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Unravelling Multiple-Text Manuscripts: Introducing Categories Based on Content, Use, and Production

Abstract: In recent years, multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) have attracted growing academic interest. MTMs deserve ample attention, since they constitute the majority of manuscripts in many cultures. The aim of this article is to categorize MTMs in a way that goes beyond textual content or mere codicological features. Focusing on and combining three aspects (content, use, and production), we propose the following categories: *Petrified MTMs*, *Intertwined MTMs*, *Open MTMs*, *Repurposed MTMs*, and *Recycled MTMs*. These MTM categories reflect commonly shared phenomena and can be applied to MTMs from various manuscript cultures. At the centre of our approach is an attempt to better understand the projects behind MTMs. In this way, we seek to analyse and categorize MTMs with regard to their emergence, transmission, use, reception, and perception.

1 Introduction

The present article evolved from an ongoing discussion about multiple-text manuscripts (MTMs) which took place within the framework of the Sonderforschungsbereich 'Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa' at the Universität Hamburg, beginning in 2011.[1] More specifically, the article has its beginnings in the workshop 'Typology of Multiple-Text Manuscripts', organized by the authors of this article, together with Martin Delhey and Vito Lorusso in April 2016.[2] After our many discussions about these manuscripts, we have aimed at unravelling the 'MTM net'. Our contribution, which is only a first at-

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1 The concept of multiple-text manuscripts has been variously investigated in recent years: the phenomenon and related terminology have been described by Maniaci 2004; Gumbert 2004; Gumbert 2010; Bausi 2004; and Bausi 2010; recent collective volumes have been edited by Friedrich and Schwarke 2016; and by Bausi et al. 2019.

2 Papers were presented by Michael Baldzuhn, Wiebke Beyer, Jonas Buchholz, Philippe Depreux, Jens Gerlach, Kaja Harter-Uibopuu, Gisela Procházka-Eisl, and Thies Staack. We would like to thank all of them for providing valuable insights which stimulated the present article.

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tempt at an elaborated typology of MTMs, focuses mainly on codex manuscripts. We hope that colleagues working on non-codex MTMs will follow up on the categories that we propose here and adapt them based on the material available in their respective manuscript cultures.

The MTMs discussed in the following pages are 'made up of more than one text and have been planned and realized for a single project with one consistent intention; as a result, they are usually made of a single production unit'.[3] The project behind an MTM can be realized over a shorter or longer period of time and by one or more than one person. In some cases, the production unit is made with the space to accommodate only the fixed number of texts that are meant to be included. In other cases, this unit can be expanded over time by adding fresh leaves to accommodate additional texts.[4] In still other cases, the unit can be a blank book, which the MTM-makers either assemble themselves or purchase as a ready-made notebook. And last but not least, there are cases in which the project implies the use of an existing codicological unit from a previous project, whether that unit is an MTM or a single-text manuscript (STM).[5] MTMs can be single-volume or multi-volume manuscripts. Composite manuscripts, which are distinct from MTMs, will not be considered in our discussion. Therefore, we exclude manuscripts that were enlarged by the addition of a circulation unit or parts of it.

Typologies or classifications of MTMs exist in various disciplines and are often concerned with the content of these manuscripts. In Turkish and Ottoman studies, for example, there have been several attempts to refine existing classifications or to introduce new ones – usually with a focus on genre, theme, and authorship.[6] In the field of European codicology, the recently proposed classifications consider both textual and codicological aspects.[7] In 2010, Alessandro Bausi described the *Corpus-Organizer*, an MTM category based on the following three criteria: content, use, and production.[8]

Taking up the combined approach of Bausi, we focus on the same three aspects to identify other MTM categories. The intricate relationship between the

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3 Bausi et al. 2019, vii.

4 Cf. 'UniProd-MC' in Andrist et al. 2013, 60, or 'enlarged unit' and 'extended unit' in Gumbert 2004, 31–33.

5 Cf. 'UniProd-C', 'UniProd-MC', and 'Uni-Prod-C-MC' in Andrist et al. 2013, 60.

6 For a short summary, and the plea for a 'detailed, painstaking classification' of personal MTMs, see Procházka-Eisl and Çelik 2015, 7–8.

7 Cf. for instance 'codice monotestuale/pluritestuale monoblocco' in Maniaci 2004, 82 and 87–90; 'monomerous' in Gumbert 2004, 26–29.

8 Bausi 2010a.

content, use, and production of MTMs is as self-apparent as it is with all manuscripts.[9] For instance, an MTM used in rituals by more than one person can have features that differ from those of an MTM produced by a single person for private study. More concretely, a ritual manual for communal use is more likely to exhibit neat handwriting and a self-contained text structure, while to an outside observer the private notebook of a scholar may appear less carefully written or less well arranged. In such cases, the combination of decisive features related to use, production, and content can help us to identify various MTM categories.

Therefore, our treatment of MTMs focuses on the projects behind these manuscripts. Detecting the various layers of a notebook, for example, is a starting point of the analysis we propose. Next, however, we would examine the relationship between these layers and the relationship of these layers to the MTM project or projects. In short, following Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart, and Marilena Maniaci,[10] we propose to tease apart the layers of a codex and try to associate the individual layers to distinct projects. In so doing, we seek to better understand whether an MTM was planned from the beginning to consist of various layers or was designed as a single production unit.

In addition, we compare observations regarding individual MTMs with other manuscripts from the same context as well as related contexts. In the case of content, for example, we suggest an informed comparison of the MTM(s) in question with other manuscripts carrying similar or related texts. In this way, we seek to better understand and categorize MTMs with regard to their emergence, transmission, use, reception, and perception. Needless to say, only a few cases allow such a multifaceted investigation, which demands ample historical sources, including both manuscript evidence and secondary literature. But it is from these studies that we are able to learn more about cultural patterns, which can inform our hypotheses about MTMs with a less well-documented history.

2 Content

The most obvious question to ask about MTMs concerns their textual content. With or without sufficient information about the context in which an MTM was used and produced, our starting point is the identification of the texts collected, followed by an analysis of their content, with particular attention to the order in

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9 Cf. Wimmer et al. 2015.
10 Andrist et al. 2013.

which the texts appear. This examination focuses on the combination of at least the following criteria: (a) genre, (b) theme, (c) text form, (d) text structure, (e) text organization within the manuscripts, (f) language.

The identification of some of these criteria can be problematic, since they are abstract concepts created within the scholarship of specific (mostly Western) cultures. The reception, variety, and diversity of genres, themes, and text-forms in non-Western cultures do not necessarily reflect categories that are valid for Western scholars. Therefore, while the different languages in an MTM can be objectively discerned (independent of linguistic arguments, such as whether they are proper languages or dialects of the same language), the understanding of genre, themes, text structure, or text organization largely depends on subjective evaluation and in-depth knowledge of the literary and material patterns proper to specific cultures across time. Hence it is possible that some researchers will characterize the same MTM as unorganized and others as systematic, depending, for example, on their individual expertise and familiarity with similar manuscripts within a specific manuscript culture or across several such cultures.

To better understand and classify MTMs, the individual texts and their arrangement in the manuscripts need to be evaluated and compared both in synchronic and diachronic perspective. In the first case, a contrastive analysis of the manuscripts produced in the same milieu and period and transmitting the same or similar content can reveal precious information regarding the presence and diffusion of specific MTM forms. In the second case, analysing the transmission of the individual (or groups of) texts attested in the MTMs can reveal: (a) the genesis of each individual manuscript, (b) the process behind the formation of specific MTM forms, (c) whether texts that had previously circulated in STMs or in MTMs were rearranged in new MTM forms, and (d) the reasons behind this process.

3 Use

Like all other manuscripts, each MTM is made to fulfil the needs of its users – whether they are the MTM-makers themselves, the commissioners, or others, who are not actively involved in making the manuscript, but are supposed to use it later. These needs depend on various factors, among which the following may be named as examples: (a) context(s) of use, (b) number of users, (c) mode(s) of use.

The making of MTMs is present in many cultural contexts, but there is a remarkable number of individual MTMs that belong to the educational, professional, and ritual, or liturgical, contexts, to name just a few. In many cases, these contexts are not easily separable. For instance, education covers scholarship, which is also a professional activity and can be concerned with ritual. However, or precisely because of this, it appears that in many cases MTMs were best able to meet the demand of some manuscript users and were a popular choice when circumstances allowed. As Alessandro Bausi outlined,

> [...] one of the main tasks carried out in a manuscript culture by a MTM [...] 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.[11]

Pupils, scholars, judges, and ritual practitioners, for example, compiled their own text collections, tailored for their specific and personal needs. It is assumed that many personalized MTMs remained in the hands of their compilers and were not accessed by other users. Such personal use can be mirrored in the organization or layout of personal text collections, whose features may be less obvious to outside observers. There are of course manuscripts that exhibit later use or reuse, but this subsequent use is not to be confused with a continuation of the project behind an MTM, which can include successive producers and users.

Manuals that assemble texts for various kinds of performances, most prominently for rituals, constitute another common type of MTM. These collections of prayers, hymns, invocations, or formulae are often prepared for several users, such as the religious specialists of a given congregation or the members of a ritual community. These MTMs may be used during the ritual, to facilitate reading aloud or singing, for example, or they may serve as templates for memorization or as aides-memoires. Such manuals may belong to congregations or communities that commissioned their production, retained them in their custody, and sometimes adapted them to ritual changes.

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11 Bausi et al. 2019, ix.

4 Production

Our understanding of MTMs not only relates to their content, but also defines them in accordance with their production: an MTM usually encompasses one production unit and is the result of a single project. What at first reads as simple can become complex in reality. A single MTM-maker, who outlines the project, accomplishes it without help, and does so in a fixed period of time, is the simple case. Even if we think of multi-volume MTMs or a group of MTM-makers, for example, artists in a workshop or a circle of scholars, such projects are rather straightforward.

Among the more complex cases are MTM projects that imply continuous work on the codicological units and that did not predetermine in detail which texts were to be included. Individual notebooks or commonplace books are such cases, since the makers of these MTMs planned to gradually add texts and, when needed, to enlarge the codicological units by inserting fresh leaves or fascicles, for example, or to continue in a new volume. Other examples are MTMs that were compiled by more than one person, such as *Hausbücher*, archival registers, and albums of friends (*alba amicorum*), whether such manuscripts belonged to a family or an institution, as in the first two cases, or were meant to remain with a single person, as in the case of an *album amicorum*. Some of these manuscripts consist of ready-made blank books, available at premodern stationeries and bookbinders; other such manuscripts were assembled and prepared by those who kept them. We call these manuscripts *Open MTMs*, and we will elaborate on them shortly.

MTMs whose makers made use of an existing, text-carrying codicological unit in order to realize their projects constitute another case both intricate and common. Numerous are the examples from various manuscript cultures in which an MTM was made by starting from a previous production unit and adding new texts such as translations, commentaries, and many other kinds of texts, which relate to the content of the existing production unit. Sometimes, by starting with a manuscript containing a work and adding more text to it in empty margins, on blank pages, in between lines, or on attached empty leaves, the MTM-makers turned an STM into an MTM. Other times, we observe that MTM-makers started their own project by reusing a previously prepared MTM.

For us as scholars, it can be hard to distinguish subsequent additions which are part of the same project from subsequent projects in the same codicological unit. Yet because the phenomenon of reusing codices to form MTMs is widespread in some cultures we include it in the category of *Repurposed MTMs*; we will delve into its details and give examples shortly. In *La Syntaxe du codex*,

these phenomena are approached through the concept of layers.[12] We see this codicological approach as parallel to our perspective, which considers the stratigraphy of the codex within the framework of MTM projects.

The differences between MTM projects can become visible in the manuscripts' layout features. Some MTMs have a visual organization designed to host the various texts and facilitate navigation back and forth between them. We can assume that the makers of such manuscripts prepared a suitable layout from scratch, sometimes employing existing layout conventions. In some cases, the contents were arranged in running text, one after the other, and in order to separate the textual units, the MTM-makers used graphic elements or inserted headings and titles. Another convention is the arrangement of translations, commentaries, or glosses to a text in a parallel or additional column, in predesigned, generously wide margins, or in interlinear spaces. But there is also a considerable number of MTMs with a visual organization that is less elaborate or that follows individual patterns which we cannot easily understand. Not to be forgotten, of course, are those MTMs in which the layout alternates from, for example, columns to running text and back.

Repurposed MTMs are not necessarily in line with the common layout conventions of MTMs as described above. This peculiarity is often due to the fact that the visual organization of the existing codicological unit determined the layout of the 'new' MTM. In such cases, the MTM-makers had to find their own solutions to fit their texts into the existing layout.

5 Titles and labels

Some key features to be taken into consideration when seeking to understand and categorize MTMs in relation to content, use, and production are labels and titles.[13] These features help us to understand how MTMs are perceived within a specific manuscript culture.

Labels can be assigned to MTMs that transmit a defined corpus of texts which is recognized as such in the local traditions. Sometimes, labels can also refer to a genre, conveying an idea of what the MTMs contain.[14] The individual texts in the MTMs can have titles but are still considered part of the corpus that

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12 Andrist et al. 2013.

13 On this topic, cf. Brita et al. (forthcoming).

14 The relationship between MTM label and genre was discussed in the meeting of CSMC Research Area C on 7 July 2014.

is identified by the label. The label can be written on the cover or appear in a margin, subscription, or colophon of the MTM, but a label is not necessarily required to appear in the manuscript. Sometimes these labels appear in historical inventories and catalogues of collections; more rarely, they are also attested in catalogues compiled by modern (Western) scholars. The tendency in modern scholarship, however, is to assign generic labels. 'Miscellany', for instance, does not reveal anything except that the manuscript under scrutiny is an MTM. 'Anthology' and '*florilegium*' usually indicate that the texts included are texts selected from one or more authors. A less generic label assigned by scholars is *Hausbuch* ('house book'), which was intended to identify German medieval MTMs that belonged to a family and transmitted practical knowledge useful for daily life.[15] In German studies, however, there is an ongoing debate about the appropriateness of this label, since it is not grounded in the manuscript tradition.[16]

Within manuscript cultures, labels can refer to the manuscript content. For instance, *Gadla samāʿtāt* ('spiritual combat of the martyrs') is the label assigned in the Ethiopian manuscript culture to MTMs that transmit the 'Acts of the Martyrs'; similarly, *Buyruk* ('the command') is the label assigned by Alevis to MTMs containing text collections about their beliefs and practices (more on these two labels below). A label can also refer to the use of MTMs. An example are the small protective MTMs that are widespread in the Islamic world and labelled *ḥamāyil* or *ḥamāʾil* (Arabic for 'things with which one carries something') with reference to their portability and common use as amulets.[17] Finally, an example of a label related to production is the Turkish *cönk* ('boat'). It refers to the peculiar and oblong, boat-like shape of MTMs containing certain collections of poetry.[18]

Unlike labels, titles are strictly related to the texts transmitted in MTMs and must be explicitly expressed, whether in short or more elaborate form, either on the cover or in the core content, margin, heading, subscription, or colophon of the manuscripts. Consequently, titles are also used to name the books that contain those texts. As often observed in historical inventories and catalogues, the title assigned to the MTM is sometimes the title of the first or longest text in the manuscript, while at other times it is the title of the text or group of texts

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15 Heiles (forthcoming).

16 Cf. Goldenbaum 2020, 85–98; Heiles (forthcoming).

17 Berthold (forthcoming).

18 Gökyay 1993.

considered most representative or most peculiar out of the entire MTM.[19] When the use of texts in an MTM is changed, such texts may be selected and copied from the old MTM and recombined in a new one. In such cases the new MTM may receive a title that differs from the previous one and that reflects the new use and function of both the texts and the MTM.[20] Furthermore, although a title may not have been part of the initial project (most MTMs do not have one), a title was sometimes added to the MTM by later users, thus revealing these users' understanding of the MTM in question.[21]

6 MTM categories

6.1 *Corpus-Organizer MTMs*

As the name of this category suggests, *Corpus-Organizers* are manuscripts containing texts that belong to a defined corpus acknowledged as such in a manuscript culture and identified by a label. The number of texts that belong to the corpus is not necessarily definite and can grow over time. All the texts of the corpus can be attested in a single manuscript, but in the case of large corpora they can also be variously distributed in a set of manuscripts named with the same label used to identify the corpus.[22] Titles can be assigned to the individual texts of the corpus, and they are relevant for identifying the textual units within each manuscript, but it is only the label that allows us to identify the set of *Corpus-Organizer MTMs*. The criteria adopted for the distribution of the texts over the set of manuscripts and the sequence of texts within the individual manuscripts reflect cultural patterns and can depend on a combination of factors, such as: (a) circumstances of use – e.g. manuscripts whose texts are arranged in calendric order for ritual needs; (b) material constraints – e.g. the capacity of ready-made blank books to host only a certain number of texts of various length; (c) nature of the content – e.g. texts arranged according to topics in

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19 Piccione (forthcoming).

20 See Buzi, 2016, 99–100, for instance.

21 Piccione (forthcoming).

22 A set of manuscripts corresponds to a series of cognate MTMs that are all representative of the corpus and that can be produced and used over either a short or a long period of time. The need for this clarification derives from the cases in which some texts of the corpus are also attested in manuscripts that contain other texts not belonging to the corpus and that have a different label or no label at all. These MTMs are not part of the set of *Corpus-Organizer MTMs*.

scientific manuscripts or according to authors in literary manuscripts; (d) length of the texts – e.g. first longer and then shorter texts. *Corpus-Organizer MTMs*, as the term itself suggests, have the function of organizing the corpus. The criteria adopted for this organization must be detected in each case through contrastive analysis of a set of MTMs that are related in time and space.

Our understanding of the relationship between a corpus of texts and its material realization in MTMs relies on studying the transmission processes of both the texts and the MTMs. The possibility of reconstructing with a higher or lower degree of correctness the genesis of a corpus, and consequently its distribution in the set of MTMs, largely depends on the material evidence available. In the case of the *Gadla samāʿtāt*, presented by Alessandro Bausi in his paper about *Corpus-Organizers*, it is clear that the formation of the corpus follows a cultural pattern that is related to the veneration of saints in Ethiopia and the liturgical use of the MTMs. These texts are indeed liturgical readings about both non-Ethiopian and, to a lesser extent, Ethiopian saints, and the textual units are arranged in calendrical order in the individual manuscripts. The practices connected to the veneration of the saints fostered the compilation of this corpus of hagiographic literature for liturgical use. The texts were initially translated into Gəʿəz from Greek in the late antique period and from Arabic in the early medieval period. Since there is no evidence that *Gadla samāʿtāt* MTMs predate the thirteenth century, this date is the starting point of our investigation. MTMs attesting the first layer in the formation of the corpus display a group of previously translated texts whose prehistory and previous manuscript distribution is unknown. Due to the presence of a consolidated label (*Gadla samāʿtāt*), recorded in manuscript inventories since the end of the thirteenth century,[23] it can be assumed that these *Corpus-Organizer MTMs* are the result of previous arrangements (and rearrangements).

The *Gadla samāʿtāt* corpus continued to grow during the following centuries by the addition of more texts translated from Arabic and the creation of new texts about local saints. The sequence of the textual units continued to follow the order of the calendar, but the growth of the corpus prompted a progressive change in both the format and the layout of the manuscripts, which made it possible to accommodate more and more texts. The oldest MTMs (end of the thirteenth, beginning of the fourteenth century) are indeed relatively small in size, and the textual units are distributed in a two-column layout, whereas,

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23 The earliest inventories record different forms of the label. In the manuscript EMML 1832, which contains different inventories dated between 1292 CE and the fourteenth century, we find the following evidence: *Samāʿtāt* and *Gadla samāʿt* (fol. 6ʳ).

starting from the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, the size of the manuscripts progressively increased, and the texts are often laid out in three columns. From this period, extremely large MTMs (Fig. 1) and two-volume MTMs (Fig. 2 and 3) are attested.[24] In the following centuries, the growing number of saints to be venerated and the material constraints of these MTMs must have been the reason for the gradual obsolescence of the *Gadla samāʿtāt* MTMs in favour of different types of collections. Among these collections are the *Synaxarion* MTMs, which contain abridged versions of hagiographic texts and could thus better accommodate the saints' commemorations for the whole liturgical year. This was not the case with the *Gadla samāʿtāt* MTMs, which included readings for only a few months.[25]

From a methodological point of view, enlarging our perspective by also taking into consideration manuscripts that belong to related manuscript cultures helps us to better understand the complex phenomena of transmission. This is the case, for instance, with manuscripts transmitting the *Śivadharma* corpus,[26] a collection of eight texts that is present only in *Corpus-Organizer MTMs* and exclusively in Nepal. Two individual texts (textual units or discrete units) of the corpus, however, circulated in other regions of the Indian subcontinent and most often in different arrangements, with a prevalence of STMs. The Nepalese *Śivadharma* manuscripts, which are the earliest evidence of these texts, attest both a possible first stage in the formation of the corpus (four texts in manuscript Kathmandu, National Archives of Kathmandu, 6-7, paleographically dated to the tenth–eleventh century) and a mature stage (eight texts in the manuscript Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add. 1645, dated to 1139–1140 CE). That *Śivadharma* MTMs were produced and used until the twentieth century is evidence of their success.[27]

The perception of the *Śivadharma* texts as a corpus in Nepalese manuscript culture is confirmed by a number of colophons, some of which explicitly state the label (or maybe the title?) of the corpus: (a) 'a book [named] *Śivadharma*'

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24 The two-volume format was most likely adopted as a solution to the difficulties of handling very large and heavy manuscripts, which had to be transported from the storage house (*ʿəqā bet*) to the church to be read on the particular saint's memorial day. These storage houses are often located above ground level or in rock-hewn rooms to prevent fire or flood from damaging the manuscripts.

25 Bausi 2002, 12–14; Bausi 2019; and Brita (forthcoming).

26 De Simini 2016.

27 De Simini 2016, 233–350. Regarding the hypothesis that double foliation in later STMs indicates that they originally belonged to MTMs, see De Simini 2016, 260–262, esp. 262.

('*pustakaṃ śivadharmam*');[28] (b) 'the eight sections of the *Śivadharma*' ('*śiva-dharmāṣṭakhaṇḍa*');[29] (c) 'the supreme book consisting of the 12,000 stanzas of the *Śivadharma*, made of one hundred chapters [divided] into eight sections' ('*śivadharmadvādaśasāhasrikagra · nthaṃ aṣṭo* (sic!) *khaṇḍaśatādhyāyam uttamapustaka<m>*');[30] (d) 'thus [is concluded] the great treatise titled *Śivadharma*' ('*śivadharmo nāma mahāśāstram iti*').[31]

6.2 *Petrified MTMs*

Petrified MTMs display features that reveal a high degree of stability acquired in the course of time. These features are shared by other manuscripts and are the outcome of an accomplished project. *Petrified MTMs* contain a clearly defined set of texts that is the result of a careful selection process and is perceived as one work. The process by which these MTMs reach their peculiar configuration can (but need not) last for centuries. The set of texts transmitted in *Petrified MTMs* is always identified by a title that, by extension, is also assigned to the entire manuscript. Only the sequence in which the texts appear in the MTM may vary, to a degree, as long as the order reflects a pattern recognized in the respective manuscript culture. Most important is that these MTMs, with their content and titles, are recognized or accredited by an institution or by a community.

The manuscripts that contain the four canonical gospels constitute an example of *Petrified MTMs*. Written in the Greek language, the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John were originally transmitted independently in STM-papyri dated to the second and third centuries.[32] The documentation available also attests the presence of fragmentary manuscripts that contain two of the four gospels, but there is no evidence of MTMs containing the four gospels in the second century. Although some of the four gospels were more famous

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28 Asiatic Society of Calcutta, G4077 (1035–36 CE); cf. De Simini 2016, 251 (this manuscript does not contain the *Śivadharma* corpus).
29 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. B 125 (1187 CE); cf. De Simini 2016, 254.
30 Kathmandu, National Archives of Kathmandu, 5-737 (Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project A 3/3) (1201 CE); cf. De Simini 2016, 255.
31 Kathmandu, National Archives of Kathmandu, 1-882 (Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project A 62/10); cf. De Simini 2016, 262. The manuscript is an STM, but according to De Simini (2016, 262), 'This manuscript is [...] plainly a severed codicological unit originally belonging to an MTM.'
32 On the history of the circulation of the gospel manuscripts and the emergence of MTMs, see Crawford 2019 (esp. 111–113), on which the present section is largely based.

than others, they were regarded like many similar texts that spread during that period. It is only from the mid third century that we have the first evidence of a *Petrified MTM* containing the four gospels. However, manuscripts transmitting a fewer number of gospels (or single gospels) continued to be produced on occasion during that period and later. Finally, from the fourth century onwards, four-gospel MTMs became widespread across all Christian cultures, exhibiting a high degree of uniformity.

The selection and inclusion of these four texts in the canon of Holy Scripture is the reason why the four-gospel MTMs started to display such a degree of stability, in spite of some variation in the order of the gospels themselves. As Crawford underlines,

> [t]he 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. $\mathfrak{P}^{45}$, [...] 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. 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.[33]

We consider these manuscripts *Petrified MTMs* because they received official recognition in their specific configuration, including the oscillation in the sequence of the four texts. In manuscripts, none of the four canonical gospels has ever been assembled together with other gospels that were not accepted in the Christian ritual canon.[34]

Petrified MTMs can originate from *Corpus-Organizer* manuscripts. This happens when, due to specific circumstances, only a certain number of texts from *Corpus-Organizers* are selected and included in *Petrified MTMs*. In the case of small corpora, it is certainly possible that all texts of the corpus turn into *Petrified MTMs*. In these cases, very often, the label of the *Corpus-Organizer MTMs* becomes the title of the *Petrified MTMs*.

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33 Crawford 2019, 113.
34 See Crawford 2019, 113.

For instance, one may wonder whether *Śivadharma* has been considered the title and not the label of this set of texts and, consequently, whether the Nepalese MTMs circulating from the twelfth century onwards may be considered *Petrified MTMs* originating from *Corpus-Organizer MTMs*. Starting from this period, indeed, all *Śivadharma* MTMs transmit a clear, defined, and stable set of eight texts that in the colophons are named *aṣṭakhaṇḍa*, or 'sections',[35] rather than *pustaka*, or 'books', as in pre-twelfth-century attestations.[36] Besides the title and the idea of a unitary work as conveyed by the colophons, what is interesting is that these manuscripts were read during ritual performances, both in sacred and private spaces, and also worshipped.[37] This ritual use indicates that *Śivadharma* MTMs might have obtained the status of officially recognized manuscripts in practices of Śiva veneration, which not only included the transmission of behavioural rules to the lay Śaiva community, but also responded to the need of manuscript donors to accumulate merit.[38]

The shift from *Corpus-Organizer MTMs* to *Petrified MTMs* is, by definition, limited to manuscripts. Nevertheless, by expanding our view to include print, we can observe similar developments taking place. For instance, until the mid twentieth century some Alevi religious communities had *Corpus-Organizer MTMs* with the label *Buyruk*, in which they collected central texts of their tradition. The label *Buyruk* does not appear in the manuscripts but is first attested in Alevi oral lore from the mid nineteenth century. Today, various sub-labels and even manuscript names exist. This situation invites thorough investigation, since academic work on the subject is exerting increasing influence within the community. But we can see a clear trend among Alevis to revise texts of such manuscripts and publish them under the title *Buyruk*.[39] In this way, the contents of some *Corpus-Organizer MTMs* become petrified, though in print, and their

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35 Cf. De Simini 2016, 254 and 256, where De Simini, with reference to the colophon of manuscript Kathmandu, National Archives of Kathmandu, 5-737, states: 'The brief mention of "supreme book [...] of the Śivadharma" given in this colophon is truly remarkable, since here the corpus is regarded as one single work, for which the scribe gives a rough total amount of stanzas and chapters and which he depicts as divided into eight sections, which actually correspond to the eight works.'

36 The current state of research in Sanskrit studies and, above all, our lack of expertise, do not allow a definitive answer here, but scholars working on *Śivadharma* MTMs in 'The Śivadharma Project' (ERC Starting Grant Project), led by Florinda De Simini at the University of Naples 'L'Orientale', may soon delve into such issues.

37 De Simini 2016, 256–259.

38 See De Simini 2016, 269–270.

39 See Karolewski 2021.

label is transformed into a title. An analogous phenomenon can be observed in the Ethiopian manuscript culture with the *Gadla samāʿtāt*. A selection of the Gəʿəz texts of the corpus (the readings for the months of *maskaram*, *ṭəqəmt*, and *ḫədār*) has been recently published by the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāḥədo Church, with an Amharic translation. The label *Gadla samāʿtāt* has been turned into the title of the printed book (Fig. 4).[40]

6.3 *Intertwined MTMs*

Intertwined MTMs are manuscripts transmitting two or more texts that are related with respect to content. These texts can still have an independent transmission, but when they are transmitted together in an *Intertwined MTM* each of them serves the other, and together they fulfil the function of the MTM. *Intertwined MTMs* include, for instance, manuscripts transmitting the Qurʾān and its commentary (*tafsīr*), when the two texts are laid out as core content in the manuscript, rather than as core content and paracontent, respectively.[41] On the contrary, when the layout of an MTM displays an arrangement of the type core content and paracontent, with the latter written in the margins or in the intercolumnar space, this manuscript cannot be considered an *Intertwined MTM* but is instead a *Repurposed MTM*, a category which we discuss below. *Intertwined MTMs* are designed to carry different texts that are relevant in their mutual interaction; their visually twined organization is planned accordingly, from the inception of their production. The layout of these manuscripts ranges between standard forms, with texts disposed one after the other, and more complex forms, such as framed manuscripts (see below).[42]

Manuscripts that contain works in multiple languages, such as the Harley Trilingual Psalter (Fig. 5), most likely produced in Palermo between 1130 and 1153, are an example of the *Intertwined MTM*.[43] The visual organization of this MTM consists of three parallel columns containing the text of the Psalms (a) in Greek (Septuagint), (b) in the Latin Vulgate, and (c) in the eleventh-century Arabic translation of Abū al-Fatḥ ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Muṭrān

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40 *Gadla samāʿtāt* 2010 AM.

41 See Ciotti at al. 2018.

42 See Andrist 2018, 141.

43 London, British Library, Harley 5786; cf. British Museum 1808, no. 5786. For a more detailed description, see *British Library*, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 'Detailed Record for Harley 5786'. For digitised copies of the manuscript, see *British Library MS Viewer*, 'Harley MS 5786'.

al-Anṭākī.[44] After examining the manuscript, Cillian O'Hogan came to the conclusion that several scribes were involved in the manuscript production. Both the layout and the ruling pattern suggest that the writing in the three languages took place seriatim. Each time one of the scribes completed the copying of the column assigned to him in one of the three languages, he passed the quire to the next scribe who copied the next column in the other language. This *Intertwined MTM* was produced in a scriptorium, most likely the royal scriptorium of Roger II, where the presence of scribes able to master different languages reflects the rich multicultural and multilingual environment of mid-twelfth-century Sicily.[45] Scribal notes in Arabic referring to the Latin liturgy, which are written in the margins and relate to manuscript performance, suggest that the manuscript was used by Arabic-speaking Christians to follow along with the Latin service in Palermo.[46]

Another example of *Intertwined MTMs* is manuscripts containing texts and their commentaries arranged *a cornice* ('in the shape of a frame'); in such cases the text is often placed at the centre of the page and framed by commentary all around.[47] For texts with commentaries, translations and other related works, this layout was common in many manuscript cultures. For instance, Greek manuscripts transmitting the *Iliad* and its commentary are an example of these MTMs. Marilena Maniaci stresses that this peculiar layout exhibits the skill of the commentators and scribes in handling the two texts in parallel on the same page. They presented the texts and their related commentary according to patterns that enable the eye of the reader to follow and navigate between the texts. Interestingly, two of these manuscripts, which Maniaci calls Marc. gr. 453[48] (Fig. 6) and Escor. υ.I.1[49], are independent copies of a common *Vorlage*.[50] This example may show that once these elaborate *Intertwined MTMs* were produced, they could serve as models for other manuscripts whose copyists replicated not

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44 O'Hogan 2015.

45 O'Hogan, 'Multilingualism at the Court Scriptorium of Roger II of Sicily: The Harley Trilingual Psalter'.

46 O'Hogan 2015.

47 Cf. Maniaci 2006, 213 n. 5; and Maniaci 2016.

48 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 453 (=821), described in Mioni 1985, 235–236. For digitised copies of the manuscript, see *Internet Culturale*, 'Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 453 (=821)'.

49 El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, y. I. 1., described in de Andrés 1965, 178–179. For digitised copies of the manuscript, see *The Homer Multitext Project*, 'Escorial Y 1.1 (294 = Allen E3)'.

50 Maniaci 2016.

only the text but also the layout. It is therefore possible that in some manuscript cultures specific layouts or formats prevailed and became dominant patterns for *Intertwined MTMs*.

At variance with the other types of MTM described above, the production of an *Intertwined MTM* can occur in different stages. The layout of these manuscripts is arranged in predetermined slots, or preliminarily defined areas on the page, that are supposed to host the different texts and are planned from the first stage of the production, regardless of when they are filled in. These predetermined slots are the main feature that distinguishes an *Intertwined MTM* with a text and its commentary from, for example, a *Repurposed MTM* with the same texts, since the latter is made from an existing codicological unit without such predefined areas.

6.4 *Open MTMs*

Open MTMs are manuscripts that were prepared in order to be kept and progressively filled with texts that are not predetermined in detail but certainly are in broad outline. In many cases, the codicological unit of these MTMs was a blank book, either ready-made or self-made,[51] but we also consider cases in which someone continued to copy various texts on unbound quires for years, with the finalisation of the *Open MTM* taking place only when the quires were bound by, for instance, a bookbinder.[52] Adding a codicological unit between the book and its cover did not necessarily complete the *Open MTM*, because its makers could still endeavour to add further blank leaves or quires, even opening the binding, or they could continue the project in another blank volume.

Among the frequently produced *Open MTMs* are personal collections of notes and recipes, or of texts such as poems or daily records, which the MTM-makers themselves composed, or collections of works by others, or excerpts from such works. Today, one often refers to these manuscripts with English labels such as 'notebook', 'organizer', 'scrapbook', 'diary', or 'commonplace book', but they were often named differently in their respective cultural contexts – if named at all. Indeed, the contents of such MTMs can be diverse, so

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51 For Gumbert, making a manuscript followed more or less determined stages. He saw the formation of the quires at the beginning, followed by layout and ruling, writing, and decoration. But Gumbert also mentioned the example of pre-ruled paper that was sometimes used as a base for quires (Gumbert 2004, 22–23); following Gumbert, we see the use of ready-made blank books as another possible beginning of manuscript-making.

52 Cf. Endress 2016, 178, second type in the list, for instance.

that at times they are a notebook, scrapbook, and account book in one volume.[53] Other common *Open MTMs* are manuscripts for non-personal use, which may include different kinds of records for social groups and families, or institutions such as religious congregations and court houses. These manuscripts often bear modern labels such as 'logbook' and 'journal', or 'register' and 'ledger'; we will explain below the extent to which we include such manuscripts in this MTM category.

In general, personal *Open MTMs* remained with the people who kept them and filled the manuscript pages with writing. But there are cases in which the project of a personal *Open MTM* included the participation of makers other than its keeper. The English poet Thomas Wyatt (*c.* 1503–1542), for instance, had a commonplace book,[54] the texts of which were partly written out by his secretary (Fig. 7). Later, Wyatt reworked some of these texts, including his own poetry and works of other poets.[55] In the case of another *Open MTM*,[56] from the court of Henry VIII, Mary Howard (1519–1557) and her friends wrote down poems. First, the manuscript was with Mary Howard, who then passed it on to her friend Margaret Douglas (1515–1578), who left her own verses in it. Some marks by Mary Shelton even hint at the use of this book in performances, including singing.[57] To what extent the initial MTM project had envisioned this manuscript circulating among the three women is difficult to determine.

The practice of scholars, or many other professionals, of collecting their own notes is common among almost all manuscript cultures. In Islamic scholarship, for example, the custom of keeping notebooks was an early one, though often frowned on, and many scholars requested that their lecture notes and other types of notes be destroyed after their death.[58] Students also collected lecture notes, sometimes for their masters and other times for their own ends.[59]

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53 For these kinds of MTMs, one may fall back on evocative, but nevertheless vague descriptions such as 'one-volume library', coined by the Arabist Franz Rosenthal, and 'working library within one cover', introduced by the historian of medieval science Lynn Thorndike (cf. Friedrich and Schwarke 2016, 1–3).

54 Now usually called the Egerton Manuscript (London, British Library, Egerton MS 2711). For short descriptions of this manuscript see *British Library, Digitised Manuscripts*, 'Egerton MS 2711' and Bowles 2019, for example. For digitised copies of the manuscript, see *British Library MS Viewer,* 'Egerton MS 2711'.

55 Murphy 2019, 6–7.

56 Now usually called the Devonshire Manuscript (London, British Library, Add MS 17492).

57 Murphy 2019, 26–28.

58 Schoeler 2006, 60, 70, 78–80, and 113.

59 Endress 2016, 177–178; Schoeler 2006, 113.

Some of these notebooks, however, were copied and gained popularity, while many others are stored in libraries, and still others have remained little known items, occasionally mentioned in secondary sources.[60] Such is the case with the notebook by ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (d. 684), Companion of Prophet Muhammad, in which he recorded traditions of the Prophet and the Companions. The notebook, which ʿAbdallāh named aṣ-Ṣādiqa ('the truthful'), was passed on in his family and became a debated source among the traditionists.[61] What started as a personal *Open MTM* for ʿAbdallāh turned into a record book of utmost importance for early Islamic scholarship.

Most obviously, record-keeping is closely linked to the making of *Open MTM*s, since most records evolve with time and are unpredictable in detail. Consequently, such MTMs started as production units whose individual projects were impossible to outline in each and every respect. For instance, we have no detailed information about the making of ʿAbdallāh's notebook, but it is certainly possible that he assembled it quire after quire before he or someone else had them bound or somehow fastened together, when his recording came to an end. The later binding of previously written and stored quires was also a common archival practice. The registers of Ottoman qadis, for example, included various kinds of records, which were most probably preserved on loose quires in the court houses before they received a binding after one or two years.[62] We suggest that these registers can be interpreted as *Open MTM*s, planned by an institution and written by several qadis and their clerks. For some readers, our suggestion to consider archival material and record books as examples of *Open MTM*s might seem to extend the category too far. Still, we believe that it is worth considering whether some of these manuscripts can be classified as *Open MTM*s. The qadi registers, for instance, contain at least two different sorts of texts: court-related records at the beginning of the volumes and copies of imperial orders, starting from the end of the volumes; some registers even contain personal notes by the qadis.[63] While the size of the registers, the page layout, and even the formulaic style of some entries were surely pre-determined, one could not predict the number and length of the decrees from the sultan's council or of the legal cases and transactions. Therefore, these MTMs had to remain open.

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60 Schoeler 2006, 32 and 176, n. 100.
61 Schoeler 2006, 127–128.
62 Uğur 2010, 9.
63 Uğur 2010, 9.

6.5 *Repurposed* and *Recycled MTMs*

Makers of *Repurposed* and *Recycled MTMs* used an existing, text-carrying codicological unit to which they added texts not previously intended to be included. If the new texts relate to the contents that were previously written down, then we can speak of a *Repurposed MTM*.[64] By adding writing to empty margins or pages and inserting additional empty folios or quires in order to accommodate more text, an STM was turned into an MTM, or an existing MTM was incorporated into a new MTM project. If the texts added to an existing codicological unit do not relate to the previous contents, we may speak of a *Recycled MTM*. For such an MTM project, its makers merely used a manuscript's 'empty surfaces', such as margins and empty pages.[65] In some cases, the same codicological unit was repurposed or recycled several times. At the beginning of each repurposing or recycling stands a new MTM project, changing or adding a function to the manuscript. In the case of *Repurposed MTMs*, their previous functions can remain, whilst many *Recycled MTMs* lose their previous purpose, as we explain below.

Returning to the notebook of Thomas Wyatt, we see that it did not fall into oblivion after his death. Its later owners repurposed and recycled the manuscript: John Harington the Elder (*c.* 1517–1582), for instance, wrote in the book, adding material including a poem by Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, who praises Wyatt for his translation of the Penitential Psalms.[66] Since his additional texts and notes are clearly linked to the previous contents, namely, to Wyatt's poetry, we classify John Harington the Elder's book as a *Repurposed MTM*. The same can be said about what his son Sir John Harington (bap. 1560, d. 1612) did with the book, namely, adding his own metrical paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms.[67] Then, however, Sir John Harington's son John Harington MP (1589–1654) inherited the manuscript and used it in a different way. He recorded his daily business, wrote math problems, and gave the book to his young son William for writing exercises.[68] These extensive entries were possible because the poems sometimes took up only half of a page, and several pages were still blank. Peter Murphy interprets John Harington MP's attitude towards the manu-

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[64] In a narrow sense, this category is discussed as 're-made books' in Andrist 2018, 144 and 145.
[65] The recycling or reuse of manuscripts was generally discussed at the workshop 'Second(ary) Life of Manuscripts', 11–13 July 2013, CSMC, Hamburg.
[66] Murphy 2019, 51–55.
[67] Murphy 2019, 56.
[68] Murphy 2019, 55–68.

script as follows: 'To Harington the book was just bound paper he wrote on. He probably wished its previous owners had not written so much into it, especially the poet with the questionable morals and a prodigal disregard for the expense of paper.'[69] Indeed, John Harington MP's project was that of using his father's manuscript in order to make a *Recycled MTM*. This utilitarian purpose is apparent not only in that he added texts unrelated to Wyatt's poetry, but also in that he made a clear statement by overwriting some poems and even crossing out others (Fig. 7).[70]

In a *Repurposed MTM*, the relationship between the previous contents and the texts added later is not always as straightforward as in the case of Wyatt's manuscript, when John Harington the Elder inserted the poem by Henry Howard and made other related additions. In Ethiopian manuscript culture, for example, the so-called *Wangela Warq* (or *Wangel za-Warq*, 'golden gospel')[71] codices exhibit a pattern of repurposing that relates to the previous text in a different way. In its double acceptation, which refers both to production and to content, the label *Wangela Warq* identifies four-gospel manuscripts with a gold-like, silver, or metal cover.[72] They are normally regarded as the most precious copies of the gospel books that are kept in churches and monasteries. Besides the text of the four gospels, they also contain texts such as the following: acts and grants declaring rights of land exploitation or inheritance, usually in favour of the monastery or church where the book is preserved; historical records; monastic genealogies and rules; and prayers. These additional texts are added by later hands on blank pages, protective leaves, or on leaves or fascicles inserted into the manuscript at a later time. Their connection with the text of the gospels does not refer to specific passages but rather to the sacred aura that the four gospels emanate and to their value as officially recognized holy books.[73]

The aforementioned examples of *Repurposed MTMs* evolved on the ample space left in the margins, on some pages, and even on the protective leaves. But there are cases in which the makers of *Repurposed MTMs* added empty leaves and folios to the codicological unit in order to accommodate their texts. The practice of interfoliating, or interleaving, books for handwritten additions, for

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69 Murphy 2019, 57.

70 Today, Egerton MS 2711 is even used as an example of how John Harington MP thoughtlessly overwrote Wyatt's verses. Cf. Moulton 2000, 43, for instance.

71 Bausi 2010b.

72 Over time, this label was also used for gospel manuscripts without metal covers.

73 Patrick Andrist describes similar phenomena in Greek Bible manuscripts, classifying them as 'post-production side-content', or 'sacred book paratexts'; see Andrist 2018, 145.

instance, was most common with volumes printed in the Early Modern Era,[74] but the practice can be also observed with manuscripts. The Danish orientalist Theodor Petræus (*c.* 1630–1672), for example, had a manuscript copy of the versed Persian-Turkish dictionary 'Tuḥfe-i Şāhidī'; on interfoliated blank leaves he compiled short texts on several words.[75] What Petræus made is not to be confused with an *Intertwined MTM*, since the dictionary manuscript was not prepared to host a commentary or another text.

The purpose that a codicological unit had before it was turned into a *Repurposed MTM* usually remained intact. For instance, one could still consult the Persian-Turkish dictionary, ignoring the texts added by Theodor Petræus, and the *Wangela Warq* manuscripts still served their liturgical purposes without constraint by the acts recorded in them. In the case of *Recycled MTMs*, however, we sometimes observe that the books could no longer easily serve their previous purposes. After the recycling project of John Harington MP, for example, some of the poems in Wyatt's manuscript could only be read with effort because they disappeared almost entirely under cross-outs and other text. Of course, we can even think of extreme cases when MTM-makers tore the previously written pages out of the codicological units they recycled.

7 Complete and incomplete MTM projects

In the case of *Corpus-Organizer MTMs*, *Petrified MTMs*, and *Intertwined MTMs*, we suppose that their makers had a rather concrete idea about which texts were to be part of these manuscripts. Judging from individual cases, we can say with some certainty whether the respective projects were completed. Very often, this judgement is easier in the case of codex MTMs than it is in the case of loose-leaf paper MTMs, palm-leaf MTMs, or multi-slip bamboo MTMs. While the latter three manuscript forms are either unbound or bound by easily removable threads, and therefore rather effortlessly open to additions, the binding of codex manuscripts usually marks the finalisation of an MTM project, when the previously prepared quires are put into a tightly closed codicological unit. Examples here are the existing four-gospel MTMs or the *Gadla samāʿtāt* MTMs, which illustrate how the quires and the page layout were prepared to accommodate a

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74 Nyström 2014, 120.

75 Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Cod. orient. 195. See Zimmermann 2016.

concrete number of texts held together by the final binding. Having said that, we would like to point out that it was still possible to reopen the binding of some books in accordance with the project. MTM-makers could realize that missing texts had to be inserted on single fresh folios, or they might wish to renew the protective leaves or covers of their manuscripts.

With codex-MTMs that are made of blank books, however, the assessment can be more difficult, especially when a considerable number of folios remain empty. In such cases, we cannot be sure whether the makers of these manuscripts had actually planned to add more text in the future or whether they left blank those pages that exceeded the needs of the project. When possible, an analysis of how texts from such blank-book MTMs were transmitted elsewhere can help us understand whether these manuscripts are complete or incomplete projects. In the many cases in which blank books were kept to be filled as *Open MTMs*, we have difficulty in determining whether blank pages indicate an incomplete project, unless paratextual notes provide evidence regarding the completion of a notebook or a register, for example.

8 Final remarks

In order to assign specific manuscripts to the categories proposed here, it is necessary to gain a deep understanding not only of the MTMs in question but also of the circumstances of their production and use. In addition to that, it is necessary to consider their cultural and historical setting. Surely this is only possible when one has sufficient access to historical evidence and is able to consult a considerable number of manuscripts in order to conduct a comparative analysis.

The categories suggested here are not exhaustive and do not cover each single manuscript from the wide variety of MTMs. Furthermore, in the same codicological unit two or more categories can coexist, as is usually the case when a manuscript is repurposed, and as is sometimes the case when the same manuscript is recycled with the previous content still usable.

In finalizing this article, we have remembered again and again what J. Peter Gumbert wrote in his 'Codicological Units' of 2004: 'Practice will have to show how well this terminology does in reality. And reality is always more complicated and surprising than the best theory can predict.'[76] In agreement with

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76 Gumbert 2004, 37.

Gumbert, we wish to conclude with his statement. Now we too must wait and see to what extent the proposed categories are usable or will encourage others to further unravel the 'MTM net'.

Acknowledgements

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Fig. 1: Manuscript of the *Gadla samāʿtāt*. Təgrāy, Monastery of Yoḥannəs Kāmā, YoKa-001. Photograph by Antonella Brita (May 2013).

Fig. 2: Manuscript of the *Gadla samāʿtāt*, first volume. Təgrāy, Monastery of Dur ʾAmbā Səllāse, DAS-002, fol. 1ʳᵃ. Photograph by Antonella Brita (May 2013).

Fig. 3: Manuscript of the *Gadla samāʿtāt*, second volume. Təgrāy, Monastery of Dur ʾAmbā Səllāse, DAS-001, fol. 1ʳᵃ. Photograph by Antonella Brita (May 2013).

Fig. 4: Printed version of the *Gadla samā'tāt* (readings for the first three months of the liturgical year). Photograph by Antonella Brita (May 2021).
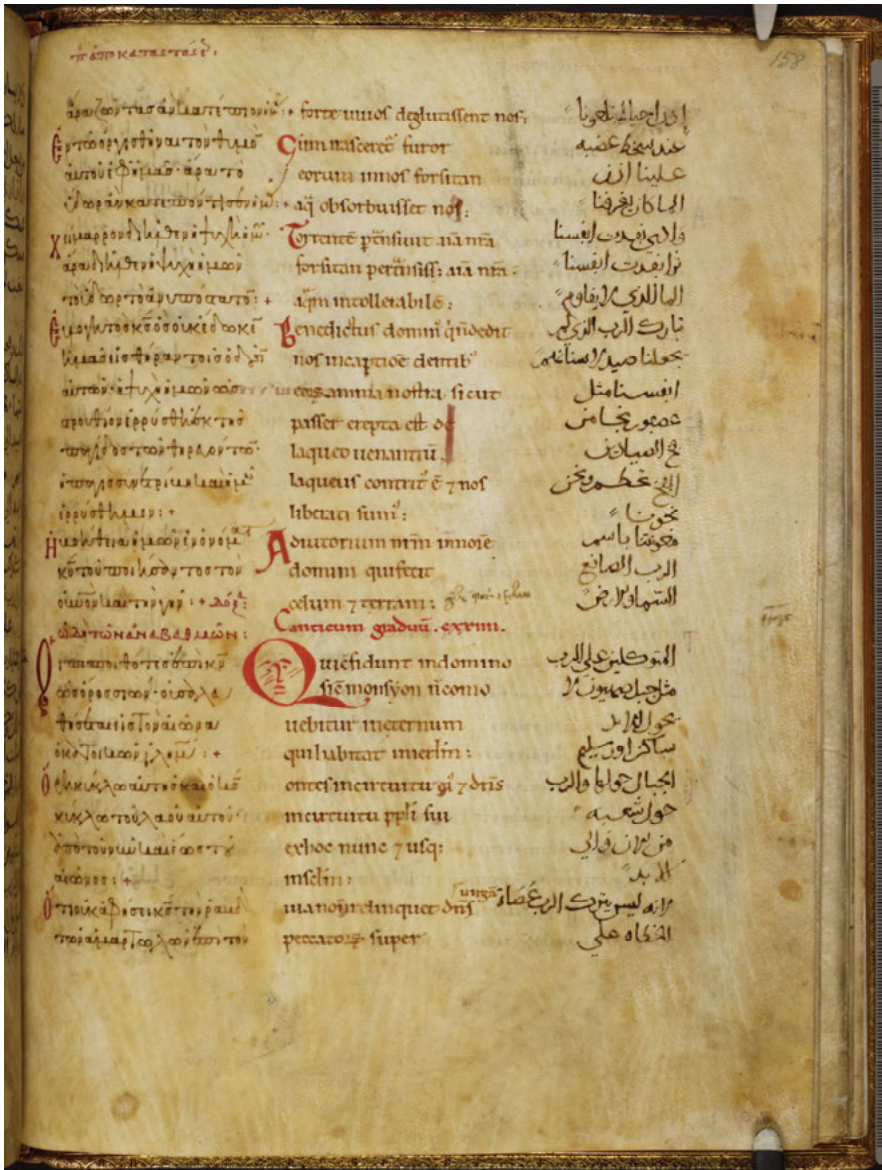
Fig. 5: Manuscript of the Psalter in three languages. London, British Library, the Harley Trilingual Psalter. © The British Library Board, Harley 5786, fol. 158ʳ.
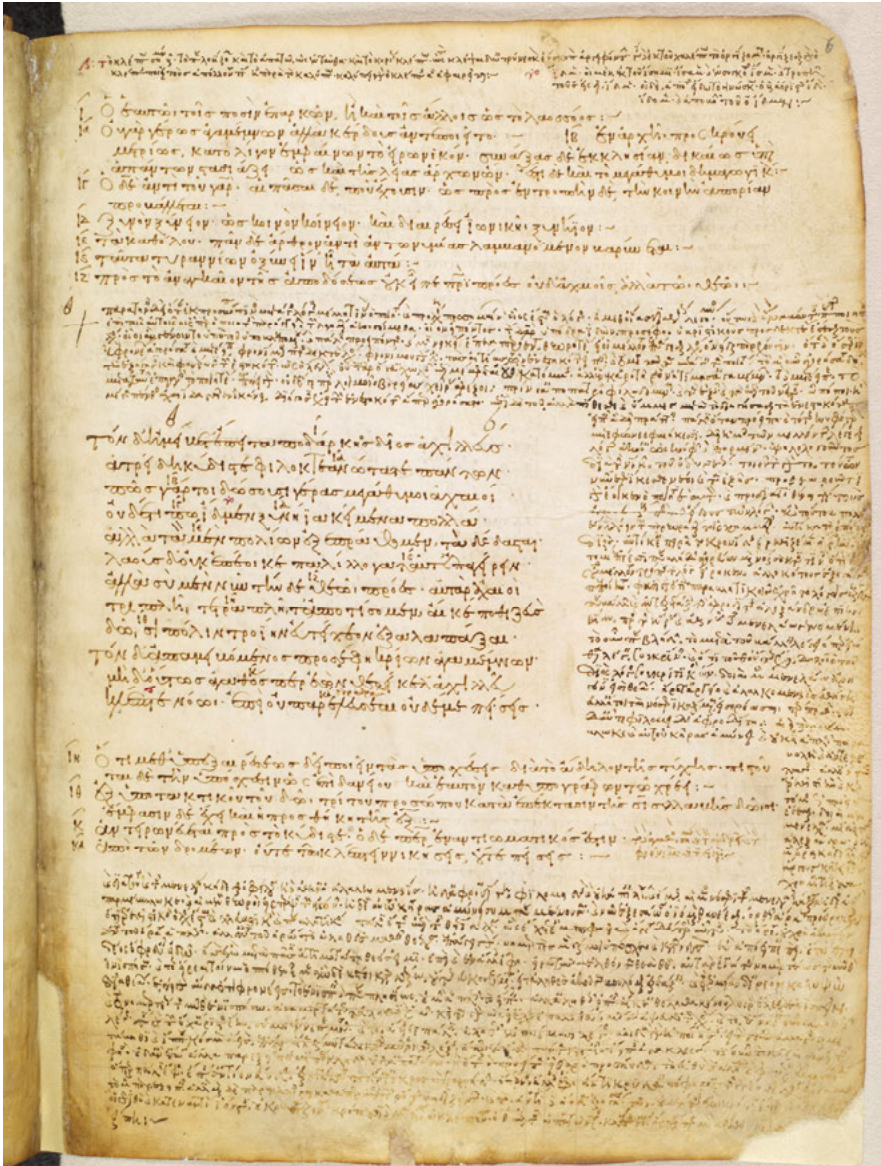
Fig. 6: Manuscript of the Iliad with its commentary. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Gr. Z. 453 (=821), fol. 6ʳ. © Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.
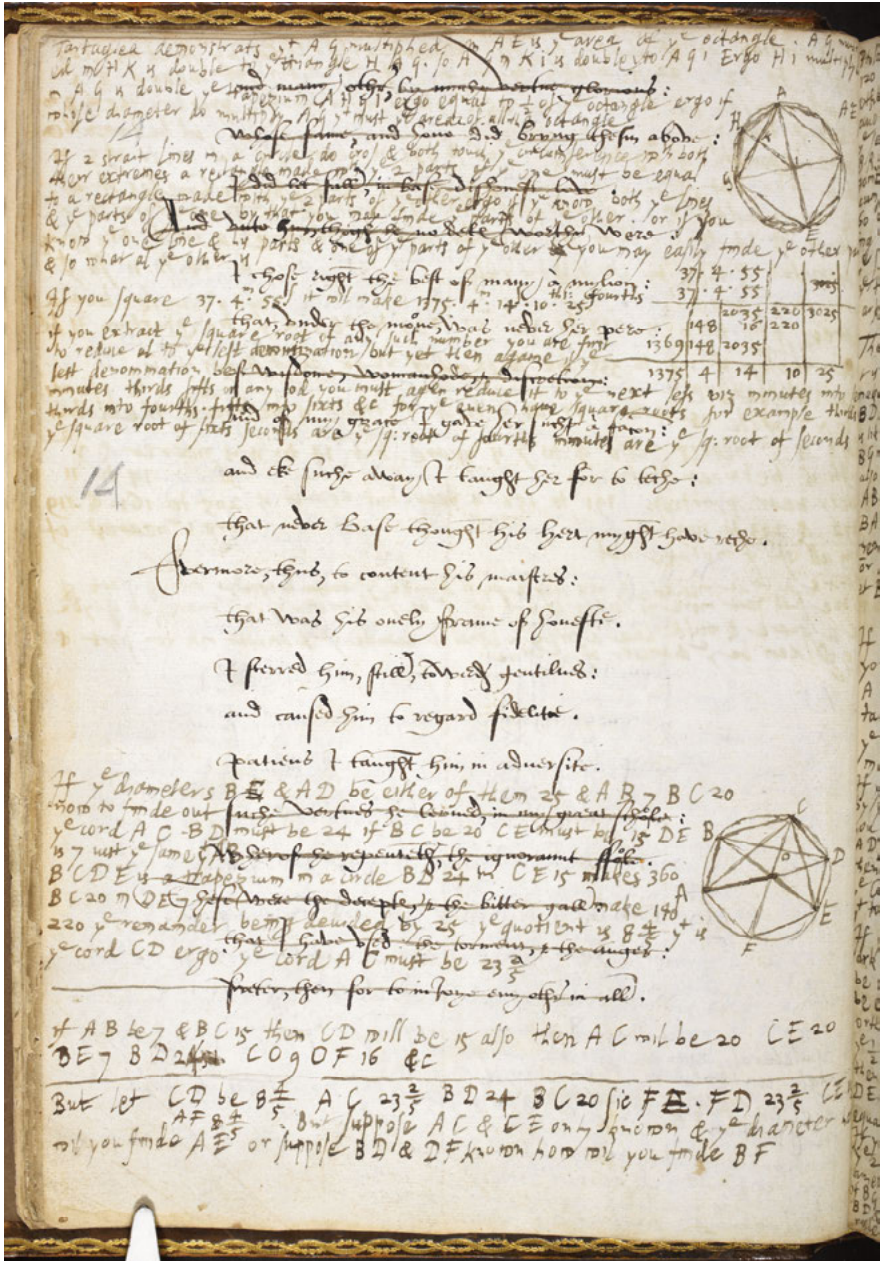
Fig. 7: Commonplace book of Thomas Wyatt with later additions by John Harington MP. London, British Library, the Egerton Manuscript. © The British Library Board, Egerton 2711, fol. 9ᵛ.