# Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de la Sierra

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Although prohibited during the Morisco period (ninth/fifteenth–eleventh/seventeenth centuries), the Qur'an was still the work copied most frequently among the last Muslim communities in modern Spain.\* Even if most copies are in Arabic, manuscripts survive of Romance (Aljamia) translations<sup>1</sup> in Arabic or Latin script. The latter, however, must have been less common since there are only two extant translations written in Latin script. While these Aljamia translations of the Qur'an have been widely studied, mainly by Vernet, Hermosilla, and López-Morillas,<sup>2</sup> the Arabic copies seem to have been overlooked. This essay offers a new approach to the understanding of the Qur'anic materials held in the Tomás Navarro Tomás Library (Madrid). Analysis of the manuscripts, both the translations and those in Arabic, along with their material features, will provide an insight into the different ways in which Morisco communities used the Qur'an, and the public for whom the manuscripts were copied. The following discussion is arranged according to the various groups which can be established on the basis of the kind of text the manuscripts contain and the use for which they were intended.

The Tomás Navarro Tomás Library (TNT) is part of the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales (CCHS) of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC/ Spanish National Research Council). It holds the largest and most significant collection of Arabic and Aljamia manuscripts we have, from a cache hidden in the days of the Moriscos. In 1302/1884 hundreds of manuscripts came to light during building works under the floor of a house in the village of Almonacid de la Sierra, close to Saragossa, the capital city of Aragon. The volumes were probably concealed there shortly before the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1018/1609 and, when discovered, were well-arranged, standing side by side, together with some bookbinder's tools.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to other recorded discoveries, the whereabouts of which are unknown today,

Journal of Qur'anic Studies 16.2 (2014): 89–138 Edinburgh University Press DOI: 10.3366/jqs.2014.0149 © Centre of Islamic Studies, SOAS www.euppublishing.com/jqs a substantial part of this collection has been preserved. Unfortunately, however, it is incomplete. Apart from fire and flood damage in recent years, the collection has been diminishing ever since it was removed from its hiding place: some manuscripts were disposed of with the rubble from the works, and villagers of all ages helped themselves to the leaves, chiefly in paper, for practical purposes (to light fires, to make parcels or wrappers for market products, balls to play with, etc). Fortunately a priest, Father Fierro, happened to be passing by and offered to buy some of the manuscripts, but by that point about 80 manuscripts had already disappeared. Despite this, Father Fierro succeeded in acquiring as many as 25 volumes. Most of the manuscripts became the property of a university professor from Saragossa, Pablo Gil,<sup>4</sup> while a few probably remained in the possession of some villagers from Almonacid.<sup>5</sup>

After Pablo Gil's death the Spanish state bought all his manuscripts, now kept in the CSIC in Madrid. After the losses described above, the Arabic and Aljamia collection preserved at the TNT contains about 150 codicological units.<sup>6</sup> This collection, unique for this period, is of fundamental importance to the study of Mudejar and Morisco communities. It survived as a kind of a time capsule, because all the manuscripts come from one single location, Almonacid de la Sierra.<sup>7</sup> While we know the origin and at least the terminus *ad quem* of the manuscripts extant in the TNT Library (the beginning of the eleventh/seventeenth century, determined by the paper and the explicit dates in some codices), this is not the case for most of the codices preserved elsewhere. A good knowledge of the Almonacid de la Sierra collection will therefore also shed light on these other 'unidentified' manuscripts.

As for the place in which the cache of manuscripts was originally found, it may have been the storeroom of a booksellers<sup>8</sup> or a place where Morisco copyists kept their finished manuscripts, as well as their current work. In any case, the collection include some Arabic books from the eighth/fourteenth century and Aljamia copies (i.e. Spanish in Arabic script) from as early as the ninth/fifteenth century, although most of them date from the tenth/sixteenth century. Their contents are varied, and this helps to provide an insight into the society of the Moriscos in Aragon: the kind of books they had, their interests, what they chose to translate from Arabic, and how they carried out the transcription of such texts from a material as well as a textual point of view. The discovery is thus a unique source of information for the social, cultural and intellectual history of the Moriscos in Aragon in the late tenth/sixteenth century.

The TNT library holds 37 copies of the Qur'an from the Mudejar and Morisco periods: a rich range which sheds light on the sociocultural and religious *milieu* of the Aragonese Moriscos of the time. These copies vary in quality, from fair to bad. Their state of conservation ranges from complete to fragmentary, while their content may consist of either the whole text of the Qur'an or excerpts. They may be in a single

language (Arabic), or bilingual (Arabic with an Aljamia translation). Some are unitary copies which contain only the Qur'anic text, whereas others are miscellanies containing other texts. This diversity might seem confusing – a result of the state of secrecy and cultural precariousness in which Morisco communities were apparently living. However, a careful analysis of the content leads me to offer another assessment of these findings, taking into account above all the environment in which each copy was produced and transmitted. This new appraisal will enable us to put forward the hypothesis that the Mudejares and Moriscos produced these copies in a far more coherent and systematic manner than has been suggested by previous studies. Besides, the analysis of the contents themselves as well as the careful examination of the manuscripts from a material point of view will help us to better understand what knowledge the Mudejar and Morisco communities had of the sacred text of Islam and what relationship they had with it.

As a result of the analysis of the corpus of Qur'anic manuscripts from Almonacid (including the Qur'anic commentaries), as well as of the extant copies from other provenances, I suggest we identify three groups: (a) copies of the full Qur'anic text, possibly divided into many volumes; (b) what I will call the 'Morisco Qur'an', a selection of Qur'anic excerpts; and (c) copies made for individual or family use, also consisting of extracts.

In order to support my hypothesis, I will offer a codicological description and identification of the contents of each copy in a final appendix since this kind of information is lacking in the published catalogue. For the sake of simplification I will identify every copy with a number to which I refer throughout this essay.<sup>9</sup>

Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.
RESC/3.1	1	RESC/34	10	RESC/42A	19	RESC/43F	28
RESC/3.2	2	RESC/39C.1	11	RESC/42B	20	RESC/43I	29
RESC/3.3	3	RESC/39C.2	12	RESC/42C	21	RESC/46B	30
REC/16	4	RESC/39E	13	RESC/43A	22	RESC/46C	31
RESC/18	5	RESC/40C	14	RESC/43B.1	23	RESC/47	32
RESC/24.1	6	RESC/40D.1	15	RESC/43B.2	24	RESC/51	33
RESC/24.2	7	RESC/40D.2	16	RESC/43C	25	RESC/52.1	34
RESC/25	8	RESC/41B	17	RESC/43D	26	RESC/55	35
RESC/28.1	9	RESC/41C	18	RESC/43E	27	RESC/58A	36
						RESC/58B.1	37

## A. Complete Qur'an (32%)

Only two complete Qur'anic copies from the Morisco period survive intact to this day, and neither of them belongs to the Almonacid collection. They comprise a Spanish translation in Latin script (the only one we have) which does not transmit the Arabic text) of 1606 AD (1018 AH), and one manuscript in Arabic dated 1597 AD (1005 AH). Since they are not in the Almonacid de la Sierra collection, I will not discuss their specific features here.

It is well known that the dominant formats in the Mudejar and Morisco manuscript tradition are *octavo* and *quarto*. However, it is not so unusual to find *folio* copies of different contents which include *maṣāhif* and *tafāsīr*. So although it is true that Almonacid de la Sierra are not, in purely physical terms, as large as others written in the Maghrib during the same period, some Qur'anic codices are *folio* manuscripts: MSS 3, 30, 31, 33, and 34, from 290 × 217 mm (MSS 30/31) to 302 × 204 mm (MS 3).

Even though only two complete manuscripts of the Qur'an from this period have been preserved, we do have a few examples of complete copies of the Qur'anic text in a fragmentary state in the Almonacid collection. The most interesting is MS 31, which can be dated to the ninth/fifteenth century thanks to its watermark. It is a very damaged manuscript (Image 1), but was probably already in bad shape in the tenth/sixteenth century; indeed, it was completed and restored by a Morisco copyist at the time (MS 30; Image 2).<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, however, the full text has not reached us.

In keeping with the previous Western Islamic tradition, tenth/sixteenth-century copies of the Qur'anic text in four volumes have also survived, but these are not complete either. No second volumes have survived and volumes of the first, third, and fourth part belong to different sets. Almost all of them are unitary manuscripts (i.e. only consist of a single text), but MS 3 and MS 11 are parts of miscellanies. Some of them are only in Arabic,<sup>11</sup> others also have an Aljamia translation.<sup>12</sup> We must take into account that these manuscripts consist of a copy of the Qur'anic text preceded by a translation with commentary. We are therefore not actually dealing with a Qur'anic text translation, but rather with a *tafsīr* translation: MS 33 and MS 34 are a translation into Aljamia of the *Mukhtasar* by Ibn Abī Zamanīn (d. 399–400/1009), an abstract of Yahyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī's *tafsīr*.<sup>13</sup>

In this Group A I have included the three extant Arabic/Aljamia glossaries which are connected with the vocabulary used in the fourth part of the Qur'an.<sup>14</sup> In this collection, the majority of manuscripts we have are of the fourth volume; but it remains unclear whether the situation is due to the fact that it was the one most frequently copied or whether these volumes only survived by chance.

Therefore, in this collection, there is only one single volume *mushaf*, the others being sets which apparently consist of four volumes. The copies of the Qur'an we

have seen so far were transcribed by highly qualified copyists and were meant for a Muslim audience conversant with the Arabic language, the Qur'anic text, and its commentaries. These manuscripts were written with care, meticulously laid out, and in many cases decorated, not only with <sup>c</sup>unwān and sura headings but, in a few cases, with maniculae, palmettes, and vegetal headbands (MSS 32 and 33). Similarly, the liturgical divisions of  $juz^{\circ}$ , *hizb*, *nisf*, or *sajda*, more or less decorated and coloured, are indicated in the margins; the end of every single verse, and of every fifth and tenth verse, is highlighted in the same way as in the Western Islamic tradition: three points in pyramid, a decorated  $h\bar{a}^{\circ}$  (for five verses), and a double concentric circle (for ten verses). While the inks are black or dark brown for the *ductus*, and red for the vocalisation, in some cases blue, yellow, and green are used for the headings and the decorations. In other words they were prepared with funds that allowed the hire of skilled copyists, familiar with the earlier Islamic art of the book.

All of these copies are very large. Indeed, they are physically the largest manuscripts in the Almonacid collection – *folio* or even large *folio*. The number of lines per page varies considerably, from 10 to 27. The state of conservation of these manuscripts, almost brand new, allows us to conclude that they were not much used. The homogeneity of their material features (shape and structure) in connection with their contents (full Qur'anic texts in one or more volumes) suggests that the production, the reception, and the uses of the manuscripts belonging to this group were very different from the group I shall discuss now.

محمد وتدالك ماد عدام الوج والاختار والمراجع التروي التروي التروي التروي معادات محالل مواجد والمرج وبالمار المراق من الاطوراله وعدال مرب البولة على مراق مرد الماداده المساور والارسرو العدالايا والتريخ هوالاحدور فج مسكره واللاب والدام الدو متحامر في المم مؤانا مسكوطات المحكم السمرور بعلمول اوالدو اجتماعه المعا الماعول فوطاعاليلو ومرجع ومطرعو موم وملا اعساله ونعود وورد هر الفوادم اعتد الدالد والمتحور الراجر مرالدوه ولوالعرو عدا الدر معادلا حدر والمعر حرا الالاعير he also said over al algorith fat the state of any the my the Strath Back of and Suger William Store به يز المراج مان وهو المعور الردي موالة إحالات مع عال مجالي مرتب ومراجد دو دارماند مد العد ومر مردانها مراعد مادما الماعل وحرار دار الم والمسرين عب الله وهو والمنام والمعالية المتلج المعالية المرالة الرج الأحد العتم الماللا وسالمولي ويحتم خر الاصدوالا المتوالية ومد ودوارات عموار وود المعتق 

Image 1. MS 31, 67v. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

معداما عدد معدو استمر ام عد عرالطار فالانتشرمه الم مرار والاند مر علي كالواسي منط ما عر وار عدام لعسوالم مع المو دارد فاسطونه الم مر معدور خار فان مر السلور الودم الوف المعلم في عاوم ولا لا غو بنصر المعر الاعداد مم العد بين قالو الدو الدوائة الكان في عنو ومعر تدهد منم استور وإمالساهم علم مزار ووالدامر المخلف ارد. الاندر والعاس كرمو معرف المرحمة المرحمة علم و المرح الم حل م اسم الد الرحم مرار الطب مزاد العزير الط م الاالر الله الخم والتوجاعيد الله يحلماله الدو الاله الدواغيان والدرق المندواموديته اولياملد معم الالدغر وناالوالمه زلعلى الالمعطم منعج مام ومعتاهز ازال لايصاء موهو عد مادار ادار الماريقة والدالا -صعلمو ماعلوما سادمون جوالد الداع الذهار الناواسم والن العد الرام المعار وحمرال مار علواليا ومنرال مد والدرك ا مر الا مر العواله ور العدار ما مر دومر والمد لا م معادها ومعادا الطم عزالة علمة عانية اروام يناف م ه مامزارها مناطقا مردمنا و المعتقلة تخلف تخلف الدم رسكم تستلط لالدالا هو دانو بمسرهون ارتطع دا دار العلم عر عدم ولا بد مواجاد لا الطروار تشك رواير مد الم de le celaren le san une an en en dan saler

Image 2. MS 30, 1[0]38. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

والمالية والمطاعات المال عاد والمراعا الماران متطالب والمتوادي المناسبة المتعالية أشترا لاستال وشوت المتعدية المعادية المشاغة المعاد المعاد المالية المتعادية in the التابية المالت المتابقة المتابية أستابعا المسامل التاب - - - المنا المالية مترار المالية المتعالمة المتعالمة المتراع أ-لي: أ-ال الما تجدار الف المارية I de da Ste Here aline SIL: 111 ALL ALL ALL الموالم والمراد المراد المراد المراجع المرا وتسادان وتاللا لا المتورد استار للاستيامة - الاستنبرية الما حاصل العارة مال المار. المار الالات الماريسة والمالي فال مقال المعال تما الماتيات ومعلى بالمحصول على تلاقيه معالية معدين

Image 3. MS 633, 114v–115r. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

امط عدا الفاشات نه فالوذ 21 2 ممدر c زق n si

Image 4. MS 10, 1v–2r ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

3-11-6: 5, ciel 1 129 الغا -2 لحار ¿L'SEIS 51-1. >>1 43 1-11-

Image 5. MS 14, 3r.

Image 6. MS 15, 2r.

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### B. The 'Morisco Qur'an' (56%): Excerpts From the Qur'an

The most important group of extant Morisco manuscripts of the Qur'an, making up 56% of the Almonacid de la Sierra collection, consists of codices of smaller size, *quarto* and even *octavo* formats, which are in somewhat poor condition, probably as a result of their having been in greater use than the previous manuscripts. They also exhibit a specific feature: they contain a selection of suras and verses which appears

again and again in the various copies: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (first part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36; Q. 67; Q. 78–114, representing 12% of a complete *mushaf*. This selection is usually complemented by a series of prayers and invocations of the Prophet of different length. What is most striking is the systematic occurrence of this selection, which shows only limited variation in content from one copy to another, the variants adding other verses to the pre-established selection without modifying its basis.<sup>15</sup>

When we find a manuscript containing a series of suras and verses of the Qur'an, we tend to assume immediately that we are dealing with a prayer book conceived on the basis of Qur'anic verses selected according to the need(s) they were supposed to answer.<sup>16</sup> However, the systematic and usually careful copy of a fixed selection of Qur'anic fragments leads me to surmise that in this case we are confronted with something other than 'prayer books'. As I shall show later, similar selections have been circulating in manuscript form in various areas of the Islamic world up to the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, I have so far been unable to trace copies of this kind of selection from an earlier date. This is why I suggest the term 'Morisco Qur'an', because this is the period when we first find this kind of excerpts.

I am aware, however, of the problems entailed by this denomination from the outset. In a way the word 'Qur'an' can only designate the Muslim holy book with 114 suras, as in the canonical version. This is why 'Morisco Qur'an' is written here between quotes. In the light of the evidence at hand, this generic name is intended to emphasise the fact that its contents are those most commonly found among the Morisco communities of Aragon. The word 'Morisco' is controversial in this context too:17 among the specialists in this manuscript tradition, the Mudejar and Morisco copies in Latin script have been traditionally identified as 'Morisco manuscripts', whilst those which used the Arabic script to transcribe the Romance language (with special linguistic features) have been called 'Aljamia manuscripts'.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, while this linguistic usage is followed by a small group of researchers, the specialisation of the term 'Aljamia' lends itself to misunderstandings. Given this, it does not seem helpful to continue using the broad term 'Morisco' to designate Islamic manuscripts written in Latin script, rather than 'Aljamia in Latin script'. This is especially the case given that this form of literary production preserves translations of two or more Arabic texts deriving from the same textual tradition, and showing the same state of the language, some, however, being written in Arabic script, others in Latin script.<sup>19</sup>

In the Almonacid de la Sierra collection we find these excerpts in unitary copies,<sup>20</sup> the content of which is strictly Qur'anic;<sup>21</sup> in miscellanies,<sup>22</sup> although the latter are significantly fewer;<sup>23</sup> and in Arabic (70%),<sup>24</sup> or bilingual (Arabic and Aljamia) versions. Once again, as was the case with the copies of the complete text in one or

more volumes, the percentage of manuscripts giving the Arabic text of the Qur'an is higher than that of the bilingual ones.<sup>25</sup>

From the point of view of the layout of the text, these copies are far from being as carefully planned as those which constitute Group A, but they are much clearer and better prepared than those in Group C. They have been used far more than the ones from Group A, but the quality of the paper (Western in all cases), and of the copy, has contributed to their transmission in relatively good shape. Either as a result of their destruction or loss when the cache was originally discovered in 1884, or as a result of later accidents (fire, water leaks, and so on), much of the material which is lacking today has been lost, but codicological analysis of the collection (among other things the presence of catchwords) proves that this missing material was present in the past. The majority of the lost quires were part of unbound manuscripts<sup>26</sup> of which sometimes only a single quire has been preserved. A case like that of the incomplete bound MS 19 is an exception. However, this high proportion of lost quires makes it difficult to reassemble the selections corresponding to groups A, B, or C. In such cases I have relied on the codicology for a correct identification: the various material aspects corresponding to each copy (size, script, paper, layout of the text, etc.) can be used to build a typology, thus helping us to integrate these remains in one of the three groups.<sup>27</sup>

The vocalisation is usually in red (except for the translated text), but in some cases in the same brown ink as the *ductus* itself. A yellow dot sometimes indicates the *hamza* (MSS 8 and 9) and a green dot the *waşla* (MS 8) (Images 7 and 8). This suggests a knowledge of the earlier Islamic book tradition on the part of some of the copyists at least. But, as a consequence of the status of the manuscripts as selections, they do not include the liturgical divisions found in Group A. Similarly, the headings are only found when a sura appears in the selection with its first verse:<sup>28</sup> Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (first part), 26–7; Q. 36; Q. 67; and Q. 78–114. Conversely, there is no headband, white line, or any other mark for Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; or Q. 33:40–4. Just as the uses to which the Group B Qur'anic copies were put changed, the graphic and decorative components too were altered. The end of the verses is not always indicated; when it is three dots, a pyramidal shape is used according to the Western Islamic tradition, but sometimes a clover shape or 'cherries' in yellow (MS 8, Image 7), a small symbol (MS 17, fig. 35), or a rosette are also to be found (MS 35, fig. 37).

In spite of this indication of the end of the verses the textual lacunae present in these manuscripts are impossible to detect visually. Thus, in some cases, as in MS 9, 3r (Image 9), the change from verse 5 of *Sūrat al-Baqara* to verse 163 is marked out by only three dots and an accidental change of line (second line). But this is not the case for the change from verse 163 to 255, without any mark and on the same line (Image

9, fifth line). It is even more confusing when a verse from a given sura is directly followed by another verse from another sura, without any title, mark, or blank indicating the change (see Image 10, lines 6–7). Similarly, the gaps do not alter the meaning of the text, which remains perfectly coherent. Consequently, unless the readers (or audience) know the Qur'an by heart, they will not notice the absence of any particular passage.

This is similar in nature to the types of selections which are found within the Ottoman Turkish manuscript tradition, as we can see in the catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France by Déroche,<sup>29</sup> and of the Vatican Library by Anzuini.<sup>30</sup> I would like to stress the fact that there is a careful selection of a few suras which are more frequently found in copies of Ottoman Turkish origin: Q. 6, Q. 36, Q. 67, and Q. 78 which, with the exception of Q. 6, also occur systematically in the Morisco manuscripts.

#### B.1. A Variant of the 'Morisco Qur'an'

In MSS 6 and 17 we find the usual verse selection of the 'Morisco Qur'an', with the addition of a series of verses or entire suras. In the first case (MS 6), Q. 7:54–6; Q. 59:18–24; Q. 73:9, 20 (second part) have been added in their correct place in the Qur'anic sequence of suras. Part of the usual selection (Q. 78–101) is then lacking and Q. 102–14 are followed by a prayer (35v). The copyist transcribed the last *hizb* (Q. 87–114) later. MS 17 is very similar in the selection it offers, although it is fragmentary. Should we consider these manuscripts as part of Group B or Group C? They transmit a fair portion of the 'Morisco Qur'an' to which many other excerpts have been added. But the headbands are completely missing in the three copies, as is the rule with prayer books. Nevertheless, the layout and the script are not executed as carelessly as in the prayer books which make up Group C.<sup>31</sup> I therefore suggest we consider them as a variant of Group B.

But these manuscripts from the Almonacid collection (held in the TNT Library) are not the only cases of such variants. In the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Arabo 1206, transcribed in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the selection of verses from the suras corresponds to that of the 'Morisco Qur'an', with a few additions. Thus, among other suras, we find: Q. 2:1–5, 163–4, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 36; Q. 93–114.<sup>32</sup>

It is difficult to reach a conclusion about the diffusion and use of these excerpts of the Qur'an, either in Spain or in the other communities in which they are known, since the topic has only received scant attention until now. But it is at least possible to say that the Qur'anic excerpts found within the Morisco handwritten production are far from being an isolated case, as we shall see below. They are not, as L.P. Harvey

المراسة مشجراتية مالالتراليم وسالة تستائر المتعشف شتاشتان AL-Lan HEad مادهم بم 2151-1-1-12 111 و بداله العدام NES-A. Leiais 1515 5 21 E.14 تتاريح لت تغوه 111 و و المرك المولد و الد الم (III . F 912 10) Hall لينة

Image 7. MS 8, 61v and 37r ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

Image 8. MS 9, 5v–6r. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

Image 9. MS 9, 3r. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

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Image 10. MS 9, 8r–v. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

has argued, the result of the fact that 'the crypto-Muslims had to content themselves with an abbreviated selection of *suras*, presumably such little volumes [as] could be secreted with greater ease'.<sup>33</sup> If it is true that the Christian Spanish authorities were indeed forbidding the Moriscos to observe their cultural and religious practices, these excerpts were not the result of a selection process aiming at reducing the Qur'anic text to a format which could be easily hidden. The situation is certainly more complex since similar copies are also found in other non-Arabic speaking areas, as we shall see below.

### C. Popular/Family Copies: Excerpts

Despite what might be expected, only 12% of the Qur'anic manuscripts in the Almonacid de la Sierra trove can be classed as what I have called 'popular or family copies'.<sup>34</sup> A few partial copies of Qur'anic excerpts transcribed by unskilled scribes in the same sizes as the 'Morisco Qur'an', i.e. *quarto* and *octavo*, have been preserved. Their most distinctive feature is their poor material quality, as well as the great disorder of their presentation of the material and of the contents. This is so extreme that it has been impossible to determine a common pattern of excerpts as was the case with the previous group.

Although the contents of MS 7 (*hizb* 59) could support an attribution to any of the three groups of Qur'anic copies defined previously among the manuscripts found in Almonacid de la Sierra, the physical characteristics of this copy induce me to attribute it to the group of family copies (C). Something similar happens with MS 26 which begins in exactly the same way as the 'Morisco Qur'an', but offers a different selection of verses after Q. 26:89. This might lead us to attribute it to the group of the 'Morisco Qur'an', but the poor quality of the copy and the script prevents us from doing so in view of the coherence of the data which emerges from the description of Group B.

The situation we encountered in Almonacid de la Sierra is by no means unique in the Islamic world. The use of copies with excerpts from the Qur'an, side by side with complete *maṣāḥif*, seems to be a widespread phenomenon. I have been able to collect evidence of similar copies from the Ottoman Empire between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, from India during the eighteenth century, from Central Asia during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as I will discuss in another essay. The family copies (Group C), which seem to conceive the Qur'anic text more as a prayer book than as a copy of the sacred text, find their direct counterparts in popular copies of Qur'anic excerpts from the Ottoman Empire, dating from between the early seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, or from the Malaysian world and dating from the nineteenth century. In this case again, we are dealing with copies which are difficult to read – the

script is hard to decipher – and to analyse (on account of the abrupt textual interruptions and the inclusion of prayers among the verses of the Qur'an). As part of this phenomenon we also have the Turkish *hamaïl* produced between the sixteenth and eighteenth, or even nineteenth, centuries. These contain a selection of suras and verses of the Qur'an, transcribed successively and defined as 'prayers selected from the Qur'an'. The aim underlying such manuscripts is to provide the faithful with a book they could always carry with them. The size of such copies is thus usually *octavo* or *sextodecimo*.

The same phenomenon can be observed in Central Asia with the *haftiyak* ('seventh part') and the *panj sūra*, which reveal an Indian influence.<sup>35</sup> The latter are especially relevant to the analysis of the manuscripts of our second group since the selection they exhibit – and which sometimes also varies – largely corresponds to that found in the Morisco copies (Q. 1; Q. 36; [Q. 48; Q. 56]; Q. 67; Q. 78–114). The *haftiyak* were much-used books of a small size, as far as their format and number of folia are concerned. In contrast with the Morisco manuscripts there are no cases of a small size among the Central Asian excerpts of the Qur'an.

These similarities could perhaps suggest a hypothesis about the way in which the Moriscos maintained ties with the contemporary  $d\bar{a}r al$ -Isl $\bar{a}m$ . The early appearance of the 'Morisco Qur'an' among the Spanish Muslim communities of the tenth/sixteenth century could be an argument in favour of an Iberian origin for this kind of selection,<sup>36</sup> which may have been adopted later by other non Arabic-speaking Muslim communities – or simply reproduced in a polygenetic way. The fact that the communities within which these selections were distributed are not Arabic-speaking suggests that these excerpts may have facilitated the process of memorisation of the passages considered more important; but they were possibly used in the liturgy (now apparently lost).

Thus, the materials which are part of the Almonacid de la Sierra collection provide us with an idea of the kind of Qur'anic texts the Moriscos were using by the end of the tenth/sixteenth century, in spite of the religious and linguistic restraints which were imposed on them. There are complete *maṣāḥif*, usually divided into four volumes together with Qur'anic excerpts, the contents of which are almost always the same. Next to them, we find Qur'anic extracts, the contents of which are also almost always the same; this probably implies some ritual use although we do not have enough evidence to substantiate this hypothesis. Finally, there are family prayer books containing some suras or chapters and verses of the Qur'an which can be recited according to the moment. The diversity of these manuscripts gives us an idea of the knowledge of the Qur'an among the Moriscos and the strength of Islam in tenth/ sixteenth–century Aragon.

211 sin 2 رواة الوث X

Image 11. MS 26, 3v–4r. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

Image 12. MS 35, 89v–90r. ©CSIC, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás

# APPENDIX

# Description of the Manuscripts of the Qur'an from the Almonacid de la Sierra collection (TNT, CSIC, Madrid)<sup>37</sup>

### A. Complete Qur'an or Parts

	Group A						
Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark
<b>Ms. 3</b>	RESC/3.3	Ms.11	RESC/39C.1	Ms.16	RESC/40D.2	Ms.32	RESC/47
<b>Ms.</b> 4	RESC/16	Ms.14	RESC/40C	Ms.30	RESC/46B	Ms.33	RESC/51
<b>Ms. 5</b>	RESC/18	Ms.15	RESC/40D.1	Ms.31	RESC/46C	Ms.34	RESC/52.1
Ms.10	RESC/34						

### Complete Qur'an (Mss 31 & 30).

Fragments<sup>38</sup> that should belong to a complete original copy of the Qur'an (suras from the different four parts are preserved). Considering the remaining fragments or the original copy and the restoration, the following items are retained:<sup>39</sup> Q. 6:115–9:44; Q. 10:4–11:58; Q. 12:79–18:2; Q. 19–44; Q. 29: 31–30:24; Q. 33:37–34:9; Q. 36:48–37:91; Q. 38:46–46:7.

✤ MS 31 (Image 1).		
Date and language	Ninth/fifteenth century? Arabic.	
No. ff.	31ff., some of them very fragmentary: 44–59, 64–9, 1023–4, 1029–30, 1035–[1037], 1040–51. Unitary manuscript.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 45v)	$284 \times 212$ mm (text-block: $207 \times 151$ mm).	
No. of lines	19 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper with watermark (located in the middle of the page). 6 vertical chain-lines, between 30 and 38 mm; 18 horizontal wire- lines/20 mm. Very damaged paper.	
Quires	The only complete quire seems to be an octonion.	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.	
Ink	Dark brown. Blue for the headings and verse endings marks. Red, green and blue for the liturgical divisions, outlined in dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Green dot for the wasla.	

Sura headings	Very angular pseudo-Kūfic script, dark blue outlined in black (fig. 1).
Verse ending marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition. Groups of five verses: decorated $h\bar{a}^{\circ}$ , filled with dark blue. Groups of ten verses: double concentric circle filled with dark blue and red dots in the outer circle (fig. 2).
Liturgical divisions	In the margin: Undecorated $rub^{c}$ and <i>nisf</i> ; sometimes, the $rub^{c}$ is written in a box; and <i>juz</i> <sup>2</sup> and <i>hizb</i> , in the inner circumference of several concentric circles, decorated in red, green and blue (fig. 3).



Fig. 1. MS 31, 57v. Sura heading.



Fig. 2. MS 31, f. 1043v. Separation every ten verses.



Fig. 3. MS 31, 67v. *hizb*.

✤ MS 30 (Image 7).		
Tenth/sixteenth century	y restoration (recopy) of some folia belonging initially to MS $31.^{40}$	
Date and Language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	20ff. ([76]–89, 1[0]37–1[0]38, 1[0]52, 1[0]59, and one binion without foliotation). Unitary manuscript.	
<b>Size</b> [f. 1052v]	$285 \times 215$ mm (block-text: $223 \times 166$ mm).	
No. of lines	19 lines per page	
Material	Western paper with watermark in the middle of the fold. Horizontal chain-lines almost invisible; 16 vertical wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	One septenion and three bifolia, remainder of bigger quires.	
Catchwords	No (probably due to the lack of complete quires).	
Ink	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation	No.	

Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script (fig. 4).
Verse ending marksThree dots in pyramidal disposition. Groups of five verses: Or $h\bar{a}^{\circ}$ (fig. 5). Groups of ten verses: double concentric circle.	
Liturgical divisions	In the margin, undecorated <i>rub</i> <sup>c</sup> and <i>nisf</i> . The words <i>hizb</i> and <i>sajda</i> written in the inner circumference of several concentric decorated circles (fig. 6).



Fig. 4. MS 30, 85r. Sura heading.



Fig. 5. MS 30, 85r. Decorated  $h\bar{a}^{3}$ . Separation every five verses.



Fig. 6. MS 30, f. 83r. *Sajda* and *hizb*.

ST FIRST PART. MS	$\Im$ FIRST PART. MS 33 <sup>41</sup> (Image 3).		
Tafsīr first part of the Q	ur'an: Q. 1-Q. 6:1-86. Apode (following loss of at least one quire).		
Author	Abū °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. °Abd Allāh b. Abī Zamanīn, from the commentary by Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia (interlinear translation of the <i>tafsīr</i> ).		
No. ff.	153ff. (1–152: 1v–3v: Introduction. The <i>tafs</i> $\bar{i}r$ itself begins in f. 4v). Unitary manuscript.		
<b>Size</b> (f. 151v)	$292 \times 215$ mm (text-block: $206 \times 131$ mm).		
No. of lines	22 lines per page.		
Material	Two kinds of western paper, with alphabetical or alphanumerical watermark in the external corner of the folio. 15 horizontal chain-lines, many of them double, but not visible in all the double page; 17 vertical wire-lines/20 mm (f. 48). Chain-lines almost invisible; 18 vertical wire-lines/20 mm (f. 51).		
Quires	One quinion and 12 senions		
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.		
Ink	Dark brown.		

Vocalisation	Dark brown in Aljamia text; absent in Arabic text.
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script, with semicircular rosette outer margin (fig. 7). The heading is absent for the suras 1 and 2, identified through frames that line the block-text.
Verse endings marks	Three dots in pyramidal disposition. Groups of five verses: Decorated $h\bar{a}^{\circ}$ . Groups of ten verses: Double concentric circle.
Liturgical divisions	In the margin. The words <i>rub<sup>c</sup></i> , <i>nisf</i> , and <i>hizb</i> written in the inner circumference of several concentric decorated circles (figs. 8, 9 and 10).
Decoration	Maniculae (fig. 11), palmettes and vegetal bands.



Fig. 7. MS 33, 141v. Sura heading.



Fig. 8. MS 33, 143r. Rub<sup>c</sup>.



Fig. 10. MS 33, 146r. Hizb.



Fig. 9. MS 33, 151v. Nisf.



Fig. 11. MS 33, f. 142r. Manicula.

S First Part. MS 34. <sup>42</sup>		
Incomplete unbound <i>tafsīr</i> of the first part of the Qur'an: Q. 2:18 (only the Aljamia translation)–Q. 4:140 (first part). Lack of at least the first quire and the end.		
Author	Abī °Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abdullāh b. Abī Zamanīn, from the commentary by Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī.	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia.	

No. ff.	230ff (12r-143v). First text of a miscellany of 645ff.
<b>Size</b> (f. 47v)	$298 \times 212$ mm (text-block: $205 \times 136$ mm).
Number of lines	Usually 22, but in the first folios (13r-23v), 18 lines.
Material	Western paper without visible watermark.
Quires	Mostly senions.
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower right corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.
Ink	Brown.
Vocalisation	Brown.
Sura headings	No.
Verse endings marks	No. Sporadically, double concentric circle.
Liturgical divisions	In the external margin. The words <i>rub</i> <sup><i>c</i></sup> , <i>nisf</i> , and <i>hizb</i> written in the inner part of decorated squares or circles.
Decoration	Maniculae in the external margin.

🕫 Third Part. MS 10	S Third Part. MS 10 (Image 4).		
Third quarter of the Qur'an. Fragmentary and very messy; the end is lacking: Q. 19:1–62; Q. 10:61–end; Q. 21; Q. 22:1–14, 28–32, 40–end; Q. 23:1–55; Q. 24:2–34, 61–end; Q. 25; Q. 26:1–21; Q. 28:15–24, 37–41, 51–60, 65–88; Q. 29:heading; Q. 30:59–end; Q. 31:23, 29–32; Q. 33:6-end; Q. 34: 8, 45–end; Q. 35:1–28 [].			
Date and Language	Tenth/sixteenth century? Arabic.		
No. ff.	133ff. Unitary manuscript.		
<b>Size</b> (f. 129v)	$217 \times 148$ mm (block-text: 156 × 100 mm).		
No. of lines	10, 11 and 14 lines per page.		
Material	Western paper, with an unidentifiable rest of watermark or countermark in the external edge, at the top or the bottom. 4 vertical chain-lines (35, 40 and 45 mm); 18 horizontal wire-lines/ 20 mm.		
Quires	One ternion, 14 quaternions (some of them incomplete) and isolated folia.		
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.		
Ink	Black.		
Vocalisation	Red. From f. 96, without Vocalisation. Orthoepics: Red.		

Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script; sometimes, green $(13v)$ or red $(54r)$ outlined in black, exceptionally decorated with oblique red lines $(16v)$ . Initial <sup><i>c</i></sup> <i>unwān</i> .
Verse endings marks	Clover or cherries, usually in red. <b>Groups of five verses</b> : imitation of decorated $h\bar{a}^{2}$ in red (fig. 12). <b>Groups of ten verses</b> : Different shapes, all of them circular and coloured (red and sometimes in combination with green).
Liturgical division	In the margin, written: <i>juz<sup>°</sup></i> , <i>hizb</i> (fig. 13), <i>sajda</i> , and <i>nisf</i> . The three first words are decorated.



Fig. 12. MS 10, 7v. Decorated  $h\bar{a}$ '. Separation every five verses.



Fig. 13. MS 10, 67v. Decorated *hizb*, in the margin.

S Fourth Part. MS	S Fourth Part. MS 32	
<i>Tafsīr</i> of the fourth quarter of the Qur'an. Incomplete codex: Q. 38–Q. 41:1–45; Q. 57–9; Q. 87–91; Q. 99–Q. 104:1–2. <sup>43</sup>		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia (interlinear translation).	
No. ff	122 ff. Unitary manuscript.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 4v)	250 × 180 mm (block-text: 177 × 130 mm).	
No. of lines	20 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper with a horizontal watermark centred in half the fold. 7 horizontal chain-lines between 31 and 42 mm; 18 vertical wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	One quaternion, two quinions and eight senions.	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.	
Ink	Black and dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Only in the Aljamia text, black brown. Orthoepics: No.	
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script. In some cases, the title is absent, but there is a blank to include it. Initial $^{c}unw\bar{a}n$ .	

Verse endings marks	Three dots in pyramidal disposition are found sometimes and may coincide (especially until f. 59) with the end of the verse, but not necessarily. <b>Groups of five verses</b> : $h\bar{a}^{\circ}$ , only in the first 59 ff. (fig. 14). <b>Groups of ten verses</b> : small double concentric circle in the first 59 folia; more often than the $h\bar{a}^{\circ}$ (group of five verses). Exceptionally, in f. 19r coloured in yellow and red (fig. 15).
Liturgical divisions	In the margin. Decorated and hollow $rub^{c}$ (fig. 16). Hollow <i>nisf</i> .
Decoration	Diverse and occasional: palmettes set face to face, roses/ medallions and <i>maniculae</i> .



Fig. 14. MS 32  $h\bar{a}^{\circ}$ : Separation every five vv.



Fig. 15. MS 32, 19r Separation every ten vv., exceptionally coloured.



Fig. 16. MS 32, 90v, 10r. Hollow *rub*<sup>*c*</sup>.

🕫 Fourth Part. MS 4	
Fourth quarter of the Qur'an, probably incomplete: Q. 38-77.	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.
No. ff.	128ff. Unitary manuscript.
<b>Size</b> (f. 12v)	$200 \times 151 \text{ mm}$ (bloc-text: $145 \times 100 \text{ mm}$ ).
No. of lines	12 lines per page.
Material	Western paper with a horizontal watermark centred in the fold. 7 horizontal chain-lines separated by an average 35 mm space, 23 mm for those supporting the watermark, and 26 vertical wire-lines.
Quires	Ten senions and one quinion.
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner, or centred on the lower margin of the verso of the last folio of the quire.
Ink	Black.
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.
Sura headings	More square shaped letters, in yellow ink and sometimes in red (fig. 17). Sometimes, at the end of the heading, small clover or cherries. Initial <sup><math>cunwān</math></sup> with a circular device in the outer margin (fig. 18).

Verse ending marks	Three dots in pyramidal disposition are found sometimes.
Liturgical divisions	In the margin: <i>hizb</i> (quite often) and <i>sajda</i> (in 3v and 28r), written in the inner circumference of several concentric circles; red and yellow are used.



Fig. 17. MS 4, 110v. Sura heading.



Fig. 18. MS 4, 1v. <sup>c</sup>unwān.

🕫 Fourth Part. MS 3	\$
Partial fourth quarter of the Qur'an: Q. 38-40:84 (first part).	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century.44 Arabic.
No. ff.	34ff. (50v-73r). Third text of a miscellany of 234ff.
<b>Size</b> (52v)	$310 \times 208$ mm (text-block: $218 \times 137$ mm).
No. of lines	14 lines per page.
Material	Western paper with vertical watermark in the middle of the paper. 7 vertical chain-lines, between 26 and 34 mm, very thick in the lower part; 27 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm, very thin. Thick paper with irregularities in the stuff of paper (f. 71)
Quires	Last 21 ff. of a quire of 12 bifolia (ff. 50v–70v), and first two folia (73v blank) of a quire of 13 bifolia.
Catchwords	No.
Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	No. Orthoepics: No
Sura headings	Suras Q. 38 (50v) and Q. 40 (64r) without any heading, but there is a blank to include it. Sura Q. 39 (56r), decorated pseudo-Kufic script (fig. 19). White space in 50v probably left of a <sup><math>c</math></sup> unwān.
Verse endings marks	No.
Liturgical divisions	No.



Fig. 19. MS 3, 56r. Sura heading.

7 Fourth Part. MS	🕫 Fourth Part. MS 5	
Tafsīr of the partial four	Tafsīr of the partial fourth quarter of the Qur'an: Q. 41–56.45	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Aljamia and Arabic (interlinear translation).	
No. ff.	190ff. Unitary manuscript.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 55v)	$206 \times 143$ mm (block-text: $151 \times 96$ mm).	
No. of lines	Between 14 y 18 (lack of space), predominating 14 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper without visible watermark. 4 vertical chain-lines (37–8 mm); 17 horizontal wire-lines/20mm. Very bad conservation.	
Quires	One ternion, 22 quaternions and one quinion.	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire. Almost all guillotined.	
Ink	Black, with some words in red.	
Vocalisation	Red in Arabic text; black in Aljamia text.	
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script, yellow outlined in black.	
Verse endings marks	Sporadic, three points in a pyramidal disposition.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	

🕫 Fourth Part. MS 11		
Beginning of the fourth	Beginning of the fourth quarter of the Qur'an: Q. 38:1-first words of 28 [].	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	2ff. (25v–26r). First text of a miscellany quire (8 ff.), arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 26r)	158 × 108 mm (block-text: 117 × 77 mm).	
No. of lines	27 lines per page.	

Material	Same Western paper as MS 12.
Quires	Quaternion.
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.
Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	No.
Sura headings	Blank left to initial <sup>c</sup> unwān (f. 25v).
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition. <b>Groups of five verses:</b> pyramidal shape consisting in three groups of three points each in a pyramidal disposition (fig. 20). <b>Groups of ten verses:</b> series of points shaping a circle (fig. 21).
Liturgical divisions	Sajda in the margin, without any specific decoration. The $rub^{c}$ present in this section of the text has not been indicated.



Fig. 20. MS 11,25v. Group of five vv.



Fig. 21. MS 11, 25v. Group of ten vv.

# \*Glossaries

$\Im$ Fourth Part. MS 14 <sup>46</sup> (Image 5).	
Glossary with Qur'anic terms, probably incomplete: <sup>47</sup> matching with Q. 38, Q. 40, Q. 42–3, Q. 46, Q. 48–52, and Q. 55 (belonging to the fourth quarter of the Qur'an).	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia (two columns).
No. ff.	8ff. Unitary manuscript, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.
Size (5v)	$300 \times 107$ mm (block-text: changeable). <sup>48</sup>
No. of lines	Changeable, double column.
Material	Western paper, with vertical watermark in the middle of the fold. 4 vertical chain-lines between 26 and 34 mm; 18 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.
Quires	Octonion.
Catchwords	No.

Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	Dark brown.
Sura headings	Same script as <i>ductus</i> , but centred, in the following way: <i>shar</i> <sup>h</sup> $dh\bar{a}$ $s\bar{u}ra$ (fig. 22).

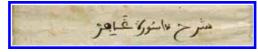


Fig. 22. MS 14, 1r.

<b>Fourth Part. MS 15</b> (Image 6).	
Glossary with Qur'anic terms; matching with suras Q. 38–58 (first suras of the fourth quarter of the Qur'an).	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia (two columns).
No. ff.	3ff. The three first folia of a miscellany of 20 ff., arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.
Size (1v)	$315 \times 116$ mm (block-text: around $287 \times 90$ mm, with variations). <sup>49</sup>
No. of lines	Between 30 and 33 lines per page.
Material (20v)	Western paper with centred tear shaped watermark in the fold. 3 vertical chain-lines (34 mm); 19 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.
Quires	Denion.
Catchwords	No.
Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	Dark brown.
Sura headings	Same script as <i>ductus</i> , but centred.

S Fourth Part. MS 16	
Glossary with Qur'anic terms; matching with Q. 59–67, Q. 69–77. It seems to be the following copy of the previous unit (MS 15), but by other scribe, in a longer way and with a different layout. Interlinear translations; there is almost no space between the different terms.	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia (interlinear translation).
No. ff.	14ff. Second text of a miscellany of 20 ff., arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Size	$315 \times 110$ mm (block-text: between $275 \times 80$ and $295 \times 100$ mm, non defined). <sup>50</sup>
No. of lines	Between 26 and 27, mostly 26 lines per page.
Material	Western paper with centred tear shaped watermark in the fold. 3 vertical chain-lines (34 mm); 19 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.
Quires	Denion.
Catchwords	No.
Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	Dark brown.
Sura headings	Centred; sometimes, bigger size, and from f. 14, they seem to be by another copyist. Sura heading (f. 15r) with vegetal decoration (fig. 23); exceptionally, the heading of sura Q. 78 (f. 16v), with decorated pseudo-Kufic script (fig. 24).
Verse endings marks	Sporadic, three points in a pyramidal disposition.
Liturgical divisions	No.



Fig. 23. MS 16, 15r. Sura heading.



Fig. 24. MS 16, 16v. Sura heading.

# B. 'Morisco Qur'an'51

Group B							
Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark
<b>Ms.</b> 1	RESC/3.1	Ms.13	RESC/39E	Ms.22	RESC/43A	Ms.27	RESC/43E
<b>Ms. 8</b>	RESC/25	Ms.18	RESC/41C	Ms.23	RESC/43B.1	Ms.37	RESC/58B.1
<b>Ms. 9</b>	RESC/28.1	Ms.19	RESC/42A	Ms.24	RESC/43B.2	*Ms.6	RESC/24.1
Ms.12	RESC/39C.2	Ms.20	RESC/42B	Ms.25	RESC/43C	*Ms.17	RESC/41B

ダ MS 1		
Qur'anic excerpts. Bound volume: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33: 40–4; Q. 36; Q. 67; Q. 78–114.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. <sup>52</sup> Aljamia and Arabic (interlinear translation).	
No. ff.	47ff. (1v-47v). First text of a miscellany of 234ff.	
Size:	$310 \times 210$ mm (block-text: $218 \times 140$ mm); from 8r: $210 \times 142$ , because of the lack of translation.	
No. of lines:	1r–7r: 14 lines (7 in Arabic and 7 in Aljamia). 7v–29r: 7 lines in Arabic, with white lines for the Aljamia text. From f. 29r until the end, 14 lines only in Arabic.	
Material (f. 21)	Western paper with a vertical watermark in the middle of the folio. 7 vertical chain-lines between 29 and 34, with the exception of 25 mm for those supporting the watermark; 27 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm. The wire-lines are difficult to identify, due to their thinness and closeness. <sup>53</sup>	
Quires	One denion, five quires of 12 bifolia, four of 13 bifolia and one of 14 bifolia. At least one folio is lacking in half of the quires, but the text is not affected.	
Catchwords	No.	
Ink	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation and Orthoepics	Red for the Arabic text in 1v; the rest of the manuscript, until f. 10r, dark brown, like the ductus. From f. 10v, the Vocalisation is absent.	
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script; sometimes with oblique red triple strokes in the upper and lower part of the ductus; exceptionally, filled with dark yellow (5r). In several cases, vegetal motifs added later (11r). Uncoloured initial <sup><i>c</i></sup> unwān (1v).	
Verse endings marks	Sporadically, three points in a pyramidal disposition; in some cases, added later.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	
Decorations	Decorated band (f. 26v).	

<b>MS 8</b> (Image 7).		
Qur'anic excerpts. Bound volume: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 35; Q.55; Q. 67; Q. 78–114. In f. 93r–100r, they are added: 'unas aleyas del Corán de mucha virtud' (in red ink): Q. 2:152–7; Q. 18:107–110; Q. 56:75–96; Q. 59:18–24.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Aljamia and Arabic (interlinear translation).	
No. ff.	100ff. (1v-100r). First text of a miscellany of 184ff.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 24v)	$206 \times 140$ mm (block-text: $150 \times 92$ mm).	
No. of lines	14 lines per page (7 in Aljamia and 7 in Arabic).	
Material	Western paper with a vertical watermark in the centred lower edge, close to the fold. 4 vertical chain-lines between 24 and 35 mm; 20 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	Quaternions and one quinion.	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire. Some of them are lost.	
Ink	Dark brown, sometimes red (to underline words or sentences).	
Vocalisation	Red in Arabic text (1v–100r). <b>Orthoepics</b> : green dot for the <i>waşla</i> and yellow for the <i>hamza</i> .	
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script, yellow outlined in black (fig. 25).	
Verse endings marks	Cherries in yellow.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	
Decorations	Sporadic maniculae in the margin.	



Fig. 25. MS 8, 12r. Sura heading.

<b>MS 9</b> (Image 8).		
Qur'anic excerpts. Bound volume: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36; Q, 67; Q. 55; Q. 37:180–2 (+ two <i>subhāna</i> ); Q. 78–114; <i>subhāna</i> .		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	84ff. (1v-84v). First text of a miscellany of 152ff.	
Size	161 × 120 mm (block-text: 106 × 77 mm).	
No. of lines	8 lines per page.	
Material (f. 40r)	Western paper with a partial vertical watermark in the middle of the lower or upper edge. 4 distorted vertical chain-lines (19, 29 and 32 mm); 22 horizontal wire-lines/20mm.	
Quires	15 quinions, one bifolia and one quaternion.	
Catchwords	No.	
Ink	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Red. <b>Orthoepics</b> : Red. Yellow dot for the <i>hamza</i> (it may have been originally green, but the ink is oxidized).	
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script, dark yellow outlined in dark brown (fig. 26). Initial <sup>c</sup> unwān (1v) (fig. 27).	
Verse endings marks	Sometimes, three points in a pyramidal disposition; in some cases, added later (f. 5r, l. 7).	
Liturgical divisions	No.	



Fig. 26. MS 9, 11v. Sura heading.



Fig. 27. MS 9, 1v. <sup>c</sup>Unwān.

が MS 27		
Qur'anic excerpts. Bound volume (without the covers). Acephalous, with an internal lacuna: Q. 2:256 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part) [], 285 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–286; Q. 31–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36; Q. 67; Q. 78–114.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	78ff. (1r–78v). In the early twentieth century, '59' and '129' have been written on the first and last folio respectively. Unitary manuscript, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 30v)	$142 \times 98$ mm (block-text: $111 \times 80$ mm).	
No. of lines	8–9 lines per page.	
Material (f. 30)	Western paper with a vertical watermark in top edge, close to the fold. 5 vertical chain-lines: 4 between 25 and 26 mm, and 1 of 13 mm; 26 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	Probably, remainders of four quires of 12 bifolia: only the second and the third one are complete. Some folia are isolated.	
Catchwords	No.	
Ink	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Dark brown. In 69v–78v, by another copyist, red. <b>Orthoepics:</b> No.	
Sura headings	Only introduced by the second copyist (69v–78v), surrounded by a red line (fig. 28). Geometrical motifs to separate the last suras (75–114) (fig. 29).	
Verse endings marks	No.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	



Fig. 28. MS 28, 71v. Sura heading.

Fig. 29. MS 29, 63r. Band between the suras.

ダ MS 13		
Qur'anic excerpts. Unbound and fragmentary codex, recently disordered: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9 (1 <sup>st</sup> part) []; Q. 36:68–end; Q. 67; Q. 78:1–38 []; Q. 79:6–81:14 []; Q. 87 (translation of last verses)–90:1–7; []; Q. 91 (translation of last verses)–101 (lack of the end of the translation) []; Q. 102 (translation of the last verses)–114.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia (paragraph to paragraph translation).	
No. ff.	77ff (86v–161r). Unitary manuscript, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 94v)	$179 \times 120 \text{ mm}$ (block-text: $118 \times 75 \text{ mm}$ ).	
No. of lines	13 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper with a vertical watermark in the top edge, almost in the fold. Traces of the paper mould almost invisible: 4 vertical chain-lines (average 25 mm) and 24 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	Two octonions, two septenions and one quinion, sometimes, remainder of bigger quires.	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.	
Ink	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Dark brown in Aljamia text; absent in Arabic text.	
Sura headings	Decorated semi-Kufic script. Blank for the initial <sup>c</sup> unwān (86v).	
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	

Qur'anic excerpts. Bound volume, without covers. Acephalous, with some internal lacunae: [] Q. 2:3–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36; Q. 67:1–30 []; Q. 78:2–82; [] Q. 83:7 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–114. <sup>54</sup>		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	92ff. (1r–92v. '128' has been written on the verso of the last folio at the beginning of the twentieth century). Unitary manuscript, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
Size	$145 \times 96 \text{ mm}$ (block-text: $90 \times 68 \text{ mm}$ ).	

No. of lines	7 lines per page.
Material	Different western papers, without visible watermark. With the exception of ff. 3–4, there are horizontal chain-lines and vertical wire-lines.
Quires	Difficult to identify, but mainly quaternions.
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower right corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.
Ink	Black.
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script, often dark yellow outlined in black (fig. 30), but also red or green outlined in black. In other cases, schematic pseudo-Kufic script. It is sporadically decorated with double oblique red strokes in the upper and lower part of the <i>ductus</i> , or with vegetal motifs.
Verse endings marks	Sporadically, three points in a pyramidal disposition.
Liturgical divisions	No.



Fig. 30. MS 20, 13r. Sura heading.

Qur'anic excerpts. Unbound quire, acephalous, and the end is lacking: [] Q. 3:3–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–7; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 12:101; Q. 26: 78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36:1–8 [].		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	8ff. (1r–8v). Only remaining quire from a lost codex, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 3v)	$148 \times 107$ mm (block-text: 88 × 56 mm).	
No. of lines	8 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper with a horizontal partial watermark in the external corner. Horizontal chain-lines difficult to see; 17 vertical wire-lines/20 mm.	

Quires	Quaternion.
Catchword	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.
Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	Dark brown. Orthoepics: Dark brown.
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script (f. 8r), with the <i>shahāda</i> instead of the title (fig. 31).
Verse endings marks	Sporadically, three points in a pyramidal disposition.
Liturgical divisions	No.



Fig. 31. MS 22, 8r. Sura heading.

Qur'anic excerpts. Unbound but sewed and fragmentary codex. Acephalous: Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36; Q. 67; Q. 55; Q. 78–114.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	81ff. (123r–202v). Erroneous and disordered foliation. Unitary manuscript, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 176v)	$168 \times 110 \text{ mm}$ (text-block: $120 \times 75 \text{ mm}$ ).	
No. of lines	8 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper without any visible watermark. 4 vertical chain-lines between 21 and 28 mm; 25 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm. The marks of the mould are barely visible (the wire-lines are very close and the paper is very dark and dirty).	
Quires	Octonions (but there are some restored and glued folia which impede a good identification of every quire).	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.	
Ink	Black.	
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.	

Sura headings	Schematic pseudo-Kufic script, dark yellow, sometimes decorated with oblique red double strokes in the upper and lower part of the <i>ductus</i> (fig. 32 and 33).
Verse endings marks	No.
Liturgical divisions	No.



Fig. 32. MS 18, 198v. Sura.



Fig. 33. MS 18, 149r. Sura heading.

Qur'anic excerpts. Unbound and fragmentary copy. The end is lacking: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–27; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 36:1–67 []; Q. 81:25–Q. 86:4 (partial translation) [].		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic and Aljamia (paragraph to paragraph translation).	
No. ff.	48ff. (3v–48v). First text of a miscellany of 88ff. Nowadays, it is covered by the bookbinding of 52.1, generating a composite volume. <sup>55</sup>	
<b>Size</b> (f. 6)	$177 \times 117$ mm (block-text: $119 \times 70$ mm).	
No. of lines	13 lines per page.	
Material (f. 1)	Western paper with vertical watermark in the top edge, close to the fold. 5 vertical chain-lines (almost invisibles), between 24 and 26 mm, with an external exception: 13 mm; 23 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	Three octonions.	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.	

Ink	Black, iron-gall ink.
Vocalisation	Black. Orthoepics: Black.
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script (v. gr. ff. 4v, 34r). Blank for the initial <sup><math>cunwān</math></sup> (f. 3v).
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition.
Liturgical divisions	No.

ダ MS 12.		
Qur'anic excerpts. Unbound quire, the end is lacking: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18 [].		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	6ff. (27v–32v). Second text of a miscellany quire of 8 ff. (See MS 11 above). The quire has been arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 29v)	$160 \times 108$ mm (block-text: $105 \times 80$ mm).	
No. of lines	10 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper with a vertical watermark in the top edge, close to the fold. 5 vertical chain-lines, between 28 y 34 mm, with the exception of 7 mm (external); 20 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	Quaternion.	
Catchwords	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.	
Ink	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.	
Sura headings	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script (ff. 28r, 31v), the empty inner part of the consonants filled with red. Blank left to the initial <sup><math>cunwān</math></sup> (f. 27v).	
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	

ダ MS 25					
Qur'anic excerpts. Unbo (1 <sup>st</sup> part) [].	Qur'anic excerpts. Unbound quire. The end is lacking: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7 (1 <sup>st</sup> part) [].				
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.				
N. ff.	5 ff. (4v–8v). (1r identified as 27 at the beginning of twentieth century.) The quire has been arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.				
<b>Size</b> (f. 7v):	$117 \times 104$ mm (block-text: 89 × 58 mm).				
No. of lines:	7 lines per page.				
Material:	Western paper without any visible watermark. 6 vertical chain- lines, between 19 and 21 mm; 23 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.				
Quires:	Quaternion.				
Catchwords:	Horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire.				
Ink:	Dark brown.				
Vocalisation:	No. Orthoepics: No.				
Sura headings:	Decorated pseudo-Kufic script (f. 5v). Initial <sup><i>c</i></sup> <i>unwān</i> , decorated in external margin (fig. 34).				
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition.				
Liturgical divisions	No.				

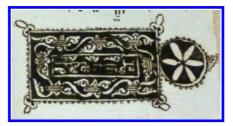


Fig. 34. MS 25, 4v. Initial <sup>c</sup>unwān.

ダ MS 19			
Last fragmentary <i>juz</i> <sup>2</sup> , which can be considered (because of the material features) as the last part of 'Morisco Qur'an'. Bound but incomplete codex. Acephalous, and the end is lacking: [] Q. 78:13–40 []; Q. 79:18–end; Q. 80:1–6; [] Q. 81:6–end; Q. 82:1–5 []; Q. 83:2–10, [] 24–30 []; Q. 84:7–16 []; Q. 92:16–end; Q. 93–99; Q. 100:1–7 [].			
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.		
No. ff.	28ff. ('27' has been written on the verso of the last folio at the beginning of the twentieth century: erroneous numeration). Unitary manuscript, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.		
<b>Size</b> (f. 9v)	$131 \times 92$ mm (block-text: $91 \times 60$ mm).		
No. of lines	7 lines per page.		
Material	Western paper with a partial vertical watermark in the lower edge, close to the fold. 4 vertical chain-lines between 21 and 24 mm; 20 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.		
Quires	One senion, one ternion, one binion and several bifolia.		
Catchwords	No.		
Ink	Dark brown.		
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.		
Sura headings	Schematic pseudo-Kufic script, in dark yellow, with three oblique red strokes in the upper and lower part of the <i>ductus</i> .		
Verse endings marks	Sporadically, three points in a pyramidal disposition.		
Liturgical divisions	No.		

Qur'anic fragments. Unbound. Acephalous, and the end is lacking; very disordered nowadays: [] Q. 80:24 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–Q. 87:18 [].			
Date and language	ge Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.		
No. ff.	9 ff. $(1r-6v + 8r-10v)$ ('9' has been written on folio 1r at the beginning of the twentieth century). Remaining part of the first codicological unit, today linked to the second one (cf. 43B.2). The unit has been arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.		
<b>Size</b> (f. 10v)	136 × 98 mm (block-text: 91 × 63 mm).		

No. of lines	10 lines per page.			
Material	Western paper, with a vertical partial watermark in top edge, close to the fold. 3 vertical chain-lines and horizontal wire-lines very difficult to see.			
Quires	Remainder of a ternion and isolated folia sewn a posteriori.			
Catchwords	No.			
Ink	Black.			
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.			
Sura headings	A bit bigger size, outlined red.			
Verse endings marks	Sporadically, three points in a pyramidal disposition, systematically, at the end of the <i>basmala</i> .			
Liturgical divisions	No.			

	Qur'anic fragments. Unbound fragments. Acephalous and the end is lacking; very disordered nowadays: [] Q. 87:11 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–Q. 93 (with probably the <i>basmala</i> of Q. 94) [].			
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.			
No. ff.	9 ff $(7 + 11-18)$ . Isolated folia, sewed <i>a posteriori</i> , part of the second codicological unit, today linked to the first one (cf. 43B.1). The unit has been arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.			
<b>Size</b> (f. 12v)	$134 \times 95$ mm (block-text: 99 × 65 mm).			
No. of lines	10 lines per page.			
Material	Western paper, with a partial vertical watermark in the top edge, close to the fold. 3 vertical chain-lines between 37 and 39 mm; 21 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.			
Quires	Isolated folia sewed a posteriori.			
Catchwords	No.			
Ink	Black.			
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.			
Sura headings	Blank.			
Verse endings marks	Sporadically, three points in a pyramidal disposition.			
Liturgical divisions	No.			

ダ MS 6				
Qur'anic excerpts: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 285–6; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–27; Q. 7:54–6; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36; Q. 59:18–24; Q. 67; Q. 73:9, 20 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part); Q. 112–114 and a prayer (35v). Q. 87–114 ( <i>hizb</i> 60).				
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.			
No. ff.	26 ff. (21v–46v). Fourth text of a miscellany of 88 ff. Different copyist to MS 7.			
<b>Size</b> (f. 40v)	$187 \times 145$ mm (block-text: $160 \times 128$ mm).			
No. of lines	Between 11 and 13 lines per page.			
Material	Western paper with a horizontal watermark in the fold, slightly moved upwards or downwards. 7 horizontal chain-lines: 6 between 28 and 33 mm, and 1 of 15 mm; 19 vertical wire-lines/20 mm.			
Quires	One denion (lack of two ff.), one of 11 bifolia and two of 12 bifolia.			
Catchwords	No.			
Ink	Dark brown.			
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.			
Sura headings	No.			
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition.			
Liturgical divisions	No.			

<b>B.1</b> .	Variants	of	the	'Morisco	Qur'an'
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ダ MS 17			
Qur'anic excerpts: <sup>56</sup> [] Q. 2:3 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–5, 163, 255–7, 284–86; Q. 3:1–6, 18–19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part), 26–27; Q. 9:128–9; Q. 26:78–89; Q. 28:88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 36:83; Q. 36; Q. 40:64 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part); Q. 37:35; Q. 39:6 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part); Q. 40:62, 65; Q. 44:7–8; Q. 47:19; Q. 40:1–3; Q. 59:18–24 (1 <sup>st</sup> part) []; Q. 67:29 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–30; Q. 63:9, 20 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part); Q. 85:20–22; Q. 89: 27–30; Q. 94; Q. 97; Q. 109–11; Q. 113–14.			
Date and language	Ninth/fifteenth century? Arabic.		
No. ff.	17 ff. (94r–110v). Fourth text of a miscellany codex of 106 ff. (21–127), arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.		
<b>Size</b> (f. 100v)	148 × 109 mm (block-text: 107 × 80 mm).		

No. of lines	11 lines per page.		
Material	Western paper with vertical watermark in the top edge, almost in the fold. Poor quality and very dirty paper making it almost impossible to perceive the marks of the mould: vertical chain-lines and horizontal wire-lines.		
Quires	Two senions and isolated folia.		
Catchwords	No.		
Ink	Dark brown.		
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: The hamza is a yellow point.		
Sura headings	No. In ff. 96r and 99r, blank instead of the heading.		
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition in the first part of the text to indicate the gaps between the verses (having in mind the complete canonical version). In the second part of the text, this mark appears randomly. Sometimes, little mark (v. gr. 101r or 104v) (fig. 35).		
Liturgical divisions	No.		



Fig. 35. MS 17, 101r.

## C. Family/Popular Copies

Group C

Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark	Ref.	Shelfmark
Ms. 2	RESC/3.2	Ms.21	RESC/42C	Ms.28	RESC/43F	Ms.35	RESC/55
<b>Ms.</b> 7	RESC/24.2	Ms.26	RESC/43D	Ms.29	RESC/431	Ms.36	RESC/58A

ダ MS 7	
<i>Hizb</i> 59: Q. 78–86.	
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic, very corrupted.
No. ff.	13 ff. (48r–59r). Fifth text of a miscellany of 88 ff. Different copyist as MS 6.

<b>Size</b> (f. 49v)	188 × 146 mm (block-text: 139 × 110 mm).
Material	Western paper with horizontal watermark in the fold, slightly moved upwards or downwards. 7 horizontal chain-lines, between 28 and 33, with the external exception of 15 mm; 19 vertical wire- lines/20 mm.
Quires	One denion, one quire of 11 bifolia and two of 12 bifolia.
Catchwords	No.
Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	No. Orthoepics: No.
Sura headings	Not very often. It seems to want to imitate the decorated pseudo-Kufic (fig. 36).
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition.
Liturgical divisions	No.

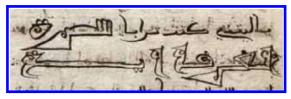


Fig. 36. MS 7, 49v.

<b>MS 26</b> (Image 11).		
Qur'anic excerpts. Unbound and incomplete codex: Q. 1; Q. 2:1–5, 163, 255–7, 284–6; Q. 3:1–6, 19 (1 <sup>st</sup> part) []; Q. 26:89 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part); Q. 27:25–6; Q. 28:70, 88; Q. 30:17–19; Q. 33:40–4; Q. 35:3; Q. 37:35; Q. 39:6 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part); Q. 40:1–3, 64 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–65; Q. 44:7–8; Q. 47:19; Q. 59:18–24; Q. 64:13; Q. 71:28; Q. 73:9, 20 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part); Q. 82:9–19; Q. 85:20–1 []; Q. 36:50 (2 <sup>nd</sup> part)–62 (1 <sup>st</sup> part).		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic, very corrupted.	
No. ff.	23ff. (1v–23v). In the early twentieth century, '36' and '58' have been written on the first and last folio respectively. Unitary manuscript, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 4v)	$137 \times 100$ mm (block-text: 80 × 60 mm).	
No. of lines	8 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper without visible watermark. 5 vertical chain-lines between 20 and 21 mm, with the exception of the external one: 13mm; 22 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.	

Quires	Three quaternion (first folio of first quire is lost).
Catchwords	At the end of the second quire $(15v = 49)$ , horizontal, in the lower left corner of the verso of the last folio of the quire. Nothing visible in the first one.
Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	None, with the exception of the first <i>basmala</i> , in red. <b>Orthoepics</b> : No. Sometimes, lack of diacritics too.
Sura headings	Blank (nothing for the beginning of Q. 40 (10v). Space left for the initial <sup><i>c</i></sup> <i>unwān</i> (1v).
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition, although not always.
Liturgical divisions	No.

6 MS 36 <sup>57</sup>		
Qur'anic fragments. Book of prayers: Q. 93-105; Q. 104; Q. 103; Q. 80; Q. 87; Q. 89.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	10 ff. (89r–98r). Unitary manuscript. Nowadays, its binding covers MS 37 too, generating a composite volume.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 93)	191 × 143 mm (block-text: 157 × 118 mm).	
No. of lines	Between 9 and 14 lines per page.	
Material (f. 93)	Western paper with horizontal watermark in the fold, slightly towards its upper part. 7 horizontal chain-lines: 6 between 28 and 30 mm, 1 of 14 mm; 20 vertical wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	Quinion.	
Catchwords	No.	
Ink:	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Dark brown. Orthoepics: Dark brown.	
Sura headings	No.	
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	

ダ MS 28		
Qur'anic fragments. Book of prayers, apparently incomplete: Q. 1; Q. 114; Q. 113; Q. 112; Q. 111; Q. 110; Q. 109. <sup>58</sup>		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	3ff. (1r–3r). In the early twentieth century, '130' and '135' have been written on the first and last folio respectively. Unitary copy, arbitrarily grouped with other materials at the beginning of the twentieth century.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 1v)	168 × 109 mm (block-text: around 119 × 80 mm).	
No. of lines	8 lines per page; exceptionally 10 (3r).	
Material (f. 1)	Western paper without any visible watermark. 4 vertical chain- lines (34, 36, and 25 mm); 21 horizontal wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	Ternion.	
Catchwords	No.	
Ink	Dark brown.	
Vocalisation	Dark brown. Orthoepics: Dark brown.	
Sura headings	Sometimes, small white space.	
Verse endings marks	Three points in a pyramidal disposition at the end of every sura.	
Liturgical divisions	No.	

<b>MS 35</b> (Image 12).		
Qur'anic verses as prayers. Bound volume: Q. 2:152–7; Q. 18:107–10; Q. 56:75–96; Q. 59:18–24#; Q. 37:180–2.		
Date and language	Tenth/sixteenth century. Arabic.	
No. ff.	11ff. (73v-83r). Eighth text of a miscellany of 109ff.	
<b>Size</b> (f. 76)	$115 \times 84$ mm (block-text: $81 \times 60$ mm).	
No. of lines	6–7 lines per page.	
Material	Western paper with horizontal watermark centred in the external edge. 5 horizontal chain-lines (around 28 mm), with the external exception of 18 mm; 21 vertical wire-lines/20 mm.	
Quires	One octonion and one senion (although the Qur'anic text does not occupy the whole quires).	
Catchwords	No.	

Ink	Dark brown.
Vocalisation	Red. Orthoepics: Red.
Sura headings	No.
Verse endings marks	Specially small rosette (fig. 37), combined with three points in a pyramidal disposition. The change of sura is indicated by 'otra aleya' (v. gr., ff. 75r or 76v).
Liturgical divisions	No.
Decoration:	Series of rosettes to indicate the end of the sura.



Fig. 37. MS 35, 76v. Rosette to change the verse.

In MS 2, 50r, Q. 1 is found too in an isolated way. It has been copied by a different hand from that of the previous and following folia. In MS 29 (206v–207r), Q. 1 heads a series of prayers.<sup>59</sup>

## NOTES

\* This essay has been written in the framework of the project *Corana. Production and transmission of the Qur'an in the Western Islamic World (Corana)* (FFI2012–32294), headed by Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz.

1 It would be easier to call it 'Spanish', but it is important to underline that the 'Aljamia' is not a 'standard Spanish of the ninth/fifteenth or tenth/sixteenth century'; it is a 'variante dialectal romance, resultado de una hibridación entre el romance y el árabe andalusí o, más bien, de una interferencia parcial con el árabe. En la época bilingüe posterior a la conquista, el andalusí ejerció una fuerte influencia sobre el aragonés hablado por los musulmanes, que tuvo como consecuencia una serie de cambios fonológicos, especialmente en las sibilantes, y una arabización del léxico, sobre todo religioso y jurídico. A pesar de que en los siglos XV y XVI el castellano iba ganando terreno a los diferentes dialectos aragoneses, esta situación no siempre queda reflejada en los textos aljamiados, debido a que, en general, la aljamía presenta un conservadurismo acendrado, que se refleja en el uso habitual de aragonesismos —tanto léxicos como morfológicos— y arcaísmos, aun cuando entre sus coetáneos cristianos esas características ya estuvieran en desuso' (Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas*, p. 145). See Montaner's study on this question too, 'El auge de la literatura aljamiada en Aragón'.

2 Cf. the references in the final bibliography.

3 'Los manuscritos aparecieron al derribar o reparar una casa antigua, y hallábanse escondidos en el espacio que mediaba entre un piso ordinario y un falso piso de madera, hábilmente sobrepuesto, de modo que los libros, muy bien acondicionados en ese espacio intermedio, han estado ocultos cerca de tres siglos, sin que nadie haya advertido su existencia ... [Se encontraron] en el mismo punto los enseres de encuadernador, como prensa, cuchilla, alisadores y los hierros para las molduras de la pasta' (Codera, 'Almacén de un librero morisco', p. 269 and p. 271).

4 See Gil, 'Los manuscritos aljamiados de mi colección'.

5 'Por desgracia, al aparecer los manuscritos fueron creídos de ningún valor por los albañiles y peones, de modo que arrojados entre los escombros o dejados a disposición del primero que llegaba, los muchachos se entretuvieron en romper las hojas y en hacer hogueras con ellas, destrozando más de 80 volúmenes y quemando quizá por completo no pocos ... Con la presencia de mi amigo y su interés en adquirir dichos manuscritos resultó, que aquellas gentes, para quienes tales libros no merecían la pena de ser conservados, creyeron entonces que valían un Potosí, y no quieren cederlos sino por precios exorbitantes. No es fácil saber el número de volúmenes que aparecieron, ni aun el de los que se salvaron; pues es de suponer que algunos particulares hayan conservado algo' (Codera, 'Almacén de un librero morisco', pp. 269–70).

6 For an exact meaning of 'codicological unit', see Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', pp. 17–42, esp. p. 40.

7 With only two exceptions, from other provenances.

8 'Los manuscritos encontrados no pertenecieron a la biblioteca de un particular, sino que constituían el fondo del almacén de un librero morisco, que al tiempo de la expulsión debió esconder las existencias de su almacén en la esperanza de poder volver a su pueblo natal: para suponer esto me fundo, no sólo en la índole de los libros encontrados, sino más bien en la circunstancia de haberse hallado en el mismo punto los enseres de encuadernador' (Codera, 'Almacén de un librero morisco', pp. 270–1).

9 The system adopted by the TNT library is the following: if the number is followed by a capital letter it means that the manuscript is part of an assemblage of different codicological units, and the letter corresponds to the actual order of the pieces within the assemblage. If the number of the manuscript is followed by a dot and another number, it means that the Qur'anic passage is part of a miscellany, and the number refers to its order. The old shelfmark J[unta] has become RESC/.

10 Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, "Hacer libros no tiene fin". Los moriscos'.

11 MS 10: 3rd part (Image 4), and MSS 3, 4, and 11: 4th part.

12 MSS 33 (Image 3) and 34: 1st part; and MSS 5 and 32: 4th part.

13 Losada, Estudios sobre coranes aljamiados.

14 MSS 14, 15 and 16 (Images 5 and 6).

15 In MSS 8, 9 and 18, Q. 55 has been added. Exceptionally, in 43A we find Q. 12:101.

16 However these actually represent our group C, below.

17 I thank Dr. Ana Echevarría for sharing with me her disagreement over the use of this expression. More arguments in favour of this name are offered below.

18 That is why the first conference about this topic, held in Oviedo in 1972, was called 'Coloquio internacional de literatura aljamiado y morisca'; similarly, the complete catalogue of these manuscripts written by Galmés de Fuentes was entitled: *Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos de la Real Academia de la Historia*.

19 See Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas.

20 One text in one single codicological unit. MSS 8, 13, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, and 27.

21 Since much material has been preserved in a fragmentary way, we have to be careful with this information. Any discovery which might allow us to complete one of the manuscripts could lead us in another direction.

- 22 Several texts in one codicological unit.
- 23 MSS 1, 9, 12, 23, 24, 36.

24 MSS 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35.

25 This is indeed a very important point since all the research done until now has only focused on the bilingual Qur'anic copies. It has consequently been impossible to get an overall picture from these minority data.

26 MSS 12, 13, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 36.

27 For a detailed description of all the Qur'anic copies found in the Almonacid de la Sierra collection used in this paper, see the final appendix.

28 Obviously, this lack of sura headings is not shared by the manuscripts of Group A.

29 Déroche, Catalogue des manuscrits arabes II.

30 Anzuini, I manoscritti coranici della Biblioteca.

31 MS 9 is an independent case since, although it transmits two *subhāna* after Q. 37:180–2, the remaining part of the excerpts it contains are exactly the same as those of the 'Morisco Qur'an'.

32 According to the description given by Anzuini in his catalogue *I manoscritti coranici della Biblioteca*, pp. 147–8.

33 Harvey, Muslims in Spain. 1500-1614, p. 144.

34 MSS 2, 7, 26, 21, 26, 28, 29, 35 and 36.

35 As stated above, this will be the topic of another article.

36 I thank Noel Malcom for his opinions about this point.

37 All the manuscripts are written in Maghribi script.

38 Unfortunately it is difficult to locate all the fragments, since, as we see from the digitisation done in 2011: http://manuscripta.bibliotecas.csic.es/inicio, they are very disorderly.

39 The lack of material means that most verses at the beginning and at the end of extant fragments are incomplete.

40 For more information about this manuscript written in two phases, see Martínez de Castilla Muñoz "Hacer libros no tiene fin". Los moriscos'.

41 As stated by López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo. Edición y estudio*, p. 146, 'aunque muchas traducciones aljamiadas del Corán contienen interpolaciones sacadas de obras árabes, es esta [RESC/51] la única obra llamada explícitamente "tafsīr" que poseemos en versión aljamiada'. Sin embargo, hay en la colección de la TNT otro manuscrito, el RESC/47, en el que el 'comentario es [también] mucho mas extenso que el texto coránico'.

In this case the copy is a *tafsīr* which has not drawn the same attention as in the previous case. We consequently still regard it as 'el *tafsīr* morisco', exclusively linked with RESC/51. We must nevertheless emphasise the fact that there might have been other volumes containing the commentary of the other three parts of the Qur'an with a statement about the nature of the work, a *tafsīr*, in the first one, as happens in MS 33 (1st part). After the codicological study we can state that the two volumes with the *tafsīr* of Ibn Abī Zamanīn kept in the TNT collection with a translation into Aljamia are not part of the same set.

42 After the summary reference to this work in Ribera and Asín's catalogue, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados* (fols 1–243): 'Otro ejemplar de la obra que contiene el MS num. LI; más extenso, pero también incompleto. Muy deteriorado por el fuego, sobre todo los últimos cuadernos, que están casi por completo destruidos' (p. 191). The manuscript is dealt with here for the first time; I have seen no reference to it, not even in the comprehensive study by López-Morillas, 'The Genealogy of the Spanish Qur'ān', nor in the PhD thesis by Losada on Ibn Abī

Zamanīn's *tafsīr* found in RESC/51. I am currently preparing a comprehensive study of this manuscript.

43 Although the translator seems to base his text on the *tafsīr* of Yaḥyā b. Salām, from the *Mukhtaṣar* by Ibn Abī Zamanīn, he also has in mind other commentaries. He actually translates 'con absoluta literalidad en algunos pasajes y menor o nula en otros, donde es sustituido por materiales de diversa procedencia' (Hermosilla, 'Una versión aljamiada de Corán 89', p. 35).

44 Montaner, 'El auge de la literatura aljamiada en Aragón', suggested eleventh/seventeenth century, but the watermark seems to belong to tenth/sixteenth century.

45 Although we could think that the manuscript is acephalous, because the fourth part should start with Q. 38, this is not so. Exceptionally, the text starts in 2v, the first folio being left blank, as a preliminary leaf.

46 Although she does not specify which glossary she is speaking about, López-Morillas (*El Corán de Toledo*, p. 148) makes a very interesting point when she states: 'El léxico de Junta XLVII es casi idéntico al glosario de términos coránicos en árabe y aljamiado de que consta el MS Junta XL'.

47 There are many blanks, and we cannot exclude the loss of other quires.

48 It is a folded and sewn folio (vertical), and folded again in order to be easier to handle.

- 49 See note 46.
- 50 See note 46.

51 MSS. 6 and 17 (with an asterisk at the end of the list) belong to identified as Group B.1.

- 52 See note 44.
- 53 The paper is restored, and this does not help us to perceive the marks of the mould.
- 54 Prayers have been added until the end of the codicological unit (96ff).
- 55 Different codicological units. See Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', esp. p. 29.
- 56 This compilation is quite similar to the one transmitted by MS 26.
- 57 The presentation of these suras suggests a prayer book.
- 58 The presentation of these suras suggests a prayer book.

59 Since they are two small pieces, disjoined from a Qur'anic context, they are not described in this appendix.

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