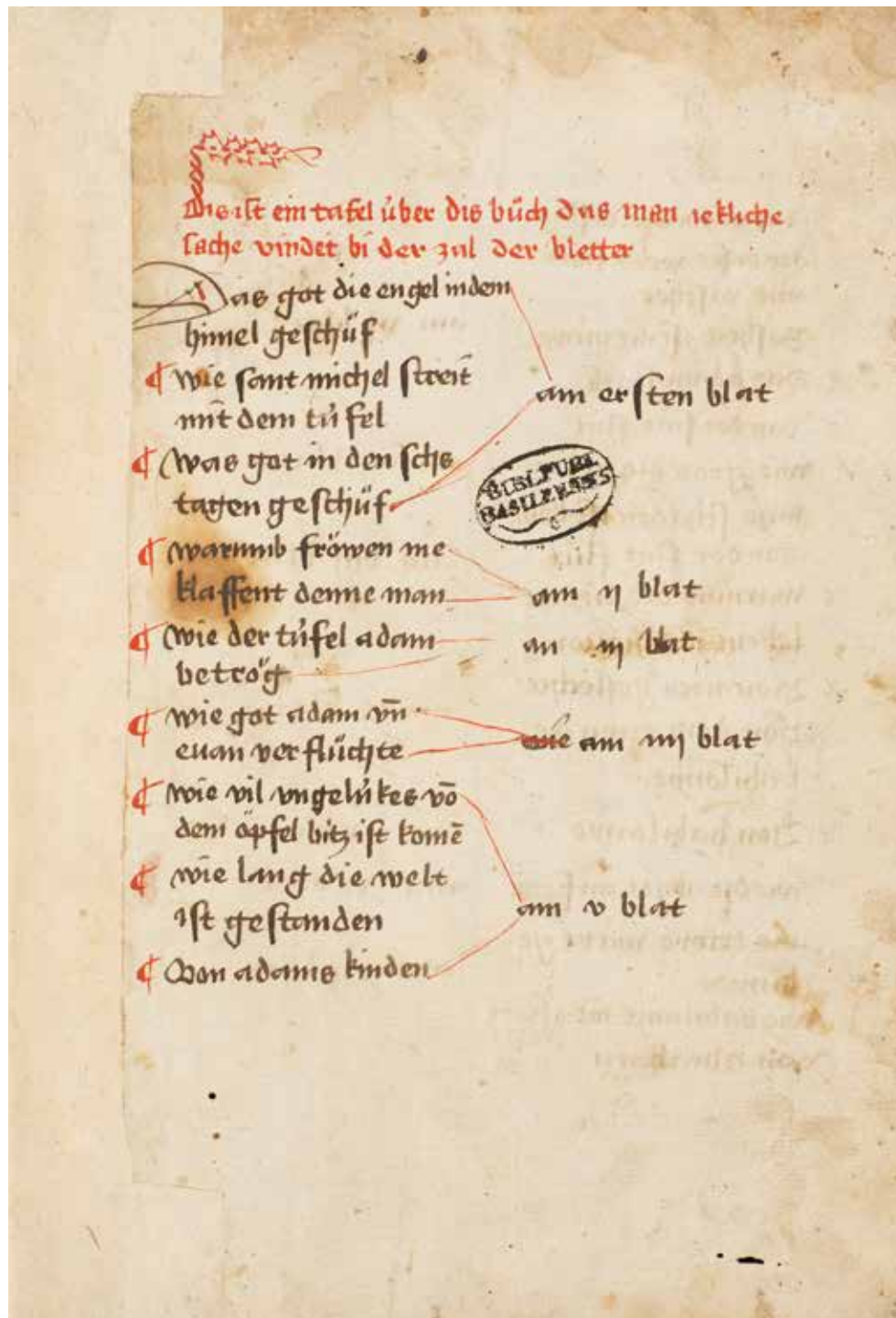


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Jakob Twinger von Königshofen, *Chronik (German Chronicle and Bernese Chronicle)*, 15th century, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, E II 11, fol. 3^r; Table of contents: 'Dis ist ein tafel über dis bûch das man iekliche sache vindet bi der zal der bletter' ('This is a table about this book that you can find each thing by the number of the leaves').

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Article

Tables of Contents and Titles in Japanese Shingon Buddhist Manuscripts

Heidi Buck-Albulet | Hamburg

1. Introduction

This paper* introduces five manuscripts from the Japanese esoteric Buddhism of the Shingon tradition that were copied between the fourteenth and nineteenth century,¹ but go back to previous models that emerged as early as the thirteenth century:

- a. *Kōyasan hiki* 高野山秘記 (‘Secret records on Mount Kōya’), 1345 CE, in the possession of Shinpukuji Temple in Nagoya, no table of contents
- b. *Kōyasan hiki*, Sanbōin collection, Edo period (1600–1868 CE)
- c. *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū* 高野山勸発信心集 (‘Kōyasan collection [of texts that] encourage a believing heart/mind’), Shinpukuji collection, 1399 CE
- d. *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū*, Naikaku Bunko Library, 1541 CE
- e. *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū*, Jinmyōin collection, after 1624 CE.

The text of another witness of the *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* group, the *Tenribon kanhotsu shinjin shū* (which is in the possession of the Tenri Library in Tenri, Nara Prefecture) from the Muromachi period (1336–1573 CE), is available in printed form.² This witness also has a table of contents. As I do not have a copy of the manuscript, it has not been included in the list above and is not dealt with in any detail in this paper. Its text, however, will be considered for matters of reference.

* The research for this article was carried out as part of the work conducted by the Sonderforschungsbereich (SFB 950) ‘Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe’ at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Hamburg, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). I wish to thank Abe Yasurō and the monks of Shinpukuji Temple for granting me access to some of the manuscripts in 2015. I would also like to thank Shinpukuji Temple, Rinsen Shoten, Kōya University and Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan for permission to publish parts of the manuscripts here. I am also indebted to Chikamoto Kensuke and Takahashi Yūsuke for their advice.

¹ Manuscript (b) cannot be dated exactly.

² Abe 1982, 94–102.

A more detailed description of the manuscripts will be provided below. Suffice it to say that the five works have been selected from a corpus of twenty-one items. Only manuscripts (b) to (e) mentioned above have a table of contents (or ‘TOC’). Manuscript (a) will be treated as a reference work and as an example of a manuscript without a TOC.

The texts of the manuscripts contain teachings – *daiji* 大事, or ‘great matters’, as some of them are called – as well as narratives (especially origin stories) and descriptions of the temples and the precinct of Mount Kōya in Western Japan, the centre of Shingon Buddhism. Some of the texts are about Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–835 CE), who was the founder of the temple complex and of Shingon Buddhism in Japan. I will not go into any detail about all the related stories and descriptions in this paper, but as some of them appear again and again in the TOCs, two narratives will be mentioned here that the descriptions in the text units are based upon. One of the most important stories is the legend about Kūkai, who, before returning from China, where he had studied esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō*), stood on the shore and threw a three-pronged vajra towards Japan to mark the place where the religious training centre he intended to build was going to be. The central narrative that the localised belief about Mount Kōya is based upon, however, is connected to Kūkai’s passing away. The great master, it was said, did not die in 835, but entered eternal meditation (Jap. *nyūjō* 入定) and is still sitting there, awaiting the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya. Other text units in the manuscript refer to specific sites on Mount Kōya, which are reinterpreted in a symbolic way.³

These teachings are said to have been passed down orally in secret transmissions to chosen disciples of monastic lineages, but within the transmission process they were also

³ See Buck-Albulet 2018.

recorded on individual sheets of paper, or *kirigami* ('cut paper'). Monks started to collect and copy these *kirigami* and compile them into multiple-text manuscripts at quite an early stage in history.⁴ The *Kōyasan hiki* and many of the related writings are copies of manuscripts that were initially the result of such compiling activities. The emergence of manuscripts from *kirigami* has led to an interesting phenomenon of variance: there are many manuscripts of the same genre with similar titles that are composed of text units that are exactly the same, nearly the same or similar, but which are arranged in a different order.⁵ As will be explained below, the *Kanpatsu shinjin shū* group may be the result of a deliberate design by an 'author', however.

Concepts of TOCs

Manuscripts and texts across cultures have often been described in terms borrowed from architecture, such as 'treasure houses', for example. Sometimes the structure of such writings in general is referred to as the 'architecture of a manuscript'. Imagery of this kind has been used to describe paratexts as well. Gérard Genette, for instance, equates paratexts of books to 'thresholds' or – to borrow an expression from the Argentinian author Jorge Luis Borges – to a 'vestibule', i.e. an entrance hall. According to Genette, a paratext

enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public. More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a threshold or – a word Borges used apropos of a preface – a vestibule that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back.⁶

In this sense, the threshold metaphor especially seems to apply to TOCs, which are comparable to a signposting system or a directory board in a building, for example.

Some of the terms in the Japanese language that correspond to the concept of a TOC are *mokuroku* (目録),⁷ *mokuji* (目

次), *midashi* (見出し) and *naiyō hyōji* (内容表示). The most common word, *mokuroku*, is explained as follows in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Great Dictionary of the Japanese Language):

1. A record of a collection of titles (*daimoku*) and entries/items (*kōmoku*) in books, documents, etc.⁸
2. Lists of items that are held, exhibited or recorded, the names of the people who possess [them], and the set-up of the items. Property inventory. Stock inventory.⁹
3. Records of names of gifts/products and amounts of gold and silver.¹⁰
4. When giving presents, instead of the real thing, a list of the items [the person will receive], which is sent provisionally.¹¹
5. Bodies of law that assemble a large number of articles somewhat more systematically and exhaustively for a single purpose. Codex. Rule. Code.¹²
6. Wrapper of money sent as a gift.¹³
7. A document given when the teacher transmits an art or martial art to a disciple, on which he records the name and the completion of the teaching.¹⁴

Mokuji, in contrast, is described as the 'order of items or titles. Inventory. Also, the arrangement of headings of contents of books'.¹⁵ *Midashi* (lit. 'to find out', 'to discover') in codicological terms means something like headwords that indicate items in a dictionary, while *mokuji* embodies the notion of the 'order of items or titles' or an 'inventory'.

Mokuroku is the term that is used in the manuscripts under

568, lemma: *mokuroku*) says: 'Same as *mokuji* or *moku*. A record displaying the contents in a list. The form varies according to the genre. There are many variants from short lemmas to long entries which give an outline of the content or items grouped in pairs (antithetic) or styles which show elaborate designs of craftsmanship and character placement. Records of whole publications are called *sōmoku* or *sōmokuroku* ("general index" or "general catalogue").

⁸ 書物や文書などの題目・項目などを集めて記したもの。 *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (2000), lemma: *mokuroku*.

⁹ 所蔵、展示、収録などのしてある品目や、所属している人名や、ものごとの段取りなどを書き並べたもの。「財産目録」「在庫目録」。 *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (2000), lemma: *mokuroku*.

¹⁰ 進物の品名や金銀の額を記したもの。 *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (2000), lemma: *mokuroku*.

¹¹ 進物の時、実物の代わりに、仮にその品目の名だけを記して贈るもの。 *Ibid.*

¹² 一つの目的のもとに、多少とも体系的・網羅的に、多数の条項を集めた法規。式条。式目。法典。 *Ibid.*

¹³ 進物として、贈る金の包み。 *Ibid.*

¹⁴ 師から弟子に芸道・武術を伝授する時、その名目と伝授し終わった由を記して与える文書。 *Ibid.*

¹⁵ 項目、題目などの順序。目録。また、書物の内容の見出しを配列したものの。 *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (2000), lemma: *mokuji*.

⁴ See Friedrich and Schwarke 2016 on the concept of multiple-text manuscripts, or MTMs. See Stone 1999 for more information on recording and compiling oral teachings in Japanese esoteric Buddhism.

⁵ Abe 1999, 368–369.

⁶ Genette 1997, 2.

⁷ *Me* 目 (lit. 'eye', in the reading *moku*, means 'item' or 'to divide/classify/identify items', while *roku* 録 means 'to write down'. The term can thus be translated as 'to divide and classify items and write them down'. The *Japanese Bibliographic Dictionary of Classic Books* (see Inoue and Oka, 1999, p.

consideration here. Two conclusions can be drawn from the above observation: first of all, the term implies ‘list’ or ‘index’ as well as a notion that corresponds to the concept of a TOC. Second, the meaning of *mokuroku* shares a blurred boundary with the concept of ‘catalogue’ (Jap. *shomoku* 書目, ‘book title’ or ‘list of books’ 書物の目録).

As will be shown in the following examples, TOCs or *mokuroku* in manuscripts also have an index function, i.e. their purpose is to refer to certain other passages in the writing which their items represent. These corresponding passages in turn are represented by subtitles, section titles or other marks of reference. So although there are no page numbers in the TOC and in the main texts under consideration here, a TOC seems to go beyond the function of simply informing the reader briefly about the content of the writing.

TOCs and titles

There is something magical about titles. They have – or at least are supposed to have – the ability to grasp or condense the essence of the whole text, manuscript or book that they are representing and hint at the content as well as the genre of the text. In Japan, this notion led to a religious practice in one of the eminent branches of Mahayana there: the invocation of a sutra by chanting its title (*daimoku*) in Nichiren Buddhism.¹⁶ The Japanese word for ‘title’, *dai* 題, can refer to the title of a book or a poem, but equally to its central ideas (*shui* 主意).¹⁷ A TOC in this sense could be described as a synopsis of the central ideas of a book or manuscript and thus shares some of the magical flair that emanates from titles.

From the viewpoint of layout, there is a fundamental difference between writings of the Sinitic cultural sphere and European writings. When manuscripts are written in vertical script, which is the system that prevailed in pre-modern China and Japan, the columns are to be read from right to left. The titles are usually to the right of the text they precede.¹⁸ Paratexts that are above the text are more likely to be ‘head-notes’ (*tōchū* 頭注). In this paper, then, the term ‘titles’ has been used rather than ‘headers’. At best, the titles of texts in traditional Japanese layouts could be called ‘siders’.

¹⁶ See Stone 1998. The *daimoku* was first practised by Tendai monks and probably also has precedents in China.

¹⁷ NKD, lemma: *dai*.

¹⁸ Occasionally, one also finds ‘end-titles’ to the left of the preceding text.

The *Kōyasan hiki*, Shinpukujibon (a)

The first manuscript to be discussed here is the *Kōyasan hiki*, which is in the possession of Shinpukuji Temple in Nagoya and was copied by a monk named Juyū 寿雄 in 1345. Although it has no TOC, it has been included in this paper for two reasons: of all the manuscript variants in the corpus, this is the one that contains the most text units and thus serves as a template with which all the other manuscripts can be compared. Second, despite (or because of) the absence of a TOC, the functions of structuring paratexts like section titles and other markers and their potential of being converted into a TOC can be demonstrated easily with this manuscript.

Seven extant manuscripts with the title *Kōyasan hiki* are known to exist, but only a group of four manuscripts contains a similar selection and arrangement of texts. These manuscripts are from the medieval and early modern period, but their common ancestry is also revealed by their colophons, which have been copied.¹⁹ The Shinpukujibon²⁰ *Kōyasan hiki* (a) is the oldest manuscript in this group. The three remaining manuscripts each have their text units in a different order. This is the group to which the Sanbōinbon *Kōyasan hiki* (b) belongs. Recently, a freshly discovered manuscript was introduced as a new exemplar of the *Kōyasan hiki*, but as its content and structure are closer to another manuscript in the Shinpukuji collection and its original title is unknown due to the front matter being lost, there is no need to regard this as an eighth manuscript of this title and consider it here.²¹ A facsimile of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki* was published by Abe Yasurō in 1999 and a detailed analysis of the original was conducted by the author of this paper at Shinpukuji Temple in 2015.

The book’s title, *Kōyasan hiki*, means that this manuscript contains records (Japanese: *ki* 記) concerning Mount Kōya, or Kōyasan 高野山, that were meant to be kept secret (*hiki* 秘記 = ‘secret records’). A small addendum to the lower right of the title of the *Shinpukuji Kōyasan hiki* reading *kuketsu* 口決 indicates that this writing contains teachings that were transmitted orally, at least initially.

¹⁹ See Zimmermann 2015. One of the manuscripts in this group, the Ōtanibon *Kōyasan hiki*, does not have a colophon, but the similar content up to section 34 provides evidence of its common ancestry.

²⁰ The suffix *bon* 本 in Japanese indicates manuscript variants.

²¹ The manuscript was discovered when the scholar Kubota Jun donated a group of writings to Shidō Bunko Library at Keio University, Tokyo in 2016. As the front matter is missing, it was called *Kōyasan hiki*, using this title as a kind of general genre term, but its content is closer to *Kōyasan shinpi*’s (‘Deep Secrets about Mount Kōya’) from the Shinpukuji collection. See Takahashi 2017, 65–66.



Fig. 1: Front matter and first page of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*. The book title is repeated on the first page of the main text. The first text unit is indicated by the Chinese character for 'one', Jap. *ichi* 一.

The *Kōyasan hiki* (1345) has been described as consisting of 36 text units.²² This description was not only based on the layout of the manuscript, but on its content as well, though. Judging the manuscript by its layout alone would therefore create a slightly different picture. The structure of the text is indicated by navigation aids like section titles, indentions and line breaks. Finally, the Chinese character for 'one' 一, Jap. *ichi* or *hitotsu*, is used as a section marker, functioning in a similar way to bullet points in a Western text (this is called *hitotsugaki* 一つ書き or 'writing one' in Japanese). *Ichi* marks are usually put outside the text frame and may also be highlighted by their size or bold writing.

Table 1 shows the difference between what the manuscript itself marks clearly as a text unit and what Abe Yasurō (1999) believes a text unit should be. There are two kinds of

differences that are explained in the table: the remark 'no —' refers to text passages where there is no section marker in the manuscript, but Abe nevertheless decided this was a new text unit. The remark 'wrong —' refers to two instances where the scribe put the *ichi* in the wrong place.²³ A closer examination reveals that the scribe misread the word 'number one' as part of the running text, thus acting as a section marker in both cases (§§3 and 9).²⁴

²³ A later copy of the same ancestry, the Ōtanibon *Kōyasan hiki*, does not seem to repeat the two wrong *ichi* marks (fol. 4^v, l. 9 and fol. 10, l. 8), although the visual difference between an *ichi* mark and the number *ichi* is less clear in the latter case due to the different handwriting. Yūsenbon *Kōyasan hiki* (1649) does reproduce the wrong *ichi* in §3 (fol. 5^v, l. 8), but like a.) Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*, Ōtanibon *Kōyasan hiki* (fol. 4^v, l. 7) and Yūsenbon *Kōyasan hiki* (fol. 5^v, l. 5) both have no marker for §4.

²⁴ The numbers counting the text units were introduced by Abe (1982, 1999). The paragraph symbol was added by the author of this paper.

²² See the printed edition in Abe 1999, 257–273.

Table 1: Text units of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki* compared to the edited version in Abe 1999.

Folio		Number as in Abe 1999	Text Unit Marker
front cover r			
front cover v			
	blank		
	blank		
1r		§1	—
1v			
2r			
2v		§2	no →
3r			
3v			
4r			
4v		§3	—
5r		§4	wrong →
5v			
6r		§5	—
6v			
7r		§6	—
7v			
8r		§7	—
8v			
9r		§8	—
9v			
10r		§9	—
			wrong →
10v		§10	—
11r		§11	—
11v			
12r		§12	—
		§13	—
12v			
13r		§14	no →
		§15	—
13v			
14r		§16	—
14v		§17	—
15r			
15v		§18	no →
16r		§19	—
16v		§20	—
17r		§21	—
17v		§22	—
18r		§23	—
18v		§24	—
19r		§25	—
19v			
20r		§26	—
20v			
21r		§27	—
21v		§28	no →
22r			
22v			—
23r		§29	—
23v		§30	—
24r			
24v			
25r			
25v		§31	—
26r			
26v			
27r			
27v			
28r		§33	—
28v			
29r		§34	—
29v			
30r			
30v	blank		
31r		§35	no →
31v			
32r			
32v			
33r			
33v		§36	no →
34r	scribe colophon		
34v	blank		
35r	blank		
35v	blank		
back cover r			
back cover v			

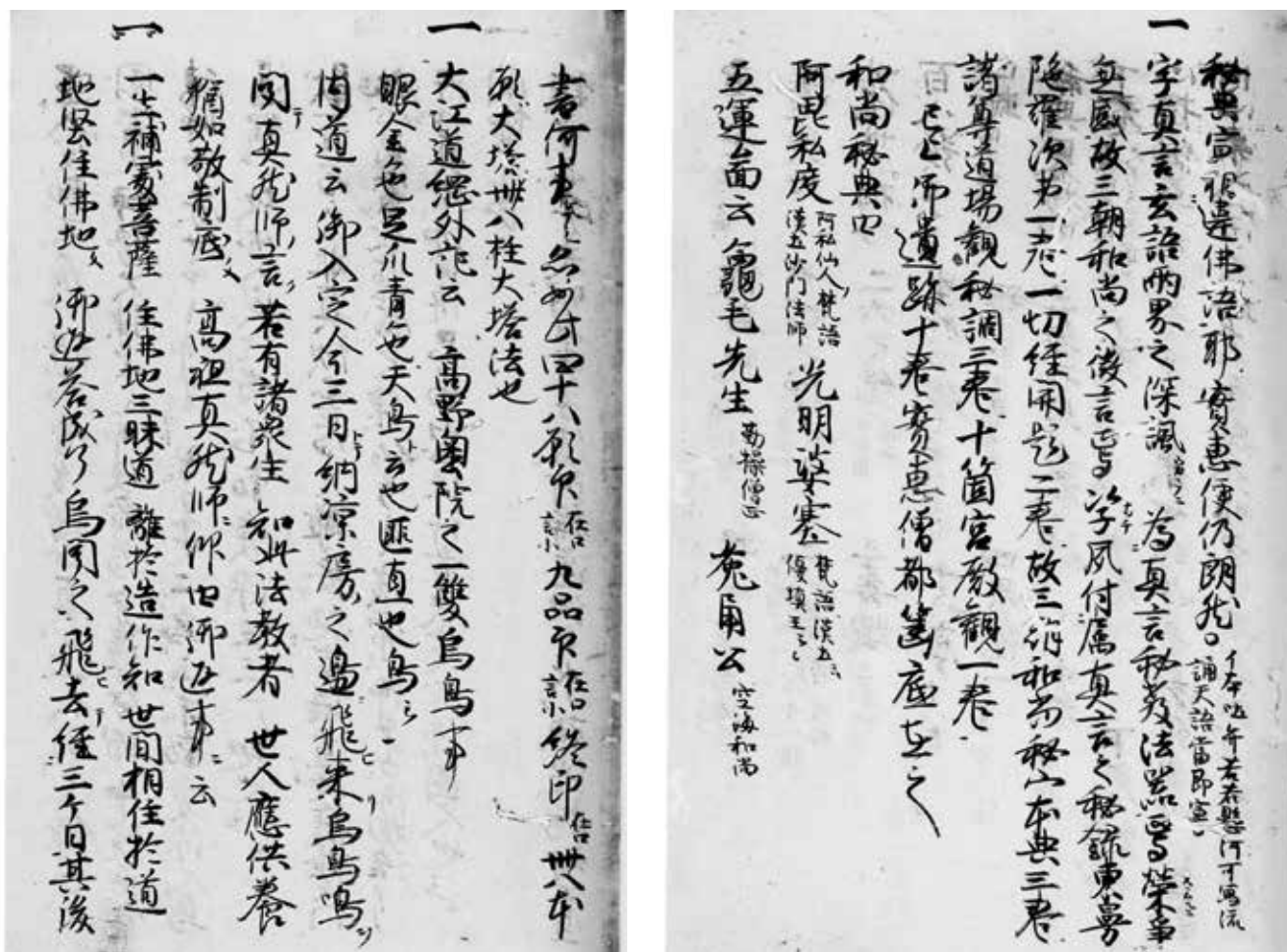


Fig. 2: On the left: two instances of the character *ichi* as a text-unit marker in the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*. The *ichi* above line 8 is wrong, probably a copy error (§9, fol. 10^r). On the right: wrong section marker in §3 (fol. 5^r, l. 2) of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*

In §3, the text reads *ichiji shingon gengo* 一字真言玄語 (meaning something like ‘the esoteric speech of one-word/one-character mantras’, i.e. Siddham syllables), but the scribe misinterpreted the *ichi* in *ichiji*, which means ‘one character’, and made a text-section marker out of it. In text unit §9, the text reads 一生補處 *ishō fusho*, i.e. ‘a bodhisattva who is going to attain Buddhahood in his next life’. In this case, the scribe kept the *ichi* in the running text, but he added an additional (albeit superfluous) text-unit marker.

One is tempted to say that such cases of doubt and confusion might have been avoided if there had been a TOC. However, as will be shown below, not all mistakes and unclear cases can be prevented, even if there is a TOC in a manuscript. In fact, a TOC can actually be the source of new mistakes. If there is no table of contents, like in the Shinpukuji *Kōyasan hiki*, it is up to editors and researchers to create them if they wish to have one. As a step in textual criticism, this presupposes the decision about what constitutes a text unit. However, when turning to section titles for help, it becomes

apparent that it is not always clear if there is such a thing as a section title at the beginning of the respective text unit. The most unambiguous cases in the *Kōyasan hiki* are text units introduced by a sentence ending with *koto* 事 (‘matter’), which is usually rendered in English as ‘About...’. Other text units start in *medias res* and therefore the creator of a TOC in these cases has to decide whether to take the initial sentence or part of it as a section title or summarise the content of the text unit, thereby creating a surrogate for a section title. In the following table, which largely corresponds to the one by Abe (1999, 348–349), both methods – literal quotation and summarising – have been used.²⁵

²⁵ The words in round brackets are summaries of the content given by Abe 1999, 348 whenever no clear section title is identifiable. The texts in square brackets refer to cases when Abe quotes part of the first sentence. I partly deviate from the TOC in Abe 1999, 348–349, in that I additionally quote the first line or the sentence of the text unit if there is no clearly identifiable section title.

永秘而已大坂北方谷後谷名古谷橋川名金河義志頭
万利河
 護法後谷山玉水閑伽井谷事
 弘法大師御遺跡一卷 實惠僧都面授口次
 粵以曩於就寫峯之遠侍因茲秘密深奧之金典雖茲
 為師昇再生南浮為沙門五運命云三教指歸者一尺
 教二道教三儒教尺教巨顯密二教道教通隱士茲小
 乘儒教叶五常五行五智五戒伏膺鑽仰二九遊聽槐市
 大師十六於廣學院處直譯之信藏雖結在童子大學

Fig. 3: Beginning of a new text unit, which is not indicated by the character *ichi* this time (fol. 2^r, l. 3). This corresponds to S2 in Abe 1999; see p. 257.

Table 2: Text units in the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*, adapted from the TOC by Abe (1999, 348–349).

§ 1	(高野山金剛峰寺の結界の事) 静二安二高野山金剛峰寺結界、 密教法侶大護、軍荼利明王結界作法	(About the sacred area of Kōyasan Kōngōbuji) Reflecting carefully, the sacred precinct of Mount Kōya Kongōbuji, the methods of conduct of the precinct of Gundari Myōō, ²⁶ the great guardian of scholars of <i>mikkyō</i>
§ 2	弘法大師御遺跡 一卷 実恵僧都面授口 決	The honourable traces of Kōbō Daishi in one volume. An oral, face-to-face transmission from Jitsue Sōzu
§ 3	空海和尚御遺跡一卷	The honourable traces of Master Kūkai in one volume ²⁷
§ 4	和尚秘典曰	The master's secret book says: [...]
§ 5	高野山有二五種浄土一事 口決明二在レ別云々	About the five kinds of pure land found on Mount Kōya. There is a separate oral secret that explains this in detail, etc. ²⁸
§ 6	閉眼大事也	[Kūkai's] eye-closing is an essential teaching
§ 7	真禪房口伝事	About the oral transmission of Shinzen the monk
§ 8	(宝剣・宝珠・三鈷事) 十二月廿四日、生年五十九、明日生日也	(About the jewelled sword, the jewel and the three-pronged <i>vajra</i>) The 24 th day of the twelfth month, when [he] was 59, it was the day before his birthday
§ 9	大江道綱外記云 高野奥院一双鳥鳥事	[The record of] Secretary Ōe Michitsuna says: [...] About a pair of birds at Kōya Oku no In
§ 10	闕伽井事	About the well (<i>akai</i>) for the holy water
§ 11	[奥院石室] 奥院石室、釈迦菩薩、都史多天所住之間、 身分所住石室也	[Stone dwelling of Oku no In] Stone dwelling of Oku no In, Bodhisattva Shakyamuni, until his residence in the Tushita Heaven, the residence of his body is in the stone dwelling
§ 12	[明神住所] 明神住所、号 ^レ 屈 ^レ 御崎 ^下	[The dwelling of the bright deity] The dwelling of the bright deity is also called the Cavern at the Cape
§ 13	金堂西壇之香水壺二器事	About the two vessels for perfumed water at the western platform of the Golden Hall
§ 14	金堂大塔兩所鎮事	About the [altars] for appeasing ²⁹ at both the Golden Hall and the Great Pagoda
§ 15	宝珠安置三所	The three places where the jewels are stored

²⁶ Kuṇḍali Vidyarāja, one of the five Wisdom Kings.

²⁷ A writing with this title is in the possession of the Chizōin Temple 地藏院 at Kōyasan. See http://www.reihokan.or.jp/tenrankai/list_tokubetsu/2009_07syosai.html, (last accessed 17 August 2022).

²⁸ ‘Etc.’ refers to *un'un* 云々, which indicates an omission.

²⁹ On the occasion of the construction of temple buildings, altars were built to conduct appeasement rituals for the deities of Heaven and Earth.

§ 16	[中院小塔] 中院小塔、南天鉄塔、所造	[The small pagoda of Chūin] The small pagoda of Chūin is modelled on the iron pagoda of South India
§ 17	[大師三月廿一日寅時御入定] 大師、三月廿一日寅時御入定願、如何	[The venerable eternal meditation of the Great Master on the 21 st day of the third month] What about the Great Master's vow to go into the venerable meditation on the 21 st day of the third month at the hour of the tiger [3 a.m. to 5 a.m.]?
§ 18	明算感得書云	Myōzan's book of private revelation says: [...]
§ 19	大塔事	About the Great Pagoda
§ 20	金堂	The Golden Hall
§ 21	金堂事	About the Golden Hall
§ 22	御影堂	The <i>Mieidō</i> [Hall with the image of Kūkai]
§ 23	奥院口伝在	There is an oral transmission about Oku no In
§ 24	壇上惣高野ハ青龍伏処云々	The Danjō and the whole of Mount Kōya is where the blue dragon lies, etc.
§ 25	[高野八葉峯有内外二種八葉] 高野八葉云々峯有内外二種八葉	[The eight inner and outer leaves of Mount Kōya] The eight leaves of Mount Kōya. There are two kinds, the eight inner and outer leaves
§ 26	[大塔(略)中尊化仏十三躰事] 大塔十六丈兩部会塔也云々本仏五尊存之内、中尊身光、中尊形化仏十三躰事	[About the thirteen bodies of Buddha's transformation in (abbr.) the Great Pagoda] The Great Pagoda (16 <i>jō</i> = 48m in height) is the pagoda of the assembly of two parts, etc. Among the five main honourable Buddhas, the central honoured one emits light from his body, the central Buddha transforms into thirteen shapes
§ 27	大塔事	About the Great Pagoda
§ 28	安然親父法道和尚記云(大師渡天受法の事)	The diary of Hōdō Ōshō, Father of Annen, ³⁰ says: [...] (About the Great Master going to India where he received the dharma)
§ 29	大師御記文	Venerable records by the Great Master
§ 30	或記云(観賢開廟の事、御影堂御影のこと)	A certain document says. (About Kangen opening the mausoleum, about the <i>Mieidō</i> hall and the portrait [of Kūkai])
§ 31	弘法大師御閉眼後、実惠告云(高野山は浄土なる事)	The great master Kōbō after his venerable eye-closing ['entering meditation', 'passing away'] announced the following to Jitsue. (About Kōyasan as a pure land)

³⁰ A scholar-monk of the Tendai school in the early Heian period (born in 841).

Table 2: Continuation.

§ 32	承和二年 ^{乙卯} 三月廿一日御入定 ^{ヨリ} 承保二年 ^{乙卯} 三月廿日夜半時始 [中院御房明算感得書等高祖御示現事] ³¹	From the 21 st day of the third month of Jōwa 2, a younger brother of wood-rabbit year (835), [the day of Kūkai's] honourable entering into Samādhi, [to] the beginning of the time of midnight on the 20 th day of the third month Jōho 2 (1075), a younger brother of wood-rabbit year ³² (About the revelation books of Myōzan, priest of Chūin, and the manifestation of the High Priest [= Kūkai?])
§ 33	源照円定房耳語云 (大師入定日時の事)	Words that Monk Genshō Enjōbō whispered ³³ say (About the date and time of the Great Master's entering eternal meditation)
§ 34	耳語云 鷲山御参詣時尺尊頌曰 (高野山の地靈と頌文の事)	Whispered words say While making a pilgrimage to Vulture Peak (Jap. [ryō]jusen [靈]鷲山), the Buddha said the <i>gāthā</i> (About Mount Kōya as a sacred territory)
§ 35	六一山口伝	An oral teaching on Ben'ichisan [= Murōji] ³⁴
	般若伝	A teaching on/by Prajñā (?) ³⁵ Before receiving an invisible aid, one cannot see it. Effort, effort, effort, effort
	善如龍王足爪口伝	An oral transmission on the claw of Zennyō Ryūō
	造宝珠口伝	An oral transmission on the making of the Jewel
	三寸不口伝	An oral teaching about three <i>sanzun fu</i> (eloquence)
§ 36	六一山口伝 口伝云	An oral teaching on Ben'ichisan [= Murōji] The oral teaching says: [...]

The *Kōyasan hiki*, Sanbōinbon (b)

Although the name of the title is the same, the *Kōyasan hiki* (b) from the Sanbōin collection, which is now kept in Kōyasan University Library, does not share the ancestry of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki* (a). As there is no postscript, the manuscript cannot be dated accurately. It is assumed to have been copied in the early modern period (the Edo period, 1600–1868).³⁶ The Sanbōin *Kōyasan hiki* comprises 22 paper folios and covers kept in a pouch binding and contains nineteen distinct text units that overlap with 21 of the texts from the Shinpukujibon manuscript. One of them is not part of any other manuscript considered here. Only seventeen items are listed in the TOC (cf. Figs 4–5 and Table 3),

³¹ Abe (1999, 349) only quotes this part without the preceding dates.

³² According to the Chinese sexagenary cycle.

³³ Lit. 'ear-words' (*nigo* 耳語).

³⁴ A temple in Uda字陀, Nara Prefecture, about 100 km north-east of Kōyasan.

³⁵ The Indian monk Prajñā (Jap. 'Hanya') with whom Kūkai had studied at the Liqian Temple 禮泉寺 in Chang'an.

³⁶ Abe 1999, 370.

and some lines of the TOC deviate from the main text. There is no ownership stamp on it. The title *Kōyasan hiki* is written on the front matter in the upper left-hand corner and again on folio 1 recto, also in the upper left-hand corner. The character *zen* 全 ('complete') is written below this so-called 'inner title', shifted slightly to the right. A colour copy of the manuscript is kept at CSMC in Hamburg.

Like the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*, the main text starts with the teaching on the 'sacred area' (*kekkaï no koto* 結界の事). The rest of the text units follow a different order. Only a few text units seem to have shifted *en bloc*, while other episodes from the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki* have been merged into one text unit in the Sanbōin manuscript.

The TOC is distributed over three pages (fols 2^r to 3^r) and is lexically marked as such by an introductory *Kōyasan hiki mokuroku* 高野山秘記目録 ('TOC of the *Kōyasan hiki*') at the first line on the right-hand side (fol. 2^r, l. 1). It lists 17 items, but actually the text has two more text units than that. The first one is 弘法大師東寺西御室閉眼後授実恵 ('Kōbō Daishi after closing his eyes in Omuro, west of

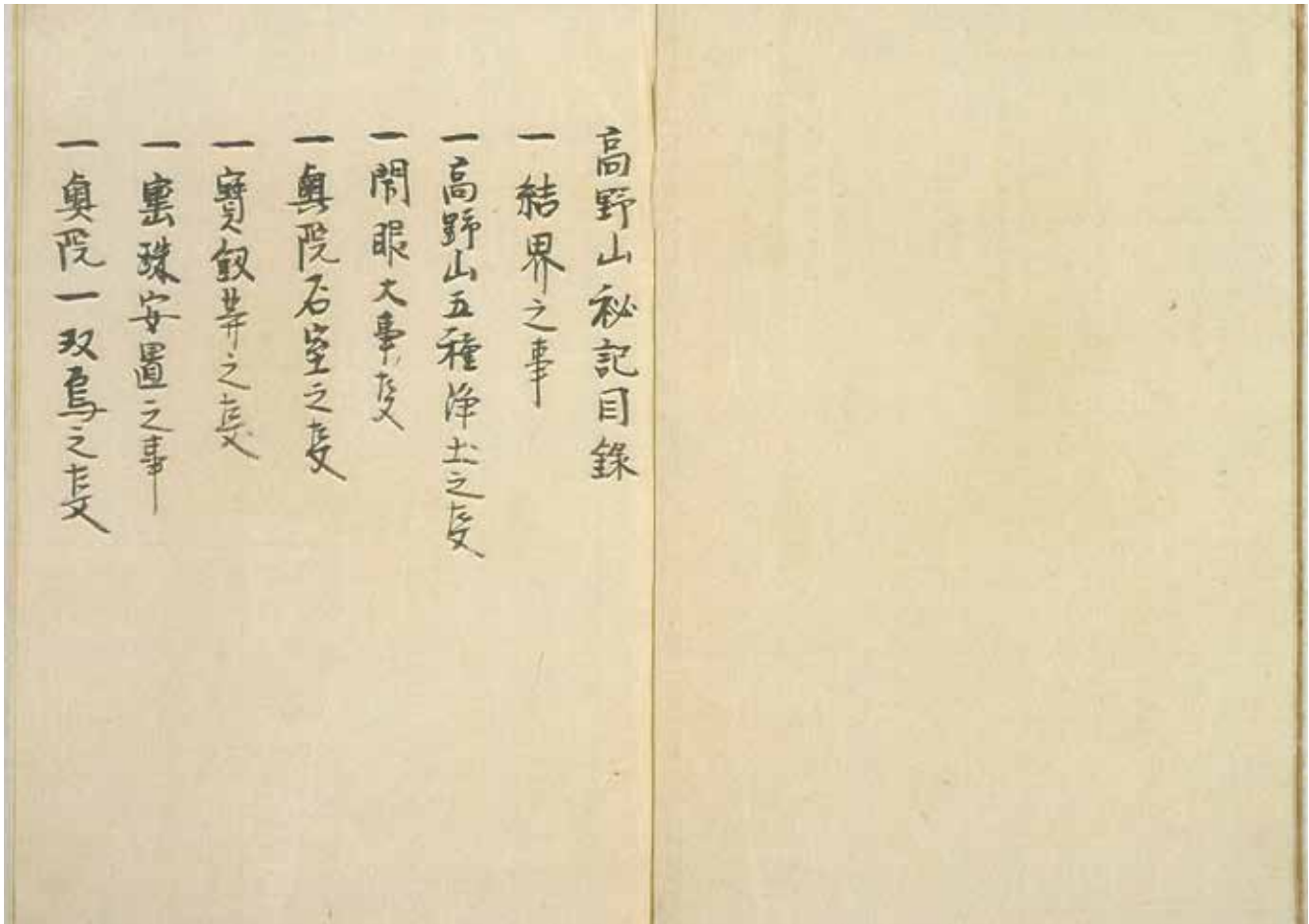


Fig. 4: TOC in the Sanbōinbon *Kōyasan hiki* (1).

Tōji Temple, transmitted to Jitsue’, corresponding to §31 in the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*) after the second text unit, which seems to have been forgotten in the TOC. The text unit is marked by an *ichi* in the main text, though. The second text unit not listed in the TOC is 五運図ニ云 or ‘In the chart of the five motions it says’, following the fifteenth text unit (see table 3 below). Text unit 15 as well as the text unit that follows correspond to §2 of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*, which means that the text of §2 has been split into two parts in the Sanbōin manuscript. All the items listed in the TOC have an initial *ichi* that (apart from the visual arrangement) gives them an additional designation as items to be listed there and can also be seen as strengthening the function of referring to the text units that are also marked with an *ichi*.

Another difference is one from a palaeographic point of view: the TOC in the Sanbōin *Kōyasan hiki* uses a character variant resembling the character 叟 (Morohashi: 3146, see fol. 2, ll. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8),³⁷ a variant of the standard character

koto 事 (‘matter’). This is an old variant from the classical period (the sixth to the twelfth century at most), which was used again in the Edo period (1600–1868). That might mean this use of the character is a kind of classicism and probably helped to date the manuscript to the early modern period.

There is not always a perfect match between the entries of the TOC and the titles or beginning of the text units. For example, whereas the TOC says *Kekkai no koto* 結界之事 (‘About the sacred precinct’), the auxiliary character *shi* 之 is omitted in the actual title of that section. In other cases, when there is no clear title in the main text, the TOC provides a summary, as in text units 2 and 17. It seems that the teachings and ‘great matters’, albeit secret, referred to some kind of collective or cultural memory. The titles in the main text or in the TOC can therefore probably be understood as a way of recalling a narrative that was basically known to readers already and to which the respective text units added another variant or detail. Other text units use different character variants for the section titles and the respective entry in the TOC.

³⁷ The standard character *koto* 事 is used in lines 2 and 7.

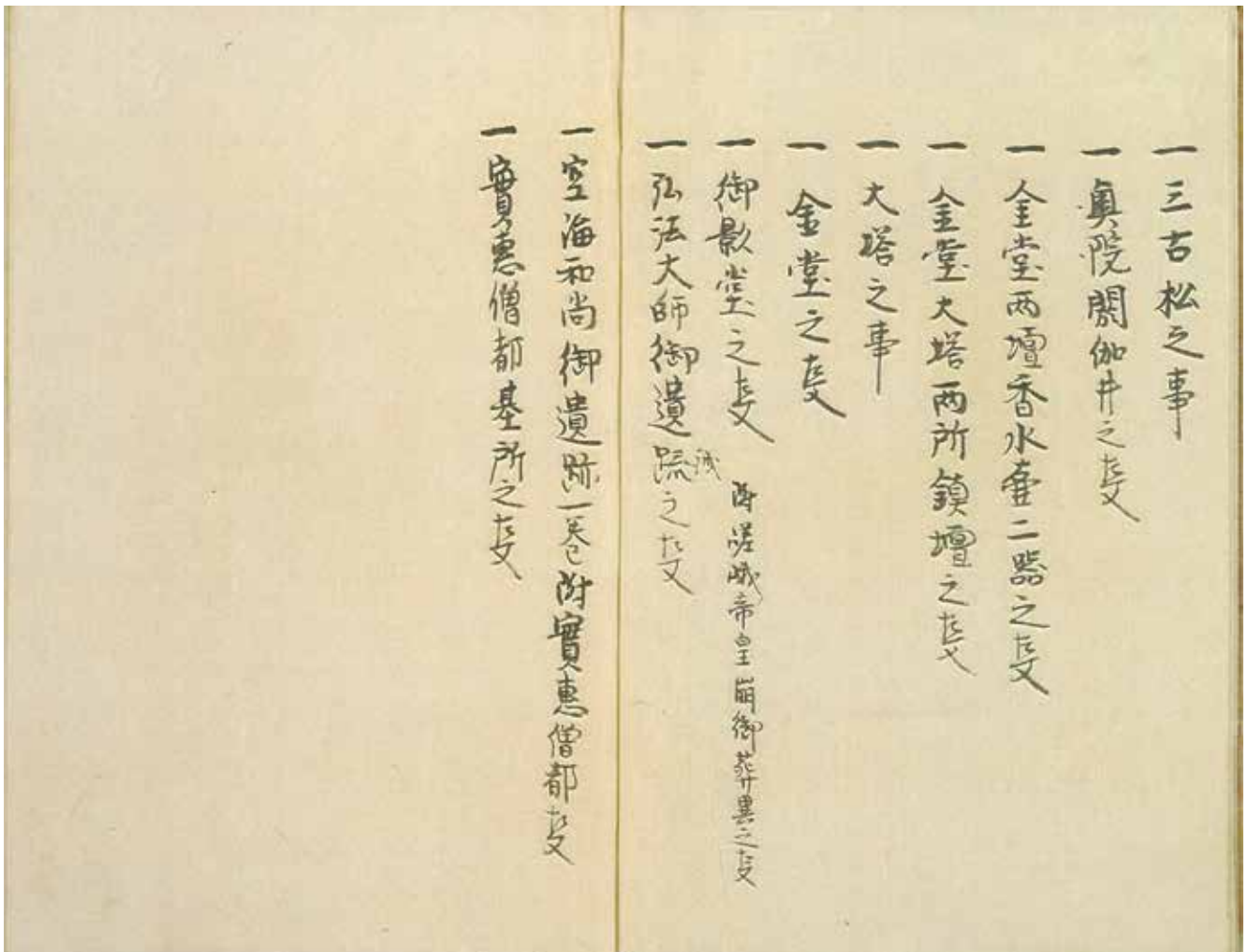


Fig. 5: TOC in the Sanbōin Kōyasan hiki (2).

Table 3: Transcript and translation of the TOC in the Sanbōin Kōyasan hiki. The asterisks mark the passages where the old variant of the character 事 has been used in the manuscript.

1	結界之事	About the [sacred] precinct
2	高野山五種淨土之事*	About the five kinds of pure land on Mount Kōya
Not in TOC	弘法大師東寺西御室 _二 閉眼 _一 後授実惠..	After Kōbō Daishi closed his eyes in Omuro, west of Tōji Temple, he transmitted [this] to Jitsue
3	閉眼大事之事*	About the great matter of [Kukai's] closing his eyes [entering meditation]
4	奥院石室之事*	About Oku no In, the cavern dwelling

5	關伽井事 ³⁸	About the well for the holy water
6	宝 ³⁹ 珠安置之事*	About places where the jewels are stored
7	奥院一双鳥之事*	About a pair of crows (birds) at Kōya Oku no In
8	三古松之事	About the pine [where] the three-pronged Vajra [hung]
9	奥院關伽井之事*	About the well for the holy water at Oku no In
10	金堂西壇之香水壺二器事	About the two vessels for perfumed water at the western platform of the Golden Hall
11	金堂大塔兩所鎮壇之事*	About the pacifying (of the) earthen platform of both the Golden Hall and the Great Stupa
12	大塔之事	About the Great Stupa
13	金堂之事*	About the Golden Hall
14	御影堂之事* 附 ⁴⁰ 嵯峨帝皇崩御葬異之事*	About the Mieidō Supplement: About the strange things [that happened] during the funeral rites after Emperor Saga passed away
15	弘法大師御遺跡 ⁴¹ 之事*	About the honourable traces of Kōbō Daishi
Not in TOC	五運図云	In the chart of the five motions it says
16	空海和尚御遺跡 一卷附 ⁴² 実惠僧都事*	The honourable traces of Priest Kūkai. One volume Supplement: About Jitsue, the monk director
17	実惠僧都基所之事* ⁴³	About the place where monk director Jitsue's tomb lies

³⁸ In fact, there is a different text passage in the corresponding main text starting with 宝劍等事* or 'About the jewelled sword and other [treasures]'. See fols 7^r-7^v. The well is mentioned in this passage, too.

³⁹ A variant of the character 宝 ('jewel') is used here in the TOC (see Kodama 2016, 248, no. 1060). In the main text, the character variant 寶 and 宝 (fol. 7^v, l. 7) are used in the same line.

⁴⁰ An unknown character variant is used in the manuscript instead of the character noted above, probably an abbreviation of *fuzoku* 附属 in this case, meaning 'attachment'.

⁴¹ A character variant (*zokuji*, an incorrect but very common character) is used here instead of the character noted above. See Nanji Taikan Henshū linkai (ed.) (1987), 229. Another character is written to the right, probably *imashime* 戒 ('admonition'). An additional character variant with more side glosses can be seen in the main text.

⁴² See n. 40.

⁴³ This wording is not in the main text, but the reference is correct, as the corresponding text passage is about the place of Jitsue's tomb. Cf. fol. 18^r.

Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū, Shinpukujibon (c)

The title *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū*, ‘Collection of Kōyasan [texts] to encourage a believing mind’, indicates that this manuscript contains texts that were meant for use in preaching and proselytising. A postscript written by a scribe on fol. 19^v (ll. 6–7) dates the extant copy to 1399 (Ōei 6) and tells us Seishuku 政祝 (1366–1439) was the name of the scribe.

The *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* witnesses form a group that differs from the *Kōyasan hiki* groups (which themselves form diverse sub-groups), as the early models of this manuscript probably were not (or mainly were not) compiled from *kirigami*, but from excerpts of other writings – only two text passages overlap with sections of text in the *Kōyasan hiki*.⁴⁴ In the case of this group of manuscripts, we not only have the name of the scribe, but the name of an author (in the more general sense of ‘auctor’)⁴⁵ of an earlier model, which an original postscript following text unit 14 says was Shinken 信堅 (1259–1323).⁴⁶ This postscript dates the model to 1295, a hundred years earlier (Einin 2, fol. 16^v, ll. 5–6). Both Seishuku and Shinken were known as eminent monks.

Originally, this manuscript consisted of one booklet (*itchō* 一帖) in a ‘serial’ binding (*retsuchōsō* 列帖装), but due to damage it suffered, the folios were loosened and stored in two different boxes. These parts were given provisional new titles: *Kōyasan ki* 高野山記 (see Fig. 6) and *Kōyasan shū* 高野山集 respectively.⁴⁷ Seeing as some of the folios are missing, Abe (1999) reconstructed the text based on another witness of *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū* (from the Muromachi period, 1336–1573), which is now kept in Tenri University Library.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Text units 13 and 14, which deal with the restoration of Kōyasan by two monks, Gashin and Kishin, were probably written by Shinken himself. A close relationship can be seen between *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* and another work by Shinken, ‘Records on Kōya’s Rise and Fall’, *Kōya kōhai ki* 高野興廢記, which in turn has explanations like 奥院一双鳥鳥事 (‘About a pair of birds/crows at Oku no In’) and 大師如意宝珠安置事 (‘About the places where the wish-fulfilling jewels are stored’), which are similar to text units in the *Kōyasan hiki*. See Abe 1999, 374.

⁴⁵ I use the term ‘auctor’ in the sense of the ‘creator’ of the compilation. It might be argued that an earlier model of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki* (a) initially had an ‘auctor’, too – probably Dōhan or one of his disciples, a claim I would not be able to reject outright, although it remains to be seen how the quality of the text in the *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* group differs from that of the *Kōyasan hiki* group.

⁴⁶ Interestingly, the Jinmyōin *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* gives the name of the ‘author’ again at the beginning of the main text (see below).

⁴⁷ The provisional title *Kōyasan shū* seems to have been taken from the title at the ‘squire’ (*chōai* 丁合). See fols 11^v, 15^v and 17^v, for example.

⁴⁸ Abe 1999, 312. The text of the Tenri version is in Abe 1982, 94–102. For the missing part, see n. 50.

The manuscript has a TOC, although it only consists of 16 text units which were probably originally spread over 21 folios. Interestingly, in the Tenribon *Kanhotsu shinjin shū*, the *ichi* is not only set at text passages that are to appear in the TOC later. In text unit 12 (湛空上人三古事, ‘About Saint Tankū⁴⁹ and the three-pronged *vajra*’), for example, there is another text unit marked by an *ichi* (地形等事, ‘About the form of the areas’), but as it is not listed in the TOC, Abe did not count it as a separate text unit.⁵⁰ There is an additional item in text unit 10: 御厨明神事, ‘About the bright deity at the mausoleum’ (Abe 1982, 99; Abe 1999, 312). Two instances of very short text passages (of one or two lines) after text unit 13 (fol. 14^v, ll. 7–9) also have an *ichi*. Moreover, text unit 14 in the Tenribon witness has an *ichi* for the section title as well as at the beginning of the text. These cases could be interpreted as text units of a lower level, which therefore are not represented in the TOC. The section title in the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū*, however, is missing.⁵¹

The TOC (fol. 1^v) (like all the others) is to be read from top to bottom and from right to left. As there is no verbal expression or title indicating that this is a table of contents, however, the function of the list (to display a TOC) is only apparent because of the visual organisation of the elements on the page. The original title of the manuscript, *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū* 高野山勸發信心集, is repeated in the last line of the TOC (l. 9), additionally marked by *ichi* (一), the character for ‘one’.

⁴⁹ Tankū 湛空上人 (1176–1253) was a Pure Land priest from Konkai Kōmyōji Temple in Kyōto and a disciple of Hōnen; Saitō 1986, 510.

⁵⁰ Abe 1999, pp. 312–313. Note that parts of text unit 9 and text units 10 to 12 are missing in the Shinjukubon *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*. We therefore do not know how the text units and section titles were designed in the manuscript. These text passages have been taken from the Tenribon witness. Cf. Abe 1982, 99–100. The Jinmyōin witness (e) (fol. 17^v, l. 7–fol. 18^r, l. 3 according to the manuscript’s folio numbers) contains text unit 12 and the subsection 地形等事, ‘About the form of the areas’, which is also included without an *ichi*, but the first three lines are missing. The Naikaku witness (d) has the subsection with an *ichi* (fol. 13^r, l. 3–13^v, l. 1). The subsection 御厨明神事, ‘About the bright deity at the mausoleum’, contains an *ichi* in the Jinmyōin witness (fol. 16^v, ll. 1–6 according to the manuscript’s folio numbers) and also in the Naikaku witness (fol. 11^v, l. 8–fol. 11^v, l. 1). Although the subsections look like independent text units in (d) and (e), the TOCs of both manuscripts follow the previous models and do not include them as separate entries.

⁵¹ Abe 1982, 100; Abe 1999, 314–315; fol. 14^v, l. 7; l. 9; fol. 15^v, l. 1).

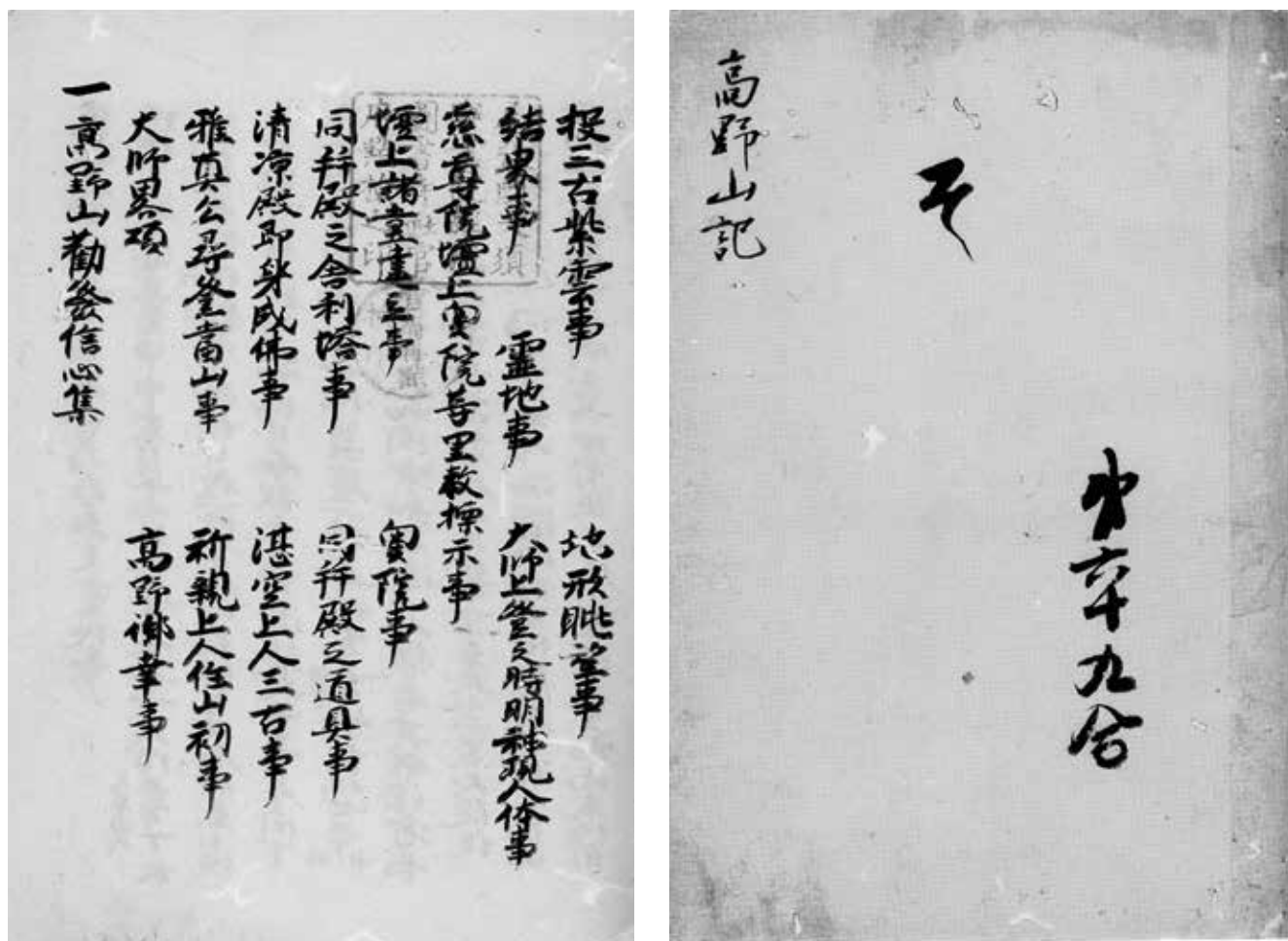


Fig. 6: *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū* (Shinpukuji-bon), (1399), fol. 1' (left), front matter (right); Abe 1999, 157.

This TOC is just a synopsis of the section titles, as (like in all the other manuscripts in this corpus) the folios have no page numbers to which the table of contents could refer. Unlike the Sanbōin *Kōyasan hiki* (b), the *ichi* marker is not used in the TOC, except for indicating the main title in the last line. The *ichi* is used in the text to indicate the beginning of the text units, however, with the exception of text unit 1.

The TOC does not always list the whole section title in each case; sometimes only abbreviated forms of them are stated. For example, the first text unit in the TOC is referred to as 投三古紫雲事, 'About the three-pronged *vajra* [Kūkai] threw and the purple cloud', while in the text itself it says 先投三古紫雲兼点密教相應之靈地事 ('First: When [Kūkai] threw the *vajra* and the purple cloud [appeared], this was the decision about the sacred place to practise *mikkyō*'). The section title of text unit 12 is 湛空上人安置三古事, i.e. 'Saint Tankū and the place of storage of the three-pronged *vajra*', while in the TOC it is abbreviated to 湛空上人三古事, 'Saint Tankū and the three-pronged *vajra*'.⁵²

⁵² The same is the case in the Naikaku bunko witness, (d) (fol. 11', l. 7), and the Jinmyōin witness, (e) (fol. 17', l. 5 according to the manuscript's folio number).

Table 4: Transcript and translation of the TOC of *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū* (Shinpukujibon).

1	投三古紫雲事	About the throwing of the three-pronged <i>vajra</i> and the purple cloud
2	地形眺望事	About viewing the terrain
3	結界事	About the [sacred] precinct
4	靈地事	About the sacred land
5	大師上登之時明神現人体事	About the bright deity that appeared as a human when the Great Master ascended [the mountain]
6	慈尊院壇上奥院等里数標示事	About the markers indicating the number of <i>ri</i> [1 <i>ri</i> = 3.927 km] [between] Jison-in-Temple, Danjō [Garan] and Oku no In
7	壇上諸堂鼎立事	About the erecting of different buildings like Danjō, etc.
8	奥院事	About Oku no In
9	同拝殿之舍利塔事	About the stupa of relics of the same prayer hall
10	同拝殿之道具事	About the tools of the same prayer hall
11	清涼殿即身成仏事	About becoming Buddha in this very body in the Seiryōden [of the Imperial Palace]
12	湛空上人三古事	About Saint Tankū and the three-pronged <i>vajra</i>
13	雅真公尋登当山事	About the eminent monk Shinga when he visited Mount [Kōya] for the first time
14	祈親上人住山初事	How it happened that Saint Kishin started to live on the mountain
15	大師略頌	A <i>gāthā</i> [containing] a short [biography] of the Great Master
Not in TOC	持經上人銘云	Jikyō Shōnin's inscription says
16	高野御幸事	About imperial pilgrimages to [Mount] Kōya
	一 高野山勸発信心集 (title)	• <i>Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū</i>

Table 5: Transcript and translation of the TOC in *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*, Naikaku bunko (1541). The asterisks indicate the cases where a variant of the character *koto* 事 is used.

	高野山勸発信心集 (title)	
1	投三古紫雲事*	About the three-pronged <i>vajra</i> [that Kūkai] threw and the purple cloud
2	地形眺望事	About looking out over the terrain
3	結界事	About the [sacred] precinct
4	靈地事	About the sacred land
5	大師上登之時明神現人体事*	About the bright deity that appeared as a human when the Great Master ascended [the mountain]
6	慈尊院壇上奥院等里数標示事*	About the markers indicating the number of <i>ri</i> [between] Jison-in Temple, Danjō [Garan] and Oku no In
7	壇上諸堂県立事	About the erecting of different buildings like Danjō, etc.
8	奥院事	About Oku no In
9	同拜殿之舍利塔事	About the stupa of relics of the same prayer hall
10	同拜殿之道具事	About the tools of the same prayer hall
11	清涼殿殿即身成仏事*	About becoming Buddha in this very body in the Seiryōden [of the Imperial Palace]
12	湛空上人三古事	About Saint Tankū and the three-pronged <i>vajra</i>
13	雅真公尋登当山事*	About the eminent monk Shinga when he visited Mount [Kōya] for the first time
14	祈親上人住山初事	How it happened that Saint Kishin started to live on the mountain
15	[大]師略頌	A <i>gāthā</i> [containing] a short [biography] of the Great Master
16	高野御幸事	About imperial pilgrimages to [Mount] Kōya
Not in TOC	持經上人銘云	Jikyō Shōnin's inscription says: [...].
	先投三古紫雲二兼テ点密教相之靈地事元 (section title of the first text unit)	About [Kūkai], who threw the three-pronged <i>vajra</i> into the purple cloud and determined the sacred place for <i>mikkyō</i> . First [year]...

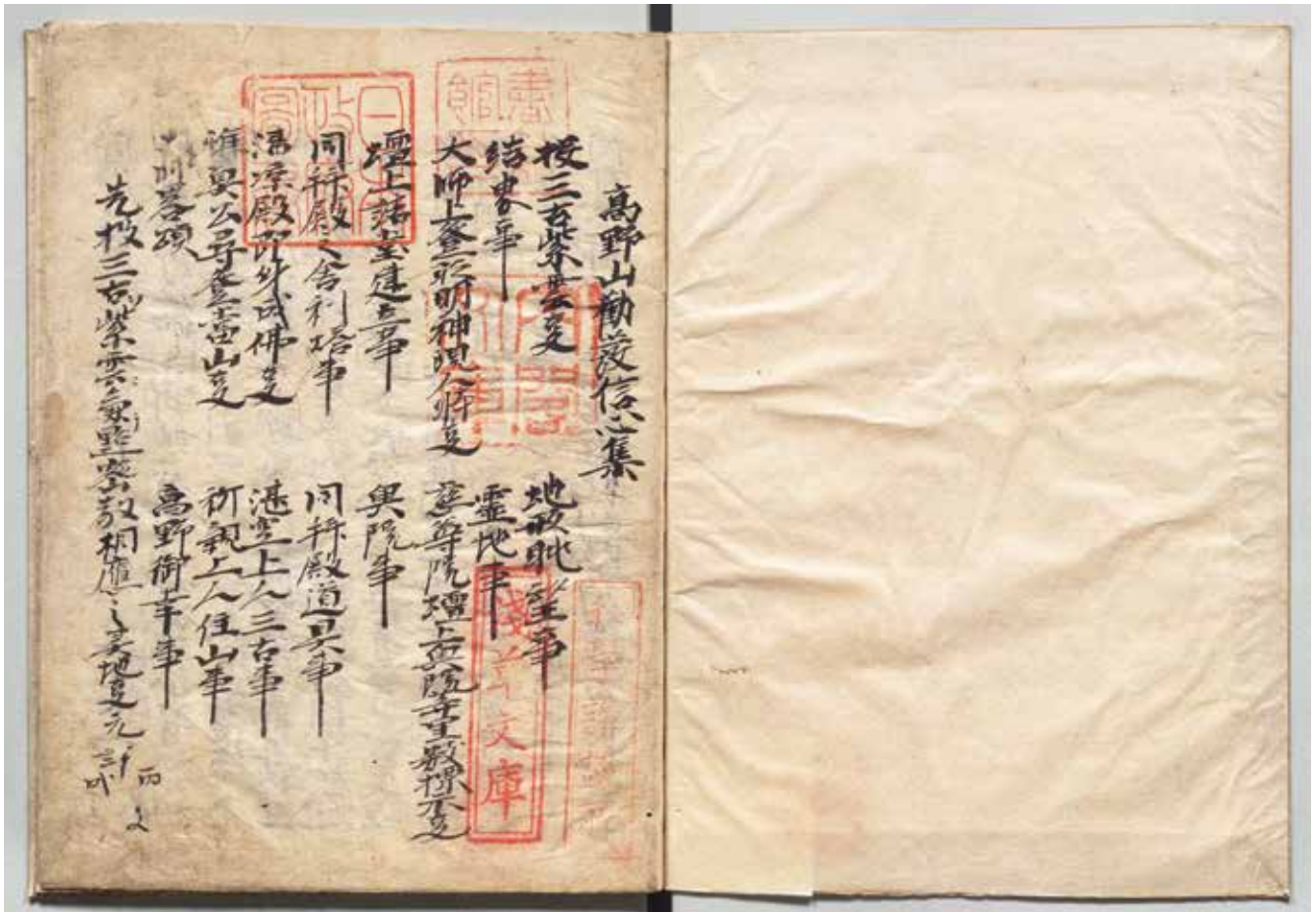


Fig. 7: *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*, Naikaku Bunko.

Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū, Naikaku Bunko (d)

A colophon by the scribe (*shosha okugaki*) dates this manuscript to 1514 (Eishō 11; fol. 18^r, l. 6). The manuscript belongs to the collection of Naikaku Bunko (the ‘Cabinet library’), today part of the National Archives Museum of Japan (Kokuritsu kōbunkan 国立公文書館). A colour scan of it is kept at CSMC.⁵³

The TOC matches up with the one in the Shinpukuji manuscript, not only in terms of its content, but in terms of its layout, albeit with the exception of four details. First of all, the initial character, *dai* 大 in 大師略頌 (‘*Gāthā* [a hymn] [containing] an abbreviated biography of the Great Master’, l. 9), has faded. Second, while the TOC in the Shinpukuji manuscript (c) has three titles in the second line, two items

are arranged in each line in the TOC of the Naikaku bunko manuscript (d). Third, instead of repeating the title of the manuscript, the last line of the Naikaku Bunko’s TOC begins with the first section title, indented slightly and preceding the text unit that starts on the next page. The text reads 先投三古、紫雲、兼、点密教相之靈地事元, or ‘First: About [Kūkai], who threw the three-pronged *vajra* into the purple cloud and determined the sacred place for *mikkyō*. First [...]’,⁵⁴ followed by fragments of the main text in which the date of Kūkai’s return from China is stated.⁵⁵ Fourth, as in Sanbōin *Kōyasan hiki* (b), in some cases the character *koto* 事 is written in an old variant of the symbol (in text units 1, 5, 6, 11 and 13).

⁵³ A digitised version of the manuscript can now be accessed online at the National Archives of Japan website <<https://www.digital.archives.go.jp>> (last accessed 16 August 2021).

⁵⁴ Cf. Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū* (c) (fol. 1^r, l. 1), which has no reading aids (先投三古紫雲兼点密教相応之靈地事).

⁵⁵ This date is given in *Shinpukuji bon* (c) as either Daidō 1 大同元年 (806) (*hinoe inu* 丙戌, ‘elder brother of fire-dog’ according to the Chinese sexagenary cycle) or Daidō 2 (807) (*hinoto i* 丁亥, ‘younger brother of fire-pig’) probably according to different previous manuscript models (fol 1^r).

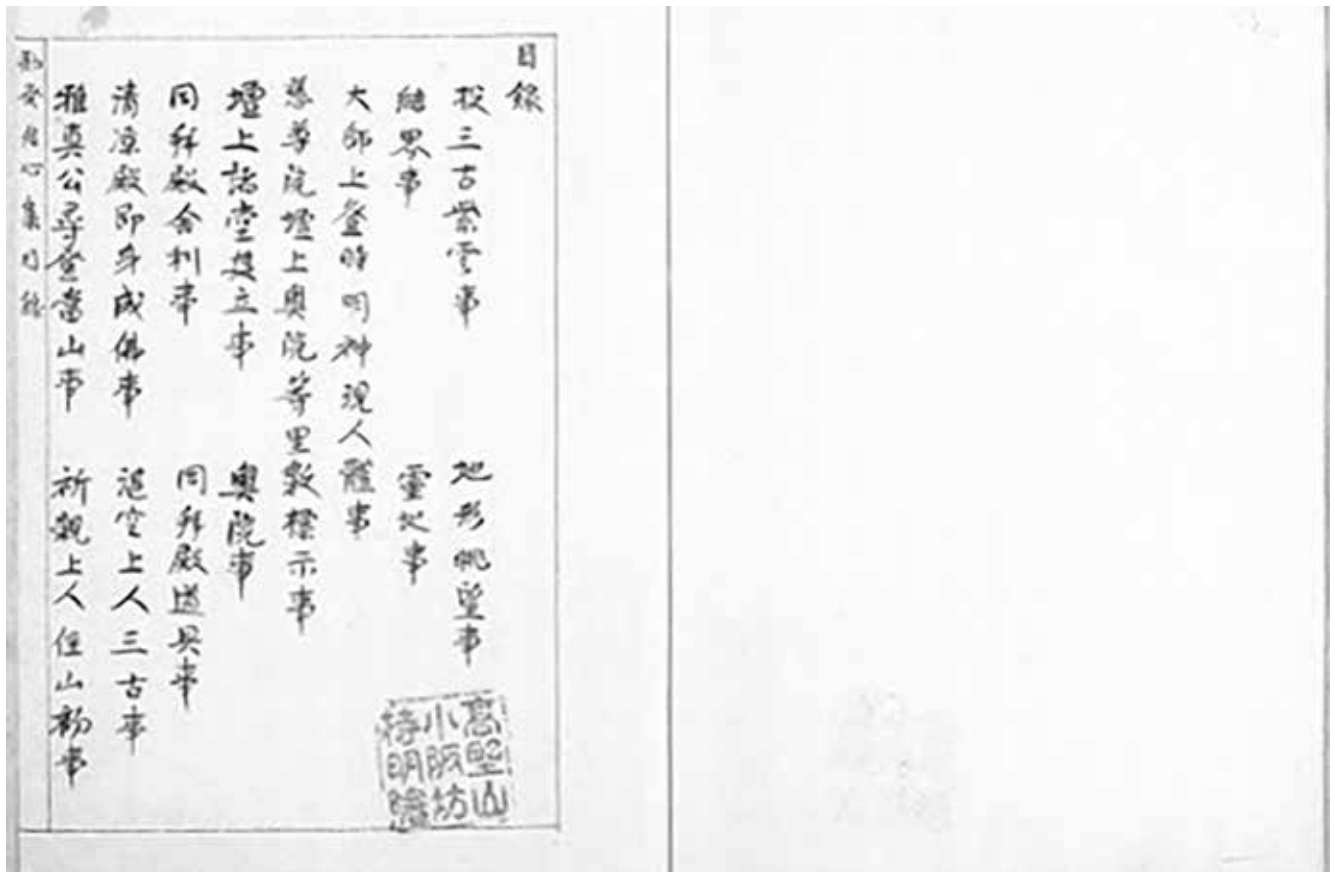


Fig. 8: Recto page of the TOC in Jinmyōinbon *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*.

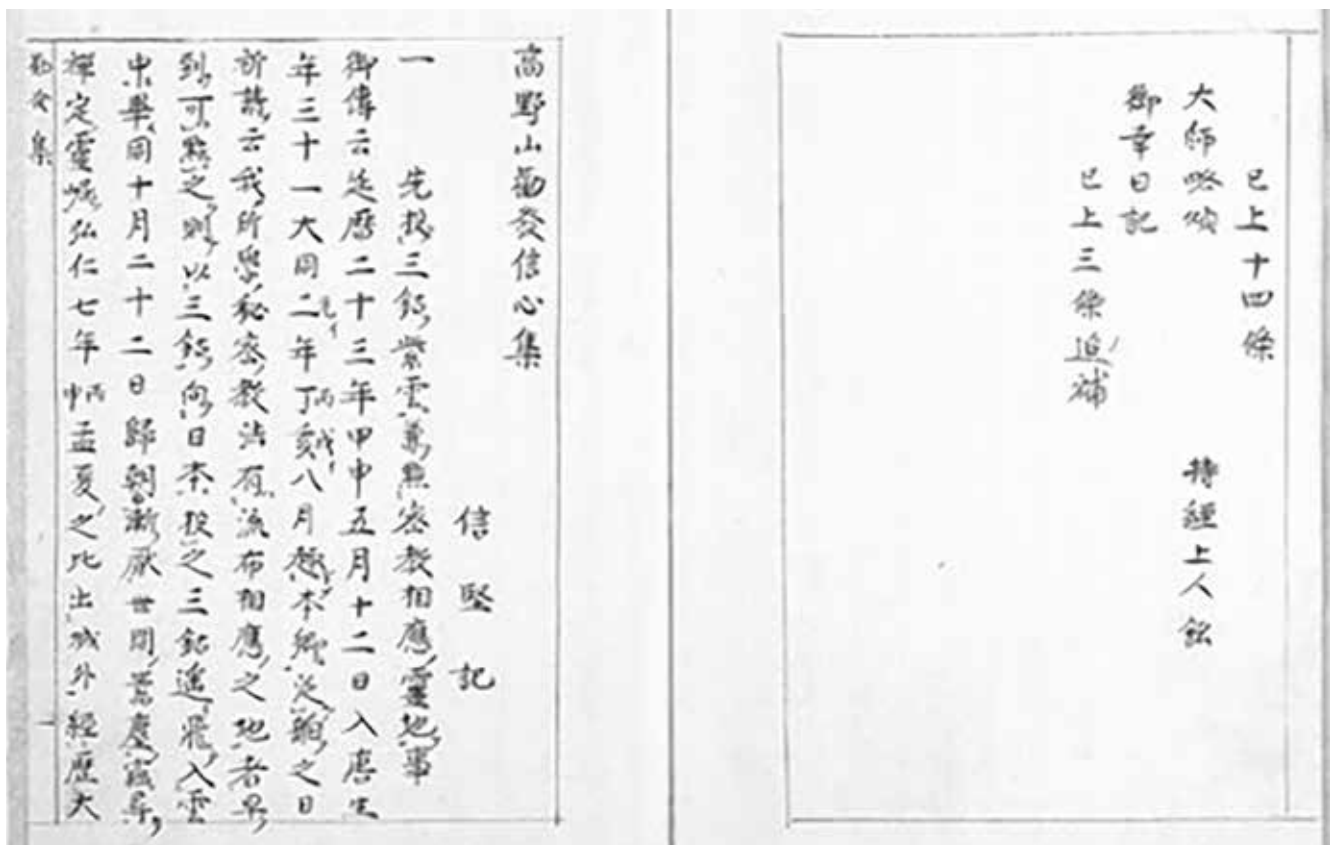


Fig. 9: Verso page of the TOC and first page of the main text in Jinmyōinbon *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*.

Table 6: Transcript and translation of the TOC in *Jinmyōinbon Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*.

1	投三古紫雲事	About the three-pronged <i>vajra</i> [Kūkai] threw and the purple cloud
2	地形眺望事	About looking out over the terrain
3	結界事	About the [sacred] precinct
4	靈地事	About the sacred land
5	大師上登之時明神現人体事	About the bright deity that appeared as a human when the Great Master ascended [the mountain]
6	慈尊院壇上奥院等里数標示事	About the markers indicating the number of <i>ri</i> [between] Jison-in Temple, Danjō [Garan] and Oku no In
7	壇上諸堂鼎立事	About the erecting of different buildings like Danjō, etc.
8	奥院事	About Oku no In
9	同拜殿之舍利塔事	About the stupa of relics of the same prayer hall
10	同拜殿之道具事	About the tools of the same prayer hall
11	清涼殿殿即身成仏事	About becoming Buddha in this very body in the Seiryōden [of the Imperial Palace]
12	湛空上人三古事	Saint Tankū and the three-pronged [<i>vajra</i>]
13	雅真公尋登当山事	About the eminent monk Shinga when he visited Mount [Kōya] for the first time
14	祈親上人住山初事	How it happened that Saint Kishin started to live on the mountain
15	以上十四條 大師略頌	These make a total of fourteen items A <i>gāthā</i> [containing] a short [biography] of the Great Master
16	持經上人	About the saint who holds the sutra
17	御幸日記 以上三條追補	Pilgrim's diary Three more items [have been] added

Table 7: TOCs of all three witnesses of *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū* in comparison.

	Shinpukujibon (c)	(Translation of TOC items)	Naikaku bunko (d)	Jinmyōin bon (e)
First line, right margin			<i>Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū</i> 高野山勸發信心集 (title)	目録 ('TOC')
1	投三古紫雲事	About the three-pronged <i>vajra</i> [that Kūkai] threw and the purple cloud	投三古紫雲事*	投三古紫雲事
2	地形眺望事	About viewing the terrain	地形眺望事	地形眺望事
3	結界事	About the [sacred] precinct	結界事	結界事
4	靈地事	About the sacred land	靈地事	靈地事
5	大師上登之時明神現人体事	About the bright deity that appeared as a human when the Great Master ascended [the mountain]	大師上登之時明神現人体事*	大師上登之時明神現人体事
6	慈尊院壇上奥院等里数標示事	About the markers indicating the number of <i>ri</i> [between] Jison-in Temple, Danjō [Garan] and Oku no In	慈尊院壇上奥院等里数標示事*	慈尊院壇上奥院等里数標示事
7	壇上諸堂鼎立事	About the erecting of different buildings like Danjō, etc.	壇上諸堂鼎立事	壇上諸堂鼎立事
8	奥院事	About Oku no In	奥院事	奥院事
9	同拜殿之舍利塔事	About the stupa of relics of the same (?) prayer hall	同拜殿之舍利塔事	同拜殿之舍利塔事
10	同拜殿之道具事	About the tools of the same prayer hall	同拜殿之道具事	同拜殿之道具事
11	清涼殿即身成仏事	About [Kūkai] becoming Buddha in this very body in the Seiryōden [of the Imperial Palace]	清涼殿即身成仏事*	清涼殿即身成仏事
12	以上十四條 大師略頌	Saint Tankū and the three-pronged [<i>vajra</i>]	湛空上人三古事	湛空上人三古事
13	雅真公尋登当山事	About the eminent monk Shinga when he visited Mount [Kōya] for the first time	雅真公尋登当山事*	雅真公尋登当山事
14	祈親上人住山初事	How it happened that Saint Kishin started to live on the mountain	祈親上人住山初事	祈親上人住山初事 Page break

Table 7: Continuation.

				以上十四條 These make a total of fourteen items
15	大師略頌	A <i>gāthā</i> [containing] a short [biography] of the Great Master	[大]師略頌	大師略頌
16	高野御幸事	About imperial pilgrimages to [Mount] Kōya	高野御幸事	持經上人銘 Jikyō Shōnin's inscription
17				御幸日記 About the imperial pilgrimage 以上三條追補 Three more items [have been] added
Last line, left margin	一 高野山勸發信心集 (• <i>Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū</i> (title of the ms.))		先投三古紫雲二兼予 点密教相之靈地事元 (section title of the first text unit)	勸發信心集目錄 'TOC for the <i>Kanhotsu shinjinshū</i> ' (on the first page of the TOC)

Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū, Jinmyōinbon (e)

This manuscript, which is currently kept in the library of Kōyasan University, has been dated to 1624 (Kan'ei 1) thanks to a postscript (on fol. 24^v, l. 5 according to the manuscript's folio numbers). It consists of 29 folios. The whole text, including the TOC, is framed by a margin line. A black-and-white copy of the work is kept at CSMC.

The TOC lists 17 text units and is spread over two pages (fourteen entries on fol. 3^r and three more on fol. 3^v). It is lexically marked twice, as the term *mokuroku* 目録 is written in the first line as a title and additionally *Kanhotsu shinjinshū mokuroku*, or 'TOC of *Kanhotsu shinjinshū*', is written to the left of the left-hand margin. The verso page starts with a remark giving the total number of text units listed on the previous recto page: 'These are 14 items in all'. And then another three items are listed, followed by the remark 'Three more items [have been] added'. One of these items is new compared to the TOCs of the previous models of *Kanhotsu shinjin shū*: it reads *Jikyō Shōnin mei* 持經上人銘,⁵⁶ or

'Jikyō Shōnin's⁵⁷ inscription'. However, the text unit is also present in the main text in both of the other witnesses, (c) (fol. 17^v, l. 8) and (d) (fol. 17^r, l. 6, marked by indentation), and in (c) the section title even has an *ichi* in it, but these are not included in the TOC (they were probably just forgotten)

Moreover, the last item (no. 17) is rendered as *Miyuki nikki* 御幸日記 ('Diary of the imperial pilgrimage') in the TOC instead of *Kōya miyuki no koto* 高野御幸事 ('About the imperial pilgrimage') in the TOC of the third Shinpukuji witness, (c). The two respective main texts correspond to each other, however.

Apart from these two exceptions, the items in the TOC all match up with those in the TOC in the Shinpukujibon manuscript.

⁵⁶ The title of the corresponding text unit differs slightly: *Jikyō Shō[nin] mei iwaku* 持經上銘云, or 'An inscription on the saint who holds the sutra', whereby the *nin* 人 in *Shōnin* ('saint') has been omitted.

⁵⁷ Lit. 'the saint who carries the sutra', i.e. Jōyō the monk, 定誉 (958–1047), also called Kishin Shōnin or Saint Kishin.

Conclusions, or rather hypotheses and further questions

Although it is the largest manuscript in the corpus, the *Kōyasan hiki* (a) does not have a TOC. In contrast, the much shorter manuscripts in the *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* group, (c) to (e), do have one. It seems rather pointless to ask why a TOC is absent in the *Shinpukujibon Kōyasan hiki* (a) – and the same goes for the majority of manuscripts in the corpus from which the ones presented here were chosen – as it is a matter we can only speculate about. Therefore, rather than offering any final results, this paper will be concluded with some hypotheses that will need to be verified by further studies in future. Using the metaphors from architecture introduced above, like a signpost system that is installed in a building in order to facilitate access to its rooms or help with a decision as to whether the building is worth entering, a TOC can be thought of as a device to facilitate access to the content of a piece of writing and help with the decision as to whether it might contain anything that the user is looking for and roughly where to go to find it. As mentioned earlier, the *Kōyasan hiki* was compiled from single leaves of paper, possibly for reasons to do with preserving teachings that used to be (or claim to have been) transmitted orally initially.⁵⁸ However, as these teachings were basically regarded as secret ones, there may not have been any need or willingness to make access to them easier since they were not meant to be circulated widely in the first place. On the other hand, many of these allegedly secret teachings and essentials were based upon legends that were well known. I therefore suggest that the entries in the TOCs represent some kind of collective or cultural memory.

Another question one could ask is whether the existence of a TOC could have prevented cases of doubt or mistakes by the scribe. Judging from observations regarding the three witnesses of *Kanhotsu shinjin shū*, the answer is ‘Well, yes and no’. In the case of *Shinpukujibon Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū* (c), the TOC probably helped readers to identify and reconstruct the damaged manuscript, along with other

features like the repeated mentioning of the main title and the use of methods such as comparing it with other witnesses. If there had been a TOC in *Shinpukujibon Kōyasan hiki* (a), it might have helped readers to decide what constitutes a text unit.

We have also seen that a TOC can actually make things less clear and even confusing if text units are not mentioned in it (out of forgetfulness, for example), as is the case in *Sanbōinbon Kōyasan hiki* (b), or if there are text units like those found in *Shinpukujibon Kanhotsu shinjinshū* (c) that are marked by an *ichi*, but not listed in the TOC.

As for the *ichi* mark itself, it is obviously optional for a TOC, as only the *Sanbōin Kōyasan hiki* TOC makes use of it. Its layout and position at the beginning of the manuscript seem to be sufficient to make a TOC recognisable as such. However, the *ichi* symbol seems to be less optional for the main text, at least (or it was thought of as being useful for it), although other features that would also provide a more prominent visual arrangement of section titles like the size of the characters, indentations or line breaks could also fulfil the function performed by the *ichi* marks. Moreover, as mentioned above, in the main texts, the *ichi* symbol is also used for text items that are not represented in the TOC, much like a Western book where headers at lower hierarchical levels are deliberately left out of the TOC. Generally speaking, there is a fair degree of matching between the entries in TOCs and section titles, but not always a perfect match, as characters, lengths of entry and so on may vary, words may be missing, the *ichi* mark may be missing or text units may be marked by an *ichi* and/or a title, but are not included in the TOC.

It is interesting to note that using the *ichi* mark was a common way of structuring texts in oral situations as well. In proclamations, where such texts were read aloud, the *ichi* was even pronounced (as *hitotsu*).

As for the reverse question – why do manuscripts (b) to (e) have a TOC? – it is helpful to recall the fact that the text in *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* manuscripts (c) to (e) is likely to have been compiled as a preaching manual and was therefore intended for practical use, for example when guiding pilgrims to specific spots on Mount Kōya. Another equally important fact that should not be overlooked is that, as mentioned above, the manuscripts of the *Kanhotsu shinjin shū* group go back to a model that seems to have an entirely different

⁵⁸ The complicated relationship between orality, literacy and secrecy will be discussed in detail elsewhere. Suffice it to say that we have two passages in the *Shinpukujibon Kōyasan hiki* that mention the processes of writing and compiling: ‘Thirty folios of small cut paper are now being made [into a single unit]: 卅枚也小切紙等今取作 (§31, fol. 27, l. 2). While no reason for compiling the *Kōyasan hiki* is stated here, another passage – albeit one only referring to the recording of a single teaching – does, at least, give us a reason for creating a written record of an oral teaching: ‘These peaks are a secret matter, but I shall write this down to prevent it [= the content of this text] from being lost and for the leaves of the gate [= my disciples]: 此峰、雖秘密事、且、為補廢亡、且、為門葉、記之。 (§1, fol. 2, ll. 8–9).

history, as the text was written and/or compiled by an author (in the sense of ‘*auctor*’)⁵⁹ whose name is even written at the beginning of Jinmyōinbon manuscript (e).

The TOC in the Sanbōin *Kōyasan hiki* (b), on the other hand, could be ascribed to its late date of copying. Likewise, only the most recent witness of the *Koyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū* group, viz. manuscript (e), uses the lexical marker *mokuroku* for ‘TOC’ (it does so twice, in fact).

Another question arising from this finding would be whether a TOC and the lexical markers indicating it could be an expression of a more ‘objective’ attitude towards the text or a kind of archival or bibliographical consciousness of it.

In this paper, I have summarised some observations on the occurrence of TOCs in individual manuscripts. These observations are not suitable for formulating any general points yet, though. An examination of much larger manuscript corpora would be necessary to do this and to avoid jumping to any premature conclusions about Japanese Buddhist manuscripts or even Japanese manuscripts in general.

On the other hand, one thing has become clear again: as researchers, we have to be creative to a certain extent when reading, researching and editing manuscripts to fill gaps in order to solve the problems we encounter in textual criticism or manuscript criticism. In this sense, we are not separated from the manuscript culture we are examining. As the anthropologist Gary Urton aptly pointed out when he visited CSMC in November 2014, ‘we are part of it’.

⁵⁹ As mentioned above, the text largely consists of excerpts from other writings.

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