšim's *al-Fatḥ al-raḥmānī*), anonymous or composed by non-Ethiopian authors (as in the *Mawlid* text collection), slowly came to form a more or less structured repertoire. This repertoire was used in collective public and private ceremonies and festivities as a sort of *soundtrack* for the common devotional practice of the faithful in the walled city. In the case of the *Mawlid* collection, the selection started earlier than that of the *Fatḥ*, which started later and remained uncertain.

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43 To help the reader to get a more precise idea of the *Fatḥ* and the texts around it, I provide the following brief summary of the content and structure of the manuscript printed in 1967. Preface, pp. 6–7, containing the description of God's inspiration to the author, the visions of the Prophet, who foretells that *šayḫ* Hāšim will be in paradise drinking from the *tasnīm* fountain and exerting an intercessory power (*šafāʿa*) for his devotees; p. 8, *niyat al-ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* fully taken from al-Ġazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*; pp. 9–90, the *Fatḥ al-raḥmānī* in five chapters; pp. 91–94, *duʿāʾ* to be read after *ṣalawāt* (partially exampled on the *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*); pp. 95–104, *daʿwa* (i.e. *duʿāʾ*) al-*Dimyāṭiyya* with anonymous *taḥmīs* (base text by Nūr al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī d. 921 A.H./1515 A.D.); pp.105–106, *duʿāʾ* of Ibn Zarrūq al-Burnusīʾ(d. 1493); pp. 106–111, anonymous *taḥmis* on *al-Qaṣīda al-muḍariyya* by al-Buṣiri (d. 1294); pp. 112–116, *taḥmis ʿalā al-Wasīla al-ʿaẓīma* attributed to Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ṣiddīq b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal (d. 903 A.H./1497–8); pp.116–118, *ʿAyniyyat al-Suhaylī* (with *taḥmis*) by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Suhaylī (d. 1114); pp. 118–120, *qaṣīda* with *taḥmīs Ilzam bāba rabbika* by Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād (d. 1720); pp. 120–121, *duʿāʾ niṣf šaʿbān*; pp. 121–122, *duʿāʾ šahr ramaḍān*; pp. 122–123, *tawassul bi-al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*; pp. 124–128, *Rātib al-saʿāda* by Muḥammad al-Sammān (d. 1775); pp. 128–131, invocations attributed to al-Šāfiʿī and to the Prophet.

Possibly, the extreme popularity enjoyed by the *Mawlid* collection was the cause which favoured and strengthened the tendency towards standardization. With regard to the *Mawlid* collection, it is clear that the recitals and the collective performance of the hymns and invocations influenced the selection of the texts and the copying of the manuscripts. However, this conclusion is still subject to a deeper analysis and cannot be completely dismissed also for the *Fatḥ*.

The creation of a standard collection of texts was dramatically hastened by the introduction and diffusion of the printing press among the Hararis after the Second World War. For both the *Mawlid* collection and the *Fatḥ*, the passage from manuscript to print triggered the production of some facsimile manuscript prints, which had been copied precisely for the purpose of being printed.

It can be easily hypothesized that the goal behind these editorial operations was to provide the Harari public with reliable and ultimate editions of the most cherished works circulating in the walled city and to support the devotees with a standardized version of their ritual set of invocations and prayers to be chanted during their congregational gatherings. The use of printed manuscripts may appear peculiar, but it can be explained by the intention of giving the prints the prestige, the soundness and the *philological* exactitude which only manuscripts can reach in the perception of the learned elites of the Muslims of Ethiopia.

It is evident that editors and patrons such as Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān played a crucial role in promoting and guaranteeing the success of such complex editorial activities. However, beyond the individual initiative of the editors and their sponsors, the production of the *Mawlid*'s and the *Fatḥ*'s standardized collections should also be assessed within the framework of the theological (and cultural) discourse taking place in Harar from the second part of the twentieth century onwards, when so-called *traditional* Islam and so-called *Wahhabi-Salafist* were opposing blocks.

The fixation of a sound and reliable textual base for the traditional practice of the faithful of the city has certainly been an important tool to counter the criticism of those who discharged it as a disrupted and degenerated heritage of an insufficiently Islamic community.[44]

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44 A pioneering study on the ways the literary production has been edited and diffused as an intellectual tool in the conflict between Wahhabism and traditional Islam after the inception of the age of print can be found in Khan 2016.

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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 *majmūʿa* 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 compilers[7] 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

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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 *umbatri* ('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 volumes[10] 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

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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 fī 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 'balaġa' 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

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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 understand[21]—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 units[23] are autonomous. The copyist was interested in the content of each unit because the combi-

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

20 Muhanna 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 Qurʾān), 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

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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 ‘1609’ تمت بحمدالله وحسن عونه وصلى على محمد واله وسلم تليمن.

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-Ṭulayṭulī,[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

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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 pergüeno' ('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 pergüeno del aṣala'; while fol. 59v of Aix 1367 begins directly with the title 'El pergüeno' 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.

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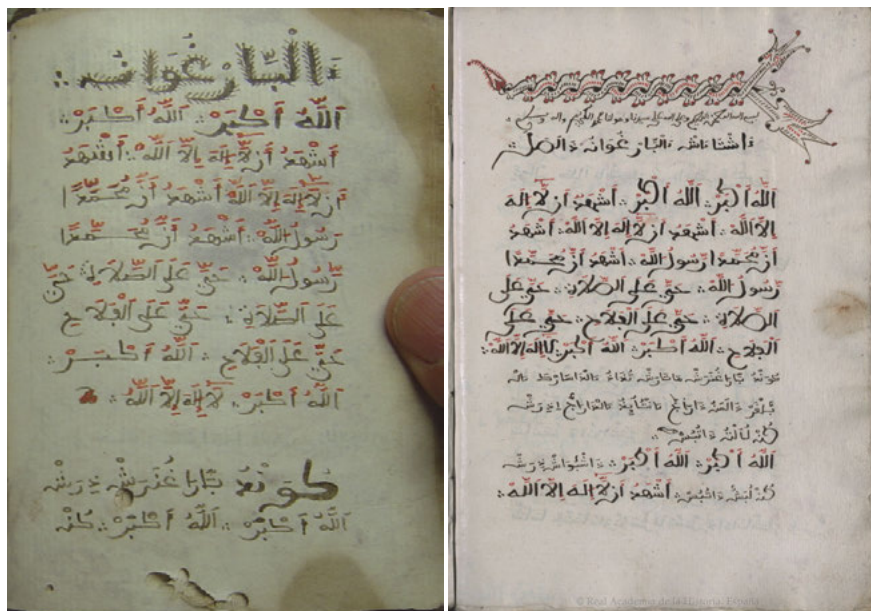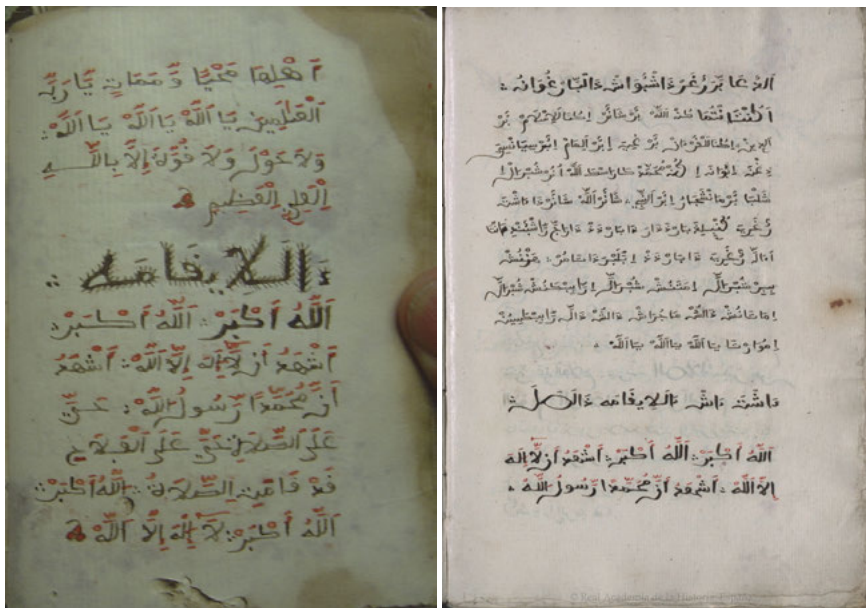
Fig. 1: Right: Madrid, BRAH T19, fol. 80v. 'Este es el-pergüeno del-aṣala'. © BRAH
Left: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes 1367, fol. 59v. 'El pergüeno'. © Bibliothèque Méjanes

For the correct identification of the sub-sections of this unit—which I have dubbed '*Pergüeno* and *alīqāma* of the *aṣala*', 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 rogaria' 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-alīqāmah del-aṣala'. © BRAH
Left: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes 1367, fol. 61v. 'El-alīqāmah'. © 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 im-
portance of the unit;[35] it thus yields a 'modular' product, which can be built, disar-
ticulated, and re-built again in a completely different way according to the specif-
ic 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-

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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 *attaḥiātu* [sic] y el *al-qunūt*', the copyist indicates: '[These chapters] are already in the book: *aliqāma* and *pergüe*[*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 *attaḥiātu* [sic] y el *al-qunūt*', does not appear in the subject index, but under the

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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 pergüe[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*ʲ*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 Šaḥma cuando lo mandó açotar su padre' ('The story of Abū Šaḥma, 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 Šaḥma, and it has nothing to do with the topic of adultery (*a*ʲ*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]

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

42 'Asiento en el dicho de Allah, donde dize en su onrado Alcorán: "al haziente *a*ʲ*zzinā* y a la hiziente *a*ʲ*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.
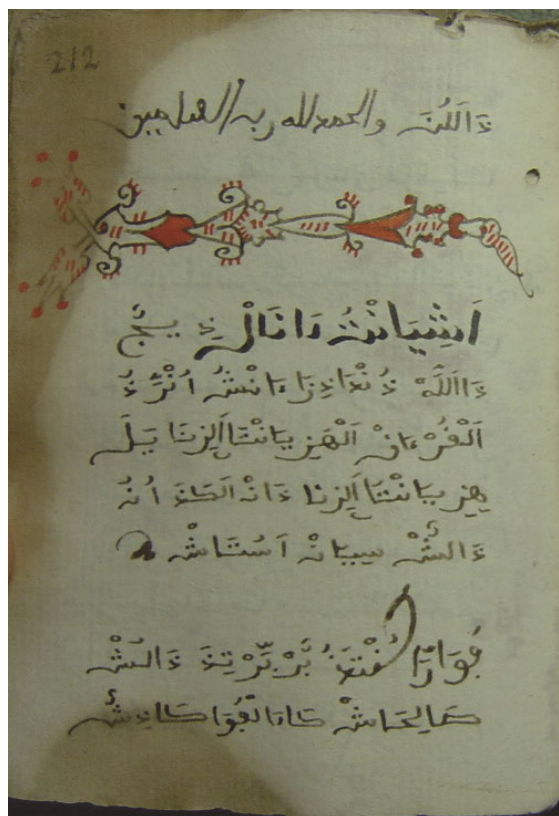
Fig. 3: Aix 1367, fol. 212r, l. 7. Beginning of ['Maravillas del fijo de Edam'], after a blank line.
© Bibliothèque Méjanes

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 Šaḥma inflicts on his son for adultery[45]—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 Šaḥma from the same textual tradition as Aix 1367. However, if it is only

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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 *ṭahhur*[46] [*sic*]' (fol. 192r) and 'Las noches que son de *ṭahhur* [*sic*] por *alfaḍīla*'[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: 'líe' 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 'arrepientientes 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

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46 'Los días de *ṭahhur*', 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 Qurʾān'[53] (or homogeneous Qurʾānic 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 tranmission 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-

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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 sunní*[56] ('*Sunni Breviary*'), compiled by Yça 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 sunní* 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 [*Tafsira*][63] attributed to the Mancebo de Arévalo ('the young man from Arévalo'), we find a reference to 'don Isa, mu[f]tí 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

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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 Wiegers 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 prencipales 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,

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66 Cambridge, UL, Dd 9.49.

67 'A la cual escribtura 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 Aragon.[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 exemple, 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

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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 aljamiados 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 remedar 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 vezes toma el fin de una palabra por el principio de otra, y otras vezes 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*.
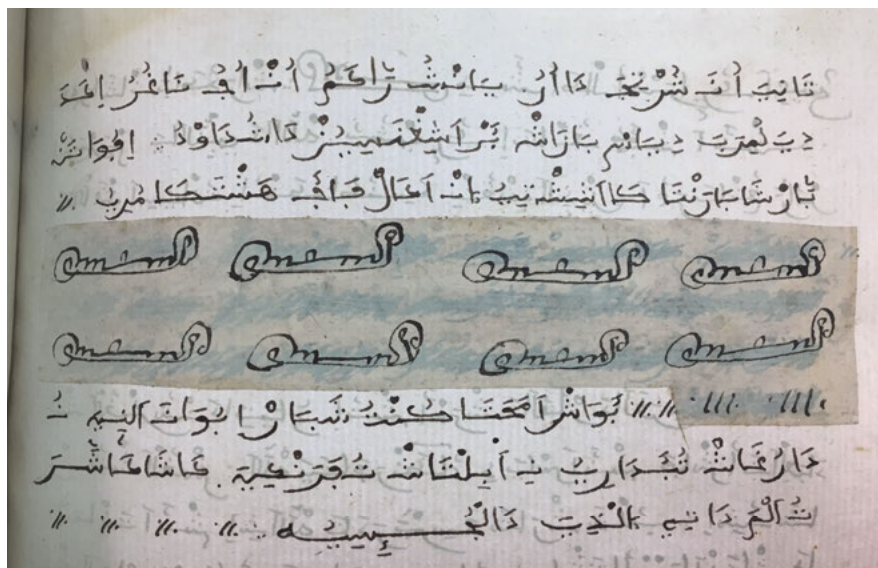
Fig. 4: Cambridge, UL, Dd.9.49, fol. 207v (detail). Deletions of the original text, decorated with wavy patterns. © Cambridge University Library

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79 'Aunque van los dichos descarriados por ser esta la primera traslación, no lo atribuyan a poca curiosidad, porque no puede una lectura satisfazerse 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

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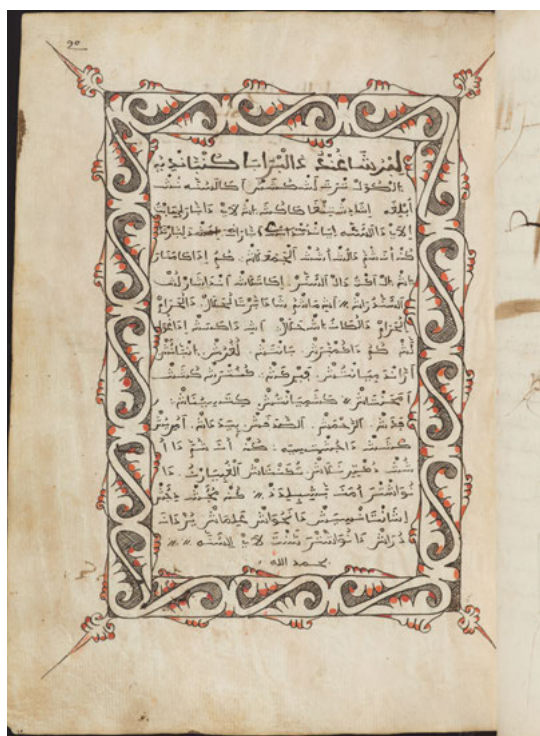
Fig. 5: Cambridge, UL, Dd. 9.49, fol. 90r. Beginning of the Second Book of the *Brief Compendium*.
© Cambridge University Library

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86 'ay en este conpendio 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 it[91]—, 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 benevolentiæ*. 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

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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. [Qurʾānic excerpts]	**1. [Qurʾānic excerpts. Incomplete] (43r-73v)[92]**
2. Almurxida para las Pascuas	**[Probably present in the original, but lost today]**
3. [...] para la mañanada	--
4. Adua para lo mesmo	--
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 rogaria	**23. Adua para rogar despúes del pergüeno (81v)**
12. El alicama	**24. Esta es el alicama del açalá (81v-82v)**
13. Rogarias para depués del açalá	
14. Adua para la nube de la piedra	--
15. Lo que dezía el annabí (*ʿlm*) 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 *al-Mukhtaṣar*]	**32. Capítulo del atayamum (91r-v) [from *al-Mukhtaṣar*]**

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

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

Aix-en-Provence, Aix 1367. Table of contents (fols 293v-296r)	Madrid, BRAH, T19. Contents
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 ʿinnā ʿanzalnāhu	--
32. Gualardón de quien enseña a su hijo el-Alcorán para entrar en el aljanna	--
33. Quien acoge estranjeros en la repintencia	--
34. Açalá sobre el anabí (ʿlm)	--
35. Açalá sobre Jibrīl (ʿlm)	--
36. Leer el-açora de Yç.	--
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 Šaḥma	**2. 2. [El hadiz de Abū Šaḥma] (1r-5r. Acephalous)**
44. [... cuan]do vio ʿUmar los muertos	**3. El alhadiz de ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb cuando vio los muertos (5r-6)**
45. [... Mū]çā con la paloma y-el falcón	**4. L'alhadiz de Mūçā (ʿlm) 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. [...] [Adu]a de rogar por agua	--
48. Açalá del muerto	--
49. Açalá 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	--

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

Aix-en-Provence, Aix 1367. Table of contents (fols 293v-296r)	Madrid, BRAH, T19. Contents
53. Adua de Nūh	--
54. Adua de Mūçā	--
55. Adua de Īçā	--
56. Adua del anabí Muhammad (ṣ'm)	--
--	13-16. [Chapters from *al-Mukhtaṣar* of al-Ṭulayṭulī] (22r-23v)[95]
--	18. Aduas para rogar los siete días de la semana.
--	19. Los nonbres fermosos de Allah (35v-42v)
--	20. Adua para demandar arrizqui (42v)
--	25-26. [More chapters from *al-Mukhtaṣar*] (82v-83v)[96]
--	27-28. [Chapters from *Bidayāt al-hidāya* by al-Ghazālī] (83v-88v)[97]
--	29-30. [More chapters from *al-Mukhtaṣar*] (88v-91r)[98]
--	31. Capítulo [...] derrueca el atahur. 'Del libro de Iça de Gebir' (91r)
--	33. [Regimiento del azaque] (110r-133r)
--	34. Este es el *Alquiteb de las suertes* de Ḏū'lqarnayn (133r-155r)
--	35. Capítulo en los sueños (155r-156v)
--	36. [Demandas [...] los judíos al [...] Muhamad] (157r-168r)
--	37. El recontamiento [...] entre [...] Allah [y] Mūçā (168r-197v)
--	39-43. [Deberes y derechos en la familia y la comunidad] (204v-228v).[99]
--45?	[Los gualardones del açalá] (92r-v)

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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 açunado (83r-v).

97 27. Capítulo de la dotrina en el vestir (83v-85r) | 28. Capítulo en la dotrina 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-210v) | 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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Innovations

Matthew Crawford

The Eusebian Canon Tables as a Corpus-Organizing Paratext within the Multiple-Text Manuscript of the Fourfold Gospel

Abstract: One of the most common multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) in the Late Antique period was the codex containing the four canonical gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which originally circulated separately but were collected and bound together as a single manuscript sometime in the third century. Within a generation of the creation of this MTM, it had given rise to the first numerically based cross-referencing system in the ancient world, the so-called Eusebian Canon Tables apparatus. This paratext extended the organizing function of the MTM by ordering the textual content contained within the manuscript, effectively providing the reader with a map by which to navigate the dialectic of sameness and difference among these four texts.

By the end of Late Antiquity the fourfold gospel codex had become a standard feature of the diverse Christian traditions that inhabited the lands of the Roman Empire and beyond. A typical example in Greek is Codex Washingtonianus, also known as the Freer Gospels,[1] which was copied in Egypt in the late fourth or early fifth century. Well known examples in the Latin world include the Book of Kells[2] and Lindisfarne Gospels,[3] both coming from the British Isles in the eighth century, though earlier Latin examples dating back to the fourth century are also extant.[4] Two four-gospel codices in Syriac have also survived from the late fourth or early fifth century (the Sinaitic and Curetonian manuscripts[5]), and

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1 Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art 06.274.

2 Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 58.

3 London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV.

4 The oldest surviving copy of the gospels in the Old Latin translation is Codex Bobiensis (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, 1163 (G.VII.15)), copied in North Africa in the fourth century. The oldest copy of Jerome's Vulgate translation of the gospels is Codex Sangallensis 1395 (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 1395), dated to the fifth century. Both manuscripts are significantly lacunose. For a catalogue of Latin New Testament manuscripts, see Houghton 2016, 209–81. Also helpful is McGurk 1961.

5 St Catherine's Monastery, syr. 30; London, British Library, Add. MS. 14451. Cf. Haelewyck 2017; Taylor 2017.

dozens from later centuries such as the justly famous Rabbula Gospels[6] dated to 586. Further afield, there are also two early surviving Ethiopic manuscripts, known as Garima 1 and 2, which have recently been dated by radiocarbon analysis to some point between the fifth and seventh centuries.[7] From this same period, specifically the early sixth century, there survives Codex Argenteus,[8] a magnificently produced deluxe edition of the four gospels in Gothic that was made in Ostrogothic Italy. Further east, although the earliest surviving Armenian gospel-books are much later, such as the Etchmiadzin Gospels dated to the late tenth century,[9] these are undoubtedly representative of a manuscript tradition that stretches back into Late Antiquity. The case is similar in Georgian, with the earliest manuscript dated to 897, known as the Adishi Gospels,[10] though likely indicative of a much older tradition. Hence, by the sixth or seventh century, if you had attended Christian liturgy in Ireland or Ethiopia, Gothic-speaking Italy or Armenia, a manuscript containing the four canonical gospels, bound together in a single codex and regarded as saturated with symbolic significance, would have been central to the proceedings.

Those familiar with liturgically oriented Christian traditions today would be likely not to find this claim surprising. However, the late antique or early medieval gospel-book would have appeared strikingly odd to those who were accustomed to the book culture of the Greco-Roman world in which Christianity emerged. The transition from the roll to the codex is of course well known and would appear as an obvious oddity to an imaginary reader from the first century CE who had a chance to gaze upon a gospel-book from five centuries later. The fact that our later Christian gospel-book would likely be written on parchment rather than papyrus would also stand out as a difference, at least to those accustomed to Egyptian book culture. Upon opening the codex, our imaginary reader would encounter yet a further peculiarity, namely, the fact that the gospel-book contained not just a single work, but instead four works placed in succession and bound together as a corpus. In his recent monograph *Inside Roman Libraries*, focusing particularly on the surviving pre-Constantinian manuscripts from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt and Herculaneum in Italy, George W. Houston has pointed out that 'Greek and Roman book rolls never, so far as we know, included a miscellany of works by more than one author when they were first

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6 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS. Plut. 1.56.

7 McKenzie / Watson 2016.

8 Uppsala, Uppsala University Library, MS DG 1.

9 Erevan, Matenadaran, MS 2374.

10 Mestia, Svaneti Museum, Georgian National Museum.

made,' an observation that has also been made by a number of other authors.[11] It is, therefore, a striking departure from Greco-Roman precedent that Christians revered a manuscript containing not just a single text, but an entire library of texts bound within a single physical artefact, in other words, a multiple-text manuscript (MTM).[12] A final difference that our reader would immediately notice is the penumbra of paratextual material in addition to the text of the four gospels. These paratextual features in late antique gospel-books may include any or all of the following: introductions to each of the gospels akin to brief authorial biographies, along with lists of foreign words used; lists of chapters into which the text was broken; various marginal reading aids; and not least authorial portraits and images of scenes from the gospels. All of this stands in contrast to what William A. Johnson has called the 'radically unencumbered stream of letters' evident in the elite book-roll, which not only lacked the sort of subheadings that are standard in books today but also spacing between words.[13] Paratextual material is almost always very minimal in such book-rolls, rarely providing more information than a simple statement of authorship and title, placed at the beginning and/or end of the scroll.[14] In contrast, the flow of text in

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11 Houston 2014, 78. Houston was following the earlier work of Puglia 1996, who was building upon Petrucci 1986. Cf. Crisci 2004, 109–110.

12 I use this terminology following Bausi 2010, 34–36, and here I define an MTM in terms of its contents rather than the physical structure of the book. On these two ways of defining the concept, see Maniaci 2004, 77. That is to say, a four-gospel codex is an MTM because it contains multiple texts written by various authors. Hence, even if a given four-gospel manuscript was made in one operation, and is thus a monomerous codex comprised of one codicological unit, it is still an MTM in terms of its content. Maniaci 2004, 82, however, puts manuscripts of the Bible in the category of the 'monotextual' ('monotestuale') codex, along with manuscripts containing a single work by a single author and those containing collections of texts with a 'complete meaning' ('senso compiuto'). For the Byzantine period with which Maniaci is concerned, it was certainly true that the four gospels were largely viewed as an indivisible collection of texts with a single meaning, and so a manuscript containing them was not conceptually an MTM. However, for the late antique period with which I am concerned, the four-gospel codex would have been viewed by its users as an MTM against the background of the wider Greco-Roman book culture of the period. Moreover, the fact that the gospels originally circulated separately (see below) suggests that, when they were first collected into a single codex, it would have been viewed as an MTM. For further terminological clarifications, see Gumbert 2004; Nyström 2009, 38–48; Gumbert 2010.

13 Johnson 2010, 20. See also Johnson's comments about the 'aesthetic' of the book-roll and how it differs from that of the codex in Johnson 2004, 85–86.

14 Houston 2014, 111–120. Houston says that 'many of the papyri' from Herculaneum included paratextual material, but that this usually consisted of 'an end title written by the scribe who copied the text and provided the name of the author, the title of the work, and, where appro-

a late antique four-gospel codex was constantly intruded upon by various kinds of paratextual material that grew more elaborate as the centuries progressed.[15]

In the present chapter, I want to suggest that the development of these paratexts was driven in part by the unique nature of the fourfold gospel codex as a particular kind of MTM. In short, if the fourfold gospel codex can be understood as a 'corpus-organizer' by binding together originally separate texts into a new unit,[16] then it also generated further paratextual organizational schemes within the codex itself for the purpose of ordering the material contained therein.[17] Here, I want to focus on the most unique of these paratextual features, the so-called Eusebian Canon Tables, which represent the earliest known numerically keyed cross-referencing system in the Greco-Roman world. The structure of this chapter

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priate, the number of the book' (pp. 111–112). In the 30% of cases in which the *subscriptiones* go beyond this basic information, the additional information often consists of a sub-title to the individual book in the roll. Stichometric counts were also not uncommon in the villa papyri. Houston concludes on the basis of his analysis that 'there is no unambiguous example of a person working with the collection and adding information that would help in the identification, organization, or storage of the manuscripts' (p. 116). The papyri from Egypt that include paratextual material usually have similarly minimal information. On annotations in Egyptian papyri, see McNamee 2007.

15 The study of these paratexts is still largely in its infancy, but is quickly progressing through a spate of studies in recent years: von Soden 1902; den Hollander / Schmid / Smelik 2003; Blomkvist 2012; Gathercole 2013; Scherbenske 2013; de Bruyne / Bogaert / O'Loughlin 2014; de Bruyne / Bogaert / O'Loughlin 2015; Wallraff / Andrist 2015. On paratexts more broadly, see Genette 1997; Alexander / Lange / Pillinger 2010; Jansen 2014; Ciotti / Lin 2016.

16 Cf. Bausi 2010, 35: 'Here, the corpus represents a range of a "homogeneous continuum", including possibilities implied by traits that are "mentally" and "culturally defined" (including praxis such as liturgical needs, but also aesthetic and artistic appreciation, literary affinity, etc.). These traits give a set of manuscripts a precise status (i.e. which makes it a corpus from the internal perspective of a given manuscript culture), while the actual realization of the manuscripts include its format as well as its actual editorial and textual interventions. The structural and mutual interrelationship between the various manuscripts, and between each of them and the "corpus", is fundamentally one of "matter" to "knowledge" as a function of its organization. In its form and contents, a "corpus-organizer" realizes the contents contained in the "projectual intention" of the copyist, or of those who are behind him. The "homogeneous continuum"—determined by culture and praxis—is intercepted by sets of "corpus-organizers", in that they provide the necessary "slots" for hosting "modules" of written knowledge. Knowledge, in turn, has the function of filling up the "slots" of the "corpus-organizers"'. Cf. Crisci 2004, 144: 'il codice miscellaneo poteva infine proporsi come un modello di organizzazione libraria adatto a soddisfare esigenze molteplici'.

17 Ciotti / Lin 2016, VII identify three functions of paratexts: 'structuring,' 'commenting,' and 'documenting'. The Eusebian Canon Table apparatus is a particularly good example of the first of these functions.

will proceed as follows. First, I will briefly survey the history of the four-gospel codex prior to the work of the early fourth-century bishop Eusebius of Caesarea. Then I will examine two other works he composed, which represent similar attempts at 'ordering' different bodies of information and presenting them in codex form. Finally, I will set forth the literary problem posed by the fourfold gospel and Eusebius' revolutionary information technology he invented to address it.

1 The history of the Four-Gospel Codex

Before coming to the Canon Table system itself, it is helpful to gain a sense of the history of the four-gospel collection prior to the ingenious work of the early fourth-century bishop Eusebius of Caesarea. Combining archaeological and literary sources, we can glimpse the broad outlines of the process of development that resulted in the four-gospel codex that I have been describing.[18] The four texts that would later become canonical for the Christian tradition originally circulated independently of one another. Although our earliest surviving material evidence is at least half a century or more after the writing of the last of these four texts (e.g. $\mathfrak{P}^{52}$ and $\mathfrak{P}^{104}$, both dated to the second century),[19] the abundant material that was preserved in the trash heaps of Oxyrhynchus testifies to this separate transmission of the four gospels. Despite the random nature of the survival of manuscripts in such contexts, we would, if the four-gospel codex existed at this time, expect a relatively even rate of survival amongst the gospels we know of as Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. This, however, is certainly not what we find. Among the papyri dated to the second and third centuries, there are 16 copies of John, 12 of Matthew, seven of Luke, and one of Mark.[20] This uneven rate of survival suggests that during this period there were many more copies of Matthew and John circulating than of Mark and Luke, undoubtedly because these were the most popular gospels among readers.[21] This also suggests that these gospels must have existed in separate manuscripts. Of course, some of these surviving fragments could have come from manuscripts containing

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18 For a recent study of the material evidence surviving from the early centuries and what it reveals about early Christian book culture, see Charlesworth 2016. And for a recent survey of the literary sources, see Watson 2013, chapters 8–9.

19 The dating here is that provided by the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung. Cf. Orsini / Clarysse 2012, 443–474.

20 Statistics taken from Hurtado 2006, 20.

21 Cf. Hurtado 2006, 30–31.

more than one gospel, and there are some that contain, say, two gospels of the four (e.g. 𝔓[75] dated to the third century and containing portions of Luke and John), but there is no undisputed evidence for a single manuscript containing all four gospels in the second century. It is also the case that our literary sources from the first half of the second century do not demonstrate a clear sense of these four texts as a collective body of literature, but instead usually know only a smaller number of them, or perhaps others in addition to these four.[22] It is not until the end of the second century that we find an author making an argument for the necessity and authority of the four gospel collection, specifically Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in the 180s and 190s.[23] Thereafter most of our surviving authors treat the four-gospel collection as a given, though some, such as Clement of Alexandria, Serapion of Antioch, and Origen, continued to make occasional use of other gospels in addition to these four core texts.

Our earliest material evidence for a codex containing all four of these gospels comes from roughly half a century after Irenaeus.[24] The papyrus known as 𝔓[45], usually dated to *c.*250, originally comprised 224 pages and contained the gospels of Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark, as well as the book of Acts. As such, it represents the earliest undisputed four-gospel codex.[25] After this point, codices with multiple gospels become more common, though the memory of the gospels as separate manuscripts continued, as can be seen, for example, in a fifth-century mosaic in the Galla Placidia Mausoleum in Ravenna that depicts a book cupboard containing separate codices for each gospel. Moreover, manuscripts containing a fewer number of gospels continued to be produced on occasion, as evidenced by the eighth-century pocket-sized St Cuthbert Gospel (also known as the Stonyhurst Gospel)[26] that contains only the Latin version of the Gospel of John. Nevertheless, from the fourth century onwards, the four-gospel collection, now bound together in a single codex, began to circulate widely throughout the Christian world. It is reasonable to suppose that part of the attraction of this format was that the single manuscript containing four texts reflected in material form the status these four had attained as a collection, with each component part being necessary as the church's canonical scripture.

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22 I have in mind here the texts traditionally grouped together as the 'Apostolic Fathers'.

23 See his *Against Heresies* 3.11.8–9.

24 For an argument that there is an earlier manuscript that has the honour of being the oldest four-gospel codex, see Skeat 1997, but see the response to Skeat's proposal in Head 2005. The debate is also reviewed in Hurtado 2006, 36–37. The question has recently been subjected to a thorough analysis in Nongbri 2018, chapter 7.

25 On 𝔓[45], see Skeat 1993; Hurtado 2006, 174–77.

26 London, British Library, Add. MS. 89000.

Generally speaking, the four-gospel manuscripts that survive exhibit a remarkable degree of consistency across a wide range of cultures. We never, for example, find one of the four canonical gospels bound with other gospels that would eventually be considered non-canonical.[27] Moreover, the surviving copies of these four gospels, regardless of whether they were bound individually or with other gospels, are without exception in codex form. In other words, our material evidence reveals that readers of these texts had a clear preference for the codex, a rule that is distinctively against the Greco-Roman book culture of the period.[28] The only significant deviation across our surviving four-gospel codices from this period is that these four texts were ordered in two alternate sequences that competed with one another for supremacy for a short time. Modern Bibles print them in the order Matthew-Mark-Luke-John, and most surviving copies from Late Antiquity onwards reflect this same sequence. However, this was not the only order and may not have been the earliest. $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, just mentioned as the earliest surviving four-gospel codex, follows the sequence Matthew-John-Luke-Mark, and copies of the Old Latin translation of the gospels usually also have this order.[29] However, this alternate sequence died out in the Latin world as Jerome's new Latin translation won favour from the late fourth century onwards, and it eventually faded away in the Greek world as well. Hence, in contrast to the variability exhibited by some MTMs contemporaneous with the manuscripts we have been considering, the four-gospel collection achieved at an early stage a distinct stability attesting to its conceptual status as an authoritative corpus of texts.

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27 Cf. Hurtado 2006, 37, 72–73, 88.

28 On the Christian preference for the codex, a feature of these manuscripts that has generated extensive discussion, see especially Hurtado 2006, 43–89. Hurtado comments: 'So far as biblical texts are concerned, as noted already, there is no New Testament text copied on an unused roll among second- or third-century Christian manuscripts' (p. 58).

29 On the western order, see Parker 1992, 116–118. On the order of the gospels in $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, see Skeat 1993, 31–32. See also Crawford 2018.

2 Eusebius of Caesarea, the design innovator of Late Antiquity

The technological shift from the scroll to the codex brought with it the potential to revolutionise the way in which readers interacted with books. One of the first to realise the potential inherent in the new book form was Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, who, quite deservedly, has been called a 'Christian impresario of the codex'.[30] To use another metaphor, we might say that Eusebius was the Steve Jobs of his day, in the sense that he was able to intuit the power inherent in design for improving the user's access to information.[31] Eusebius took over the impressive Christian library at Caesarea, which was the intellectual, and perhaps also the institutional, descendant of the library brought to the city by the famous philosopher-theologian Origen, when he moved from Alexandria in *c*.232.[32] He is probably most well-known for his presumed association with the Emperor Constantine and his authorship of the extremely influential *Ecclesiastical History* (*HE*), in which he recounted the first three centuries of the history of the Christian church. The *Ecclesiastical History* was a remarkably innovative work, particularly in the manner in which it incorporated so many earlier sources into a single narrative, frequently relying on large block quotations from prior authors. However, this historical narrative was related to another, less well known work, his *Chronological Tables*, or simply the *Chronicle*, which survives partially in Latin and partially in Armenian, despite the loss of the original Greek version.[33] In his prefatory remarks to the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius pointed out that the 'narrative' (ἀφήγησις) that followed was built upon the 'summary' (ἐπιτομή) of the same material that he had already drawn

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30 The phrase is taken from the title to chapter 4 of Grafton / Williams 2006.

31 Cf. Grafton / Williams 2006, 200: 'No early creator of codices understood more vividly than Eusebius the possibilities that the new form of the book created for effective display of texts and information'.

32 On the continuity between Origen's library, that of Pamphilus, Eusebius' mentor, and Eusebius himself, see Grafton / Williams 2006, 179, who suggest 'the library at Caesarea probably did not have a continuous institutional history'. See, however, Carriker 2003, 10–11, who holds that Origen's library survived his death and might be what drew Pamphilus to Caesarea. Carriker gives a brief overview of the history of the Caesarean library prior to Eusebius on pp. 1–17.

33 For a German translation of the Armenian edition of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, which preserves both of the original two books of the work, see Karst 1911; and for Jerome's Latin translation and continuation of the second book, see Helm 1984. For a discussion of the complex textual history of the work, see Burgess / Witakowski 1999.

up in his *Chronological Tables*.[34] This earlier summary lacked almost all narrative comment and was instead a bare listing of events and persons in historical succession, in keeping with the earlier Greco-Roman chronicle genre.[35] However, what made Eusebius' work unique and innovative was the grand scope of his project. He did not merely report the significant events of a single past nation or city, as had been done ample times before. Rather, in an attempt to give as comprehensive an overview of post-Abrahamic world history as possible, he compiled and synchronized the past histories of some nineteen different nations and then invented a way of synoptically presenting all the material to the reader in tabular fashion.[36]

In its sheer ambition and in its innovative format of presentation, the *Chronicle* was a drastic advance upon earlier historiographical scholarship, and has rightly been called 'a dynamic hieroglyph of the succession of kingdoms,' or, in the words of the sixth-century Latin monk Cassiodorus, 'an image of history'.[37] It is almost inconceivable that a project of this scope would have been possible on a book-roll, or rather on a collection of book-rolls. At the very least it would have been incredibly impractical, so it is reasonable to suppose that this new format of presentation was made possible by the potential inherent in the new technology of the codex, specifically its greater size as a 'container' and the way in which it presents the reader with multiple random access points. Moreover, we should consider carefully the intellectual skills this work demonstrates in its creator, since these are relevant to the present discussion about the MTM of the fourfold gospel. In the *Chronological Tables*, Eusebius had to compile, synchronize and arrange the often divergent histories and calendrical systems of multiple nations, and then come up with a means to convey this newly ordered information to the reader in an accessible manner. Through this process, the originally unrelated histories of these nations were placed in a new relation to one another, and a new meaning emerged from this juxtaposition. These, I suggest, are the same skills he demonstrated in the new technology he developed for the MTM of the four-gospel codex.

Eusebius' experimentation with book technologies is also evident in the paratext he designed for the book of the Psalms. The psalter, which was one of

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34 *HE* 1.1.1.

35 On the broader history of the chronicle genre, of which Eusebius' work is an example, see Burgess / Kulikowski 2013.

36 For an insightful discussion of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, see Grafton / Williams 2006, 133–177.

37 Cf. Grafton / Williams 2006, 141–142. Grafton and Williams refer to the 'dramatic formal innovation' inherent in the *Chronicle* as a 'stunningly original work of scholarship' (p. 175).

the most important texts for Christians of the fourth century, consisted of 151 separate songs attributed to a variety of authors from the history of ancient Israel. A codex containing the psalter was, therefore, somewhat akin to a four-gospel codex insofar as it was a collection of texts of diverse authorship bound between two covers. Although navigation within this corpus would not have been difficult, given that each psalm was labelled with a number in sequence, the psalms were not grouped together according to authorship. As a result, if the reader wanted to identify all of the psalms belonging to a particular person, she was forced to rely either on her memory or on much flipping of pages in the codex. Eusebius greatly improved the user's navigation within the corpus of the psalter by creating a *pinax* (πίναξ, 'list' or 'catalogue') that grouped all of the psalms into nine lists according to authorship.[38] With this new tool, one could immediately see, for example, that psalms 71 and 126 belonged to Solomon, that psalm 89 was attributed to Moses, and that several dozen psalms were composed by David. However, because there was no need for coordinating the psalms listed in each of these categories to one another, all of the lists in the *pinax* were effectively isolated silos that required the reader to navigate up and down vertically, but not horizontally across the lists. As such they were not as complex as the Canon Tables for the gospels, but they do serve as a precursor insofar as the *pinax* for the psalms was a paratextual device intended to improve the navigation of a corpus comprised of diverse components and contained within a single manuscript.

3 The problem of similarity and difference in the MTM of the Fourfold Gospel

The reason why Eusebius faced a more difficult task with respect to the fourfold gospel is because the texts contained within this MTM simultaneously presented high degrees of similarity and difference with one another, to a degree that was probably without parallel for any other corpus of texts in Greco-Roman antiquity. These were texts that were not merely grouped together because they came from the same author or because they shared a certain genre. Rather, these were four

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38 Only a single copy of this work survives. For a study of it, including colour plates of the sole surviving manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.1), a transcription, and an English translation, see Wallraff 2013. For a similar use of the word πίναξ, see Galen, *De indolentia* 16–17, discussed in Houston 2014, 259.

different versions of the exact same story, the life of Jesus of Nazareth. In fact, scholars today almost universally agree that these four works are so similar to one another that a literary relationship must exist amongst them, at least with respect to the three that are the most similar—Matthew, Mark, and Luke, known as the Synoptic gospels. Various solutions to the so-called synoptic problem have been offered over the past several centuries, none of which need to be considered here.[39] The important point for our purposes is to observe that the synoptic problem highlights the uniqueness of this corpus of texts. Never before had four different versions of the same story been combined into a single canon of literature. Indeed, one might suppose that it would have made much more sense for second-century Christians to choose just one of these four and ignore the others, yet this was a path that almost no one took. Even the Gospel of Mark, which was rarely ever quoted in the early centuries of Christianity, usually being overshadowed by its more popular neighbours, was not abandoned for this reason but was instead retained within the fourfold canon. The case with Mark is particularly illuminating of the challenge created by this canon of texts because among the four gospels it shares an especially close relationship with the Gospel of Matthew. According to one widely quoted estimate, Matthew, using Mark as a source for his own gospel, retained 90% of Mark's story and even 51% of his actual wording,[40] although he added in much more material taken from other sources. In other words, at least half of the Gospel of Mark was reproduced verbatim in the Gospel of Matthew, yet both sources were retained in the same canon of texts. Yet these statistics obscure the complexity of the relationships amongst these four works. Almost every possible kind of relationship exists. There are some stories common to all four gospels, which might be told almost verbatim or very differently; some stories or sayings occur in only three gospels; some are found only in two; and finally, every gospel has material that is unique to it.

From the perspective of a user of this MTM, the complexity of the dialectic between sameness and difference within this corpus created several potential problems. First, scribes copying the texts often inadvertently substituted the passage they were copying with the version of the same story found in another of the gospels with which they were perhaps more familiar.[41] Readers of these texts, even

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39 On the synoptic problem, see Dungan 1999; Goodacre 2001; Watson 2013, 117–285.

40 Streeter 1924, 151, 159.

41 This is a problem that late antique authors were already aware of. Jerome mentions it as the primary justification for his inclusion of the Eusebian Canon Tables in his new translation of the gospels into Latin. See his *Novum Opus* addressed to Pope Damasus which serves as the preface to his Vulgate edition.

those with very good memories, would also have found it difficult to recall where certain stories occur, whether in one gospel or multiple ones, and trying to find the passage one had in mind would not have been easy. Finally, given the similarity of these texts to one another, the tendency on the part of the reader would naturally have been to conflate them all together, producing one, perhaps rather vague, mental gospel that effectively erases the distinct contribution that each of the four sources makes to the collective canon. These issues would have been apparent even if the gospels were housed in four separate codices, as pictured in the mosaic from Ravenna, but grouping them together into a single manuscript only made the problem more acute. Therefore, despite its remarkable stability in transmission, this was an MTM that contained a corpus of texts in need of disambiguation from one another; in need, that is, of some sort of technology for organizing the texts contained therein so as to aid the reader's navigation and study of these texts. This was the need that Eusebius' Canon Tables fulfilled.

Eusebius set about addressing this problem using the skills of organization and presentation that he had already developed in his treatment of history and the psalter. He must have begun by identifying the possible relationships amongst the four texts contained within this canon. First, there were passages that occur in all four. Then, there are passages that occur only in three gospels, whether in Matthew, Mark, and Luke; or in Matthew, Luke, and John; or in Matthew, Mark, and John. Next, there are passages that occur in only two gospels, such as Matthew and Luke, Matthew and Mark, Matthew and John, Mark and Luke, and finally John and Luke. Finally, there are passages unique to each gospel. Eusebius provided a number to represent each of these relational categories, which became the organizational principle that he applied to order the textual material he had before him. In essence what he did was to place every passage throughout the gospels into one of these categories. In what must have been a painstakingly tedious process, he worked through each gospel individually, dividing it into chunks of text and assigning each section to one of the categories he had established. Because these chunks of text are demarcated according to their relation with the other gospels, the breaks between them often do not occur at natural points in the flow of the narrative or discourse, but at times even cut sentences in half. Some of these parallels identified by Eusebius are verbatim agreements between two or more gospels, some are more thematic, and others appear theologically motivated. Moreover, their length varies widely from what would be whole chapters in modern reckoning to what modern readers would know as half a verse. So, for example, when Eusebius came to Matthew 1.18, which reports of Mary's miraculous conception by the Holy Spirit, he realized that the Gospel of Luke had a single verse (Luke 1.35) that made this same claim, so he noted this passage down in

his category of Matthew-Luke parallels. This was not a verbatim agreement but a thematic parallel about the role of the Holy Spirit in Jesus' birth. However, the following verses, Matthew 1.19-25, which recount a dream sent to Joseph to inform him of Mary's situation, are unique to the Gospel of Matthew, so Eusebius made these a separate section of text and placed them in the Matthew-only category. Once he had gone through the entirety of all four gospels in this manner, creating 1,162 sections of text,[42] he numbered the sections within each gospel sequentially, so that each passage had a unique identifier. He then designed a *mise-en-page* to encode this information in the four-gospel codex as a paratextual apparatus, writing in the margin of each page the sectional enumeration in black ink, and beneath it in red ink the number of the relational category to which each section belonged. Finally, he collated the numbered passages from each gospel into tables representing the relational categories he had designated, creating ten 'canons' (κανόνες) placed at the head of the fourfold gospel collection. In each of these canons, the number for a given passage from one of the gospels was placed alongside the identifying number(s) of the passage(s) from the other gospel(s) that presented a parallel.[43]

The resulting paratextual apparatus created a series of connections across the corpus contained within the MTM that allowed for a new kind of engagement with this textual material. For example, when you read the opening of Matthew's gospel in a codex equipped with Eusebius' apparatus and come to the statement about Mary's miraculous conception by the Holy Spirit (Matthew 1.18), you will notice a black '3' representing the number for this passage in the margin next to this sentence. Below this is a red '5' indicating the category or Canon to which this passage belonged. When you then turn to the front of the codex, you can discover that Canon 5 lists parallels between Matthew and Luke. Thus, you immediately know that the passage about Mary's conception has a parallel in the Gospel of Luke. If you then find the number '3' in the column for Matthew in Canon 5, you will notice that it is next to a number '2' in the Lukan column The section of text in the Gospel of Luke numbered '2' is a passage that is parallel to the passage you began with in Matthew (Luke 1.35). Of course, the apparatus could work in the other direction as well, with the reader beginning with the tables and then turning

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42 That is, 355 for Matthew, 233 for Mark, 342 for Luke, and 232 for John.
43 On the layout of the ten canons, see the seminal work of Nordenfalk 1938 who used late antique and medieval exemplars to reconstruct the Eusebian archetype. Studies of specific manuscripts and traditions may be found in Underwood 1950; Nordenfalk 1951; Nordenfalk 1963; Nordenfalk 1982; Mathews and Sanjian 1991, 166–176; McGurk 2001; McKenzie and Watson 2016, 83–186; Gearhart 2016; Pulliam 2017; Strom-Olsen 2018.

to specific texts. Recall that the author of the Gospel of Matthew had taken over almost all of the Gospel of Mark into his new composition. But what about those passages that Matthew did not incorporate into his narrative, which are found only in Mark? When you turn to the Canon listing the Mark-only passages, you will instantly have a list of the textual content that is unique to Mark (19 passages to be precise), and you could examine these in the context of the gospel to determine the distinct contribution of Mark to this corpus of literature. In other words, the user of a four-gospel codex equipped with this new information technology, starting at any point in the text, could study which relationships any passage of interest has with the other gospels, or he could begin by studying all the passages that belong in any of the organizational categories devised by Eusebius. The latter is precisely the sort of methodological approach that would, over a millennium later, lead modern scholars to an awareness of the synoptic problem. In other words, Eusebius was well ahead of his time.[44]

The significance of Eusebius' achievement becomes clearer when we view it against the backdrop of the Greco-Roman world of Late Antiquity in which he was operating. I have already mentioned that paratexts were usually very minimal in the Hellenistic and imperial period, and even when they do appear, they tend to be very basic. Pliny the Elder's table of contents for his massive *Natural History* is one of the earliest examples we have, and it merely consists of a list of the books comprising the work and their respective topics.[45] By the fourth century, authors were regularly dividing up longer works into constituent books in a similar fashion, which they enumerated and collated in prefatory lists – a technique that Eusebius himself employed in his *Ecclesiastical History*, and one that is sure to have improved the user's experience of navigating around the work. However, these divisions were always at the level of an entire book and did not divide a text into any smaller subdivisions, as Eusebius' apparatus did. Moreover, cross-referencing within a corpus of texts was virtually non-existent. The tabular format of Eusebius' paratext was also strikingly innovative. In a forthcoming monograph on information technologies in the classical Roman world, Andrew Riggsby observes that tables were 'vanishingly rare' in the Latin world, even in the kind of places that one would expect to find them, such as grammar, arithmetic, and calendars.[46] The situation is slightly different in Greek, with examples like Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* for astronomical calculations. In fact, it may be that Eusebius

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44 See Crawford 2015.
45 On early tables of contents in the Roman world, see Riggsby 2007, and on Pliny specifically, see pp. 93–98.
46 Riggsby 2019.

was inspired by such astronomical tables, since they had been adapted in the previous century by Christian authors for use in calculating the date of Easter.[47] Yet even in the world of Alexandrian philology, never before had the relationship between texts been symbolically represented in tabular format. In short, what Eusebius produced was the first ever numerically keyed cross-referencing system for a body of texts. It is, therefore, emblematic of the late antique 'information technology revolution' that Riggsby suggests occurred in the two centuries following Diocletian's reign.

It can hardly be a coincidence that this remarkable achievement in the history of information technology and information visualisation was carried out in relation to a corpus of texts that presented a literary problem of sameness and difference that was also without precedent. In other words, the collecting of these four gospels into a single MTM created the conditions that allowed the emergence of this breakthrough. More specifically, the organizational purpose of Eusebius' paratext may be understood as an extension of the corpus-organizing function of the MTM itself.[48] Here the analogy with Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* is instructive. Ptolemy's astronomical charts formed a numerical map of the physical world, which provided a means for the amateur astronomer to predict and trace the orderly movements of the heavenly bodies. Similarly, Eusebius' Canon Tables provided a map of the microcosm of the text, allowing the reader to discern the presumed divine order inherent to this corpus of sacred literature. In both cases, the orderly columns and rows of numbers imply that the reality to which the table refers, either the celestial bodies or the fourfold gospel, is also an ordered, harmonious whole whose movements may be understood by an observer equipped with the right understanding and tools.

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47 See, e.g. Anatolius of Laodicea, whose career and works are described in Eusebius, *HE* 7.32.6–20. Hailing from Alexandria, he is reported to have been an expert in Aristotelian philosophy and authored a treatise containing tables for calculating the date of Easter, which was titled Κανόνες περὶ τοῦ πάσχα. Eusebius had access to this work and cited a passage from it. Cf. Mercier 2011, 2, who points out that Christian authors made use of Ptolemy's tables for 'determining the date of Easter'. Showing a similar concern is the roughly contemporary paschal calendar inscribed on the famous Statue of Hippolytus now in the Vatican museum.

48 In this respect, the Canon Tables seem to be exceptional against the background of other late antique Greek miscellaneous manuscripts, which, according to Crisci 2004, have 'dispositivi di impaginazione e di organizzazione del testo per lo più modesti e approssimativi' (pp. 142–143).

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Paola Buzi

The Ninth-Century Coptic 'Book Revolution' and the Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts

Abstract: In this article, I am going to analyse how the typology of Coptic multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) evolved in relation to their content and regional provenance, showing how Coptic literature and Coptic book production underwent a revolutionary transformation that started in the ninth century, becoming something completely different from what it was before.

Summarizing the studies on the development of Coptic literature carried out by Tito Orlandi, Martin Krause and others, Siegfried Richter writes:

> [...] much of our modern knowledge about the history of Coptic literature is based on manuscripts from the ninth century and later, which are often copies, revisions, or summaries of older works. In many cases, the works of earlier Coptic literature were transmitted finally only for liturgical purposes and so were put into such codices.[1]

This assertion is certainly correct: what we have is mainly transmitted by codices that date back to between the ninth and the eleventh centuries and consists of a targeted selection of contents that do not fully correspond to the primeval nature of Coptic literature.

Even though the reasons for this drastic selection and rearrangement of Coptic literary heritage are quite well known, it seems that nobody has systematically analysed the nature of the Coptic works that have survived over the centuries—by chance or more often thanks to accurate selection—in strict relation to the typology of the multiple-text codices (MTMs) that transmit them.

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1 Richter 2009, 47

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1 Before the sixth century: the unstable and evolving nature of Christian Egyptian manuscripts and literature

It has been stated that, at least as far as the Mediterranean book is concerned, miscellanies or MTMs were an invention of the Egyptian schools.[2] This is certainly plausible, but our opinion may be influenced, and perhaps even distorted, by the fact that no other Mediterranean regions have preserved so many ancient books.

Furthermore, it is a matter of fact that some of the earliest Christian Egyptian libraries known to us—I use the term library *lato sensu*—are also composed of MTMs.

This is the case for the well-known Nag Hammadi codices (third-fourth centuries), containing two to seven works (with the exception of Codex X that transmits only one work). In particular, it also applies to the Bodmer Papyri (fourth-fifth/sixth centuries) with their combination of Greek, Coptic and Latin languages, and their co-presence of biblical, homiletic and classical texts[3] as translations or in the original language, which are generally evaluated by scholars as an eccentric bibliological and textual phenomenon compared to the *normal* book production of late antique Christian Egypt.

As far as the Bodmer Papyri are concerned, my personal opinion is that it is plausible to reverse the perspective of the analysis and to speculate that other Christian Egyptian book collections of Late Antiquity might also have had approximately the same combination of languages, works and genres, which was even possible in more traditional and structured monasteries of the same period, i.e. coenobitic communities where life was regulated by written or unwritten rules.

The presence of Latin in the works transmitted by the Bodmer Papyri shows us that the use of this language—and consequently of its cultural background—should not be

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2 Petrucci 2005, 5–25.

3 It is interesting to note that, despite the fact that numerous manuscripts of classical works have survived from Late Antiquity, they never appear in booklists. For a census of pagan books found in late antique Egypt see Maehler 1997, 125–128. Despite the extreme interest of the observations made by Chrysi Kotsifou on Egyptian book production, I do not agree with the statements that '[t]he lack of evidence for pagan scriptoria in Byzantine Egypt also suggests that a large number of the six hundred copies of pagan books that have survived from that period were copied by monks' and '[i]n late antiquity, centers of book production were primarily if not exclusively in monasteries' (Kotsifou 2007, 50, 55), since our knowledge of monastic settlements is much better than that of urban settlements; the latter, much more than monasteries, have undergone numerous transformation and stratifications over time, to the point of making specific typologies of buildings and often even the general topography of a site unrecognizable.

regarded as a linguistic phenomenon, which mainly (but not exclusively) concerned the law and army milieus.[4] It is clear that in the fifth century there were still groups of educated people capable of using Latin in order to read (and copy) Latin works.

In particular, this is clearly demonstrated by the late Latin poem *Alcestis*, of originally at least 124 hexameters (122 of which have survived), which is preserved in the famous *codex miscellaneus Barcinonensis* (now, in the Abbey of Montserrat)[5] and deals with the heroic death of Alcestis while saving the life of her husband Admetus.[6] Most of the specialists who have studied the *Alcestis* agree in affirming that the scribe who copied the text did not fully understand it. He probably knew oral Latin, but was much less adept in its written form; nevertheless, he was not always averse to taking on the role of *redactor*; i.e. to correct and integrate the text. At the end of the fourth century, this anonymous Latin poem was circulated in a community that also produced and read biblical works in Coptic, and original Christian works in Greek (mostly poems). The *Alcestis* itself is part of a codex that also includes Christian texts, and it was probably perceived as a moral example perfectly compliant with Christian values.

At first glance, the so-called *codex miscellaneus* appears extremely surprising, since it includes an apparently heterogeneous and incompatible series of texts[7]:
– Cicero, *In Catilinam*, I 6–9, 13–33, II (in Latin)
– the so-called *Psalmus responsorius* (in Latin)
– a drawing of a mythological subject (Hercules or Perseus)
– a series of prayers (in Greek)
– the above-mentioned *Alcestis* (in Latin)
– a composition modernly defined as *Hadrianus* (in Latin)
– a list of words probably taken from a stenographic manual (in Greek).

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4 On the use and role of Latin in late antique and Christian Egypt see the following selected references: Cavenaile 1949; Dummer 1969–1970, 43–52; Wipszycka 1984, 279–296; Cavenaile 1987, 103–110; Wouters 1988; Cribiore 2003–2004, 111–118; Fournet 2009, 418–451; Papaconstantinou 2010. For the school context see Carlig 2013, 55–98.
5 For a description of the codex see Torallas Tovar / Worp 2013, 139–167.
6 Roca-Puig 1982; Lebek 1983, 1–29; Parsons / Nisbet / Hutchinson 1983, 31–36; Schwartz 1983, 37–39; Marcovich 1984, 111–134; Tandoi 1984a, 233–245; Tandoi 1984b, 3–11; Schäublin 1984, 174–181; Harrison / Obbink 1986, 75–81; Marcovich 1986, 39–57; Lebek 1987, 39–48; Marcovich 1988; Horsfall 1989, 25–26; Lebek 1989, 19–26; Nosarti 1992; Mantzilas 2011, 61–90; Nocchi Macedo 2010; Nocchi Macedo 2014.
7 For a detailed and commented list of the works contained in the *codex miscellaneus Barcinonensis* see Nocchi Macedo 2013, 143–156.

Consequently, we are dealing with a multiple-text and a multilingual codex, probably destined for personal use or use by a restricted group, 'à la croisée de la tradition profane gréco-romaine et du christianisme, ou se côtoyaient, sans pourtant avoir le même statut, le grec, le latin et le copte'.[8]

Clearly, the owners—whether they were members of a more or less organized monastic community, or of a Christian school or of a philosophical-religious circle[9]—considered all the texts included in the manuscript appropriate for their readings and training. Even the list of words at the end of the codex, which also includes names of classical Greek authors (Homer, Hesiod, Thucydides) and the titles of fifteen comedies of Menander,[10] is coherent with the rest, most likely representing an aid to learning the stenographic technique and constitutes a choice which was compatible with the writing activities of a monastic community.[11]

In brief, the multiple-text codices of the Bodmer collection appear like one-volume libraries—to borrow an effective term from the conference that was organized in Hamburg in 2010[12]—that is a compendium of the interests and the tastes of the community that owned them. The private use of these codices is revealed by the codicological features and by the occasional nature in which the texts were combined.

However, as previously stated, we should not forget that the Bodmer Papyri include several biblical, mostly apparently single-text, codices in Coptic: P.Bodmer VI (*Proverbs*); P.Bodmer XVI (*Exodus*); P.Bodmer XXII + Mississippi Coptic Codex II (*Jeremiah*, *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, *Epistles of Jeremiah*, *Baruch*); Bodmer XIX (*Gospel of Matthew*); P.Palau Ribes 181–183 (*Gospels of Luke*, *John* and *Mark*), to which one should probably add Codex Glazier (*Acts*), preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library,[13] and Codex Scheide MS 144 (*Gospel of Matthew*), preserved in the Princeton University Library. These codices are additional to the *codex miscellaneus* and the so-called *codex visionum*, which contain the most interesting and simultaneously challenging works of this group of manuscripts, and consist of original Greek poems on Christian subjects.[14]

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8 Nocchi Macedo 2013, 139.

9 See Camplani 2015b, 98–135.

10 On Menander in Late Antiquity see van Minnen 1992, 87–98.

11 Nocchi Macedo 2013, 156, 162.

12 Friedrich / Schwarke 2016.

13 Sharpe 1999, 381–400. See also https://alinsuciu.com/2014/06/06/radiocarbon-dating-of-codex-glazier/ (last accessed 21 October 2017).

14 See now above all Agosti 2015, 86–97, where a wide bibliography on the subject is listed.

All together, these manuscripts belong to the oldest translations of the Bible from Greek into Coptic and represent types of books that, if they were to be found in any monastic library, including a more traditional and structured library, it would come as no surprise.

It is precisely this combination of languages, cultures and bibliological choices that makes the Bodmer Papyri an extremely interesting case. Did they reflect a wide cultural-linguistic situation in late antique Egypt? Is it possible to think that other libraries also had a similar combination of works and languages? And, what's more importantly here, was the single-text codex originally reserved for biblical works only?

In the case of the Nag Hammadi library and also the Bodmer Papyri, the owners' identities remain unclear. Despite the fact that Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott recently spoke strongly in favor of a monastic origin,[15] not all scholars agree that they belonged to a monastic community.[16] Moreover, it is a fact that Egyptian book owners between the third and the fifth centuries must have largely had similar cultural training and attended the same 'schools' because the monastic identity of organized communities was a later achievement, as we know from the majority of Coptic works, but also from documentary sources.

It was only in the sixth century that monasteries became the main—and progressively almost exclusive—cultural centres of Christian Egypt, and at that point their religious and cultural choices influenced all subsequent literature. This happened as a reaction to the post-Chalcedonian controversies and the consequent co-presence in Egypt of two *episkopoi*: (1) melkite, i.e. depending on Constantinople, and (2) 'monophysite', i.e. local and Coptic.

Previously, however, the influence that schools located in *towns* – or rather in the largest villages—exerted on a monk's education must still have been strong.[17]

There are tenuous, but not negligible, traces that lead in this direction. This is the case of the well-known, although probably unwitting, quotation of *The Birds* of Aristophanes by the abbot Shenoute, which is clearly the product of a residual *classical* education that the archimandrite of the White Monastery had gained in the Panopoli-

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15 Lundhaug / Jenott 2015

16 See for instance, Buzi 2016, 95–100 and, above all, Wipszycka / Piwowarczyk 2017, 432–457.

17 This is also the opinion of Claudia Rapp, who, dealing with the scribal training, states that 'there is no indication in the sources to suggest that it was provided within the monasteries' (Rapp 1991, 134).

tan milieu.[18] Moreover, it is now a consolidated and shared opinion that 'Shenoute had an excellent education, particularly in rhetoric'.[19]

The fluid cultural interaction between Panopolis and the environment of the White Monastery was effectively described by Gianfranco Agosti, who, during a conference held in Warsaw,[20] formulated the hypothesis that the rhetoric of Nonnus of Panopolis, a fourth-century Greek-Egyptian poet, was influenced by the style and the themes of the sermons and hagiographies of the Shenoutean milieu. Agosti observes that, being a Christian born in Panopolis, Nonnus must have had the opportunity since his childhood to be in contact with members of the monastic movement, and particularly with Shenoute and his disciples. Their works were inspired by a continuous struggle against any religious opponents by means of a vehement literary production.

In short, the Christian Egyptian book before the sixth century had an evolving and unstable nature: first, in terms of content, which did not exclude the preservation of classical works and sometimes even the creation of new works inspired by classical literature; second, in terms of language, there was still even space for Latin, and bilingual bibliological products in Greek and Coptic were not rare; third, in terms of codicological features and graphic devices, since books belonging to the same collection may differ significantly in the use of titles, in the layout, in the choice of the writing support (papyrus or parchment, with a predominance of the first material) and in the dimensions of the codices.

As for this last aspect, two main types are recognisable. The first is a more or less square form, represented, for instance, by Berlin, Staatsbiliothek, Ms. or. oct. 987, a papyrus codex in Akhmimic dialect that contains the *Proverbia Salomonis*. It is a single-quire papyrus codex now bound with modern leather binding. It measures about 135/140 × 125 mm and is made up of 43 bifolia, apparently each taken from the remainder of the three different rolls, plus three single leaves. The outer sheets are wider than the inner ones. Oslo, MS Schøyen Codex 2650, which contains a unique version of the *Gospel of Matthew*, also corresponds to this format. It is a papyrus codex, in Mesochemic or Oxyrhynchite dialect, measuring 200 × 230 mm. Another example of the same little format, but with slightly different proportions, is represented by the so-called el-Mudil Psal-

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18 Tito Orlandi is convinced of the existence of a 'school of high level at the White Monastery', which is highly probable (Orlandi 2002, 224). However, this does not exclude that some of the monks and Shenoute himself could have been in contact with the 'schools' of Panopolis.
19 Bagnall 2008, 29.
20 G. Agosti, 'Nonnus and Coptic literature' at 'Nonnus of Panopolis in Context III: Old questions and new perspectives', Institute of Classical Philology and Culture Studies Faculty of Humanities Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski University in Warsaw, 15–17 September 2015.

ter,[21] a parchment codex in Oxyrhynchite dialect, discovered in an Egyptian tomb. It was found in the large cemetery of el-Mudil, about 45 kilometres northeast of Oxyrhynchos, under the head of a female mummy. It measures 167 × 122 mm, consists of 249 leaves, most of which are still legible, and is to be dated to the late fourth or early fifth century.

The other type is well represented by the Nag Hammadi codices and by the codex which transmits the *Gospel of Judas*, the *First Apocalypse of James*, the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, and a fragment of the *Book of Allogenes*. They are longer than wide rectangular papyrus codices, with external leaves that are larger and longer than the internal ones. 'Measured at the outside of the quires, the dimensions of the leaves of the codices vary from 242 × 147 (NHC VIII) to 302 × 140 (NHC 1, quire 1) and from 260 × 122 (NHC X) to 292 × 175 mm (NHC VII), with proportions varying between 0.46 and 0.62'.[22]

It is important to stress that, while the first type normally corresponds to single-text codices—with few exceptions—[23] and usually transmits 'orthodox' biblical texts, the second often corresponds to MTMs and contains *apocrypha* and/or different literary genres, some of which are soon destined to disappear from the literary panorama of Byzantine Egypt.

In all these codices, titles are mostly located at the end of the works, and even where a title precedes the work (*inscriptio*), it is less important than the final title (*subscriptio*).

In brief, the systematic analysis of the most ancient witnesses of Coptic books shows that single-text codices normally contain Biblical works, while MTMs mostly contain apocryphal works, homiletic and/or classical works, which had been reinterpreted from a Christian perspective.

Moreover, from a codicological point of view, the typology of Coptic MTM is still evolving, exactly like the identity of the book owners.

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21 Emmenegger 2007.

22 Buzi / Emmel 2015, 145.

23 See for instance, Oslo, MS Crosby Schøyen Codex 193 + Dublin, Chester Beatty Library 2026 that contains Melito of Sardes, *De Pascha*; *2 Macchabaei* 5,27–7,41; *Epistula 1 Petri* 1,1–5,14; *Jonas* 1,1–4,11; *Homily on Easter*. Goehring 1990.

2 After the sixth century: the slow emergence of the Coptic MTM

Unfortunately, the history of Coptic manuscript tradition is full of gaps. Thus, we cannot always follow the gradual evolution of the technical features, the tastes and the practical aspects that brought the Coptic book to change over the centuries in detail. However, it is certain that the dramatic events after the Council of Chalcedon (451) had a strong influence on Coptic literature, and therefore also on Coptic codices.

It only became possible to talk of a real and institutionalized Coptic Church, which was independent from the so-called Great Church, after Chalcedon and the dogmatic disputes it raised; however, only one century later, the emperor and the Church of Constantinople made strenuous attempts to bring the Church of Alexandria back to what they considered orthodoxy.

Thus, the 'Chalcedonian church had been actively backed by the imperial power structure for over a century, often forcing the non-Chalcedonian hierarchy to leave the city centres and retreat to monasteries where they were managing their communities' by the end of the sixth century.[24] Two archbishops or patriarchs were present in Egypt, one Chalcedonian and the other anti-Chalcedonian, giving rise to a complex and dramatic situation, in which the Copts were occasionally victims of systematic persecution.

This state of affairs had an effect on Coptic manuscript tradition and literature, where, on the one hand, we witness the emergence of monastic cultural centres and *scriptoria* and, on the other, the flourishing of hagiography, a literary genre in which monks and local martyrs became the new heroes of the narrations. Often, hagiographic texts were linked to one another, forming the so-called cycles.

The MTM became the perfect container for these narratives, in which the enterprises of one character were developed in more than one work, in a sort of serialized novel. But homilies dedicated to similar subjects were also often collected together in order to create a thematic volume. Again, the multiple-text codex appeared as a perfect instrument of transmission.

Unfortunately, we do not have many examples which are datable to the sixth/seventh century with certainty, since manuscripts are often sourced from the antiquities market, not from a secure archaeological context. However, we do have an important library, probably datable to the end of the seventh/beginning

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24 Papaconstantinou 2009, 448.

of the eighth centuries, that gives us the opportunity to appreciate the difference in Coptic books before and after the Council of Chalcedon. This library is made up of a group of at least 17 papyrus codices.[25] It is most likely that they originally belonged to the main church of This (or Thinis), which is located near Abydos, and is now preserved in the Egyptian Museum, Turin.[26]

It is interesting to note that only four codices seem to be single-text manuscripts. More importantly, these single-text manuscripts no longer transmitted biblical works, as they did in the past, but other literary genres. This is the case for the *Life of Epiphanius of Salamis* and, surprisingly, for a text by Shenoute (*De iudicio supremo*), the latter is a rare example of a work by the famous archimandrite transmitted outside the Shenoutean federation.

All the other manuscripts are MTMs that contain two to nine works.[27] They already present most of the physical elements that will characterize the last and more well-known phase of Coptic books.

With few exceptions, the layout is in two columns.[28] The titles are always located before the works they refer to, but only seldom mention a date. Sometimes, *subscriptiones* survive, but they no longer represent the main titles.

However, from the point of view of content, the MTMs of Turin show that the nature of Coptic literature was still evolving. They combined fifth-century translations from Greek, some *apocrypha*, texts that testified to the theological controversies of the late fourth century, some original texts of the sixth century, a few pseudepigraphal works and a selection of normative texts. Pagan works, however, even when re-read from a Christian perspective, were no longer included.

Whereas the reason for the combination of some texts in the same manuscript is clear in many cases, such as in Codex II (GIOV.AB) where the *Acta Pilati* or *Evangelium Nicodemi* is combined with the *In Crucem* of Theophilus of Alexandria as both works are related to the Passion of Christ, there are other cases where the grounds for the choice have remained completely unknown.

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25 Recent autoptic surveys of this ancient library have demonstrated that it was originally composed of at least 20 codices.

26 On the papyrus codices from This, see Orlandi 1974, 139–151 and Orlandi 2013, 501–530. On the scientific activities carried out on these codices by the project 'PAThs – codicological description, cataloguing, archaeometric analysis of the inks' – see Buzi 2015/2016, 57–67; Buzi / Bogdani / Carlig / Giorda / Soldati 2017; Buzi 2018a, 39–57.

27 Any assessment of the contents, however, should be very cautious until a complete cataloguing of the manuscripts has been completed. Therefore, the codicological data provided here is provisional.

28 Codices VIII (GIOV.AH), IX (GIOV.AI), XI (GIOV.AK) have a one-column layout.

Even though there are several exceptions, the codices that can be reconstructed with certainty are normally composed of quires of four bifolia, of which the first four pages are usually blank. The disposition of the fibres is not rarely mixed and the papyrus is often of very rough quality.

The pagination, when regular, is on each page, but there are interesting cases which combine pagination and foliation (Codex I), or different forms of irregularity.

The thickest Turin codex consists of 192 pages (Codex VI), i.e. 48 bifolia, while most of the others have between 100 and 150 pages.

In brief, the library of Thinis (This) represents a transitional moment in the history of Coptic books, witnessing, on the one hand, the creation of new codicological and palaeographical features and, on the other, the progressive emergence of multiple-text codices.

3 The definitive affirmation of MTMs (ninth-eleventh centuries)

However, it is the ninth century that represents a real revolution for the history of the Coptic book. Parchment became the almost exclusive writing support, with papyrus slowly falling into disuse and paper being systematically used at a later date. The dimensions, proportion and general features of Coptic codices appear to be more or less the same all over Egypt and, more importantly, they transmit a literature that is clearly the result of a targeted selection and totally excludes the monastic figures of the origins (Aphou, Paul of Tamma, Apollo of Bawit, etc.), the apocryphal writings and, of course, any reference to classical tradition. Moreover, titles always mention the date, and this is not fortuity, since works are now used for liturgical purposes.

Unfortunately, one of the cultural centres that was responsible for this selection has only partially been explored, namely the Wādī al-Naṭrūn valley. It is better known in Christian sources as Scetis or Σκήτις or Σκέτη. Scetis is one of the three early Christian monastic centres located in the desert of the northwestern Nile Delta; the other two are Nitria and Kellia. The region precociously became one of Christianity's most sacred areas. It was inhabited by Desert Fathers, whose famous representative was Macarius.

Macarius settled in Scetis in approximately 330, establishing a solitary monastic site. His reputation, however, soon attracted a great number of anchorites, who began to live nearby in individual cells. Many of them came from Nitria and Kellia, where they had previously experienced a solitary desert living.

By the end of the fourth century, four distinct stable communities had developed. These are the monasteries of Baramus, Macarius, Bishoi and John Kolobos.

It is a shared opinion that the four monasteries did not originally have a real library. Rather, books constituted the personal property of individual monks. In any case, the monasteries of Scetis were destroyed three times in the fifth century and again in the sixth and the ninth centuries, so it is reasonable to imagine that ancient codices from this region are unlikely to have survived, and that what remains originated long after these events.

Moreover, the codices from the monasteries of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, most of which date from the ninth/tenth century, underwent the same fate as those belonging to the White Monastery (Dayr al-Abyaḍ), which were dismembered, sold to European travelers and scholars, and were thus scattered across different European, Egyptian and North American collections.[29]

However, we have enough information to reconstruct the stimulating and multicultural life of the local monasteries and the relationship with other Oriental Churches that, unlike those in other Egyptian regions, continued well beyond the eleventh century. A meaningful example is represented by the well-known 'Pentaglotto Barberini', which can be dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth century and was rebound in 1625. It is a codex that contains the Psalms in Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian and Syriac. It is very likely that it was not imagined for practical use, but rather conceived as a symbol of the anti-Calcedonian faith, collecting the languages of all the non-Melkite Churches, exactly like two other multiple-language codices, which were produced in the same milieu and are now preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

Moreover, we know that the sources used to write the History of the Patriarchs, the last historical account of the Coptic Orthodox Church, came from the Wādī al-Naṭrūn.

The most important library of the valley was certainly that of the monastery of Macarius (Dayr al-Anbā Maqār). As already said, the codices from this library still need to be studied carefully, but on the basis of available knowledge. With the exclusion of biblical and liturgical manuscripts, there are very few single-text codices. At the moment, an accurate analysis—in terms of literary choices, codicological aspects and paratextual elements—of the codices from the Monastery of Macarius,

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29 Concerning the dispersion of the libraries of Scetis, see Richter 2004, 43–62: 47–58 and Emmel 1990, 145–184. See also Evelyn White 1932, xxi–xlviii and for the reports of different travelers and explorers, Störk 1995, 45–98.

which are preserved in the Apostolic Vatican Library, is being carried out within the scientific activities of the PAThs project[30].

In the paper presented at a recent conference in Rome,[31] Tito Orlandi compared the early medieval bibliological choices of the libraries of the Monastery of Shenoute and of the Monastery of Macarius. Orlandi observed that if the first still preserved the richness and variety of the original late antique library, what we know about the second reveals a clearer practical function and stronger connection with liturgical use. Consequently, it appears that the Monastery of Shenoute maintained its role as the main cultural centre of Coptic Egypt, at least until the time of the three Awlād al-ʿAssāl (thirteenth century), while the Monastery of Macarius inherited this role only after the decline of Dayr al-Abyaḍ, yet producing and spreading a (literary) culture that was now completely Copto-Arabic.

At the previously mentioned conference '"One-Volume Libraries": Composite Manuscripts and Multiple Text Manuscripts', I presented a quantitative exploration of the other two late Coptic libraries whose extant manuscripts date back to after the end of the eighth century: the so-called Hamūli manuscripts, found in the Fayyūm region, and those of the White Monastery of Shenoute, in Upper Egypt. Here, I am going to briefly deal with the codicological aspects rather than the numerical ones, focusing particularly on the Hamūli manuscripts, while excluding the purely liturgical codices and those containing biblical works. I will take into consideration only codices that transmit monastic, hagiographic, homiletic and normative works.

Hamūli is the modern name of the village which stands on the site of the ancient Monastery of the Archangel Michael, located in the south-western area of the fertile region of the Fayyūm, about 100 km south-west of Cairo. In 1911, several well-preserved codices (ninth–eleventh centuries) were found there and are now preserved for the most part in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.[32] At the time of their discovery, several of them still had their original bindings.

The multiple-text codices represent an important part of this library, but not the majority. Those containing the largest number of works are devoted to Eastertide, the Virgin Mary and, rather unsurprisingly, the Archangel Michael, who is the patron of the monastery. They are all to be considered high-quality codi-

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30 Buzi / Berno / Soldati / Valerio 2018, 161–193, [atlas.paths-erc.eu].

31 The conference—the first organized by the PAThs project—was entitled 'The Coptic book between the 6th and the 8th centuries' and was held in Rome (21–22 September 2017, Sapienza University of Rome and Academia Belgica). Orlandi 2018, 58–65.

32 See, in particular, Depuydt 1993, I, xlv–liii. Cf. also Emmel 2005, 63–70 and Nakano 2006, 147–159.

cological products, at least by Coptic standards. They usually show clear and well-crafted parchment, accurate *mise en page*, two-column layout, large margins, regular handwriting and pagination, and bimodular script. As for the dimensions, they range from 328 × 251 mm to 377 × 288 mm, which excludes personal use and suggests communitarian, liturgical use.

The Hamūli multiple-text codices contain two to ten works (cf. Tab. 1), all of which are introduced by a long—sometimes very long—title that always mentions a date corresponding to the death of a martyr, the miracle of a saint or the construction of a sanctuary. It is important to stress that these dates are always identical to those related to the same characters whose lives are collected, in a summarized form, in the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, which is a collection of saints' lives and religious events arranged according to the liturgical calendar of the Coptic Church. We do not know which institution decided to compile the *Synaxarium* (the Patriarchate?) or who was responsible for its final arrangement, but the correspondence of the dates and the narratives mentioned in the titles of the ninth-eleventh-century MTMs—not only from Hamūli—with those of the *Synaxarium* cannot be a mere coincidence.

It is clear that these codices represent a targeted selection of the texts that were considered representative of post-eighth-century Coptic culture, i.e. the religious and cultural identity of an Egypt which, at that time, had already been speaking Arabic for two centuries. As already observed, there is no trace of classical literature in these multiple-text codices. Moreover, even the monastic and homiletic works of the first phase of Coptic literature, that is the texts related to the dogmatic and theological controversies, most of the historiographic works and the works related to monks of the specific Middle-Egyptian milieu are missing.

From a material point of view, these books are large 'containers' or 'corpus-organizers', according to the terminology proposed by Alessandro Bausi,[33] consisting of at least 300 and sometimes even 200 leaves. The script, a bimodular handwriting very likely conceived and elaborated in the Fayyūm itself, is particularly suitable for long texts, since is it easily compressible. It is evident that these codices were used for the storage of selected *traditional* texts and not for hosting new literary creations. In this phase, there was no space for original works.

In brief, the late Coptic parchment codex, and, in particular, the multiple-text parchment codex is an item that completely differs from the oldest examples of the Egyptian MTMs: the technical features are different, as are the size and the texts and, above all, the finalities. Clearly, such a complex cultural and—I would say—

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33 Bausi 2010, 34–36.

also technological operation, must have been guided and driven in a targeted manner by a group of intellectuals.

Identifying the cultural circle(s) responsible for such an operation and the region, or even the precise place where it took shape, is, in my opinion, one of the most important challenges that a specialist of Coptic studies could, and indeed should, face.

Tab. 1: The Hamūli multiple-text codices preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, contain two to ten works.

Call number of the Hamūli MSS	Depuydt's catalogue no.	Dimensions (mm)	Date	Number of works
M597	107	351 × 268	913/914	2
M593	111	352 × 266	892/893	2
M602	116	365 × 282	822/823–913/914	7
M592	117	377 × 288	822/823–913/914	8
M587	121	341 × 262	897–901	4
M590	125	338 × 258	before 893	3
M588	126	344 × 285	March 8, 842	3
M589	127	328 × 251	822/823–913/914	2
M582	136	342 × 259	822/823–913/914	2
M591	157	326 × 254	before Feb. 15, 861	7
M596	158	375 × 289	871/872	3
M598	159	332 × 270	822/823–913/914	2
M600	160	353 × 274	before Aug. 29, 906	2
M579	162	368 × 285	Before Aug. 30, 823	8
M580	163	357 × 275	889/890	2
M583	164	338 × 281	Feb. 8, 848	9
M584	165	343 × 267	822/823–913/914	2

Call number of the Hamūli MSS	Depuydt's catalogue no.	Dimensions (mm)	Date	Number of works
M585	166	338 × 228	822/823–913/914	3
M609	167	349 × 261	822/823–913/914	3
M633	168	322 × 243	before Aug., 994	2
M595	170	342 × 277	before Apr. 4, 855	10
M611	171	334 × 260	891–893	2
M577	172	337 × 259	before Aug. 30, 895	4
M578	173	338 × 255	between 891 and 893	3
M586	174	359 × 269	Oct. 10, 844	3

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Individual MTMs

Lucie Doležalová

Personal Multiple-Text Manuscripts in Late Medieval Central Europe: The 'Library' of Crux of Telč (1434–1504)

Abstract: This study presents the case of the 'library' of a curious late medieval personality: Crux of Telč (1434–1504). During his lifetime, Crux was active in a variety of environments—local schools, university, churches and the Prague chapter, ending up in the Augustinian canonry in Třeboň. Since he was an avid copyist of basically any text he came across, and since he tended to add colophons to his copies, it is possible for researchers to reconstruct his career and his interests. The codices in his 'library' are all multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs), usually of an extremely miscellaneous character. His copies are usually 'creative copies', that is, manuscript versions with a substantial number of unique scribal interventions. The author suggests that Crux's case exemplifies the way in which the boom in information and spread of knowledge in the second half of the fifteenth century were managed.

1 Introduction

In the Middle Ages, manuscripts were usually kept in institutional libraries (primarily libraries of monasteries or universities) or in personal collections. The former group generally reflects patterns and tendencies of a specific social, cultural or historical situation rather than personal interests, while the latter are usually more limited in time and impact. The example presented here is actually a combination of both: initially, it was a personal library, but it became part of a monastic library later on. Thus, it both reflects personal interests and goes beyond a restricted circle of personal friends and family members in terms of its impact.

The person behind this collection was Crux de Telcz (Kříž of Telč, 1434–1504), a well-known figure among Czech medievalists, partly because he copied a great

number of precious texts written in Old Czech that would otherwise have been lost to posterity.[1] As we know from the colophons of his manuscript copies, Crux travelled across the region and held various offices. He was active in a variety of environments: in local schools (in Telč, Žďár, Soběslav, Roudnice nad Labem, Ústí nad Labem and Vyšehrad), at Prague University (from 1459), then at local churches (Plzeň, Nepomuk, Soběslav), St Vitus Cathedral in Prague, and at a canonry. He was ordained in 1463 and entered the Augustinian canonry in Třeboň (Wittingau in German)[2] in 1478. Crux was an active writer and copyist for at least 48 years: the first note he is known to have written is from Telč in 1454,[3] while the last one is the table of contents he added to MS Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic (hereafter 'NL'), XI C 1 in 1502 in Třeboň (Fig. 1).[4] When he died on 25 March 1504, almost 50 codices with miscellaneous contents gathered and largely copied by him or containing his additions and corrections remained in the Třeboň library. Selected individual texts and their manuscript transmission have been analysed before,[5] but there has not yet been any systematic study of Crux's activity as a copyist, translator, author and compiler of multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs); the most detailed contribution to have been made so far is still Kadlec's overview from 1956,[6] but this contains a number of mistakes. Although much more research needs to be carried out before any final conclusions can be made and the following are merely preliminary observations, several patterns have nonetheless emerged that seem to be relevant not only for this particular figure and Bohemia, but also for late medieval manuscript culture in general.

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1 Cf. Kopecký (ed.) 1983 and Lehár (ed.) 1990 on medieval Czech literature, among others.

2 The canonry was founded in 1367 by the Rožmberk (Rosenberg) family as the daughter of the canonry in Roudnice nad Labem (Raudnitz).

3 MS Třeboň, State Regional Archives (hereafter SRA) A 7, fol. 74v – the end of a curious opuscule, the so-called Letter of John the Priest. (For a basic description of this codex, see Weber 1958, 63–94.)

4 For a basic codex description, see the catalogue by Truhlář (1906, 129–31). This and all the other manuscripts from the National Library in Prague that are referred to here (except I G 40) are now digitised and freely accessible through www.manuscriptorium.com (last accessed on 17 January 2019). The online foliation sometimes differs slightly.

5 E.g. Kiss 2012 or Coufal 2015.

6 Kadlec 1956. Although Crux is usually called Oldřich Kříž (Ulricus or Udalricus Crux) in secondary sources, there does not seem to be any evidence for the first name. Crux himself never used Ulricus or Udalricus when referring to himself, nor does the the first name appear in the reference to him in the canonry necrologium. In my opinion, the mistake arose most probably already in the eighteenth century: chroniclers of Třeboň overlooked a coma which was separating the names of two canons, Ulricus and Crux de Telcz, in a confraternity contract from 1492.
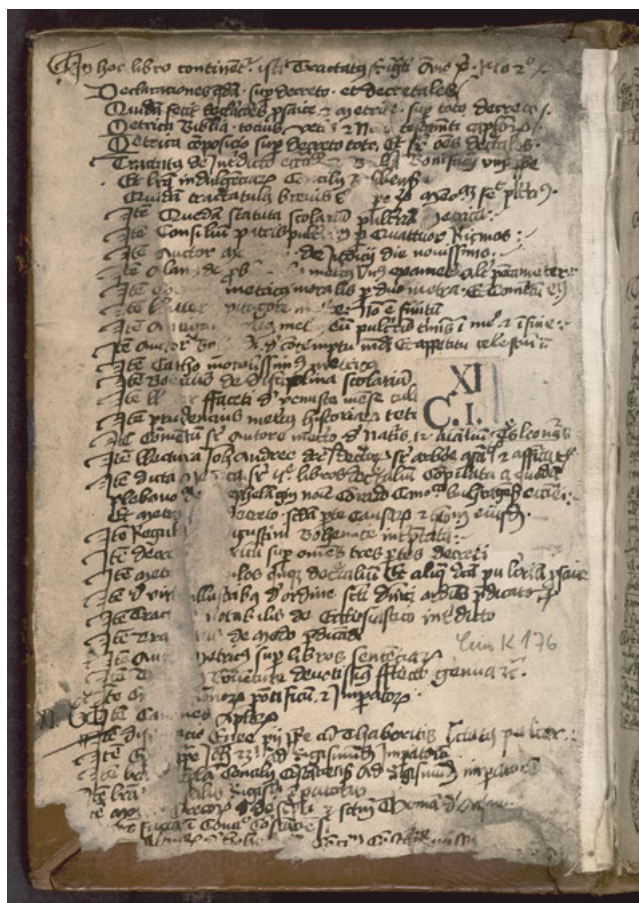
Fig. 1: Prague, NL, XI C 1, inside front cover—a table of contents written by Crux in 1502—the last known sample of his writing.

2 Crux's codices

The codices that Crux collected are mostly thick volumes in Latin and Czech with extremely varied contents. Some of his copies still have their original binding, either in undecorated leather or with blind decoration, but it is not clear exactly when they were bound—in some cases, parts of them were obviously originally transmitted as independent booklets. Other codices of his were rebound in the modern era

when, it seems, the composition of some of them may also have been changed.[7] Judging from the manuscripts' contents, Crux's interests were very broad: he copied a great deal of theological, moral and devotional literature—biblical commentaries, concordances and expositions, sermons, apocrypha, patristic writings, treatises on particular topics such as sacraments, Church law, morals, explanations (of the Lord's Prayer, for instance), plus confessions, liturgy, homiletics, preachers' handbooks and suchlike. In addition, he copied literary texts (Czech and Latin songs and poems, both contemporary compositions and writings by classical authors), texts for use by his students (Latin–Czech glossaries and grammatical and rhetorical treatises) as well as advanced scientific texts (especially on philosophy, but also on astronomy, medicine and law). Above all, he seems to have been interested in writings that his contemporaries produced. Being active in the second half of the fifteenth century when Bohemia was shaken by religious conflict, many of the writings he copied concern the Hussite movement and other religious movements of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (e.g. the writings of Jan Hus, Stanislaus of Znojmo, Štěpán Páleč or Šimon of Tišnov). These include religious polemics, treatises on communion *sub una* and *sub utraque specie*, materials from the Council of Constance, and canon law, but also span religious songs and satires as well. One of Crux's codices, Prague, NL, I F 18, is dedicated exclusively to gathering texts pertaining to the religious controversy, but many more such texts are scattered in other volumes of his. His 'library' of writings on late medieval religious polemic in Bohemia is huge—nearly exhaustive, in fact.[8]

It is not very easy to define the group of Crux's codices exactly and argue that they should be perceived as his 'library'; although his hand can be identified with a high level of certainty, the surviving codices vary in the degree of Crux's intervention. It is possible to distinguish two basic groups: 1) codices in which Crux only wrote notes or added tables of contents, and 2) codices partly or completely copied by him.

So far, we know of fourteen codices in the first group, all of which were once owned by the Augustinian canons in Třeboň. Only four of them were known to previous scholarship; all the others were identified during recent work on a catalogue of the medieval library of the canonry.[9] It is very likely that further research will

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7 There are three volumes now, for example: I G 11a, I G 11b and I G 11c, which originally formed a single codex (cf. Truhlář 1905–1906, I, 285–88).

8 František Mareš stated that it is the largest surviving medieval library on the topic. Cf. Mareš 1896, 537.

9 After the canonry was definitively abolished in 1785 during the reforms of Joseph II, most of the codices ended up in the National Library in Prague. Several of them remained in Třeboň, however, and are now kept in the SRA in Třeboň. A small number of them are kept elsewhere: in the Library of the National Museum in Prague, in the Archives of Prague Castle, in the Library of the Strahov

reveal even more codices in this group. The known manuscripts include ones that Crux may have found in the Třeboň library and manuscripts he brought with him from elsewhere.

The fact that Crux's interventions have only been found in Třeboň codices so far may simply be due to them only being searched for in that particular collection. Even codices he took with him to Třeboň could have been misplaced later, as the canonry escaped the fate of many other places and survived the Hussite wars, but its library was included in that of the Rosenbergs in 1566.[10] The canonry was re-established after 1631 and the codices were returned, but it seems that they got mixed up with codices originally owned by the Rosenbergs, so not exactly the same group of codices was returned. There are many volumes that are linked to the Třeboň canonry by a note of ownership from 1718, but it cannot be confirmed that they were kept there before that, during the Middle Ages or thereafter. Earlier studies distinguish between codices originally kept by the canonry and the Rosenbergs, but never explain the method applied in making the distinction.[11] In any case, the division has often been shown to be wrong, and it seems the two collections did indeed get mixed up. MS Prague, NL, I E 42, for example, which was classified as originally belonging to the Rosenbergs, has a note in it written by Crux de Telcz and it is thus much more likely to have been owned by the canonry.[12] Although some of the codices include a table of contents that Crux added, the degree of his intervention in these works is generally very low and there is usually no indication he considered them his own property either. On the contrary, some are explicitly presented by Crux as *not* being his: MS Prague, NL, I F 35, for example, is a MTM written by Mattheus Beran, an Augustinian canon from Roudnice nad Labem, from 1421 to

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Monastery in Prague, in the Library of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star in Prague, and even abroad – one codex is in the Vatican Library, one in Klosterneuburg and one in Wrocław (Breslau). Altogether, there are over 300 extant medieval codices from the medieval library of the Augustinian canons in Třeboň. The stock of the Třeboň library seems to have been mixed together with the holdings of a nearby Augustinian canonry in Borovany, from which almost 60 codices have survived. In a number of cases, it is now impossible to say which of the canonries kept them. A catalogue of the codices held by both these canonries is currently being prepared by Michal Dragoun and Adéla Ebersonová.

10 Many of the codices contain the chalcographic ex libris of Petr Vok of Rožmberk from 1609. During the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), many volumes from the Rosenberg library were seized as booty (and may still be found in certain Swedish libraries today; no codices that are clearly from the Třeboň canonry have been identified in Sweden yet, but there may be some).

11 Kadlec 2004, 130–31.

12 This manuscript is one with little intervention by Crux: he only added a title to one text, *De veneno infectis* (fol. 78r). This note was discovered by Michal Dragoun.

1431 while he was in Erfurt.[13] It contains a number of notes by Crux, who also manifestly used it as a model for his own copies of several texts. The codex ended up in the Třeboň library, but it is not clear if Crux found it there or he actually brought it to Třeboň himself. Whatever the case, even when stored in Třeboň, it was regarded as the property of Roudnice—Crux even added a note to this effect: '*Rudnicensium liber est, non noster*' ('The book belongs to [the canons] of Roudnice, not to us'; fol. 1r). In Prague, NL, I G 40, the table of contents that Crux added on the front inside cover begins with the words '*Iste liber est monasterii Trzebonensis, et continentur ista in eo*' ('This book belongs to the monastery of Třeboň and these [works] are included in it'). This suggests that Crux's 'library' is indeed a sort of construction.

As for the codices that were partly or completely copied by Crux, 32 such volumes have been identified so far plus two *adligata* and a fragment of 10 folios. This number is less likely to grow than the number of codices from the previous group, as Crux's handwriting is quite distinctive and would probably have already been noticed in Czech libraries. However, there may be some relevant codices abroad that have gone unnoticed.

In the case of eight of these volumes, Crux only copied a small part of them (no more than 10 per cent of the codex), in 22 of them he wrote about half of each codex, and in two other instances, he copied them almost completely. These numbers should be dealt with carefully, however—it is clear that many parts of the codices were originally transmitted individually and only bound together later, so during much of Crux's lifetime, the 'units' may actually have looked quite different (and thus the proportion of his own copies to those acquired in other ways may have been different, too). Most of the codices are composed of what were separate parts originally, written at various times and often in various places and by different hands. Several of them were probably bound in Třeboň at roughly the same time, though.[14] In addition, the composition of some of the codices may have been changed when they were rebound in modern times. Sometimes incunables have been bound together with manuscripts. In a number of these cases, there is evidence that the manuscript accompanied the particular incunable before the binding; Prague, NL, 44 D 4, for example, contains a print of Jacobus de Voragine's

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13 A digital copy is available through *Manuscriptorium*; for a full description, see Dragoun / Ebersonová 2015, 498–502.

14 There is a group of codices from Třeboň that share the stamps of the blind decoration on their leather covers, but only some of them bear traces of Crux's activity, so he cannot be made responsible for arranging the binding. In the *Einbanddatenbank* (http://www.hist-einband.de/), this binding workshop is named after one stamp, *Kruzifixus* (its identifier, or 'Werkstatt Zitiernummer', is w000127), and it is associated with Třeboň 1473–1500.

Legenda aurea (Ulm: Johann Zainer, 1477)[15] followed by seven manuscript folios. The incunable contains a number of notes in Crux's hand and there are several inserted and bound-in smaller leaves with further legends as well.[16] The manuscript bound to it contains a text of the same genre—a fragment of Rufinus of Aquileia's *Vitas patrum*.[17] The fact that Crux perceived his manuscript copy as a continuation of the print is clear from its foliation—the foliation he added to it continues the foliation of the print (i.e. 421–427, at the top of the pages, in Roman numerals). This is not an isolated case; in fact, it shows clearly that when studying late medieval written culture, it is necessary to consider manuscripts and prints together, which is the way they were transmitted and read originally.

The codices also differ in the amount of information they provide on Crux's copying. He often (but not always) added colophons to his copies, specifying the place where they had been written, the time and other details. So far, we have discovered over 130 of his colophons. His strategy varied, however: sometimes he only wrote down the place where the work had been copied, on other occasions he only noted the date (either the full date or just the year), and in other cases he specified what role he had at the institution or even which exemplar he was copying from. There are manuscripts with colophons of this type after almost every text and others without any explicit indication that it was Crux who had copied the text. Besides commenting on his own copies, he often mentioned the ways in which he acquired other copies, too. In addition to the colophons, some of Crux's marginal notes are of a personal character; thanks to those, we have the aforementioned information on his birth, for example, or on a conflict he experienced while teaching at Vyšehrad in November 1457.[18] Such personal notes are very rare, though—Crux wrote a great number of marginal and interlinear glosses, but as a rule, they comment on and explain the main text, regardless of whether it is his own copy (Fig. 2) or someone else's (Fig. 3).

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15 ISTC: ij00088400.

16 E.g. fol. 25 bis r–v has a legend on John the Apostle.

17 Originally, there were at least 15 manuscript folios, and their remains are still visible. On the back cover, Crux listed the original contents of the volume, most of which have not been preserved.

18 MS Prague, NL, I F 25, fol. 103r (but referred to as 104r in *Manuscriptorium*).
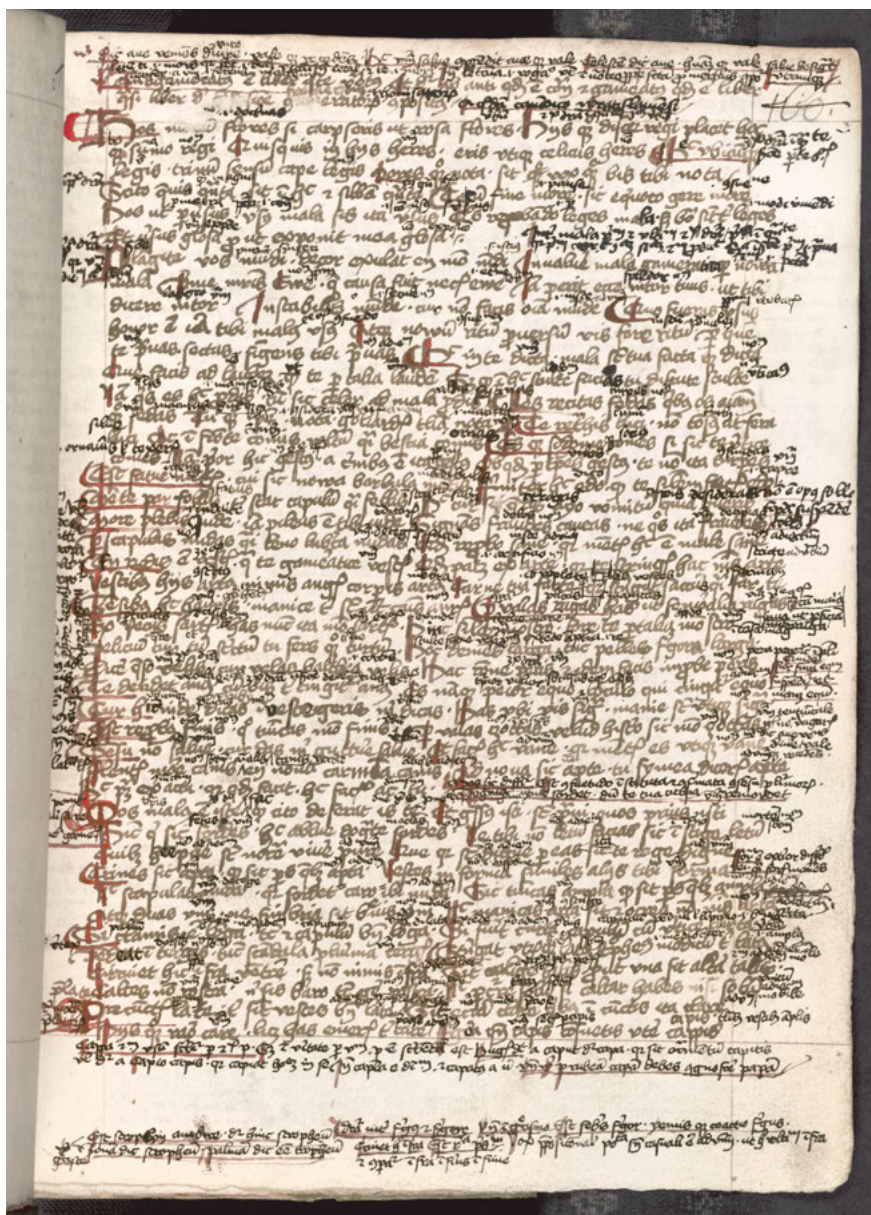
Fig. 2: Prague, NL, XI C 1, fol. 187r—example of Crux's notes added to his own copy (here Frowinus of Cracow's *Antigameratus*).
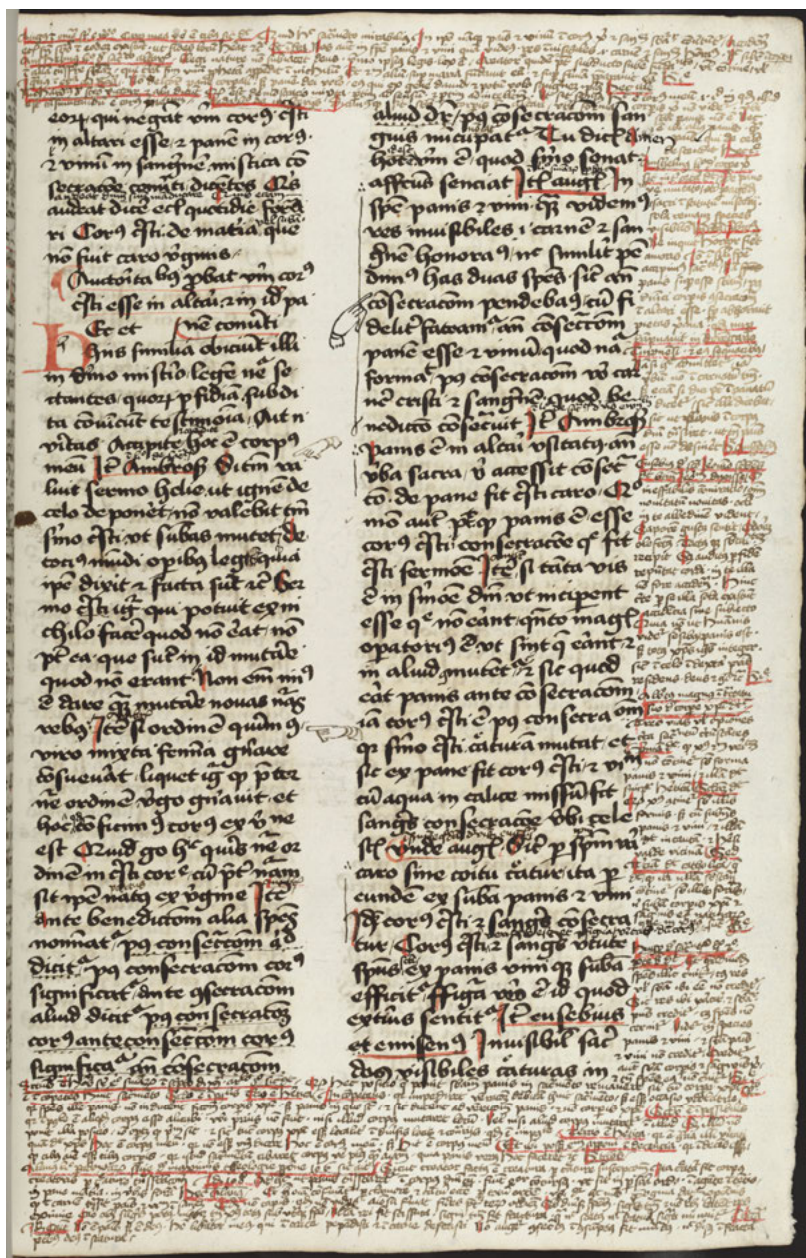
Fig. 3: Prague, NL, I C 16, fol. 209r—example of Crux's notes added to a different scribe's copy (here Peter Lombard's *Sentences* copied by Vavřinec of Znojmo—Laurinus de Znoima in 1465; this page is more heavily commented on than the others).

3 Crux's library?

Crux did not sign his own codices beyond adding the colophons, nor are there any other signs, such as ex libris, that show he considered them part of a *library* at all or that he kept this *library* separate from the other books in the canonry. Were these codices really part of Crux's own library? One of them, Prague, NL, I B 33, written mostly between 1377 and 1384 and primarily containing a postil by Conrad Waldhauser, has a note in Crux's hand stating that he had bought it himself (Fig. 4):
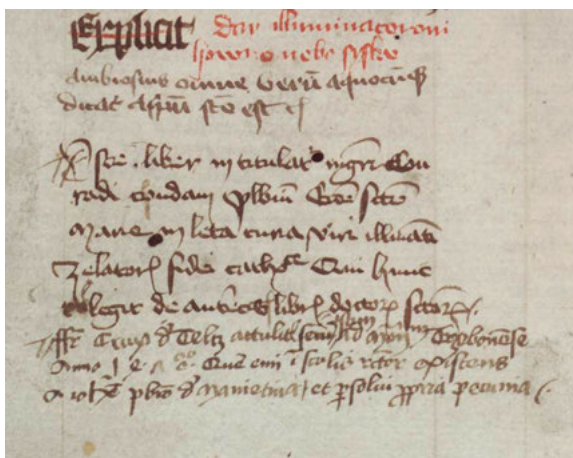
Fig. 4: Prague, NL, I B 33, fol. 256v—Crux's note on purchasing a codex.

Frater Crux de Telcz attulit secum ad monasterium Trzeboniense anno 1478 quem emi in scolis rector existens a Johanne presbytero de Manietina et persolvi propria pecunia (fol. 256v).[19]

Brother Crux de Telč brought [this book] with him to the Třeboň Monastery in 1478, which I bought from John, a priest from Manětín,[20] while I was a headmaster and which I paid for with my own money.

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19 Above Crux's own note, there are three other notes by three other hands. The most curious remark is the first one, in red, which is in Czech: '*Daj illuminatorovi hovno nebo šišku*' (literally, 'Give to the illuminator shit or cone').

20 A small town around 30 km north-west of Plzeň (Pilsen).

The note moves from the third person singular to the first person singular when referring to Crux. It also seems to put some emphasis on the fact that Crux paid for the book with his own money ('*persolvi propria pecunia*'). He says he brought it with him to Třeboň ('*attulit secum*'), but he does not explicitly state that he *gave* it to the Třeboň Monastery. On the other hand, giving up his own property to the canonry might have seemed an obvious thing to do – it is clearly stated in the statutes of Roudnice, which were valid in Třeboň, too, that canons were not allowed to have any personal property. The oath that novices took upon entering the institution is very clear about this: '*Promitto deo et vobis obedienciam et stabilitatem sine omni proprietate...*' ('I promise obedience and stability to God and to you without any property...'). In addition, there is a special chapter in the statutes entitled *Quid frater suum dicere debeat* ('What the brother should call "his"'), which states that the brothers could only use the word 'mine' when referring to their guilt or their parents.[21]

Thus, a note of personal ownership may not have been an option at all in this context. In fact, several codices have an explicit note in Crux's hand that they belong to the Třeboň canonry. This is the case for MS Třeboň, SRA, A 13, for instance, where Crux added the following words inside the front cover:

> Liber monasterii Trebonensis. Tituli libri huius signati sunt per me fratrem de Telcz, ut facilius materia et cicius secundum ordinem posicionis libri [inveniri possit?]

> Book of the Třeboň Monastery. The titles of this book have been designated by me, [a] brother from Telč, so that the matter [could be found] more easily and faster according to the order of the position within the book.

The only possibility of 'personalisation' might have been adding marginal notes, which is exactly what Crux did. Besides inserting numerous notes of this kind, he used *maniculae* ('little hands' in the margins to highlight an important passage) very frequently. These are quite distinct, just like his handwriting. Sometimes, there are even clusters of them, as in Prague, NL, I F 25, fol. 302v (Fig. 5).

There are several codices which he started before entering the canonry and only finished there several decades later. One such example is Prague, NL, I E 38.

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21 '*Nihil frater "suum" appellet singulariter sed ad omnia "nostrum" nisi de culpis de patre aut matre. De hiis solis dicat licenter "meus" et "mea"*' ('The brother is not to call anything individual "his", but is to refer to everything as "ours", except [when he speaks] about guilt [or] about [his] father and mother. Only concerning these things is he allowed to say "my"'). Cf. Ebersonová / Klímová 2015 and Ebersonová 2019.
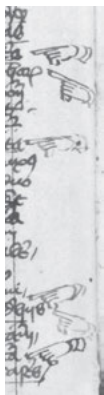
Fig. 5: Prague, NL, I F 25, fol. 302v – an example of clusters of *maniculae* by Crux.

Crux copied Jean Versor's commentary on Aristotle in it in Prague, where he stayed at the college of King Wenceslas[22] in 1459 during his university studies. He added an index to it in 1495 (fols 365v–370v) in the canonry in Třeboň.[23] Similarly, MS Prague, NL, I F 25 was written in Soběslav in 1455, in Vyšehrad in 1458 and in Prague in 1459, again at the college of King Wenceslas. The 1459 part contains Jean Versor's commentary on *Metaphysics*, which Crux copied soon after finishing I E 38.[24] Crux also added final indices to this manuscript in Třeboň in 1495. In fact, he wrote the indices for Versor in both codices almost at the same time: one in I E 38 on 28 July (fol. 370v) and the two in I F 25 on 30 and 31 July (fols 304v and 307v respectively). The fact that Crux intervened in codices he had copied himself years after entering the canonry suggests he might have kept them or have had 'his own shelf' in the library.

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22 Prague University had several colleges. King Wenceslas College was founded before 1381; cf. Šmahel 2007.

23 Fol. 370v: '*Finis titulorum et quescionum Johannis Versoris super libros Aristotilis naturalis philosophie et parvorum naturalium per me fratrem Crucem de Telcz in monasterio Trzebonensi sub abbate Marco, priore Johanne de Tisnow, anno Domini 1495 in die Panthaleonis in vigilia Marthe [28.7.1495]. De iuventute et senectute, De inspiracione et respiracione, De vita et morte, De motu animalium, De motu cordis – istos tractatus quinque parvorum naturalium Aristotilis non habeo in hiis quescionibus Versoris*'. ('The end of the titles and questions of Jean Versor on Aristotle's books of natural philosophy and short treatises on nature by me, brother Crux of Telč, in the Třeboň Monastery under Abbot Mark, Prior John of Tišnov, in the year 1495, on the day of St Pantaleon, the eve of St Martha. *On youth and old age*, *On inspiration and respiration*, *On life and death*, *On the movement of animals*, *On the movement of the heart* – I do not have these five short treatises on nature by Aristotle among these questions by Versor'.)

24 The last colophon in I E 38 is from 1 August 1459; the relevant colophon here, on fol. 128v, is from 29 November (the 128 folios are covered with the commentary on *Metaphysics*).

4 Crux's copies

Crux's copy of Versor's commentaries in I E 38 is also special because its colophons (all of which are included in the Appendix to this paper) are more numerous than usual: there are 15 entries from 1459, one from 1495, and a (so far overlooked) note stating Crux was born on 24 December 1434 (fol. 264r, Fig. 6).[25]
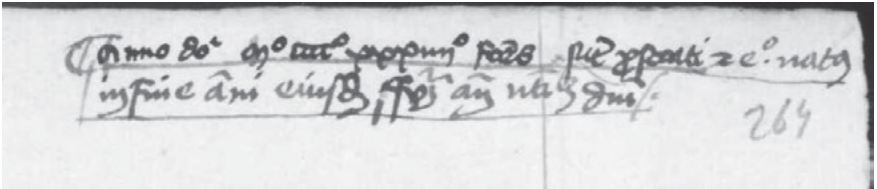
Fig. 6: Prague, NL, I E 38, fol. 264r—a note on the birth of Crux on 24 December 1434.

The manuscript shows that his copying activity was quite intensive between April and July 1459, although his daily output varied considerably:

Segment	No. of days	Foliation	Folios copied	Average no. of folios copied per day
1	3	83r–95r	12	4
2	8	95r–119r	24	3
3	3	119r–141r	22	7.3
4	19	141r–194v	53	2.8
5	11	194v–227v	33	3
6	8	227v–246v	19	2.4
7	4	246v–256v	10	2.5
8	0	256v–264r	7	7.0
9	3	264r–269bis r	6	2.0
10	21	269bis r–313v	44	2.1

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25 '*Anno domini 1434 fratres sunt prostrati et ego natus in fine anni eiusdem feria sexta ante nativitatem domini*'. ('In the year of Our Lord 1434, brothers were overthrown and I was born at the end of that year on Friday before the Birth of the Lord'.) The conflict referred to is the battle of Lipany (30 April 1434), a crucial event where the Orphans and Taborites (the extremist Hussites) were defeated by the moderate Hussites.

Segment	No. of days	Foliation	Folios copied	Average no. of folios copied per day
11	4	313v–333r	19	4.8
12	5	333r–350v	18	3.6
13	2	350v–355r	5	2.5
14	4	355r–365r	10	2.5

The average for the whole period is three folios per day, which corresponds to the fact that Crux was not a professional scribe but a student who had other activities to do besides copying. An intensive copying period (segment 3) is followed by a more relaxed one (segment 4), but together, they make an average close to the general one. 23 June is curious, as it has two colophons (segment 7 and 8), the second one six folios after the first one, adding that the copying was finished at the 22nd hour of the same day.

The colophons themselves seem to promote the scribe more than the author, even in terms of their shape. Most notably, the final one on fol. 365r uses much bigger letters to inform about Crux, the copyist, than those identifying the author of the text (Fig. 7):

> And this is the end of the exposition of the Philosopher's books of natural philosophy edited in the form of questions by Master John, called Versor, at Paris University, and brought here by Master Václav of Vrbno, at that time a bachelor, finished by Kříž of Telč, a student at the college of King Wenceslas, on Wednesday of the feast of the liberation of St Peter, in 1459 [1.8.1459].[26]

As the colophon explains, Jean Versor's commentaries came to Prague through Václav z Vrbna (Wenceslas de Wrbna). Václav studied in Paris and brought the first of them to Prague in 1445. They became very popular, so he returned to Paris in 1450 to copy more of them. The Czech copies are numerous (Jean Versor was actually more widely disseminated in Prague than in Paris) and they were made quite early—25 of the 31 surviving manuscripts were copied between 1455 and 1460.[27] All in all, the manuscript tradition reinforces the suggestion that Crux was primarily interested in new, contemporary texts.

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26 For the Latin text, see the last item in the Appendix.

27 Šmahel 1980.

Fig. 7: Prague, NL, I E 38, fol. 365r—final colophon by Crux on finishing copying Jean Versor's commentary on Aristotle brought from Paris University by Václav of Vrbno and copied by Crux while at the college of King Wenceslas in Prague in 1459.

Crux is not explicitly documented as a student of Charles University, but he did copy several more texts at the King Wenceslas college in 1458 and 1459.[28] He also gathered some texts copied there by others, and there are notes on the university and university life in several other manuscripts of his.[29] Perhaps Crux never actually finished his studies: after all, from 1460, Catholics gradually left the university and from 1462, it was closed to them completely.

Crux also commented on the fact that he sometimes did not copy the texts himself, but bought them or acquired them in some other way. For example, the *Sentences* in MS Prague, NL, I C 16 were written for Crux by Lawrence of Znojmo (Znaim) in 1465 and only corrected by Crux 'with much effort' ('*gravi labore*') in 1477;[30] this delay proves, again, Crux was in touch with 'his' manuscripts. The sermons in Prague, NL, I E 37 were partly copied by Crux and partly bought or given to him. He writes:

> Ego frater Crux de Telcz conscripsi hos manu propria sermones in seculo existens et quos solus non potui, appreciavi et aliquos sexternos ab aliis habui datos.

> I, brother Crux de Telč, copied those sermons with my own hand while I was in the world [i.e. before entering the canonry], and those that I could not [copy] alone I bought, and I was given several sexterns [quires] by others [as well] (fol. 1r).

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28 They are in cod. Třeboň, SRA, A 4. Colophons are on fols 61r, 73v, 74r and 96v.

29 In MS Prague, NL, I G 40, for example, which is an older codex (from 1383) in which Crux only added the table of contents. He may have acquired it in a university environment because it includes notes on Prague University (on fol. 118v: '*studentes pragensis civitatis*'). (In addition, it has a unique colophon, first asking to be given a woman called Hanka as a salary for the copying ('*Finis adest operis mercedem posco laboris / Non deportabis nisi mihi Hankam dabis. / Explicit Boecius de consolatu philosophie*') and then asking the reader not to use the leaves of the book as toilet paper ('*Qui te furietur tribus lignis associetur / Si vis merdare stramen tecum debes portare / Si deficit stramen cum naso terge foramen...*').

30 '*Finitus anno Domini 1465 . . . Scriptus per quendam Laurinum de Znoima Prage in Parva parte in pede pontis in domo cruciferorum michi Cruci de Telcz vicario tunc ecclesie s. Pragensis de precio*'. ('Finished in the year of our Lord 1465... Written by a certain Lawrence of Znojmo, in Prague in the Lesser Town by the foot of the bridge in the house of the canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre for me, Crux of Telč, at that time a vicar of the holy church in Prague, for a fee.') And there is a marginal addition as well: '*Ego Crux de Telcz predicator tunc temporis in Sobieslaw a. d. 1477 correxi libros omnes quatuor gravi labore solus in vigilia Mathei apostoli et ewangeliste*' ('I, Crux of Telč, at the time a preacher in Soběslav, corrected all four books alone with much effort in the night before [the feast of] Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist, in 1477'; fol. 265r).

In MS Prague, NL XI C 1, at the end of Bonaventure's *Soliloquies* copied in Třeboň in 1484, Crux writes that one quire was copied by another brother at the time of Žižka (a famous leader of the Hussite troops) when many left Třeboň and went into exile, only returning later.[31]

Crux had a specific style of handwriting, which varied depending on the size and the speed of writing (Fig. 8).[32] He also sketched a number of diagrams.[33] This does not mean he was a trained illuminator, but since his writing usually overlaps with the drawings (Figs 9 and 10), he is almost certainly the author of the sketches in his own copies. One sophisticated colourful image (MS Prague, NL, I G 11a, fols 17v–18r) suggests that he was able to draw quite well, in fact.
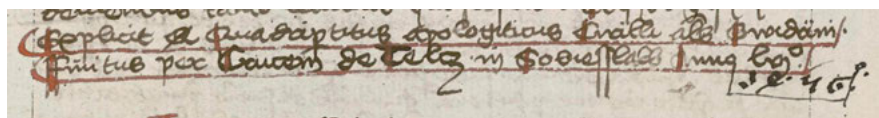
Fig. 8a: Examples of Crux's changing handwriting: 1456 – MS Prague, NL, XIII G 18, fol. 105r.
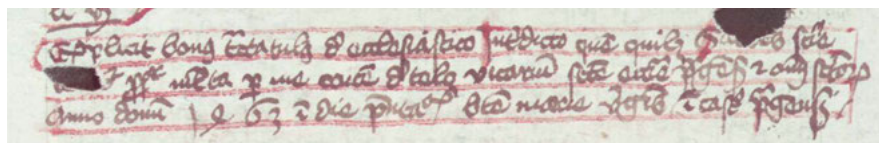
Fig. 8b: 1463 – MS Prague, NL, XI C 8, fol. 178v.

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31 '*Finitus et suppletus anno domini Mº CCCCº LXXXIIIIº feria sexta proxima post Divisionem apostolorum in sillaba illa post. Licet per alium sit totus sexternus quendam fratrem scriptus sicut et alii in exilio quando fuerunt a monasterio Trzebonensi exclusi tempore Zizkonis et postea sunt revocati, hec Crux de Telcz*' ('Finished and appended in the year of our Lord 1484 on the nearest Friday after the Dispersion of the Apostles, in the syllable post [16 July 1484]. Although the whole sextern as well as others was written by another brother when they were in exile during the time of Žižka and were called back later, this [was written by] Crux of Telč'; fol. 362v).

32 Pavel Spunar drafted a 'development' of the handwriting, which is, however, not entirely persuasive. He distinguishes four stages: 1454–1460 (horizontal tendency, low and wide letters), 1460–1468 (dense, straight letters), 1468–1470 (curved bases, straight, dense, wide letters), and 1470–1495 (vertical and pointed). Cf. Spunar 1958.

33 E.g. Prague, NL, XI C 1, fols 208v, 212v–213v, 215v, 217r; or Prague, NL, I A 41, fols 176r–199v.
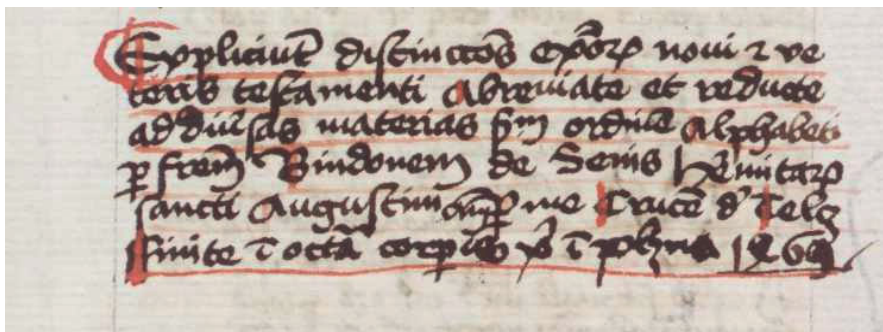
Fig. 8c: 1469 – MS Prague, NL, I A 38, fol. 173r.
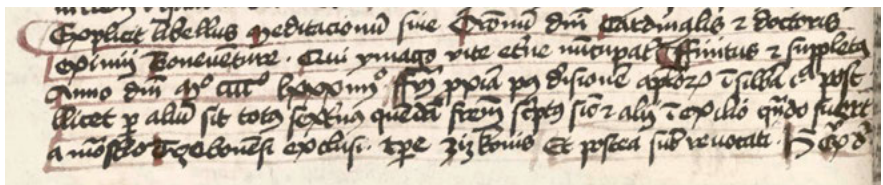
Fig. 8d: 1484 – MS Prague, NL, XI C 1, fol. 361v.
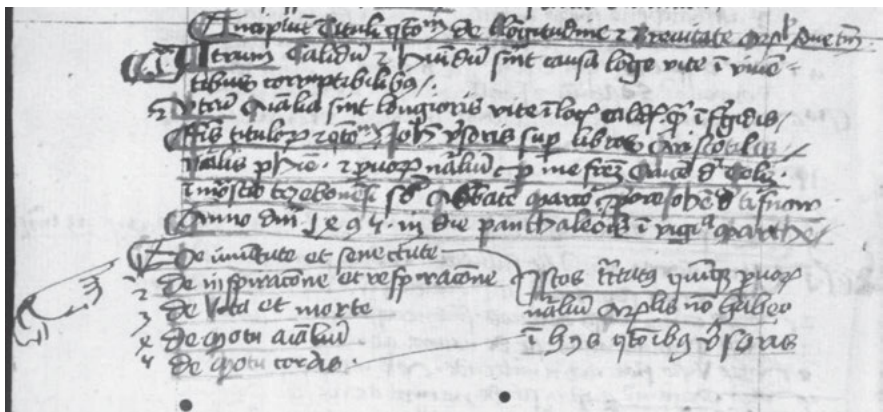
Fig. 8e: 1495—MS Prague, NL, I E 38, fol. 370v.
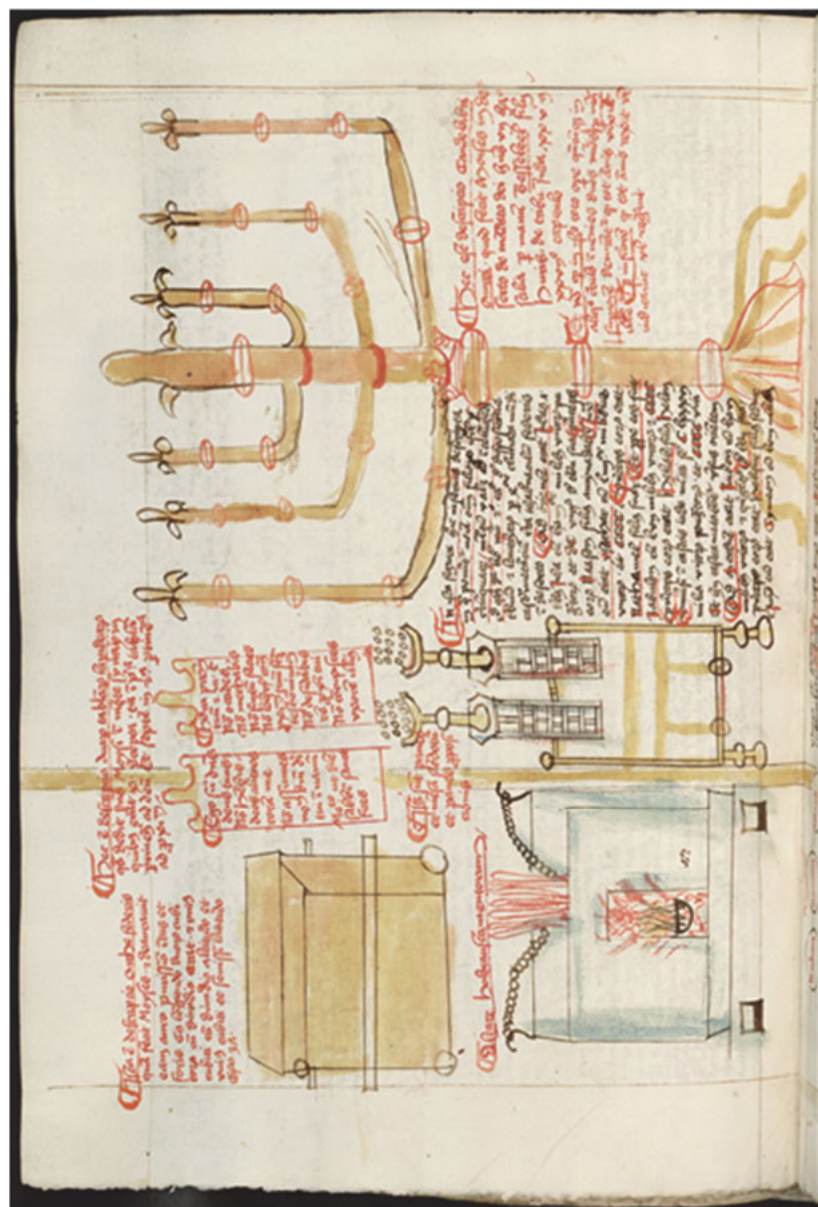
Fig. 9: Prague, NL I A 41, fol. 182v – example of an illumination drawn by Crux – his writing overlaps with the sketches (here *Compilacio librorum historialium totius biblie* – an adaptation of Peter of Poitiers' *Historia generacionis Christi*).
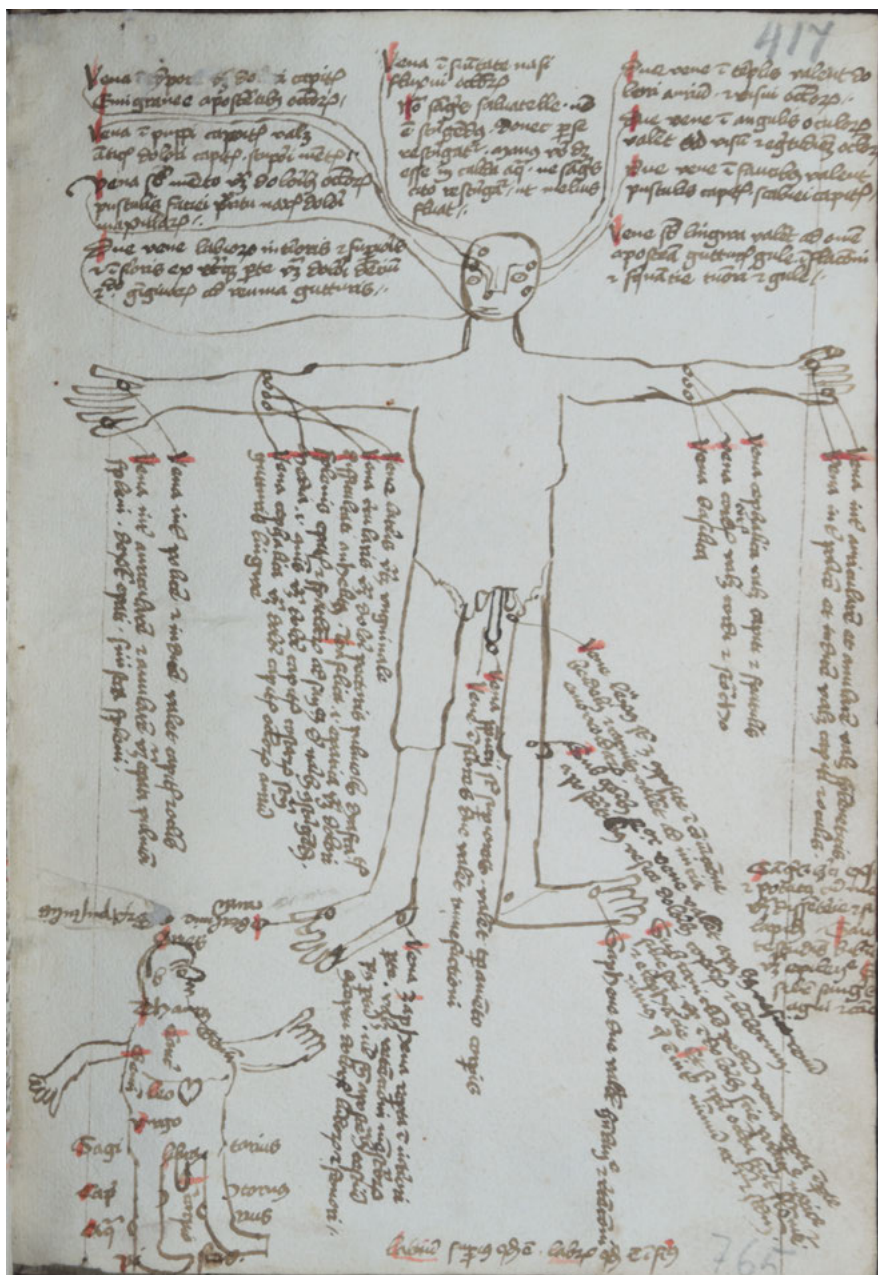
Fig. 10: Třeboň, SRA, A 17 fol. 417r—example of Crux's sketches—here human body with indication of veins for bloodletting.

Several particular studies have shown that Crux de Telcz was a 'creative' copyist: he added his own notes and comments to the texts that he copied, he only selected particular passages to copy from lengthy works, and he often translated, adapted and even appropriated his models.[34] This makes cataloguing his codices a true challenge. Very few of Crux's own works have been identified with any certainty yet and none of them is a major or original composition.[35] Jaroslav Kadlec suggested that Crux may have been the author of several other texts,[36] but further investigation is necessary to prove or disprove Crux's authorship of these works. In general, his authorship has simply been suggested in cases where the authors of particular texts have not been able to be identified (Crux himself rarely named the authors of the texts he copied) and Kadlec has been proven wrong in several cases of this kind in the past.[37] The practice of 'creative copying', which is so annoying to cataloguers and editors today, is a practice of appropriation—of making someone else's work one's own—and may be studied in its own right as a reflection of changing preferences, focuses and interests. In fact, it seems to be one of

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34 This is not only true of his Latin copies, but of those in Czech as well, such as Old Czech erotic lyric poetry.

35 His only confirmed works are two letters (to Jan Nosidlo, the burgher of Litoměřice, and to Tobias, the headmaster of the school in Tábor, both included in MS Prague, NL, XI C 8) and entries in the Třeboň necrologium from the 1480s (in MS Prague, NL, I G 11c).

36 E.g. the treatise *Brevis tractatus de formacione mundi*, *de creacione angelorum*, *de situacione et ordinacione mundi et multis aliis bonis* (in Třeboň, SRA A6) or polemical comments on the treatise of Jan Rokycana, *Contra sex proposiciones frivolas doctorum apostatarum* (in MS Prague, National Library I G 11a); cf. Kadlec, 'Oldřich Kříž z Telče', 97–98.

37 E.g. when he suggested that Crux had authored a brief epitaph of the canon of Třeboň, Beneš of Strakonice (in MS Prague, NL, XIII G 18), which is actually *Epitaphium Senecae* (Walther, no. 3960), or a sermon *De novo anno* (in MS Prague, NL, I E 37, fols 23v–24r), which was probably authored much earlier by Johlín of Vodňany and survives in at least six more earlier manuscripts, and Crux only made minor modifications to it. It was also suggested that he had written the interlinear commentary to *Summarium Biblie* in MS Prague, I G 11a, which turns out to be part of a complex tradition (Crux may have rewritten the commentary, but he definitely did not author it; cf. Doležalová 2012, 71). It may turn out that this is also true of the notes on *Textus Cornuti* by Johannes of Garlandia (in MS Prague, NL, XI C 1), the interlinear exposition on the *Antigameratus* (in MS Prague, NL, XI C 1) and on the *Fabula versificata de accipitre et cornice* (in MS Prague, NL, I G 11a) – all of which Kadlec also treated as Crux's own creations. In Czech, Crux may have authored *Pašije podlé sedmi hodin kněžských rozdělené* ('Passion divided according to the seven priestly hours', in MS Prague, NL, I E 37) and the glosses on the Latin New Testament (in MS Prague, NL, I D 18), but in both cases it seems much more likely that Crux merely adapted existing texts.

the defining characteristics of late medieval manuscript culture, and there are several figures Crux may be compared with in this respect.[38]

Browsing through Crux's MTMs, one is puzzled and rather overwhelmed; their *miscellaneity* is indeed striking at times. MS Prague, XI C 8, for example, one of the two volumes almost fully copied by Crux, has a brief *ad hoc* table of contents in the lower right-hand corner of the inside front cover listing 15 items. Yet it only cites the longer pieces, whereas the codex actually contains over 140 different texts (on 306 folios) on various topics, some long, others very brief. It particularly includes moral, devotional and theological texts, but it also features an apocryphal life of Adam and Eve, an exorcism, synodal statutes, religious polemic and even satirical songs. It is not clear what led Crux to copy the texts in this order—it may just have been a random selection, in fact. There are sections that are thematically related, e.g. a number of contemporary texts related to the polemics on communion on fols 183r–200v—a section which then dissolves into a variety of brief opuscles of mixed authority and character. Crux's own letter to Jan Nosidlo, the burgher of Litoměřice, probably from early 1463 is also included here along with his typical signature—the image of a cross standing for his name (*crux* means 'cross' in Latin) (Fig. 11).
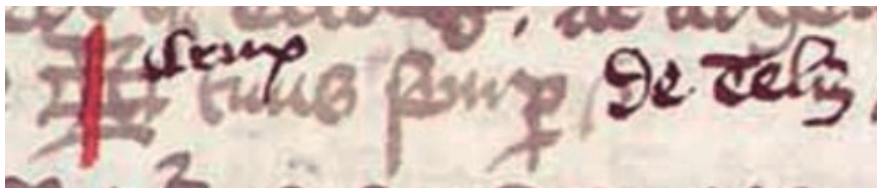
Fig. 11: Prague, NL, XI C 8, fol. 281r—example of Crux's signature—'*Crux tuus semper de Telcz*' ('your Crux / cross forever of Telč').

It seems impossible to grasp the character of these complex MTMs in a catalogue's description: several of the entries in the catalogue of Crux's miscellanies[39] are over 40 pages long and thus do not allow the reader to see the composition, layers, scribal interventions and the possible logic behind the codex as a whole very clearly. Crux's own tables of contents provide a useful hint about how he

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38 Other late medieval 'creative copyists' include the Benedictine monk Gallus Kemli from St Gall (cf. Doležalová 2013), the Augustinian canon from Sagan, Andreas Ritter (cf. Honemann 2006) and the Augustinian canon of Roudnice nad Labem, Mattheus Beran (cf. Doležalová 2018).
39 Currently being prepared by Lucie Doležalová, Michal Dragoun and Adéla Ebersonová.

approached and used the volumes, where he saw the beginning of new thematic units, and what was crucial for him in terms of the codex's contents. These tables together with his glosses and internal references show that although the codices may seem clumsy, unsystematic and user-unfriendly to us today, they were used and found useful at the time.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

Although this case study is far from finished, Crux's example shows us the way in which the late medieval boom in information and spread of knowledge was managed: scribes took over the role of authors, not hesitating to adjust their models to their momentary aims, and association became the primary organisational principle. The resulting MTMs mark an important point of transition in the practice of dissemination of knowledge and can be used to analyse late medieval cultural and intellectual milieu.[40]

Due to the large number of texts he copied and compiled, Crux still seems rather exceptional within this context—a tireless busybody interested in any text on any subject. He was clearly not simply a graphomaniac; he would not only copy texts, but read and re-read them, comment upon them, and correct and translate them. A detailed analysis of his codices compared with the composition of the medieval library of the Třeboň canonry (where he spent the last 26 years of his life) will allow us to analyse the nature of his 'creative copying' (that is, what types of changes he made to his models, and, hopefully, for what reasons) as well as his selection and ordering principles. Did Crux just copy *everything* or did he choose what to copy? What was he primarily interested in? Does his ordering of the texts reveal anything about his mental map, associative links, education and opinions? The case is curious on a more general level, too: the avid hand copying, personalising and appropriating the texts in such a massive degree is a swan song at the wake of print culture, which would eventually confine similar efforts to the limited category of personal notebooks and change the nature of textual transmission altogether.

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40 For a comparison—information management in early-modern print culture—see Blair 2010.

5 Appendix: Crux's colophons from MS Prague, NL, I E 38

28.4. 83r   Et sic est finis libri quarti Phisicorum sabbato ante dominicam Rogacionum in collegio regis Wenceslai anno Mº CCCCº LIXº.

1.5.   95r   Et est finitum in die Philipi et Iacobi anno eodem in collegio regis Wenceslai Prage.

9.5.   119r   Et hec de toto septimo Phisicorum feria IIIIª ante Penthecosten.

12.5. 141r   Finiti sunt sabbato in vigilia Penthecosten in collegio regis Wenceslai Prage anno Domini Mº CCCCº LIXº.

31.5. 194v   Et hec de questione et per consequens de toto libro celi et mundi terminato feria quinta in octava Corporis anno 1459 Prage in collegio regis Wenceslai.

11.6. 227v   Et hec de questione et per consequens de toto secundo libro De generacione feria secunda ante Viti anno 1459.

19.6. 246v   Et hec de primo Metheorum in die sancti Prothasii feria quarta.[41]

23.6. 264r   Et hec de secundo Metheorum sabbato in vigilia Iohannis Baptiste.

23.6. 263r   Finitum sabbato in vigilia Iohannis Baptiste hora 23ª.

26.6. 269 bis r Et hec de primo De anima, in die sancti Iohannis et Pauli.

17.7. 313v   Et hec de questione et per consequens de toto secundo De anima, in die sancti Allexii Prage.

21.7. 333r   Et hec de anima dicta sufficiant et per consequens de toto De anima Aristotelis anno 1459º, anno secundo regni Bohemie regis Georgii finitum Prage per Crucem de Telcz in collegio regis Wenceslai sabbato ante Marie Magdalene hora 22ª.

26.7. 350v   Et hec de questione et per consequens de toto libro De sensu et sensato feria quinta post Iacobi in die sancte Anne matris Marie.

28.7. 355r   Et hec de toto libro De memoria et reminiscencia sabbato post Iacobi anno 1459º Prage in collegio regis Wenceslai.

1.8.   365r   Et in hoc terminatur exposicio librorum Philosophi naturalis philosophie edita questionatim per magistrum Iohannem dictum Versor in studio alme universitatis Parisiensis allataque per magistrum Wenceslaum de Wrben adhuc eo pro tunc baccalario existente, finita per Crucem de Telcz studentem in collegio regis Wenceslai feria quarta in vinculis sancti Petri anno 1459.

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41 It should say *tercia* here to match the saint's day.

Manuscripts

Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic

I A 38	I F 25
I A 41	I F 35
I B 28	I G 11a
I B 33	I G 11c
I C 16	XI C 1
I D 18	I G 40
I E 37	XI C 8
I E 38	XIII G 18
I E 42	Adlig. 44 D 4
I F 18	

Třeboň, State Regional Archives

A 4
A 7
A 17

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François Déroche

The Prince and the Scholar: A Study of Two Multiple-Text Manuscripts from Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries Morocco

Abstract: Manuscripts Arabe 248 and 788 of the Escorial collection are multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) produced in Morocco, the former in 1409, the latter in 1561. Although they share a certain amount of texts, probably because these were part of the contemporary curriculum, the analysis of both MTMs shows that they were prepared with precise and different aims.

1 The scholar's companion

In Arabic manuscript libraries, manuscripts with collections of texts are well represented, but their typology is wide-ranging. One of the kinds of collection covered are the multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs). These collections offered a practical solution at the time by affording convenient access to a set of texts which were particularly interesting to either the copyist or the person who commissioned the copying. As works were selected with a view to transcription by the same person, they were very different from composite volumes which consisted of previously copied texts that circumstance had placed in the hands of a single owner, who then decided to bind them into the same volume. Medieval librarians were familiar with the specific problems posed by the classification of these volumes, be they of one type or another, and treated them differently from multi-volume works which they handled in an entirely different manner.

Because the creation of an MTM was a specific intellectual undertaking, studying it can afford new insight into the interests of the person behind the project, whether he was the designer and creator, or the commissioner. At the El Escorial library, two volumes of this type were produced in a Moroccan context, but with almost a century between them. The first is the Escorial Arabe 788 manuscript

(Figs 1–4), a 227-folio copy in quarto format, with folios covered by dense, tiny Maghribi writing of 38 to 41 lines per page. The hand is not particularly neat, which suggests a copy for personal use, as does a note appearing at the head of the manuscript, to which we will return later. In addition to the texts pertaining to the copyist's and owner's initial plan, the manuscript contains a number of notes and certificates, filling almost all the spaces that remained empty upon completion of the copy.

The explicits of the various works in this volume are almost systematically followed by colophons that indicate the dates of completion, ranging from 25 *Ramaḍān* 811/11 February 1409 to 14 *Jumādā* II 812/24 October 1409. The paper used in the manuscript, which is of Western make, is very much the same throughout: watermarks in the shape of a unicorn head are found at various points in the volume. Another type of paper was nevertheless also used and can be recognized by the different structure of the wire lines. This was most likely due to the way in which the work was carried out—an aspect that we will examine further on. The name of the copyist does not appear in any of the colophons, and his identification depends on other elements present in the manuscript, particularly a note that currently appears at the beginning. On fol. 5r, halfway up the page above a text box to which we will return, and under a sort of table of contents, the copyist slipped in a note equivalent to a colophon where he identified himself as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad al-Ṣanhājī[1] and indicated that he had made the copy 'for himself and for whosoever God wishes after him'; followed by the date of 1st *Shaʿbān* 812/9 December 1409.[2]

The copyist, who is known through other sources, seemed to have had a taste for precision, as he indicated the date on which the copying of 18 of the 23 texts comprising the MTM was completed, which is relatively uncommon for Arabic manuscripts. We therefore know that the manuscript still existed in the form of separate quires on 14 *Jumādā* II 812/24 October 1409. On this date, the copyist completed the transcription of the last text, no. 7, in the copy's final order. The 'colophon' from fol. 5r, dated 1st *Shaʿbān* 812/9 December 1409, may indicate the date on which the copyist, having dedicated several weeks to correcting the copy, finally organized the quires.

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1 He is known thanks to biographical dictionaries like Ibn Zaydān 2008, III, 689–690; see also Aḥmad Bābā al-Tunbuktī 2000, 523, or Ibn Ghāzī al-Miknāsī 2006, 119–120.
2 The year is indicated in *rūmī* numerals: the shape of the unit digit (2) is different from that more commonly found, but it corresponds to what is observed in colophons where the date is expressed in full letters.

Judging from its style, the binding is from the Saadian period (late sixteenth or early seventeenth century). The state of the margins, notably the coloured bookmarks indicating the beginning of the texts, suggests that it was redone at this time. Later on, probably at the end of the nineteenth century, an attempt was made to repair the folds of damaged quires, which may have resulted in the disappearance of certain clues. The presence of marks indicating the middle of the quire, which may be contemporary with the Saadian binding, allows us to confirm that the key features of the quires have remained the same.

The colophons that indicate the date enable us to follow the transcription process. The chronology is therefore as follows:[3]

a)	17 *Ramaḍān* 811/3 February 1409	6a
b)	25 *Ramaḍān* 811/11 February 1409	2
c)	22 *Shawwāl* 811/10 March 1409	1
d)	9 *Dhū al-ḥijja* 811/25 April 1409	4
e)	24 *Dhū al-ḥijja* 811/9 May 1409	5
f)	14 *Muḥarram* 812/29 May 1409	8
g)	21 *Muḥarram* 812/5 June 1409	12
h)	13 *Ṣafar* 812/27 June 1409	6b
i)	15 *Ṣafar* 812/29 June 1409	13
j)	24 *Ṣafar* 812/8 July 1409	9
k)	3 *Rabīʿ* I 81<2>/16 July 1409	3
l)	1<2> *Rabīʿ* I 812/25 July 1409	18
m)	18 *Rabīʿ* I 812/31 July 1409	19
n)	1<9> *Rabīʿ* I 812/1st August 1409	20
o)	18 *Jumādā* I 812/28 September 1409	10
p)	21 *Jumādā* I 812/1st October 1409	11
q)	9 *Jumādā* II 812/19 October 1409	21
r)	14 *Jumādā* II 812/24 October 1409	7

The comparison of this data with the structure of the quires provides some insight into how Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz worked. He followed the dominant usage in the Muslim world in general and in the Maghreb in particular at the time, by preferentially using quinions, which make up three quarters of the volume with 17 in total, sometimes with one extra folio to fit in the end of a text, as we find in the case of no.

3 The current position of each textual unit within the manuscript is indicated by a number, in front of its date of completion. I kept H. Dérenboug's numbering as it appears in his catalogue (Dérenbourg 1903, 74–81), except for a small change about text no. 6 which is actually composed of two distinct treatises by the same author. They were transcribed separately but put together when the volume was bound.

10. He nonetheless occasionally also used shorter quires for shorter works. For example, no. 3 is contained in a seven-page quire on fols 76–82, nos 16 and 17 are combined in a binion on fols 203–206; in other cases, a smaller quire receives the end of a text, as is the case on fols 129–134, where a ternion was used by the copyist to finish no. 5. This way of adjusting quires to textual units is probably at the origin of the use of isolated folios, recognizable by the stubs that can be seen in the fold of the quires.[4]

Quires	No.	Begins at	Ends at	Peculiarities	Date
? (4) + V+1 (15)	1	5v	15v		10/03/1409
6 V (75)	2	16r	75v		11/02/1409
III+1 (82)	3	76r	82v	76r: note	16/07/1409
3 V (112), IV-2 (118)	4	83v	118r	83r: note and exlibris 118r: collation note	25/04/1409
V (128), III (134)	5	118v	134v		9/05/1409
V (144), II (148)	6a	135v	138r	135r: note 138r: certificate	3/02/1409
	6b	138v	148r 148v blank	148r: certificate	27/06/1409
fol. 149, addition					
II (153)	7	150v	154r	150r: note	24/10/1409
IV+1 (162),	8	154v	158v	154r: certificate	29/05/1409
V+1 (173)	9	159v	167v	159r: certificate	8/07/1409
	10	168v	173r	168r: blank	28/09/1409
II+1 (178)	11	174v	175r	175v: poem	1/10/1409

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4 The description of the quires (see Gacek 2009, 336) has been divided in order to evidence the relationship between the quires and the texts. When the folio numbers corresponding to the beginning or the end of a text are not on the same line as its number, this means that they are in a quire where another text is also found. Due to the shortness of the last treatises, this presentation could not be maintained as many of them were transcribed on the same quire. In the description the Roman numeral indicates the kind of quire (V= quinion, III= ternion, etc.); the number between parenthesis is the number of the last folio in a sequence whereas the number eventually found before the Roman numeral gives the number of quires evidencing the same typology (e.g.: 6 V means six quinions).

Quires	No.	Begins at	Ends at	Peculiarities	Date
				176r–v: certificate	
				177r: poem	
				177v–178r: certificate	
				178v: notes	
2 V (198), II (202)	12	179v	191r	179r: notes 191r: certificate	5/06/1409
	13	191v	193r		29/06/1409
	14	193v	197r		s.d.
	15	197r	200v		s.d.
	16	198v		201r–203r: notes	s.d.
II (206)	17	203v	205r		s.d.
	18	205r	205v	205v–207r: notes	s.d.
V (216)	19	207v	212r	212r: facsimile	25/07/1409
	20	212v	214v	214v: collation note	31/07/1409
	21	215v	216v	215r: verses	1/08/1409
V+1 (227)	22	217v	223r	217r: certificate	19/10/1409
				223r: certificate and collation note	
	23	223v	225r		s.d.
	24	225v	225v	225v: certificate 226–227v: varia	s.d.

The fact that two (or more) texts with sequential completion dates appear after one another in the manuscript does not mean that they were transcribed on the same quire or on a coherent sequence of quires. The quinion of fols 207 to 216 effectively contains the three texts nos 18 to 20, which were copied in sequence at the end of July and the beginning of August 1409. The transcription of text no. 5 was completed on 24 *Dhū al-ḥijja* 811/9 May 1409, or in other words, immediately following no. 4. According to the colophons' calendar, no. 5 starts on the reverse side of the last folio (fol. 118v) of the four quires that the copyist had just used for copying no. 4. However, texts nos 10 and 11, which were completed with a three-day intermission, are in two different quires.

Even though there were three exceptions (nos 2, 15 and 17), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz usually, and in keeping with the custom, copied the incipit on the verso of a folio, due to which the folios' rectos at the beginning of the texts were generally left blank. At times, the copyist reused this space to finish a transcrip-

tion when it was compatible with his project. The most remarkable example of this is text no. 7, which was the last text and was copied on 14 *Jumādā* II 812/24 October 1409. Its last lines appear on fol. 154r, which was left blank at the beginning of a quire that had been used five months earlier. Likewise, the copyist had planned to subsequently transcribe texts nos 6a and 6b, which were both by the same author. In February, he used the first four sheets of a quinion (fols 135 to 138) and then, in June, the last six sheets, adding a binion (fols 145 to 148) to complete his work.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz mostly copied isolated works, accumulating independent fascicles as he went along. Although he decided on the content, the sequence of his work must have depended on external circumstances such as the availability of the models, for instance. Ultimately, the works as presented in the current form of the volume were organized by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz according to a very clear thematic structure, albeit after 14 *jumādā* II 812/24 October 1409, when the copying of text no. 7 was completed.

1. 5v–15v: Abū al-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ b. ʿIyāḍ al-Yahsibī al-Sabtī (d. 544/1149), maybe his *K. al-ʿilam bi-ḥudud qawāʿid al-islām* (Fig. 1).[5]
2. 16r–75v: Khalīl b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (d. 767/1365), *al-Mukhtaṣar*.[6]
3. 76v–82v: Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Abū Bakr al-Tilmsānī (d. 690/1291), *al-Urjuza fi al-farāʾiḍ*.[7]
4. 83v–118r: ʿUthmān b. ʿUmar b. Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249), *Mukhtaṣar al-Muntahā al-suʾāl wa-l-amal fī ʿalami al-uṣūl wa-l-jadl*.[8]
5. 118v–134v: Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*.[9]
6. 135v–148r: Abū al-Qāsim al-Qāsim b. Firrūh b. Khalak al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194), *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī* (fols 135v–138r)[10] and *Qāṣida al-rāʾiyya* (fols 138v–148r).[11]

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5 See *GAL* I, 370, no. 6; *S* I, 630. In the index prepared by the copyist on fol. 5r, the title is: ʿ*Qawâʿid* of <Qāḍī> ʿIyāḍ'.

6 See *GAL* II, 84; *S* II, 96.

7 See *GAL* I, 385/10. Dérenbourg (1903, 75) thought that the author was ʿAfīf al-dīn Sulaymān b. ʿAlī al-Tilmsānī.

8 See *GAL* I, 306/viii; *S* I, 537.

9 See *GAL* I, 295; *S* I, 516.

10 The *Ḥirz al-amānī* is a versified version of al-Dānī's *Taysīr* called in the index *al-Shāṭibiyya al-kubrā* (see *GAL* I, 409/i; *S* I, 725).

11 Or *al-Shāṭibiyya al-ṣughrā*, see *GAL* I, 410/ii and *S* I, 726.
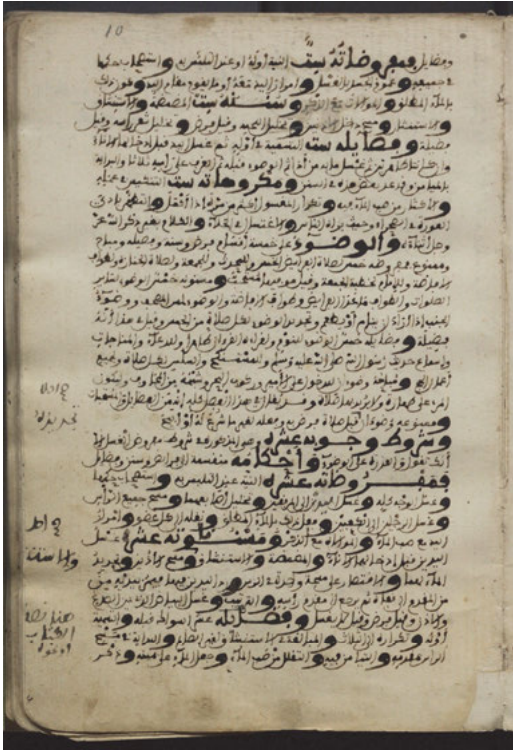
Fig. 1: Arabe 788, fol. 10r. Abū al-Faḍl ʿIyāḍ b. ʿIyāḍ al-Yaḥsibī al-Sabtī (d. 544/1149), maybe his *K. al-ʿilam bi-ḥudud qawāʿid al-islām.* © El Escorial

7. 150v–154r: ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360), *Qaṭr al-nadā wa-ball al-ṣadā.*[12]

8. 154v–158v: by the same author, *al-Iʿrāb ʿan qawāʿid al-iʿrāb.*[13]

9. 159v–167v: Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Ibn Mālik al-Ṭāʾī al-Jayyānī (d. 672/1273), *al-Alfiyya.*[14]

10. 168v–173r: Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khālid Ibn al-Saqqāṭ (sixth/eleventh century), *K. Ikhtiṣār al-ʿarūḍ.*[15]

11. 174v–175r: Ḍiyā al-dīn abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī (*fl.* towards 650/1252), *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiyya fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ* (Fig. 2).[16]

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12 See *GAL* II, 23/1; *S* II, 16–17.

13 See *GAL* II, 24; *S* II, 18.

14 See *GAL* I, 298/4-ii, *S* I, 522.

15 See *GAL* I, 282/1; *S* I, 495.
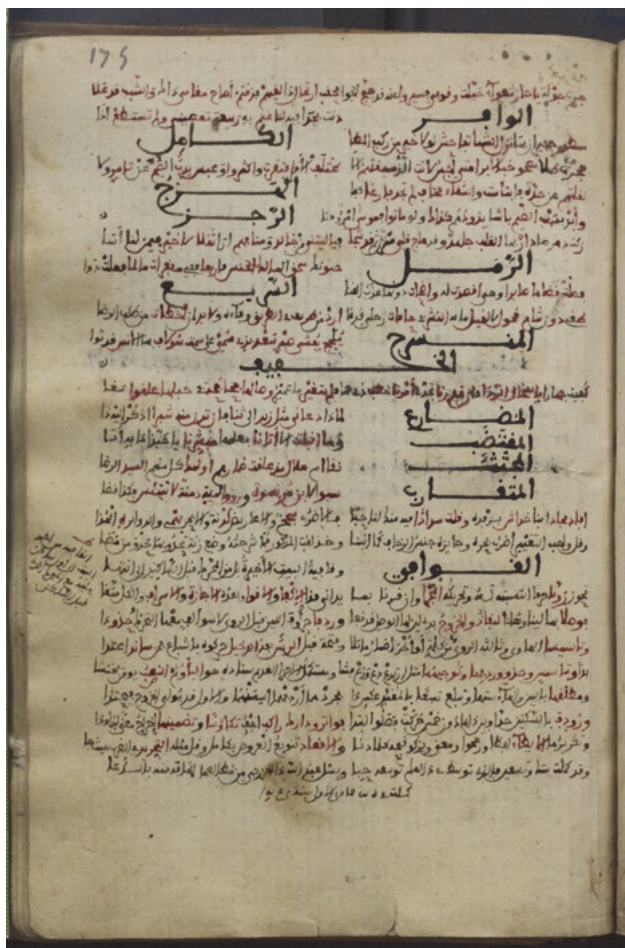
Fig. 2: Arabe 788, fol. 175r. Ḍiyā al-dīn abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī (*fl.* towards 650/1252), *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiyya fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ.* © El Escorial

12. 179v–191r: *Rajaz* on medecine by Ibn Sīnā.[17]
13. 191v–193r: Abū Mūsā Hārūn b. Isḥāq Ibn ʿAzrūn (*c.* 500/1106), *Tadhyīl urjūza Ibn Sīnā.*[18]
14. 193v–197r: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zākariyya al-Rāzī (d. 313/925), excerpts.[19]

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16 See *GAL* I, 312/10; *S* I, 545.
17 I was unable to identify the text.
18 See *S* I, 823/81.

15. 197r–198v: Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq al-ʿIbādī (d. 260/873), excerpts.[20]

16. 198v–200v: *Choice potions and remedies*.

17. 203v–205r: Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321), maybe his *Qānūn li-tarhīl al-shams wa-l-qamar fī al-manāzil wa-maʿrifa awqāt al-layl wa-l-nahar*.[21]

18. 205r-205v: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿAzafī (*fl. c*.633/1256), poem on the Persian months.[22]

19. 207v–212r: Ibn al-Bannāʾ (d. 721/1321), *Talkhīṣ fī ʿamal al-ḥisāb*.[23]

20. 212v–214v: Afḍal al-dīn Muḥammad b. Nāmwar b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Khūnajī (d. 646/1248), *al-Jumal*.[24]

21. 215v–216v: Burhān al-din Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, *al-Burhāniyya*.[25]

22. 217v–223r: Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309), *al-Ḥikam (al-ʿAṭāʾiyya)*.[26]

23. 223v–225r: Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rondī (d. 796/1394), *al-Duʿāʾ bi-l-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*.[27]

24. 225v: Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ḥasanī al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), *Ḥizb al-baḥr* (Fig. 3).[28]

25. 226r–v: *Venerable orisons and morals*.

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19 About the author, see *GAL* I, 233; *S* I, 417. On fol. 197r is a short extract from al-Majūsī's *K. Kāmil al-ṣināʿa al-ṭibbiyya* (d. 384/994; *GAL* I, 237/17) that is not indicated in the index.

20 About the author, see *GAL* I, 205. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz seems to have mistaken him for Yuḥannā (*sic*!) b. Māsawayh, whose name appears on fol. 197r (see *S* I, 416). The information in the index on fol. 5r should probably be corrected in this way. Moreover, Dérenbourg grouped that with what could look like a development of the latter in the index prepared by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Actually, the title 'Choice potions and remedies' (no. 16) is separated from the previous one ('Ḥunayn's *Fuṣūl*', no. 15) and from the next one ('Qānūn on the hours by Ibn al-Bannāʾ', no. 17) by the same red punctuation as that found between the various entries in the index.

21 See *GAL* II, 255/6.

22 See *S* I, 626.

23 See *GAL* I, 255/1; *S* I, 363.

24 See *GAL* I, 463/21; *S* I, 838.

25 H. Dérenbourg identifies thus the author (Dérenbourg 1903, 80: 'paraît être'). See *GAL S* I, 849 (also *GAL* I, 467, no. 28).

26 See *GAL* II, 118/11; *S* II, 146.

27 See *GAL* II, 118; *S* II, 146.

28 See *GAL* I, 449; *S* I, 805/5.
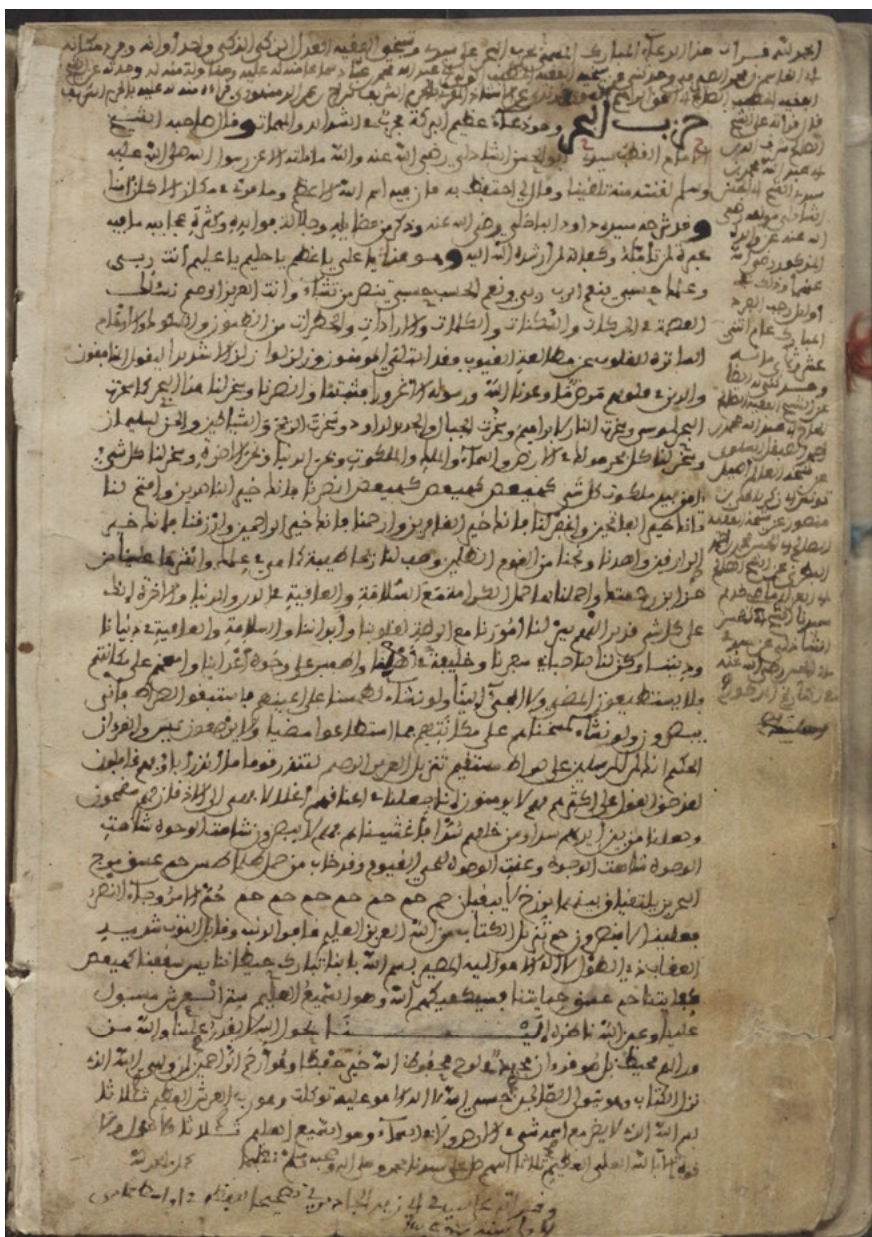
Fig. 3: Arabe 788, fol. 225v: Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ḥasanī al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), *Ḥizb al-baḥr.* © El Escorial
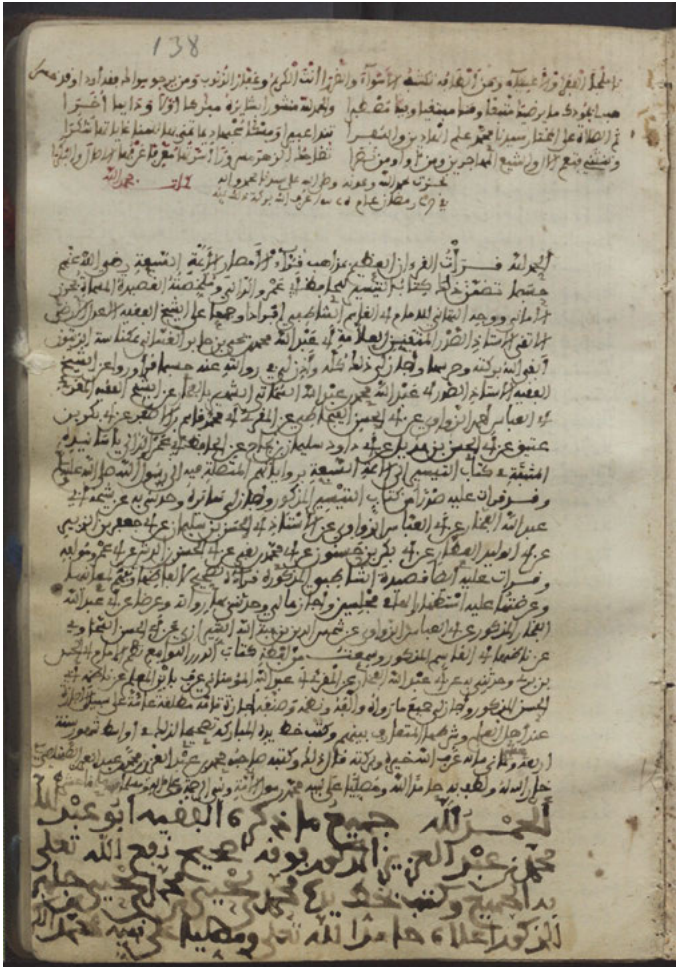
Fig. 4: Arabe 788, fol. 138r, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī. © El Escorial

After a text that discusses the principles of the Islamic faith, the *Qawāʿid* by Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (no. 1), there are three treatises on Malikite law (nos 2–4). Rhetoric and grammar make up the following sections (nos 5 and then 7–9), although they are interrupted by two versified treatises by al-Shāṭibī on the text of the Qurʾān (nos 6a and 6b, Fig. 4). To these were added the following two texts on prosody (nos 10–11). The distinguishing feature of the MTM created by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī may be the scientific texts that appear afterwards: medicine (nos 12–16), astronomy in the broad sense (nos 17–18), and mathematics (no. 19). Do the two short treatises

on logic (nos 20–21) belong to this group? This is not entirely sure. The manuscript closes with texts of a religious and mystical nature (nos 22–25), thus reflecting the interests of a traditional scholar. It is nevertheless distinguished by the inclusion of short treatises on medicine and astronomy in the MTM that he wished to create.

On fol. 5r, the date of 1st *Shaʿbān* 812/9 December 1409 appears. Although it does signal the completion of Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī's undertaking to compile the volume of texts, it by no means marks the end of the story of this MTM. As the manuscript accompanied the copyist in the pursuit of his intellectual projects, he gradually filled unused spaces with notes of various kinds. Fol. 5r contains very important information in this regard, while its appearance is unattractive, to say the least: it is filled with dense writing—containing information that, at different stages, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz deemed useful to have available at the head of his codex. He most likely started by drawing up a table of contents across six lines on the upper half of the sheet, followed by the 'colophon' mentioned above. Later, the bio-bibliographic information that progressively filled in the remaining space was added.

Roughly halfway up the page, the copyist at some point wrote four tiny lines in ink, around which he drew a box. As there was no room left to add anything to this short text, he continued it in a gap between the table of contents and the notes occupying the top margin. The three lines that we can read here continue in the margin, between the table of contents and the edge of the folio, across 12 lines of which the left portion has disappeared. Once again, a box has been drawn around this note in ink, which, together with the above-mentioned note, retraces the copyist's itinerary during the years following the copy's completion. We thus learn that he arrived in Ceuta at the end of *Rabīʿ* II 815/July 1412, moving on to al-Andalus at the end of *Jumādā* II /beginning of October 1412. He disembarked in Malaga and headed for Almería. From there, he set sail again for Tunis and then reached Alexandria in mid-*Dhū al-qaʿda*/16 February of that same lunar year. Once in Egypt, he went to Cairo, where he remained for five months before heading north at the beginning of *Jumādā* II 816/September 1413. He passed through Jerusalem and reached Damascus in *Rajab/*October 1413. Aside from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he spent more than a year in the city before returning to the Maghreb via Cairo and Alexandria at the end of *Dhū al-ḥijja* 817/mid-March 1415.

The writing does indeed seem to be that of the copyist, and in addition to the palaeographic argument, there are other documents contained in Arabe 788 from El Escorial that confirm Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's trip to the Near East on the dates indicated. The travel roughly outlined here is reflected in a series of reading and audition certificates in the name of that same Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī, with the exception of one certificate that is attributed to a different scholar.

Muḥammad al-Ṣanhājī's training—and most likely his intellectual undertakings—started before he began to copy the first texts of his MTM, and possibly even before he conceived of the idea. In 810/1410, he followed the teachings of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. abū Bakr Ibn Marzūq in Fez,[29] obtaining an *ijāza* (licence) from him for texts that do not appear in the volume. In fact, according to a certificate found on fols 177v–178r, at the time, this master transmitted the two *Ṣaḥīḥ* to him, namely those by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, as well as Mālik's *Muwaṭṭā*'.[30] These were actually only portions of those works and the form of the certificate is particular; it may be a copy of another older certificate, which is clearly the case of a document that appears on fol. 212r and which reproduces the colophon, and a certificate that appears in the manuscript which served to collate the text of the *Talkhīṣ fī al-ḥisāb* (no. 18).[31] Copying previous certificates was not an uncommon practice; on the other hand, a particularity of our copyist's work consisted in writing certificates within the volume for works that did not appear in it. This tendency was subsequently confirmed.

The first certificates following the completion of the MTM transcription—or almost contemporaneous with it,[32] are dated to the years 812/1409–814/1411, and associated with texts that the copyist had transcribed. The oldest of these, which appears in the margin alongside the beginning of the *Ḥizb al-baḥr* (fol. 223v, Fig. 3), is dated 1st *Rajab* 812/18 November 1409. It concerns the famous litany (no. 24 of the MTM), which he read before Abū al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī.[33] This is certainly not a mere coincidence: al-Shādhilī's litany is directly related to the dangers one faces during travel. The copyist availed himself of this protection before embarking on his journey, which means that his plans were already set in 812/1409, almost three years before he actually left Meknes. The copy may have had an apotropaic value by itself, but more important still is the

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29 This Ibn Marzūq (d. 14 *Shaʿbān* 842/1439) is the grandson of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Ibn Marzūq al-Tilimsānī (d. 781/1379; see *GAL* II, 239). An overview of this family of scholars from Tlemcen can be found in Viguera 1977, 12, and more generally on pp. 11–14.

30 Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was known as an expert in Qurʾān recitation and *ḥadīth* (see Ibn Zaydān 2008, 689).

31 This text is written in a script quite different from that of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz; the colophon indicates the 1st *Jumādā* II 702/ 21 January 1303 as the date of completion. The *ijāza* has been given by the author, Ibn al-Bannāʾ, for the *Talkhīṣ fī ʿamal al-ḥisāb* as well as for two other treatises. It is dated to the end of *Jumādā* I 708/towards 15 November 1308.

32 I shall not examine here the detail of the *isnād*-s or chains of transmission found in the certificates.

33 See above, n. 29.

fact that, even before his volume was fully completed at the beginning of *Shaʿbān* 812/December 1409, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz decided to start his collection of *samāʿāt* with the *Ḥizb al-baḥr*. A second one, located in the bottom margin of the same folio, is dated mid-*Jumādā* II 813/mid-October 1410 and concerns the same text, which was read before Abū Zayd al-Jādīrī (*sic*) this time.[34]

A third certificate, dated mid-814/mid-July 1411, also pertains to this phase: it follows the two didactic poems by al-Shāṭibī (m. en 590/1194), called *al-Shāṭibiyya al-kubrā* (Fig. 4) and *al-Shāṭibiyya al-sughrā* in the manuscript (nos 6a and b), the first of which is known by the title of *Ḥirz al-amānī wa-wajh al-tahānī*.[35] Following two sessions in Meknes on the date indicated, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz received an *ijāza* with a larger scope, regarding the reciting of the Qurʾān before his master with a reference to al-Dānī's *K. al-taysīr* and al-Shāṭibī's *qaṣīda*. At the bottom of the certificate, a licence is granted for Abū al-Ḥasan's *K. al-durar al-lawāmiʿ*.[36] In this case, the situation is analogous to the one mentioned above, namely that some transmission licences are not related to the contents of the manuscript. Finally, on 29 July 1411, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz received an *ijāza* for Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya* (d. 672/1273; text no. 9), which had been transcribed two years earlier (fol. 159r).[37] We can assume that this took place in Meknes. The certificate is written in the hand of Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Fāsī.

The following certificates are associated with Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī's journey to the East. He left Meknes and first arrived in Ceuta, where he completed the collation of Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Mukhtaṣar* (no. 4) on 9 *Jumādā* I 815/17 August 1412 (fol. 83r). The following stages of his trip, in Andalus and to Tunis, did not result in any intellectual activities that were recorded in the manuscript. Local intellectual circles appeared once again, from mid-February 1413, during Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's stay in Alexandria (fol. 148r) where, on 24 *Dhū al-ḥijja* 815/27 March 1413, he obtained an *ijāza* from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. ʿUmar al-Mālikī for various works for which he already had a licence: the two didactic poems by al-Shāṭibī studied in Meknes in 1411 (see fol. 138r; nos 6a and b), a portion of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya* (no. 9),[38] and a work by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī, *al-Rāmiza fī fann al-ʿarūḍ wa-l-qawāfī* known as *al-*

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34 Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiya al-Maydūnī al-Jādirī (Meknes, 777/1375–1376-Fez, 818/1415–1416), see Benchekroun 1974, 247–250.

35 *GAL* I, 409; *S* I, 725. This could be the *ʿAqīla atrāb al-qaṣāʾid fī asna al-maqāṣid* (*GAL* I, 410; *S* I, 726–727).

36 *GAL* II, 248; *S* II, 350. The treatise deals with Nāfiʿ's *qirāʾa*.

37 This is the text no. 9 in the MTM, see n. 15.

38 It is thus a second *ijāza* for this text.

Khazrajiyya (no. 11).[39] The certificate was written in the hand of the master himself, in a clearly Oriental script, whereas Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz usually wrote these documents himself with a brief note in the hand of the master confirming the accuracy of the information.

After moving on to Cairo, our copyist once again resumed his intellectual activities in the city. First of all, on Tuesday 28 *Ṣafar* 816/30 May 1413, he obtained a licence from Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar al-Bilālī al-Mawṣilī to transmit two of his works, the *Ḥayāt al-Iḥyāʾ wa-tuḥfat al-awliyāʾ* and a *Muqaddima*, which is a summary of his *Kitāb al-minhāj* (fol. 217r).[40] In addition, at the *madrasa* associated with al-Manṣūrī hospital,[41] he followed the teaching of Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar al-Bahādūrī. The latter issued an *ijāza* to him for a poem on medicine, Ibn Sīnā's *Madkhal al-ṭibb*,[42] and three other medical treatises, the *Fuṣūl al-imām Abūqrāt*, the *K. al-asbāb wa-l-ʿalāmāt al-Īlāqiyya*,[43] and *al-Samarqandiyya* (fol. 191r).[44] On the last day of *Rabīʿ* I 816/30 June 1413, at this *madrasa*, he completed the reading of Tāj al-dīn Aḥmad abī al-Faḍl b. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's *al-Ḥikam* before Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tilimsānī: text no. 22 of the volume (fol. 223r).[45]

During the next stage of his travels in the East, in Jerusalem in *Jumādā* II 816/November 1413, he obtained a licence for the two *Ṣaḥīḥ* (fol. 176r–v). Once again, the master, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭāʾ Allāh b. Muḥammad al-... [illegible], called Tamr al-Harawī, wrote the certificate, which mentions these two works as well as his own commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. His long stay in Damascus (October 1413 to March 1415) was an opportunity to obtain new licences. He followed the teachings of Saʿd al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Musāʿid b. Sārī b. Masʿūd al-Hawārī and obtained from this master two authorizations to transmit following the sessions held in ʿAqrabā, in the *ghūṭa* of Damascus, and in Damascus itself. The first covers Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Hishām's *Iʿrāb fī qawāʿid al-iʿrāb* (no. 8) and dates to 16

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39 *GAL* I, 380/10; *S* I, 545.

40 As indicated by the title, it is a commentary of al-Ghazalī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulum al-dīn*; it is probably the text recorded in the supplement of the *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (*S* I, 749, no. 10), the name of the author being recorded as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Bilālī al-Ajlūnī.

41 *EI*², IV, 506.

42 It may be the poem copied on the preceding folios (fols 179v–191r, no. 12). The certificate is in the hand of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz himself, but what follows has been written by his master.

43 The treatise was composed by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Īlāqī (d. 536/1141), see *GAL* I, 485; *S* I, 826.

44 It is probably a work by Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Samarqandī (d. 619/1222); see *GAL* I, 490–491 and *S* I, 895–896.

45 See above, n. 26.

Rabīʿ I 817/5 June 1414,[46] while the second, which concerns al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, was obtained at the end of *Rabīʿ* I 817/*c.*15 June 1414 (fol. 176v).

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's quest for knowledge did not stop with his departure from the East. The manuscript contains two more documents, dated 818/1415, which corresponded to stages during his return trip that are not signalled in the note on fol. 5r. Our traveller first stopped in Bona/Annaba, where he met with Ibn Marzūq, the master whose teachings he had followed in 810/1410 in Fez.[47] He then once again attended sessions, after which he wrote a long certificate on fol. 177v and 178r, dated end of *Rajab* 818/early October 1415. In it, he provided a list of the sessions which he took part in in Fez in 810/1410, after which he obtained an *ijāza* for the 'three works of *ḥadīth*'. Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149) *K. al-Shifā*[48] and al-Būṣīrī's (d. 694/1294) *Burda*,[49] also mentioned in the certificate, could have been studied in Bona during the return trip in 1415. In the final paragraph, he indicated that he had received an *ijāza* from Ibn Marzūq for two works authored by the latter, a commentary on Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar*, and the *Ṣidq al-mawadda ʿalà al-Burda*.

Then follows a text written by Ibn Marzūq (fol. 178r): first of all, he confirmed the previous comments and made a list of works that he had either written, started to write, or simply planned to write, and which he authorised his disciple to transmit. In a way, the certificate completed the circle of the intellectual and real-life journey of our scholarly traveller, who appeared to have taken advantage of this encounter to include the *ijāza* obtained five years earlier in 810/1410 in the volume constituting the chronicles of his knowledge. Continuing the path westwards, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reached Bougie. A collation note attests to his presence in the city at the beginning of *Ramaḍān* 818/November 1415 (fol. 148r, in the margin).

After returning to Meknes, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz continued to use the spaces that remained blank in the miscellany to write down personal notes. In *Rabīʿ* II 820/May-June 1417, he copied the text of a *qaṣīda* that he had written, and that he had read in Damascus (fol. 175v). Later, he once again travelled to Granada in 824/1421, the memory of which he preserved by inserting two short, partially erased lines into fol. 5r. On fol. 203v and 204r, notes related to observations of the sun and the moon, made between 831/1428 and 840/1437, bear witness to his activity up until that date.[50]

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46 It is the text no. 8, see above n. 13. The certificate has been written on the recto of the folio where the copyist had transcribed this treatise five years earlier.

47 See n. 29.

48 *GAL* I, 369; *S* I, 630.

49 *GAL* I, 264; *S* I, 467.

50 If such is the case, his death that is reported to have occurred during a second trip to the East would have taken place after 840/1437 (see Ibn Zaydān 2008, 689).

2 A princely compendium

The second manuscript, which is Arabe no. 248 (Figs 5–6) in the collection from El Escorial, takes us in another direction, irrespective of the years that separate the two volumes. It is a beautiful *quarto* copy that consists of 385 219 × 157 mm folios which are protected by a good quality binding that was decorated with blind tooling.[51]

From the outside, this volume stands out by the title that appears on the edge—the bottom edge in this case—as was customary in the Islamic world. However, the care given to writing this title in calligraphy distinguishes it from what we commonly find in this region. In fact, the short text is written in an elaborate variant of *maghribī*, with a few exclusively decorative elements intended to best occupy the available space. The title is significantly more elaborate than those usually found on the upper or lower edges, but it was admittedly difficult to account for the contents of the manuscript.

The colophons provide no information on the copyist or the place of the copying, but they do give two dates: on fol. 281r, we find an intermediate colophon indicating Wednesday, 23 *Rabīʿ* II 969/31 December 1561, whereas fol. 385r, the last folio of the manuscript, indicates that the latter was completed on Monday, 17 *Ṣafar* 968/7 November 1560 (Fig. 6).[52] The anteriority of the latter is surprising and seems to indicate that the transcription was done in multiple stages, possibly by different individuals. Regarding the collation, it was completed on 25 *Rajab* 968/11 April 1561, as indicated by a note in the margin on the same fol. 385r, to which we will return. A fourth date, 12 *Ramaḍān* 969/16 May 1562, appears in a document placed at the beginning of the volume. It confirms the previous dates, yet does not shed light on the chronology of the transcription, which therefore took place during the reign of Saadian Sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib (r. 1557–1574).

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51 See Dérenbourg 1884, 151–153.

52 And not 970/1562 as stated by Dérenbourg 1884, 153. Also see Déroche 2014.

Fig. 5: Arabe 248, fol. 44v © El Escorial

The copy was written with care, in an average-sized hand, with 19 lines per page. The paper of Western make is homogenous, but the sheets are often isolated: the quires also show multiple stubs, which explains why the back is thicker than the fore-edge. Two *misṭara* were used to rule the folios, one for long lines and the other to transcribe verses. Wide margins were set aside around the writing area, in which annotations were sometimes made (in particular on fols 327v to 334v). The beginnings of texts are signalled by the choice of larger characters and, above all, by the use of coloured inks, including red and often also blue, combined with the ink used for the remainder of the text (Fig. 5). The high level of the writing and the page layout clearly indicate that this is a quality copy.

The structure of the quires reflects the extent to which the production of this volume was different from that of manuscript Arabe 788.

Quires[53]	Text No.	Begins at	Ends at	Remarks
1 fol. added				16/05/1562
IV (9)	1	2v	7r	
	2	7v		
2 V (29)			11v	
	3	12r	24v	
	4	24v	28r	
	5	28r	30r	
	6	30v		
V + 1 (40)			35v	
	7	35v		
23 V (290)			44v	
	8	44v	107v	
	9	108v	250r	fol. 108r blank
	10	250v	281r	colophon dated 31/12/1561
	11	281v	287r	
	12	287v	290v	
3 V (320)	13	291v	303v	fol. 291r blank
III (326)	14	304r	326v	colophon without date
6 V (386)	15	327v	368v	fol. 327r blank
	16	369r	374v	
	17	374v	385r	colophon dated 7/11/1560

As Hartwig Dérenbourg has previously pointed out in the collection catalogue, the contents of the manuscript are the result of one initial decision.[54] Despite the chronological problem indicated above, the texts demonstrate a high degree of homogeneity in their presentation—even though it is not possible to exclude the possibility of joint work by two copyists—and frequently overlap quires. Fol. 250 bears witness to this: its recto contains the explicit of text no. 9, of a legal nature, whereas the incipit of text no. 10, a grammar treatise, appears on its verso, clearly evidencing continuity in the transcription. However, the analysis of the

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53 See n. 4.
54 Dérenbourg 1884, 153.

structure of quires reveals two locations where an interruption may have taken place, namely after fols 290 and 326. Both of these folios are the last of a quinion. In both cases, the text that follows (no. 13 for one, no. 15 for the other) begins on the verso of the next quire (fols 291v and 327v), which is the rule in the Islamic manuscript tradition, although it is true that certain rules are broken in this volume (nos 3, 5, 14, and 16 start on the recto side). Therefore, this may not constitute a strong argument in favour of an interruption after fol. 290, no more than the three rectos left blank (fols 108r, 291r and 327r) do, which coincide twice with the beginning of a quire (fols 291r and 327r), while the third is found in the middle of a quinion. The undated colophon on fol. 326v could mark an interruption in the copying, whereas that of fol. 281r is found on the recto of the second folio of a quire. The strongest argument in favour of an interruption at fol. 326 is the type of quire in which the undated colophon appears: it is an unusual ternion that is a unique and surprising example of this type of quire within a volume that almost exclusively consists of quinions.

It would therefore be necessary to distinguish two stages in the production, from fol. 2 to fol. 326, and from fol. 327 to fol. 385. What should we make of the date of the colophon on fol. 385r, which would indicate that the last text in the volume was the first to have been written? Or, must we assume that this is a mistake the copyist made, who may have traced an eight *rūmī* numeral instead of nine? In any event, even if we read 969 instead of 968, 27 October 1561 is prior to the first colophon of 31 December of the same year.

As in Arabe 788, the works are arranged on the basis of a clear thematic structure. The book is designed for ease of use: a table of contents appearing on fol. 2 presents the titles in four columns, sometimes followed by the name of the author. Each of the columns contains four rows, except for the first one, which contains five. The final colophon gives a summary of the manuscript's contents, listing the subjects of the collection (called *dīwān* here) and emphasizing the deliberate nature of the operation. Coloured bookmarks integrated into the paper of the first folio of each text afford easier access to them, as in Arabe 788.

1. 2v–7r: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Dūlāsī al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1294), *al-Burda*.[55]

2. 7v–11v: Ṣafī al-dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Sarāyā al-Ḥillī (d. 750/1349), *Kāfiyya fī al-badīʿiyya*.[56]

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[55] See *GAL* I, 264; *S* I, 467.

[56] See *GAL* II, 160; *S* II, 199. In the table of contents (fol. 2r), there is only the name of the author.

3. 12r–24v: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥasanī al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486), *ʿAqīda ahl al-tawḥīd* also *al-ʿAqīda al-kubrā*.[57]

4. 24v–28r: al-Sanūsī, *Umm al-barāhin* also *al-ʿAqīda al-ṣugrā*.[58]

5. 28r–30r: al-Sanūsī, *tracts of the same kind*.[59]

6. 30v–35v: al-Sanūsī, *al-Isāghugī*.[60]

7. 35v–44v: al-Sanūsī, *Theological treatise*.[61]

8. 44v–107v: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996), *K. al-risāla*.[62]

9. 108r–250r: Khalīl b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā al-Mālikī al-Miṣrī (d. 767/1365), *al-Mukhtaṣar*.[63]

10. 250v–281r: Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Mālik al-Ṭāʾī al-Jayyānī (d. 672/1273), *al-Alfiyya* (part).[64]

11. 281v–287r: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāʾud al-Ṣanhājī b. Ajurrūm (d. 723/1323), *Ajurrūmiyya*.[65]

12. 287v–290v: Ibn Mālik, *Lāmiyya al-afʿāl* (or *al-miftāḥ fi abniya al-afʿāl*).[66]

13. 291v–303v: Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Azdī al-Maghribī, known as Ibn al-Bannā (d. 721/1321), *Talkhīṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb*.[67]

14. 304r–326v: Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Tilimsānī, *urjūza* about rhetoric and style.[68]

15. 327r–368v: Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*.[69]

16. 369r–374v: Ḍiyā al-dīn abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī (*fl.* towards 650/1252), *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiyya fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*.[70]

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57 See *GAL* II, 250 (I). On the importance of this author and the reception of his work in the East, see Kh. El-Rouayheb, *Islamic intellectual history in the seventeenth century. Scholarly currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb*, Cambridge, 2015, p. 131-147 or 188-200.

58 *GAL* II, 250 (II).

59 I have been unable to identify these texts in the list of the works of al-Sanūsī published by Brockelmann (*S* II, 356). In the table of contents (fol. 2r), the title is given as *al-Muqaddima*.

60 In the table of contents (fol. 2r), the name of the author has been added; I assume that Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqāʿī (d. 1480) is meant here.

61 I have been unable to identify this text in the list of the works of al-Sanūsī published by Brockelmann (*S* II, 356).

62 See *GAL* I, 177; *S* I, 301.

63 Text no. 2 in MS Arabe788, see n. 6.

64 Text no. 9 in MS Arabe 788, see n. 14.

65 See *GAL* II, 237; *S* II, 332.

66 See *GAL* I, 300; *S* I, 256.

67 Text no. 19 in MS Arabe 788, see n. 23.

68 In the table of contents on fol. 2r, the title appears as: *al-Tilimsāniyya*.

69 Text no. 5 in MS Arabe 788, see n. 9. In the table of contents (fol. 2r), it is the only case with the *Burda* (no 1) of a title without the name of the author.

17. 374v–385r: Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jādirī/al-Jādarī Abū Zayd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAṭiya al-Maydūnī al-Jādirī (d. 818/1416), *Rawḍa al-azhār fī ʿilm waqt al-layl wa-l-nahār*.[71]

The contents of the manuscript are particularly interesting, due to the coincidences that can be observed between it and al-Fishtālī's statement regarding the education that the Saadian Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr[72] received—information repeated in a somewhat summarized manner by al-Ifrānī in his *Nuzhat*.[73] The list starts by indicating that the future ruler had initially learnt the Qurʾān prior to studying the two legal texts that appear in the miscellany from El Escorial, al-Qayrawānī's *Risāla*, and Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar*, and then the grammar treatises, the *Ajurrūmiyya*, Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, and *Lāmiyya al-afʿāl* by the same author. Without going into further detail, al-Fishtālī mentions that Aḥmad al-Manṣūr had studied arithmetic before moving on to texts of a religious nature: first, and without more details, the *uṣūl al-dīn*, followed by *al-Kubrā*, a commentary on al-Sanūsī's *ṣughrā* and *al-Isāghugī* as well as al-Mukātibī's *Shamsiyya fī al-manṭiq*,[74] along with the short and long commentaries on Ibn Zikrī's *qaṣīda* (al-Ifrānī indicates the *Mulkhiṣ al-maqāṣid*). The last works cited in this list are al-Khazrajī's *al-Khazrajiyya*, al-Saʿad's *Mukhtaṣar*, and al-Qazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*. The following section in al-Fishtālī's text concerns the *ḥadīth* and the *fiqh*, and then presents the subsequent readings of the future sultan.

The coincidence between the educational programme detailed by al-Fishtālī and the contents of the manuscript is striking. It confirms the existence of a corpus of educational texts classified within the manuscript according to an order of precedence, including theology, law, grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. The presence of arithmetic within this group is significant and represents an interesting convergence between the two MTMs Arabe 248 and 788.

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70 Text no. 11 in MS Arabe 788, see n. 16.

71 Also see above.

72 Al-Fishtālī 1964, 188–189.

73 Al-Ifrānī 1889, 216–217; Nuzhat al-nādī 2010, 209–211.

74 The name of the author is indicated in al-Fishtālī 1964, 190, but al-Ifrānī's editor, al-Shadilī, states in a note that he is ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-hādī* 2010, 210, n. 17).

Fig. 6: Arabe 248, fol. 385r. Collation note. © El Escorial

The creator of Arabe 788 is well identified. What about the other volume? Two texts provide relevant information. The first, the collation note from fol. 385r (Fig 6), is the clearest. The scribe, who may be the copyist (or one of the copyists) of the manuscript, indicated that the volume was prepared for the library of the vizir Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī. The date and name lead us to believe that the person who commissioned the manuscript was a nephew of Sultan ʿAbd Allāh al-Ghālib, who had the nephew killed in 975/1567.[75] Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir's father was one of the sons of Sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh. Around 1560, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir was most likely no longer a student when he occupied official public positions in the service of his uncle. The manuscript probably served to provide him with convenient access to the texts constituting the knowledge of pre-modern Morocco's cultured elite. The large extent to which the contents of the MTM correspond with that of the 'curriculum' described by al-Fishtālī speaks for itself. We can assume that the prince probably did not have to bother about selecting the works; the collation note records the assistance of a traditional scholar, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Idrīsī, known as al-Qaddūmī (992/1584),[76] who verified the accuracy of the texts but may also have based the selection on established 'foundational knowledge'. An *ijāza* dated 12 *Ramaḍān* 969/16 May 1562 also concerns Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥasanī, who is both its beneficiary and its copyist. It contains a transmission chain (*isnād*) whose different stages, introduced by the verb *ṣāfaḥa*, go back to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib—including the main figures of Islamic mysticism, such as Abū Midyan, Ibn al-ʿArabī, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī or even ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

The mystical dimension is not completely absent from manuscript Arabe 788, but its presence is enhanced in manuscript Arabe 248 through devotional readings. These do not pertain to a strictly educational framework, but rather reflect the importance taken on by worship of the Prophet, the origins of which, associated mainly with the *Kitāb al-shifā* by Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149), date back to the twelfth century. In the specific context of Morocco during the latter half of the sixteenth century, the decision to start with al-Būṣīrī's very famous poem, the *Burda* (fols 2v–7r), and to follow it with ṣafī al-dīn al-Ḥillī's *Kāfiyya fī al-badīʿiyya* (fols 7v–11v), can be understood in terms of the central place given to this devo-

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75 See Fagnan 1924, 388 (= Anonyme sur la dynastie saʿdienne); Le Tourneau 1977, 26. However, another date of his death is found there (*ibid*., 25, n. 71). Another person with the same name is also mentioned in the sources, but he is an ʿalawī sharif living in southern Morocco; it is therefore unlikely that he is the owner of the Escorial manuscript (Fagnan 1924, 347).
76 See Hajji 1976, II, 414.

tion in Sufi movements and in popular worship of the time, and by the political dimension that the worship of Muḥammad took on with the advent of a dynasty laying claim to a sherifian origin. Yet, contrary to what might be expected, the *Dalāʾil al-ḫayrāt*, whose author al-Jazūlī held an important place in Saadian ideology, was not chosen at this point.[77] Manuscript Arabe 788, on the other hand, conceived in another setting, integrates devotional texts in a different way.

Separated by a bit more than a century, the two MTMs Arabe 248 and 788 from El Escorial enable us to account more fully for the features and wealth of MTMs in the Arabic manuscript tradition. In both cases, there is detailed knowledge concerning the circumstances of their creation. This allows us to avoid mistakes when interpreting their content, which in both cases was part of a specific undertaking. That of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī pertains to a long tradition of travel 'in quest of knowledge', seeking masters whose authorizations would come to have a place in the book alongside the texts that they concerned, thus fully certifying the knowledge therein. However, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī's learning strategies were even more ambitious. The authorizations granted to him are testament to this ambition: thirty certificates for twenty-three works were obtained, but a large number of these do not appear among the works transcribed in the manuscript. The manuscript is an essential witness to and guarantee of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī's knowledge, containing twenty-six texts he wrote in his own hand, then the certificates added afterwards on various folios of the manuscript and referring to fifteen works he did not write but studied with different teachers. Despite its somewhat disorganized appearance, this volume actually serves as a *fahrasa*, a well-known genre in the Western part of the Muslim world, where scholars listed their masters, the works that they received from them, and their *isnad*-s. However, in the case at hand, copies of certain works being present add another dimension to the manuscript: the MTM is 'double', at the interface between the written and the oral, between recording on paper and memorization, and us representing a complex approach to knowledge.

On the other hand, the sole purpose of the prince's MTM was to serve as the bedside book of an 'honest man', although it contains texts that were already of interest to the scholar who prepared the other book, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṣanhājī: one in the domain of the *fiqh* (Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar*), three in the domain of grammar and rhetoric (Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, al-Qazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*, and Ḍiyā al-dīn abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUthmān al-Khazrajī's *al-Rāmiza al-shāfiyya fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*), and last of all, one mathematics treatise (*Talkhīṣ fī al-ḥisāb* by Ibn al-Bannāʾ). The organisation of the two manuscripts is different: the

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77 See Abid 2017.

Saadian one, created for a prince, gives more space in the first section to holy readings and religion, while placing three short treatises on logic immediately afterwards. The *fiqh* section is practically identical in the two collections, whereas grammar takes up more space in manuscript Arabe 248, where rhetoric comes later, following the arithmetic treatise by Ibn al-Bannāʾ. It appears that prosody was of greater interest to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but it is above all the scientific portion that he developed to a greater extent, even though the Saadian MTM ends with an applied astronomy work similar to that appearing in Arabe 788. The use of these two manuscripts differs, if anything due to the time period during which they remained in the hands of their first owner: Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was able to make use of his manuscript for almost thirty years, whereas the Saadian prince kept his volume for only six years. The former multiplied the notes, whereas the latter only did so occasionally, such as on fols 327v to 334v—assuming that these notes were actually written by him. Arabe 248 from El Escorial constitutes a first-class testimony to the culture of the Moroccan elite during the second half of the sixteenth century, although the convergence between the two manuscripts emphasizes the continuity of the intellectual history of fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries Morocco—and beyond.

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Case studies

Francesca Maltomini
Some Poetic Multiple-Text Manuscripts of the Byzantine Era

Abstract: The paper focuses on some Byzantine manuscripts which consist of collections of Greek poetic texts and are linked to each other: (a) the lost poetic book of Constantine Cephalas and its main descendants, and (b) the poetic multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) created in the circle of Maximus Planudes. A comparison between the structure and the purposes of some of these MTMs and the epigrammatic anthologies they include is also provided. In the final part of the paper, epigrammatic collections are also used as a case study on what MTMs can tell about the perception and the contexts in which the literary works they contain came to fruition.

First of all, I would like to clarify one possible ambiguity in the title of this paper. In Byzantine book production, poetic multiple-text manuscripts (or poetry MTMs) and prose MTMs did not form distinct and individual categories: our sources do not offer such a traceable typological distinction in the overall panorama and, as a matter of fact, prose and poetry were frequently mixed in MTMs.

Nonetheless, there are some important MTMs which contain *only* poetic texts. As a case study, I will focus on a group of them: their certain connection allows their analysis both as individual items and as links in a chain (where the chain is the transmission and the modification of a MTM through its descendants). Moreover, they were created in cultural contexts where the production of MTMs was remarkable, and they contain some texts that are particularly representative of the work conducted by Byzantine scholars.

Cephalas' book
end of the ninth century
[lost]

Heid. Pal. gr. 23 +
Par. Suppl. gr. 384
mid-tenth century

Marc. gr. 481
completed in 1299/1301
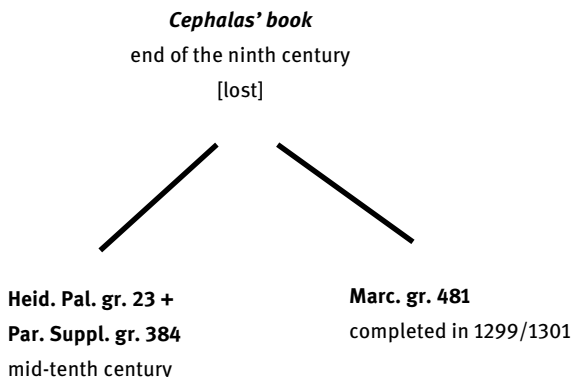
The progenitor of this (simplified: see below) stemma is lost but can be reconstructed with some confidence thanks to its descendants: it is the poetry book created by Constantine Cephalas, a professor at the school attached to the New Church in Constantinople during the last decades of the ninth century, later attested as _protopapas_ ('first priest') at the Palace.[1] The two descendants of Cephalas' book are independent and enlarged versions of their model; they were both also produced in Constantinople, but in different periods.

The lost Cephalas' book (or—in more cautious terms—the copies of Cephalas' book that represented the models of its descendants) contained Nonnus of Panopolis' poetic _Paraphrase of the Gospel of John_, Paul the Silentiary's _Ekphraseis_ on Hagia Sophia and its ambo, a large anthology of epigrams and, possibly, Christodorus of Coptus' _Ekphrasis on the Statues of the Baths of Zeuxippus_.[2] The epigrammatic anthology was created by Cephalas himself, who collected and rearranged some earlier collections.[3] The metrical form (hexame-

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1 On Cephalas see Cameron 1993, 254–255, Lauxtermann 2003, 86–87.

2 A detailed reconstruction of the book of Cephalas has been proposed by Lauxtermann 2007. We cannot, of course, be entirely certain that this lost book did not contain other texts, omitted by both its descendants.

3 On Cephalas' sources and on how he used them, see Cameron 1993, 121–159, Lauxterman 2003, 88–89; for an overall picture see also Maltomini 2019. On the structure of Cephalas' anthology see below, p. 208.

ters and elegiacs)[4] and the antiquity of the texts (all composed within the first Byzantine era) are the unifying features of the whole book.

The first descendant of Cephalas' book (the Heidelbergensis Palatinus Graecus 23 + Parisinus Supplementi Graeci 384)[5] was completed within the midtenth century: two main blocks written by different scribes were joined, and the confection of the whole manuscript was accomplished by a redactor who is to be considered the *maître d'œuvre* of this MTM.[6] In its original form, the manuscript contained the following texts (I have marked those already present in Cephalas with an asterisk): <*Nonnus of Panopolis' *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*> (now lost, but registered in the index that opens the manuscript);[7] *Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphraseis* on Hagia Sophia and its ambo; some dogmatic epigrams by Gregory of Nazianzus; *Cephalas' epigrammatic anthology, enlarged (it is the famous *Anthologia Palatina*); John of Gaza's *Tabula Mundi* (a poem on a painting showing the cosmos); a collection of *Anacreontea*; some more epigrams, mostly already contained in the epigrammatic anthology.[8] The compilers of this manuscript therefore added to Cephalas' book some epigrammatic and ekphrastic material, plus a collection of poems written in anacreontic meter. No cuts are detectable: Christodorus of Coptus' *Ekphrasis on the Statues of the Baths of Zeuxippus* was not removed by the scribes of the Palatinus, but included in the epigrammatic anthology. Since the *Anacreontea* were thought to be all by Anacreon, the overall slant of the collection remained the same as Cephalas'

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4 Of course, this is not entirely true for the contents of the epigrammatic anthology, which includes some poems in different meters. Still, elegiacs (and hexameters) were largely the more common and characterizing meters of epigrammatic literature.

5 The manuscript was split in modern times with a completely artificial cut not respectful of the contents, and its two parts are now kept in two different libraries.

6 For the different scribes who contributed to the manuscript see Agati 1984. On the various parts and the completion of the manuscript, see Preisendanz 1911, lxxviii–cix; Irigoin 1997, 94–96; van Dieten 1993–94. Cameron (1993, 300–328) proposed to identify the *maître d'oeuvre*–indicated with the letter J in modern editions of the *Anthologia Palatina*–with Constantine of Rhodes (see also Lauxtermann 2003, 84).

7 Although the index (see Preisendanz 1911, xliv-lii and Aubreton 1968, 47–56) shows some other inconsistences with the actual contents of the manuscript, there is no serious reason to think that the *Paraphrase* was never copied in the Palatinus; we can assume that at some point it was detached for a yet unclear reason. For this kind of physical modifications of MTMs see also below, pp. 205–206 and n. 15.

8 Some of these epigrams were inserted to fill the last quire of the *Anacreontea*; some others probably represented the last part of the epigrammatic anthology and were wrongly bound; the last group is a choice from the funerary epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus already included in the epigrammatic anthology.

(ancient poetry), while the uniformity of meters was disturbed. The book bears some traces of a 'work on the texts', mostly performed by the *maître d'œuvre* who coordinated the completion of the manuscript, and by a contemporary corrector who collated the Palatinus with another copy of Cephalas' book.[9] Some marginal notes in the manuscript show that both these scholars were directly acquainted with Cephalas: they had probably been his pupils, or his younger colleagues.[10] Therefore, Cephalas' book and its first copy were chronologically close and were produced in the same context. They represent a significant and very representative output of the so-called 'prémier humanisme byzantin',[11] when special attention was given to ancient texts.

The other descendant of Cephalas' book is a manuscript written entirely by Maximus Planudes by September 1301: the Marcianus Graecus 481.[12] It contained the following texts: *Cephalas' epigram anthology (rearranged: it is the *Anthologia Planudea*); *<Sylloge Theognidea>*; Monostich gnomes (the so-called *Menandri Sententiae*); Leo Magister's poem on the Pythian hot springs (wrongly attributed in this manuscript to Paulus Silentiarius); some other epigrams and short poems, mostly didactic; an appendix to the epigram anthology; *Nonnus of Panopolis' *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*, preceded and followed by some other short poems. At the very end of the manuscript, a few short prose texts (the index of Plutarch's works and a grammatical note by Planudes) disrupt the 'whole poetic' nature of the manuscript.

The presence of an appendix to the epigrammatic anthology tells something about the history of this MTM: after having prepared the collection that opens the manuscript, Planudes was able to use another copy of Cephalas' book, and to extract from it another good number of epigrams (at least his first exemplar—and probably also the second—was therefore incomplete). He rearranged these epigrams in the same way as he did for the others, and copied them in his manuscript with some instruction to merge them with the 'first part' of the anthology in future copies.[13]

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9 On the final redaction of the manuscript see above n. 6. On the corrector (indicated with the letter c in modern editions) see Preisendanz 1911, cx–cxl; Cameron 1993, 103–104, 108–113, 116–120.
10 See Cameron 1993, 108–116.
11 The definition of this period comes from the title of the still most accomplished (even if much discussed) attempt to describe it (Lemerle 1971).
12 The *subscriptio* of the manuscript bears an inconsistency between the year of indiction (1299) and the *anno mundi* (1301): on this matter see Cameron 1993, 76–77, and Maltomini 2008, 11 n. 2. For a description of the manuscript see Turyn 1972, I 90–96.
13 The first manuscript in which this merging was done is the Parisinus Graecus 2744, written by Demetrius Triclinius about 20 years after the Marcianus.

In the Marcianus as we have it, the numbering of pages and quires shows a gap. The original full contents of the manuscript are reconstructable thanks to another manuscript: the Londinensis British Library Add. 16409. This manuscript—a 'twin' of the Marcianus produced in the Planudean circle and bearing interventions probably by Planudes himself—[14] reveals that the lost pages of the Marcianus contained the *Sylloge Theognidea*.[15]

Planudes modified a part of Cephalas' book by substantially rearranging the epigram collection. Also, he copied in his MTM some more ancient poetic texts, chosen, it seems, on the basis of mixed criteria of form and content. As for the form: both the *Sylloge Theognidea* and the *Menandri Sententiae* are, like the epigram anthology, made up of short pieces. As for the contents, besides maintaining the focus on ancient poetry already present in Cephalas,[16] Planudes privileged moral and descriptive subjects.[17] But these features do not correspond to a clear structure of the whole book. The Marcianus was primarily a 'workbook' and continued to be used as such over the years by its creator and owner.[18] In cases like that, where the 'accumulation' of textual material is so important, it would be very interesting to know not just the date of the accomplishment of the manuscript registered in the *subscriptio*, but also all the 'intermediate dates' which marked its growth and modifications.

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14 At first, the Londinensis was possibly intended as a copy of the Marcianus, but the comparison between the two manuscripts shows how the work on them was continued even later: some corrections (possibly by Planudes himself) were inserted in both manuscripts, while other interventions on the text are detectable in the Marcianus but not in the Londinensis, and vice versa. On this manuscript see Young 1955, 203–205; Turyn 1972–73, 417–419, 424; Cameron 1993, 345–350.

15 Young 1955, 203–204. Detaching these pages from the manuscript may have been a later choice by Planudes himself or by another owner who did not like the presence of the *Sylloge* in the manuscript; or (and perhaps more probably), the lacuna was produced by somebody who wanted to take possession of that work and physically extracted it from the manuscript (possibly rebinding it with other material to form a new, and now lost, MTM: this kind of 'recombination' is far from rare). The second hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that the extraction of the *Sylloge* left the *Menandri Sententiae* headless: something that Planudes, or a later owner of the Marcianus, might have avoided or fixed. For the physical modification of MTMs along their history, see also above n. 7.

16 Planudes was not aware that the poem on the Pythian hot springs was actually by Leo Magister and therefore Byzantine.

17 Thus, it is somewhat surprising that Planudes did not include Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphraseis* present in Cephalas' book. However, what happened with the epigrammatic anthology (see above p. 204) shows that the copies of Cephalas' book which Planudes was able to use were not in perfect condition.

18 The same is also true for the Londinensis: see above, n. 14.

It might be worthwhile to compare the features of the Marcianus with those of the two other poetic MTMs produced by Planudes and his entourage: together, they perfectly show how the collaboration between several people within the same cultural milieu led, especially in the Palaeologan era (1261–1453), to the production of MTMs.[19] The first manuscript is the famous Laurentianus 32.16 (copied around 1280–1283).[20] Planudes contributed only in part to the writing of this manuscript, collaborating with several other scholars/scribes; it was him, nonetheless, who shaped the book and 'signed it' in two *subscriptiones* inserted at different stages of the work. These *subscriptiones*, together with the contents of the manuscript, show that Planudes aimed at creating a book of hexametric poetry—mostly epic, didascalic and bucolic.[21] The original 'core' of the manuscript (followed by the first *subscriptio* dated to 1280) contained Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*; Theocritus' *Idyllia*; Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*; Hesiodus' *Erga*, *Theogonia* and *Scutum*; Oppian of Apamea *Cynegetica* and Oppian of Anazarbus' *Halieutica*. The second part (followed by the second *subscriptio*, probably written shortly after 1283) contains Moschus' poems; Nicander's *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca*; and Triphiodorus' *Ilii Excidium*. The very last part of the manuscript was added in the same milieu but a little later, and it contains some more poetic texts (Pseudo-Phocylides *Sententiae* and a collection of epigrams), which are less consistent with the rest of the book: once again, the MTM continues its evolution even after what was intended as the 'final word' had been written.

The second poetic MTM (still in need of an in-depth analysis) is the Vaticanus Graecus 915, completed before 1311.[22] It was written by several scribes[23], and it bears no direct interventions by Planudes' hand, but shows unmistakable contacts (both textual and palaeographic) with his 'circle'. The range of authors and works included is huge: Eudocia's *Homerocentones*; a summary of the *Iliad*; Theocritus' *Syrinx*; Orphic *Sententiae*; *Sylloge Theognidea*; Pseudo-Phocylides' *Sententiae*; Moschus' *Europa*; Musaeus' *Hero et Leander*; some excerpts from

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19 On this subject, see Bianconi 2004.

20 The manuscript is described in Turyn 1972, I 28–39.

21 On this and other Byzantine manuscripts representing collections of specific genres see Canfora 1995, 230–233, Bianconi 2004, 324–362. It is worth noting that the other (not numerous) attempts at collecting various works of the same kind in the same manuscript mostly involved technical texts.

22 Useful information on this manuscript is provided in Pontani 2005, 293–297 (with previous bibliography). For the codicological description see Schreiner 1988, 125–137.

23 Schreiner 1988, 134 distinguished eight different scribes. Two of them have inserted subscriptiones 'closing' different parts of the manuscript: they bear no dates, but it is clear that the actual MTM is the product of collaboration and progressive accumulation of material.

Eusthathius commentary in Dionysius Periegetes; Constantinus Manasses' *Versus in Darium*; *Menandri Sententiae*; some of Pindar's *Epinicia*; Hesiodus' *Erga* and *Theogonia*; Lycophron's *Alexandra*, Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*, Dionysius Periegetes' *Orbis Descriptio*, Theocritus' *Idyllia*; some passages of judicial and rhetoric content (representing prose 'intruders'); John Tzetzes' *Antehomerica*, *Homerica* and *Posthomerica*. The boundaries of genres are not clear, and the chronological spectrum is not limited to ancient poets (some Byzantine authors are consciously included), but a predominance of Homeric material and a remarkable attention to gnomic texts are noticeable. Moreover, many texts are accompanied by scholiastic material and commentaries useful for their study.

Even if they were not conceived as an actual 'set', the three Planudean MTMs we have seen cover a huge part of the ancient poetic texts known at that time.[24] Still, they were primarily conceived as a mean to 'accumulate' texts that shared some detectable but rather general features.[25] Even the Laurentianus, one of the highest 'specialised manuscripts' of the Byzantine era, does not aim at proper completeness or at entire coherence.

The primary function of MTMs as 'collectors' of texts does not foster stability, and Cephalas' book and its descendants confirm the already well-known general picture of how MTMs were handled. [26] The analysis of the changes occurring from copy to copy shows many interventions operated mostly through additions: the only 'replica' in the group of manuscripts we are dealing with is the Londinensis, which was copied in the same context as the Marcianus and was probably conceived as a fair copy of it; but even in the Londinensis, subsequent modifications were introduced within few years, so that model and copy, although remaining in the same milieu, partially underwent separate evolutions.[27]

It is worth noting that, in the examples we have seen, the bulk of Cephalas' book (the epigram anthology and Nonnus' *Paraphrase*) stays the same in its descendants even if the connection between the two texts is not particularly strong. And even if the different additions to this 'core' inserted in the two descendants of Cephalas seem to seek a certain, generic coherence, the reshaping

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[24] Many texts are copied in two of these three MTMs. There is no overlap, however, between the two of them that show the direct intervention of Planudes (the Marcianus, all by his hand, and the Laurentianus, partially copied by him).

[25] For some other MTMs sharing the same characteristics see Canfora 1995 and Bianconi 2004.

[26] Maniaci 2004, 107; Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2010. This awareness has triggered, in the last fifteen years, many interesting studies: see the rich bibliography and discussion provided by Crisci / Pecere 2004, Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013 and Friedrich / Schwarke 2016.

[27] See above n. 14.

of contents does not correspond with any substantial attempt at improving internal consistency.

The work on the texts proceeded in parallel with manuscript production and occurred in contexts of cultural vibrancy. It is not by chance that the two most important operations in the Byzantine transmission of the epigrammatic literature (the compilation of a huge anthology and, later, its rearrangement) were carried out in the ninth century and in the Palaeologan age respectively. And it should be emphasized that both Cephalas' and Planudes' books, besides gathering poetic texts, were also the means to record the respective 'versions' of relevant collections.

It might therefore be interesting to compare MTMs *and* anthologies, two products so common in (and characteristic of) the Byzantine era.[28] Both were created within the same cultural framework, and both were based on the same principles: selection and arrangement of originally independent elements. We may try to verify if they were conceived and treated in the same way, focusing on the epigrammatic anthology created by Cephalas and included (and handled in a variety of ways) in the MTMs we have seen.

Cephalas used several earlier collections and arranged the material extracted from them into thematic books, each devoted to a broad subject: erotic (heterosexual) poems, votive, funerary, epideictic, ekphrastic, moral, sympotic and scoptic, erotic (pederotic and homosexual).[29] Cephalas found a similar organisation in one of his sources and probably judged it useful to manage the huge quantity of epigrammatic material he dealt with. He also added to this 'core' some other materials based on previous collections: a book of Christian epigrams was put at the very beginning, and poems of epigraphic provenance were included in the funerary book.[30] There is no strict or homogeneous arrangement within each thematic book: Cephalas conceived his collection as a (didactic?) 'stroll' through the various (sub)genres of epigrammatic literature, a container offering the reader a wide panorama of the rich and diverse ancient production.[31]

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28 On the so-called 'letteratura di raccolta' see Piccione 2003 and Piccione / Perkams 2003 (and especially the general introduction of the book). About the encyclopedic attitude in the Byzantine era see the important observations by Odorico 1990 and the treatment of this aspect in Van Deun / Macé 2011.

29 For the specific structure of each of these main books see the scheme in Cameron 1993, xvi. Cephalas also included a group of epigrams in 'unusual meters' and, possibly, some arithmetical problems in verse and some oracles (on the presence of this last section in Cephalas see Maltomini 2008, 189–195).

30 See the detailed reconstruction proposed by Lauxtermann 2007.

31 This attitude is explicitly stated in the short prefaces that open each book and that were written, in all probability, by Cephalas himself (see Maltomini 2011).

The scribes of the *Anthologia Palatina* did not substantially modify Cephalas' epigrammatic anthology, whose structure remained the same. They nonetheless added some material to it,[32] thus treating the epigram collection and the whole MTM in the same way: the original structure was not altered but significantly enlarged.

Planudes acted in a very different manner. He maintained the book division, just implementing some changes to Cephalas' structure: he eliminated the whole book of homosexual epigrams (while the heterosexual erotic book was drastically reduced, but maintained), and he merged the epideictic and the protreptic books. The major interventions were applied to the internal arrangement of the books: judging his model quite disordered,[33] Planudes divided each book in many 'chapters', each one devoted to a specific subject and equipped with a title; the chapters were put in alphabetical order (by title) inside each book. So, for example, the third book (devoted to funerary epigrams), is articulated in 32 chapters[34] on various 'categories of dead men' (e.g. athletes, women, wreckage victims, poets, philosophers, etc.). While reworking his model that way, Planudes eliminated some epigrams which were similar to others (and therefore 'superfluous'), and, as I have already mentioned, suppressed many erotic pieces that were in his opinion obscene and could not be 'corrected' so as to become more acceptable. Planudes' work on the anthology was therefore very intrusive and produced a strictly ordered (and bowdlerised) collection. With regard to the research carried out for this paper, it is important to observe that Planudes also rearranged in a very similar way another collection included in the Marcianus: the monostich gnomes known as 'Menandri Sententiae.' He created several thematic *kephalaia* containing all the monostichs on a same subject, and put them in alphabetical order.[35] The operations performed by Planudes on these collections have to be contextualized in the broader picture of the activities of this central figure of the so-called Palaeologan

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32 Christodorus of Coptus' *Ekphrasis on the Statues of the Baths of Zeuxippus* (possibly already present in the book of Cephalas: see above p. 194) was incorporated in the epigrammatic anthology, and the funerary poems by Gregory of Nazianzus were copied at the end of Cephalas' funerary book. See above p. 195 and n. 8 for the additions at the end of the anthology.

33 This opinion is explicitly expressed by Planudes in a note in the Marcianus. He does not mention Cephalas as the compiler of the anthology, and we are not able to determine if this was an intentional omission or if he was not aware of this information.

34 28 in the first part of the anthology, and four more in the second part later added (see above p. 204).

35 On the Planudean 'edition' of the *Menandri Sententiae* see Pernigotti 2008, 101–152.

Renaissance.[36] Planudes was a tireless seeker of ancient literary works (he rediscovered some important texts that were no longer known in Byzantium) and a learned –if not always cautious or respectful–editor of them: it is well-known how he and his co-workers played a crucial role in the transmission of ancient literature through the Byzantine era. Besides being a censor, the 'Dr. Bowdler of Byzantium' (as Douglas Young has called him)[37] was also a systematiser: these two attitudes are combined in his treatment of the epigram anthology and obtained a great success. The *Planudean Anthology* was copied many times and it remained basically stable along its transmission, replacing Cephalas' collection and representing *the* epigrammatic anthology for several centuries.[38]

Anthologies therefore show the possible role played by authority and structure: an anthology made by an authoritative compiler (Cephalas for the people who created the Palatinus; Planudes for his co-workers and for the next generations) is more *protected*, less liable to modifications and therefore more stable. A structure based on thematic books such as the one chosen by Cephalas was in line with the Byzantine mindset, and was therefore maintained in its descendants. And a rigid structure such as that built up by Planudes within the thematic books is less exposed to the risk of intrusive modification than a loose one.

As we have seen, the attitude towards MTMs does not develop such a tendency to stabilisation: even Planudes, the systematiser *par excellence*, was not interested in creating MTMs arranged according to a 'strong' structure.[39] The treatment of anthologies (texts) and of MTMs (containers of texts) seems, in this respect, different, and it might point to a difference between these two kinds of products in the Byzantine era. The texts were the object of careful work, and several collections (made of smaller pieces and potentially fluid) were assembled and modified to reach what was thought to be their *best shape*. The MTMs, on the other hand, were basically the instrument to perform preserve and, possibly, circulate this

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36 For a sketch of this period and of its main scholars see Pontani 2015, 403–434. On Planudes see specifically 409–415 and Ferroni 2015, 9–22, with previous bibliography.

37 Young 1955, 206. On Planudes' attitude to censorship and bowdlerization (also intended as means to integrate classical literature in the culture of his time) see Karla 2006.

38 The *Anthologia Palatina* remained unknown for many centuries, and until its 'rediscovery' at the beginning of the seventeenth century (see Aubreton 1980), the *Planudean Anthology* represented the most complete source for ancient epigrammatic poetry.

39 The case of manuscripts containing several works *of the same author* is obviously different, as is well shown by Planudes' treatment of Plutarch's works. Planudes handled this corpus with the systematising attitude he applied to collections, and he entrusted his work to some beautifully produced manuscripts: the Parisinus Graecus 1671 and the Parisinus Graecus 1674 + Vaticanus Graecus 139 (see Manfredini 1992).

work; any attempt of internal coherence is not pursued with particular attention, and might be swiftly altered.

One last observation applies to how MTMs may prove useful to understand the perception and the use of certain texts. As a matter of fact, one and the same literary work has often been connected, in different moments or contexts, to different 'literary categories' and to different purposes. In the case of epigrammatic literature, these changes are reflected both in the contents of anthologies and in the contents of MTMs including these anthologies. Evidence in this respect is provided not only by the big anthologies we have dealt with in this article, but also by the so-called *Syllogae Minores*, much smaller collections deriving mainly from Cephalas' and Planudes' anthologies and transmitted in several MTMs from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.[40] Until the end of the thirteenth century, the whole wide range of topics covered by the epigrammatic literature was reflected in the collections: this was, as we have seen, one of the aims—and possibly the more important—of Cephalas' selection. From Planudes onwards (and especially after him, in the *Syllogae Minores* deriving from his anthology), the selection privileged epigrams having a moral content. Moral in a wide, but nonetheless limited, sense: the compilers chose those epigrams that, in their opinion, tell something about human life and provide short and useful reflections, so that the epideictic and protreptic genres were the most appreciated.[41] The radical cuts operated by Planudes to the erotic material are certainly revealing, and another meaningful example is provided by the *Syllogae* indicated in modern editions with the sigla E and Σ^π.[42] They both derive from a common source (an abridged copy of Cephalas) but have a significantly different slant: Σ^π, written during the twelfth century, bears some erotic epigrams, while E, transmitted in manuscripts of the end of the fifteenth century, ignores them.

If, in parallel, we look at the overall content of MTMs including epigrams anthologies, we see that this change of perception (and/or use) of epigrammatic literature is entirely confirmed: in manuscripts down to the late thirteenth century (including Planudes' Marcianus), epigram collections are associated with other poetic texts, so that a formal criterion seems to prevail; when principles involving contents are applied, the epigram seems to be perceived mostly as a descriptive genre. Later, epigrams are mostly associated with texts of a moral content, and they often appear also in MTMs conceived for an educational purpose.[43]

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40 On these small collections see Maltomini 2008.

41 See Maltomini 2008, 185–186.

42 On the nature and contents of these two collections, see Maltomini 2008, 79–110.

43 Maltomini 2008, 185–187.

This same approach is applicable to any text transmitted in MTMs, representing another interesting way to use the evidence provided by this kind of manuscripts.

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Lucia Raggetti

Rolling Stones Do Gather: MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 and Its Collection of Mineralogical Texts

Abstract: In the multiple-text manuscript (MTM) Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, around a peculiar recension of the Pseudo-Aristotle *On Stones*, a constellation of texts dealing with stones, mineral and their use has gathered. This collection of texts represents an anthology of many different streams of tradition received in the early Abbasid time by the Arabo-Islamic cultural milieu, alongside with some of original compositions from the same period inspired by the reception of ancient and late-antique knowledge. The comparison with another MTM on stones, Paris BnF 2775, shows the formation of clusters of texts around a central one—that becomes the driving force of the collection—and their circulation as such. The focus on the layout and other codicological features of Aya Sofya 3610 reveals an interest for some of these technical materials in the late Mamluk time and hints at their possible inclusion in the Mamluk curriculum.

1 The collection of texts

The multiple-text manuscript (MTM) Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 transmits the most inclusive version of the Pseudo-Aristotle (hereafter Ps. Aristotle) *On Stones*, along with a number of other technical texts about stones, minerals, and their manipulation.[1]

The elements of its textual architecture represent a *summa* of the different streams of tradition collected in the early Abbasid period (ninth to tenth century), deeply embedded in the multilingual atmosphere of the translation movement. These texts deal with minerals, stones, talismans, amulets, and mineral ingredients for medicine and alchemy.

Regardless of the fact that these texts were either composed anew in Arabic, or inspired by foreign texts—whose actual translation into Arabic remains ques-

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1 For a general overview of the contents and its indirect tradition in Arabic, see Ullmann 1972a, 105–110; and Käs 2010, I 5–7. Recently, Fabian Käs has mentioned the Ps. Aristotle among the sources for al-Maqrīzī's essay on stones, in the hope of gaining more attention for MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, see Käs 2015, 25–26.

tionable—almost all of them are, indeed, presented as translations of non-Arabic materials. This transfer of knowledge implies a refined cultural operation to recontextualise the text in the cultural milieu of reception, adapting it to the new readership.

(a) *Kitāb al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aḥǧār*—'The book of gems and stones' (fols 1r–128v)

At the end of the third book of the *Meteorologica*, Aristotle announced his intention to present, one by one, the minerals and stones whose genesis had just been explained in general terms. He never fulfilled this promise, but in the early Abbasid period a text was composed in Arabic—and then attributed to Aristotle—to fill this gap left by 'the Master of logic'. MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 preserves the more inclusive version attested in the manuscript tradition, which counts several other witnesses.[2] This is the first and more extended text in this MTM—the only one mentioned in the titlepiece as well—and, probably, the one that attracted the other materials on stones and minerals.

In the introduction, Ps. Aristotle's *Book on stones* is presented as a compilation of materials transmitted along a line that connects Hermes to Aristotle. The manuscript tradition, more generally, presents this text both as a translation and as an abridgement of the alleged Aristotelian original, produced by a *mufassir* (compiler), which is said to count seven hundred stones:[3]

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2 See Ruska 1912. The text transmitted by MS Paris BnF Ar. 2772 represents the main stream of the tradition, which counts several other witnesses, see Ullmann 1972a, 105. Though quantity is not everything, the fact that MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 counts 114 entries against the 72 of the Paris version edited by Ruska gives an idea of the degree of difference between the different recensions.

3 In the early Abbasid context, *mufassir* may be intended as 'translator'. In this meaning, for instance, the words appears in the incipit of the ninth-century Arabic translation of Euclid's *Elements*, a copy of which is preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript now in the Leiden collection, MS Leiden Or. 399. See Witkam 1978, 16–17; and Witkam 2007, No. 399. In this particular case, the *mufassir* appears to have conducted other operations as well, namely the selection of materials in order to abridge the alleged Aristotelian original. MS Paris BnF Ar. 2772 mentions the name of the book's alleged translator, Lūqā Son of Serapion (*tarǧamahū Lūqā ibn Isrāfiyūn*), See Ruska 1912, 93 and 126; see also Ullmann 1971, 295. In MS Istanbul Sehid Ali Pasha 1840 (fol. 1v), a preliminary remark to the introduction reads: 'This book is an abridgement (*muḫtaṣar*) in which we mention the useful properties of stones ascribed to Aristotle the Wise and philosopher, that Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik composed/compiled (*fassarahū*) from the "Book of the Useful Properties of Stones" by Ṣumāḥus the Greek, and that [Muḥammad] translated into Arabic'.

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fols 1v–3r — Introduction

I collected in this book of mine many writings on stones from a number of books, and everything that is described in the discourse of the 'Light of Science', Aristotle the Wise, who took from the book of Hermes the Wise.

فاني جمعت في كتابي هذا كتب الاحجار من عدة كتب والجميع يصفون من قول نور العلم ارسطاطاليس الحكيم المستخرج من كتاب هرمس الحكيم

It is said that the stones on earth are much more than what can be described or encompassed with a [single] science, and among them there are indeed noble and incisive sciences.

Among them, there are precious stones, stones that sharpen the mind, stones with a spirit and stones with a body, and I have described their substances, their properties, their colours, their varieties, their bodies, their mines, their formation, the manipulation of their colours, the effects of their influence.

يقول ان احجار الارض اكثر من ان توصف او يحيط بها علما وان فيها علوم شريفة ثاقبة

ومنها احجار نفسانية واحجار روحانية واحجار جسدانية وقد وصفت فيها جواهرها وخواصها والوانها واجناسها واجسامها ومعادنها وتكوينها وتلوينها وتاثيراتها

And so, the one who reads in this book of mine must reflect on it with his rational mind; not making fun of it, but considering it as a treasure for future generations.

فالمطلع في كتابي هذا يتميز فيه بعقله ولا يهزوا به وتجعله ذخيرة لعقب عقب

Each entry describes a stone or mineral and its varieties (usually identified on a chromatic basis), the places it is mined, followed by its medical and alchemical usage. Although the classification is not entirely consistent, the entries are arranged in larger groups (animal stones, magnets, etc.). The different components of the texts (varieties, mining places, medical and alchemical properties) were collected from different sources that can be tentatively identified: the Hermetic tradition, Sotakos (third–fourth century) for the geography of the mining places, the *Lithognomon* of Xenocrates of Ephesus for the animal stones, and the *Physika* of Democritus for the properties.[4]

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4 See Ullmann 1972a, 96–101; Ullmann 1972b; Ullmann 1973; and van Bladel 2009, 121–132.

The arrangement of the section devoted to metals and minerals follows the alchemical classification of these substances: (1) the seven metals that melt; (2) metals derived from those that melt; and (3) minerals in the form of powder. Below is an example from this last section, the entry for arsenic (*zarnīḫ*)

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fols 120r–121r

Property of arsenic

<div dir="rtl">

نعت حجر الزرنيخ

</div>

Arsenic has many colours; there is the red, the yellow, and the dust-coloured one. If it is mixed with lime, it removes the hair and becomes a deadly poison.

<div dir="rtl">

الزرنيخ الوان كثيرة فمنه الاحمر والاصفر والاغبر واذا جمع مع الكلس حلق الشعر وصار سما قاتلا

</div>

As for the red variety, like the golden one, if one of the two is calcified until it whitens and melts copper, and then a bit of borax is added to it, this whitens it [copper], improves its appearance, and makes it easier to break into pieces. With its foul smell it chases [people] away. This is a mineral that has many mining places.

<div dir="rtl">

فاما الاحمر كالذهبية ومن كلس احدهما حتى يبيض وسبك النحاس والقي عليه شىء من بورق بيضه وحسنه وحسن كسره واذهب برائحته المنتنة وهي حجارة لها معادن كثيرة

</div>

If it is burnt with fire and rubbed on the teeth, it will be useful to them, and avoid the [need for] drilling; even more arsenic enters in the [alchemical] art, and for those who paint on wood[5] and in ointments.

<div dir="rtl">

واذا احرق بالنار ودلك به الاسنان نفعها واذهب بالحفر واكثر ما يدخل الزرنيخ في الصنعة وللداهنون في الخشب وفي المراهم

</div>

(b) *Naʿt al-sabʿat aḥğār*[in]—'Property of the seven stones' (fols 129r–137v)[6]

Though this text is not a translation, it is definitely inspired by a Pahlawi lapidary, a fragment of which can also be found in the Turfan collection, in 'runic turc', and in a Sogdian manuscript of the Paris collection.[7] The Pahlawi text presents a series of six coloured stones that —either independently, or as a result of the moist substance that they release when scraped—have a number of properties. The series of six stones is repeated six times, providing details of the

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5 See Kazimirski 1860, I 745; and Lane 1863-1893, III 926–927.

6 The title given in the *explicit* (fol. 136v) is *Kitāb ḫawāṣṣ al-sabʿat aḥğār*[in].

7 See de Menasce 1942/1945; Ullmann 1972a, 102–104; and van Bladel 2009, 23–25.

properties of the differently coloured stones, and, only once per series, of the moist substance that they secrete.

In the Arabic recension of this text, the materials are enlarged and rearranged in a new textual structure, shared by all the manuscript witnesses to this text, notwithstanding its fluid tradition.[8] The Arabic series counts one stone more—a dark blue one—and the innovation in the structural patterns is that the stones are dealt with one by one, and that their power is always conveyed by their moist secretion. That is to say, for each stone, the text details the properties of the six differently coloured secretions (all the colours except for the colour of the stone in question) produced by scraping it.[9]

In the Pahlawi tradition, the series of stones concludes with the stone that has seven colours. In the Arabic version, this last almighty rainbow stone introduces the following section, otherwise the stones would have become eight.

Below is a comparative table, in which the Pahlawi and the Arabic traditions, with their different structures, are displayed side by side.

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8 Apart from the version of MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, other manuscript witnesses to this text are MS Paris BnF Ar. 2775, fols 114r–116v and fols 96r–101r. For the non-casual order of the list of colours, the so-called Geiger's series, see Deutscher 2011, 25–77, in particular 44–45: 'On the basis of a few ancient texts and supported only by inspired inferences from some faint etymological traces, he thus reconstructs a complete chronological sequence for the emergence of sensitivity to different prismatic colours. Mankind's perception of colour, he says, increased "according to the schema of the colour spectrum": first came the sensitivity to red, then to yellow, then to green, and only finally to blue and violet. The most remarkable thing about it all, he adds, is that this development seems to have occurred in exactly the same order in different cultures all over the world. Thus, in Geiger's hands, Gladstone's discoveries about colour deficiencies in one ancient culture are transformed into a systematic scenario for the evolution of the colour sense in the whole human race. Geiger went further than Gladstone in one other crucial respect. [...] Gladstone has simply taken it as read that the colours on Homer's tongue matched exactly the distinctions his eye was able to perceive. [...] Geiger, on the other hand, realised that the relation between the perception of colour and its expression in language was an issue in need of addressing'.

9 The Arabic version could accommodate the new contents in the Pahlawi structure, by adding one stone to each series, and the respective colour liquids to each stone. The context of reception, however, opted for a different structure, or, alternatively, to had access to a different version of the Pahlawi text. My impression, however, is that similar rearrangements of textual blocks into new structures happened when the materials were transmitted across language boundaries. If one considers Geiger's argument of some value, the use of a different language may have opened new dimensions for the expression of the same core meaning.

	Pahlawi	**Arabic**
Number of Stones	6	7
Colours	bright (transparent) black yellow red greenish sky blue	white black yellow red sky blue <u>indigo blue</u> green (leek)
Order of the entries	The series of six stones is repeated six times, starting each time with a different colour.	Stones are dealt with one by one, with the list of the effects of the moist substance secreted in six different colours (always in the same order).
Moist substance	It is always white, occurs only once in each series, always in the second position, associated, in turn, with all the different stones.	It may take all the colours except for the one of the stone that releases it; its colours are in the same order used for the stones.

Here follows a sample from the text relating to the dark blue stone, added by the Arabic tradition, but nevertheless perfectly incorporated in the textual structure. Its peculiarity only emerges from a comparative perspective.

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fols 134v–135v

Property of the blue stone, like the colour of indigo

If you scrape it and the moist substance that comes from it when it is scraped is white, and if it is ground into the name of a woman, then she will love and follow [the man who does this].
And if women apply it as a salve onto the eyes of their husbands, then they will love them.

If the moist substance that comes out of it when it is scraped is black, then the people will honour [the one who uses it], and none of his orders will be disobeyed

And if the moist substance that comes out of it when it is scraped is yellow, then the one who wears it will become illustrious in all he does, and this will redouble any good thing that comes his way.
And if the moist substance that comes from it when it is scraped is red, anytime the one who has [the stone] turns it, then this will cause good luck, also financially.

If the moist substance that comes from it when it is scraped is the colour of the sky, then take it with you, since it is said that it will make [you] gentle.

And if the moist substance that comes from it when it is scraped is green, when the one holding it sits among the people, then they will honour him as long as the stone remains with him.

نعت الحجر الازرق كلون النيل

اذا حككته وخرج ماء المحك ابيض اذا سُحق منه على اسم امرأة احبتْه وتعبتْه

وان اكتحل به النساء لازواجهن احبهن

وان خرج ماء المحك اسود يُكرم عند الناس ولا يُعصى له امرًا

وان خرج ماء المحك اصفر شرف لابسها على ما يصاحب ويُثنى عليه بكل خير

وان خرج ماء المحك احمر حيث ما توجّه صاحبها اصاب خيرا وفي المعاش

وان خرج ماء المحك بلون السماء فلا تتخذها معك وقيل يكون حليمًا

وان خرج ماء المحك اخضرا اذا جلس بين قوم اكرموه ما دام الحجر معه

(c) *Nat' al-ḫarazat al-madʿūwa ǧawharān šāh bi-l-lisān al-fārisī* (**'property of the stone that is called *ǧawharān šāh* in Persian', fols 136v–137v)** — *wa-hāḏā ḥaǧar aḫar* (**'and another stone', fols 137v–138v)** — *naʿt ḥaǧar al-ṣunūnū* (**'property of the *al-ṣunūnū* bird stone', fols 138v–139r)** — *ḥaǧar al-ʿuqāb* (**'eagle stone', fol. 139r)** — *al-ḥaǧar allaḏī yaksiru al-zuǧāǧ* (**'stone that breaks glass', fol. 139v)** — *al-naʿt al-ḥaǧar al-zarzūrī* (**'property of the grey stone with white spots', fol. 139v).**

The 'rainbow' stone, as anticipated, introduces a new text, and paves the way to other materials on animal stones and talismanic engravings. They are different from the animals with a stony nature mentioned in the Ps. Aristotle (the crab, for instance, or the sea urchin). Indeed, those mentioned here are stones found inside the body of particular animals, bezoars collected from animals other than goats.

Plausible sources for this kind of material is, again, the *Lithognomon* of Xenocrates of Ephesus, and the *Physika* of Democritus.[10] Below is a section on the properties of the stone found inside a bird.

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fols 138v–139r

Property of the *ṣunūnū* bird stone

It is said that it can be found in their nests, and it is also said that it can be found in their craws, it is beneficial for watery and drum-like dropsy, and it is beneficial for jaundice.

نعت حجر الصنونو

قيل انه يوجد في اعشاشهم وقيل يوجد في
حواصلهم وهو يُصلح للاستسقاء المائى
والطبلي ويصلح لليرقان

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10 See Ullmann 1972a, 98–99; Ullmann 1972b; and Ullmann 1973.

(d) *Bāb fī asmāʾ ḫaraz al-ʿArab* — 'Chapter about the names of the beads among the Arabs' (fols 139v–143v)

Stones and minerals are perhaps one of the lesser productive fields of Arabic lexicography, when compared with records on other natural kingdoms. The characterization of the stones in lexicography is poetic, rather than technical.[11] The lexicographers did not record names of stones, but rather adjectives and expressions to which they refer. The stones are grouped and described based on their shape, colour, dimension, hardness, etc.[12] The intention to present all the talismanic lore connected to stones as an original Arabic product is clearly detectable in this short text. It gives voice, particularly to Arab women who claim they are capable of seducing their men by use of talismans and spells. The text is preceded by an introduction attributed to 'the philosopher', referring perhaps to the same Aristotle mentioned in the title page.[13]

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fols 139v–141r and fol. 142r

The philosopher said: the sign of the opinion of the Ancients about the talismanic stones that we see, and the stones and the beads in our present time comes from the great number of engravings and figures that connect each stone to its variety, but they do not know what it is good for this, since they only appreciate its colours and its engraving.

قال الفيلسوف والدليل على مذهب الاوائل في الخرز ما نرى عليه والحجارة والخرز في زماننا هذا من كَثْرة النقوش والصُوَر ينسبون كل خرزةٍ الى جنسه ولم يعملوا انما يَصلح له ويستحسنون الوانه ونقْشه

They do not know the meaning unless you consider that the Arabs had already mentioned the beads, their varieties, their effects in their poems, and their spells. They also prescribed wearing them, according to the opinion of the Ancients, as talismans and spells; they hung them round the necks of their children and of their women, on the necks of their horses, camels, sheep, and

ولا يعلمون المعنى الا ترى انّ العرب قد ذكرت الخرز واجناسه وافعاله في اشعارهم ورقائهم وامروا بلِبْسهم على مذهب القدماء في الطلسمات والرقاء ويُعلّقونها في اعناق اولادهم ونسائهم وفي

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[11] The only poetical quotation (two verses) in MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 is, in fact, on fol. 141r.

[12] See Ullmann 1972a, 96–97.

[13] 'The philosopher' is not mentioned in another copy of the text transmitted in MS Paris BnF Ar. 2775, fols 99r–101r.

other animals.	اعناق الخيل والابل والغنم وغيرها من الحيوان
Arab women maintain that they attract the desires of men by wearing the stones and their spells. And the women use to say: 'we catch our men with our stones and our spells'.	وتزعم نساء العرب انهم يجلبون اهوا الرجال بلبس الخرز ورقائها وقالت العامرية انا ناخذ رجالنا بخرزنا ورقائنا
[...]	
As for the *al-qīla*, this is a white gem that is usually hung on the neck of horses.	اما القيلة فخرز عريض ابيض يجعل في اعناق الخيل يقال قد عَلق فرسه بقيلة
As for the *al-zarqāʾ*,[14] *al-kaḥla*,[15] and *al-ṣadḥa*,[16] these are green stones, with a bit of blue in them, and these stones are found in great number.	والزرقاء والكحلة والصدحة حجارة خُضر وفيه زُرقة وصفا كثير موجود

(e) *Kitāb ʿUṭārid ibn Muḥammad*[17] — 'Book of ʿUṭārid ibn Muḥammad', on the seven stones of the planets and their engravings (fols 144v–164v)

Attributed to Mercury (like the planet), son of Muḥammad, is a composition that associates a stone to each of the seven planets, describing the appropriate astrological moment to engrave a talismanic image on it, the preparation of a signet ring to mount the stone, and the ritual prescriptions that must be followed by the one who wears it.[18] The version preserved in MS Aya Sofya 3610, is not illustrated, an excep-

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14 See Lane 1863–1893, III 1227: 'A certain bead for the purpose of fascination with which women fascinate men'; and Kazimirski 1860, I 986–987: 'Coquillage qui certaines femmes arabes portent sur elles et auquel elles attribuent la vertu de faire aimer la personne qui la porte'.

15 See Kazimirski II, 2264: 'Sorte de coquillage qu'on porte comme un charme pour conjurer les effets du mauvais œil'.

16 See Lane 1863–1893, IV, 1227: 'A kind of bead used for the purpose of captivating or fascinating'; and Kazimirski 1860, II 1318: 'Espéce de coquillage employé comme amulette ou charme'.

17 The title is given in the explicit (fol. 168r). There it is also suggested that (e) and (f) were considered parts of the same work. Considering the new rubricated heading and the tradition of the series of engravings for planetary talismans, I have preferred to consider them as two separate texts.

18 See Raggetti 2014.

tion in the manuscript tradition. The introduction repeatedly refers to ancient sources. In particular, it points out some Graeco-Egyptian sources, namely the Hermetic texts on stones and ancient Egyptian knowledge, and the *Book of Talismans*, regarding their useful properties, composed by the Seven Wise Men.

Some elements—ritual prescriptions, for instance, raffigurations and colours associated with the planets—suggest, however, a possible Indian origin for at least some components of the text.[19] This work also used to circulate as one of the three chapters dealing with talismans in the *Treasure of Alexander*.[20] The introduction, as in the case of the Ps. Aristotle, discusses several details connected to the translation of a technical text.

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fols 144v–145v — Introduction

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, Praise to God Lord of the Worlds, the blessing of His Peace be upon our Lord Muḥammad—Seal of the prophets—upon his Family and upon all his Companions.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلم على سيدنا محمد خاتم النبيين وعلى اله وصحبه اجمعين

The author of this book—may God, may He be exalted, have mercy of him— said: 'I have been searching the books of the ancient Egyptians (*barābī*) and in [the book] attributed to Hermes the Wise, in his volume (*muṣḥaf*) known as *Arḥānīqī* (?),[21] in which stones, plants, birds, animals, and snakes are mentioned.

قال المؤلف رحمه الله تعالى كنتُ نظرت في كتاب البرابى والاحجار لهرمس الحكيم في مصحفه المعروف بِأَرحانيقي الجامع لذكر الاحجار والاشجار والطير والحيوان والحيتان

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19 See Ruska 1919; and David Pingree 1989.
20 See Ruska 1926, 99; and Raggetti 2020 (forthcoming).
21 MS Paris BnF Ar. 2775, fol. 102v has the reading *Awğāyqī*, that has been interpreted as *physiologika*, see Ruska 1919, 21. The interpretation, however, is a bit overstretched, and the reading of MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, *Arḥānīqī*, has the same chances of being the correct reading. This is a case of *diffractio* in which the judgement of the presence of the correct reading among the variants (or the lack thereof) is suspended, until the word behind the transliteration—possibly from Greek—is identified. The reading *Awğāyqī*, however, surfaces again in MS Paris BnF Ar. 2775, fol. 127r, in the *incipit* of a different text on planetary engravings.

I have found their useful properties in the 'Book of Talismans' attributed to the Seven Wise Men, along with the use of stones, and the way to derive pleasure from them.

فوجدتها ومنافها في كتاب الطلمسات
للحكماء السبعة واستعمال الاحجار
والابتهاج بها

I found, however, that they were a problematic and obscure thing, like the things that are named by a *kunya*, since all the names of the stones and other as well were written in a foreign language (*marsūm^{un} bi-l-lisān al-aʿǧamī*).

وجدتها كالشيء المشكل المتعلق وكالامور
المكني عنها الاعامة اسماء الاحجار وغيرها
مرسومٌ باللسان العجمي

So, I sought to polish all [these problematic aspects] away and make a revised and perfect book that can be used for this purpose. I did so, and the result is this very book that I have composed about the useful properties of stones and gems'.

ورأيت ان اخلّص من جمعها كتابا متقنا
مخلصا جامعا لما يحتاج اليه في هذا
المعني ففعلت ذلك وهو هذا الكتاب الفته
بمنافعه الاحجار والخرز

(f) *Wa-hāḏihī ǧihāt al-aḥǧār wa-ṣifātuhā*—'And this is the section of the stones and their peculiarities' (fols 164v–168r)—*Ṣifat al-fīrūzaǧ* ('description of the turquoise')—*li-l-Muštarī ḥaǧar al-mahā* ('*al-mahā* stone, that pertains to Jupiter')[22]—*li-l-Mirrīḫ ḥaǧar al-damm* ('hematitis, that pertains to Mars'), *li-l-Šams ḥaǧar al-mās* ('diamond, that pertains to the Sun')]

This is a fragment from another Hermetic lapidary, which has a set of engravings that differs from ʿUṭārid's series, but pays similar attention to the astrological components and the related ritual prescriptions.[23]

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22 See Käs 2010, I 1059.
23 See Ruska 1919, 20–21.

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fol. 165r

Property of the turquoise (*fayrūzağ*)

صفة الفيروزج

If it is engraved on a Wednesday with the figure of Mercury, when the Moon is in one of the two houses of Mercury—and the one who wears it should not eat donkey meat, or urinate in the dark—then he will magically subjugate the spirits dwelling in murky places, and they will show him where treasures are, with the permission of God, may He be exalted.

ان نقش فيه يوم الاربعاء والقمر في احدى

بيتي عطارد صورة عطارد من لبسه لا يأكل

لحم الحمار ولا يبول في ظلمة يسخر له

الارواح المتحيلة في الظلام ويظهر على

الكنوز باذن الله تعالى

1.1 Similar collections of texts in the composite MTM Paris BnF Ar. 2775

The cluster of texts witnessed in manuscript Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 is not unique, and can be compared to similar collections dealing with the different aspects of stone and mineral lore. Manuscript Paris BnF Ar. 2775 is a composite—and highly complex—MTM. It is composed of three recognizable circulation units bound together, and each of them includes more than one production unit.[24] The definition of these three units can be made on the basis of some traces of quire numbering and of Western foliations.[25] The first circulation unit

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24 See Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 45–81.

25 The first circulation unit has the following quire numbering: fol. 15r *ṯāliṯ* ('third'), fol. 24r *rābiʿ* ('fourth'), fol. 33r *ḫāmis* ('fifth'), fol. 43r *sādis* ('sixth'), fol. 53r *sābiʿ* ('seventh'), fol. 63r *ṯāmin* ('eighth'), fol. 73r *tāsiʿ* ('ninth'), fol. 81r *ʿāšir* ('tenth'). The second circulation unit has no quire numbering; while the third has it: fol. 111r *ṯā[nī]* ('second'), [missing folia] fol. 115r *ṯāliṯ* ('third'), [fragmentary production units] fol. 131r *rābiʿ* ('fourth'), fol. 141r *ḫāmis* ('fifth'), fol. 151r *sādis* ('sixth'), fol. 161r *sābiʿ* ('seventh'). MS Paris BnF Ar. 2775 has different Western foliations: one for each circulation unit, and a fourth superimposed one that goes from the beginning to the end of the codex (which is used here to refer to the manuscript). This one was the last to be added. At the end of the second circulation units, on fol. 101r, there is an ownership note by Sulaymān al-Mutanabbī al-Ḥalabī, dated 976 H./1568–1569 CE.

transmits a copy of al-Tīfāšī's work on stones and gems. The second one collects three fragmentary production units, all of them transmitting ʿUṭārid's book on planetary engraved stones. The third contains an even higher number of production units and texts always dealing with astrological engraving of stones. In its complexity, manuscript Paris BnF Ar. 2775 provides us with multiple examples that can be compared with the contents of manuscript Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610.

Below is a detailed description of the contents of the Paris manuscript, in which the different production units are marked with an asterisk. The three circulation units are indicated by Greek letters.[26] The great number of hands—definitely more than ten—and their non-peculiar features, however, do not allow for the cross-referencing of this information with the units of copy. When attested, next to each text of manuscript Paris BnF Ar. 2775, the corresponding text in manuscript Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 is referred to using the lower case to which it is associated in the previous section.

[α] MS Paris BnF Ar. 2775, fols 1r-101v

*(1r–75v) al-Tifāšī, *Kitāb al-laʾālī al-muḍīʾya fī ḫawāṣṣ al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aḥǧār al-mulūkiyya*, 'The shiny pearls about the occult properties of gems and royal stones'.
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[β] MS Paris BnF Ar. 2775, fols 102r-173v

*(76r–89v) *Kitāb ḫawāṣṣ al-aḥǧār li-Ḥunayn bin Isḥāq* (*sic*), 'Book of the occult properties of stones of Ḥunayn bin Isḥāq' → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(e)**
*(90r–95v) [*Kitāb ḫawāṣṣ al-aḥǧār*] acephalus ac mutilus → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(e)**
– (96r–101r) - *al-fīrūzaǧ* → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(f)**
– *wa min manāfiʿ al-ḥiǧāra*
– *wa min ṭilasmāt al-ḥiǧāra*
– *bāb fī maḥsanat al-aḥǧār wa-l-ḫaraz* → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(b)**
– *asmāʾ ḫaraz al-ʿArab* (ownership note, 976 H. / 1568 CE) → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(d)**

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26 The three original production units probably circulated independently, and this MTM is the result of a later collection of fragments bound together, as their contents were perceived to be dealing with a common overarching theme. Only a partial history of this earlier stage can be reconstructed on the basis of the codicological clues offered by MS Paris BnF Arabe 2775.

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– [γ] Manuscript Paris BnF Ar. 2775, fols 102r–173v

– *(102r–112v) *Kitāb ḫawāṣṣ al-aḥğār li-ʿUṭārid bin Muḥammad*, 'Book of the occult properties of stones of ʿUṭārid bin Muḥammad' → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(e)**

– (112v–114r) *Fīrūzağ, Zuḥal, Muštarī* → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(f)**

– (114r–116v) *Hāḏā kitāb al-aḥğār al-sabiʿa wa-mā yanfaʿu minhā fī iḫtilāf alwānihā*, 'This is the book of the seven stones and what advantage can be obtained from them on the basis of their different colours' → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(b)**

– *(116v–121v) *Ṣifat aḫğār al-kawākib al-sabiʿa wa-nuqūšihā ʿalā ṭawāliʿ*, 'Description of the stones of the seven planets and their engravings on the basis of their ascendants' → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(e)**, with a different disposition of the materials: list of planetary stones followed by the description and the purpose of the engraving, Greek names for the planets → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(e)**

– *(121v–122v) *Ḫawāṣṣ al-aḥğār wa-l-nabāt, wa-tamma kitāb al-aḥğār wa-l-fuṣūṣ*, 'Occult properties of stones and plants, the book on the stones and the gems is completed'.

– * (123r–123v) acephalus, explicit: *Tamma kitāb al-aḥğār wa-l-fuṣūṣ li-ʿUṭārid bin Muḥammad*, 'The book of the stones and the gems attributed to ʿUṭārid son of Muḥammad is completed' → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(e)**

– *(124r–126v) *acephalus ac mutilus* → manuscript Aya Sofya 3610 **(e)**

– (127r–131r) *Kitāb Awğāyqī fī-l-ṭilasmāt*, 'Book of the *Awğāyqī* (?) about talismans', Hermetic text on stones and talismans, peculiar set of engravings.

– (131v–161v) *Risālat baʿd al-ḥukamāʾ wa-l-ʿulamāʾ al-qudamāʾ fī-l-ğawāhir wa-l-ḫawāṣṣ*, 'Treatise of some ancient wise and learned men about gems and stones'

– (161v–173v) *mutilus*, *Qāla Hirmis fī ğawāb al-aḥğār wa-ḫawāṣṣihā*, 'Hermes in the answer about the stones and their occult properties said', Hermetic text on stones, talismans, planets and planetary magic.

A close comparison with manuscript Paris BnF Ar. 2775 reveals that the collection of texts transmitted by Aya Sofya 3610 probably represent a particular case of a more general trend, in which texts on stones and minerals, along with their properties and different technical applications, tended to cluster in particular ways and circulate together.

These clusters of shorter texts are sometimes attested in MTMs, in addition to more extended works on stones and mineral lore. As already observed for the

Ps. Aristotle's *Kitāb al-aḥğār* ('Book of Stones'), other texts could exercise a similar 'textual magnetism' and attract shorter texts. The second and the third circulation units of the composite MTM Paris BnF Ar. 2775 offer two different instances in which, in a context of fluid tradition, relatively short texts on stones and their manipulation clustered in similar ways, including in the unit ʿUṭārid's book, other series of engraved planetary talismans, and the seven coloured stones. In addition to the contents, there is a codicological reason why these constellations of texts formed, i.e. none of them alone would have reached the critical mass of folia required for the composition of a codex. They circulated, therefore, in clusters that may happen to be attracted by and attached to a longer text dealing with the same or related topic.[27]

2 The historical context of MTM Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610

In the Mamluk period, it was quite common for copies not only to be made by professional scribes, but also by occasional copyists connected to the Sultan, or to the circles of the great *amīr*s.[28] Almost forty years ago, Barbara Flemming suggested that these lavishly decorated manuscripts, with their rich titlepieces represented 'special school-exercises of the Mamluks', and that, at least in the last decades of the Burğī rule (1382–1517), Mamluk graduates (but also teachers) copied texts that were intended to enter the Sultan's library.[29] More recently, Doris Behrens-Abousaif has taken up this idea and elaborated on it in her study of the book in Mamluk Egypt and Syria.

In the course of other research, I came across some manuscripts that show striking material similarities with manuscript Aya Sofya 3610. In the essays of Barbara Flemming and Helmut Ritter, I also found references to a consistent number of similar cases[30]—which I mean to keep collecting. For this paper, however, there will be four *comparanda* for MS Aya Sofya 3610: MS Münster UB Or. 11, MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 2875, MS Leiden Or. 499 and MS Leiden Or. 303d.[31]

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27 My thanks to Marilena Maniaci, who suggested that I consider this codicological component in the clustering of texts and, more in general, in the genesis of an MTM.

28 See Flemming 1977, 249–260, and in particular 253.

29 See Flemming 1977, 258–259; and Behrens-Abouseif 2019, 96–102. The presence of scriptoria in the barracks seems to be attested in the sources only from the late fourteenth century.

30 See Behrens-Abouseif 2019, 96–102; Flemming 1977; and Ritter 1929, 116–154.

31 The selection of *comparanda* for this study is inevitably limited, for more than one reason. In spite of the lavish appearence of the title pages—that may lead us to think of them as absolutely

The first and most visible of the common traits is the style of the titlepiece in the frontispiece, quite common between the thirteenth and fifteenth century in the Eastern part of the Arabo-Islamic world: one or more rectangular panels with a circular medallion (*šamsa*) that either separates the panels, or is inscribed in one of them. The title is usually in the upper panel, while the medallion or the lower panel contain the *ex-libris*, introduced by the formula *bi-rasm* ('for', 'on the order of').[32] The ex-libris of the manuscripts analysed here define the chronological frame, by referring to two of the last Mamluk Sultans: Abū al-Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn al-Ašrafī Qāytbāy (r. 1468–1496), and Al-Ašraf Qānṣūh al-Ġawrī (r. 1501–1516).

The main case study and its *comparanda* will be described in succession, the transcription and English translation of the texts inscribed in the different titlepieces and colophons will be given as well.

1) The colophon of the MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 tells us that its copy was completed in 888 H/1483 CE, placing the production of the manuscript in the late Burǧī Mamluk period. Though it includes a quite varied selection of texts, the title page of MS Aya Sofya 3610 only refers to the first and longest one, i.e. Ps. Aristotle's *Kitāb al-aḥǧār*. The text in the medallion (*šamsa*) tells that it was copied for the Sultan Qāytbāy by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farnawī *al-mukattib* ('teacher of the art of writing'). In the same year, al-Farnawī also copied Ibn al-Akfānī's *Ġunyat al-labīb ʿinda ġaybat al-ṭabīb* ('The sufficient book for the intelligent person to use in the absence of a physician'), showing a non-purely occasional interest in technical literature.[33]

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unique art objects, which, to us, they undoubtedly are—these manuscripts, which were probably produced in great number and somehow 'in series', are now scattered throughout numerous collections all over the world. It is also possible to find some interesting folia and titlepieces online, although many sources do not provide any reference to collections or any signature for the manuscripts. <www.digitaloccultmanuscripts.blogspot.nl>, for instance, has a copy of the *Kitāb al-ǧamāhir fī-l-ǧawāhir* ('The book of precious stones') by al-Bīrūnī, http://digitaloccult manuscripts.blogspot.nl/2009/12/ (last accessed, 24 September 2019), see Käs 2010, I 88–90; or the *Kitāb al-tafhīm fī ṣināʿat al-tanǧīm* ('Book on the instruction about the art of astrology') of the same author http://digitaloccultmanuscripts.blogspot.com/2008/12/al-tafhim-li-awa-sina-al-tanjim. html (last accessed, 24 September 2019).

32 See Gacek 2009, 278–279.

33 See Flemming 1977, 253 (MS Istanbul Saray Ahmet III 2018); and Behrens-Abouseif 2019, 96. For the meaning of *Mukattib*, see Lane 1863–1893, VII 2591. Another interesting medical manuscript with similar features is a copy of the *Kitāb mufarriḥ al-nafs* ('Book of the soul-cheerer') kept in the ʿĀrif Ḥikmat Library in Medina (MS Medina Maktaba ʿĀrif Ḥikmat Ṭibb 20). It was the work of the copyist (*al-nāsiḫ*) Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Ṭarābulusī al-Ḥanafī for Muḥammad granson of the *šayḫ al-Islām* Burhān Allāh al-Yāʿawī. My thanks to Robert Sieben-

The frontispiece of MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, is finely decorated by a titlepiece in blue and gold, with largely golden letters on a blue background featuring vegetal patters. However, in the medallion, the cloudbands have been filled with a criss-cross net of dark red. The page layout is composed of three main elements: the headpiece of a purely decorative rectangular band, the upper panel giving the title of the Ps.-Aristotelian *Book of Stones* in a cartouche, and a squared and larger lower panel in which the medallion is inscribed. The medallion is scalloped and edged with eight semicircular projections. The band running along the middle and lower panels—also connecting them to the medallion—consists of a geometrical motif between two golden bands. The middle panel has a circular extension on the outer margin of the page, and the whole titlepiece has been outlined by a blue line (Fig. 1).
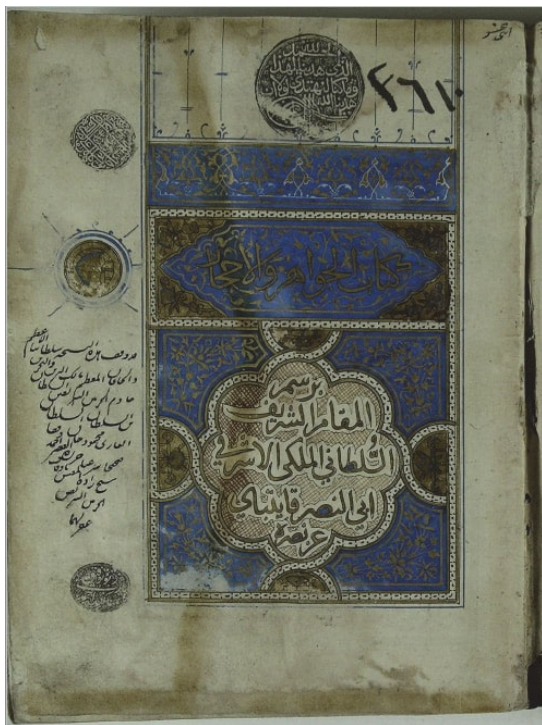
Fig. 1: MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fol. 1r. Titlepiece of the Ps. Aristotle's *Kitāb al-aḫǧār* ('Book of Stones').

Tait—who is working on a critical edition of the *Kitāb mufarriḥ al-nafs* for his PhD—for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

The title page shows a *waqf* certificate of the Sultan Mahmud I, together with its seal and that of his inspector for the *waqf* in Mecca and Medina.[34] The chapter headings are written in red and in a larger script. The text dividers are emblazoned with stamped rosettes of blue, gold, ochre and yellow. Some appear to actually have the functional role of text dividers, others seem purely decorative. The text area is outlined by a treble-frame with two inner red lines and an external one of blue.

Kitāb al-ǧawāhir wa-l-aḥǧār, MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fol. 1r

[Upper panel]
'The book of gems and stones'

كتاب الجواهر والاحجار

[Lower panel / medallion]
For the noble rank of the Sultan al-Ašrafī Abū Narṣ Qāytbāy may his victory be honoured.

برسم المقام الشريف السلطاني الملكي

الاشرفي ابي نصر قايتباي عز نصره

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610, fols 168r–168v

[Colophon]
The writing of this book was finished at the new moon of the month of Šaʿbān in the year 888 H./September 3, 1483 C.E., by the hand of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Farnawī *al-mukattib*, may God have Mercy of him.

وكان الفراغ من كتابته في مستهل شهر

شعبان المكرّم سنة ثمان وثمانين وثمان مائة

على يد كاتبه محمد بن احمد الفرنوي

المكتِّب غفر الله عنه

2) The first *comparandum* is the witness to a text on shooting with arrows, which definitely belongs to the *furūsiyya* ('the art of horsemanship') literature. It was copied for the Sultan Qāytbāy by the Mamlūk Yūsuf al-Muḥammadī, who gives the name of his teacher (Muḥammad al-Waqāy), and mentions the barracks to which he was affiliated (*ṭabaqat al-Ḥawš*). The titlepiece is composed of an upper and a lower panel with the title, while the medallion is included in the

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34 For the seal of Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754), see Hammer-Purgstall no. 1 and Chester Beatty Seals Database http://www.cbl.ie/islamicseals/View-Seals/124.aspx; while for the seal of Ahmed Şeihâde, the inspector of the *waqfs* in Mecca and Madina during the time of the Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730–1754) http://www.cbl.ie/islamicseals/View-Seals/125.aspx.

square space between the panels. The medallion is outlined by a double-frame in red and blue, indented with golden drops. The background of the panels and that of the medallion is filled with undulating, pale red broken lines, while light blue is used for the signs of vocalization and *ihmāl*;[35] the medallion appears in the background of the blank page. The title page shows a *waqf* certificate by Muḥammad bin Aḥmad called Baklmir Beg and a seal. On the top of the title-piece, another ex-libris places this manuscript in the seventeenth-century Ottoman collection of Waysī (*min kutub al-ʿabd Waysī*) in the year 1015 H/1606–1607 CE in Istanbul[36] (Fig. 2). The headings are in chrysography outlined in black, the 'eyes' of the letters are filled in with red, while vocalization and *ihmāl* are in light blue. The text dividers are golden drops, sometimes clustered in groups of three. The text area is framed by a single, light blue line.

Kitāb taḏkirat ūlā al-albāb fī faḍāʾil ramy al-nuššāb, **MS Münster UB Or. 11, fol. 1r**

[Upper and lower panel] 'Book of the reminder for the best minds about the merits of shooting with arrows' [Medallion] For the library of our Lord the most noble king Abū Naṣr Qāytbāy, may God strengthen the foundations of his power and prolongue the days of his reign with Muḥammad as his governor.	كتاب تذكِرة أُولى الالباب في فضائل رمي النُشاب برسم خزانة مولانا المقام الشريف المالك الاشرف ابي النصر قايتباي ثبت الله قواعد دولته وادام ايام مملكته بمحمد واله

MS Münster UB Or. 11, fol. 45r

[Colophon] Service rendered by the Mamlūk Yūsuf al-Muḥammadī of the *al-Ḥawš* barrack, pupil of the humble servant of God, may He be exalted, Muḥammad al-Waqāy.	خدمة المملوك يوسف المحمدي من طبقة الحوش تلميذ العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى محمد الوقاى

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35 See Witkam 2015.
36 See Witkam 2004, 414.

Fig. 2: MS Münster UB Or. 11, fol. 1r. Titlepiece of the *Kitāb fī faḍā'il ramī al-nušāb* ('Book about the merits of shooting with arrows').

3) The second *comparandum*, manuscript Istanbul Aya Sofya 2875, was copied some twenty years later for the Sultan al-Qānṣūh al-Ġawrī by a Mamluk named Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. The text witnessed by this manuscript is the Ps. Alexander's *Kitāb al-ḥiyal wa-l-ḥurūb* ('Book of the stratagems and wars').[37] This manuscript, however, has a different title: *Kitāb fī ʿilm al-ḥurūb wa-fatḥ al-durūb* ('Book on the science of wars and the conquest of gates').The text includes three distinct sections: (1) on fighting techniques with a number of weapons; (2)

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37 See Ritter 1929, 151–152; and Raggetti (forthcoming).

preparation of inflammable substances; (3) hydraulic and siege machines. These three textual blocks seem to have been gathered from different sources, and then transmitted together under the name of Alexander the Great. The introduction tells the story of how, in a cave near Alexandria, the Two-Horned One found a book in Greek that contained all the possible stratagems of the art of war. Its title page has the same *waqf* certificate and stamps as MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610.

The titlepiece is composed of two panels: firstly, an upper panel with the title written in white in the central element of an oval cartouche, which has a circular extension on the outer margin and a golden and blue background decoration with floral motives; and secondly, a larger, square lower panel that includes a medallion which has as its background the blank page with four stamped rosettes in each of the corners. The titlepiece is framed by a treble-line: black, red and a jagged blue one as an outer margin (Fig. 3). The chapter and paragraph headings are rubricated. The text dividers in MS Aya Sofya 2875 are simple red dots scarcely attested in the text.

Kitāb fī ʿilm al-ḥurūb wa-fatḥ al-durūb, MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 2875, fol. 1r

[Upper panel]
'Book on the science of wars and the conquest of gates'
[Lower panel / medallion]
For the library of the ruling Sultan the sovereign al-Ašraf Abū Naṣr Qānṣūh al-Ġawrī.

كتاب في علم الحروب وفتح الدروب

برسم خزانة مولانا السلطن المالك الملك

الاشرف ابي النصر قانصوه الغوري

MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 2875, fol. 123v

[Colophon]
The writing of this book was finished on Thursday, the 26th of the noble and sacred month of *Šaʿbān* in the year 911 H./January 21, 1506 CE, the humble servant of God Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad wrote it, may God forgive him, his parents, and all the Muslims. Amen, Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds.

وكان الفراغ من كتابته في يوم الخميس السادس

عشرين من شهر شعبان المكرم قدره وحرمته سنة

احدى وعشر وتسع مائة وكتبه الفقير الى الله

محمد بن محمد غفر الله له ولوالديه ولجميع

المسلمين امين والحمد الله رب العالمين
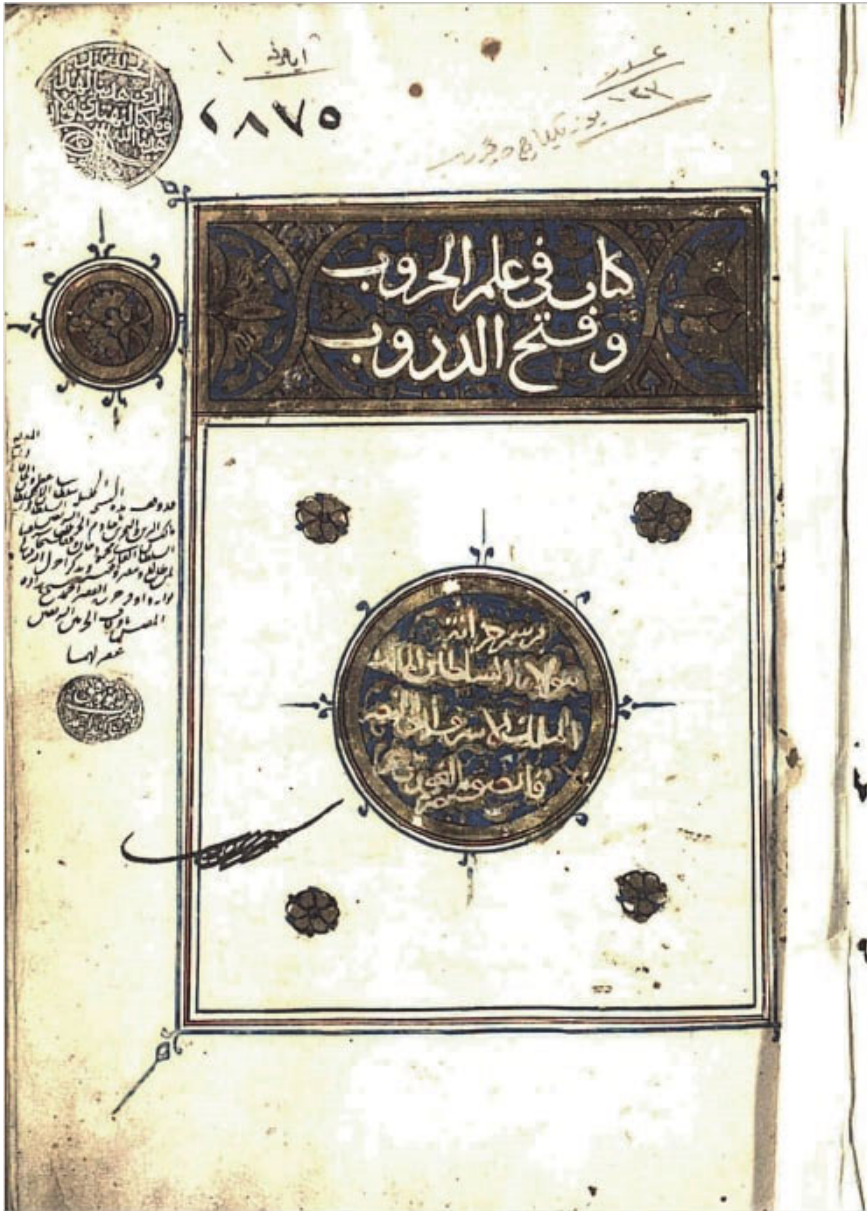
Fig. 3: MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 2875, fol. 1r. Titlepiece of the *Kitāb fī ʿilm al-ḥurūb* ('Book on the science of wars').

Fig. 4: MS Leiden Or. 499, fol. 1r. Titlepiece of the *Kitāb fī al-ḥiyal wa-l-ḥurūb* ('Book of strata-gems and wars').

4) The third *comparandum*, manuscript Leiden Or. 499, transmits another copy of the same text.[38] The colophon only gives the name of the copyist and his *nisba*, al-Sunbulī.[39] The titlepiece is composed of three isolated elements: a circular medal-lion between two rectangular panels with a circular extension on the outer mar-gin. In both the rectangular panels, the text is included in a cartouche formed by two circles on the two sides of a central ellipse. All the elements are framed by a jagged blue outer line. The writing in the panels is in white, with a golden cloud-band around it, a golden vegetal motif decorating the blue background, and gold-en frames. The text in the medallion, stating the attribution to Alexander the

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[38] Helmut Ritter compared the text of this manuscript with the one transmitted by MS Aya Sofya 2875, see Witkam 2007, No. 499.
[39] This nickname may refer to a Mamluk barrack, *al-Sunbuliyya*, or to the homonimous branch of the Khalwati sufi order, founded by Sunbul Sinan Efendi at the end of the fifteenth century. See Flemming 1977, 257.

Great, is written in plain black and does not seem to belong to the more decorative composition of the titlepiece (Fig. 4). This manuscript contains a number of illustrations representing the hydraulic machines described in the text.[40] Observing the drawings, it is clear that the same compositional elements that constitute the different titlepieces (in this, but also in the other manuscripts considered here) were used to give shape to the diagrams: stamped rosettes, concentric circles, golden frames and borders decorated with geometrical motifs. This is another clue in favour of the 'in series' decorations (Fig. 5).
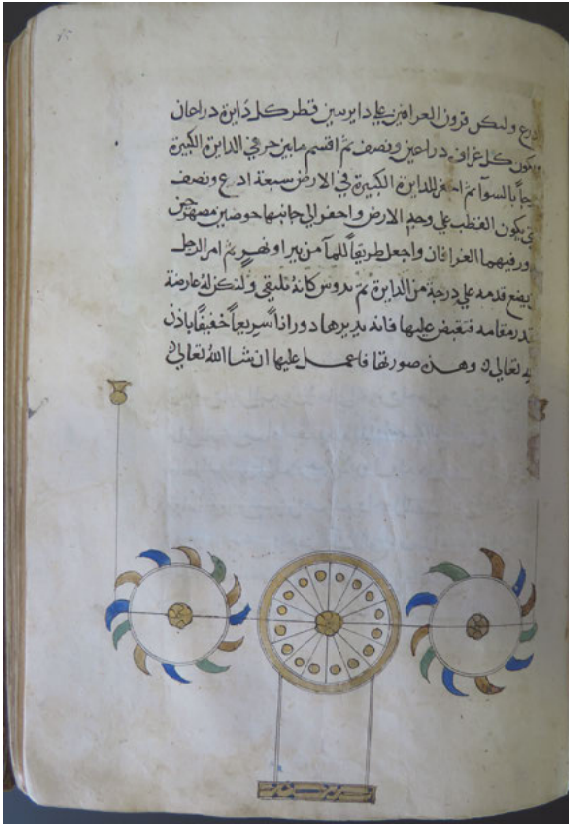
Fig. 5: MS Leiden Or. 499, fol. 85r. Illustration of a hydraulic machine in which the same compositional elements of titlepieces are used (stamped rosettes, concentric circles, frames with geometrical motives).

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40 In MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 2875 space for illustrations was left, but never filled.

Kitāb fī al-ḥiyal wa-l-ḥurūb, MS Leiden Or. 499, fol. 1r

[Upper panel]
'Book of stratagems and wars and of the con-
quest of cities and the defence of gates'

كتاب في الحيل والحروب وفتح المدائن

وحفظ الدروب

[Medallion]
From the wise sayings of Alexander the Two-
Horned One, son of Philip the Greek, may God
help him.

من حكم الاسكندر ذي القرنين بن فيلبس [41]

اليوناني نفع الله به

[Lower panel]
For the library of the most noble residence of
[our patron] at *Mārtamar* (?), may God make it
prosperous with his permanence.[42]

برسم خزانة المقر الاشرف العالي المولوي

السيدي العالمي العاملي السيفي بمارتمر

عمرها الله ببقائه

MS Leiden Or. 499, fol. 135r

[Colophon]
Copied by the humble servant of God, may He
be exalted, Aḥmad (?) bin Yūsuf al-Iʿtidalī (?)
known as al-Sunbulī.

على يد العبد الفقير على الله تعالى احمد بن

يوسف الاعتدلي المعروف بالسنبلي

5) The fourth and last *comparandum* is another manuscript from the Oriental
collection of the Leiden University Library, the eighth volume of a copy of the
Kitāb al-filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya ('Book of the Nabatean agriculture').[43] The titlepiece
has the same structure as the one in MS Münster UB Or. 11—that is, two rectan-
gular panels with a third squared one between them, in which the medallion is
inscribed—but is more richly decorated. Title, *ex-libris*, and author are written in
white ink outlined in gold, against a blue background with golden vegetal mo-
tifs. The texts in the upper and lower panel are included in an oblong ellipse
cartouche, the extremities of which culminate in a pointed extension. The me-

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41 In the manuscript, قبليس 'Qiblīs'.
42 The name of the patron is not actually given, he is indicated by a series of common epithets
connected to his residence and post (*al-maqarr al-ašraf al-mawlawī al-sayyidī al-ʿālimī al-ʿāmilī
al-sayfī*); while *bi-Mārtamar* could be the indication of a place.
43 Witkam 2007, No. 303d; see also Vrolijk / Schmidt / Scheper 2012, 116.

dallion—as in manuscript Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610—is scalloped with eight curved projections, filled alternately in ochre and green with vegetal motifs. The scallops, however, are separated from the medallion by a golden band. The corners of the panels are filled in ochre and decorated with golden vegetal motives too. The upper and lower panel are framed in gold, while the central one is framed in green. The whole composition of the titlepiece is framed in a double golden border, outlined by a jagged blue line, and all three panels have extensions in the outer margin of the page (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6: MS Leiden Or. 303d, p. 1. Titlepiece of the eighth volume of the *Kitāb al-filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* ('Book of the Nabatean agriculture').

The manuscript is incomplete at the end, and the colophon, if ever there, is lost. Only the text of the first opening (pp. 1–2) is included in a golden frame and a blue line. The same opening has red dots and drops as text dividers, which sur-

face sporadically in the rest of the manuscript, whose layout has not received the same attention dedicated to the initial opening.[44] In many instances, in fact, it is clear that space was left for a more regular addition of these elements, which was never carried out. The chapter headings are rubricated and written in a slightly larger script.

(v) *Kitāb al-filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya*, MS Leiden Or. 303d, p. 1

[Upper panel]
'Eighth part of the book of the Nabatean agriculture'

الجزء الثامن من كتاب الفلاحة النبطية

[Medallion]
For the library of the noble king of the lands and seas, our Lord the Sultan al-Ašraf Abū Naṣr Qānṣūh al-Ġawrī, may his victory be glorified.

برسم خزانة المقام الشريف ملك البرين

والبحرين مولانا السلطان الملك الاشرف ابي

النصر قانصوه الغوري عز نصره

[Lower panel]
Author: Abū Bakr Aḥmad bin ʿAlī known as Ibn Waḥšiyya.

تاليف ابي بكر احمد بن علي المعروف بابن

وحشية

The connections between these texts based on material aspects of the manuscript witnessing to their tradition are necessary, but not sufficient to reconstruct the larger cultural phenomenon that led to their production. In her article, Barbara Flemming emphasised the role of calligraphy in these special school-exercises of the Mamluks.[45] I suggest that the contents of these manuscripts deserve equal attention. Incidentally, the first objects of my research were the textual contents, and these led in turn to the discovery of material affinities.

It is rather far-fetched to talk of a Mamluk school *curriculum*; this does not mean, however, that the choice of contents gives the impression of having been haphazardly made. The more examples collected, the clearer the choice of contents mirroring the interests of the Mamluk readership and barrack literates will

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44 See MS Leiden Or. 303d, pp. 22, 43, 60, 62, 69, 83, and 90.

45 See Flemming 1977, 258–259: 'most of these manuscripts belonged to a larger number of texts which might be called special school-exercises of the Mamluks, in which emphasis was laid on standards of calligraphy'.

become. The present examples confirm that *furūsiyya* literature was certainly among the interests of the Mamluks, and the manuscripts Münster UB Or. 11, Istanbul Aya Sofya 2875 and Leiden Or. 499 all fall into this genre. The *Kitāb al-ḥiyāl* attributed to Alexander the Great may be the key to the understanding the inclusion of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-aḥǧār* among the titles relevant for Mamluk school training. The contents of Ps. Alexander's second section on inflammable substances focus on technical materials that often take the form of recipes, in which mineral ingredients play a major role. Looking at the Ps. Aristotle through Alexander's lens, the former—in addition to al-Bīrūnī's work on the subject—appears to be a *répertoire* of the primary ingredients for this technical branch of *furūsiyya*. Copying these texts at the twilight of the Mamluk sultanate might even have been a conservative statement in the contemporary debate on the status and use of gunpowder and firearms.[46] The pharmacological component of the Ps. Aristotle reminds us of the interest in medicine, witnessed also by other titles. The *Kitāb al-filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* of manuscript Leiden Or. 303d opens a larger perspective on the inclusion of natural sciences along with their applications—with components of *curiosa* as well—among Mamluk interests.

3 Concluding remarks

The MS Istanbul Aya Sofya 3610 represents a *summa* of the technical materials on stones, minerals, and their uses, which entered the Arabo-Islamic tradition in the ninth–tenth century. Almost all the streams of tradition that were received and re-elaborated in the early Abbasid cultural milieu are represented here: Greek (ancient, Hellenistic, and late antique), Pahlawi, Indian, and (pre-Islamic?) Arabic. Also, the original compositions in Arabic were heavily influenced in that period by the multilingual atmosphere of the time of translations.

In the Mamluk context, the reception of the Ps. Aristotle was probably triggered by some elements of the *furūsiyya* literature, namely the preparation of inflammable substances. The Ps. Aristotle, in turn, attracted and introduced a number of shorter texts—both for content affinity and codicological reasons—that used to circulate together as set of technical indications about stones, minerals, and their manipulation (for alchemy, medicine, talisman making).

A close comparison with the composite MTM Paris BnF Ar. 2775 reveals that these shorter technical texts used to circulate together. The MTMs on stones and

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46 See David Ayalon 1956, 24–26.

minerals considered here seems to confirm the idea that the principal and more extended work exercised a sort of 'textual magnetism' on shorter compositions dealing with related aspects. These collateral texts tend to cluster in recurrent combinations. If the rolling stones of the title are taken here as a metaphor for the different textual blocks circulating in the fluid tradition of texts on stones and minerals, it is indeed possible to track the patterns of their clustering.

By cross-referencing the data that derive from the study of this MTM as an object with those from the analysis of its textual contents, it is possible to reconstruct some more general cultural and literary trends, and perhaps even a small bit of the Mamluk *curriculum*, in particular some of its technical contents. Moreover, a content-oriented approach can offer a more articulated perspective on the great number of manuscripts that share these material features—in particular, the titlepiece—and the ways in which they were produced and collected.

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Matthieu Husson

Mathematical Astronomy and the Production of Multiple-Texts Manuscripts in Late Medieval Europe: A Comparison of BnF lat. 7197 and BnF lat. 7432

Abstract: This article takes on the idea that, at least in some contexts, when producing manuscripts certain protagonists were learning, fostering and promoting mathematical astronomy. It also seeks to improve our understanding of the articulations between producing astronomical manuscripts and other astronomical practices in the specific context of late medieval Europe. In tackling this issue one is compelled to rely on approaches used within the history of mathematical astronomy and those of manuscript cultures. In so doing, I focus on two manuscripts both relating to the same protagonist: Conrad Heingarter, a fifteenth-century astrologer cum physician in France. By analysing the material, decorative and intellectual aspects of BnF lat. 7197 and BnF lat. 7432 I will reveal how the first is a student manuscript produced during Heingarter's university years, whereas the second is a presentation manuscript intended to showcase Heingarter's competence in a specific courtly context.

1 Introduction

In a given historical context, what we currently describe as mathematical astronomy is a set of practices unified by the broad aim of proposing a mathematical account of celestial phenomena. Among these practices one finds computation practices, observational practices, various kinds of reasoning and argumentation practices, the design and use of instruments and numerical tables, etc. However, this article aims at a more fundamental practice often related to

mathematical astronomy in interesting and mostly unknown ways. This article explores the view that, at least in some contexts, actors were learning, fostering and promoting mathematical astronomy by producing manuscripts. It also seeks to improve our understanding of the articulations between producing astronomical manuscripts and other astronomical practices in the specific context of late medieval Europe.

At the end of the European Middle Ages, the geometrical diagrams, numerical tables and various kinds of texts used in the study of celestial phenomena were commonly collected in multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs). Many manuscripts of the astral sciences from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe were produced in medieval universities. The main way to produce these manuscripts is through the well-documented *pecia* system.[1] However, this kind of manuscript, with its possible marginalia indicating uses by students or other kinds of actors, does not exhaust the production of scientific manuscripts.[2] First, medieval universities induced other kinds of manuscript production mainly around the master-student relationships. 'Students' manuscripts' were produced in the context of these relationships. In these manuscripts a given student copied and collected a set of texts of interest to him, which are generally more advanced than the basic-curriculum texts usually included in *pecia* manuscripts. On the other pole of the relationship we find 'masters' manuscripts' where the teachings of a given master are gathered.[3] Of course, all kinds of intermediary and hybrids exist between these poles. This diversity is especially important for astral sciences, which was taught only at an elementary level in the official curriculum of most art faculties, but in some cases was practised at a much higher level and well beyond universities. For instance, the production of almanacs and ephemerides attest that an interest in astronomical topics was alive in various contexts of practice, and was often related to astrology and medicine, especially in urban milieus. Monasteries were another context where a minimal practice of astronomy was required at least for questions of time reckoning and coordination of the collective life. Ruling elites also manifested an interest in astronomy as the figure of the court astrologer cum physician attests in many

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1 Brizzi / Tavoni 2009 and Bataillon / Guyot / Rouse 1988.

2 See for instance MS Escorial O II 10 and on this particular manuscript: Beaujouan 1965, Beaujouan 1974, Gushee 1970, Husson 2016.

3 It seems to be more the case in natural philosophy or theology than in the mathematical sciences, maybe reflecting different teaching practices.

historical instances.[4] Finally, even the highest church circles recurrently concerned themselves with astral sciences in the context of calendar reform.[5]

In principle, each of these practice contexts may induce specific types of manuscripts. In turn, each manuscript offers a unique lesson about the various ways historical actors incorporated the production and uses of codices in their astronomical practices. Our hypothesis is that manuscripts showing a different balance in the way the actual manuscript production is articulated to astronomical practices are the result of different kinds of production acts and undergo different kind of circulations. These would leave clues in the current circulation state of the manuscripts that can be analysed. Building awareness on how different types of astronomical manuscripts point to their production and circulation contexts is also fundamental for the history of astral science. Tackling these issues implies to rely on approaches from the history of mathematical astronomy and that of manuscript cultures.[6] On the long term a possible outcome of such a research could be a typology of mathematical astronomy manuscripts organised around the dialectic relation between manuscript production and astronomical practices.

I intend to approach this issue by focusing on two manuscripts which are both related to the same actor: Conrad Heingarter, a fifteenth-century astrologer/physician in France.[7] The BnF collection now holds eight manuscripts related to Conrad Heingarter (lat. 7197, lat. 7273 (?), lat. 7295A (?), lat. 7314 (?), lat. 7432, lat. 7446, lat. 7447, lat. 7450)[8], from which I selected two that contain a version of the Alfonsine tables and their canons by John of Saxony.[9] This set of texts and tables is a marker of Alfonsine mathematical astronomy, which was mainstream during this period in Latin European contexts. However, the analysis will show that the manuscripts were produced at different moments of Conrad Heingarter's career, and for different purposes. The first, BnF lat. 7197, was produced while Conrad Heingarter was learning mathematical astronomy. The second, BnF lat. 7432, was produced later in Conrad Heingarter's career in order to demonstrate and promote his competences to a patron.

I will describe and compare both manuscripts with respect to three dimensions: first, the material and codicological features; second, the aspects of writ-

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4 Boudet 1994.

5 Nothaft 2018.

6 Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013.

7 Born in Horgen Switzerland near Zurich, Conrad Heingarter is a Parisian master of arts in 1455. In 1466 he became master in Medicine. See Wickersheimer / Beaujouan 1979, (I) 107.

8 Juste 2015.

9 Poulle 1984, Chabás / Goldstein 2003.

ing, decoration and marks; third, the contents.[10] Each of the elements described could require a full-length paper for its analysis. Thus, some aspects of the manuscripts might be overlooked. The descriptions are only meant to collect specific features that allow us to tackle the general issues presented above. From these descriptions, and following a method mainly inspired by *La syntaxe du codex*,[11] I will try to reconstruct the part of the history of these two codices which is in my analytical reach. I will then build from these results and propose hypotheses: first with respect to the way the production of these types of manuscripts is a part of, and an interaction with, astronomical practices; and second, with respect to the way these manuscripts document the various milieus to which they are related in one way or another.

2 Material features of the manuscripts

BnF lat. 7197

BnF lat. 7197 is a 130-folios manuscript of approximate dimension 295 × 210 mm.[12] The binding is restored from a fifteenth-century one. Much of the fifteenth-century binding is still extant. We can find wood boards covered with brown calf leather. Small blind-stamp decorations (lilies, finial, and quatrefoil) decorate the front, side and back cover. They probably can also be dated to the fifteenth century. Traces of iron clasps from the original binding are clearly visible. Remains of nails in the front and back cover are found. The leather is damaged because of frictions with clasps. The restoration, which I am not able to date or localise, focused on the side cover and on the damages caused by the clasps. New pieces of leather were added to reinforce the damaged parts.

The parchment guard-leaves, one folio in the front and the back of the volume, are too small to be a former soft cover or soft binding of the MTM. The rest

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10 Descriptions of these two manuscripts are found in Juste 2015 and in the online catalogue of the BnF. For BnF lat. 7432 see: http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc66655v and for BnF lat. 7197 see: http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc66378g (last accessed 26 December 2017).

11 Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013.

12 A complete digitisation of the manuscript can be consulted at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90664785 (last accessed 12 October 2019).

of the codex is made of paper. Several folios have watermarks.[13] On folios 48, 55, 58 and on folios 12, 13, 14, 22, 24, 28, 29 and 30 we find two kinds of bull head with a starry stem that can be compared to two ones attested in Fribourg in 1455, respectively: Piccard-Online 75176[14] and, Piccard-Online 74864[15]. Some watermarks presenting a coat of arms with three lilies and a crown are attested in Paris around 1456 and 1457–1461 (Briquet[16] nos 1681 and 1683) respectively on folios 76, 77, 78, 84 and 65, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73. Another watermark of the same family closer to Briquet[17] no. 1739 attested in Paris in 1458 is present on folios 117, 123, 125, 127, 128, 129. A last class of watermark with a crescent surmounted by a six-pointed star, close to Briquet[18] 5345 and attested in Holland between 1419 and 1427, can be seen on fols 91, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99 and 100.

The quire structure can be described as follow:

– Quire 1: fols 2r–21v, 20 folios

 In between fols 11v–12r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. Wear of the first and last folio of the quire could be explained by the hypothesis of independent circulation of the quire before binding. Watermark Fribourg 1455.

– Quire 2: fols 22r–35v, 14 folios

 In between fol. 28v–29r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. One bifolium is added and numbered at fols 22r–23r/31v–33r. Only the second half of it is noted, and a small volvelle is glued on it. Similarly, an added bifolium is inserted fols 23v–24r/33v–35r. It is noted on both half and numbered. Wear of the first and last folio of the quire could be explained by the hypothesis of independent circulation of the quire before binding. Watermark Fribourg 1455

– Quire 3: fols 36r–48v, 13 folios

 In between fols 41v–42r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. Watermark Fribourg 1455.

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13 The following description of the watermark is taken from: http://archiveset manuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc66378g (last accessed 26 December 2017).

14 (last accessed December 26, 2017).

15 (last accessed December 26, 2017).

16 Briquet 1907.

17 Briquet 1907.

18 Briquet 1907.

- Quire 4: fols 49r–60v, 12 folios
  In between fols 54v–55r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. Watermark Fribourg 1455.
- Quire 5: fols 61r–74v, 14 folios.
  In between fols 67v–69r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. Watermark Paris 1457–1461
- Quire 6: fols 75r–84v, 10 folios
  In between fols 81v–82r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. Watermark Paris 1456
- Quire 7: fols 85r–102v, 18 folios
  In between fols 93v–94r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. The paper quality is markedly different from the preceding folio. Wear of the first and last folio of the quire could be explained by the hypothesis of independent circulation of the quire before binding. Watermark Holland 1419–1427.
- Quire 8: fols 103r–116v, 14 folios
  In between fols 109v–110r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. Wear of the first and last folio of the quire could be explained by the hypothesis of independent circulation of the quire before binding.
- Quire 9: fols 117r–129v, 13 folios
  In between fols 109v–110r the parchment used in the binding can be seen. It seems to be of the same provenance as the guard-leaf. Wear of the first and last folio of the quire could be explained by the hypothesis of independent circulation of the quire before binding. Watermark Paris 1458.

BnF lat. 7432

BnF lat. 7432 is a 275 folios manuscript of approximate dimension 125 × 205 mm.[19] The binding is modern on wood board covered with brown leather. Guard-leaves, three folios of multicolour paper in the front and back of the MTM, seems to be from the nineteenth century. Also, a modern numbering of quires indicates that the binding was probably entirely redone in the nineteenth century. Apart from those guard-leaves, the rest of the manuscript is of parch-

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19 A complete digitisation of the manuscript can be consulted at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100202503 (last accessed 12 October 2019).

ment. Most of the manuscript parchment seems to have the same origin. However, the last quire of the volume is of a different quality, and possibly of a different origin. The quire structure can be described as follows:

– Quire 1: fols 1r–4v, 4 folios
– Quire 2: fols 5r–17v+14bis, 14 folios
  Quire number '2' can be read on fol.5r. A folio numbered 14 is inserted in between folios 17 and 18.
– Quire 3: fols 18r–33v, 16 folios
– Quire 4: fols 34r–48v, 14 folios
– Quire 5: fols 49r–65v, 17 folios
  fol. 65 seems to be from parchment of different quality than the rest of the document.
– Quire 6: fols 66r–78v, 13 folios
  Again fol. 78 seems to be added to an original 12 folios quire.
– Quire 7: ff 79r–90v, 12 folios
– Quire 9: ff 91r–104v, 14 folios
– Quire 10: ff 105r–117v, 13 folios
  fol. 109 is added with its cut second half appearing in between folios 113 and 114.
– Quire 11: fols 118r–129v, 12 folios
– Quire 12: fols 130r–143v, 14 folios
– Quire 13: fols 144r–159v, 16 folios
  Quire number '13' can be read on fol.144r. F.147r–150v seems to be added to an original 12 folios quire.
– Quire 14: fols 160r–171v, 12 folios
  Quire number '14' can be read on fol. 160r
– Quire 15: fols 172r–183v, 12 folios
  Quire number '15' can be read on fol. 172r
– Quire 16: fols 184r–198v, 14 folios
  Quire number '16' can be read on fol. 184r. fols 184 and 198 seems to be added to an original 12 folios quire.
– Quire 17: fols 199r–210v, 12 folios
  Quire number '17' can be read on fol. 199r
– Quire 18: fols 211r–222v, 12 folios
  Quire number '18' can be read on fol. 211r
– Quire 19: fols 223r–237v 15 folios
  fols. 223, 237, and a non-numbered half folio in between 226v–227r seems to be added to an original 12 folio quires.

- Quire 20: fols 238r–251v, 14 folios
  Quire number '20' can be read on fol. 238r
- Quire 21: fols 252r–263v, 12 folios
  Quire number '21' can be read on fol. 252r
- Quire 22: fols 264r–269v, 6 folios
  Quire number '22' can be read on fol. 264r
- Quire 23: fols 270r–275v, 6 folios
  Quire number '23' can be read on fol. 270r. Parchment of a different quality

This first level of description already shows interesting contrasts between the two manuscripts. 7432 is more compact than 7197 but has twice as much folios. The modern restoration of the binding of 7432 makes a comparison between bindings of the two manuscripts non-pertinent for the study of how late medieval actors produced and interacted with these documents.

The material from which the documents were produced is more interesting for our purposes. 7197 is built from an assemblage of papers from various origins. Those from Paris are contemporaneous with the presence of Conrad Heingarter there, while those from Fribourg, which are a little older, point to his native region. The older paper from Holland does not coincide with Heingarter's flourishing time. On the other hand, 7432 is built mainly from a homogenous source of good quality parchment (apart from the final quire).

The two manuscripts differ in the way the quires were structured. The quire organisation of 7432 is complex, but it is apparent that an initial set of 12 folios quires had been prepared. Supplementary folios were added to some of these quires. None of the quires from 7432 shows traces of an independent circulation before binding. This is a very important and marked contrast with 7197. In the 7197, at least 5 quires from the 9 that compose the MTM show marks of independent circulation before binding. The number of folio per quire is irregular, and I cannot discern any fundamental quire size. The number of cases in which the hypothesis of added folia to an initial quire can be made is also much lower in the case of 7197.

These contrasts are already informative and allow the formulation of a first series of hypotheses about the different production processes from which these manuscripts were derived. In 7197, the diversity of papers from different periods and regions indicate that the production of the manuscript took time, probably a number of years. This hypothesis is reinforced by the randomness of the quire composition and the possibility of an independent circulation of half of the quires composing the manuscript. This allows the hypothesis that the MTM is an *a posteriori* product of a process which was not focused mainly on the manu-

script production but around other kind of objectives. 7432 is a different case insofar as a sufficient amount of rather expensive material had been prepared. The variability of the quire composition (apart from the last quire) can be reduced to a base set of 12-folio quires. This points to a more carefully planned production of the manuscript and the codex in itself was probably the initial objective of the actors which produced it.

3 Marks, layout, hands and decorations

BnF lat. 7197

A stamp from the royal library from before 1735 is on the second folio, which,[20] in addition to a mention of the document in BnF lat. 9363, indicates that Colbert acquired the document in 1675 (Colbert 1499, fol. 2r) from Claude Hardy. It entered the royal library in 1732 (Regius 5864.3, fol. 2r) at the same time as BnF lat. 7295A, another manuscript produced by Conrad Heingarter.[21] Astronomical manuscripts often feature different dates. In this case the various dates are as follows:

– fol. 1v, on the guard leaf the years 1340–1380 are mentioned
– fol. 21r, 'anno 1420/ anno 1448/ anno 1456/ anno 1504'
– fol. 61r, '… anno 1473 currenti … ad annum 1498 currentem…'
– fol. 67v, 'usque ad annum 1498 completum ultimo die decembris'
– fol. 68v, 'et sic est finis anno 1446' This mention is crossed out in the manuscript
– fol. 102v 'item licet 1456 non sit completum'
– fol. 103v 'Item anno 1456 ward…'
– fol. 104r, 'radix 1456 completus ultima die decembris..'
– fol. 113v, computation is made for the year 1446

Both ink (e.g. fols 3–14) and dry point (e.g. fols 15–16) were used in ruling the various quires of 7197.[22] This diversity also corresponds to a diversity in layout and text distribution in the quires:

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20 Josserand / Bruno 1960, n° 5.
21 From BnF online catalogue: http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc66378g (last accessed 26 December 2017).
22 From BnF online catalogue: http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc66378g (last accessed 26 December 2017).

- Quire 1: fols 2r–21v
  fols 2r–2v2, two columns
  fols 3r–14v, one column, large margin with comments (idem fols 17r–20v)
  fols 15r–16v, one column, small inferior margin with comments
  fols 17r–20v, idem fols 3r–14v
  fols 21r–21v, specific (added?) ruling for the table
- Quire 2: fols 22r–35v
  fols 22r–35v, uniform ruling on this quire. Large inferior margin with comments. One column. The size of the text letters' become smaller as the end of the quire is nearer.
- Quire 3–6: fols 36r–…–84v
  fols 36r–84v, Ruling close to that of quire 2 but with a smaller inferior margin with comments. One column except for fol. 66r where the text is in two columns.
- Quire 7: fols 85r–102v
  fols 85r–102v, Specific ruling for the tables. Tables on every page apart from 102v showing prose text.
- Quire 8: fols 103r–116v
  fols 103r–116v, uniform ruling but diversely treated in term of writing repartition with respect to table or prose content. Prose content is in one column. fol. 116v as an empty ruling prepared for a table.
- Quire 9: fols 117r–129v
  fols 117r–129v, uniform ruling but text repartition from one to four columns with sometimes changes on the same page (e.g. fol. 118r). Most of the pages are treated with two columns. The size of the script becomes smaller as the end of the quire is nearer.

The manuscript is mainly by one cursive hand, which can be attributed to Conrad Heingarter thanks to the colophon *Explicit tractatus spere materialis per manus Conradi Heingarter* (fol. 50r). Conrad's hand is responsible for all quires' main text, with the exception of nos 7 and 9, which are written by two different unknown hands. Conrad Heingarter has also annotated quire 7 on fol. 102v and quire 9 on fol. 117r. The hand marking the guard-leaves is also unknown.

Decoration is of low quality in the manuscript. The few decorative elements are rather poorly executed by Conrad Heingarter (e.g. a crucifix on fol. 82v). In some instances, pointing hands are found in the margins (e.g. fols 53r, 63v, 64r). Apart from this, there are no other noteworthy decorative elements in the manuscript.

Devices to enhance the readability of the document are also very rudimentary. Apart from a few *a-posteriori* attempts to use red ink in the last quire's numerical

tables, every page is written with brown or black ink. Most of the initials had not been finalised (e.g. fol. 30r). Texts may have a somewhat distinguished title (e.g. fol. 30r), but this is not always the case. Sometime a line is skipped to mark a chapter or a paragraph change but this is not systematic. Conrad Heingarter's hand on fol. 117r added some sort of general title for quire 9.

The decoration and text-enhancing marks change from one hand to another, from one quire to another, and even within the same quire, without exhibiting any discernible coherent system.

BnF lat. 7432

The two royal library stamps on folios 5v and 275v are different from those found on the second folio of the 7197. On fol. 5r two previous shelfmarks: 'Reginus 6033' and 'Colbertinus 6089' are also found. Three dates appear on fol. 148v (1477), fol. 207v (1468), and fol. 259r (1480). Jean II de Bourbon is repeatedly mentioned as a dedicatee (fol. 3v-4r; fol. 125v–126r, fol. 135r, fol. 148v, fol. 222r, fol. 223r, fol. 259r). Finally, folio 223r–v contains a mention of the Castle of Belleperche (in the department of Allier): *Stelle verificate ad eram Iohannis Borboni ducis et ad orizontem Bellepertice.*[23]

Ruling is marked with ink. Pages are essentially prepared for a main text surrounded with large margins to allow for the insertion of a marginal text written in a smaller module. This marginal text is not always supplied. Some texts and tables are copied with narrower margin and thus less room for commentary. The quire repartition of these different situations is telling.

- Quire 1: fols 1r–4v
  fols 1r–3v, one main text small margin, cursive hand
  fols 4r–v, one main text with large margin book–hand, marginal text cursive hand
- Quire 2 fols 5r–17v
  fols 5r–17r, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
  fols 17v, one main text small margin cursive hand
- Quire 3: fols 18r–33v
  fols 18r–24v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
  fols 25r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

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23 Juste 2015.

fols 26r–32v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 33r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

– Quire 4: fols 34r–48v

fols 34r–40v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 41r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

fols 42r–45v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 46r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

fols 47r–48v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

– Quire 5: fols 49r–65v

fols 49r–50v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols51r–52v, one main text small margin cursive hand

fols 53r–59v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 60r–61v, one main text small margin cursive hand

fols 62r–64v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 65r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

– Quire 6: fols 66r–78v

fols 66r–77v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 78r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

– Quire 7: fols 79r–90v

fols 79r–90v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

– Quire 9: fols 91r–104v

fols 91r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

fols 92r–103v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 104r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

– Quire 10: fols 105r–117v

fols 105r–108v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand

fols 109r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

fols 110r–117v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
– Quire 11: fols 118r–129v
fols 118r–126r, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
fols 126v–129v, one main text large margin book hand
– Quire 12: fols 130r–143v
fols 130r–134r, one main text large margin book hand
fols 134v–135v, one main text small margin cursive hand
fols 136r–141v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
fols 142r–143v, one main text small margin cursive hand
– Quire 13: fols 144r–159v
fols 144r–146v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
fols 147r–150v, one main text small margin cursive hand
fols 151r, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
fols 151v–156v, one main text large margin book hand
fols 157r–159v, one main text small margin cursive hand
– Quire 14–15: fols 160r–…–183v
fols 160r–183v, one main text large margin book hand
– Quire 16: fols 184r–198v
fols 184r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand
fols 185r–193v, one main text large margin book hand
fols 194r–197v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
fol. 198r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand
– Quire 17: fols 199r–210v
fols 199r–210v, one main text large margin book hand
– Quire 18: fols 211r–222v
fols 211r–218v, one main text large margin book hand
fols 219r–221v, one main text large margin book hand, marginal text cursive hand
fols 222r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand
– Quire 19: fols 223r–237v, 15 folios
fols 223r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand
fols 224r–236v, one main text small margin book hand
fols 237r–v, one main text small margin cursive hand

- Quire 20–21: fols 238r–...–263v
  fols 238r–263v, one main text large margin book hand
- Quire 22: fols 264r–269v
  fols 264r–269v, one main text small margin book hand. The copy seems to be interrupted abruptly before the work was finished on fol. 268v. F.269r–v are left blank
- Quire 23: fols 270r–275v
  fols 270r–275v one main text large margin. Different ruling and different hand than the rest of the manuscript.

The marginal cursive hand of the first 22 quires is that of Conrad Heingarter. It is difficult to identify the book hand of these first 22 quires. The last quire is from a different hand.

7432 shows elaborate decorative elements, which are closely related to the main text in the large margin layout. In these situations, the main text of most pages includes many illuminations, place holders at the end of lines, and several decorated initials, all of which are beautifully executed with lapis lazuli, gold, red, green and vegetal motifs. This situation is generally true except for quire 22 where no decoration is found, while the space for the initials was reserved during the copy of the main text. Several technical diagrams are also illuminated with the same kind of motifs:

- fol. 212r, nodes of the moon
- fol. 214r, superior planets theory
- fol. 217r, inferior planets theory
- fol. 218v, planet retrogradation

Finally, the manuscript shows an impressive iconographic programme, with eleven very high-quality miniatures:

- fol. 4r, Ptolemy (?) in a representation of the cosmos
- fol. 66r, Ptolemy (?) with four different persons representing different parts of the court society
- fol. 103v, Ptolemy (?) with different persons, including the king around the theme of justice
- fol. 129v, a child standing on his feet, miniature inside a horoscope
- fol. 131r, the same child, seated, miniature inside a horoscope
- fol. 134v, Ptolemy (?) taking the king's pulse and pointing at the moon
- fol. 151v, Messahalah (?) in a representation of the cosmos
- fol. 160r, scene of public lecture, the orator is pointing at the sun and the stars
- fol. 209r, geometrical representation of the cosmos

- fol. 224r, geometrical representation of a moon eclipse
- fol. 238v, a young child is learning astronomy (?) with a book opened in front of him. Several adults of different conditions are around him and there is a depiction of a starry sky outside the room.

Their institutional marks suggest that the two manuscripts have quite similar conservation histories. Possibly, they reached Colbert collection's following different paths. The mention of dates and places is interesting as the range of dates proposed by 7432 is much narrower than that of 7197. This corresponds to the contrast drawn from the material analysis. 7432 shows a mostly uniform supply of high-quality parchment and a small range of dates. 7197 shows a large range of dates and a diversified supply of paper from various origins and dates. Astronomy is a science of time. Computations of dates for specific events, or reversely computation of an astral configuration at a given date, are central to the discipline. In the case of 7197, the dates roughly correspond to what the watermark attests regarding the manuscript's production period. However, we can see that explicitly inscribed dates present a greater time range. The range of inscribed dates corresponds to years mentioned directly in astronomical tables or to computations present in the manuscript as marginal annotations or as examples provided in procedural texts. In the case of 7432, the smaller range of dates is also explained by a characteristic of the astronomical practice related to the production of the manuscript: the wish to adapt its content (star tables, epoch, horoscopes) to a very specific context related to the dedicatee.

The comparison of the information gathered from the physical analysis of the manuscripts and that of the rulings, layout and hands is very informative. The most striking aspect of 7197 is the very strong correlation between those quires that show marks of independent circulation and those which show a script becoming smaller towards the end of the quire (quires 2 and 9). Another element pointing in the direction of an independent circulation of various units before binding is the page title of fol. 117r, isolating the last quire as an independent unit. The similarity of 7197's quires 3 to 6 in term of layout and ruling organisation might indicate that they formed a coherent unit at some point. That is consistent with the hypothesis that Conrad Heingarter compiled the manuscript's quires in a gradually planned way for as long as new interests appeared to him. This, together with the generally unsystematic character of 7197 ruling and layout organisation, confirms the general impression that he gathered *a posteriori* quires that were produced with a loosely defined *a priori* intention of making a formally unitary codex.

MS 7432 is also complex with respect to layout. The most striking aspect is the repartition of the marginal text and the decoration with respect to the quire organisation. The case of unfinished quire 22 shows that the main text was first copied in a book hand. The presence of several portions of the manuscript with a decorated main text and no marginal text shows that the main text decoration was probably made before the addition of a marginal text. When the marginal text was added, its length was such that on several occasions folios were added to the initial quires so it could be copied in correspondence with the main text (e.g. quire 9). Also, it appears that in some cases no marginal text was really envisioned to complement the main text. Notably, this situation applies to most of quire 19, where only the main text is copied in a smaller margin than the one used when a marginal text had originally been planned. This simple scenario accounts quite well for the structure of 7432. It also shows that a specific intellectual practice, i.e. the production of a secondary text in relation to the main one, is linked to the production of the manuscript.

The contrast between the decorations of the two manuscripts is probably the most striking. It points in the same direction as the conclusion of the preceding part: a different balance between the process of producing the document and the astronomical practices related to it.

4 Manuscript contents

BnF lat. 7197

In contrast to its underdeveloped decoration, MS 7197 has 16 folios with diagrams. In some cases, these diagrams show that they were drawn directly on bound quires. For instance, on folios 16v and 17r some of the construction marks of the diagram extend from one page to the next. Another clue is related to the use of a compass to draw circles. In the case of folios 51r, 52r, 53v, 55v, 57v the compass tip made a hole on the neighbouring folios. Some of these diagrams belong directly to the main text, while the others are integrated in marginal annotations. Another striking point is the diversity of the diagrams. Some are very precisely executed with rulers and compass while others are drawn in haste without geometrical instruments. They cover a range of topics from arithmetic (left margin of fol. 7r) to cosmology (T–O world map of fol. 38r). The arithmetical scale of fol. 31r, allowing for a conversion between sexagesimal and ordinary fraction, is particularly interesting. The series of diagrams on fol. 79r–v combine theory of proportion and geometry and are also interesting from a history of mathematics perspective.

Many of the astronomical technical drawings of 7197 are directly related to the *Theorica planetarum* Gerardi. These diagrams are notable because they bear texts that enrich the description of the astronomical properties illustrated (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Illustration of the *Theorica planetarum Gerardi* by Conrad Heingarter; BnF lat. 7197, fol. 53v (detail), © BnF Gallica

Essentially, the astronomical tables in 7197 are gathered in two distinct sets. The first set, on quire 7, concerns calendrical computation and is related to Prague and the year 1400. The second set, on quire 8, concerns planetary motion (including the sun and moon) in the Alfonsine tradition. In this second set, mean motions are given in calendrical form, not in the full sexagesimal version described in John of Saxony canons of 1327. They are given with a radix for 1444. The equations are given using sign of 30° and with a step of 5° between the arguments. Overall, this second set of tables proposes a compact and not very precise version of the Parisian Alfonsine tables. A number of arithmetical tables can also be found in 7197. In contrast to astronomical tables, which appear in sets, these arithmetical tables are spread through the document. They can be related to fractions (fol. 31v) or can be very elementary like the multiplication table found on fol.14v. Some tabular layouts display the execution of a multiplication or other arithmetical procedures (e.g. fol. 35r with the label *figura multiplicationis*). This kind of content is in the margin between diagrams and tables.

The diagrams and tables of 7197 reflect the textual content of the manuscript. Thus, arithmetic and astronomy are the two main themes of the document. I have already mentioned that the 1327 canons to the Alfonsine tables by John of Saxony are present in 7197, as well as a version of the Alfonsine tables. It is interesting to note that John of Saxony's canons cannot be used with the versions of the Alfonsine tables present in the manuscript. However, in terms of astronomical content, both cover the same type of phenomenon: planetary motions. The manuscript also contains the *Theorica planetarum Gerardi*, that is, the traditional planetary theory treatise of the period. Astrology has a very small part in this manuscript with only one identified text on fol. 38r. With respect to arithmetic, the presence of Sacrobosco's *Algorismus* as an opening text is emblematic of how the faculty of art teaches the discipline. The manuscript also has much more advanced text on fractions, proportion theory and algebra. It is noteworthy that, while the manuscript is mainly written in Latin, an arithmetical text on fols 9r–14v is in German. In addition, a classification of sciences and a *Grammatica* by Hugh of St Victor reflects some interests in more literary and philosophical topics. This type of content reflects the arts faculty's teaching with quite advanced texts in astronomy and arithmetic. It is also interesting to note that a significant number of small texts, or parts of texts, which are very difficult to identify with precision, are present in the manuscript (e.g. the small fraction algorism on fols 30r–31v, or the 7 lines of text on astrology on fol. 38r). This creates gaps, in some cases of several folios, in the textual content of the manuscript (e.g. fols 17r–20v or 22r–29v are not empty but are inscribed with non-identified texts).

The following detailed quire-by-quire list illustrates the repartition of the contents:

– Quire 1: (fols 2r–21v)
  fols 3r–8r, *Algorismus*, Sacrobosco
  fols 9r–14v, Arithmetical treatise German and Latin, Arithmetical diagram on fol. 7r
  fols 15r–16v, *Turquetum*, Franco de Polonis, Astronomical diagrams unfinished on fol.16r–v
  fol. 21r–v, calendrical tables (fragment)
– Quire 2: (fols 22r–35v)
  fols 30r–31r, fraction algorism, fraction conversion scale diagram fol. 31r
  fols 31r–..., *Algorismus de minutiis*, Jean de Lignères
– Quire 3: (fols 36r–48v)
  fols ...–36v, *Algorismus de minutiis*, Jean de Lignères
  fols 36v–38r, *Algorismus linealis*

fol. 38r, *De dominio planetarym in nativitatibus puerorum*, T–O map diagram

fols 39r–..., *De sphaera*, Sacrobosco, cosmological diagram on fol. 39r

– Quire 4: (fols 49r–60v)

fols ...–50r, *De sphaera*, Sacrobosco

fols 51r–57v, *Theorica planetarum Gerardi*, theory of the sun diagram on fol. 51r, theory of the moon diagram on fol. 52r, theory of Venus and superior planet on fol. 53v, theory of Mercury on fol. 55r, Mercury diagram on fol. 55v, retrogradation diagram on fol. 57v

fols 58v–..., *Tempus est mensura motus...*, John of Saxony

– Quire 5: (fols 61r–74v)

fols ...–68v, *Tempus est mensura motus...*, John of Saxony

fols 68v–71r, *Oratio pro Marcello*, Cicero

fols 71r–73v, *Oratio pro Ligario*, Cicero

– Quire 6: (fols 75r–84v)

fols 74r–79v, *Algorsimus proportionum*, Oresme, Proportion theory diagram on fols 74v, 76r, 79r, 79v

fols 80r–81r, Algorismus proportionibus

fols 81r–82r, arithmetical treatise, attributed to Jean des Murs

fols 82v–84r, *Divisiones Sacrae Scirpturae*

– Quire 7: (fols 85r–102v)

fols 85r–102r, Calendrical tables (Prague 1400)

– Quire 8: (fols 103r–116v)

fols 104r–112r, *Alfonsine tables* (1444)

fol. 112v, *Tractatus de astronomia* (syzygies?)

fols 114r–115r, *Tractatus de quadrante*

fols 116r, *Alfonsine tables* (fragment)

– Quire 9: (fols 117r–129v)

fol. 118r, *Disdascalicon*, Hugh of St Victor

fols 118r–129v, *Grammatica*, Hugh of St Victor

In contrast to what I noted above on the complex relation between astronomical tables and texts, the relation between diagrams and texts is quite different: all diagrams are in direct relation to the manuscript text in their closest proximity. The most significant series in this respect are the astronomical diagrams related to the *Theorica planetarum Gerardi* on fols 51r–57v and the Proportion theory diagram related to Oresme's treatise on fols74v–79v. In the analysis of the ruling and layout of 7197, a connection between quires 3 to 6 was noted. The sequence of the contents highlights another link between the quires 2 to 5. Moreover, the ruling and layout organisation of quire 2 is very close to that of quires 3 to 6.

Thus, it is likely that the unit formed by quire 2 to 6 formed an autonomous circulation unit at some point in the history of the manuscript. The fact that quire 2 shows marks of independent circulation would suggest that this unit was probably not bound or that quire 2 was first inscribed without Jean de Lignières' text. The variety of papers forming this unit reinforces the hypothesis of a progressive constitution. Quire 1, 7, 8 and 9 are autonomous in terms of intellectual content, and each could have been an independent circulation unit at some point in the manuscript's history.

BnF lat. 7432

Ten pages of 7432 are inscribed with one diagram each. These diagrams show two kinds of content: two horoscope diagrams and eight astronomical diagrams. Among those astronomical diagrams, six are directly related to the copy of the *Theorica planetarum Gerardi*. A detailed and technical comparison between that series of diagrams and the corresponding ones in 7197 is beyond the scope of this contribution but would certainly be fruitful. The two series show strong similarities but also interesting contrasts: the diagrams of 7432 are more schematic and, most remarkably, do not insert as much textual content.

It is more important for our present purposes to note another aspect of the technical diagrams of 7432 (Fig. 2). Some of these diagrams are purely geometrical and are not illuminated or decorated in any way (e.g. fols 209v, 210v). However some diagrams are illuminated (fols 212r, fols 214r, fol. 217r and fol. 218v), others are decorated with a miniature (fol. 129v, fol. 131r), while finally two technical diagrams were completely transformed into miniatures (fol. 209r, fol. 224r, Figs 2–3). This suggests that the miniaturist(s?) somehow collaborated with Conrad Heingarter, or whoever produced the technical diagrams, using them as the initial drawing for their painting.
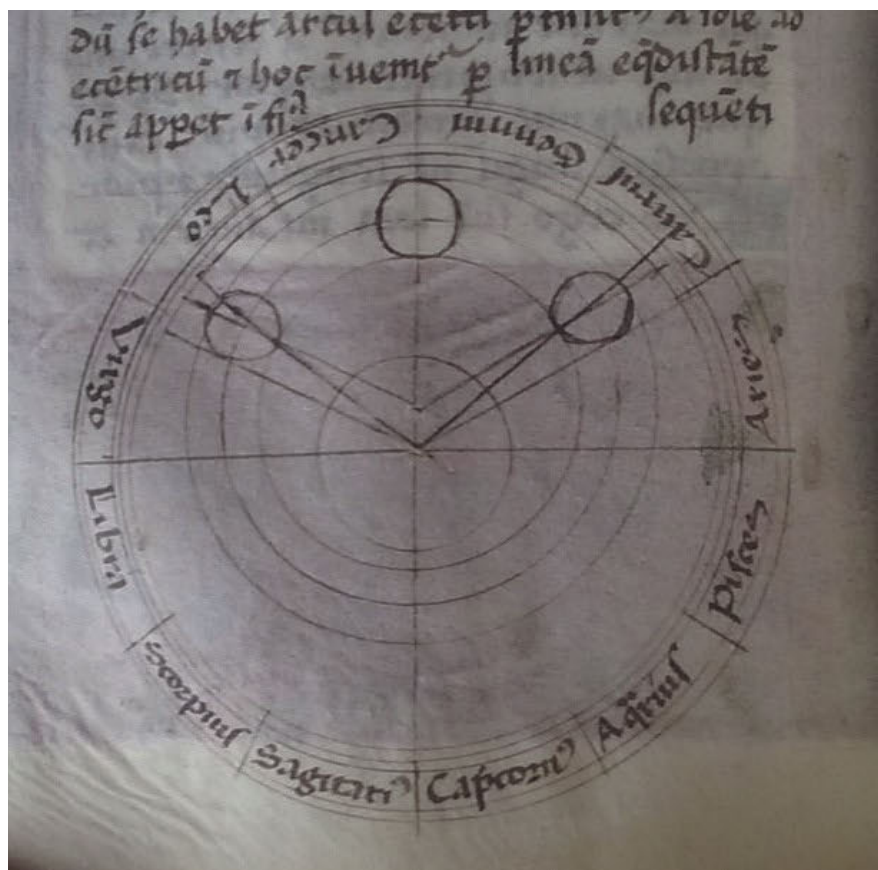
Fig. 2: Illustration of the *Theorica planetarum Gerardi* by Conrad Heingarter, BnF lat. 7432 fols 209v (detail¸ diagonal about 5 cm) ©BnF Gallica

Tables in 7432 are essentially gathered in the final part of the manuscript from fols 239r to 263v. This ensemble is actually formed of two distinct sets. From fols 239r to 258v a version of the Alfonsine tables is found. Then, after two small texts on an astrological topic, a set of astrological tables is found from fol. 259v to fol. 263v. A few other tables are found isolated in the document: on fol. 159r–v a geographical table (incomplete), on fol. 184r–v astrological tables, on fol. 187r–v a star table (empty) and on 223r–v a star table. The folio with incomplete and empty tables shows us that the general layout and headings of a given table were prepared and copied before the actual numerical data of the table. The version of the Alfonsine tables attested in 7432 begins with a set of chronologi-

cal tables. Tables for the motion of the eighth sphere follow. Radices and mean motion tables come after. Mean motion tables are presented in their full sexagesimal version. The set is closed with the explicit *finiunt tabule illustrissimi regis Alfonsiis* after a set of equation tables on fol. 252r. After this *explicit* other astronomical tables are copied in the same kind of layout. Thus, while being set outside from the authority of the king Alfonso X, they are presented as belonging to the same set of tables. In this 'auxiliary' or 'complementary' set we find trigonometrical tables (right and oblique ascension), equation of time table, table related to syzygies computation and latitude tables for the moon and planets.
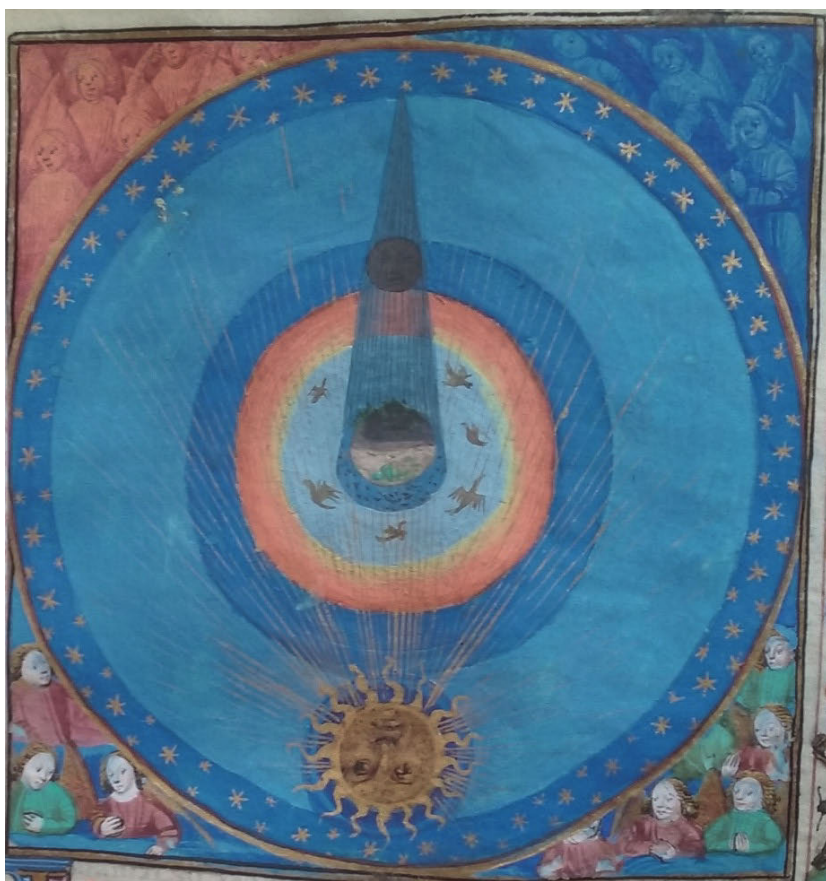
Fig. 3: Miniature illustrating eclipses theory in BnF lat. 7432, fol. 224r (detail) © BnF Gallica

The main themes of 7432 are coherent with those of its diagrams and tables. The manuscript content mainly concerns astrology and astronomy. The major texts of the astrological discipline are present and commented in the manuscript: Ptolemy *Quadripartitum* and Pseudo-Ptolemy *Centiloquium*, Messahalah *Vir sapiens dominabitur astris* and Alcabitius *Introductorius*. They are presented mainly at the beginning of the manuscript. A section on mathematical astronomy then begins with John of Saxony's canons of 1327, the *Theorica planetarum Gerardi* and the Alfonsine tables. In this case, the canons perfectly match the version of the Alfonsine tables present in the document. The manuscript is then concluded with smaller texts related to astrology but also connected to other topics (with, for instance, a small text on astrological images) or texts related to medical astrology (with an *Astronomia Ypocratis*). Small texts related to meteorology are also found in the manuscript. Thus, the intellectual project behind the manuscript is clear: it demonstrates the mastery of Conrad Heingarter on the fundamental concepts of astrology, on its mathematical astronomy tools and finally on its relations to connected disciplines, such as meteorology, medical astrology and astrological images. The iconographic program of MS 7432 complements the general intellectual intention behind the production of the manuscript. Miniatures explicitly point to some aspects: for instance, the relation between astrology and medicine. Miniatures also nicely complement the content of the manuscript by pointing to astrology's scope of application in relation to courtly activities and the king's duties. A miniature showing a master giving a class introduces the manuscript's mathematical astronomy section. The necessity of studying and thus Conrad Heingarter's competence is also illustrated by the last miniature.

The general distribution of this material in the manuscript is as follows:
– Quire 1: fols 1r–4v
   fol 1r, *De vita Ptholomei*
   fols 1v–3v, Table of content
   fols 4r–..., *Quadripartitum*, Ptolemy
– Quire 2-12: fols 5r–...–143v
   fols ...–134r, *Quadripartitum*, Ptolemy. Two horoscope diagrams on fol. 129v and 131r
   fols 134v-..., *Centiloquium,* Pseudo-Ptolemy
– Quire 13: fols 144r–159v
   fols ...–146r, *Centiloquium,* pseudo-Ptolemy
   fols 146v–148v, *De cometis*, pseudo-Ptolemy
   fols 149r–151r, small meteorological texts
   fols 151v–156v, *Epistola de rebus eclipsium*, Messahallah

fols 157r–159r, *Vir sapiens dominabitur astris*, Messahallah

fols 159v–..., *Introductorius*, Alcabitius. Fol. 159r–v: a geographical table (incomplete)

– Quire 14–17: fols 160r–...–210v

fols ...–208v, *Introductorius*, Alcabitius. Fol. 184r–v: astrological tables, and fol. 187r–v a star table (empty)

fols 209r–..., *Theorica planetarum Gerardi*. Fol. 209r: cosmological diagram turned into a miniature, fol. 209v and fol. 210v, sun theory and moon theory diagrams.

– Quire 16–18: fols 211r–...–222v.

fols ...–222r, *Theorica planetarum Gerardi*. F. 212r, fol. 214r, fol. 217r and fol. 218v planetary theory diagrams, illuminated.

– Quire 19: fols 223r–237v 15 folios

fols 223r–v, Star table

fols 224r–236v, *Tempus est mensura motus...*, John of Saxony. Fol. 224r eclipse diagram transformed into a miniature.

fols 237r–..., *De statione planetarum et retrogradatione*

– Quire 20: fols 238r–251v

fols ...–238r, *De statione planetarum et retrogradatione*

fols 239r–251v, *Tabule illustrissimi regis Alfonsii*

– Quire 21: fols 252r–263v

fols 252r–258v, Other astronomical tables

fols 259r, Astrological text

fols 259v–263v, Astrological tables

– Quire 22: fols 264r–269v

fols 264r–266r, *Astronomia Ypocratis*

fols 266v–268r, *Tractatus de pronosticis et componendis*

fols 268v, *De scientia pestilentie*

– Quire 23: fols 270r–275v.

fols 270r–275v Greek alphabet, prayers in Greek with interlinear Latin translation.

The most striking features of this distribution are the two long blocks of quires forming most of the manuscript. The first block, containing more than 200 folios, extends from quire 1 to quire 18. The second is formed of quire 19 and 20. Then the three remaining quires are autonomous in terms of content. The first long block is mainly concerned with astrology. The second is concerned with mathematical astronomy, also with a part of quire 21, and the last two quires with short texts on various topics related to astrology. These impressive blocks

of quires point in the same general direction as other aspects described before: that of an organised, even if quite complex, production process.

The analysis of the manuscripts' content confirms and illustrates more precisely the hypotheses which were drawn from the descriptions of the documents' first two dimensions. The content distribution's in quires and the links it shows between some of the quires corroborate the fact that the production of 7432 had consistently been organised with a rather precise vision of what would be the structure of the final codex (except probably for the last part of the production process and the inclusion of commentary texts to the astrological treatises) whereas the production of 7197 was probably less organised. Another feature of comparison concerns the intellectual coherence of the two documents. 7197's intellectual structure comes directly from the teaching context of the art faculty and shows Conrad as a student for topics of arithmetic and mathematical astronomy.[24] The intellectual coherence comes from Conrad Heingarter's reaction to a specific intellectual milieu. By contrast, the intellectual structure of 7432 was planned to deliver a specific message to the dedicatee of the manuscript with respect to the importance of Conrad Heingarter's competence in astrology and mathematical astronomy. In that case Conrad Heingarter probably had more initiative in his choice of texts even though he is certainly constrained by the standard of the discipline.

5 Conclusion

Among the different clues offered by the manuscripts described in this contribution, the quire structure is certainly central in order to understand the production process of the manuscript. Often, by relating the distribution of other aspects of the manuscript to the quire structure, the structural continuities and discontinuities are made apparent, and can be evaluated. Evaluating the meaning of these continuities and discontinuities leads us to the following contrasted description and summary of the production process.

BnF lat. 7197 appears as the result of a process where a student in the art faculty, with a specific interest in arithmetic and mathematical astronomy, collects, probably during the time of his studies, texts and parts of texts related to these

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24 BnF lat. 7295A, also by Conrad Heingarter and probably from the same period, shows the same kind of intellectual profile with more text on instruments. It also contains a version of the Alfonsine tables.

topics on quires from different origins. When a quire is full he simply moves to a new one. In building this collection, it is not necessary for him to personally copy every text that is to be integrated in the collection. Building a collection is a loosely planned process. The collector is organised. He might have specific targets, and he knows where to place each item in his collection, but he might also be an opportunist and take what is available. The process of building the collection is an integral part of learning the discipline. At some point, for instance when the student changes faculty or finishes his study, the quires which probably circulated in more or less autonomous ways are bound together in a more definitive way (in that case even with clasps). Learning a discipline by building and studying a collection of texts are two related processes centred on the actor who is creating the manuscript.

By contrast, BnF lat. 7432 seems to be the result of a different process, where the actor producing the manuscript is not creating it for himself but uses it to convey a specific message to a given audience (in that case reduced to a dedicatee and its court). The central purpose of 7432 is to demonstrate Conrad Heingarter's competence as an astrologer. In this situation, the production process is very different and far more organised, especially with respect to the *external* aspects. The supply of quires, the systematic organisation of the different layers of writing (main text, diagrams, tables, decoration, secondary text, etc.) are very important points for 7432. Everything is planned to give the manuscript a unified, and luxurious, external aspect. In order to convey its message efficiently to its audience, the manuscript must be presented suitably. It must also give to the audience a positive self-representation. In the case of 7432, this occurs through the expensive supply of parchment and the even more impressive decorative apparatus and iconographic programme.

Other features of the two manuscripts opened windows on the relation between the production process and the related astronomical practices. One primary, and maybe original, aspect concerns the specific role of the analysis of implicit and inscribed dates and places attached to the two codices. Astronomy is a science that deals with space and time, and the comparison of the two sets of dates and places is a way to understand the articulations between producing astronomical manuscripts and other astronomical practices. 7197 contains a wide range of dates and places because the process of learning encourages the confrontation with various situations, whereas 7432 includes a smaller range of dates and places, because the content had to be adapted to the specific context of the dedicatee.

The contents of the manuscripts also reflect the kind of production process from which the two codices originated. In 7197, the half-organised collecting process which produced the manuscript is reflected in the contents. Most common

texts of the arts faculty disciplines are found, but also very rare texts. The types of annotation and diagram are also very specific to the learning process. They are sometimes also found in *pecia* manuscripts that could be used by students as ready-made collections. The intellectual profile of 7432 is also affected by this necessity to convey a specific message. While the art faculty student was interested in arithmetic and mathematical astronomy, the grown-up man, presented his competence in astrology. This competence is displayed mainly by the production of a continuous commentary, adapted to the dedicatee, of the discipline's main texts. The version of the Alfonsine tables in each manuscript marks an interesting contrast between the two documents. In 7432, the Alfonsine tables' version is standard and directly coherent with the choice of John of Saxony's canons. In 7197, the Alfonsine tables are abridged and not coherent with John of Saxony's canons. In the first case, the choice of a standard version and the coherence between the mathematical astronomy texts reinforce the demonstration of competence conveyed by the manuscript. In the second case, the more dialectic relation between the tables and the canons was certainly thought-provoking for the student. Finally, the contrast between the technical diagrams attached in both manuscripts to the *Theorica planetarum Gerardi* is also important. 7197's annotated diagrams show Conrad Heingarter's intellectual engagement with the content, while 7432's illuminated or even miniaturised diagrams point to the display and decorative features of diagrams. In a nutshell, the production process which created 7197 is generally oriented toward learning activities. Similarly, the production process which created 7432 is generally oriented toward conveying a message of competence to a specific courtly audience. These two manuscripts attest two specific ways for mathematical astronomy to be integrated in late medieval societies.

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Konrad Hirschler

The Development of Arabic Multiple-Text and Composite Manuscripts: The Case of *ḥadīth* Manuscripts in Damascus during the Late Medieval Period

Abstract: This article is based on documented book collections in pre-Ottoman Syria and focuses in particular on a corpus of Arabic *ḥadīth* manuscripts produced between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. These manuscripts came mostly in the format of composite manuscripts, but occasionally also as multiple-text manuscripts. Many of them had originally been stand-alone booklets that were subsequently transformed into larger codices. This article shows how changes in the social and intellectual profile of a scholarly field (here *ḥadīth* studies) changes the materiality of the books the scholars used. The article furthermore argues that the term *'majmūʿ'* that contemporaries used for composite and multiple-text manuscripts is meaningful when we consider the manuscripts not as 'production units', but as 'circulation units'.

Multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) in Arabic have—as in so many other fields of study—lingered on the margins of historical scholarship and cataloguing practices. Even though MTMs have been widely used in scholarship, they have rarely been the object of dedicated study. Some scholars have taken a more profound interest in them, such as—yet once again—Franz Rosenthal who published in the 1950s a description of a 'one-volume library' of philosophical and scientific texts, Georges Vajda who dealt with an Ottoman 'bibliothèque de poche' and James Kritzeck who described a philosophical MTM.[1] Yet these articles remained mostly on a descriptive level without discussing the multiple-text character of the manuscript in question in more depth. While they offered tantalising comments on broader issues related to the production, circulation and

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1 Rosenthal 1955; Vajda 1954; Kritzeck 1956.

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reception of these manuscripts, the manuscripts' multiple text character was not yet in the focus of scholarly interests. In consequence, the main academic resource for the field of Middle Eastern history/Islamic Studies, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, has no entry dedicated to MTMs or composite manuscripts (CMs) either in its first edition (early twentieth century), second edition (second half of the twentieth century) or its third edition (ongoing since 2007). And while we have comparatively good handbooks for the study of Arabic manuscripts, these have again relatively little to say on such manuscripts.[2]

In the same vein, library catalogues of Arabic manuscripts have rather sidelined MTMs and CMs as physical objects of significance. If they have been catalogued at all, they have been more often than not 'ripped apart' in the sense that each individual text got its entry in the respective thematic (law, mathematic, philosophy etc.) or alphabetical category. In this way, the manuscript's materiality and the interplay between its texts was obliterated and the individual entries often did not even cross-reference the other texts in the same manuscript. This is as much true for many of the seminal catalogues of the late nineteenth century (such as Wilhelm Ahlwardt's catalogue for the Staatsbibliothek Berlin) as for catalogues which have been published in the twenty-first century (such as ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Ḥalwajī's dedicated catalogues for what he calls 'collections' in the Egyptian National Library, the Dār al-kutub, in Cairo).[3] The latter encompasses some 3,000 pages of wonderful descriptions of individual texts in alphabetical order—yet the reader looks in vain for an index which would allow identifying the texts belonging to the same manuscript. There are only some laudable exceptions which broke away from this practice and which preserved the integrity of manuscripts with multiple texts, such as the excellent three catalogues for the Syrian National Library[4] in Damascus by Yāsīn al-Sawwās or the catalogue of the Yahuda collection in Jerusalem.[5] Here the criterion for ordering the texts has indeed been the MTM or the CM as a codicological unit. Such a catalogue does not only represent a wonderful resource for anybody interested in manuscripts beyond their textual content, but we see in the detailed entries that the cataloguers themselves started to see the manuscripts as much more than just neutral carriers of given texts.

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2 Gacek 2009 and 2012; Déroche 2005.

3 Ahlwardt 1887-1899; al-Ḥalwajī 2011.

4 The Damascus collection was housed until the 1980s in the Ẓāhirīya Library when it was transferred to the al-Asad National Library (referred to in the present article as 'Syrian National Library'). The manuscripts retained their class marks and secondary literature occasionally refers to them until today as 'Ẓāhirīya' manuscripts.

5 Al-Sawwās 1983-86 and 1987; Wust 2016.

1 Setting the scene: MTMs and CMs in late medieval Damascus

In light of the absence of a dedicated scholarly interest and appropriate resources, we are thus far from having an overview on Arabic MTM and CM practices which would allow understanding regional differences (Arabic manuscripts circulated in considerable numbers between al-Andalus and South Asia), thematic differences (practices seem to be different in fields as diverse as mathematics, Qur'ān commentary and history) and diachronic change (significant numbers of Arabic manuscripts survive from between the tenth to the twentieth centuries). In light of this state of affair the present article sets out to discuss one specific case: MTMs and CMs produced and circulating in Damascus during the high and late medieval period (*c*.1200–1500) and in particular those with texts from the field of *ḥadīth*, i.e. the traditions reporting first and foremost the prophet Muḥammad's deeds and words. The argument proposed here will thus not give insight into regional differences (do we see the same development in other Syrian cities such as Aleppo, cities in neighbouring regions such as Cairo or even further away in a city such as Marrakesh?) and thematic differences (do we see the same development in other textual genres within Damascus?). However, leaving the regional and thematic factors outside the equation enables this case study to propose a first diachronic argument with regard to the development of Arabic MTMs and CMs.

The argument proposed here is that Damascene MTMs and CMs in the field of *ḥadīth* experienced a considerable upsurge in the course of the thirteenth century until their numbers started to dwindle away towards the end of the fifteenth century. This change in the physical format was closely linked to shifting practices of textual transmission in this scholarly field, in particular the enormous popularity of highly idiosyncratic small booklets of *ḥadīths* from the thirteenth century onwards and their subsequent declining popularity two hundred years later. This argument is primarily based on a survey of the hundreds of Damascene *ḥadīth* MTMs and CMs that were not only named in medieval book lists, but which have survived in large numbers (primarily in the Syrian National Library in Damascus, but in smaller numbers also in other collections around the world such as Cairo, Istanbul, Berlin, Paris, Dublin and Princeton). While the argument is thus consciously cautious in making too broad a claim, it would rather be surprising if the same—or at least a very similar—development did not occur in other cities where *ḥadīth* was a prime field of scholarly activities, such as Cairo. In the same vein, I assume that this development was not exclusively limited to *ḥadīth* scholarship, but was part of a much broader reconfiguration of textual formats in various fields during this period. To

cite but one example, the enormous upsurge of manuscripts with poetic and prose anthologies for scholarly consumption and also the parallel rise of MTMs with all possible material for more popular readerships[6] indicate comparable trends beyond the field of *ḥadīth* scholarship. Yet, as I have not systematically surveyed the *ḥadīth* MTMs and CMs from other regions, nor the non-*ḥadīth* MTMs and CMs from Damascus these broader claims in regional and thematic terms are for the time being hypotheses.

As this article is published in a volume for a readership beyond those specialising in Middle Eastern history, some words on its methodology are in place. Firstly, the argument presented here is based on the ability to ascribe to manuscripts a narrowly-defined place of production and circulation, here the city of Damascus. This might seem slightly over-confident when working on other manuscript traditions, but the Arabic manuscript tradition has one striking characteristic, namely the large number of manuscript notes. Users of manuscripts systematically used blank spaces and margins, and occasionally even added further folia, to register the ownership status of the manuscript (such as ownership notes, sale notes, endowment notes, lending notes) and also the scholarly transmission of its text(s) (such as authorisations to transmit and reading certificates).[7] These notes carry more often than not a date and place allowing to get a detailed understanding of a manuscript's regional circulation. Secondly, the period chosen here is the period from which we start to have large numbers of extant manuscripts. While it would be possible to extend the argument in synchronic terms (region and theme) and in diachronic terms for the following centuries, a move further back in time would have to take a completely different approach as the available source material is strikingly different.

As much as in other manuscript cultures, neither the term MTM nor the term CM has an equivalent in pre-modern Arabic. Rather what we observe is that scholars used the Arabic term *majmūʿ* (lit. 'brought together') for both formats.[8] This term was widely used in the period under examination for simply describing those manuscripts which were not single-text manuscripts. A *majmūʿ* could thus be (rarely so) a single production unit (i.e. produced in one delimited time period), a MTM, and (much more often) could consist of distinct production units, a CM, which were brought together at a later point.[9] The translation of the broad category *majmūʿ* as either MTM or CM is closely tied to the production context. However, this differentiation becomes more difficult to maintain when we follow medieval Arabic authors of

6 Hirschler 2012.

7 Görke / Hirschler 2011.

8 For a brief discussion of the term see Friedrich / Schwarke 2016, 12.

9 For 'production unit' and 'circulation unit' see Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013.

book lists and look at manuscripts in terms of 'circulation units' and focus on how they were used and perceived. When we move away from the production context as the determining factor for a codex's status, and the Arabic scholars discussed here clearly did so, it is evident that a *majmū'* had a clear meaning for them. For these scholars a (composite or multiple-text) codex was a *majmū'* irrespectively of how it came into being and as long as it did not carry a title for the entire codex. The following will thus use the terms MTM and CM in order to probe to what extent the distinction between these two terms is reflected in the way of how a massive collection of *majmū's* was built up in late medieval Syria.

2 MTMs and CMs in Damascene medieval book lists

This interest in contemporaneous understandings of MTMs and CMs is very much informed by one set of source materials underlying this article, namely documentary Arabic book lists. With 'documentary book lists' I refer to lists that reproduce an actual collection of codicological units in contrast to 'title lists' which enumerate the titles known to a given author—a distinction often overlooked in studying Middle Eastern history. We have many examples of the latter, most famously the *Fihrist* of the tenth-century Baghdadi book trader Ibn al-Nadīm,[10] but these bibliographies offer obviously a perspective completely different from documentary book lists. Although Arabic medieval societies were highly literate and characterised by the prominence of the written word, only a handful of documentary lists have been identified so far. The field is thus still a far cry from undertaking a project as rich in documents as for instance the *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*.[11] However we are in the fortunate position that the two largest known documentary Arabic book lists dating from before 1500 both come from the same city, Damascus, and thus allow working with them from a comparative angle: the Ashrafīya library catalogue written around the 1270s[12] and the book endowment of the scholar Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503).[13] These two documents are highly relevant for discussing

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10 Ibn al-Nadīm ²2014.

11 The first volume published in this series was Humphreys 1990.

12 *Fihrist kutub khizānat al-Ashrafīya*, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 5433, fols 246–270; edited and discussed by Hirschler 2016.

13 *Fihrist al-kutub,* MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190 (written before 896/1491); edited and discussed by Hirschler 2019.

MTMs and CMs for two reasons: Firstly, they both employ the basic conceptual differentiation between *kitāb* ('book' or in codicological terms here best translated as single-text manuscript) and *majmūʿ*, which is crucial for the interest in MTMs and CMs employed here. Secondly, and much more importantly, the Ashrafīya list and the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī list in particular include hundreds of codicological units that have survived until today and which are identifiable in modern collections. This combination of a medieval documentary book list and a large corpus of extant manuscripts offers a case study so far unique for Middle Eastern history to understand the geographical trajectory of *majmūʿs*—and also to understand the ways in which many of these manuscripts have been rebound into new codicological units in the course of the subsequent centuries.

The Ashrafīya library catalogue lists the books of an endowment in the heart of medieval Damascus, the Ashrafīya mausoleum, which was meant to commemorate its endower, the Damascene ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf (d. 635/1237), as well as to function as a scholarly teaching institution. Though the Ashrafīya was a rather minor player within the city's scholarly institutions, its library held the considerable number of over 2,000 codices. In order to guide the library's users one of its first librarians, Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Anṣārī (d. 683/1284), devised a catalogue that was first and foremost a practical tool to locate the books on the library's shelves. For this aim al-Anṣārī employed on the catalogue's twenty-five folia a sophisticated ordering system with three criteria, title (in alphabetical order), subject (organised in 15 thematic categories) and size (either normal or small). Each codex was thus assigned what might be called a three-tier class mark with, for example, all titles starting with the letter 'A' being slotted in one of the thematic categories (e.g. medical works were in the thematic category 10) and these titles being further differentiated between normal and small size (so that a normal-sized medical work starting with 'A' would have the class mark 'A/10/n'.[14] Fig. 1 shows the catalogue's second folio where we are in the section with normal-sized codices bearing titles starting with the letter 'A'. The thematic categories are announced with the respective number in display script; in the middle of line 2 we see the word 'fifth' *(al-khāmisa)* to denote the start of the works on history, in line 5 the word 'sixth' *(al-sādisa)* for poetry, between lines 10 and 11 (the cataloguer had initially forgotten to insert the number for the thematic category here) the word seventh *(al-sābiʿa)* for *adab* and so on.

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[14] For this library and its catalogue see Hirschler 2016.
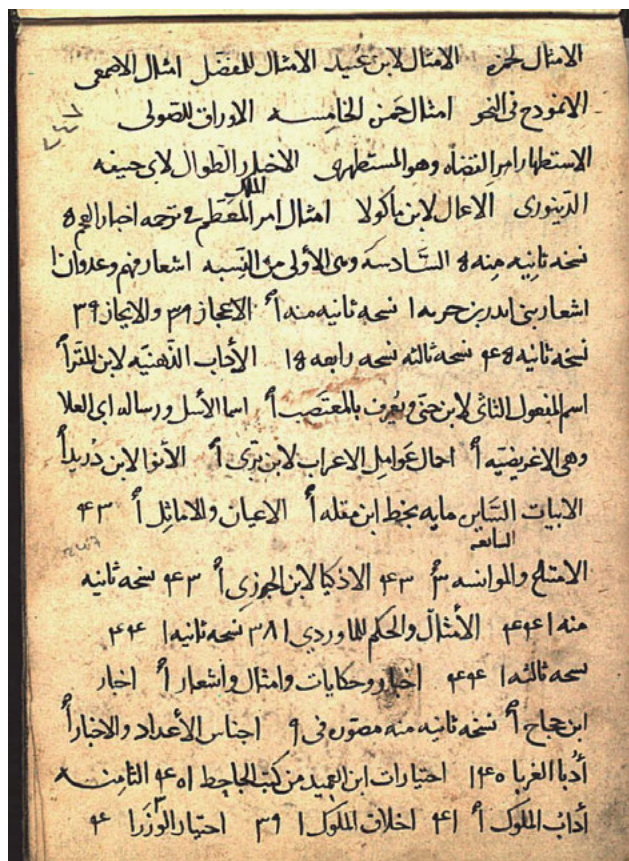
Fig. 1: Ashrafīya catalogue (Damascus, 670s/1270s), MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 5433, fol. 247r © Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi

However, this neat system hit the wall when al-Anṣārī came to the *majmūʿ*-manuscripts where the different units could obviously not be reduced to a single letter or a single subject—not too dissimilar to the predicament faced by modern cataloguers. However, in contrast to the modern practice of 'ripping' these manuscripts apart, i.e. listing the individual texts under the respective thematic category, the Ashrafīya cataloguer rather preserved their physical unity. This decision came at a cost as al-Anṣārī had to abandon the catalogue's sophisticated system at this point and just listed each of these codices starting with the term *'majmūʿ'* followed by all (or some of) its texts. Fig. 2 shows the very different *mise-en-page* of the catalogue in this section compared to the single-text manuscript section in Fig. 1: The neat and orderly organisation of the

single-text manuscript section has given place to a hasty and less careful presentation. At the same time the organising term in display script is not anymore the numerical number for thematic categories, but the word *majmūʿ* with an elongated stroke in the middle of the word (for instance first word [reading right to left] in line 4). This section was thus considerably less user-friendly as users of the library would have had considerable problems in locating a given text in any of these *majmūʿs*. However, the cataloguer took this short-cut as the number of *majmūʿs* in this library was so low (less than 8%) that he considered it useful to devise a system exclusively catering for single-text manuscripts. Even though it did not work for the MTMs and CMs the vast majority of the library's holdings were still easily accessible for its users.
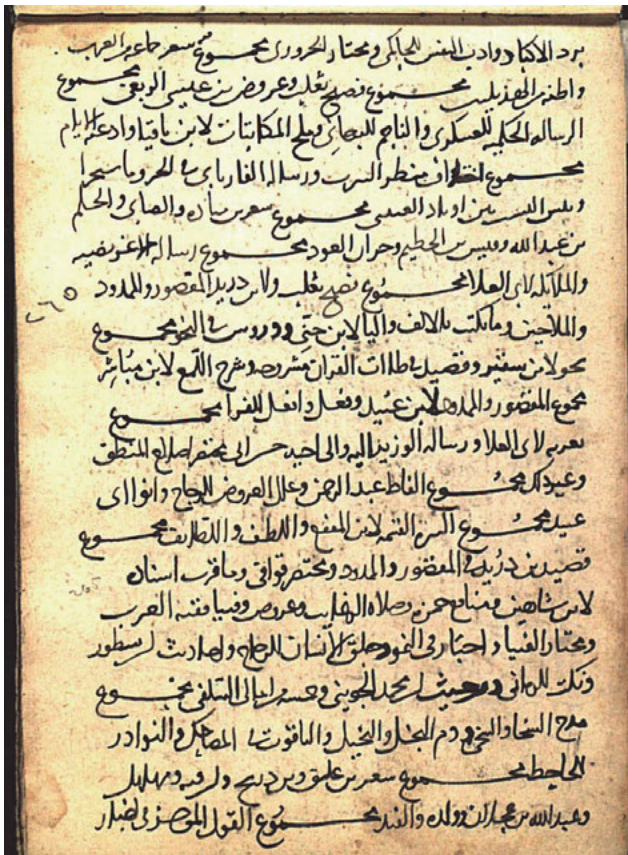
Fig. 2: Ashrafīya catalogue (Damascus, 670s/1270s), MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fatih 5433, fol. 265r © Istanbul, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi

Fig. 3: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list (Damascus, late ninth/fifteenth century), MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190, fol. 9v © Damascus, Syrian National Library

The Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list, written some 200 years later, is a very different animal from the Ashrafīya catalogue: This was not a practical catalogue to locate books on the shelves, but a list of the books that this Damascene scholar endowed into a much larger library without an apparent system of ordering the entries. As much as scholars before him and after him Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī thus added a collection of his books to the existing library of an institution with which he was closely associated—in his case the ʿUmarīya Madrasa to which we will return further below. This autograph book list contains on its fifty-eight folia some 600 codices which he either describes as a single-text *kitāb* or as a *majmūʿ*—exactly the same conceptualisation as in the Ashrafīya catalogue. Fig .3 shows a typical section of this catalogue which starts with two single-text *kitāb*s, followed by a *majmūʿ* with seven texts on lines 3-6, a single-text *kitāb* in line 7, a *majmūʿ* with five texts on lines 8-10 and so on. We do not know whether

a dedicated practical catalogue for the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī endowment ever existed (nor do we have any surviving medieval catalogue from the entire ʿUmarīya library or any of its other sub-collections). However it is clear that any such catalogue would have been very different from the Ashrafīya catalogue as the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī endowment had a much higher ratio of *majmūʿs*, around 70%. The Ashrafīya's system geared towards single-text manuscripts would have been completely useless for providing the library's users with a practical tool to retrieve books. The crucial point for the present discussion is that the ratio of MTMs and CMs in these two book collections, differing by the factor nine, represents a striking diachronic change in the profile of documented medieval Damascene book collections. While this observation alone is evidently not sufficient to argue that a broader change in textual practices and the materiality of the written word occurred in the city at large it does raise the question as to whether the differing profiles of these two collections signify a broader change.

3 The *majmūʿ* and *ḥadīth* scholarship

The Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list consists in its vast majority of entries belonging to the field of *ḥadīth*, one of the characteristic fields of Islamic scholarship. The large body of transmissions concerning Muḥammad's words and deeds that started to circulate after the development of Islam were transmitted in a combination of written and oral modes. This started to change in the course of the ninth century when the traditions were increasingly subject to a process of 'canonization'. As a result, authoritative written collections, most famously those by the two scholars al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875), came into being, which established a corpus of traditions deemed to be authentic. However, this process was not uncontested as it prioritised the written mode of transmission to the detriment of oral practices.[15] Crucially, it very much challenged the professional identity of those scholars who transmitted *ḥadīth*: What was the point of having a large group of highly specialised scholars safe-guarding the textual witnesses of the prophetic model in oral modes of transmission when these witnesses were anyway accessible in an established corpus of written texts?

The forthcoming book by Garrett Davidson now offers a splendid analysis of how the field of *ḥadīth* scholarship reacted to the challenges of the canoni-

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15 Brown 2007.

zation process in the period covered by the present article. He shows that *ḥadīth* scholars developed an 'ideology of orality', which asserted that the continuous oral transmission of the traditions had a value for its own sake as an essential and distinguishing trait of the Muslim community. Continuing to transmit traditions, irrespective of the existence of canonical works, was reconfigured as an act of piety linking each generation anew to the Prophet. In this way the chains of transmission did not become obsolete, but remained a crucial form of social capital and they retained a paramount position in scholarship. This reconfiguration of the field of *ḥadīth* studies resulted in the emergence of new textual genres that bore witness to the continuous vivacity of this field. Most prominent among these new genres were the *muʿjam* or *mashyakha* (presenting an scholar's shortest and most prized chains of transmission) on the one hand and collections of forty *ḥadīths* (organised around a colourful range of criteria, such as sharing the same theme and/or the same transmitters and/or transmitted in the same city and/or transmitted by a chain of scholars all carrying the same name etc.) on the other hand.[16] The genre of forty *ḥadīths* could also appear as collections of five, ten, twenty or eighty *ḥadīths* (to cite but the most frequent versions).

The booklets produced within these new genres shared one distinctive trait: They were extremely short, often not comprising more than a few folia.[17] In consequence they were a nightmare for practical purposes: How was a library to stock thousands of miniature booklets on its shelves and how was it to develop a system that made these texts actually retrievable? The response to the upsurge of these miniature booklets was to bind them into larger codicological units and the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list with its strikingly high ratio of such CMs is in many ways an embodiment of this practice. To cite one random example: Item 444 (my numbering) in his list is described as a *majmūʿ* comprising a total of sixteen texts (Fig. 4). Among these we find all typical genres of this period's *ḥadīth* scholarship, i.e. small-scale collections organised around specific transmitters and themes. The length of these booklets varies between four folia (item 444m: *ḥadīths* transmitted in three sessions by the thirteenth-century scholar Ibn Ṭabarzad) to twenty-four folia (item 444e; two volumes of *ḥadīth* transmitted by the ninth-century scholar Ibn Ḥarb) with a clustering of works of around ten folia.

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16 Davidson 2019.

17 Hirschler 2020a.
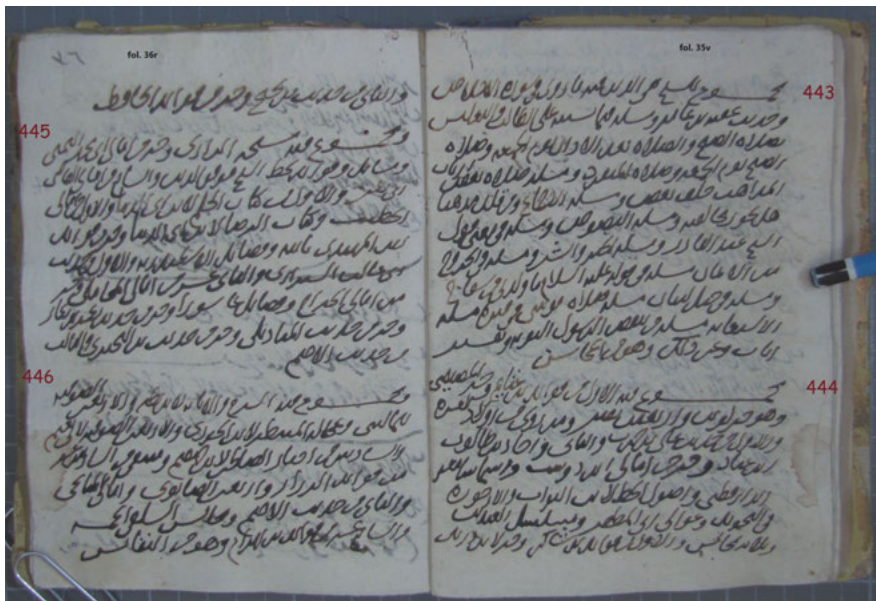
Fig 4: Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī book list (Damascus, late ninth/fifteenth century), MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190, fol. 35v/fol. 36r; item 444 is on 35v, l.12 – fol. 36r, l. 1
© Damascus, Syrian National Library

The spread of small-scale booklets did also lead to new manuscript practices beyond the rise of CMs. While this wider development is beyond the scope of this paper, they are at least relevant to set the rise of *majmūs* in wider per-spective. One of the new practices was the increased reuse of discarded folia and documents to produce these booklets. These fragments were especially used as title pages or booklet covers and occasionally even to produce a new quire itself. These practices have not been systematically researched yet,[18] but it is evident that they are particularly concentrated in the small-scale *ḥadīth* booklets. Among the reused material are folios with texts in Arabic, Latin, Armenian, Syriac, Greek and Hebrew including biblical, liturgical and legal texts. Especially frequent was furthermore the reuse of documents in Arabic, for instance marriage and divorce contracts as well as contracts on real estate transactions. In most cases this reused material was parchment while the booklets themselves were almost without exception written on

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18 First work on this issue include Bauden 2004, Rustow 2010, Sijpesteijn 2015.

paper.[19] The CM listed by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī as item 444, for instance has survived in its fifteenth-century shape and is today held in the Syrian National Library with the class mark 3803. This manuscript is a typical example of the proliferation of reuse practices as it contains several fragments of Arabic documents and Latin liturgical texts. On the left-hand side of Fig. 5 we see for instance the title page of what was in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's list item 444p. On the right-hand side, in contrast, we see the fragment of a marriage contract reused for binding purposes. Such reuse practices in turn had an impact upon the material form of the *majmūʿs*: Once these booklets were bound into CMs we see that reuse practices are quite popular for binding purposes, especially as fly leaves. While this practice is certainly not unknown from single-text manuscripts, the frequent reuse of fragments in *ḥadīth* booklets seems to have encouraged producers of MTMs and CMs to also employ them distinctively more often.
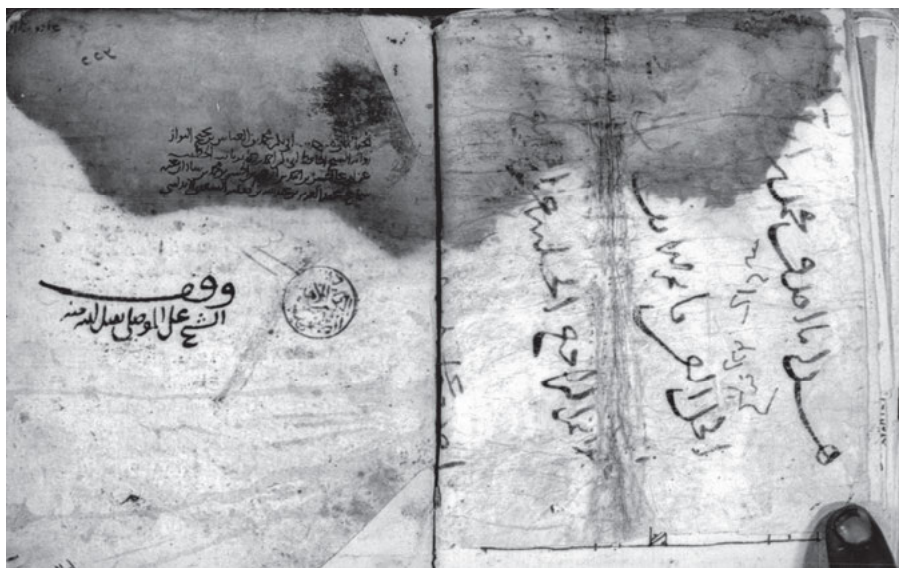
Fig. 5: MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3803, fol. 222v/223r with reused marriage contract © Damascus, Syrian National Library

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19 Hirschler 2017 and 2020b.

Before we move on with the discussion, let us briefly return to the question of 'circulation'-MTMs and CMs. Item 444 is clearly a CM as its sixteen texts are different production units written in different hands. We do not know when they were bound into one codex, but there is no indication that this occurred shortly after the last item was copied. However if we compare this codex with another codex from the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list we see that the distinction between CM and MTM was indeed not meaningful for him. Item 205 in his list is again described as a *majmūʿ* containing the following fourteen texts of very similar nature to those in item 444: (a) 'Ten *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the Prophet's grand-son] al-Ḥasan' (b) 'Ten *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the Prophet's grand-son] al-Ḥusayn' (c) 'Forty *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the ninth-century scholar] al-Dārimī' (d) 'Forty *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the nine-century scholar] ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd' (e) 'Forty *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the twelfth-century scholar] al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-Ghanī' (f) 'Ten *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the eleventh-century scholar] al-Thaqafī' (g) '*Ḥadīths* with all transmitters called Muḥammad' (h) 'Forty *ḥadīths* with all transmitters transmitting from their father' (i) 'Forty *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the scholar] Nāṣir al-Dīn' (j) 'Ten *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the scholar] Ibn al-Ṣadr' (k) 'Twenty *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the scholar] Ibn Ṣafī' (l) 'Ten *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the scholar] Ibn Nāẓir al-Ṣāḥibīya' (m) 'Forty *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the ninth-century scholar] al-Nasāʾī' (n) 'Twenty *ḥadīths* [transmitted via the scholar] ʿImād al-Dīn'.[20]

While items 205 and 444 share exactly the same structure with each having more than a dozen of small distinct *ḥadīth* booklets, they differ in one regard: As described above, 444 is a combination of different production units, a CM, while the items in 205 were almost without exception written in one hand (incidentally that of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī himself) and were produced in one delimited time period (in the summer of 889/1484) and is thus best described as a MTM. However, this codicological differentiation is not at all reflected in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's book list where both codices were described as *majmūʿ*. Perhaps even more importantly there is no difference evident in the way these two codices functioned within the period's scholarly practices: Both were meant to document the continuous transmission of the Prophetic model down to Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's lifetime. His role in the autograph 205 is self-evident and further supported by notes of transmission on the various booklets in his own hand. In contrast 444 was written in different hands and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī appears nowhere as scribe. However, they were as much connected to his person as 205 via a set of notes of transmission in his hand which he systematically distributed all over this codex.

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20 *Fihrist al-kutub*, MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190, fol. 12v, ll. 10–16.

For instance, Fig. 6 shows on the left-hand side the title page of what was in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's list item 444l. This item had been written in the early thirteenth century, but Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī appropriated the text with a note in his very distinctive hand (last line on this title page) stating 'From among the authorised transmissions *(marwīyāt)* [of *ḥadīth*] of Yūsuf Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī'. Thus, in terms of their circulation context both codices fulfilled the same function in demonstrating Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's authority to transmit such texts.
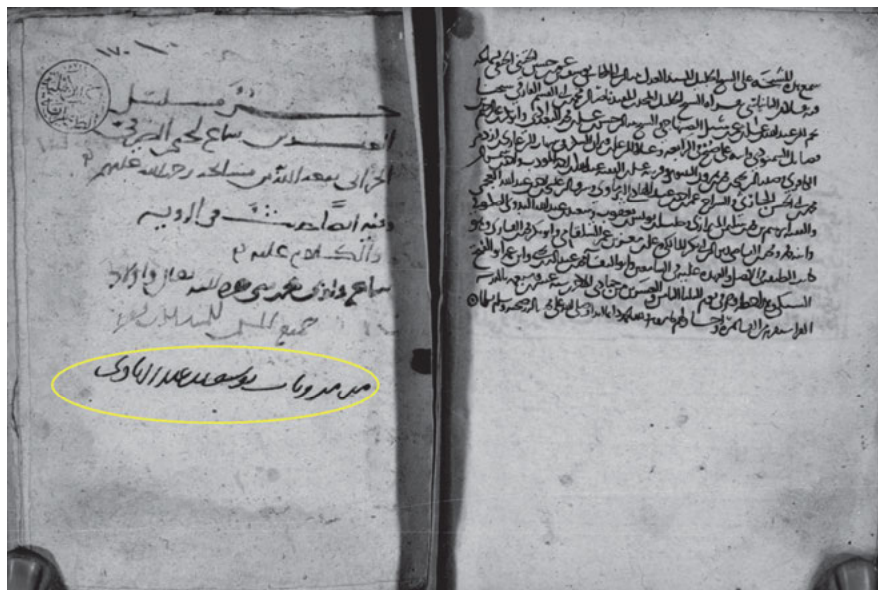
Fig. 6: MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3803, fol. 169v/170r with highlighted transmission note by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī © Damascus, Syrian National Library

4 The social role of *majmūʿs* and editorial agency

Returning to the main question at hand, i.e. how to explain the upsurge of producing MTMs and CMs in Damascus in the late medieval period, this was partly driven by above-discussed practical concerns of how to store material, but this is evidently not the full explanation. Rather, the production of *majmūʿs* was very much driven by scholars enthusiastically taking advantage of the considerable degree of editorial agency this textual format offered—'editorship' has evidently to be conceived in very broad terms here, including most importantly the prac-

tice of compiling. The new textual and material practices in *ḥadīth* scholarship offered scholars agency on two main levels: Firstly, they started to produce their own booklets of *ḥadīths*, for which they had received the right of transmission. Even though none of these booklets contained any 'new' material (the *ḥadīths* had been known and accepted as authentic for centuries at that point), to 'author' such booklets was highly attractive as they allowed scholars to make again and again a statement on their (self-perceived elevated) position within the scholarly landscape as expressed in their lines of transmissions. These texts thus had a very specific social function and were crucial in bolstering or furthering an individual's career. For example, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī himself is said to have compiled some 800 titles, thus actively participating in this textual practice producing hundreds of new booklets along the way. While this number sounds incredibly high it does become realistic when taking into account that many of these titles were such very short booklets of *ḥadīths*.

Even more importantly, the popularity of these booklets offered a second instance of editorial agency when bound into larger codices, which leads us to the *majmūʿ*s. The author/compiler of such a manuscript could combine in one physical unit various items that contained his or her scholarly claim to prestige and status. While an individual booklet allowed making one specific statement, the *majmūʿ* allowed broadening this statement considerably—it resulted in a unique textual monument of where one positioned oneself within the scholarly landscape. Whether the author/compiler wrote these texts on his own (as in item 205) as a MTM or combined texts written previously (as in item 444) to a CM does not make a difference as to this social function of a *majmūʿ*. This was the case because scholars could appropriate the texts written by others via inserting themselves as their transmitters so that these texts became part of their cultural and social capital. As seen above, this is clearly evident in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's case when we take the example of item 444: Here we see his hand on the individual title pages inserting notes that the text in question was 'from among [his] authorised transmissions' (*min marwīyāt*)[21] or that he had received for the text a 'licence to transmit' (*ijāza*).[22] The *majmūʿ*s contained in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī list are thus a striking example of how a scholar of the late fifteenth century translated his scholarly activities into a bewildering array of small-scale booklets bound into large CMs and short texts written into large MTMs. Even though virtually all the traditions contained in these works had been available

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21 *Majmūʿ*, Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3803, fol. 18r (444b), 78r (444e), 170r (444l), 182r (444m).

22 *Majmūʿ*, Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3803, fol. 45r (444c), 68r (444d), 151r (444k).

in the canonical collections since the ninth century, the emphasis on continuous *ḥadīth* transmission with oral modes in the 'post-canonical' age made these *majmūʿs* highly relevant for their compilers and their audiences.
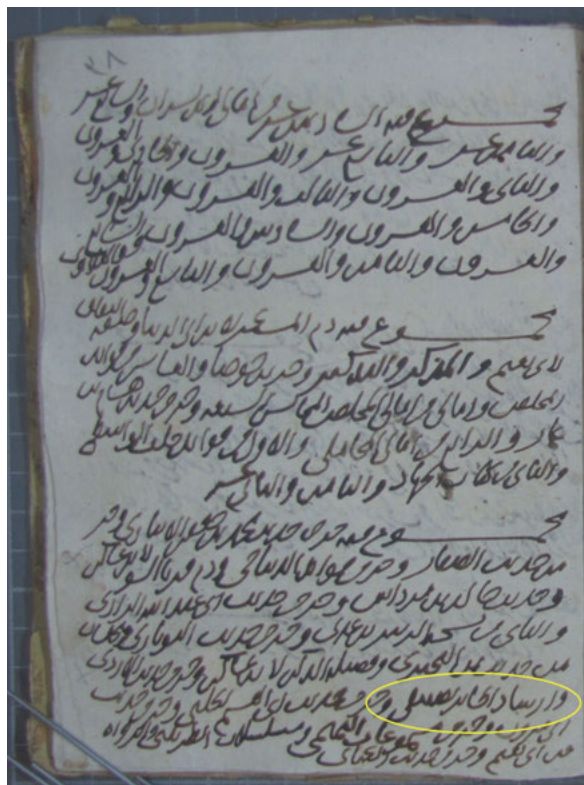
Fig. 7: Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list (Damascus, late ninth/fifteenth century), MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190, fol. 38r with item 462l highlighted © Damascus, Syrian National Library

The *majmūʿs* offered this second instance of agency not only because they allowed including a unique combination of 'appropriated' texts, but also because they enabled scholars to insert their own booklets among the textual production of their lofty predecessors. For example, item 462 in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's list is

again described as a *majmūʿ* comprising a total of eighteen texts.[23] After the first eleven texts, all small *ḥadīth* booklets and virtually all appropriated with notes by him, we suddenly find a title by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī himself (item 462l, see Fig. 7). The strategic insertion of one's own texts into a group of appropriated texts from previous generations evidently further strengthened the claim to be among the leading scholars of one's own time. Each of the hundreds of *majmūʿs* in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's list, whether CM or MTM, thus has to be seen as a carefully crafted object, which was meant to do something in his specific social context. To what extent Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī actually was responsible for binding all these manuscripts is beyond the limits of this paper. However, in numerous cases, such as in item 462, we find his own works inserted into a *majmūʿ* and here it is beyond question that he had it (re?)bound in his life time. It is thus evident that this scholar embarked on a massive binding project, which must have demanded considerable resources and which thus underlines the importance he ascribed to this material format.

If we conceive of his *majmūʿs* as a crafted object or even a monument, we can take this metaphor further: his book list as a whole maps out a carefully crafted scholarly landscape centred on one person—Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī. As much as each of the MTMs and CMs was a monument on its own constructed from individual texts and booklets, the book list as a whole expressed his broader claim. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was a scholar of the Ḥanbalī legal school *(madhhab)* and this list contains all the great scholars from a late fifteenth-century Damascene Ḥanbalī perspective. Texts ascribed to the founder of this legal school, Ibn Ḥanbal (241/855), evidently take prime position, but subsequent representatives of this law school, such as the Baghdadi scholar Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) follow with dozens of works. A particular emphasis is placed on the great tradition of Damascene Ḥanbalism in the centuries preceding Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's lifetime. Works by Ibn Taymīya (d. 728/1328), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīya (d. 751/1350) and Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1392) do appear over and over again, either as single-text manuscripts or as parts of *majmūʿs*. However, the really striking element in the authorial profile of the book list is the prominence of scholars belonging to the Damascene Ḥanbalī Ibn Qudāma family. This comes as little surprise as Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī himself belonged to the Maqdisī branch of this family. After the migration of the Qudāma family to Damascus in the mid-twelfth century its various branches started to play a salient role in the city's scholarly life for the next four centuries. Yet even if they were prominent the number of works by

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23 *Fihrist al-kutub*, MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190, fol. 38r, ll. 11–18. This item 462 is today held in Damascus, Syrian National Library as MS 3761.

various family members in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list is clearly out of pro-
portion: texts by the first prominent representatives of this family, the brothers
Abū ʿUmar (d. 607/1210) and Muwaffaq al-Dīn (d. 620/1223), appear in their
dozens as much as those by representatives of the following generations, such
as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245).

5 Fifteenth-century *majmūʿs* and their subsequent fate

If we thus move from the individual booklets via the MTMs and CMs to the complete
book list we find several instances of agency of which Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī took full
advantage. Yet, his aim was obviously not only to consolidate and bolster his own
position, but also to make sure that this status was transmitted to the next genera-
tion to continue the family's scholarly genealogy. In order to do this he had to pro-
long his chains of authorised transmission to other family members, especially
those of the next generation. This transmission had to ideally occur in reading ses-
sions, which were to be registered on a manuscript of the text in question in form of
a *samāʿ*-note (reading certificate)—and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī did this on an impressively
regular basis. As many of the texts were very short and part of *majmūʿs* he was fur-
thermore able to take a much-targeted approach as to whom he wanted to benefit
from a specific line of transmission. If we return to the example of MTM 205—its
remaining parts are today dispersed in the Dār al-kutub in Cairo and the Syrian
National Library—we see how this worked in practice: On each of the fourteen texts
we find a *samāʿ*-note which passes on his right to transmit the text to family mem-
bers. These notes register a series of reading sessions, which took place in short
intervals in the year 897/1492, presumably in his home.[24] For instance, Fig. 8 shows
one such note on the title page of what was item 205f in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's list, nam-
ing 'my sons ʿAbdallāh, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan, the latter's mother Bulbul bt. ʿAbdallāh;
Jawhara, the mother of ʿAbdallāh and [my son] ʿAbd al-Hādī attended some of [this
session].' These were very homely session with few participants, which contrasts
with 'public' reading session of *ḥadīth* works that could easily attract one hundred
participants and more.[25] Among the participants were in most of the sessions Ibn
ʿAbd al-Hādī's above-named three sons ʿAbd al-Hādī, ʿAbdallāh and Ḥasan (though

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24 *Majmūʿ*, Cairo, Dār al-kutub, 2237 (*ḥadīth*), fols 84r, 87r, 90v, 97r, 105r, 113r, 116r, 120r, 125r,
129r, 136r.

25 For such public reading sessions see Hirschler 2012, 32–81.

one or two of them repeatedly missed sessions in their entirety or in part, such as ʿAbd al-Hādī in the 205f-note). Perhaps even more remarkably, but beyond the limits of this paper, are the only other participants Bulbul, Jawhara and Ghazāl. All three are identified as *umm walad*, i.e. female slaves who had fathered Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī a child and were thus bound to be freed (or had already been freed?). That these (former?) female slaves, especially Bulbul who attended more session than any of the other *umm walads* or even the sons, were included in the transmission of scholarly authority obviously raises tantalizing questions as to their role in this process.
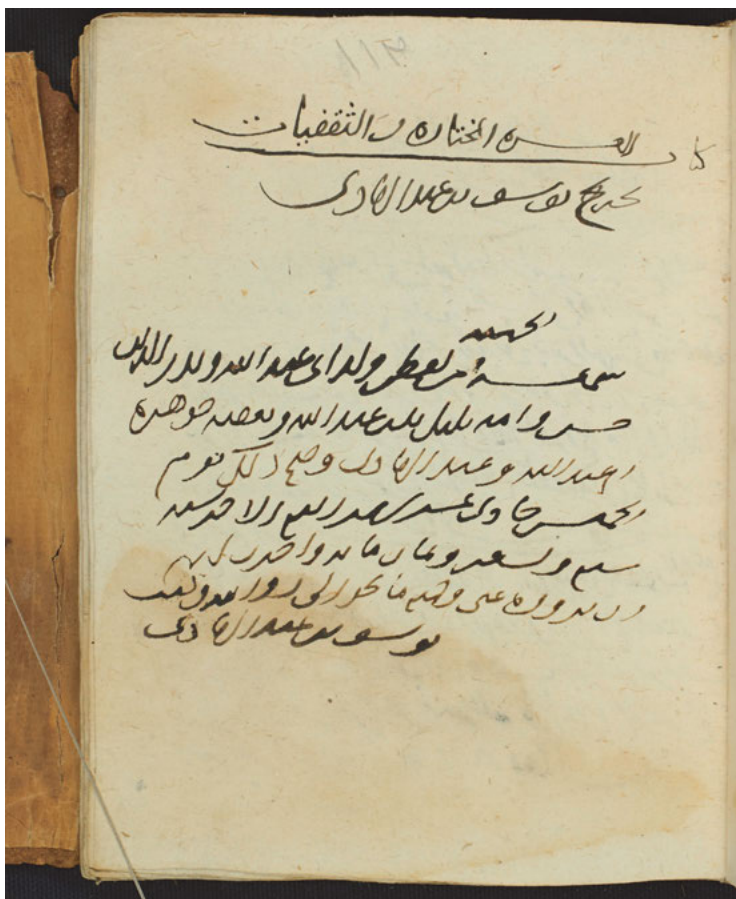
Fig. 8: MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub, 2237 (*ḥadīth*), fol. 113r with *samāʿ* note by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī for members of his family © Cairo, Dār al-kutub

The significance of the book collection for the future of the family as envisioned by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī is also evident in the fact that he endowed it for the benefit of his descendants. He describes his book list thus as the 'list of the books [that] its writer endowed for his own benefit, for that of his children, their children and his offspring.'[26] The actual legal document for this endowment has not survived (his book list is not a legal document), nor do we find any endowment notes on the manuscripts themselves (writing endowment notes on manuscripts was not standard practice yet). We are thus left with this rather brief note, which does not offer any details on where the books were to be held (in a private home?), how access was regulated (as an endowment they should at least theoretically be public) and how its upkeep (for rebinding, repairs etc.) would have been financed. However, this absence of a normative text is not necessarily a major problem as we see from other manuscript notes that his offspring happily breached even the most fundamental rule of an endowment—its inalienability—by selling books in the aftermath of their father's death. A sale note shows for instance that his son ʿAbd al-Hādī sold what was item 184a in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's book list (today MS 1032 in the Syrian National Library), an autograph by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī himself, to a prominent Damascene scholar for thirty Dirhams (Fig. 9).[27] While Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī clearly thought of his large book collection as a crucial element for securing his family's future social and cultural prestige, his children seemingly took a different take on their father's strategy and were occasionally more interested in immediate pecuniary advantages. In the case of item 184, it is most likely that the son cut this MTM into pieces as he sold its first title on its own and as the texts in what used to be item 184 have come down to us as single-text manuscripts preserved in the Syrian National Library.[28]

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26 *Fihrist al-kutub,* MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190, fol. 1v.

27 This item is on fol. 10b, l. 10 of his book list (*Fihrist al-kutub,* MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 3190).

28 184(a) = Damascus, MS Syrian National Library 1032; 184(c) = Damascus, MS Syrian National Library 4557; 184(d) = Damascus, MS Syrian National Library 4535; 184(e) = Damascus, MS Syrian National Library 4536; 184(f) = Damascus, MS Syrian National Library 3257.
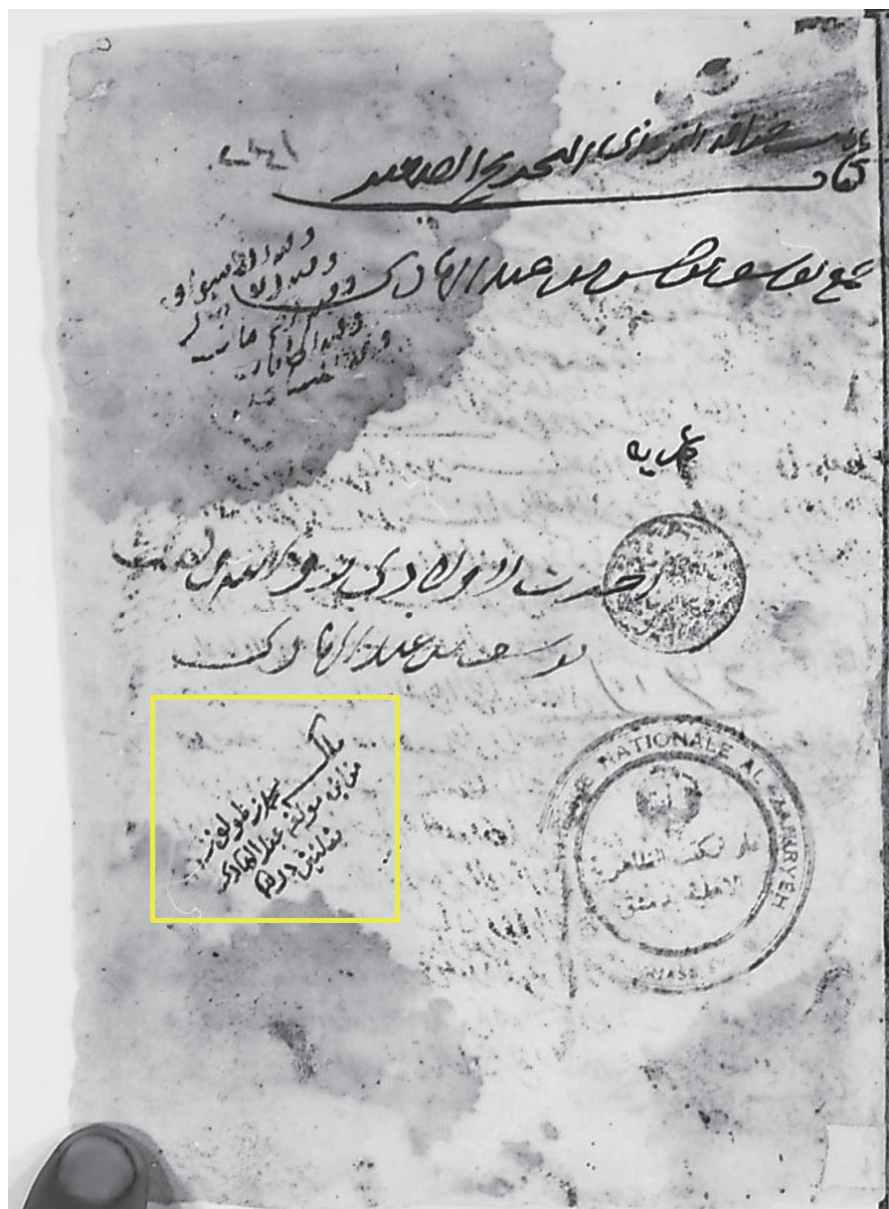
Fig. 9: MS Damascus, Syrian National Library, 1032, fol. 1r with highlighted sale note by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's son © Damascus, Syrian National Library

While we do not have any further documents on details of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's endowment there are two strong indications that the books were placed in the above-named ʿUmarīya Madrasa. The first indication is a report by Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's student, the Damascene historian Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) who was incidentally the buyer of item 184a, that 'in this *madrasa* [al-ʿUmarīya] several people endowed cases for books [...]. Among them are also the books of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī [...].'[29] This is not conclusive proof as Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī might have made a different endowment to this *madrasa*. However, we are in the fortunate position that a catalogue was produced in 1882 when the Ottoman authorities started to bring together the various endowment libraries in Damascus into one central library–the Ẓāhirīya Library which was to develop into the present Syrian National Library.[30] This catalogue has not been studied yet, but it is a unique document for the history of Damascene libraries as it records for each codex from which endowment library it had been taken. When we take the entries of former ʿUmarīya codices it is evident that they overlap to a very large extent with the items recorded in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list. Thus, even though we do not have endowment notes on the manuscripts which would have been conclusive proof, the vast number of codices from the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī list which were still in the ʿUmarīya in the late nineteenth century makes it very likely that this *madrasa* was where his book endowment was kept.

The ʿUmarīya Madrasa was of outstanding importance within the scholarly landscape of Damascus as it was one of the city's greatest and best endowed institutions. It was of particular importance for the city's Ḥanbalī community as it was founded by one of its 'founding fathers' in the city, the above named Abū ʿUmar (d. 607/1210).[31] The ʿUmarīya was furthermore the scholarly epicentre of the extra-muros Ṣāliḥīya quarter which was founded in the twelfth centuries by the Qudāma family and which remained at the heart of Damascene Ḥanbalism in the following centuries.[32] The *madrasa's* library belonged to the city's largest book collections and even though we are not yet able to trace its exact history in the early modern period, it certainly did play an important role until Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's life-time.[33] The mere fact that it is one of the few medieval libraries to have survived until the foundation of the modern Ẓāhirīya Library in the late nineteenth century is testament to its crucial position within the city. Ibn ʿAbd

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29 Ibn Ṭūlūn, ed. 1949-56, I, 273/4.

30 *Sijill jālīl* 1299 [1882].

31 Al-Ḥāfiẓ 2001.

32 Miura 2016.

33 Liebrenz 2016.

al-Hādī thus made a very conscious decision when he decided to place his endowment for the benefit of his offspring in this *madrasa*. He belonged to the Qudāma family and placing his oeuvre in this library made a very distinct point as to reiterating his illustrious family background. More importantly it physically placed his books into the centre of Ḥanbalī scholarly practices—as much as he had inscribed such a place into the book collection itself by appropriating the texts of others and inserting his texts into the grand scholarly traditions. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's carefully crafted *majmūʿs* thus found a place fully appropriate for his intentions—except that many of them were sold and/or rebound in subsequent centuries.

A final methodological consideration emerging out of the case study presented here is that *majmūʿ* manuscripts can obviously be very fleeting affairs. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī himself had many manuscripts (re)-bound and we have already seen that his son immediately set out to break up some of his father's MTMs into single-text manuscripts—even though they had been endowed. The late fifteenth-century book list of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī is a rare chance for us to get a snapshot of the textual format of a high number of texts. Many of the MTMs and CMs in his list have remained stable until the present day, but many others have changed their format beyond recognition. Above I discussed item 205 consisting of fourteen texts. This MTM was also broken up—by whom and when is unclear—and is today preserved in the Dār al-kutub library in Cairo as two distinct *majmūʿs*, MS 2237 and 2238. However, in contrast to item 184, item 205 was not simply converted into smaller units, but rebound with fragments of other MTMs and CMs from Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's collection. MS 2237 has eleven texts from item 205 (a-f, j-m) and MS 2238 has three of them (g-i). MS 2237 was combined with eight texts that used to be in item 230 in the Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī book list, which was also broken up. In turn, two other texts from item 230 went into MS 2238 and two further texts were bound into yet another rebound *majmūʿ* which is held today in the Syrian National Library with the class mark 3249. Fully discussing the intricate relationships between the MTMs and CMs in their late fifteenth-century shape and their present shape would require a paper on its own. Suffice is to say that once one starts with a MTM such as 205 the search rebounds between the fifteenth-century list and present day libraries to where codicological units have been moved over the last centuries well beyond Damascus and Cairo, including Istanbul, Jerusalem, Escorial, Berlin, Paris, Dublin, Princeton and so on. Most tellingly, what used to be one MTM (205) was later broken into two and rebound with other booklets so that the new manuscripts Dār al-kutub 2237 and 2238 turned into CMs.

6 Conclusion

The high proportion of *majmūʿs* that we find in Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī's book list is thus expression of a crucial change in textual practices in the late medieval period. It is this transformation which made MTMs and CMs a highly meaningful format and which a scholar such as Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī amply employed. Once small booklets had become a prime unit of transmitting knowledge, practical demands of storability and the increased textual agency of expressing one's claim and transmitting this claim led to significantly higher numbers of *majmūʿs*. In the sixteenth century, the popularity of such small booklets significantly declined in the field of *ḥadīth* on account of changing scholarly practices. We see a return to the great canonical compilations of the ninth and tenth centuries as the prime sites of scholarly activities in *ḥadīth* scholarship. This development has not been subject to dedicated research yet.[34] However for the case of Damascus this development can be seen in extant manuscripts: The 1882 foundation catalogue of the new Ottoman central library in the city has a dedicated section on *majmūʿs* and here we find almost exclusively manuscripts that came from the only medieval collection covered at that point, the ʿUmarīya. Among the 131 *majmūʿs*, a whopping 123 came from that library.[35] These numbers evidently have to be taken with caution as the ʿUmarīya library did not remain static, but had entries and exits, and the Ottoman-period libraries did evidently also include pre-Ottoman codices. The 1882 catalogue can thus only be a first impression, but the lopsided distribution clearly indicates that the *majmūʿs'* popularity as a textual format in *ḥadīth* scholarship decreased from the sixteenth century onwards.

The example of *ḥadīth* MTMs and CMs in late medieval Damascus thus shows how closely the format of texts is bound to broader changes in the intellectual and social contexts of manuscript production and circulation. The *majmūʿ* became at one point a meaningful vehicle to express one's scholarly outlook and one's social aspirations and retained this function for an extended period. However as much as it could turn into such a meaningful embodiment of how a scholarly community functioned, it could cease to play this role in a relatively short period of time.

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34 Cf. the brief comments in Sayeed 2015, 180-4.

35 *Sijill jālīl* 1299 [1882], 28–32.

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'Thematic books'

Patrick Andrist

Concepts and Vocabulary for the Analysis of Thematic Codices: The Example of Greek *Adversus Iudaeos* Books

Abstract: This article describes a new method of scholarly investigation developed for studying the history of complex codices united by a common subject—a type of codices now dubbed 'thematic books,' as presented in a 2016 publication. The first part describes the fundamental concepts, based on the codicology of complex manuscripts. It takes into consideration the materiality, the content and the structure of the codices, as they are found today, in order to reconstruct the various configurations in which their constitutive units once circulated, and evaluate the relevance of each configuration as a thematic book. In the second part, the method is applied to the category of byzantine anti-Jewish codices. Questions concerning the analysis of individual Production Units are discussed first, followed by questions linked to the relation between the various Production Units in the same codex.

This article describes a new method of scholarly investigation developed for studying the history of complex codices united by a common subject—a type of codices now dubbed 'thematic books.' Discussed in a 2016 publication,[1] this method was developed while applying the principles of codicology of complex manuscripts to the study of byzantine anti-Jewish codices.

Firstly, prolonged work on the manuscript transmission of *Adversus Iudaeos* works revealed codices largely dedicated to this kind of polemics, combined with the fact this type of book had not yet been studied in a book-historical perspective.

Secondly, academia's fairly recent discovery of the ancient codex's stratigraphy has opened up a growing awareness of the complexities involved[2]—complexities from which new questions have arisen that call for a novel approach for description of the codex and, beyond, for reconstructing its genetic and subsequent history.

A broad look at the bibliography showed that, in spite of important studies on miscellanea or 'multi-text' books,[3] as well as the manuscript transmission of a collection of 'thematic texts,'[4] no methodological study of codices united by a common subject, taking into full account the physical features in a chronological perspective, had ever been undertaken and certainly not regarding Greek manuscripts. As a result, the attempt is made here to develop a method for the study of thematic books, as detailed in the above 2016 volume and what is to be outlined below.

The core idea of this method is to proceed in two steps: the main objective of the first step is to describe the books according to the principles set out in *The Syntax of the Codex*,[5] which highlights the different layers (the 'stratigraphy') of book production via a structured approach. The second step implements the complex elements revealed in these descriptions to discuss and try to reconstruct the history of each codex and from this basis, pinpoint traces of the presence and evolution of various previously circulating *Adversus Iudaeos* codices within a single codex, such as it is found today. This has been done, in an exploratory way, with 33 codices (in their present shape) in the Vatican Library which contain the remains of some 40 Byzantine or Renaissance Greek books on this subject.[6] The ultimate goal is to reconstruct the history of the production and circulation of such books in Byzantium and later.

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2 On the history of this growing awareness, see Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 11–44; a revised and expanded version will appear in English in 2020 from Brepols (henceforth *The Syntax*); cf. chap. 1.

3 See Friedrich / Schwarke 2016, in particular the editors' theoretical introduction; see also Corbellini / Murano / Signore 2018. For a presentation on the limits of the traditional approach to miscellanea, see Maniaci 2018.

4 Including a survey of current manuscripts containing thematic texts (see a list in Olivier 1995, 9–21) and some rare studies where the physical aspects of the codices are taken into account, for example Ronconi 2009.

5 Cf. n. 2.

6 Described in Andrist 2016, 125–345. Having sought through various European libraries, it was decided, for practical reasons, to focus on the codices preserved at the Vatican Library, as it is the largest known collection of such Judaica. Some of the other manuscripts studied in the course of this inquiry are not included here but are listed and/or discussed in the two final appendices of Andrist 2016, 347–399 and in Andrist 2011.

The results convincingly show that this method allows one to treat difficult and complicated thematic books such as the *Adversus Iudaeos* with far greater precision than before. This opens a quite promising perspective for the study of thematic books in general.

It should, however, be emphasized that this is not a study of the creation of *Adversus Iudaeos* works, but rather a study of pre-seventeenth-century books devoted to the quite specific subject of anti-Jewish polemics; nor is the final goal to describe codices in their present state, but to reconstruct the books dedicated to anti-Jewish polemics as they appeared over time, with the aim of someday being able to trace the history of this 'book genre'.

1 Basic concepts

1.1 The question of the texts and their number

The object of our study, the anti-Jewish polemical book[7] written in Greek, constitutes two overlapping things at once: it is both a book-object (the physical manuscript) and a collection of ideas (the content of the book, the anti-Jewish texts). The two are intimately related, and it is necessary to bring forth some general ideas regarding the 'text' and the 'book'.

Firstly, as discussed elsewhere, a fundamental distinction between the concept of *work* ('text-as-opus'), indicating the intellectual endeavour of one or more authors, and the concept of (literary) *text* ('texts-as-witness') understood as a 'philological unit' materially recorded in a manuscript must be established;[8] regarding 'originals' contents, or contents without a literary tradition,

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7 In this article the words codex and book are used equally and merely designate the objects under scrutiny. At a more theoretical level, however, codices are only one possible kind of 'manuscript books'. They are understood as movable objects with an organized and immediately readable content which is meant to be shared and transmitted, and as distinct from non-book manuscripts (personal notebooks, private letters…). Consequently, there are other kinds of manuscript books such as scrolls or palm-leaf manuscripts; and here too, not all scrolls or palm-leaf manuscripts are books. For more details, see Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 45–48, and for a more nuanced analysis, see *The Syntax* §2.1.1, as well as Andrist / Maniaci in a forthcoming volume dedicated to Paul Canart.

8 On the polysemy of the word *text*, see Andrist 2018, 135–138. Cf. *The Syntax* §2.2.3. One important implication about the dichotomy text versus work (or however they may be named) concerns the main works from Antiquity and the Middle Ages: what is found in the manuscripts is not equal to what the author(s) wrote but more or less faithfully reflects the book-

such as colophons or, often, book epigrams, the *text* matches the *work*. Generally speaking, a 'text-as-witness' is a more-or-less complete reflection of a work, but there are many exceptions. While a given work is often to be found in several manuscripts in roughly identical form, in some cases the differences are so distinct that one is left unsure whether the two instances really count as the same work, or whether one of them should be thought of as an altogether new work whose relationship to the first work has then to be worked out. Accidents in the transmission—for example the loss of folios or quires—sometimes lead to the creation of distinct texts which no longer correspond to a specific work and are no longer the result of conscious choice. The interest here is in the texts as they were copied in the manuscripts.

Nonetheless, both text and content are complex notions that may at times be understood on different levels simultaneously. In this analysis the fact that the codices under consideration are either 'monotextual' or 'multitextual' is to be decided upon and the numbers of texts present is utilised for a statistical analysis. As a consequence, it is necessary to specify, from the outset, the actual analysis level used in this study, through a few examples:[9]

– Sometimes the texts are gathered into a collection which proceeds to gain wide circulation in that particular configuration.[10] In such an instance a collection or series of texts which generally circulate together (an anthology, or *sylloge*) can be deemed a single text. Although at times, in the descriptions the granular texts making up a collection are listed individually and the complexities are noted in the discussion, a collection is nonetheless usually counted as a single text. One such case is John Chrysostom's series of homilies *Adversus Iudaeos*; another would be patristic florilegia in general. The Christian Bible also presents an interesting case: the collection of biblical books in a given manuscript is counted as a single text, in spite of variations in the choice and order of the books, as long as they appear in one of the known traditional orders.

– Similarly, how is one to treat the paratexts surrounding larger works, such as hypotheses (arguments) or, to take a specific example, the encomium by Simeon Thebanus often accompanying John Cantacuzenus's polemical texts? On the one hand, they are texts in their own right, as shown by the fact that the encomium is not by the same author as the main text; on the oth-

producers' knowledge of the text. This is also why marginal textual corrections by the book-producers are to be considered part or the text.

9 For a more detailed discussion and further examples, see Andrist 2016, 18–22.

10 On complex questions like this, Maniaci 2004, 82–90.

er, there is no reason for paratexts of this type to exist independently of the text they accompany (their 'protext')[11] and they are rarely transmitted detached from it. For the producers of the book, these additional texts were part of the 'package', and this is why they are not counted as separate content here.

- Texts also regarded as a single unit are those termed 'filler content' (short writings added to blank sections of a manuscript) or 'private florilegia'.

It is clear therefore, that the notion of text in these cases is applied to sets of contents interconnected in varying ways which, despite obvious intersection, are distinct from 'texts-as-witness' (or 'texts-as-laid-out-content').

1.2 Texts and books related to a specific subject

1.2.1 Thematic texts and books

The question is how is it possible to move from the subject of individual texts to that of a book? Here it is necessary to formulate an approach that is not overly subjective, combined with a working vocabulary.

In this research area one often encounters multitextual books constructed around a particular subject, such as medicine, astrology, or religious doctrine. These books are simply termed as a *thematic book*.[12] Here are a few specific points:[13]

- in a given work an author frequently treats several subjects of which one is often given greater prominence than others. Some works may often contain two or three subjects which prevail throughout the work or at different parts within it. Furthermore, works may be quite disparate in the subjects treated; one clear example is the encyclopaedia which by definition does not contain a single overriding theme.[14] A text containing only one major subject is dubbed *monothematic*; should it contain two or three, it is termed *multithematic*; and other cases are titled *athematic*, for they have been considered to contain no dominant subjects. In the terminology implemented here all

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11 On protext, see Andrist 2018, 137. On filler-content, see Andrist 2016, 20–21.
12 Monotextual books containing one mono- or multithematic text are also thematic books and are therefore included in this study.
13 For an overview of all these concepts, see the summary tables in section 1.4 below.
14 The words 'theme' and 'subject' are interchangeable.

texts containing the same major subject belong to the same *literary catego-ry*. Thus, a multithematic text also belongs to multiple literary categories;

– if all the texts contained in a book belong to the same literary category[15] or pertain to a few predominant, identical subjects (whether throughout the book or by section), it is a *thematic* book, which can then be *monothematic* or *multithematic*;

– the term *book category* is used to designate all books on the same subject, in the understanding, however, that a book can belong to several book catego-ries at once. Thus, a literary category may correspond to each subject, and in turn a book category may correspond to each literary category. Literary and book categories do not therefore constitute predetermined sets, but arise from the observation of texts and books; there are no limits potentially to the number of literary or book categories that can be defined;

– it is possible that no thematic unity can be discerned in a multitextual book, either because it is an unusual one by today's standards, which the analyst does not recognise, or because none exists; the person responsible for a *multitextual* book may very well have decided to arrange the works accord-ing to whim, in the absence of any organizing principle. It is also possible that a book's current state represents a rearrangement, the result of inter-ventions by several people who did not share the same vision for the book; the result is a very disparate object in terms of its content. Again, if no dom-inant theme emerges, it is not possible to speak of its 'subject' for which reason it is termed *athematic*;

– the organizing principle of a multitextual book is not always directly con-nected to the subject(s) of the texts of which it is comprised. The focus of the book may be an author (e.g. Aristotle or Plutarch) or a literary genre (e.g. homilies or literary dialogues). In such cases the relevant organizing princi-ple is termed under the concept of 'book subject'. This may result in a book consisting of monothematic texts all belonging to the same literary category (e.g. a codex containing all of John Chrysostom's homilies *Adversus Iu-daeos*) that may yet represent several book categories. In this particular case the categories would be *Adversus Iudaeos* books and Chrysostomic books;

– this last point is important: for the subject of a book can also be defined by extratextual elements, monotextual books (which are included in this sur-

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15 Including multithematic texts, if one of the themes in each of them belongs to the same category / to one of the predominant categories.

vey) are not necessarily monothematic, even if the text contained in the book is monothematic;

– regarding books in which it is difficult to differentiate between main and secondary subjects, because their texts fit into several literary categories, even many subjects, the question must be asked as to what is actually meant by 'predominant' in this case? What 'quantity' of texts dealing with the same subject must a book contain for it to be placed into a given book category? If the scope is too wide ranging, the book category may include books with no real connection to the subject whereas too narrow a definition, risks the exclusion of important books. In the absence of any satisfactory theoretical answer, the question is approached in a pragmatic and exploratory way, as illustrated below;[16]

– it is also necessary to introduce the terms *idiothematic* and *allothematic*: these designate texts or books in which the content falls within or outside the general subject under consideration. In a multithematic text or book, if one of the major subjects as defined above is the subject under consideration, it is deemed idiothematic (in spite of the presence of other, allothematic, subjects). For the sake of euphony and when the context is unambiguous, the term *thematic* is used in lieu of *idiothematic*.

1.2.2 An exemplary subject: *Adversus Iudaeos* polemics

Anti-Jewish polemical books are a book category particularly well suited for depicting some of the difficulties in this approach. Indeed, it is not a clearly defined category, widely studied, characterized by specific and recurring patterns of content with the presence and order of certain texts, such as the Books of Hours for instance. On the contrary, the concept of 'polemics against the Jews' has not really been the subject of an 'epistemological' study: the field has not been clearly defined, nor have objective criteria been delineated for placing a given text or book into the anti-Jewish category.[17]

The first necessary step is to narrow down the subject of the books to be treated in this study. For practical purposes here the texts are considered anti-Jewish upon fulfilling the following criteria:[18]

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16 Cf. section 1.1.3 below.
17 Cf. Déroche 2011, 535–536.
18 For this whole section, further explanations and examples can be found in Andrist 2016, 24–30.

i. Texts, clearly identified with *Adversus Iudaeos* in their title or introduction
    are, of course, admitted to the corpus without hesitation: e.g. *Dialogus con-
    tra Iudaeos* by Andronicus Comnenus,[19] making the intent clear in the title,
    or the *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*,[20] which is a theological dispute between
    a Christian and a Jew.

This then raises the question of how to deal with texts in which the content is not in
keeping with the title? The *Contra Iudaeos* for instance, attributed to Theodoret,[21] is
not particularly anti-Jewish, or the *Obiecta Hebraeorum contra Christianos*, a polem-
ical piece in which the Jews are merely a stand-in for the real opponent, the Icon-
omachs?[22] One may dismiss them for being off-topic, but in observing the transmis-
sion of the *Obiecta*, it becomes clear the only two known witnesses of this work are
in a collection of anti-Jewish texts transmitted in two manuscripts;[23] clearly those
responsible for this collection felt (perhaps solely on the basis of the title) that the
work belonged to the category of anti-Jewish polemics.

ii. There are also texts, many of which are quite well-known that do not appear
     to be *explicitly* anti-Jewish but are generally recognized as such and thus
     easily assimilated into the first group. For instance, the famous sermons of
     John Chrysostom,[24] though addressing Judaizing Christians, contain invec-
     tives and anti-Jewish polemics to such a degree that their inclusion in this
     category is fully justified.
iii. Also included are anti-Jewish chapters situated within larger works in which
     anti-Jewish polemics is only one theme among several (and even perhaps a very
     minor theme at that), when those very chapters gained independent circulation
     separate from the 'mother work' in manuscripts. This is the case, for instance,
     with *Titulus* 8 of Euthymius Zigabenus's *Panoplia dogmatica*[25] or Chapter 31 of
     the *Doctrina Patrum*.[26] Methodologically, the distinction is made between work
     and text, and the texts are what is of real interests here.
iv. Likewise, extracts of anti-Jewish passages from works containing intermittent or
     diffuse polemics against the Jews are included. This is in contradistinction to the

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19 Cf. Andrist 2016, 349.
20 *Ibidem*, 361.
21 *Ibidem*, 382.
22 Andrist 1999.
23 Andrist 2000, here 297–299.
24 Cf. Andrist 2016, 376.
25 *Ibidem*, 368.
26 *Ibidem*, 347.

previous category, where the polemical intention is clearly limited to a particular section. As the work of Heinz Schreckenberg (among others) has shown,[27] anti-Jewish polemics are found to varying degrees in a large number of works without always being a central theme. This is evidenced by extracts from the *Chronicle* of George Cedrenus in Barb. gr. 551 (D)[28], whose thematic focus will be discussed below.[29]

v.   At greater risk are those texts or extracts of texts included that are not in themselves polemical–which are not presented as anti-Jewish and where anti-Jewish polemics play a mere marginal role. Nonetheless, they can be regarded as anti-Jewish for their context in a specific manuscript for having been situated within a series of texts that is explicitly anti-Jewish. This situation is comparable to that of the *Obiecta* mentioned above. To clarify this idea, a closer look at some of the extracts preserved in the second part of Vat. gr. 2658 is useful;[30] it consists in the following group of seven texts, comprising approximately 72 pages of a dogmatic florilegium:

Tab. 1: Texts in Vat. gr. 2658 in the section devoted to anti-Jewish polemics

22. (fols 246v–247v)	Leontius Neapolitanus, *Contra Iudaeos orationes 1-5* (extracts)
23. (fols 247v–252v)	Epiphanius Constantiensis, *Testimonia alia de Christo*
24. (fols 252v–259v)	Anastasius quidam, *Doctrina Patrum*, cap. 31, 'Testimonia e Scriptura adversus Iudaeos'
25. (fols 259v–261v)	Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, *Catechesis ad illuminandos xii* (extracts)
26. (fols 261v–265v)	*Collectiones duae anonymae locorum e Vetere Testamento contra Iudaeos*
27. (fols 265v–273v, 237vr!, 274r–278v)	*Florilegium chrysostomicum adversus Iudaeorum observationes*
28. (fols 278v, 238rv!)	Eusebius Caesariensis, *Quaestiones evangelicae, Supplementa quaestionum ad Stephanum 9-10* (extract)

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27 See especially Schreckenberg 1999.

28 The letters in parenthesis after a manuscript shelfmark designates the 'description unit', as explained below, to which the discussion refers / in which the relevant information is to be found; in the context of my descriptions, they designate an UniProd or an UniAut (s. below, section 2.1).

29 Description in Andrist 2016, 130; cf. below section 3.3.1 and 4.4.3.

30 Description in Andrist 2016, 340–345.

Texts 22 and 24-27 clearly contain anti-Jewish polemics, however, according to the division of the manuscript, no. 22, belongs to the section on icons[31]. And what of nos. 23 and 28? No. 23 is a collection of Old Testament testimonia intended to provide proof of the divinity of Jesus, as is often the case in *Adversus Iudaeos* polemics. This work, however, is not specifically anti-Jewish, nor does it present itself as such, its use here makes it a thematically coherent text by virtue of its context. The same stands for no. 28, which would have no obvious polemical character outside of this context.

Therefore, anti-Jewish polemic as a thematic entity flexes between an 'objective' perception of the texts (e.g. is the text in hand actually *arguing against the Jews*?) and a more subjective interpretation based on context (are the arguments presented in a text produced with no anti-Jewish intent merely used to serve polemical purposes?). Nonetheless, all manner of combinations is possible. There are in fact:

– objectively idiothematic texts used in an idiothematic context;
– objectively allothematic texts used in an idiothematic context (as in the example just observed);
– objectively idiothematic texts used in a context which to all intents and purposes is allothematic; examples of this are the extracts of Leontius or Stephen of Bostra, which are mainly known from florilegia in defence of icons;
– (the endless combination of objectively allothematic texts used in an allothematic context are of no interest here).

There are also intermediate cases (again re the *Obiecta*) where works are objectively allothematic yet their title declares them idiothematic.[32] Here the subjectivity and intentions of the author (or whoever gave the title) must be referred to. It is possible to say the same about certain works that mention the theme in their introduction but actually treat it only very little or not at all.

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31 The second UniProd of this codex contains a dogmatic florilegium, which is organised in three sections: a group of eight texts about the Trinity and the Christ; a group of 13 texts about the icons; a group of six texts about the Jews.
32 Cf. above.

1.2.3 Anti-Jewish polemical books

The following definition, based on the criteria above, of an anti-Jewish polemical book may be furnished: a book that contains, either in total or in sufficiently large measure, one or more texts pertaining to the literary category of anti-Jewish polemics.[33]

This begs the question, what is meant by 'in sufficiently large measure'? What 'quantity' of texts related to the relevant subject is required for a book to fit into that category? The answer is a practical one. After some experimentation, all books featuring at least 40% of their content to texts on anti-Jewish polemics are to be considered. This proportion enables a filtering out of all books with only marginal anti-Jewish content and avoids being limited only to books featuring anti-Jewish polemics as the majority of their content; thus books which feature the subject in a significant minority in terms of text size are not eliminated.[34]

As mentioned earlier, a book may have several subjects, depending on the texts it contains and its organizing principle. At this point, it is crucial that at least 40% of the book consist of texts treating this subject. In concrete terms, this proportion of polemical content corresponds to the ratio of the total number of pages containing texts pertaining to the subject to the total number of the manuscript's written (or partially written) pages. Regarding multithematic texts the idiothematic and allothematic parts of the text are not counted separately; thus avoiding any hasty exclusion of idiothematic books. If anti-Jewish polemics are seen to be one of the main themes of a text, then all the text's pages are considered here to be thematically relevant.[35]

As far as methodology is concerned it should be noted that this way of measuring does not allow for comparisons between different manuscripts unless the contents are copied by the same hand, in the same writing style, and using the same layout. But it does permit consideration of the 'total thickness' of the anti-Jewish polemical books within a manuscript and especially the 'relative

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33 Incidentally, this definition justifies the existence of the book category at the centre of our studies (i.e. anti Jewish polemic) as discussed above (cf. section 1.2.1) and the reconstruction of the history of this book genre. A book category being determined by the category of texts it contains and the text category is anti-Jewish polemic, means therefore that anti-Jewish polemical books are a valid book category and studying the history of this genre of book is quite legitimate.

34 At the end of the 2016's study it is discussed whether the corpus which this limit yielded should be further refined; see Andrist 2016, 91–94.

35 For more specific details on how to proceed, see Andrist 2016, 31, notes 48 and 49.

thickness' of the polemics—that is, the proportion of the book devoted to the subject at hand.

One advantage of this partially quantitative approach is that it frees the analyst from an overly subjective perception. If one looks at volumes in their current state, for instance, perception of what their main subject is may be influenced by the first text they contain or the kind of analysis applied to the volume. Vat. gr. 1204[36] for instance, begins with the *Contra Iudaeos* of Andronicus Comnenus as an independent unit and one might easily jump to the conclusion that anti-Jewish polemics are a central theme in this codex; however this is not so, for only 19% of the written pages treat this theme.[37]

1.3 The basic elements for analysis

As mentioned earlier, the object of the study was to examine a group of codices that share a common theme while paying special attention to their complexity and history. The main problem, however—and the problem that led to these investigations taking place at the outset—is the fact that most Greek and Western manuscripts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance feature elements of complexity in their very materiality and/or in their content. These complexities are the result of elaborate processes of composition and development, during which the manuscripts underwent a greater or lesser degree of modification.[38]

For the research today, the problem lies in discerning the presence and the extent to which one or several 'previous' books are within the bindings the scholar has at hand—all of them may differ in extension and content from the current one—with a view to reconstructing them, if necessary, and to situating each of them in time and space as well as in their production context. Anyone wishing to evaluate the content of a medieval book at a given point in time, or to account for all the books in which the still-preserved folios once circulated (as is the case with this project), cannot do so without a rigorous inquiry into the physical and material dimensions of the volumes under consideration. This method has been developed to achieve precisely that.

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36 Description in Andrist 2016, 280–283; see also section 4.2.1 below.
37 For further examples, see Andrist 2016, 31–32.
38 For the underlying theory, see Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, specially 59–81, and *The Syntax* §2.2–2.5.

1.3.1 Circulation units, production units, autonomous units, and codices

The analysis of each codex is based on the fundamental distinction between:

– A 'production unit' (UniProd)[39] meaning all the material support and the content conveyed on it as found in the volume's present shape, results from a single act of production delimited in space and time. It is possible to define different categories of UniProds according to the increase of content and/or of material support and their material and textual autonomy regarding the other UniProds of the volume.[40]

– A 'circulation unit' (UniCirc) corresponds to a phase in the life of a codex lasting as long as all of its composite parts (both the material elements and the contents) remaining unchanged. At the basic level it is a collection of folios which circulate or have circulated together as a unit. Any change in the amount or the materiality of folios, the content, or the way they are held together results in the creation of a new UniCirc, but here distinction is made between different types of UniCircs according to the nature of these transformations.[41]

UniProd, UniCirc and Codex are closely adjacent (and sometimes overlapping) concepts. UniCircs can be equivalent to one UniProd (they will then be a 'MonoProd') or to several UniProds together (they will then be a 'MultiProd'). They may be the result of a simple production act or a transformation of certain parts of one or more UniProds. The same folio with the same content can only belong to one UniProd but it may have belonged to many UniCircs. The making of a UniProd always results in the creation of at least one new UniCirc, but not necessarily in the making of a new codex, as it can be a small addition to an existing book.[42]

For this analysis, the following concepts designating different parts of a codex are also used:[43]

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39 The French forms of these abbreviations have been retained (from *unités de circulation* etc.) for consistency between the French and English versions of *The Syntax of the Codex*.

40 See the detailed explanation in *The Syntax* §2.2.3; an earlier exposition of the theory can be found in Andrist 2015, 511–512.

41 See the detailed explanation in *The Syntax* §2.2.5.

42 For further characteristics cf. Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 79 and *The Syntax* §2.2.7. For a series of models demonstrating how a codex can be transformed see Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, 63–81 and *The Syntax* §2.3–2.4.

43 See also the summary tables below in section 1.4.

— *Autonomous unit*[44] (UniAut): a UniAut is a UniProd, or a part of a UniProd, which can stand alone potentially in terms of both its content (including the relation to its literary tradition) and its material structure. Each UniAut is therefore unitary both in its production and, potentially, in its circulation, as it does not depend on other folios or other contents. By extension, the materially autonomous UniProds, in which the scribe has obviously not completed his work, are considered to be UniAut.[45] This concept is particularly useful in cases where it is not possible to determine from the outset whether the object is a UniProd or an autonomously produced part of a larger UniProd, or even an indeterminate autonomous UniProd.[46] It also helps prevent the forcing of more or less arbitrary decisions, should any lingering doubts persist after the analysis.

— *MultiProd*: / *MonoProd*: the term *Multiprod*, already introduced above, can now be defined more precisely: this is a UniCirc resulting from the meeting of at least two materially distinct UniProds or UniAuts.[47] A MultiProd can also be autonomous if it meets the requirements of completeness of content and material structure. Thus, a *MonoProd* is a UniCirc that presents no materially distinct UniProds or UniAuts.

— A *codex* is always a UniCirc but is distinguished by the fact that any modifications that do not substantially alter the structure of the object—i.e. notes added by a reader, purely conservational interventions such as repairing or replacing the binding, or minor accidental losses—do not result in the creation of a new book.[48] This way of proceeding helps avoid taking more objects into account than necessary.

A few straightforward examples:
— if a scribe transcribes a series of homilies on a series of quires, binds them together, and then sells them to a buyer, he has created both a UniProd and a UniCirc, which is also a simple codex;
— if, after some time, this buyer decides to add notes in the margins of his book, he creates a new UniProd (all of his notes) and a new UniCirc (comprising both the original UniCirc and his own addition). But, while there is a

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44 For other uses of the expression 'autonomous units' see Andrist 2016, 34.
45 For a discussion of unfinished copies, see below section 3.1.2.
46 For this concept, cf. *The Syntax* §2.2.1.1.
47 Or, of course, a UniProd and a UniAut. To avoid confusion, this term replaces the words *assemblage/assemblaggio*, to which different authors apply different meanings in French and in Italian.
48 On the concept of book, see above n. 7.

new UniCirc in terms of content, it has not changed in terms of its material support or structure: it is still the same codex involving no MultiProd (because no new material support has been introduced)[49];

– if, on the other hand, he copies out the beginning of another homily on the last folio of the final quire and adds some additional folios in order to finish his work, he has produced a new, non-autonomous UniProd, a new UniCirc, which is also a new codex and a MultiProd. His formerly simple codex has thus been transformed into a new, complex codex;

– if he finally joins the folios of his book to those of another existing UniCirc, he once again creates a new UniCirc, a new MultiProd, and a new complex book; but he has not created a new UniProd (aside from elements related to the new binding).

Thus, in order to discuss manuscript books and study their history, it is necessary to first examine the traces left in current codices, in order to recognize the different books in which the folios in the codex have previously circulated.

1.3.2 A working vocabulary

During research it became clear a working vocabulary was required to qualify the basic elements of analysis. Aside from its utility, this vocabulary serves as a defence against certain possible inaccuracies and ambiguities. Here are some general concepts to begin with:[50]

– *Perfection*: (in the etymological sense of the term) as it relates to a UniCirc: this refers to a UniCirc that is complete at the level of the content (including the literary tradition of the works it contains) and is coherent at the level of folio organization, but is not necessarily unitary at the level of production. A 'perfect' UniCirc contains a series[51] of complete pieces of content and a finished material structure, to the exclusion of any form of diminution (unless it has been restored) and any unfinished works. By definition a UniAut is potentially a 'perfect' UniCirc. The contrary is 'imperfect'.

– *Independence*: this qualifies sets of folios which circulate 'on their own'. An independent UniProd therefore denotes a UniProd that is, or was, in circula-

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49 For a presentation of different types of UniCirc, and a discussion about the relation between the concepts of UniCirc and Codex, see *The Syntax* §2.2.5 and §2.2.7.

50 For examples, see Andrist 2016, 37.

51 Unless otherwise indicated, the term *series* includes also cases limited to one unit.

tion, even for a very brief period. In a MultiProd it means that the independent UniProd once circulated without being accompanied by another UniProd (except perhaps for the elements of the binding or non-material UniProd such as subsequent notes). By definition, any existing UniCirc is independent (and any reconstructed UniCirc has been independent at some point in history.

– *Autonomy*, which underpins the above-mentioned UniAut, qualifies a perfect set of folios. It does not, however, indicate whether the set of folios circulated independently or not. The opposite of autonomous is non-autonomous and this concept can also apply to content and/or materiality.

As will be shown, one of the main challenges in the study of codices is when autonomous units are joined with other autonomous units of similar materiality, for the number of books to be taken into consideration depends on how their original (or former) independence is evaluated. The case studies below help provide a concrete understanding of how to interpret the concepts of independence and autonomy.

Regarding vocabulary, the following pairs have already been encountered: *monotextual* and *multitextual*; *monothematic* and *multithematic*; *idiothematic* and *allothematic*. Let us now add some further useful terms:[52]

– *Monograph*: a monotextual book or UniAut. A volume containing a *sylloge* or a work made up of a collection of extracts or quotations is also a monograph.[53]

– *Homomaterial*: describes books or parts of books bearing enough similarities to each other in terms of their writing support, their hand, and their layout, that one is compelled to consider whether or not they are part of a single production. The limits of this concept are, of course, sometimes rather difficult to define. It is sometimes necessary to speak of codices or portions of codices (thus also of UniCircs, UniProds, etc.) which are either 'strongly' or 'weakly' homomaterial to each other. Assessment of the degree of homomateriality between two objects should be carried out on the basis of careful analysis, any snap judgments here can be particularly misleading.

– *Heteromaterial*: describes books or parts of books that are noticeably different in terms of their writing support, hand, and/or layout, thus at first glance it appears highly doubtful they come from the same act of production. However, further analysis may uncover complex realities.

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52 For an example of their use, see Andrist 2016, 38–39.

53 On the concept of text in this study, cf. section 1.1 above.

– *Homothematic / heterothematic*: in a similar way, these terms describe books or parts of books that either have or do not have a common subject, without further qualification as to what that subject might be. Accordingly, two idiothematic units are necessarily homothematic, while two allothematic units are not necessarily heterothematic, for they may have some third subject in common. By extension, two or more texts can be homo- or heterothematic.

It is easy to imagine numerous situations in which doubt exists as to a given volume's structural history. Sections 3 and 4 below provide a survey of such challenges.

1.4 Summary tables of the terms used

1.4.1 Relation between books or physical parts of book, text, themes and material features:

	textual aspects	thematic aspects	material aspects
one codex etc.	monotextual multitextual monograph	monothematic multithematic	
		athematic	
		idiothematic allothematic	
two or more codices etc.		homothematic heterothematic	homomaterial heteromaterial
one text		monothematic multithematic athematic	
		idiothematic allothematic	
two or more texts		homothematic heterothematic	

1.4.2 Relation between a codex and its UniProds / UniAuts and UniMods

	UniProd / UniAut	UniMod (cf. section 4)
book / codex	MonoProd / monounitary: contains only one (materially self-contained) UniProd UniProd / multiunitary: contains at least two (materially distinct) UniProds	MonoMod MultiMod

2 The description of codices

2.1 The importance of formal description

The writing of a formal description of the codex is both the starting point and end point of the analysis of every codex. Indeed, the method here requires one first carefully and thoroughly examine the entire manuscript. It is this work of observation, imperfect as it always is, that allows a gathering of the information, be they just minor details, that will help determine the different UniProds and UniCircs. This is why a particular type of description has been developed here (set out in detail below) in which the 'description units' (i.e. the parts of the manuscript around which the description is organized) operate with a focus not on the codex itself but on the UniAuts or the UniProds, and at times on detached parts of UniProds. This approach makes it possible to foreground the parts that have been produced and circulated together and also helps visualize the manuscript. On this basis, together with more or less explicit chronological and geographical information about these parts, the historical relation between them can often be deduced quite easily. At the end point, the formal description concludes with remarks providing the resulting 'diagnostic' of the codex's genetic and later history.[54] Only when all the codices have been carefully analysed can one hope to understand the history of the production and circulation of thematic books (or any other book category).

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54 For further details see Andrist 2016, 119–123 and the bibliography in note 1.

2.2 The structure of the description

According to this method, the units of description generally follow their order of appearance in the codex, so to a certain extent the formal description represents the codex analogically: first the binding, along with the flyleaves at the beginning; then the description of the UniProds or the parts thereof, each fully described separately; supplementary items, such as reader notes or labels, are in a separate subsection within the description of the unit to which they are physically attached. If the folios produced together are scattered throughout a codex (for example, from restoration), they are described together as a single UniProd, usually after the other UniProds. After the description of the flyleaves at the end, conjectures are presented for the manuscript's likely history and the proportion of polemical content in its several units.

Units of description containing idiothematic texts are described in greater detail, than the others, both in terms of content and materiality; the description of these allothematic units is primarily to assist in assessing the independence of the idiothematic units. If the structure is always the same, the implementation of the method varies according to several factors:

– the existence of a catalogue to provide non-essential information; in its absence, more details are usually provided on the manuscript, including for allothematic units;
– the importance of details in determining idiothematic books;
– the complexity of the manuscript. When the structure of a manuscript is particularly difficult to grasp, there is a two-step procedure: first, a brief description of all the series of folios that might from an initial inspection, be reasonably felt correspond to a UniProd; followed by analysis of these basic blocks to determine whether they should be grouped in terms of their production, and how they fit together in terms of their circulation;[55]
– time limitations.

At the level of the unit of description this results in two basic types of description:

– concerning idiothematic or potentially idiothematic units; these sections are more detailed, and each feature has its own paragraph.
– concerning the other units of description; only the features relevant to the study are used—and usually in a summary way. They are separated from each other by a single dash.

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[55] For example, see the description of Vat. gr. 2220 in Andrist 2016, 301–318.

This distinction, however, is applied in a flexible manner and sometimes 'hybrid' descriptions or quite abbreviated ones for units of description that are far removed from the subject of the study.[56]

2.3 Inevitable subjectivity

At this point it is important to bring to mind the unavoidable degree of subjectivity involved in this work and, rather than attempt to deny or conceal this, one should strive to be aware of this subjectivity and account for it in the analysis process.

Firstly, as already mentioned, the evaluation is based on the observation and formal description of manuscripts. It is important to remember that any description of a manuscript is a permanent choice between the innumerable things one could describe and what one actually deems relevant to one's work. It is not merely a question of consciously choosing to privilege certain elements (such as the texts and the types of ruling) while neglecting others (such as the provenance of and the defects in the parchment or the ruling systems). Among the features of the manuscript commonly subject to description some elude an objective 'measurement' such as writing or decoration. This also occurs regarding questions on the material features of the codex (such as the description of the types of ruling) which are always the result of interpretation and simplification. Contrary to popular belief–there is no manuscript description or catalogue that is entirely objective.[57]

What consequences do these bear upon the present work? They are potentially important, for in choosing not to describe a particular feature, or to describe it only briefly, there is always the risk of omitting information that could have led to recognizing an additional book or, conversely, could have prevented overestimating the difference between two parts of a manuscript.

Secondly, one cannot proceed from the formal description of a codex to the identification of the several books or remains of books concealed beneath its cover without risk. Indeed, it is often impossible to decide for certain on the basis of the initial information-gathering (to put it more simply, the current state of the codex or of the UniProds being analysed) whether a particular

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56 For example where quite allothematic UniProds are described on a single line, see the description of Ott. gr. 384 in Andrist 2016, 165–166.

57 See Canart 1980 563–616 (reprinted in *idem* 2008, 579–584; see also *idem*, 2007, 1–13.

unit or 'MultiProd' corresponds to one (or more) former UniCircs. Some of the different types of problems will be dealt with below.

Thirdly, it has already been seen that it is sometimes difficult to recognize a text's or book's subject. Despite the precautions taken, the choice to retain one text and exclude another cannot always be based solely on objective data: the degree of certainty can vary a great deal, depending on the nature and quality of the information available but also on the kind of reasoning applied. Should all manuscripts be excluded when there is an element of doubt? The study shows that one would then have to limit oneself to just a handful of witnesses,[58] whereas a cross-evaluation of information can often provide a nuanced judgment and allow one to assess the potential for independent circulation. This is why it is useful, when creating descriptions, to 'show one's work' when arriving at a particular conclusion, sometimes even factoring one's doubts into the results by quantifying the degree of one's certainty or lack thereof.[59]

From a more epistemological perspective, if objectivity is unattainable, does this mean the cataloguer has gone beyond the reach of the scientific method? This question naturally transcends codicology and is relevant to all branches of history. The response to this is a dual approach: firstly, the scholarly quality of the work done is directly related to the quality of the data extracted and the reasoning applied to them. Thus, the data must first be sufficiently reliable and suitable for the research purpose, and any objectifiable information among those deemed useful for the description, perhaps e.g. the dimensions of a page, should be given precisely. But it is also imperative to adhere to sound principles of reason and apply them rigorously. This will not result in 'objective truths' but in a reasonable and well-founded representation of the objects studied, enabling others to use them in a critical way and reach their own, well-founded conclusions.

The second part involves balancing out the problems of subjectivity inherent in the description of an isolated codex, no matter how precisely and systematically this is done, by carefully applying a quantitative/statistical evaluation. This second, statistical approach complements the first and is especially valuable if the available data are sufficient for the conclusions to be evaluated against larger chronological evolutions. Indeed, the analysis of isolated data makes more sense if one can determine the rarity or commonness of an object's characteristics compared to other objects of the same period and/or the same

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58 Cf. Andrist 2016, 78.

59 See, for example, the discussion below on the proportion of polemical material, section 1.2.3, as well as section 3.1.1.

typology at the time of the creation of the UniProds and the books. Conversely, statistical projections are only possible if the isolated data are sufficiently numerous and reliable and amenable to a quantitative study. In any case, the result must be compared with information obtained through traditional analytical methods, especially concerning a manuscript's non-quantifiable characteristics. Unfortunately, this ideal of data contextualisation is seldom possible for manuscript studies due to a lack of relevant quantitative studies.

3 The analysis of distinct production units and autonomous units

The theoretical definitions set forth in section 2 are clear. However, early on in the course of this work a series of theoretical and practical questions arose, some of which are now to be addressed, beginning with those mostly occurring at the level of the UniProd or UniAut, considered separately from other units with which they are, or have been, combined. In section 4 problems relating to MultiProds are discussed.

3.1 Questions concerning the mutilation of idiothematic books

Two general questions about UniProds or UniAuts are considered using some concrete examples.[60]

3.1.1 Simple mutilations

A number of UniCircs which appear idiothematic today have been mutilated at the end and/or beginning. In rare cases it is possible to see what has been lost owing to the preservation of an old table of content of the book or of the original binding. However, in the vast majority of cases it is impossible to know the original book's actual scope, which may have included several other texts and therefore have been only marginally thematic. The best approach at this juncture is to compare this unit with adjacent units and its content's literary tradition in an attempt to

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60 For a third discussion, including dismembered manuscripts, cf. Andrist 2016, 47–49.

roughly evaluate the chances of its being idiothematic. We then place it on a scale of the following values 'very unlikely,' 'unlikely,' 'possible,' 'likely,' and 'very likely'. At times, despite one's best efforts, the task may be beyond satisfactory analysis. Here are two examples:[61]

- Ott. gr. 384(1-E)[62] is a simple case: Andronicus Comnenus's *Dialogus* ends abruptly at the end of the last quire and it is no longer possible to know the exact size of the original manuscript, which, had the text been complete, would have contained the last 40 chapters, now missing. However, the composite nature of the current volume and the absence of physical links with adjacent units allow one at least to consider this unit to be the remains of a possibly idiothematic UniAut, which may have circulated independently.

- According to the reconstruction of Vat. gr. 2518[63], based mainly on several systems of quire signatures, unit k of Vat. gr. 2518 (which is mutilated at the beginning and almost entirely thematic) was also part of two other, older books, called 'H' and 'K,' and unit l[64] was also a part of these. From existing evidence one may postulate the possible existence of a fourth book (the first being the current Vat. gr. 2518) containing the current unit k without the other units or even a fifth one, containing k+l. One may therefore conclude that these last two hypothetical books may well be the remains of one or two idiothematic books. On the other hand, however, one is not in a position to form a judgment on books H and K, owing to the lack of information on the contents of lost folios.

3.1.2 Unfinished copies

To this it can be added that a work whose copy is visibly incomplete (that is to say, ends abruptly at an unusual or unnatural point of the text and is followed in the same quire by an empty space or another text)[65] is not considered a mutilated text but rather an 'imperfect' text. Here it is not possible to 'reconstruct' a larger UniProd, which would include these folios and the end of the text, for it never

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61 Further examples in Andrist 2016, 44–47.

62 Description in Andrist 2016, 154.

63 Description in Andrist 2016, 319.

64 The lower-case letter.

65 One must of course exclude cases where, in the relevant textual tradition, the text is frequently interrupted at this point—for example, to add a miniature. For the example of Vat. gr. 1152 (A), which might give the impression of being an incomplete copy but is not, see Andrist 2016, 49 n. 88.

existed save as part of the scribe's or sponsor's intended project. On determining the idiothematic nature of a text or a UniCirc, the fact that the ending is abrupt does not alter or undermine the conclusions drawn from analysis of the written text.

– This is clearly the case for Vat. gr. 719 (B)[66]: the copy of *Quaestio* 16 by Michael Glycas ends abruptly at the bottom of the page in the middle of a sentence. The four empty pages that followed were undoubtedly intended to accommodate the end of the text, but for unknown reasons this was never transcribed. Given, moreover, the context of the other texts of the unit, there are no reasons to question the unit's idiothematic character.

– The hybrid character of Vat. gr. 1770 (D) should also be noted:[67] John Cantacuzenus' text ends abruptly in the third discourse at the bottom of the verso of a folio and is followed by two empty folios, which also conclude the volume. The last quire, however, is irregular: the current quire contains six folios but the thread is located between the fourth and the fifth folios; the first four folios are written, while the two last are empty. As a result, one suspects the loss of two folios in the quire's second half (the current sewing is very tight and prevents one from being more precise about the folios' solidarity). In any case, there are two possibilities: if whatever recto that followed the cord was empty, the unit in question should not be considered a mutilated unit but rather an unfinished copy. Aside from which, if the text continued on folios now lost, one would still be dealing with a mutilation but, specifically, a mutilation of an unfinished copy (or a very particular unknown version of the text), as the two folios potentially lost in this place are not nearly sufficient to contain the normal end of the work.

These examples lead to a more general observation: in theory it is possible that any perfect[68] unit (whose end coincides both with the end of the complete text and the end of a volume or quire) may actually have been taken from a larger UniProd. In this sense, in fact, the UniCircs worked with here are almost always hypothetical. But there is a very good chance that whatever followed belonged to another unit, for it would have begun with a new quire. In practice, it is inadvisable to form hypotheses about things which have left no trace, so it is better to ignore these possibilities.

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66 Description in Andrist 2016, 234.

67 Description in Andrist 2016, 297.

68 In the above defined meaning.

3.2 Questions related to the 'thickness'[69] of doubtful circulation units

A number of uncertain UniCircs have very few folios, leaving one to ponder whether they really could have been independent books. This question concerns the whole of book production and several problems arise during its analysis.

Firstly, many of the current volumes were assembled in libraries for the purpose of consolidating multiple, slim UniAuts. As such, it is often difficult to tell whether such uncertain UniAuts of a 'slim' nature ever circulated independently as a monoprod UniCirc or whether, prior to their integration into their current volumes, they had already circulated together with other UniAuts in one or several MultiProds.

Furthermore, there are no statistical studies on the subject. Marilena Maniaci's ground-breaking article gives no information on manuscripts of fewer than 40 folios; it also encounters the problem mentioned in the previous paragraph, for it depends directly on volumes in their present state (which are known through catalogues).[70]

There are simple types of bindings well suited to small books, such as 'limp vellum bindings,' which require only a little effort to hold a few quires together. Examples include *Bernensis* 639 (4 quires 28 folios + 2 flyleaves) and *Bernensis* 656 (3 quires, 20 folios + 4 flyleaves).[71] One may further wonder whether uncertain UniCircs consisting of a single quire might easily have circulated without binding, especially when the first folio, if left free, could serve as natural protection (see below).

Examination of the five clearly distinct UniProds belonging to the thematic corpus studied here, with a 'thickness' of 40 folios or less, tends to indicate the very likely existence of extremely 'slim' books. These two examples are pertinent here:[72]

– Ott. gr. 189 (E)[73]: 1 quire, 10 folios; the old numbering (beginning at 1) starts on the second folio; the first folio is empty. This autonomous unit, whose 'thickness' is a single quire, is heterothematic and heteromaterial with its

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69 In the absence of a proper equivalent this rather less-than-ideal term is used in place of the Italian *consistenza*.

70 Maniaci 2004, 93–99.

71 See the catalogue Andrist 2007, 268–271 and pp. 278–281.

72 Other examples in Andrist 2016, 50–52.

73 Description in Andrist 2016, 135.

adjacent units. This is an example of a UniProd which very likely circulated on its own.

– Vat. gr. 1770 (D)[74]: 4 quires, 32 folios; the quires are independently numbered; the last quire is apparently incomplete, perhaps mutilated, but the copy of the text is clearly unfinished.[75] The presence of an empty folio at the unit's beginning, the positioning of the quire mark on the unit's second folio (for it to correspond to the beginning of the text), and its being thematically and materially different from the preceding units, all emphasize the autonomy of the unit, which was clearly designed to be able to circulate independently. As this is an unfinished copy, one can only guess that was the case.

3.3 Questions related to the idiothematic character of certain texts

3.3.1 Texts not clearly idiothematic

As mentioned above, it is sometimes difficult to assess the idiothematic character of certain texts. The following is one of the two cases encountered:[76]

– In Barb. gr. 551 (D),[77] the question is whether or not the extracts of George Cedrenus, which go beyond the strictly anti-Jewish part of the work, actually constitute an idiothematic text? Or do they simply reflect a more general interest in the Christian history of the period they cover? This section's polemical dimension is reinforced by certain details: the scribe has placed a series of general index notes in the margins and in the upper margin has added three notes of an anti-Jewish character flanked by small decorations. In addition, there are many 'pointing hands' in the lateral margins of fols 55v–58r (containing a polemical section) in an ink corresponding to that of the scribe. It can be deduced from these peculiarities that the idiothematic dimension of this excerpt was most likely the scribe's central concern, though alternative explanations cannot be excluded.

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74 Description *ibidem*, 297.
75 See above, section 3.1.2.
76 Cf. Andrist 2016, 53.
77 Description *ibidem*, 130.

Such texts which are not clearly idiothematic and cast doubt on the idiothematical character of the UniCirc are luckily rare, as these ambiguous texts themselves are rare and generally brief, and because the focus here is on units where idiothematic texts occupy a significant place. It is significant that the two cases encountered occur in 'slim' units. The threshold of 40% permits the elimination of a small series of idiothematically fuzzy texts found in largely allothematic UniCircs.

3.3.2 The subject and the intention of the authors

As explained above, the partially quantitative approach also safeguards against excessive subjectivity in the definition of anti-Jewish polemical books. This does not, however, obscure the question of how a text's subject is connected to the intention of the person who commissioned the book.

– For example, Vat. gr. 1727 (B)[78] and Reg. gr. 43 (A)[79] are monographs containing the *Disputatio Gregentii*, and could well have been copied in honour of the saint for someone with no particular interest in anti-Jewish polemics. In this case the primary intention of the person(s) responsible for the volumes is difficult to determine. If interest was focused on Gregentius, why was this episode chosen? But, why would it not be, as his victorious debate against the Jews was perceived as one of the most important moments of his career? The problem is not so easily solved as interest in either of these themes need not be exclusive of the other, and interest may differ from one reader to the next. Hence the importance of considering this volume as an idiothematic, multithematic book.

– This kind of problem, however, does not arise with all monographs for which the author's idiothematic intention is clear, e.g. Andronicus Comnenus's *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* in Vat. gr. 685 (A).[80]

In multithematic, multitextual units, by contrast, this sort of situation is quite common and difficulties in analysis can decrease if it is possible to be guided by the plurality of themes. Here are two examples:[81]

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78 Cf. above and the description in Andrist 2016, 288.

79 Description *ibidem*, 180.

80 Description *ibidem*, 215. By definition, in a monograph (a book with one text), the themes of the book equals (or at least includes) the themes of the text thus the thematic intention of the authors, independently of any other intention of the book producers (i.e. those who are responsible for the content of a specific codex as well as its physical features).

- In the Ott. gr. 414 (B)[82] the *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae* and the *Disputatio de Anima* are both literary dialogues composed in a question-and-answer format. The question posed is whether the person who commissioned or compiled this book[83] was interested in anti-Jewish rhetoric, or only in this kind of dialogues? Again, the two are not mutually exclusive, nor are the two possibilities on the same literary level. Furthermore, the two pieces are very different in length and the *Disputatio*, which occupies only about 5% of the volume, can be considered a complement to the first text. In this Uni-Aut, the anti-Jewish polemic clearly occupies a dominant place and seems to match the primary interest of the person who commissioned the volume.
- Thematically, Reg. gr. Pii II 47[84] is divided into two parts: one is grammatical, the other idiothematic. The whole has a polemical proportion of 41% and one cannot discern any textual theme common to both parts. A book subject does exist, however, as Filippo Ronconi explains, 'the goal of the scribe [...] was to compose a useful handbook for training a good monk'.[85] This manuscript is therefore also an important witness to the pedagogical function of anti-Jewish polemic at this time and therefore the current volume can be deemed entirely idiothematic.

Too few examples exist to establish a general rule and some cases are doubtful, but there are sufficient instances where it can be easily argued that anti-Jewish polemic was intentional on the part of the person responsible for the unit.

4 Evaluating MultiProds composed of autonomous units

MultiProds composed of UniAuts pose particular interpretive problems. Indeed, as already mentioned, according to a commonly used but not yet satisfactorily documented manufacturing technique, the byzantine codex producers were able to make their manuscript books from small collections of quires, each con-

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81 For additional examples, cf. *ibidem*, 55–56.

82 Description *ibidem*, 74.

83 Also called 'originator' in the terminology developed at the CSMC.

84 Description *ibidem*, 192.

85 Ronconi 2009, 104: 'le but du copiste [...] était de constituer un manuel fonctionnel pour la formation du bon moine'.

taining a certain amount of texts or coherent parts of texts (meaning that each quire ended with the end of a text or of a book or of a chapter, etc.) which were then combined together. These so-called 'modular units' (or UniMod)[86] thus formed the book's basic 'building blocks' and the identification of UniMods offers an important insight into the process of making ancient books. It is often the case that the content of these UniMods (or series of juxtaposed UniMods) is entirely autonomous with regard to its literary or book tradition, potentially allowing them to circulate independently with ease. Such UniMods (or the juxtaposed series) are then also UniAuts.

Faced with a MultiProd, at least two problems arise:

a. Firstly, how to distinguish, on the one hand, the UniAuts which have never circulated independently having been directly combined with other units in the producer's workshop, and on the other, those that are quite likely earlier books or remains of books. One must always evaluate the likelihood of independent circulation, and in providing a tentative answer to this question it is essential to analyse the relevant units carefully.

b. Whatever the answer to the question of circulation, the second problem involves the idiothematic value of the MultiProd, as will be explained. To deal with this question, cases are excluded, from the outset, where the collection's 'thematic proportion' does not reach the threshold of 40%, and MultiProds are classified according to the material and thematic relationships between their constituent units.

4.1 The idiothematic scope of new MultiProds

In cases where a MultiProd consists of one or more formerly independent units and anti-Jewish polemical texts occupy at least 40% of the current written surface, is it possible to automatically infer that the MultiProd constitutes a new idiothematic book?

– On the one hand, it is a fact that, from a statistical point of view, this Multi-Prod meets the criteria presented above and should therefore be counted as a new idiothematic book.

– On the other, it seems equally important to take the transformational dynamics into consideration: if the unit (or units) with which a thematic unit is combined in the new volume is allothematic and does not influence the perception of the idiothematicity of the thematic unit, one must conclude

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[86] On the concept of 'modularity' and the 'modular unit' see Maniaci 2004.

that the new book's 'idiothematic scope' is no different from that of the previous book and, despite a proportion above 40%, he or she should not consider it a new idiothematic book. Otherwise, small thematically irrelevant additions to the book's content will result in a statistically confusing multiplication of pseudo new idiothematic codices, while, in reality, no new idiothematic books were created, as the case of Vat. gr. 1727, presented below, illustrates.

– But if, despite this other unit's allothematicity, one perceives the polemic in the idiothematic unit now to be set in a new perspective, one should conclude that a new idiothematic book has been created, as illustrated by the case of Vat. gr. 719, presented below.

As mentioned above, the challenge, regarding a book with an idiothematic origin that has been enriched over time by small pieces unrelated to the subject, is not to multiply our count of idiothematic books. Here are two examples:[87]

– In Vat. gr. 719[88] the addition of an anti-Saracen text (unit A) to the independent anti-Jewish anthology (unit B + C) adds a new perspective to the anti-Jewish polemic in the latter. One can say that the collection's idiothematic scope is now different from what it was in unit B + C and conclude that a new idiothematic book has been created.

– By contrast, in Vat. gr. 1727[89] the polemical perspective of unit B, containing the *Disputatio Gregentii*, has not, in my opinion, been altered by being placed alongside musical and geometrical treatises in unit A. Therefore, A + B do not constitute a new polemical book, in spite of its polemical proportion of 60% far exceeding the 40% mark.

What remains at this point is to discuss the different types of situations encountered in codices of the corpus under scrutiny and assess the relevant UniAuts according to their thematic and material proximity.

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87 For the less clear-cut case of Barocci 33, cf. Andrist 2016, 58.
88 See below and the description in *ibidem*, 234.
89 See the description *ibidem*, 288.

4.2 Combinations of idiothematic units with allothematic, heteromaterial units

First are the considerations of combinations of idiothematic UniAuts and allothematic, heteromaterial UniAuts.

4.2.1 The independence of idiothematic units

When an idiothematic unit has circulated independent of the others, it must be treated as an independent book. However, this independence (and the full content of this previous UniCirc) is not always easy to determine, as mentioned above, and as the manuscripts in the Vaticana's corpus with Andronicus Comnenus's *Dialogus* illustrate (s. below Table 2):

- At first glance Vat. gr. 724 (A)[90] seems to present a simple situation: this unit is distinct from the manuscript's other units by its theme, hand, and layout. But on closer inspection the case is more complicated: the units' heteromaterial nature is very slight, since unit B, which uses two kinds of paper, seems to share one type with unit A and the other type with unit C. Moreover, unit A's scribe, Manuel Provataris, was a colleague at the Vatican Library of Franciscus Syropoulos, the scribe of units B and C. One could argue further that the other units' allothematicity, which at face value seems unrelated to anti-Jewish polemics, is uncertain.[91]
- Reg. gr. Pii II 13, Vat. gr. 1204, and Vat. gr. 1663 show strong similarities to Vat. gr. 724 in terms of the content, the writing support, and/or the scribes, as the table above shows. [92] Of particular note is the presence of Andronicus Comnenus's *Dialogus* at the beginning of each of the four codices and the use of the 'Zonghi 1690' paper[93] in three of them; those three are also written in the hands of scribes orbiting around the Vatican Library.[94]

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90 See the description *ibidem*, 130.

91 See *ibidem*, 59.

92 Description of these codices *ibidem*, 188, 245, 280, 284.

93 Zonghi / Zonghi / Gasparinetti 1953. This paper has a watermark 'man with a halo kneeling before a cross' ('*homme*, auréolé, agenouillé devant la croix'). Since the publication of the celebrated second edition of the watermark albums by Charles-Moïse Briquet in 1923, it is customary to designate the watermarks in French; both designations are given here.

94 For further examples and a more detailed analysis see *ibidem*, 59–62; on the publication of 'Comnenus+' books, see also 104–107.

Tab. 2: Volumes beginning with Andronicus Comnenus's *Dialogus*

	Reg. gr. Pii II 13	Vat. gr. 724	Vat. gr. 1204	Vat. gr. 1663
Unit A	*c.*1552–1562 / Rome *ut videtur* Watermark '**Zonghi 1690**'	*c.*1552–1562 / Rome Watermark '**Zonghi 1690**' + crossbow (*arbalète*), cf. B and Pii II 13 (B)	*c.*1552–1562 / Rome Watermark: '**Zonghi 1690**'	*c.*1559–1569 / Venice Watermark: ladder (*échelle*)
	Rhesinos (cf. B) **Comnenus, Dialogus**	Provataris **Comnenus, Dialogus**	Provataris (cf. C) **Comnenus, Dialogus**	Tourianos **Comnenus, Dialogus**
Unit B	16th cent.[3/4] / Rome? Watermark crossbow (*arbalète*), related to Vat. gr. 724 (A)	16th cent., ante 1567 / Rome Watermark: crossbow (*arbalète*) (also like A)	*c.*1560–1567 / Rome Misc. watermarks different from A	1560–1570 / Venice Watermark: angel (*ange*)
	Rhesinos (cf. A) *Iuridica*	Syropoulos (cf. C, D) ***Exegetica biblica***	Provataris (and Syropoulos) ***Catenae exegeticae***	Myrocephalitis ***Exegetica patristica***
Other Units	—	Units C and D Syropoulos (cf. B) et al. *Hom. in Act. Apost. De catenis s. Petri*	Unit C Provataris (cf. A) *Historica*	—
Overall polem. rate	49%	40%	19%	63%

In summarising the study of these codices, the following points crop up: *between* volumes there is a certain parallelism in the content and *within* volumes there is a certain connection between the scribes; but, by contrast, *within* a volume a certain weakness in the material correspondence between the two or three UniAuts can be noted, especially in regard to paper and/or layout, and *between* volumes, except for the first UniAut, there is only a vague similarity of the content. All in all, the differences in content are too significant to regard these books as a single editorial project repeated three or four times. As a result, each volume cannot be seen as a single UniProd, as a UniProd encompasses all the material support and the content pro-

duced within the same editorial project.[95] As a result, it is preferable to consider each of these UniAuts as a different UniProd.

It should be added furthermore, that no example of a UniCirc (or even of a probable UniCirc) containing the text of Andronicus Comnenus only has been found, and the first units of the four manuscripts can therefore not easily be considered previous UniCircs. On the contrary, they appear to correspond to a type of 'Comnenus + something' book (or a 'Comnenus +' type), perhaps responding to the idea that this text should not circulate unaccompanied. This would be a particular type of 'undetermined UniProd'.

What idiothematic value do these MultiProds have? For Vat. gr. 724, at the limit of what is considered a significant proportion, it is unfortunately not possible to determine whether units A + B + C were once a MultiProd circulating independent of D. The situation is even more difficult for Vat. gr. 1204, as the overall proportion is only 19% and no evidence has been found to determine whether A + B circulated independently of C, which is allothematic but also copied by Provataris. It is impossible to decide. For Vat. gr. 1663 and Reg. gr. Pii II 13, however, the overall polemical proportion far exceeds 40%.

As observed more generally, even in cases where heterothematic and heteromaterial units are grouped together, a closer analysis of the volume or a comparative analysis with other volumes can lead one to refrain from identifying separate books.

4.2.2 The idiothematicity of MultiProds

And what of the idiothematicity of UniCircs in which formerly independent idiothematic units are joined with allothematic and heteromaterial UniProds? The issue has already been discussed with regard to the manuscripts presented above. For UniCircs whose resulting polemical proportion is less than 40%, the question does not arise. Vat. gr. 1727, containing the *Disputatio Gregentii*, was already discussed above in section 4.1; here is a similar example:

– In Vat. gr. 688[96] the later addition of two folios (unit A) containing the table of content of Constantine Harmenopoulos's *Hexabiblos* does not change the polemical scope of unit B and thus does not result in the creation of a new idiothematic book.

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95 See Andrist / Canart / Maniaci 2013, specially 59–81, and *The Syntax* §2.2–2.5.
96 Description in Andrist 2016, 230.

These two examples do not result in a change in the book count. In practice, such cases are rarely found.

4.3 Combinations of idiothematic units with other idiothematic units

There is an equally simple situation with idiothematic autonomous units that are more or less homomaterial (i.e. units which treat similar subjects and are materially similar in their writing support, script, and/or layout) and one sometimes wonders not only whether they ever circulated independently, but whether they might have been produced from the very beginning as a single book and are therefore are parts of a same UniProd.

– Taking the example of the *Venice Adversus Iudaeos* Collection, which has, always in the same order, the following three polemical texts: the *Disputatio Gregentii*, the *Eclogae Veteris Testamenti de sancta Trinitate et de Incarnatione*, and the *Dialogica polymorpha antiiudaica*.[97] It is found in four manuscripts of the sixteenth century, including in the 'edition' produced by Manuel Malaxos in Venice in the 1560s and preserved in the Ott. gr. 267 and Vat. gr. 687, as well as in a manuscript list copied by Malaxos in codex Vall. B. 106.[98] In this edition he added the *De gestis* in Perside as a fourth text.[99]

– By contrast, the two idiothematic units of Reg. gr. 43,[100] which also contain the *Venice Adversus Iudaeos Collection*, were copied by two different hands in a slightly different layout and are for the most part heteromaterial: the only real connection is with the paper, because all of the papers feature various watermarks 'hand' (*main*); they show some similarities but the initial impression of at least one identical series of watermarks being present in both units could not be confirmed. In addition, the dating of the paper makes it possible to situate the copy of unit B in the first third of the sixteenth century, in other words at least 25 years before Malaxos was active, whereas unit A is datable (less precisely) to the first half of the century. These units therefore do not play a role in the edition mentioned above, even if the core contents are the same. Given these conditions the first two

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97 On these texts, see *ibidem*, 364, 365, 359.
98 Description of the manuscripts *ibidem*, 150, 224; on the list, *ibidem*, 101–103.
99 On this 'edition,' the *Venice Collection* in general, and other related manuscripts, see Andrist 2016, 63–66, 99–104.
100 Description *ibidem*, 180.

units of the *Reginensis* are probably two separate books.[101] The current codex, however, contains two other UniProds which are allothematic (C and D) and were copied by two other scribes and are perhaps older than the previous ones. There is no physical evidence to suggest that the two idiothematic units ever circulated together (separate from the two allothematic units of the same current codex) or that either of these is from the same copy project as either of the idiothematic units.

Working then with the hypothesis of an independent circulation of a MultiProd A + B, it is possible to argue that the didactic works contained in unit D give a catechetical colour to unit A + B, although the presence of unit C, which contains an astronomical text, is difficult to explain within this set. Added to the fact that the monk Dorotheus has left his name on units A and D, but not on C (nor on B, but here a circulation that already has A + B grouped together is being considered),[102] it is also possible to ask whether a unit A + B + D (without C) circulated; in which case such a unit would be 88% idiothematic.

Another hypothesis is that the four units circulated independently and were joined at the same time; this combination would change how the polemics were situated in A and B and give birth to a new book which would be 84% idiothematic.

These examples show once again that, even when idiothematic autonomous units are combined, a more careful analysis may produce more nuanced conclusions. However, it has been verified in a more general and unsurprising way that the chances of dealing with separate books are significantly reduced when the homomateriality is strong and the series of texts is part of a documented book tradition.

4.4 Combinations of idiothematic units with allothematic units which are completely or partially homomaterial

The more difficult situation of MultiProds is to be approached in which an idiothematic UniAut is accompanied by one or more allothematic UniAuts that are more or less homomaterial, that is to say they share marked affinities in their script, material support, layout, etc. The evaluation of an independent circulation

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101 Certain similarities in layout with Vat. gr. 687 (B), however, mean that one should not too hastily exclude the possibility of a connection to a common ancestor; cf. *ibidem*, 103.

102 Cf. 'Remarques sur l'histoire du manuscrit' in the description, *ibidem*, 186–187.

of the idiothematic UniAut must now also take into account the material relations between it and the other units.

4.4.1 The manuscripts of John Cantacuzenus

The preserved codices containing both John Cantacuzenus' anti-Saracen texts and his anti-Jewish works can help understand the problem.[103] Here is a single example:

– The case of Vat. gr. 2574 (I)[104] is quite simple: this codex is composed of two heterothematic UniAuts, clearly separated by empty folios at the end of A and the beginning of B on a new quire. Both, however, were copied by Manuel Tzycandylis, partly on the same paper, on 23 lines. Moreover, there do not seem to be any traces of autonomous numbering of the quires in B. Given that there is a strong separation between the two UniAuts and that the two works do also circulate independently, it could be possible the scribe chose to produce these two units as 'indeterminate autonomous UniProds', to allow for different types of circulation and to postpone deciding on their final combination. It is also possible he did so on the instructions of John Cantacuzenus himself, for whom he worked. But, given the material similarities, it is unlikely that these two UnitAuts circulated independently and were then joined together by some accident, even though one cannot entirely exclude a scenario in which a person interested in the works of Cantacuzenus acquired the two units at different times and bound them into a single volume. It can therefore be concluded that there is only one probable original UniCirc and one book, with a polemical proportion of 41%.

4.4.2 Non-independent UniProds

It is now possible to analyse instances when a UniAut, does not stand out particularly conspicuously from a volume's other UniProds and is unlikely to be a former UniCirc. As the example here demonstrates:[105]

– In Barb. gr. 360,[106] which is almost entirely given over to the works of Cyril of Alexandria, one suddenly finds *Titulus* 8 of the *Panoplia dogmatica* of Eu-

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103 On these manuscripts and their production 'as a series' in the fourteenth century, Gumbert 2018; see as well Andrist 2016, 67–69, 95–99 and, more generally, Mondrain 2004.

104 Description in Andrist 2016, 328.

105 For further examples see *ibidem*, 69–70.

thymius Zigabenus on a particularly slim UniAut E (2 quires, 16 folios). This unit might easily be considered foreign to the whole, had it not been copied by the same hand as the others–on similar paper and with a similar layout. Moreover, in the main work of unit D, devoted to christological questions, the biblical anti-Jewish polemic is an important part of Cyril's argument[107] (but not enough to make the UniProd idiothematic) and this unit concludes with an excerpt from Gregory of Nyssa found in the current volume just before the *Panoply*, which then begins with an extract attributed to this same Gregory. Upon further consideration it surely cannot be a coincidence that unit E is located at this place: the chances that a later owner had the idea and the means of inserting here a copy of the *Panoply* executed by the same hand as the rest of the manuscript and on similar paper are practically zero. Consequently, unit E does not constitute an independent UniCirc and the polemical proportion of the book, consisting of the six homomaterial units, is only about 9%.

4.4.3 Unclassifiable UniProds

Most situations, however, are less clear-cut. Here is an example:[108]
– Barb. gr. 551 (D),[109] which is idiothematic despite the reservations discussed above, was copied by Antonios Episcopopoulos, as was unit C, which precedes it. This latter unit containing, among other things, *Quaestio* 137 of Pseudo-Athanasius and *Quaestiones* 7-8 of Anastasius, is also relevant for the theme under consideration but only in a weak proportion (23%) and must be interpreted in the context of the other polemical texts it contains, especially those against the Latins. Moreover, the differences in paper and layout and the presence of an independent numbering in the quires of D (which in itself is not sufficient to demonstrate an independent circulation for this unit) attest to distinct autonomous productions. Hence the question of an independent circulation arises for each of the two units, whereas a common circulation of C + D, independent of A and of B, is attested by an earlier foliation. As things currently stand, it is difficult to decide but there are no reasons to see units C and D as having been planned and produced together. Perhaps an analysis of the margi-

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106 Description *ibidem*, 125.

107 Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *Contra eos qui Theotocon nolunt confiteri* (ed. E. Schwartz 1929), 19–32; cf. §§15–17, 19–21, (27,) 29, 25–32.

108 For further examples, see Andrist 2016, 71–73.

109 Description in Andrist 2016, 130; see also section 1.2.2 above.

nalia and a better knowledge of the manuscript's history, in particular the Barberini's acquisition of it or of its parts, will offer a more complete picture.

Under the hypothesis of an independent circulation of C and D, only D would constitute an idiothematic book.[110] However, the joining of C and D would place D's anti-Jewish polemic in a new perspective and create a new thematic book (a proportion of 66%). How then is one to consider the current volume, which comes from their combination with A + B and presents a polemical proportion of 52%? Units A and B are exegetical and concern the books of Ecclesiastes and Nahum; if it is confirmed that anti-Jewish polemics play no particular role in them, it would be quite inadvisable to consider their union with C + D (at the same time or one after the other) as creating one or more new thematic books.

4.4.4 Independent UniProds

In this corpus no case was found where, despite a homomateriality between the units, it was possible to show conclusively that the units first circulated independently from one another, though an independent circulation of Ott. gr. 410 (B) is very likely.[111] The scenario of a collector of Cantacuzenus's works was also sketched out above;[112] in cases where owners regularly bought or ordered manuscripts from the same scribes, they necessarily found themselves in possession of separate UniCircs that were in part homomaterial. The example of Ott. gr. 189 and Ott. gr. 384[113] shows how these kinds of units could already have been circulated under the same binding by the sixteenth century, following the principles of a regrouping which are largely elusive.

5 Conclusion

At the final point of this overview it becomes evident that all the problems raised in the codicological study of thematic books have by no means been covered. Nonetheless, it is hoped that the potential of this two-step analysis of each codex has been demonstrated: firstly, in scrupulously distinguishing between UniProds (and their subsets) and UniCircs; secondly, in evaluating the resulting UniProds

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110 See above, section 3.3.1.
111 See Andrist 2016, 71–72.
112 See above, 4.3.1.
113 Description in Andrist 2016, 135 and 157.

and UniAuts in terms of their content and material reality in order to assess the possibilities of them having been circulated independently or as parts of other, past codices (which may today be preserved as subsets of current codices).

Further results of the study can also be briefly summed up:

By the end of this study it was found that only 29 of the 33 codices in the corpus contained thematic books (these thematic books totalling 42). Among these, 19 are probably or very likely idiothematic, 18 are possible, while five are very unlikely. This also allowed a series of interesting codicological remarks on the distribution of polemical books in the current volumes.[114]

As mentioned above, the ultimate goal was to draw a rough history of this book genre, and this research suggested the usefulness of an exploratory statistical study for that purpose:[115] in summary, the intention has been to give a quantitative account of the chronological evolution of the production of anti-Jewish polemical books written in Greek. This first led to all sorts of questions about how to deal with doubts, especially situations where an imprecisely datable UniProd might be assigned to two subsequent centuries; efforts were also made to quantify and factor the probabilities of book existence into the values ('possible,' 'probable,' etc.) expressed above.[116] On the methodological level the result is convincing, but even by including in this survey the books housed in other libraries than the Vatican Library, the statistical basis is not sufficient to yield reliable results.

Finally, three particularly fertile historical contexts for the production of idiothematic books[117] were analysed and full advantage taken of all the information accumulated during this study to supplement or further nuance the preliminary observations in the article 'Physiognomy of Greek Manuscript Books *Contra Iudaeos* in the Byzantine Era'.[118]

This study has highlighted the kinds of results which this method claims. It is very much hoped that the answers will prompt the analysis of other sets of thematic books and stimulate further reflection.

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114 See *ibidem*, 78–80.

115 Also in the footsteps of Maniaci 2004.

116 Andrist 2016, 74–91.

117 *Ibidem*, 94–107.

118 *Ibidem*, 107–114; cf. Andrist 2011.

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