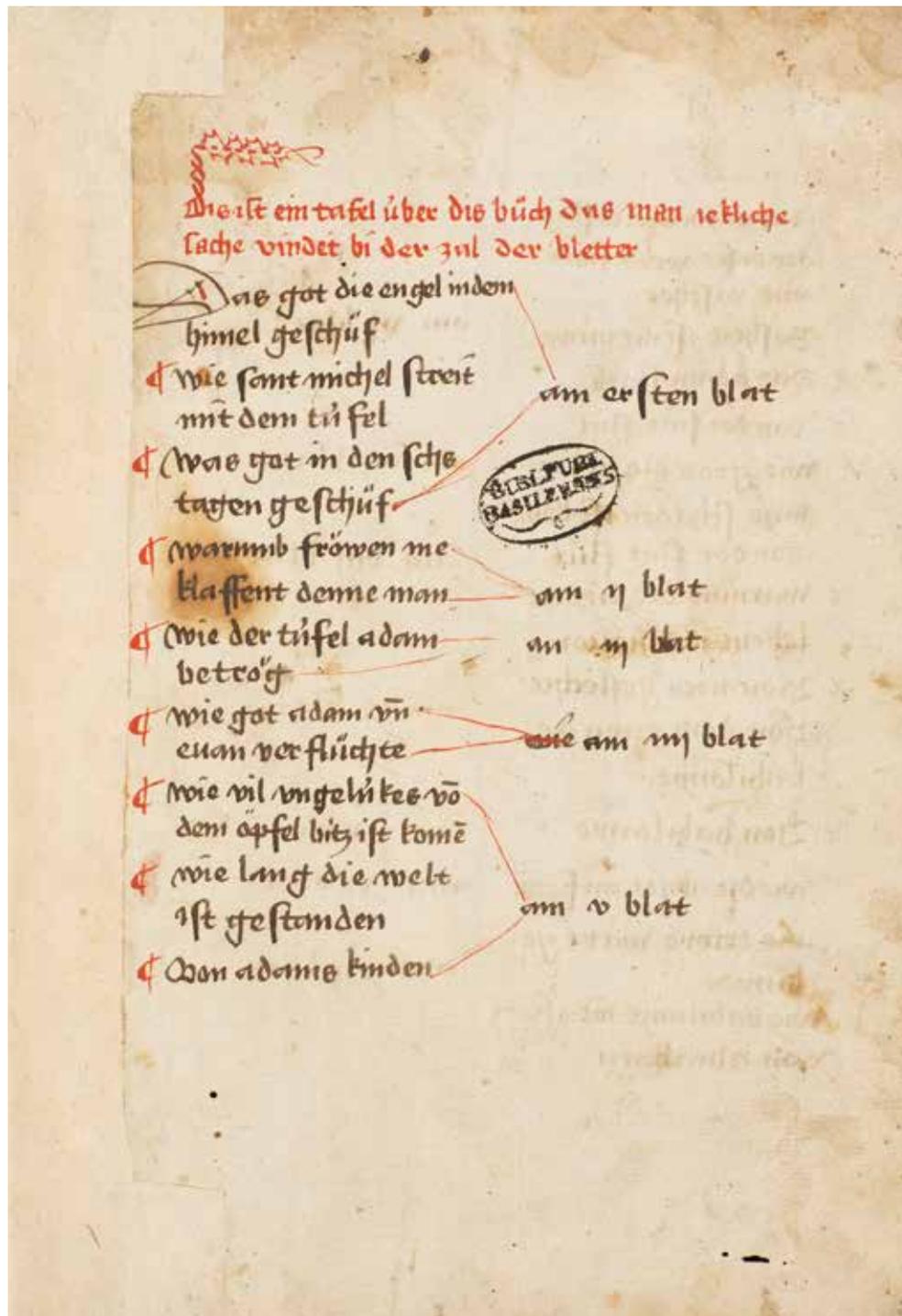


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Jakob Twinger von Königshofen, *Chronik (German Chronicle and Bernese Chronicle)*, 15th century, Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, E II 11, fol. 3^r; Table of contents: 'Dis ist ein tafel über dis bûch das man iekliche sache vindet bi der zal der bletter'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

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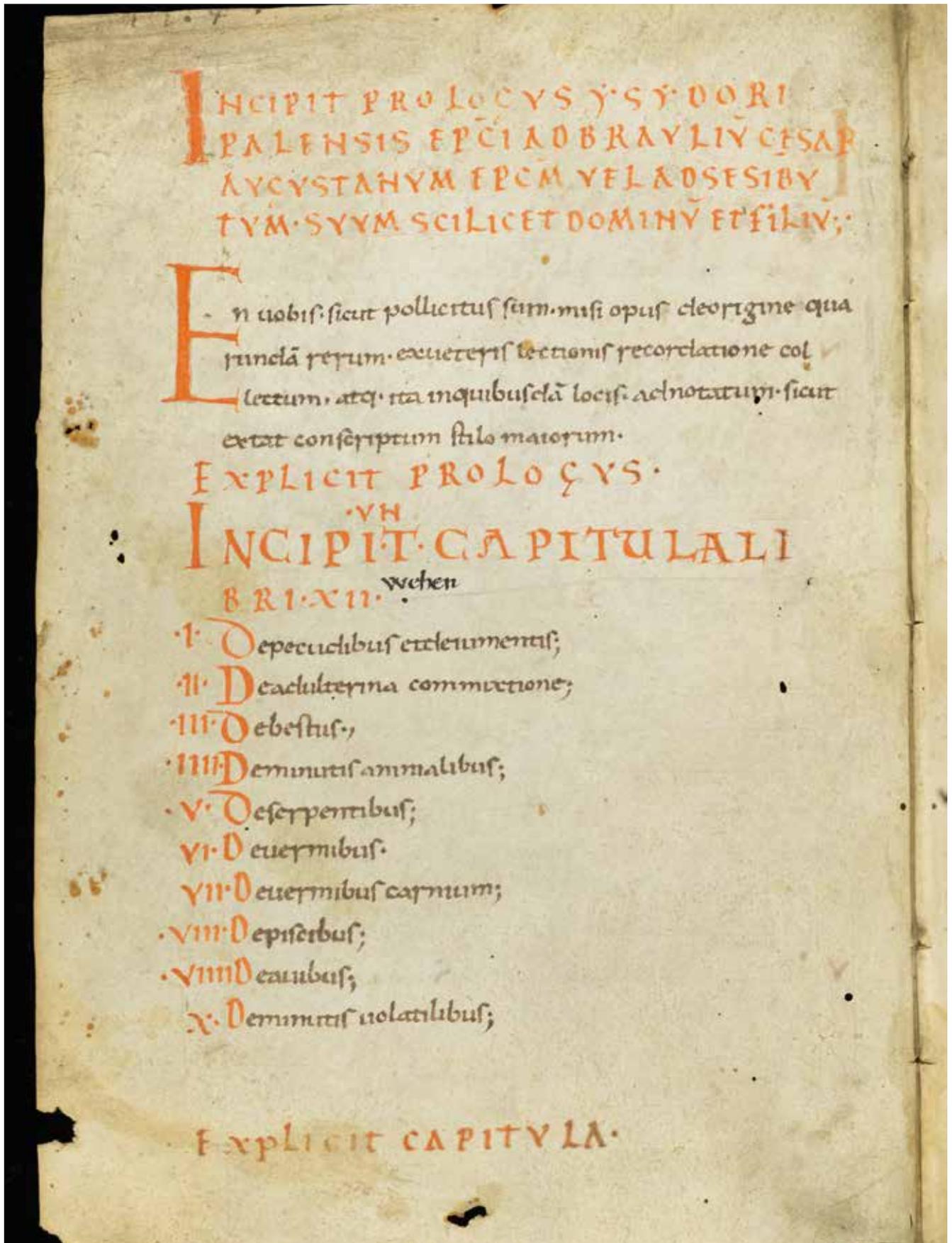


Fig. 1: Isidorus Hispalensis, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri 12-20*, Reichenau 10./11. Jh., Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Ministerialbibliothek, Min. 43, fol. 1^v: *Capitula libri XII*.

Introduction

Tables of Contents

Bruno Reudenbach

All the contributions to this volume were initially papers held at a workshop at the University of Hamburg entitled ‘Indices – Tables of Contents – Registers’, which was hosted by the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) on 6–7 February 2017. The workshop was developed by the ‘Visual Organisation’ Research Group in conjunction with the ‘Paratexts’ Research Group at the Sonderforschungsbereich *Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe*, which is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).

A brief outline of the research area in question will help readers grasp where the topic of the workshop is located in this research context. First and foremost, the ‘visual organisation’ of manuscripts specifically refers to their layout, or *mise-en-page*, i.e. it concerns phenomena relating to a page’s design or, more generally speaking, the design of the writing surface. The ‘visual organisation’ is about the structure and arrangement of this surface, about columns, headlines, the size and colour of the script, and so on. The interests of the ‘Visual Organisation’ Research Group actually went further than analysing the visual arrangement of a writing surface, however. A manuscript is more than just a two-dimensional writing surface; it is a three-dimensional space with its own particular structure and differentiated topography. It has a beginning and an end, a top and a bottom, and it has reverse and obverse sides, regardless of whether it is a codex, scroll or palm-leaf manuscript. This space can be conceived of as the ‘architecture’ of the manuscript, which is constructed and designed to contain writing, images, musical notation and other elements. All the contents of a manuscript are put in this space and have a particular place there, sometimes according to established conventions and sometimes incidentally, sometimes strictly planned, sometimes arbitrarily. The metaphorical term ‘manuscript architecture’ refers to this aspect of ‘visual organisation’ and denotes the manuscript as a purposely constructed, visually organised space. In considering the architecture of a manuscript, one can therefore ask where particular signs, or types of signs,

have been put in a manuscript, how their location within the manuscript serves to distinguish them from one another, and what kinds of hierarchies and relationships are thus created between them. This applies to paratexts and illustrations that accompany a text as well as to different texts within a multiple-text manuscript. Such distinctions, divisions and connections can be effected by the material structure of the manuscript, e.g. by putting different texts on separate or the same pages or quires, or by visual means, e.g. by using headings, different kinds of script, colours, paragraphs, blank lines, reference signs and so on.

The workshop focused on one important type of paratext that is inextricably linked to these properties: tables of contents and indices which may be thought of as instruments that facilitate access to the architecture of a manuscript and that are used for orientation and navigation within this space. Hence they are closely associated with practices of use, e.g. by providing a quick overview of the contents of the manuscript, by making its structure transparent or by enabling the user to find specific parts of the content. So far, very little research has been done on paratexts of this kind in manuscript cultures, especially in non-European ones. Therefore, the primary aim of the workshop was to gain a preliminary overview of the phenomenon for the purpose of collecting examples and undertaking case studies.

The articles published in this volume all focus on tables of contents, i.e. on a type of paratext that initially appears to be simple and clearly defined from the point of view of modern printing cultures. The contributions here show that a surprisingly broad range of forms of such tables are to be found in manuscripts, however. In particular, tables of contents mostly give readers an overview of the contents of a manuscript, but rather surprisingly, they are not directly usable for navigating within the manuscript’s architecture; there is often no connection between the table and the text that follows it, for example. In cases such as these, a table of contents does not (and cannot) indicate a specific place in the

Article

Observations on *breviaria* / *capitula* in Reichenau Gospel Books*

Jochen H. Vennebusch | Hamburg

In the middle of the 4th century CE, Fortunatianus, the Christian bishop of Aquileia, compiled a list of 160 numbered headings of the four Gospels. This list bears the title ‘INCIPIUNT SINGULA CAPITULA AD BREVE, UT LECTIONUM QUAM VELIS CELERIUS INVENIAS’.¹

In this incipit, Fortunatianus reveals the purpose of these small headings to the reader: they serve as a kind of chapter summary of the Gospels and are intended to aid readers in their search for specific chapters within the large corpus of texts contained in the Gospel Book. Very similar indices were produced for these books from the Carolingian and Ottonian age throughout the Middle Ages. This particular study focuses on these short lists of chapter headings in the Gospel Books written in the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery of Mittelzell on the island of Reichenau in Lake Constance in the late tenth and early eleventh century. Three aspects are investigated here: after outlining the corpus of manuscripts, I will concentrate on the particular lists of the *breviaria/breves*

or *capitula*, after which I will endeavour to explore the visual organisation of these indices and their artificial embedding in codices before moving on to propose some of the possible functions these registers may have had.

Produced in the scriptorium of the monastery of Reichenau on the shores of Lake Constance in south-west Germany,² eight Gospel Books have more or less completely survived and are now kept in various libraries and museums. It seems very likely that even more manuscripts of Gospel Books than these were written at Reichenau Monastery. Certain preserved folios in the treasury of Reichenau Minster and in the Biblioteca Queriniana in Brescia suggest that these fragments were originally part of codices of this kind.³

Specifically, the eight Reichenau Gospel Books were produced over more than fifty years: the famous *Liuthar Gospels* – the oldest manuscript of the eight codices – were written between 990 and 1000 CE and given to the Palatine Chapel in Aachen (Domschatzkammer Aachen, G 25). Two further codices were produced for or donated to Bamberg Cathedral; the older of the two was written around the year 1000 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Clm 4453) and the other around 1010 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Clm 4454). A fourth Gospel Book dated to around 1020 was presumably dedicated to the Abbey of Limburg an der Haardt (Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Cologne, Cod. 218). Two later codices were produced for Cologne Cathedral around 1025 (Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Cologne, Cod. 12) and perhaps again originally for Bamberg Cathedral (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen, MS 12). Another codex, which was also written around 1025, contains some late medieval entries from canons of Strasbourg. We do not know where this

* This study is a shortened version of a chapter of my PhD dissertation, *Materialisieren – Erschließen – Deuten: Anlagekonzepte, liturgische Lese- und visualisierte Hermeneutik mittelalterlicher Evangelienbücher am Beispiel der Reichenauer Codices*, submitted in May 2019; see Vennebusch 2022. I would like to express my gratitude to Marcus Stark and especially Harald Horst (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln), to Christine Sauer (Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus Nürnberg), to Christina Hofmann-Randall (Alte Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen) and to Birgitta Falk (Domschatz Aachen) for giving me the opportunity to do research on the breathtaking Reichenau Gospel Books, which are preserved there. I also thank the student assistant on my project, Darya Yakubovich, for her help and diligent work. Furthermore, I would like to thank Andrew Connor and Carl Carter for making the English version of this study much more intelligible and readable. The research for this article was carried out as part of the work conducted by the SFB 950 ‘Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa’ at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Universität Hamburg, and was funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG).

¹ Dorfbauer 2017, 135 (ll. 575–576). The English translation is ‘The individual chapters begin as an index here so you can find the reading you want more quickly’ (translated by the author). See Houghton 2017, 215–237; Dorfbauer 2013a, 395–423.

² For more on the illuminated manuscripts from the scriptorium at Reichenau Monastery, see Berschin and Kuder 2015.

³ Regarding the folio in the Treasury of Reichenau Minster, see Berschin and Kuder 2015, 130–131; Hiller-König and Mueller 2003, 84–87 [text by Birgit Schneider]. As for the Canon Tables in Brescia, see Berschin and Kuder 2015, 134–135; Parker, Milde and Sterneck 1992.

particular manuscript (Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg, Ms. Cent. IV,4) was originally in use after its completion, however. The last manuscript is an unfinished Gospel Book dating to between 1050 and 1070 (Walters Art Museum Baltimore, Ms. W.7). The manuscripts Clm 4454 and Cod. 218 in particular, with their lavishly decorated *breviaria* and chapter divisions, were probably commissioned by the Emperors Henry II and Conrad II and subsequently given to the respective churches.

Before looking at the Gospel Books themselves, it is necessary to clarify the terminology used in the indices in order to understand how these structuring units are named. In current research, there are two possible terms for them: *brevis/breves/breviarium* or *capitula*. In his study *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der Heiligen Schrift insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhunderte*, Otto Schmid classified these units and defined the *brevis/breves* and *breviarium* as extended summaries that condense the content of a particular Gospel chapter in its own words.⁴ Additionally, the expression *brevis* can stand for a single number in a list as well as for the whole indexing system. In contrast, Schmid continues, the *capitula* just repeat the first words of the respective chapter.⁵ Schmid goes on to concede, however, that the terms *brevis/breves*, *breviarium* and *capitula* were often used indiscriminately in Latin medieval Bibles and Gospel Books.⁶

The Latin chapter divisions of the four Gospels stand in the tradition of the Greek κεφάλαια (*kephalaia*) and τίτλοι (*titloi*), which were written at the top of the page, as the expression κεφάλαια, ‘little heads’, suggests.⁷ While questions about the origin and authorship of these indices remain unresolved, parallels can be drawn with the *In Evangelium Matthaei Commentarius* written by Hilarius of Poitiers, who died in 367. The headings contained in this work display chapter divisions in a way that is very similar to the chapter divisions found in the Gospel Books.⁸ Scholars have repeatedly traced back the use of the Latin divisions to Fortunatianus of Aquileia, who died before the year 370.⁹ Lukas J. Dorfbauer found the register attributed to Fortunatianus in a theological anthology (Cod. 17) probably written in the Lower Rhineland

in the late tenth century and now preserved in the Diözesan- und Dombibliothek in Cologne.¹⁰ Even Jerome, the renowned Doctor of the Church (347–420), mentions Fortunatianus in *Viris illustribus*, his biographies of famous men. Jerome writes: ‘Fortunatianus, natione Afer, Aquileiensis episcopus, imperante Constantio, in Evangelia, titulis ordinatis, brevis et rustico sermone scripsit commentarios’.¹¹ As previously mentioned and explicitly reinforced by Fortunatianus, these *capitula* briefly recount the first few words of each chapter, which are closely aligned with the text of the particular Gospel.¹² Unfortunately, these paratexts differ from the texts in the Reichenau Gospel Books; consequently the identity of the author of the indices remains unknown.

Denominating the indices

In the case of the Reichenau Gospel Books, Schmid’s classification of the registers can easily be examined with regard to the particular codices: there is a kind of opening sequence before the beginning of every text in a Gospel. This usually contains the *argumentum*, i.e. a prologue, which provides the reader with information about the Gospel and the evangelist. This is followed by the index of chapters and a portrait of the evangelist. The order in which the indices and the *argumentum* appear often varies in the manuscripts. Usually the registers are introduced by an incipit, indicating the beginning of the list and providing the term for the index (the most relevant point for this investigation). Looking at the different incipits of the manuscript produced for Bamberg Cathedral and now preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Clm 4454), one can observe that the word *brevis* appears once (fol. 85^v) and the word *breves* appears three times (fols 23^r, 125^r and 194^r), so this term occurs once in the singular and three times in the plural form.¹³ In another Reichenau Gospel Book, the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), now in the Diözesan- und Dombibliothek in Cologne (Cod. 12), we can make a completely different observation: in this single manuscript, the writer used the expression *breviarium* for the indices for the Gospel according to Mark (fol. 72^v) and the term *capitula* for the Gospels according

⁴ Schmid 1892, 25–26.

⁵ Schmid 1892, 26.

⁶ Schmid 1892, 25.

⁷ Schmid 1892, 15–16.

⁸ Houghton 2011, 326; Migne 1844, 917–1078 [668–811].

⁹ Beissel 1906, 331.

¹⁰ Dorfbauer 2013b, 177–198.

¹¹ Quotation from Houghton 2017, 215: ‘Fortunatianus, an African by birth, bishop of Aquileia during the reign of Constantius, composed brief commentaries on the Gospels, arranged by chapters [and] written in a rustic style’ (translated by the author).

¹² Dorfbauer 2017, 135–142 (ll. 575–751).

¹³ Klemm 2004, 200–203.

Table 1: Terms used for indices in the incipit entries.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Breves</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	No title	– (lost)	<i>Breviarium</i>	No title
Mark	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Brevis</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	No title	<i>Capitula (add.)</i>	No title
Luke	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Breves</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	No title	<i>Capitulae</i>	No title
John	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Breves</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	No title

to Luke and John (fols 106^r/162^r). The incipit of the index for the Gospel according to Matthew was not completed.¹⁴

In the case of the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), the German historian and palaeographer Hartmut Hoffmann declared that the Gospel book was written by a monk from the monastery of Seeon in Bavaria and illuminated by an artist from Reichenau Monastery in the Cathedral School in Cologne.¹⁵ One could therefore presume that this inconsistent terminology could be traced back to this particular artistic co-operation between Seeon and Reichenau. However, my observations show that even the manuscripts ascribed solely to Reichenau Monastery display these heterogeneous expressions for the indices, except for the very stringent *Liuthar Gospels* (G 25). The different terms for the paratexts – taken from the incipit entries – are listed in Table 1.

In addition, we even find different terms within the incipit and *explicit* lines belonging to one and the same index. In the Gospel Book Ms. Cent. IV,4, for instance, the writer used the expression *capitula* in the index of the Gospel according to Matthew (fol. 10^v), whereas he used the title *breviarium* in the incipit. No later additions of this have been traced, which therefore leads me to believe that these two terms are the original Ottonian words. In the index of the Gospel according to Luke, the Ottonian scribe entitled the index in the incipit ‘capitulae’ (*sic!*) and in doing so employed the wrong Latin plural form of *capitulum*. However, the late medieval scribe who completed this list used the correct term, *capitula*, in his *explicit* (fol. 119^v). In the case of the *Limburg Gospels* (Cod.

218), we also find different expressions in the incipit and *explicit* of the Gospel according to Luke: while this index is introduced by the term *breviarium*, it ends with the expression *capitula* (fol. 108^r).

With regard to these results, one can conclude that both terms may have been used interchangeably and synonymously. Taking a closer look at the content of the indices, one has to say that the definitions contributed by Schmid are actually unsustainable.¹⁶ However, he is right insofar as the different terms were obviously used indiscriminately.¹⁷ Furthermore, the different terms cannot be traced back to a particular period of time. The term *brevis/breves* is used in one older Gospel Book from Reichenau (Clm 4454), whereas *capitula* and *breviarium* are in the older codices as well as the newer ones. Since the incipit cites the term of the list repeatedly, one has to deal with the different titles *brevis/breves/breviaria* as well as *capitula* and comply with the given terms each time. Let us now take a closer look at the indices belonging to the opening sequence of the particular Gospels.

The visual organisation of the *breviaria/capitula*

The characteristic structure of these lists can be explained very well using the example of the *Limburg Gospels* (Cod. 218), dated around 1020. At first glance one can see that the index in this work is structured in a remarkably uniform way (Fig. 1): at the top of the left page (fol. 8^v) one can read the last few lines of the prologue to the Gospel according to Matthew. Below that, there is a rubricated line that unequivocally

¹⁴ Vennebusch 2019a; Euw 2008, 251–300; Bloch 1959, 9–40.

¹⁵ Hoffmann 1986, 408–410.

¹⁶ Schmid 1892, 25–26.

¹⁷ Schmid 1892, 26.

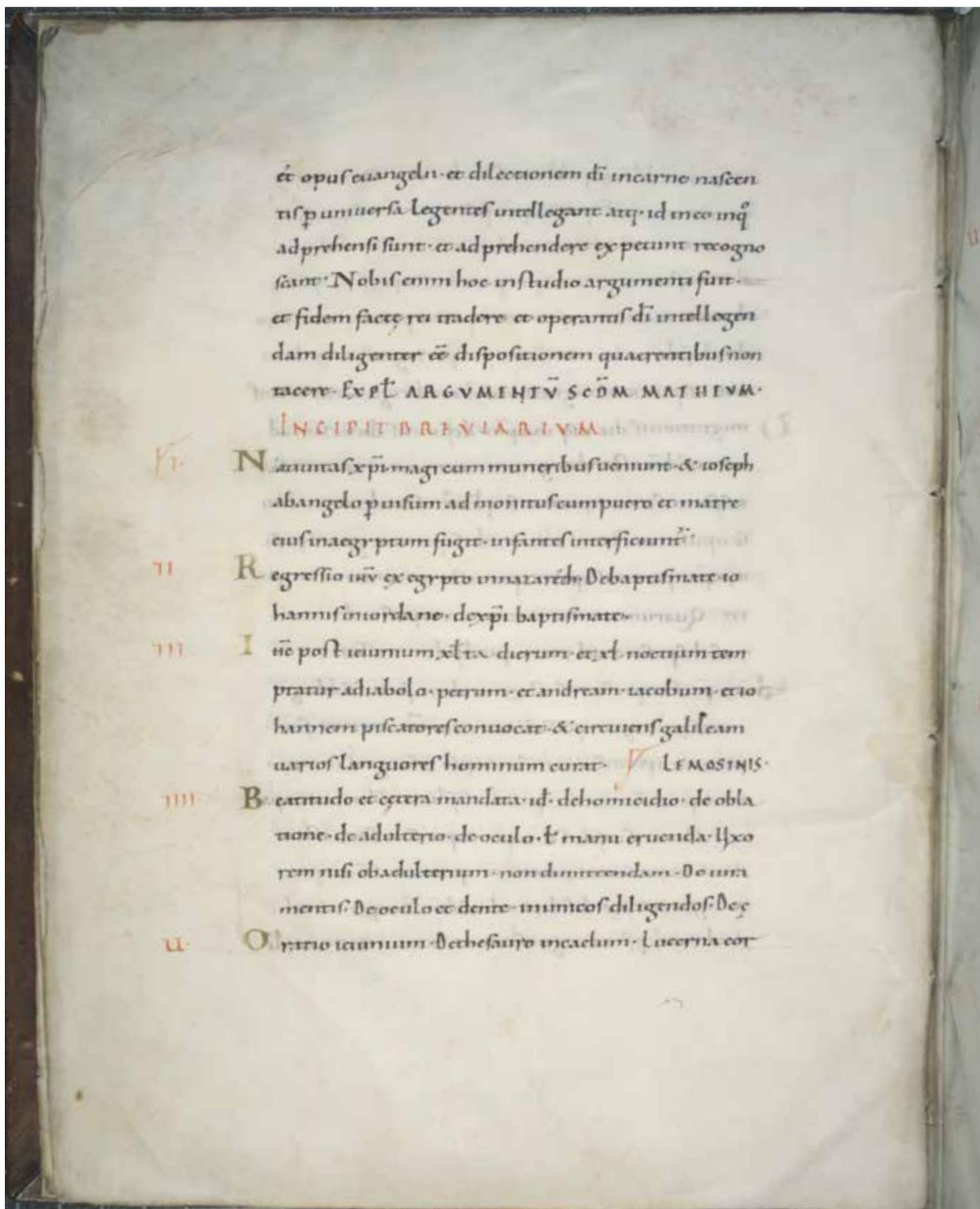


Fig. 1: Beginning of the *breviarium* (Matthew), *Limburg Gospels*, Reichenau, c.1025, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 218, fol. 8r.

indicates the beginning of the *breviarium*. Immediately under this incipit, one finds the first *brevis* (as the register is named *breviarium*), the first short summary of a particular chapter of the Gospel. The *mise-en-page* is very regular here: in the left-hand margin, there is a rubricated Roman numeral designating the number of the chapter. On the left side of the rectangular justification with the Carolingian minuscule script, the writer has placed several golden characters written in a larger uncial script to mark the beginning of each *brevis*.

In order to go into further detail and analyse the visual organisation of the *breves*, the particular entries in the index, we shall now go on to compare some *breviaria/capitula* in other Gospel Books. As we are just focusing on the beginning of the index to the Gospel according to Matthew here, the structure will provide us with the best comparison. Looking at the Gospel Book again, which was once used in Bamberg Cathedral (Clm 4454), one can see that the *breves*, as they are called here, begin on fol. 23^r after the *argumentum* to the Gospel according to Matthew, the *explicit* of the *argumentum* and after the incipit of the *breves* (Fig. 2). The Roman numerals of the particular *breves* are written in red ink in the left margin and the first character of each *brevis* is written in a rubricated uncial script to the left of the justification. In this case, the very first paragraph initial – the N of the first *brevis* – is highlighted in a golden *capitalis quadrata*. As a result, we can see that the *breviarium* and the *capitula* regularly begin after a rubricated incipit in Clm 4454. Then the numbers of the *breves* are written

in rubricated Roman numerals in the left margin and the first character of each *brevis* is highlighted with a golden paragraph initial at the beginning or by a rubricated versal uncial script, so each *brevis* begins after a line break. Looking at a third example – the codex from Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (Ms. W.7), the youngest Gospel Book in this investigation – one can find the highlighted golden versals, but there is neither an incipit nor a Roman numeral in the left margin on fol. 21^r. Presumably, this Gospel Book was never finished. This theory is backed up by further details that can be observed, such as the lack of the *capitulare evangeliorum*, for example, which lists the pericopes according to the order of the liturgical year. So in this case, it is only the arrangement of the versals that indicates the beginning of a new *brevis*.

This point – highlighting the beginning of each *brevis* – leads us to the topic of the numbers of the *breves/capitula*. As Table 2 shows, the number of the chapter units indicated by the rubricated Roman numeral varies in the different manuscripts: In addition, one has to keep in mind that just four manuscripts show (almost) the entire *apparatus* of the *breves/capitula*. These imperial donations have highlighted paragraph initials and versals as well as numbering in Roman numerals. A few of the *breves/capitula* are complete in two other manuscripts, but in all the other codices it is only possible to deduce the number of *breves/capitula* from the visual organisation of this list – from the uncial versal after the line break, for instance.

Table 2: Number of chapter units in the particular indices.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	25	28 (?)	28	28	28 (?)	– (lost)	25	29 (?)
Mark	12	13	13	13	13 (?)	13 (?)	13 (? add.)	13 (?)
Luke	20	21	20	20	22 (?)	22 (?)	20 (? add.)	22 (?)
John	15	13	14	13	13 (?)	14	15	13 (?)

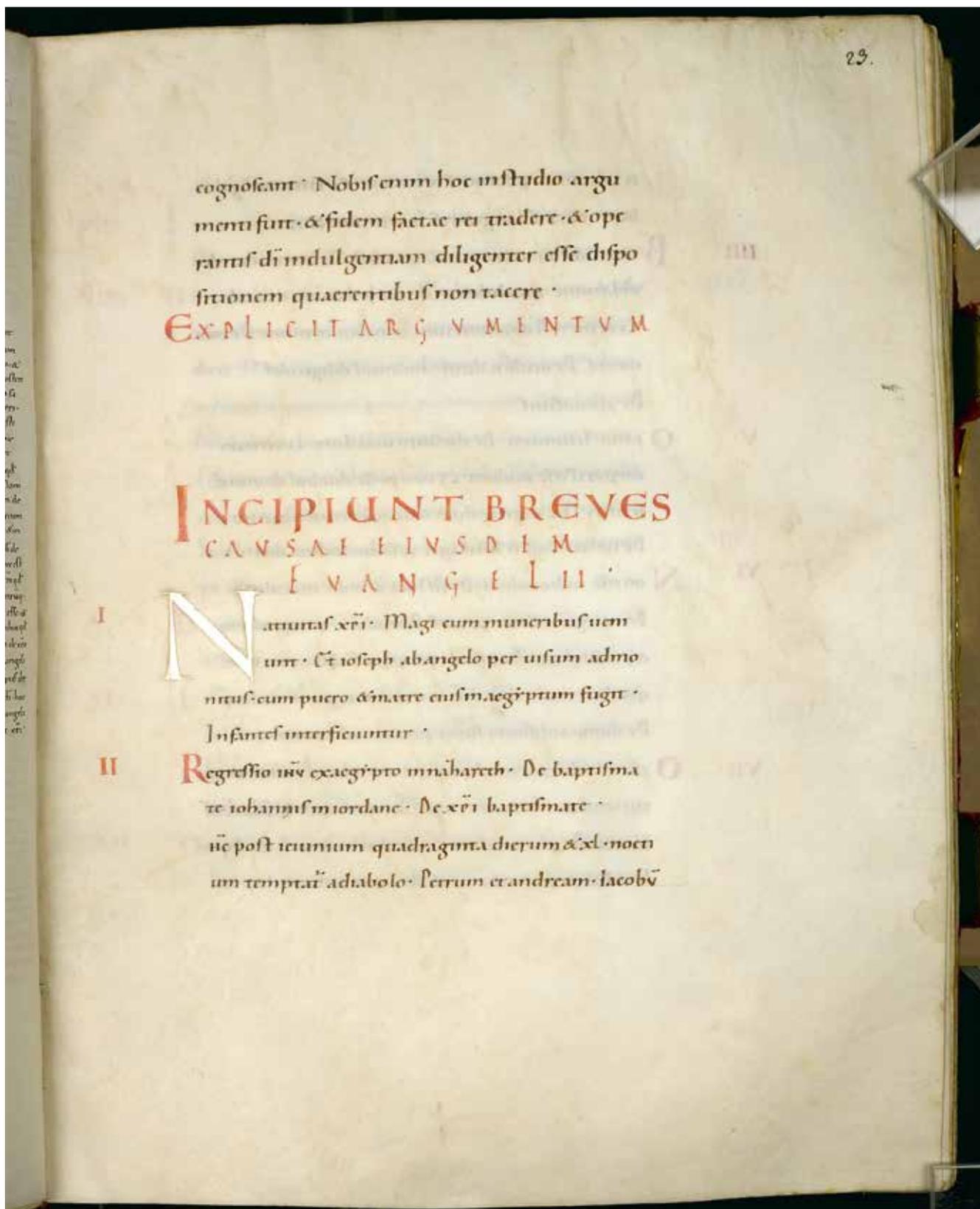


Fig. 2: Beginning of the *breves causae* (Matthew), Gospel Book, Reichenau, c. 1010, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 4454, fol. 23r.

The content of the indices

Having thought about the visual organisation of this list, we shall take a look at the content of these indices in order to understand the specific characteristic of the *breves*. The first *brevis* to Matthew according to ‘type A’ shows the characteristics of this particular entry:

Nativitas christi. magi cum muneribus veniunt et ioseph ab angelo per visum admonitus cum puero et matre eius in aegyptum fugit. infantes interficiuntur.

The birth of Christ. The magi come with gifts and Joseph flees to Egypt with the boy child and his mother after having been admonished by an angel in an apparition. The children are killed.¹⁸

In this example, the *brevis* condenses the content of the history of the birth and childhood of Jesus Christ in its own words, reducing it to three sentences (a few lines in the manuscript). Sometimes the sentences only contain nouns and are reminiscent of a telegraphic style of writing, while in other cases one finds longer sentences that contain verbs, but are composed in easily intelligible Latin. Whereas the text of the Gospel according to Matthew formulates a complex

conception of the descent of Jesus Christ and the theological importance of certain events in his childhood, the *brevis* just states a few key facts about the incidents. Without knowing the proper content of the main text, the reader cannot entirely understand the meaning of the Gospel just by reading the list of *breves*. With regard to the *breves/capitula*, it is interesting to note that there are two different versions of this index in the Gospel Books from the island of Reichenau. Donatien de Bruyne collected the different versions of the chapter divisions and published them in 1914 in an edition entitled *Sommaires, Divisions et Rubriques de la Bible Latine*. Versions A and B largely conform with the classification in de Bruyne’s edition (Table 3).

As one can see, the versions of the manuscripts Clm 4453, Cod. 12, Ms. W.7 and presumably also MS 12 conform as well as the four Gospel Books G 25, Clm 4454, Cod. 218 and Ms. Cent. IV,4.¹⁹ The reasons for the choice of the particular types of *breves/capitula* are currently unknown. Hartmut Hoffmann attributed at least the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12) and the Gospel Book at Erlangen University Library (MS 12) to a writer from the monastery of Seeon and a painter from Reichenau Monastery.²⁰ If this really was the case, then the different versions might be traced back to some kind of master copy of the text used in the monasteries.

Table 3: Index versions in the Gospel Books from Reichenau according to Donatien de Bruyne.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	A	A	A	A	A	– (lost)	A	A
Mark	B	A	B	B	A	A	B	A
Luke	B	A	B	B	A	A	B	A
John	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A

¹⁸ Bruyne 2014, 270 (translation by the author).

¹⁹ Similar research has been conducted by Carl Nordenfalk concerning the Gospel Books from Echternach Abbey; see Nordenfalk 1971, 51–53.

²⁰ Hoffmann 1986, 408–410.

The chapter divisions in the texts of the four Gospels

Having analysed the lists of the *breves/capitula*, we now turn to the counterparts of these chapter divisions in the Gospels. Folio 27^r from the codex Clm 4454, which was once used in Bamberg Cathedral, again contains rectangular justification written in a Carolingian minuscule (Fig. 3). The writer placed the Eusebian *sectiones* and a rubricated Roman numeral in the left-hand margin, the latter under a rectangular paren. He painted a splendid initial in colour next to this, extending over four lines. The words immediately following the initial are written in a rubricated uncial script. The line below and the last line of the preceding chapter are written in the same colour as the text, but in the *capitalis rustica* script.²¹ The chapter, the beginning of which is heralded by the Roman numeral placed under a paren and by the initial and highlighted lines, reports on the birth and childhood of Jesus and establishes an immediate connection between the content of the *brevis/capitulum* and the particular chapter for the reader. The other chapters also have a similar beginning. This Gospel Book shares this specific mode of visually organising its divisions with the *Limburg Gospels* (Cod. 218): on folio 23^r the writer again placed a Roman numeral – without a paren this time – in the margin or in the line above the first line of the chapter (Fig. 4). The beginnings of the texts are lavishly decorated and open with an unusually decorated initial, and the first line (or even the first two lines) is/are highlighted by an uncial script occasionally followed by a line written in *capitalis rustica*.

In the case of the *Reichenau Gospels* preserved in Baltimore (Ms. W.7), the Roman numerals indicating the beginning of a new chapter and usually written in the margins are missing. Seeing as the Eusebian *sectiones*, the incipits (which are often rubricated) and the Roman numbering of the *breviaria/capitula* have not been completed, it is obvious that this codex is unfinished. In this Gospel Book, the beginning of a new chapter is only indicated by a different script, which is larger and golden – a mixture of uncial and *capitalis rustica*. One can observe the same phenomenon in the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12) from Cologne Cathedral. In this manuscript, a rubricated Roman numeral only appears in a margin on one occasion (fol. 25^v), so the beginning of a new chapter can usually be deduced from the size of the characters and the different script used (Fig. 5). Table 4 shows the numbers of the chapters in the particular Gospel Books from Reichenau.

Since the rubricated Roman numbering has only been completed (or just about completed) in five manuscripts and in one chapter of the Gospel Book in Nuremberg Ms. Cent. IV,4, the number of chapters has to be traced back from the visual organisation of the text. By comparing the number of *breves/capitula* with the number of chapters of the text of the particular Gospels, it becomes apparent that there is a significant discrepancy, even in the manuscripts that have Roman numbering in the *breves/capitula* and the Gospel text (Table 5).

Table 4: Numbers of the chapters in the particular texts of the four Gospels in the manuscripts from Reichenau.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	28	28	28	28	–	28	28 (?)	27 (?)
Mark	13	13	13	13	–	13	13	12 (?)
Luke	20	21	20	21	–	21	–	20 (?)
John	13	14	13	13	–	14	–	12 (?)

²¹ Leidinger 1921, 14.

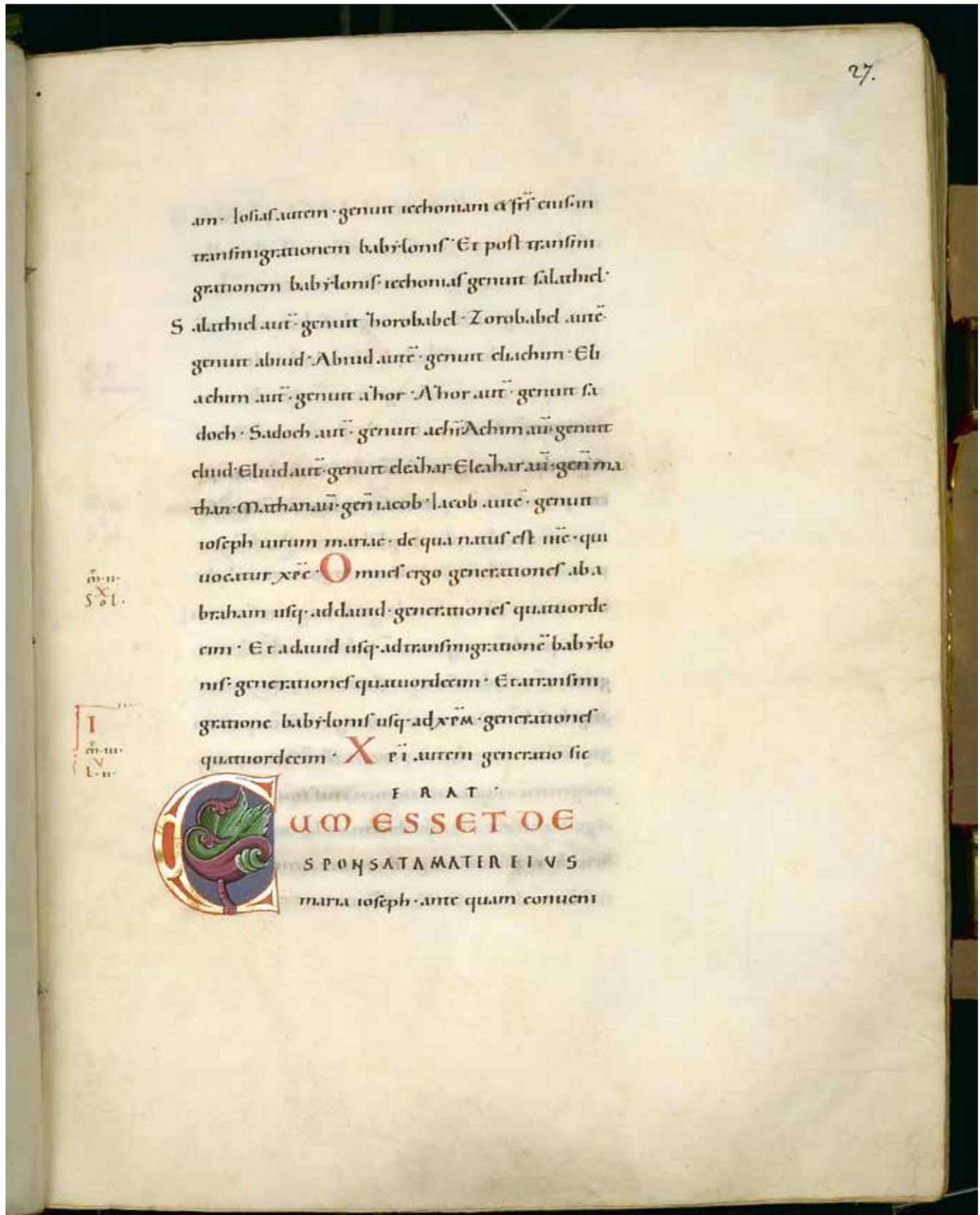


Fig. 3: Beginning of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, Gospel Book, Reichenau, c.1010, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 4454, fol. 27.

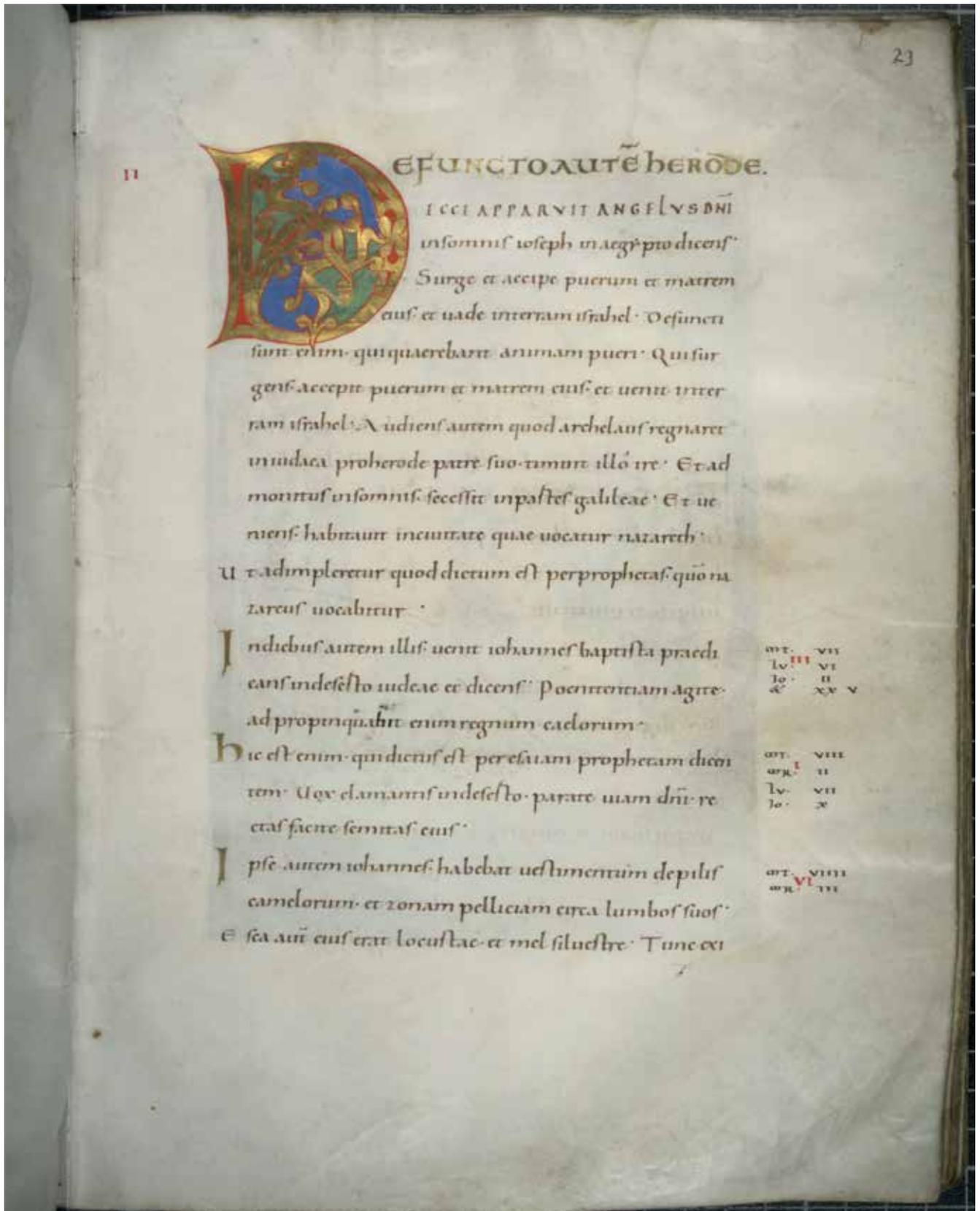


Fig. 4: Beginning of the second chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, *Limburg Gospels*, Reichenau, c.1025, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 218, fol. 23'.

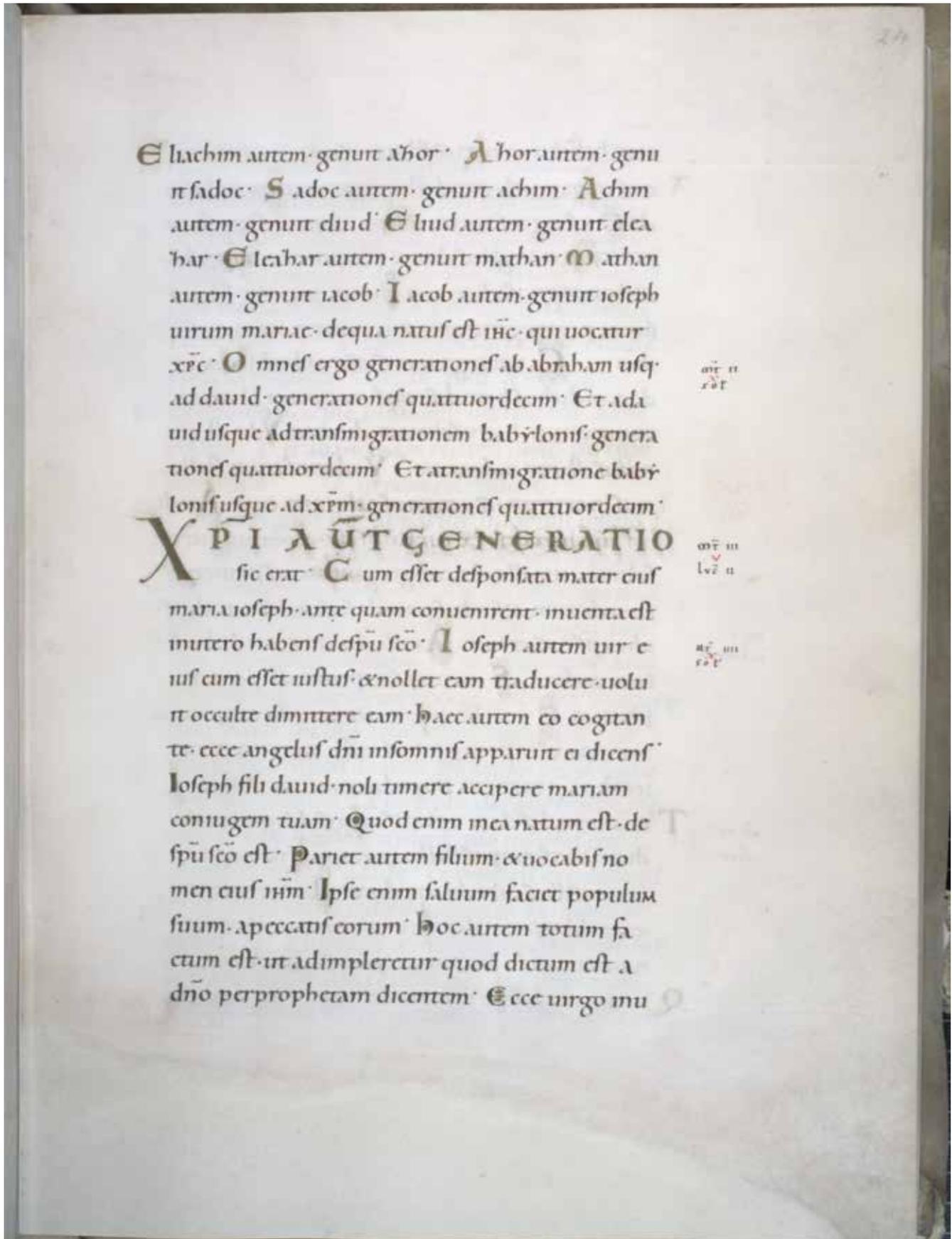


Fig. 5: Beginning of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, *Hillinus-Codex*, Reichenau, c.1020, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 12, fol. 24r.

Table 5: Comparison of the number of *breves/capitula* within the indices with the number of chapters in the Gospels.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	25 / 28	28 (?) / 28	28 / 28	28 / 28	28 (?) / –	– (lost) / 28	25 / 28 (?)	29 (?) / 27 (?)
Mark	12 / 13	13 / 13	13 / 13	13 / 13	13 (?) / –	13 (?) / 13	13 (? add.) / 13	13 (?) / 12 (?)
Luke	20 / 20	21 / 21	20 / 20	20 / 21	22 (?) / –	22 (?) / 21	20 (? add.) / –	22 (?) / 20 (?)
John	15 / 13	13 / 14	14 / 13	13 / 13	13 (?) / –	14 / 14	15 / –	13 (?) / 12 (?)

The results of this investigation show a strong disparity with regard to the *breves/capitula*. Whereas all of the Gospel Books from Reichenau Monastery include these lists and indices as texts that seem to have been planned according to a consistent visual organisational scheme, the artistic realisation is, in fact, fragmentary: the Roman numbering is often missing and one finds different numbers of *breves/capitula* and chapters in the registers and beside the text of the Gospels. This detail is especially surprising since the *breves/capitula* clearly refer to one particular chapter in the Gospels.

Indices and liturgical reading

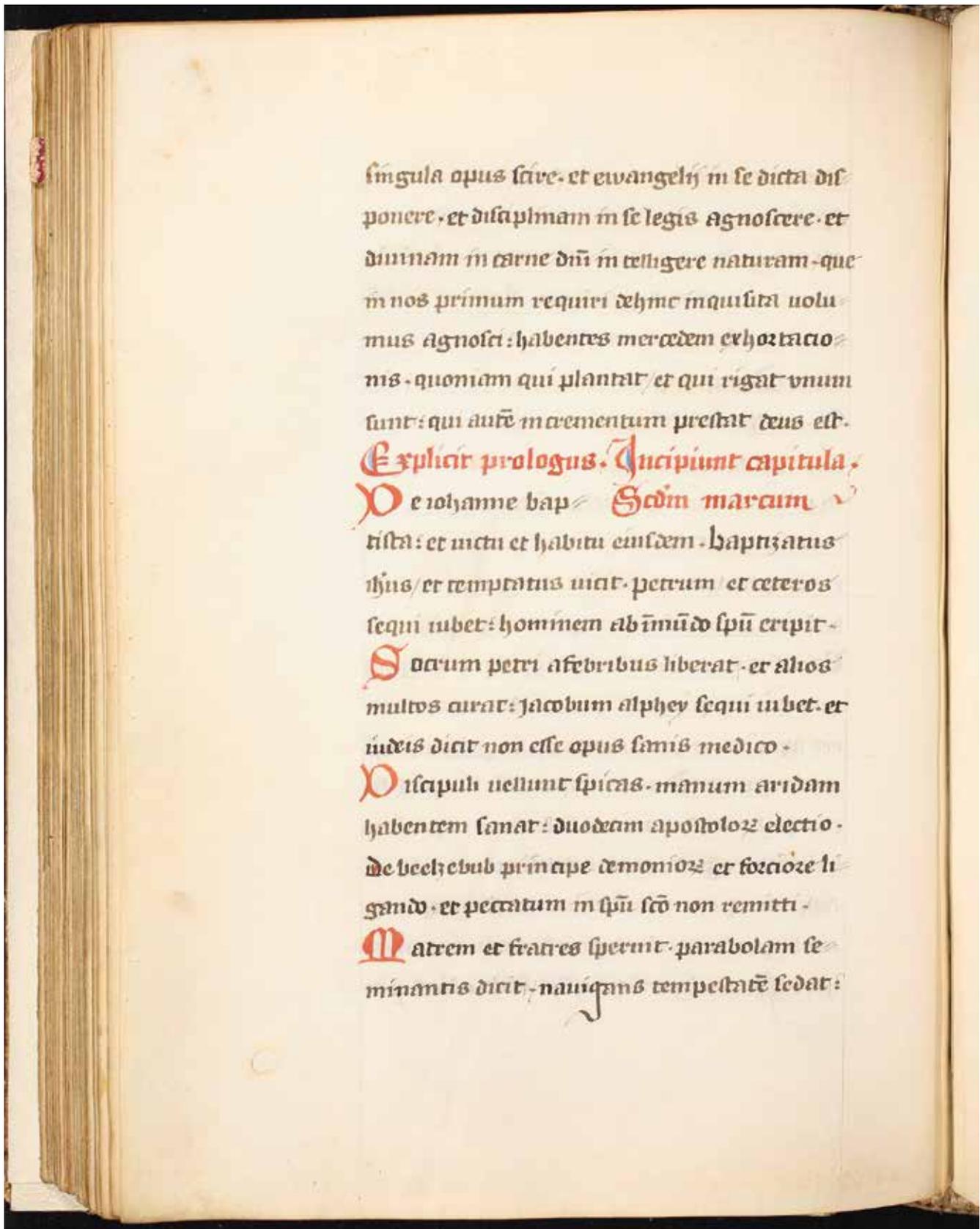
Now, in this last step, we shall pursue the possible reasons for this presumably subordinate handling of the indices. The result will certainly relate to the function of the codices. We therefore have to try to discover why these registers were incorporated into the medieval Gospel Books in the first place. To begin with, the *breves/capitula* were not necessary for liturgical use of the manuscripts during the Middle Ages. What was important in order to use a Gospel Book for divine worship was the marginal notes in the Eusebian sections. These indices are included in all the Gospel codices from Reichenau except for the Gospel Book that is probably unfinished, which is now preserved in Baltimore (Ms. W.7).²² It is not surprising, then, that the Roman numerals indicating the numbering of the *breves/capitula* and the chapters are missing in this particular manuscript. We can also interpret the extensive absence of the indices in the Gospel Book in Nuremberg (Ms. Cent. IV,4) and in the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12) as a hint suggesting that these manuscripts are also unfinished. The codex Ms. Cent.

IV,4 is a fragment because the *capitulare evangeliorum*, an index of all the pericopes, which is usually placed at the end of the Gospel Book and lists the liturgical readings for each day of the year, is missing. Two *capitula* (fols 75^v–76^v / parts of fols 115^r–119^v) were added partially in the Late Middle Ages – without the Roman ordinal numbers – because they were obviously missing, whereas no palimpsests can be found here (Fig. 6). The amendment of these two indices can perhaps be traced back to exegetical interests because further rubricated late-medieval chapter divisions were written in the manuscript that largely correspond to the Ottonian chapter divisions. Probably they were added for exegetical purposes, as in the Late Middle Ages the Gospel Books were slowly replaced by Gospel Lectionaries and Missals only containing the pericopes to be read during the service. Presumably in the fifteenth century, this codex was given to the Dominican monastery in Nuremberg by a canon of a collegiate church in Strasbourg, so it is possible that the manuscript was used for exegetical studies in Franconia or even in Strasbourg.²³

In the case of the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), the Eusebian sections, which are necessary for the liturgical reading of the pericope, are almost complete, but the rubricated Roman numerals in the Eusebian notations are missing between fols 26^v and 71^v (the Gospel according to Matthew), between fols 74^r and 104^r (the Gospel according to Mark), between fols 122^r and 161^v (the Gospel according to Luke), and between fols 163^r and 202^v (the Gospel according to John). These numbers were not necessarily intended for liturgical readings and their absence coincides with the structure of the quires; the rubrication is completely missing on some quires,

²² Miner 1936, 168–185.

²³ Neske 1987, 30.



ſingula opus ſare. et ewangelij in ſe dicta diſ-
 ponere. et diſaplmam in ſe legis agnoſcere. et
 diuinam in carne dñi in telligere naturam. que
 in nos primum requiri de hinc in quilita uolu-
 mus agnoſci: habentes mercedem exhortatio-
 nis. quoniam qui plantat et qui rigat unum
 ſunt: qui autē incrementum preſtat deus eſt.
Explicit prologus. Incipiunt capitula.
De iohanne bap **Scdm marcum**
 tiſta: et uictu et habitu euſdem. baptizatus
 ihus et temptatus uicit. petrum et ceteros
 ſequi iubet: hominem ab imūdo ſpū eripit.
Socrum petri a febris liberat. et alios
 multos curat: iacobum alphej ſequi iubet. et
 iudeis dicit non eſſe opus ſanis medico.
Diſcipuli uellunt ſpicas. manum aridam
 habentem ſanat: duodecim apoſtolorū electio.
 De beelzebub principe demoniorū et forcioze li-
 gando. et peccatum in ſpū ſcō non remitti.
Matrem et fratres ſpernit. parabolam ſe-
 minantis dicit. nauigans tempeſtatē ſedat:

Fig. 6: Added late medieval beginning of the *capitula* (Mark), Gospel Book, Reichenau, c.1020, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus Nürnberg, Cent. IV,4, fol. 75^v.

for example. This circumstance may give us an insight into the process of producing these manuscripts: after adjusting the page and providing the lines, as a first step, obviously, the Gospels and the Eusebian notations were written in a dark brown Carolingian minuscule and parts of them were highlighted by lines drawn in an uncial style. The quires must have been given to the rubricator later, who added the particular numbers and lines in red ink. It seems that this later production step was forgotten or intentionally left out in some of the quires. The *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), therefore, could have been used for the liturgical reading, but were not actually completed. One can observe a similar phenomenon in the case of the *Gospels of Otto III* (Clm 4453) in the Bavarian State Library in Munich: all the chapters were begun with a golden paragraph initial and a first line written in a rubricated uncial script. In some cases (as on fol. 242^v and fol. 246^r), the rubricator wrote the last syllable(s) or the last word(s) of this line in the line above it, which actually belongs to the preceding chapter. This indicates that the main text, written in a dark brown Carolingian minuscule, must have been completed before the rubricator added the first line of the particular chapter. Since the space was too narrow sometimes, the rubricator had to draw next to the previous line.

Tracing the functions of the indices

What can these results tell us about the functions of the *breviaria/capitula*? In his letter to Pope Damasus, which is known as *Novum opus*, Jerome explains that he has also adopted the Eusebian sections from the original Greek versions of the Gospels and integrated them into his unifying Latin translation. In addition, he even gives precise information on the layout of the marginal notations that can usually be found in every Gospel Book, since they were necessary to identify the pericopes for liturgical reading in the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, there are no comments from Jerome on the *breves/capitula*, but these chapter divisions were unnecessary for celebrating the liturgy because the *capitulare evangeliorum*, a list usually put at the end of each Gospel Book, only refers to the Eusebian sections. As Hugh A. G. Houghton suggests with regard to early Latin versions of the Gospels, these *breviaria/capitula* may have had a referential purpose and show ‘a growing emphasis on the form of the scriptural text along with the fixing of the canon’.²⁴ So it is probable that these notations were incorporated into

the codices by late antique Christian scribes and were used for their interpretation of the four Gospels. Since the production of these manuscripts was highly complex and very expensive, one should bear in mind that when such an annotated Gospel Book was copied – one that served liturgical purposes as well as being used for exegetical studies – these notations were copied as well. The different numbers of the divisions and the varying versions of the *breves/capitula* can probably be traced back to the use of different master copies, as the manuscripts, which were written on the island of Reichenau, are part of a long tradition of copying and were written over a period of at least fifty years.

Another aspect seems to be rather more important here, however: while the *breviaria/capitula* were not necessary for celebrating the liturgy in medieval times, they actually played a significant role in divine services performed in Late Antiquity. The order of readings, which is codified in the *capitulare evangeliorum*, can be traced back to the middle of the seventh century.²⁵ Before this order prevailed, the choice of the pericopes was not regulated systematically. However, a close connection between the place of the liturgical celebration, the day in the liturgical calendar and the pericope can be observed. Some examples taken from Egeria’s *Peregrinatio* – an account of a Gaul’s pilgrimage to the Holy Land – may make this clearer: Egeria explains that during the divine service, at particular places related to an Old or New Testament event, the readings were proclaimed that report the story.²⁶ Furthermore, the pilgrim describes the liturgical celebrations during Holy Week and the proclamation of the Gospel in detail. Again, the close connection between the event of salvific history, the place of the service, the day of the liturgical calendar and the pericope is obvious.²⁷ The chosen pericopes focus on the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and these passages were proclaimed at the ‘authentic’ places of the biblical events.²⁸ Egeria must have been fascinated by the proper choice of the pericopes as she explicitly mentions the attribution of the feast days and readings:

²⁵ Klauser 1935.

²⁶ Röwekamp 1995, 135, 137, 213; on the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (with further literature), see Baldovin 1987, 55–57.

²⁷ The Stational Liturgy in Jerusalem is not limited to solemn occasions or feast days; the bishop celebrated the divine service at varying places. See Baldovin 1987, 58.

²⁸ See Baldovin 1987, 45–55 on the Early Christian ‘holy places’ that Egeria visited.

²⁴ Houghton 2011, 349.

Among other things, it is quite remarkable that they always manage to sing the right psalms and antiphons. Those that are sung at night, in the morning and all through the day until the Sext or Non or the Lucernarium are relevant and well-suited insofar as they refer to the particular event that is celebrated.²⁹

According to Egeria's account, some pericopes must have been proclaimed once a week. So the bishop did not only read the passage on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ at Easter, but every Sunday during the vigil in the Anastasis of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁰ In order to achieve more congruence between the holy place, the feast day or occasion of the celebration and the pericope, this way of proclaiming the Gospel successively replaced the *lectio continua*, which was common originally.³¹ This system of reading the Gospels on particular occasions was also established at other places outside Jerusalem as well: Augustine of Hippo mentions that – starting with the liturgical readings for the *maior* feasts of Jesus Christ – the pericopes were allocated to particular occasions with regard to the meaning of the celebration, so the *lectio continua* was interrupted quite often.³² Cyrille Vogel points out that the right pericopes were proclaimed on feast days in some local churches, especially those of venerated saints.³³ He says it is very likely there is 'the possibility that at the same period there existed something like and [*sic!*] overall arrangement of readings for the entire year'.³⁴ Since the number of feast days – especially to commemorate martyrs – increased in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the number of applicable pericopes increased as well, while the *lectio continua* was kept as it was.³⁵

²⁹ Röwekamp 1995, 236: 'Hoc autem inter omnia satis precipuum est, quod faciunt ut psalmi vel antiphonae apti semper dicuntur, tamqui nocte dicuntur, tam qui contra matutina, tam etiam qui per diem vel sexta aut nona vel ad lucernare, semper ita apti et ita rationabiles, ut ad ipsam rem pertineant, quae agitur' (translation by the author).

³⁰ Röwekamp 1995, 244: 'legat episcopus intra Ansastase locum resurrectionis Domini de evangelio, sicut et toto anno dominicis diebus fit' (translation by the author).

³¹ Klauser 1935, XI; Jungmann 1952, 510. Rouwhorst says that the focus of the *lectio continua* is on the biblical book, which thus receives 'its own right', meaning that a systematic form of exegesis could be conducted. Additionally, the *lectio continua* could be regarded as a kind of meditation or religious exercise; see Rouwhorst 2013, 838.

³² By analysing the sermons of Augustine, Stephan Beissel reconstructs the reading system of the church of Hippo, which has pericopes for the feast days. See Beissel 1907, 41–47; cf. Klauser 1935, XII f.; Jungmann 1952, 510; Dijk 1969, 225–226.

³³ Vogel 1986, 300.

³⁴ Vogel 1986, 302.

³⁵ Rouwhorst 2013, 838; Kunzler 2003, 236.

The Gospel Books, of course, had to fulfil the requirements of this way of reading and proclaiming the Gospel according to the congruence between feast days or liturgical commemoration and the pericope. On the one hand, the passage had to be found within the entity of the manuscript, while on the other, a determination of the relation of liturgical celebrations and pericopes seemed to be obvious. Thus, with regard to the content, proper texts from the four Gospels were assigned to particular feast days in the ecclesiastical calendar. First traces of a set system of readings can be found outside Jerusalem in Gaul during the fifth century, for example.³⁶ Furthermore, the first written evidence of a mandatory determination of the *capitula*, as these readings are named in this early index, can be dated to the seventh century.³⁷ It is therefore very likely that the *breviaria/capitula* of the Gospel Books, which contain short summaries of passages in the texts of the Gospels they refer to, served as a way of helping the reader find the right pericope. These easily understandable indices summarised the content in a simple, abbreviated way, while the well-educated clergymen – especially the bishops – were also familiar with the detailed theological background. Since 'the bishop was perfectly free to choose the passages that were to be read',³⁸ the *breviaria/capitula* helped one find a suitable pericope for a particular day. Therefore, the *breviaria/capitula* were added to the codices as a kind of tool, even though the manuscripts did not originally contain any numbered chapter divisions in their Latin form.³⁹ This relationship between the proclaimed passages and the occasions of the liturgical celebration provided an additional 'benefit' in comparison to the *lectio continua*: the preacher was able to interpret the pericope with the event in mind.⁴⁰ In terms of the feast days of the saints, in particular, this re-reading of the Gospel stressed the *imitatio Christi* of the particular saint in question.⁴¹ To come back to Fortunatianus of Aquileia again, the incipit of his *capitula*

³⁶ Dijk 1969, 225–226.

³⁷ Regarding the development of the reading system and the choice of pericopes, see Jungmann 1952, 510; cf. Klauser 1935, XII on the dating of the documentary evidence.

³⁸ Vogel 1986, 302.

³⁹ Houghton 2011, 320.

⁴⁰ Rouwhorst 2013, 838.

⁴¹ See Angenendt 2007, 35–38 and Beissel 1907, 46 on the *imitatio Christi* of the Saints.

‘INCIPIUNT SINGULA CAPITULA AD BREVE, UT LECTIONUM QUAM VELIS CELERIUS INVENIAS’⁴² suggests that even this index was used to find the proper passage for a liturgical reading. Furthermore, Theodor Klauser collected evidence about the use of the term *capitula* to signify a liturgical pericope.⁴³ Additionally, in Egeria’s famous account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the proclamation of biblical texts is always expressed by various finite forms of the verb *legere* (‘to read’).⁴⁴ Regarding the stationary liturgy of the Holy Week in Jerusalem, Egeria also describes the celebration of Palm Sunday:

Hora ergo septima omnis populus ascendet in monte Oliveti, ed est in Eleona, in ecclesia; sedet episcopus, dicuntur ymni et antiphonae apte diei ipsi vel loco, lectiones etiam similiter.

At the seventh hour, all the people climb up the Mount of Olives. This is in Eleona, and they enter the church [there]. The bishop sits down, appropriate hymns and antiphons are sung with regard to the particular day and place, and the readings are made in a similar way.⁴⁵

Egeria went on her pilgrimage to the Holy Land between 381 and 384, just a few decades after Fortunatianus of Aquileia compiled his headings of the four Gospels. Since she explicitly names the liturgical readings *lectiones*, we can conclude that Fortunatianus may also have meant these readings when he used the term *lectionum in the incipit* of his *capitula*.

Later developments

In the early seventh century at the latest, the rather inordinate system of readings was replaced by a strictly determined reading system using the *capitulare evangeliorum*, so the *breviaria/capitula* became useless for selecting appropriate pericopes for particular occasions. Theodor Klauser, who diligently carried out research on the *capitulare evangeliorum* in the 1930s, dated the first written evidence of this kind of index to around 645 CE.⁴⁶ This index usually begins with the

pericope for the vigil at Christmas Eve and lists all the days of the liturgical year together with the attributed passage of the Gospel. Thus, the *capitulare evangeliorum* contains all the information for the readings on particular feast days and on the days of Ordinary Time as well as on certain special occasions like the dedication of a church.

The *capitulare evangeliorum* is closely related to the Eusebian *sectiones*.⁴⁷ In the late third or early fourth century, Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea (*260/264, †329/330), divided the text of the four Gospels into a number of sections (Matthew – 355 / Mark – 233 / Luke – 342 / John – 232) and wrote a small synoptic table in the margin.⁴⁸ Additionally, Eusebius composed the canon tables that display entries by listing all the congruent *sectiones* in one line to which sections of the different Gospels structurally conform.⁴⁹ At the beginning, the marginal matrix states the abbreviation of the name of a particular evangelist beside whose Gospel this notation is placed, along with a continuously written Roman numeral of the *sectio*. One finds a second Roman numeral (I–X) under this line, which indicates the number of the canon and therefore shows the canon table in which the particular section and corresponding sections can be found. In the margins, these corresponding *sectiones* are noted in the lines below the Roman numeral of the canon by giving the abbreviation of the names of the other evangelists as well as the particular Roman numerals of the *sectio*. Now, the numbering of the *sectiones* is important for the *capitulare evangeliorum*: these particular entries are structured in a highly regular manner and first mention the name of the feast or the day of the ecclesiastical calendar. Sometimes even the Roman church is stated where the papal stationary liturgy was celebrated that day.⁵⁰ The particular Gospel (according to Matthew, Mark, Luke or John) and the Eusebian *sectio*, which contains the pericope, come after that. Since the pericopes are not usually congruent with the *sectiones*, the phrase for the beginning (‘In illo tempore...’) and the first and last words of the division (after the word ‘usque’) are also provided.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Ganz 2012, 326.

⁴⁸ See Hollerich 2013, 629–652 and Shepard 2012, 345 on the acts of Eusebius. See Crawford 2015, 21–23 on the reconstruction of Eusebius’ *modus operandi*.

⁴⁹ Oliver 1959, 138; Parker 2008, 315–316; Reudenbach 2009, 61–63; see Nordenfalk 1938, 45–54 on the development of the Canon Tables.

⁵⁰ See Baldovin 1987, 105–166 and Weigel 2013, 3–14 on the stationary liturgy in Rome.

⁵¹ Klauser 1935, XVII.

⁴² Dorfbauer 2017, 135 (ll. 575–576): ‘The individual chapters begin as an index here so you can find the reading you want more quickly’ (translation by the author).

⁴³ Klauser 1935, XII, n. 2.

⁴⁴ Röwekamp 1995, 134 [4,4] – lectus, 232 [24,10] – *leget / legi*.

⁴⁵ Röwekamp 1995, 258 [31,1] (translation by the author).

⁴⁶ Klauser 1935, 1.

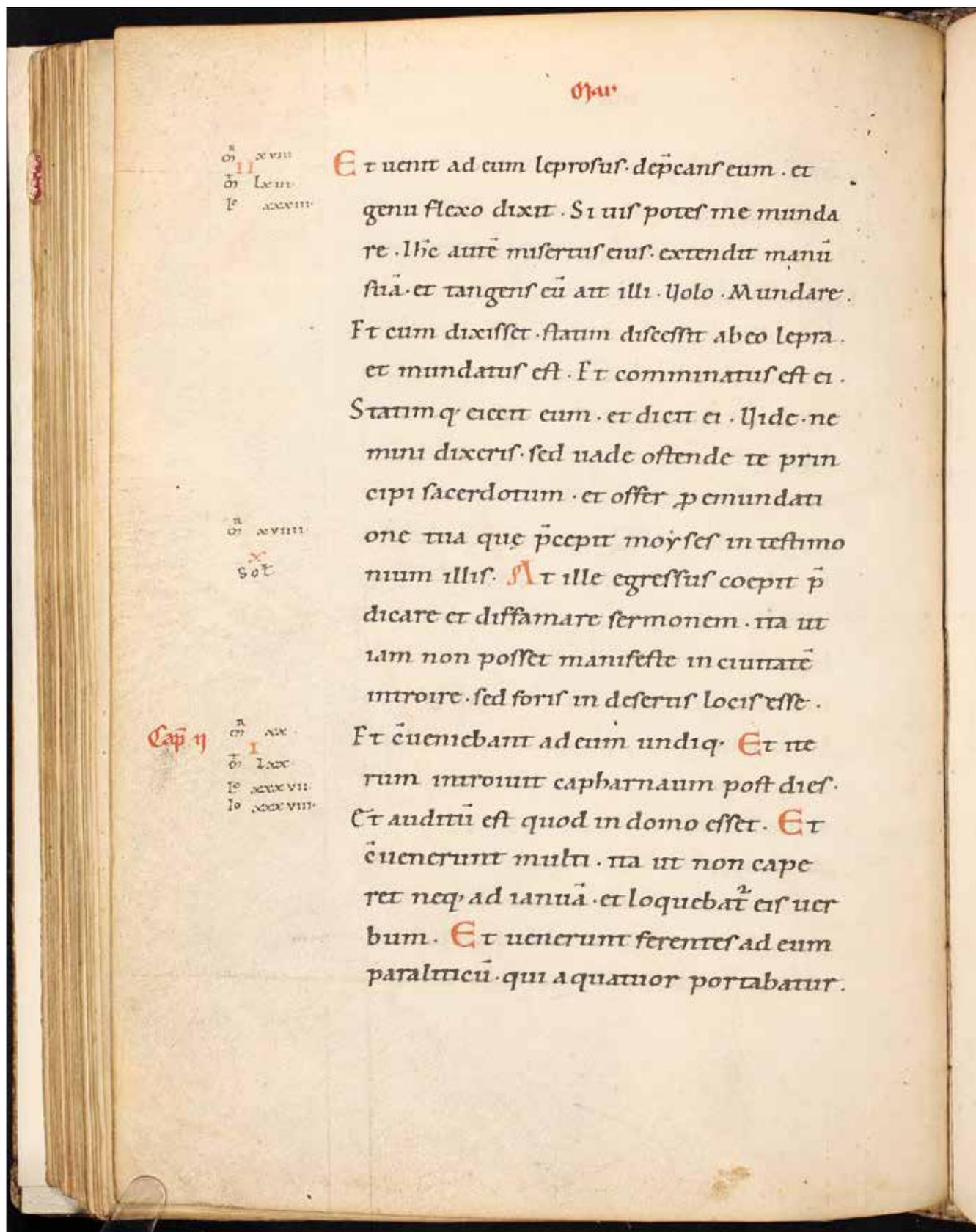


Fig. 7: Late medieval chapter division in the left margin, Gospel Book, Reichenau, c.1020, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus Nürnberg, Cent. IV,4, fol. 79r.

This index was incorporated into the Gospel Books of the Latin Church from the seventh century onwards and determined which pericopes were chosen. Although the *breviaria/capitula* – indices that helped readers to find the appropriate pericope by summarising its content – were replaced by the *capitulare evangeliorum*, these lists were still included in the Gospel Books; perhaps these indices were considered to be a constitutive part of the manuscripts, much like the authenticating prologues and letters, so they were not abandoned. This interpretation of the functions of the *breviaria/capitula* may also explain the subordinate treatment of these lists in the Gospel Books from Reichenau Monastery. Since they were not used any more, the Roman ordinal numerals in the margins of the indices are often missing, as are their corresponding counterparts in the margins of the texts. These indices probably served exegetical purposes in the Late Middle Ages because the Roman numerals were added in the manuscript from the Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg (Ms. Cent. IV,4) at a time when the Gospel Books were being replaced by Missals, which contained all the texts that were recited or proclaimed during the liturgy (Fig. 7). Although the indices lost their original purpose, especially the highlighted chapter divisions of the *breviaria/capitula* in the Gospels, in some luxury imperial donations the artists were given the opportunity to incorporate lavishly decorated initials and to unfold a sophisticated ‘hierarchy of script’⁵² while enhancing the splendour of the Word of God.

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⁵² Lowe 1969, 19.

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Article

Tables of Incipits for Music for the Mass Ordinary in Manuscripts before c.1500¹

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Abstract

Surprisingly, indexes and tables of contents referring to music in manuscripts before c.1500 rarely contain musical notation. One remarkable and hitherto little-noticed example that uses musical notation throughout is the table of contents for thirty-four Credo melodies in the liturgical manuscript known as Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana, MS 219.

To contextualise this Pisan table of contents in depth, I have analysed common procedures in other contemporary navigational tools in musical manuscripts. My focus was on settings for the Mass Ordinary, whose identical text can lead to ambiguities in indexes and tables of contents. Based on this investigation, a possible relationship between manuscript types and the way indexes or tables of contents are composed is discussed.

Introduction

Shortly before the workshop called ‘Indices – Tables of Contents – Registers’ took place at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) in Hamburg,² the UK-based Society of Indexers celebrated its sixtieth birthday, on 30 March 2017, ‘National Indexing Day’.³ While the Society’s primary focus is issues surrounding the creation of professional navigation tools for modern printed books,⁴ the workshop was designed to study

the use of systems of reference in different manuscript cultures. This was not an easy task, since such items in manuscripts not only relate to highly diverse contexts of production and use, but also cover a long time frame – the last 3,000 years, in fact.⁵

One outcome of the CSMC workshop was the realisation that the uses and functions of indexes and tables of contents in many manuscript cultures have not received adequate scholarly attention yet. This marginalisation can also be seen in many manuscript catalogues that are not always specific about the existence of a system of reference in the manuscripts described. Fortunately, many valuable investigations of tables of contents and indexes in medieval music manuscripts have been published in the field of musicology in recent years.⁶

In this contribution I will analyse the so-called ‘special index’⁷ from the manuscript known as Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana, MS 219 (*Pisa 219*), which has not previously been investigated in detail. This fifteenth-century manuscript begins with chants for the Mass Ordinary excluding the *Credo*, followed by a separate collection of thirty-four *Credo* melodies, including many *unica*; older melodies appear to be placed towards the end of the collection.

Music for the Mass Ordinary is typically part of the *Kyriale* in liturgical manuscripts. These volumes have a well-defined structure according to liturgical needs⁸ and were usually so consistent that indexes or tables of contents were unnecessary. However, when polyphonic Mass Ordinary settings were

¹ The present article grew out of a research project called ‘Liturgical Books and Manuscripts of Music Containing Polyphonic Compilations of the *Ordinarium missae* in Cultural Practices’, conducted and carried out within the scope of the work conducted by SFB 950 ‘Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa’ at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Universität Hamburg, and funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG). Parts of this contribution were presented at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, UK, in 2018. I would like to thank the Biblioteca Cateriniana in Pisa and its extremely friendly and helpful staff (especially Maria de Vizia) for allowing me to investigate, photograph, and publish images of *Pisa 219*.

² Hamburg, 6–7 February 2017.

³ Duncan 2017.

⁴ Some of the articles in the Society’s journal *The Indexer. The International Journal of Indexing* (<https://www.theindexer.org>) deal with the history of indexes and also cover manuscripts. See Weinberg 2009, for example.

⁵ Humphreys 2011 claims that the 3,000-year-old *I Ching*, or *Book of Changes*, from China contains the oldest known table of contents and index.

⁶ For discussions, including examples from different manuscript sources, see Bent 2010; 2015, 636–637; and Lütteken 1998, 2005. For studies on specific manuscripts, see Bent 1990; 2008, 89–93; 2013; and 2017; Mráčková 2009; Rumbold and Wright 2006; and Welker 1993.

⁷ *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM), Series B/IV/4*, 1012.

⁸ See Hughes 1982, 124–159.

collected in books of polyphony (or music manuscripts)⁹, especially in the fourteenth century, criteria other than liturgical designation determined a composition's position within a manuscript. It is probably in this context that established navigational tools, such as tables of contents or a *tabula alphabetica* (index), were adapted from other manuscript cultures. As in collections of poetry, musical settings were referred to using their first line of text. While few incipits were identical in secular music, the opposite was regularly the case for recurring liturgical texts with different musical settings. Most of the examples can be found in settings of the Mass Ordinary that include the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*, which were usually referred to using the first line written in the manuscripts: 'Kyrie eleyson', 'Et in terra pax', 'Patrem omnipotentem', 'Sanctus', and 'Agnus Dei'.

In the following, I will address some recurring problems affecting indexes and tables of contents, followed by a discussion of the Pisan 'special index'. Appendix A provides sigla for all the manuscripts cited, most of which cannot be discussed in detail here,¹⁰ but links to online repositories have been provided whenever possible.

Terminology

The terminology used to describe modern indexes has been debated repeatedly in the past,¹¹ but the most significant difficulties seem to have been resolved since c.1988¹² and today there is general agreement on the main terms. In this article, basic terms like 'entry', 'header' and 'locator' are used in the sense defined in *The Chicago Manual of Style*.¹³

Fig.1 shows the manuscript Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS I, 716 (abbreviated as *Bes*)¹⁴, which includes a fourteenth-century list at the end written in two columns containing a total of fifty-seven entries, each consisting of a header and a locator, e.g. the first one, '*Virgo gloriosa* ..i.' Each header repeats the incipit of a respective composition (Latin or French in *Bes*). The locator gives the reader information as to where a specific piece of music can be found in the manuscript. Locators can indicate page numbers,

folio numbers, piece numbers, or opening numbers;¹⁵ the latter is often the main unit on which polyphony is written in music manuscripts. It is usually difficult to determine whether the numbering system in a manuscript indicates folios or openings, since the numbers are usually found on the recto page. Only through the study of indexes is it possible to understand how contemporary users navigated their manuscripts. The finding that the opening played a bigger role in this than previously thought is a result of recent research on music indexes.¹⁶

We can differentiate between two main navigation tools: tables of contents and indexes. A table of contents lists its entries in the order in which they appear in the manuscript, therefore the locators usually appear in ascending order, as is the case in *Bes* (Fig. 1). An index, however, arranges the contents of the manuscript in a different order, usually alphabetically, but not progressing beyond the first letter in most cases.¹⁷ Confusingly, the term 'index' is not always used consistently; it occurs both as a general term for reference tools – including tables of contents – and indexes in the narrow sense as described above.¹⁸ Since the header in tables of contents and indexes in music sources usually consists of incipits, I will subsume both terms under the label 'table of incipits'. While the historical term *tabula alphabetica* refers to indexes only,¹⁹ we can actually find 'tabula' applied to tables of contents as well. This is the case, for example, in various poetry collections that, like tables for music collections, list the incipits of the respective poems in their headers. The Florentine Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana holds some interesting examples of this approach, two of which I would like to single out here: Pluteus 40.48 has a table of contents with the title 'Tavola de sonetti del burchiello' and Ashburnham 478 begins with an extensive index of the works of Petrarch contained therein, followed by more tables of incipits that were added later: first one index entitled 'Tavola di XX Cançoni di Dante Aldighieri', followed by three tables of contents for other poets, each

⁹ On the distinction between manuscripts with music and music manuscripts, see Huck 2020.

¹⁰ See the literature mentioned in note 6 regarding these manuscripts.

¹¹ In general, see *The Indexer*.

¹² Mulvany 2005, 17.

¹³ *Chicago Manual of Style*, 16.9–16.12.

¹⁴ For more on *Bes*, see Meyer 1890 and 1898 (including a transcription of the table of contents).

¹⁵ There are, however, other possibilities, as in the manuscript *Eton*, which includes locators referring to gatherings (Bent 2010, 203). The locators used in the table of contents in Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, *ModE* includes Mass cycle numbers.

¹⁶ See Bent 2010.

¹⁷ On the history of the so-called 'tabula alphabetica', see Brincken 1972 and Berger 2006.

¹⁸ Not so in Bent 2013, 64, who is clear in defining her use of the term 'index' as a generic one used for tables of contents and classified indexes.

¹⁹ Brincken 1972.

starting with a title that repeats the word ‘tavola’. The term ‘table of incipits’, therefore, can be applied as a generic one to different types of navigational tools such as tables of contents and indexes which include incipits in their headers. Further, it is useful to describe lists that cannot be easily defined, since they do not contain any locators. This is the case in *Seville*²⁰ and London, *LoHa*.²¹ In these manuscripts, the tables of incipits are the only witnesses to what may have been larger collections of music. It is also possible that these lists constitute tables of contents created before the respective music collection was copied and hence reflect an unrealised plan.²² Locators, on the other hand, would most likely have been added after completion of a music collection.²³

The table of incipits in *Bes* (Fig. 1) is also missing its music collection but thanks to concordances, most of the music listed is known. Without the ability to compare the table with the contents to which it refers, we cannot tell whether the locators refer to folios, openings, or some other system. In three instances, two headers share one locator:

Table 1: *Bes*, p. 117.

[...]	
<i>Lis hec ratio</i>	XI
<i>Salve virgo rubens rosa</i>	XI
[...]	
<i>Crux forma penitentie</i>	XIII
<i>In omni fratre</i>	XIII
[...]	
<i>Brunette cui j'ai mon</i>	LII
<i>Sire Dex, li dous mas</i>	LII
[...]	

As a result, we can at least rule out the possibility that the locators indicate piece numbers because in that case presumably every composition would have been given a unique number.

²⁰ This table of incipits was discussed by Michael Cuthbert in his paper ‘Trecento Theory in Italian and Italian Theorists as Composers’ at the Medieval and Renaissance Conference in Prague, 5 July 2017. I would like to thank Francesco Zimei for sharing images of *Seville* with me. See Zimei 2018 for the most recent investigation of the table of incipits in this source.

²¹ Lefferts 1983, 321–326.

²² Bent 2017, 25.

²³ On such a possibility for *Chantilly*, see the convincing discussion in Bent 2017.

Ambiguity of entries

Tables of incipits work well for medieval music manuscripts, since every composition typically has a unique text and therefore can be distinguished according to its first line²⁴; this is especially true in the case of secular music collections.²⁵ However, there are situations in which two entries show the same incipit. Take the text *Oselletto selvaggio per stagione*, for example, which was set to music twice by Jacopo da Bologna (fl. 1340–1360). In the index of the manuscript *FP*, the two musical settings are listed one after the other and include additional information to distinguish between them, as seen in Table 2:

Table 2: *FP*, fol. 3r.

<i>Oselletto selvaggio per stagione</i> .M ^a .	LXVIII
<i>Oselletto selvaggio per stagione</i> .C ^a .	LXXIII

Even today’s guides for creating indexes recommend identical headers to be supplemented with identification tags²⁶ so they can be distinguished from one another. Different terms for such identification tags in tables of incipits can be found in the secondary literature, e.g. descriptor,²⁷ descriptive information,²⁸ modifier, qualifier, or supplementary information.²⁹ In the following, I will exclusively use the term ‘identifier’ to refer to such additions to the header, without intending to dismiss any of the other cited possibilities (in my examples the identifiers will be

²⁴ In the case of motets, typically only one of the possible text incipits is provided. This is the case in *Bes* where the headers only contain incipits of the motetus for the double motets, and the incipit of the tenor only for the triple motets (Ludwig 1923, 200).

²⁵ For secular music from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in particular, we know that if a poem was set to music, the text and setting were then firmly linked. We have contemporary epistolary exchanges in which a poet sends his newly written poem to a composer and asks him to dress the ‘naked’ verses. Extrapolating from this image, the typical situation seems to have favoured only one musical ‘dress’ for each secular text. This suggests that the creator of a table, or its user, was able to recall not only the text but the associated music as well upon reading the incipit. One could add here that there was a convention that made use of this strong connection between the poem and its musical setting. In devotional contexts, the music of a secular song could be reused with a more appropriate text. There are quite a few manuscripts that contain these new devotional texts, but they never include the musical settings. A brief instruction tells the user to sing the text to the music of a specific secular song instead. For more on this so-called ‘Cantasi come’ tradition, see Wilson 2009.

²⁶ E.g. *Chicago Manual of Style*, 16.45: ‘Indexing confusing names. When the same name is used of more than one entity, identifying tags should be provided’.

²⁷ Bent 2010, 204.

²⁸ Bent 2010, 201.

²⁹ Bent 2013, 66.

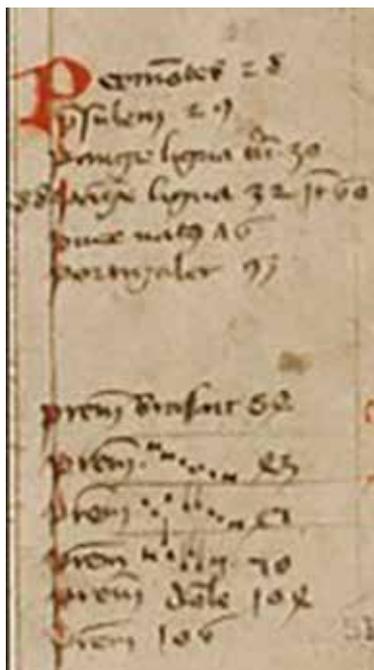


Fig. 2a: Index in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 14274 (*Emmeram*), fol. 159^r (detail of Fig. 2b).

Table 3: *Emmeram*, fol. 159^r (as in Fig. 2a).

	<i>Per montes</i>	28
	<i>Presulem</i>	29
	<i>Pange lingua tn</i>	.30
88	<i>Pange lingua</i>	32 Item 60
	<i>Puer natus</i>	76
	<i>Portigaler</i>	93
	<i>Patrem Brassart</i>	84
	<i>Patrem</i> [musical incipit]	43
	<i>Patrem</i> [musical incipit]	45
	<i>Patrem</i> [musical incipit]	.50
	<i>Patrem dominicale</i>	104
	<i>Patrem</i>	106 ³⁶

presented in plain text, whereas incipits will be in italics). There is a whole range of different types of identifiers, e.g. composer name, genre, part(s), vocal scoring,³⁰ mode, mensural characteristics,³¹ liturgical designation,³² musical incipit, and characterising adjectives.³³

In the example cited above, the identifiers ‘M^a’ and ‘C^a’ refer to different genres (*madrigal* and *caccia*). It should be emphasised that in *FP* signs are used to distinguish between the different parts of the header, the incipit, and the identifier, separated from each other by dots. This feature cannot be found in all tables of incipits, however; some quite regularly alternate between dots as separators (e.g. *Ox 213*) or other signs. In manuscript *Q15* we find many entries for settings of the Mass Ordinary, such as ‘*Et in terra / gullelmi dufay*’, here again with a separator between the incipit and identifier. Another entry in the same index contains two identifiers, each separated by a dot: ‘*Et in terra .Z. micinella*’.³⁴ Some indexes alternate the use of black and red inks to visually differentiate between elements.³⁵

It is generally accepted that the main function of identifiers is to distinguish between different settings with like incipits, and that this phenomenon is specifically connected to the settings of the Mass Ordinary, which differ musically but not textually.

There are many ambiguities to be found in entries, however, since identifiers have not been added to all the incipits and some identifiers cannot resolve all the ambiguities. Figure 2a and Table 3 show part of the index of codex *Emmeram*, which includes incipits with ‘P’ as the initial letter, separated into two sections: first, items not belonging to the Mass Ordinary and second, grouped *Credo* settings. There is already some ambiguity in the first section in the entries for the hymn *Pange lingua*, especially in the fourth entry, which contains three locators (‘32’, ‘60’, and the later addition ‘88’), referring to three different musical settings in the manuscript – no identifiers have been applied here, although there is ample space.

³⁰ Bent 2010, 204.

³¹ Bent 2010, 204.

³² Bent 2010, 204.

³³ Bent 2010 and 2013. For a discussion of different type of identifiers in *Emmeram* and *Speciálník*, see Rumbold and Wright 2006, 101–105 and Mráčková 2009.

³⁴ A transcription of this poorly legible index can be found in Bent 2008, 92–94.

³⁵ This is the case in *Eton*; see Bent 2010, 203.

³⁶ A transcription of the index is in Rumbold and Wright 2006, 102–103.



Fig. 2b: Index in Emmeram, fol. 159r.

The six *Credo* settings are all introduced with the same incipit (*Patrem*), and five of them also include an identifier. The identifiers differ in type: first the composer's name, then musical incipits, and, finally, a liturgical designation (see Fig. 2a and Table 3). The final *Credo* in this table has no identifier, however, which makes resolution of this header's ambiguity difficult. This situation can be found in most tables of incipits with settings for the Mass Ordinary as in the now-lost manuscript *Str* (only its *Credo* settings are provided; see Table 4).

Table 4: Index in *Str*:

<i>Patrem omnipotentem</i> Prunet.	3
<i>Patrem</i> quatuor temporum	23
[...]	
<i>Patrem</i> cum fuga	58
vel ibi	50
<i>Patrem</i> aliud	61
<i>Patrem</i> fuga cum 4 pausis	58
<i>Patrem</i> aliud	56
[...]	
<i>Patrem</i>	94
<i>Patrem</i> Cameraco.	110
[...]	
<i>Patrem</i>	99
<i>Patrem</i> Lampens.	104 ³⁷

We can see from this that identifiers were not usually applied with enough consistency to avoid ambiguity. There are even cases in which like incipits in different entries have been supplemented with the same identifier, as in *Aosta*, which contains two different *Gloria* settings by the composer, Leonel, shown in Table 5.

Table 5: *Aosta*, fol. 3^v.

<i>Et in terra</i> Leonel	CLVIII
<i>Et in terra</i> Leonel	CLXVII

Identifiers can also be found in tables of incipits that do not contain any ambiguities. The entry for a composite Mass Ordinary cycle in *Pit*³⁸ is one such example. In this case, only one musical setting for each of the respective texts was copied into the manuscript, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: *Pit*, fols A^{r-v}, D^r, G^r, H^v.

<i>Agnus dei</i> di Ser Gherardello	138
[...]	
<i>Benedicamus</i> Paulus	138
[...]	
<i>Gloria</i> di Ser Gherardello	132
[...]	
<i>Patrem</i> di Bartolo	134
[...]	
<i>Sanctus</i> di Ser Lorenço	127

Tables 3 to 6 would be enough to demonstrate how inconsistent – or even impractical – these tables of incipits are. While this might be true from a modern perspective and especially from the perspective of someone – contemporary or not – who is not familiar with the manuscript collection, in the cases described we are dealing principally with collections compiled or owned by individuals. In some instances, we even know who created the table of incipits. The index for *Emmeram* (Fig. 2b), for example, was created by Hermann Pötzlinger, the scribe who wrote that manuscript. The individual character of this index can be understood immediately when one takes into account the many filters applied when Pötzlinger prepared the index: the strongest filter was applied to the monophonic music, which was excluded completely.³⁹ Many other items from the manuscript were also excluded from the index, which is hard to explain today. It has been suggested that some items were simply overlooked during the hasty drafting of the index.⁴⁰ Additionally, one should consider the possibility that Pötzlinger made personal choices in the omission of repertory. The question of whether an item has been omitted from an index intentionally or by chance is never easy to answer. Another manuscript, *Q15*, has a partial index created by Guillaume Musart from Brussels. He was not the scribe who wrote that collection of songs down, but a later user. He applied a very strong filter to create an index according to his needs, listing only settings for the Mass Ordinary but omitting all the manuscript's *Credos*.⁴¹

In addition to the possibility of applying filters, one can recognise tables of incipits as individual navigation tools based on the choice of identifiers, which do not follow a specific pattern in many cases.⁴²

³⁷ From Welker 1993, 'Index', 10.

³⁸ Regarding this index, see Nádas 1985 as well, especially 236–261.

³⁹ See Rumbold and Wright 2006, 104.

⁴⁰ Rumbold and Wright 2006, 104.

⁴¹ See Bent 2008, 89–92.

⁴² However, there are some tables of incipits in which the use of composer names is preferred as identifiers, as in *Tr92* (Bent 2013, 66).

It has been suggested that the use of musical notation as an identifier in *Emmeram* is the result of a lack of other available identifiers.⁴³ However, this cannot be applied to the *Credos* in Fig. 2a. The first *Credo* that includes musical notation in the index (with the locator 43) refers to a two-part setting on fols 42^v–43^r that includes a composer attribution ('Dufay') in the upper margin. The scribe and indexer could choose between the two identifiers here. The same can be said about the *Credo* with the locator 104. The liturgical designation 'dominicale' is found in the manuscript (fols 103^v–104^r), but side by side with an abbreviated composer attribution. Another individual trait can be recognised when investigating the sketchy musical incipits. All three refer to polyphonic settings, but with only one melody fragment each. Two of them repeat the beginning of the cantus (the *Credos* with locators 43 and 50), and one refers to the tenor (see the entry with locator 45). Again, no systematic pattern seems to have been applied here.

The identifiers that were chosen can probably be best understood as an aid to recalling a musical setting. It might be possible to explain the ambiguities in Tables 3 to 6 this way. The two entries in *Aosta*, each with a *Gloria* incipit and the repeated identifier, 'Leonel', (Table 5), differ in one significant point: the locator. I suggest that the locator itself could have served as an identifier in such cases. The manuscript comes into play here as a three-dimensional object, since the user of the index will most likely remember which of the two musical settings appears first in the manuscript and which follows. In the case of *Pit* (Table 6), the identifiers are certainly not needed within the manuscript, although they might be useful to refresh the memory of the indexer, who certainly knew more settings of the Mass Ordinary than the few found in this collection.⁴⁴ We also find the entry 'Oselletto selvaggio caccia 44' as a memory aid in the *Pit* index. Although the manuscript only contains the *caccia* setting, not the *madrigal* (see above), an identifier has been applied nonetheless.

The table of contents in *Pisa 219*

The manuscript *Pisa 219* seems to be the only choirbook belonging to the Dominican convent of Santa Cateriniana in Pisa

not to have been destroyed in the huge fire on the night of All Saints in 1651. Because the fire started in the choir, it is assumed that this manuscript had not been stored in its accustomed location.⁴⁵ The manuscript, which lacks its first thirty-six folios, measures 480 × 323 mm and contains a *Kyriale*, followed by an enormous collection of *Credo* chants (see Appendix B). Bruno Stäblein dated the manuscript to the fifteenth century,⁴⁶ with which Tadeusz Miazga and others concurred. The dating was discussed in greater detail in the 1993 catalogue by Paola Raffaelli focusing on the library's manuscripts with musical notation.⁴⁷ A more general exhibition catalogue was published less than a year later. Raffaelli's catalogue entry for *Pisa 219* was repeated here, but with the manuscript now dated to the second half of the seventeenth century. No reason for this sudden change was given other than the suggestion that *Pisa 219* might be one of the thirteen choirbooks copied by Giovanni Battista Castrucci between 1652 and 1690.⁴⁸ His task was to replace the manuscripts lost in the fire. Fortunately, he left a relatively precise list of the manuscripts he produced, including the contents and costs.⁴⁹ Castrucci's list⁵⁰ confirms that none of the manuscripts described can be connected even tentatively with *Pisa 219*,⁵¹ therefore such a late date for *Pisa 219* is implausible.⁵²

To date, musicological interest in this manuscript has resided primarily in the fact that two of the thirty-four *Credos* are two-part settings – they can be found on fols 86^v–93^r and 114^v–121^r.⁵³ Less attention has been given to the aforementioned statement in *RISM* that the manuscript contains a 'special index',⁵⁴ published here for the first time (see Figs 3–6).

⁴⁵ See Raffaelli 1993, 10–11.

⁴⁶ Stäblein 1952.

⁴⁷ Miazga 1976; Strohm 1965 and Raffaelli 1993, 10–14 and 33–34.

⁴⁸ Banti et al. 1994, 50.

⁴⁹ Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Fondo Seminario Santa Caterina, *Entrata e Uscita di denari della Sacrestia* (1678–1711), n. 490.

⁵⁰ Reproduced in Raffaelli 1993, 77–78.

⁵¹ As stated in Raffaelli 1993, 7.

⁵² Even in his foreword to the same catalogue, Francesco Prinzi regarded *Pisa 219* as one of the few manuscripts belonging to the old library of the convent of Santa Cateriniana. See Banti et al. 1994, 7: 'Solo alcuni [codicologici musicali] provengono dalla antica Biblioteca del Convento di S. Caterina, fra di essi il Salterio 190 ed il Kiriale 219 [...]'. Unfortunately, the new dating has made its way into some important academic publications (for example Baroffio 2011, 400).

⁵³ Stäblein 1952; Ciliberti 1990, 78; Gozzi 2007, 84.

⁵⁴ 'Ab f. 55 steht eine *Credo*-Sammlung, zu der sich auf f. 53/54 ein Spezialindex befindet.' *RISM B IV*, 4 1972, 1012. The index was also mentioned in Raffaelli 1993 and Lütteken 1998, 28.

⁴³ Lütteken 1998, 30 (discussing the entries for the Kyrie settings).

⁴⁴ Interestingly, the composite Mass cycle in *Pit* is not indicated as such in the index. This is, however, the case with the Machaut Mass in *MachA* (see Huck 2020, 29) and also the table of incipits in *ModE*, which only lists Mass cycles. The locators indicate Mass cycle numbers.



Fig. 3: Table of contents in *Pisa 219*, fol. 53r.

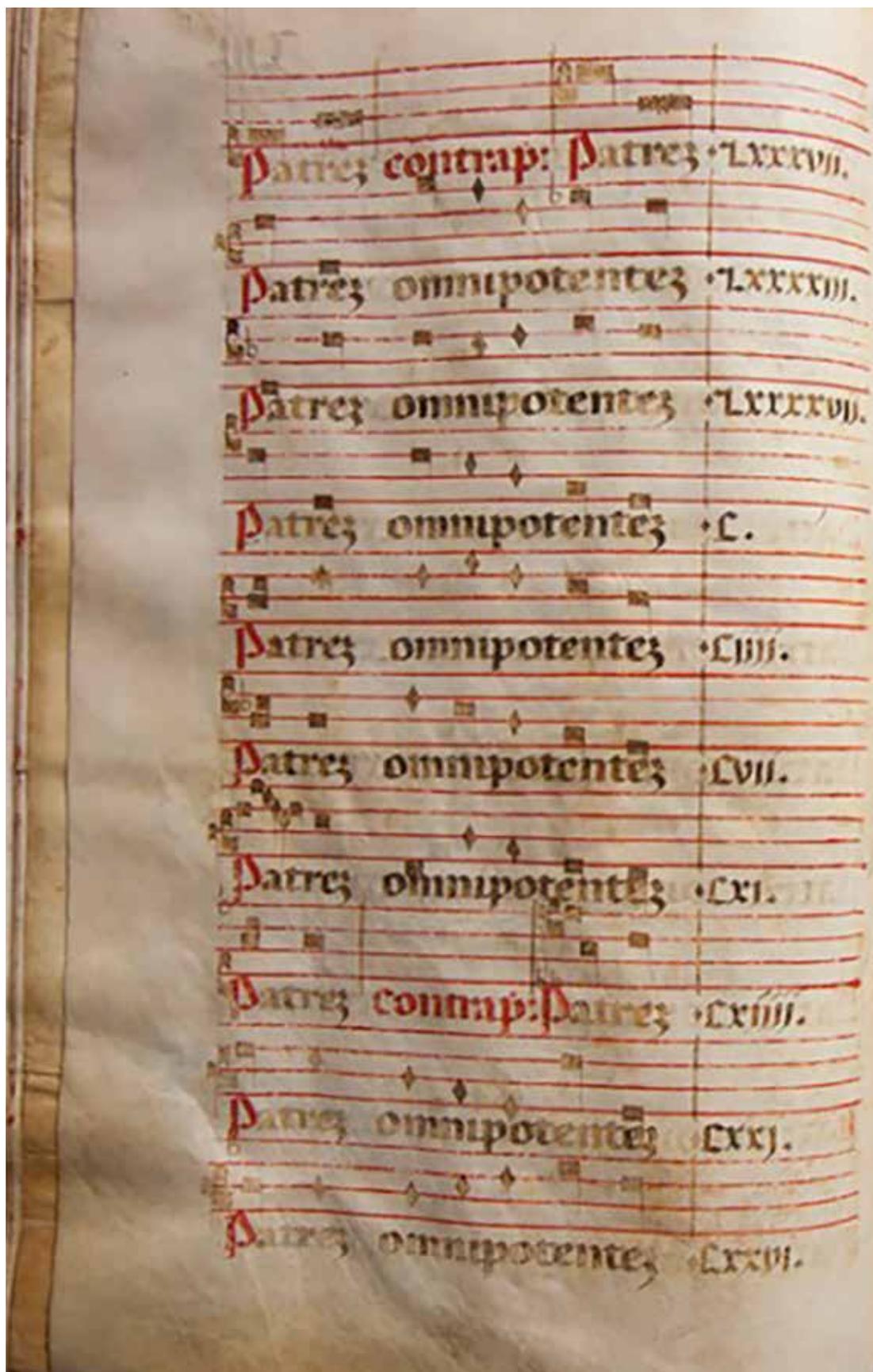


Fig. 4: Table of contents in *Pisa 219*, fol. 53r.

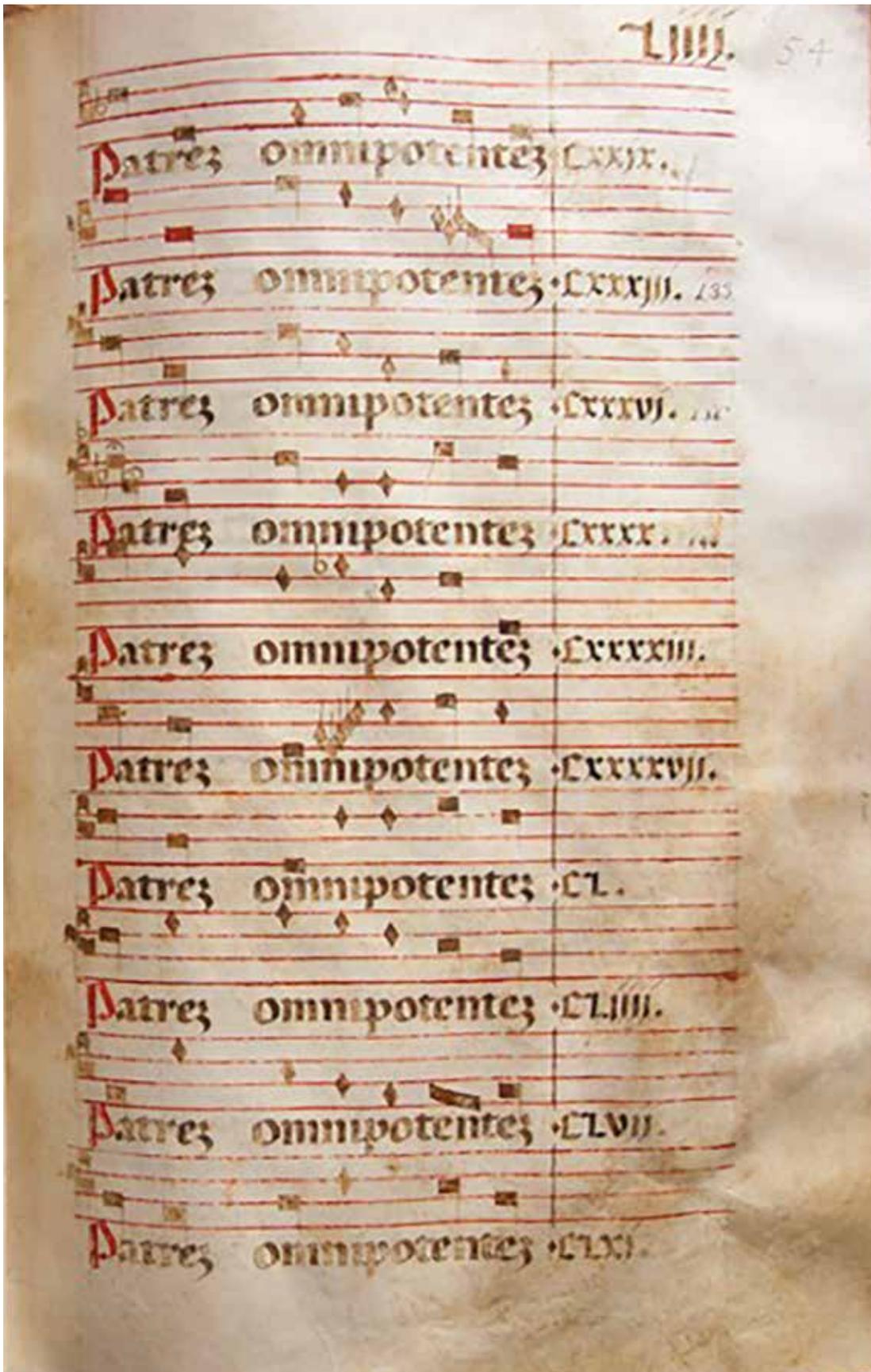


Fig. 5: Table of contents in *Pisa 219*, fol. 54.

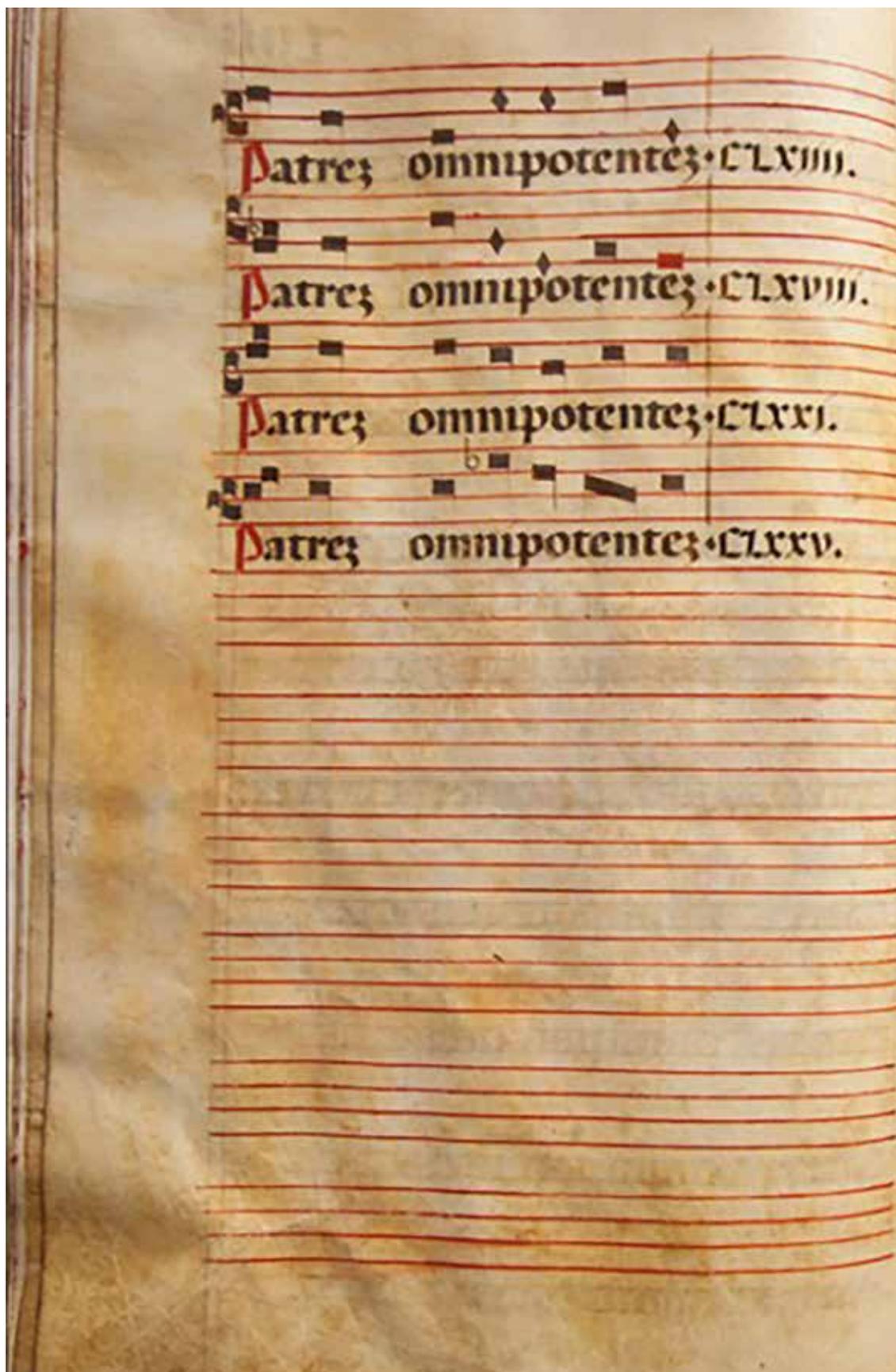


Fig. 6: Table of contents in *Pisa 219*, fol. 54^r.



Fig. 7: Two-part *Credo* in *Pisa 219*, fols 114^r–115^v.

What makes the table of incipits in *Pisa 219* ‘special’ is, most importantly, its inclusion of musical notation throughout. In this respect it differs considerably from other tables of incipits in general, but also from *Emmeram*, with its sporadic inclusion of musical incipits as identifiers. Only one other table of content with a complete set of musical incipits is known from that period: Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, *α.X.1.11* (*ModB*), although its musical incipits serve no identifying function, as Margaret Bent has stated.⁵⁵

The list in *Pisa 219* is a table of incipits in a double sense: each entry contains a text incipit and a musical incipit. Each header includes the first two words as the text incipit, ‘Patrem omnipotentem’, and its seven syllables underlie the respective notes of the identifier (the musical incipit). Only the two polyphonic settings are presented with just the first word, ‘Patrem’ – surely due to space limitations – and, since this is a two-syllable word, the first two notes (see the first and the eighth entry in Fig. 4). The most significant difference to *Emmeram* and *ModB* is that the incipits for both voices are

given. In both cases the additional identifier ‘contrap.’ marks the two settings as polyphonic. All monophonic *Credos* are written down over a seven-page span, whereas the two-part settings occupy twice as much space. Great care was taken during the manuscript’s copying to arrange the polyphonic setting across openings: the word ‘contrapunto’, spread across the first opening of each setting, signals both the difference in layout and the fact that the two voices belong together. One of the two settings is only partially polyphonic, so parts of some staves have been left empty (see Fig. 7).

The locators are in manuscript order (with one exception, to which I will return), which suggests that we are dealing with a table of contents; the locators refer to folios. It is difficult to determine just when this table of contents was made, but its position between the *Kyriale* and before the *Credo* collection makes it likely that it was planned from the beginning. Additionally, its appearance matches that of the rest of the *Credo* collection. Based on Xeroxes,

⁵⁵ Bent 2010, 202.

Table 7: Differences between the table of incipits in *Pisa 219* compared to the *Credo* collection.

Entry with locator	Comment
LXXVI	The final longa in the musical incipit is a semibreve in the <i>Credo</i> on fol. 76 ^r .
LXXVIII	The musical incipit begins with an F2 clef, but the <i>Credo</i> on fol. 79 ^v contains a F3 clef.
CLXXVIII	This is the tenth entry in the table of contents and the only one that is not in manuscript order (see Fig. 3). As can be seen from the high number of the locator, it is the final <i>Credo</i> in the collection. Besides this, there is an error in this identifier; a c2 clef is notated, but the <i>Credo</i> on fol. 178 ^v begins with an F2 clef.
LXXXVII	This locator should be the Roman numeral for 86 (not 87) because the two-part <i>Credo</i> begins on fol. 86 ^v .
CIII	The second note was corrected from a longa to a semibreve to accord with fol. 104 ^r .
CLVII	This identifier differs in a small detail from the <i>Credo</i> on fol. 147 ^r : there is no sharp sign in front of the second note of the musical incipit, but the <i>Credo</i> does in fact contain one.
CLXXV	The musical incipit begins with an F2 clef, but the <i>Credo</i> on fol. 175 ^r contains a F3 clef.

Laurenz Lütteken noted that the table was inserted into the manuscript⁵⁶ and indeed, looking at the microfilm available in the Biblioteca Cateriniana, the table of incipits seems to be a separate unit, consisting of four folios. This gathering must have been created at an early stage because the folios of the table are part of the manuscript's original foliation. Today, the original manuscript is of little help in further investigation of this question, since it is extremely tightly bound following a recent substantial restoration in which the manuscript was completely dismantled and rebound with a new leather spine.⁵⁷

In most cases the entries in the table of contents accord with the respective passages in the *Credo* collection; even the use of the b-flat sign is consistent. There are some differences, however, which are summarised in Table 7.

The sharp sign at the beginning of fol. 147^r is certainly a later addition and in fact, this manuscript shows many traces of use over a period of at least 200 years, including erasures and rewriting of passages, and even the restoration of faded ink (the quality of inks and colours does not seem to be very high in general).

Two of the errors lead me to the hypothesis that we are dealing with a pre-existing table of incipits here, first prepared from the exemplars, which received its locators

after the copying of the thirty-four *Credos* and probably after the manuscript was bound. This would explain why the final *Credo* in the collection is placed in tenth position in the table of contents, but with the correct foliation number. This *Credo* was probably omitted in the copying process and then added at the very end of the manuscript, starting on fol. 178^v. The mistaken locator 'LXXXVII' was probably thought to be correct when – in the process of adding the locators to the header – the scribe worked quickly through the manuscript looking for the starting page of a *Credo* and, in this case, failed to notice that this two-part setting begins on the verso of folio 86.

Another feature that makes this table of contents 'special' is the fact that we are dealing with a particularly consistent layout and use of identifiers – that is, the musical incipits. No other types of identifiers have been used,⁵⁸ and we know that for at least for some of the settings alternative identifiers existed, e.g. 'tedescho'⁵⁹ or 'cardinalis'.⁶⁰ This might suggest that the musical incipits were not used because there were no other possibilities, but rather because the alternatives may have implied personal choices.

It is plausible, then, to assume that such a manuscript could have been in regular use by multiple singers and, therefore,

⁵⁶ Lütteken 1998, 28, note 43.

⁵⁷ This restoration was done in 2009 in Florence, as is explained in a note glued at the end of the manuscript.

⁵⁸ With the exception of the aforementioned 'contrap':.

⁵⁹ Ciliberti 1990, 78.

⁶⁰ Gozzi 2006 and 2007.

the use of musical incipits as identifiers was the best system because they were common knowledge for a group belonging to the convent and the most systematic approach enabling everyone to quickly find the desired work, especially in this thick, large, and heavy book.

What makes the table of contents in *Pisa 219* special is, therefore, not only the use of musical incipits, but the fact that it was not used by an individual, but by a group of singers belonging to an institution. Although it is risky to extrapolate a general rule from a single example, the very consistency of this table of contents renders it unusual compared to the other table of incipits discussed above. I suggest that the scribe of this table of incipits was more exacting than others because this is an institutional manuscript that many singers used, and over a long period of time.

It seems that the table of incipits discussed here was not the only one in use at the Dominican convent of Santa Cateriniana. In the list of Giovanni Battista Castrucci's manuscripts that were newly written in the seventeenth century, there is a note on a manuscript that contained a table of incipits for *Glorias*:

Libro decto Graduale delle Messe de Santi, con la tavola delle Glorie a parte ed uno Salterio di carta pecora rihausto, ch'è avanzato dall'incendio di nostra Chiesa seguito l'anno 1652 Pisano et è di carte 165.⁶¹

A book called *Gradual of the Masses of the Saints*, with the table of the Glorias on the side and a Psalter, made of recycled sheep's parchment, which was left over from the fire in our Church which occurred in the year 1652, and it is made from 165 folios.

Conclusion

In this article, general phenomena in tables of incipits for music in manuscripts, such as ambiguous headers, were studied to be able to analyse and contextualise the table of contents of *Pisa 219* for the first time. It will be interesting to further explore the differences between personal and institutional tables of incipits in future research. *ModB* and *Eton* are good candidates for the study of institutional tables of incipits based on the consistency applied.

⁶¹ Pisa, Archivio Arcivescovile, Fondo Seminario Santa Caterina, *Entrata e uscita di denari della Sacrestia* (1678–1711), n. 490. Cited from Raffaelli 1993, 77. Unfortunately the whereabouts of most manuscripts described by Castrucci in the seventeenth century are unknown.

APPENDIX A: MANUSCRIPTS CITED THAT CONTAIN TABLES OF INCIPITS FOR MUSIC

Links are provided for all the manuscripts that are available online.⁶²

Aosta

Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, MS 15
<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/112/#/>

Bes

Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS I, 716
<http://memoirevive.besancon.fr/ark:/48565a011324049265nh50Yo/1/120>

Chantilly

Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, MS 564

Emmeram

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14274
<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00001643images/index.html?id=00001643&groesser=&fip=193.74.98.30&no=&seite=321>

Eton

Eton, Eton College Library, MS 178
<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/202/#/>

FP

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale,
 MS Panciatichiano 26⁶³

LoHa

London, British Library, Harley MS 978
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_978

MachA

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 1584
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490444/f10.item.zoom>

ModB

Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, α.X.1.11
<http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/mus/i-mo-beu-alfa.x.1.11.pdf>

ModE

Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS α.M.1.13
<http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/mus/i-mo-beu-alfa.m.1.13.pdf>

Ox 213

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Misc. 213
<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/afad6535-f141-404e-a497-207530420221>

Pisa 219

Pisa, Biblioteca Cateriniana, MS 219

Pit

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, f. it. 568
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490281/f11.image>

PR

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n. a. fr. 6771
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449045j>

Q15

Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica di Bologna, MS Q.15
<https://www.diamm.ac.uk/sources/117/#/>

Speciálník

Hradec Králové, Krajské Muzeum, Knihovna, MS Hr-7 (II A 7)
http://v2.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/en/index.php?request=request_document&docId=set031101set234

Str

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (olim Bibliothèque de la Ville), MS 222 C.22 (destroyed)

⁶² All accessed on 30 June 2020.

⁶³ Gallo 1981.

Seville

Seville, Biblioteca Capitulare y Colombina, MS 5–2–25

Tr92

Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 1379 [92]
https://www.cultura.trentino.it/portal/server.pt/community/manoscritti_musicali_trentini_del_%27400/814/sfoglia_codice/22660?Codice=Tr92

APPENDIX B: CREDO COLLECTION IN PISA 219

Paola Raffaelli provided the first overview of the contents of *Pisa 219*, including references to Miazga's melody catalogue,⁶⁴ but unfortunately her list is incomplete.⁶⁵ The following table includes all thirty-four *Credo* settings from *Pisa 219* in manuscript order and provides their melody numbers according to Miazga.

Folios	Remark	Melody number according to Miazga
58 ^v –61 ^v		302
62 ^r –65 ^r		222
65 ^v –68 ^v		181
69 ^r –72 ^r		351
72 ^v –75 ^v		225
76 ^r –79 ^r		218
79 ^v –82 ^v		637
83 ^r –86 ^r		131
86 ^v –93 ^r	two-part setting	32
93 ^v –96 ^v		272
97 ^r –100 ^r		373
100 ^v –103 ^v		278
104 ^r –107 ^r		51
107 ^v –110 ^v		192
111 ^r –114 ^r		184
114 ^v –121 ^r	two-part setting	456
121 ^v –125 ^v		246
126 ^r –129 ^r		496
129 ^v –132 ^v		155
133 ^r –136 ^r		279
136 ^v –139 ^v		661
140 ^r –143 ^r		528
143 ^v –146 ^v		26
147 ^r –150 ^r		342
150 ^v –153 ^v		129
154 ^r –157 ^r		435
157 ^v –160 ^v		667
161 ^r –164 ^r		653
164 ^v –167 ^v		258
168 ^r –171 ^r		194
171 ^v –174 ^v		I.103
175 ^r –178 ^r		319
178 ^v –181 ^v		441

⁶⁴ Miazga 1976. See also Baroffio and Kim 1999.

⁶⁵ Raffaelli 1993, 34–35.

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Article

The Painted Table of Contents in the *Florentine Codex*: Hieroglyphs of the Nahua Gods*

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‘Vitzilobuchtli otro hercules’ and ‘Capitulo primero. fo. 1’.¹ These two inscriptions, claiming pre-Christian Nahua god Huitzilopochtli² to be ‘another Hercules’ and connecting him to the first folio of the first chapter, accompany the first and thus prominently placed miniature (Fig. 1) of the *Florentine Codex*.³ The codex, which has been included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register since 2015, is a highly illuminated New Spanish manuscript written in Nahuatl, Castilian and Latin in the scriptorium of the Franciscan monastery of Tlatelolco (now Mexico City) between c.1575 and 1577. The miniature of Huitzilopochtli is part of a synoptic table of Nahua deities, which opens the first book of the codex. The painted pre-Christian gods and their predecessors in an earlier related manuscript received considerable attention from researchers, but up till now, the series has never been analysed in terms of what it was designed for in the codex: as a painted table of contents, which presents the compiled figures as prefigurations of the corresponding alphabetic chapters. To understand the semantic implications of such an interlocking of image and script in a New Spanish manuscript, it is essential to recall the historical genesis of the *Florentine Codex* as well as the

special medial and epistemic status of images in Central Mexico during the Early Colonial Period (1521–c.1600). My article will therefore focus on these two aspects before discussing the function of the series of images within the manuscript and linking its visual organisation to the layout of a sixteenth-century mythographic manual on pagan European gods and Egyptian hieroglyphs.

1. Translating images: the genesis of the *Florentine Codex*

The *Florentine Codex* is the result of a large-scale project undertaken by the Franciscan missionary Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590).⁴ The Spanish friar, who adopted the name of his home town Sahagún (in the province of León) when he joined the Franciscan Order, reached New Spain in 1529.⁵ He spent his first years there working as a missionary before teaching at the Franciscan cloister school Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago in Tlatelolco, which was a centre of the ‘spiritual conquest’⁶ of Mexico.⁷ This ‘conquest’ was, in fact, a ‘conquest of knowledge’ closely linked with – and often rooted in – practices of the New Spanish inquisition, officially installed in 1571, but active ever since 1536 under Juan de Zumárraga (1468–1548), Bishop of Mexico at the time and equipped with inquisitional powers.⁸ After the arrival

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¹ *Florentine Codex*, book 1, prologue, fol. 10r.

² On the veneration and visual representation of Huitzilopochtli, see Seler 1902–1923, vol. 4, 157–167 (‘Uitzilopochtli, der sprechende Kolibri’); González de Lesur 1967; Köhler 1973; Brotherton 1974; Hunt 1977; Nicholson 1988; Boone 1989.

³ *Florentine Codex (Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España)*, c.1575–1577, European paper, 1,223 folios (31 × 21.2 cm), Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 218–220.

⁴ The compilation of the *Florentine Codex* has been the subject of extensive research. An overview of the literature can be found in García Quintana 1999.

⁵ Mendieta 1973, vol. 2, 186. On Sahagún’s education in Spain, see Ríos Castaño 2014, 37–61.

⁶ Ricard 1933. On the Franciscan mission in Mexico, also see Baudot 1995, 71–120; Ríos Castaño 2014, 63–110.

⁷ The college was officially inaugurated in 1536 by the Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, and Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal (c.1490–1547), who was president of the Second Real Audiencia until 1535. It played an important role as an educational institution and centre of Franciscan studies. See Ricard 1933, 260–281; Steck 1944; Baudot 1995, 105–115; SilverMoon 2007; Lopes Don 2010, 135–136; Ríos Castaño 2014, 66–81.

⁸ On Zumárraga’s inquisition in New Spain, see Greenleaf 1961; Tavárez 2011, 26–61. For more on the New Spanish inquisition and its close connection to the Franciscans’ interest in pre-Hispanic knowledge, see Baudot 1995, 124–127; Lopes Don 2010; Chuchiak IV 2012; Ríos Castaño 2014.



Fig. 1: Huitzilopochtli shown in the *Florentine Codex*, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Mediceo Palatino 218–220, book 1, fol. 10ʳ.

of the first organised group of Franciscan missionaries in Mexico in 1523,⁹ the Order pursued a strategy of implanting Christian faith, which rested mainly on three pillars: firstly, the mastery of Nahuatl (used as an indigenous lingua franca in Central Mexico), which enabled the missionaries to preach and hear the confession;¹⁰ secondly, the Christian education of young Nahua at the Franciscan cloister schools, aiming at turning the adolescents into important disseminators and assistants of the mission's work;¹¹ and thirdly, the acquisition of profound knowledge on pre-Christian rites and traditions in order to ask the right questions during confession and detect continuations of pre-conquest Nahua religion.¹² The relevance of this third aspect became clear in the late 1530s amidst Zumárraga's protracted but unsuccessful efforts at finding out the whereabouts of five hidden pre-Hispanic cult objects.¹³ The Franciscan Order realised that more effort had to be put into gathering pre-Christian religious information and started commissioning friars with the collection of this data, one of these friars was Bernardino de Sahagún.¹⁴

Sahagún's activity followed and used the working methods and writings of fellow Franciscan missionaries provided with the same task years before him.¹⁵ Andrés de Olmos (c.1480–1571), who was engaged with building up the first collection of pre-Hispanic knowledge in New Spain

in 1533, was a pioneer in this field.¹⁶ He had worked together with Zumárraga during the latter's inquisitional activities targeting suspected witches in the Spanish province of Biscay (Basque Country) and had accompanied Zumárraga to Mexico in 1528.¹⁷ Olmos's compilation was commissioned by the Franciscan Order, but even so, it was still motivated by the necessities of the Crown: after the official installation of the Viceroy of New Spain, the Spanish court required reliable data on the new subjects of the Spanish empire and the Franciscans were asked to supply relevant information.¹⁸ Olmos spent the years between 1536 and 1539 at the newly founded Colegio de la Santa Cruz composing his treaties on pre-colonial Nahua customs and beliefs. His writings were presumably used by Zumárraga for his inquisitional work in 1539.¹⁹ Around that time, the Franciscan Order – which apparently started to realise the importance of collecting pre-Christian information – commissioned another Franciscan, Toribio de Benavente, also known as Motolinía (1482–1569), with a similar compilation of knowledge, but this time solely on behalf of the Franciscan mission.²⁰ Several years later, in 1558, Sahagún was the last Franciscan to receive orders to compile any information in indigenous languages that might be useful for the Christian mission in Central Mexico.²¹ This was the starting point for the compiling process behind the *Florentine Codex*, but at the same time, it heralded the end of the independent Franciscan activity of collecting

⁹ Pedro de Gante (c.1480–1572) was among the first group of Franciscan friars to be sent to Mexico. The legendary Franciscan Twelve followed a year later, in 1524.

¹⁰ Regarding the linguistic work of the Franciscans, see Ricard 1933, 54–79, 345–352; Baudot 1995, 91–104.

¹¹ Ricard 1933, 249–259; Palomer 1963, 72–79; Kobayashi 1974; Lopes Don 2010, 35–37.

¹² Baudot 1995, 71–490.

¹³ Lopes Don 2010, 111–145. Sahagún was involved in inquisitional interrogations related to the search of these cult objects. The articles were bundles of cult artefacts (*tlaquimilolli*) composed of relics associated with pre-Hispanic gods. A drawing of these bundles of artifacts and their custody during 1521 and 1526 has been preserved (see Lopes Don 2019, Fig. 1). On pre-Hispanic *tlaquimilolli*, see Guernsey and Reilly 2006; Bassett 2014; Bassett 2015, 162–191.

¹⁴ Lopes Don 2010, 133–145. Earlier research interpreted the Franciscans' interest in pre-Hispanic knowledge as an abandonment of earlier punitive action, which was unsuccessful, and the beginning of a renewed mission focused more strongly on educational ends.

¹⁵ We must assume that Sahagún followed the model of other (not New Spanish) Christian writings about non-Christian cultures. The usage of a questionnaire, for example, resembles the way in which information was gathered in the thirteenth-century *Ystoria Mongalorum*, written by the Franciscan missionary John de Plano Carpini (c.1185–1252) at the order of Pope Innocent IV (c.1195–1254); see Hodgen 1964, 91; Brown 1978, 67–68. We also know that the library of the monastery of Tlatelolco owned a copy of the *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555), written by the exiled bishop of Uppsala, Olaus Magnus (1490–1557); see Mathes 1982, 60. Also see Ríos Castaño 2014, 123, n. 32.

¹⁶ Mendieta 1973, vol. 2, prologue (book 2, p. 81). Olmos's manuscript about pre-Hispanic rites and customs, called *Tratado de antigüedades mexicanas*, and a *Suma* of it have both been lost and can only be reconstructed through later copies and related texts; see note 46. An overview of his writings is provided in Baudot 1995, 163–245. On his collection of *huehueltolli*, see León-Portilla 2011.

¹⁷ On Zumárraga's and Olmos's activities in Biscay, see Mendieta 1973, vol. 5, 94; Baudot 1995, 124–126; Lopes Don 2010, 21–31.

¹⁸ The Franciscans were assigned this task by Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, at that time bishop of Santo Domingo and president of the Second Real Audiencia de México; see Mendieta 1973, vol. 2, prologue (book 2, p. 81). Also see Wilkerson 1971, 295–302; Wilkerson 1974; Baudot 1995, 41–42, 121–245; Lopes Don 2010, 134–135. The interest in descriptions and information about the geography and inhabitants of the Crown's new possessions started to grow in the 1520s; Baudot 1995, 24–41; Lopes Don 2010, 134.

¹⁹ Lopes Don 2010, 140.

²⁰ Motolinía's manuscripts entitled *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* and *Memoriales* and written between 1536 and 1541 are now lost, but we know they were commissioned by the Franciscan provincial Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo; see Steck 1951; Baudot 1995, 274–284, 355–371; Lopes Don 2010, 135.

²¹ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, fol. 1^v. Sahagún received the commission from Fray Francisco de Toral (1502–1571), the highest prelate of the Franciscan Order and later bishop of Yucatán. *Ibid.*, book 1, prologue, fol. 1^r.

pre-Hispanic knowledge.²² In 1577, Philip II (1527–1598), who was becoming increasingly concerned that writing about pre-Christian Nahua rites and customs would rather promote than erase religious continuity, sent a royal *cédula* to the New Spanish viceroy Don Matrn Enriquez de Almansa (1510–1583) demanding the termination of Sahagún’s work and the confiscation of his manuscript.²³ The Spanish king furthermore advised the viceroy ‘not to consent to anyone in any way writing things about the superstitions and way of life these Indians had’.²⁴

1.1 Sahagún’s approach to the work

Sahagún tried to obtain pre-Hispanic information from oral accounts by questioning Nahua elders in Tepeapulco (Hidalgo) and Tlatelolco. This technique of knowledge acquisition followed a contemporary Franciscan practice also used by Olmos, who – 25 years earlier – had chosen the pre-colonial pilgrimage site of Tepeapulco to question local people on pre-Christian rites and traditions as well.²⁵ Sahagún’s work started in 1558 with the preparation of a now lost Castilian draft (‘minuta’ or ‘memoria’) containing the subjects his later work should cover.²⁶ The further chronology of gathering information, writing, compiling and re-writing the Nahuatl texts for the final *Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España* (‘Universal history of the things of New Spain’),²⁷ as the original title of the *Florentine Codex* reads, can be established by Sahagún’s own accounts²⁸ and several preceding manuscripts preserved in Madrid.²⁹

²² Baudot 1995, 491–524.

²³ The *cédula* is from 22 April 1577 and is recorded in Sevilla, Archivo General de Indias, Patronato Real, vol. II, Minutas de Reales Cédulas, sec. 79. Published by García Icazbalceta 1886–1892, vol. 2, 249–250. Also see Browne 2000, 26–36.

²⁴ García Icazbalceta 1886–1892, vol. 2, 249.

²⁵ Mendieta 1973, 75; Nicholson 1974; Baudot 1995, 128–129; Nicholson 1997, 4–5; Ríos Castaño 2014, 151–198.

²⁶ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 1^v.

²⁷ In the sixteenth century, the front page, which contained the title and the name of the author of the manuscript, was removed for unknown reasons (some scholars speculate it was for fear of censorship); see Martínez 1989, 14–16; Rao 2011, 35–37, 40. The manuscript’s original title ‘historia universal’ was known to Philip II and the Council of the Indies; León-Portilla 1999, 167. It is also used in the *Memoriales en español* (see note 29). Nevertheless, researchers often refer to Sahagún’s manuscript as ‘historia general’ or ‘general historia’, wording taken from the tenth book of the codex (fol. 1^v).

²⁸ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fols 1^v–2^r.

²⁹ The *Códices matritenses* are divided between the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia (9/5524) and the Biblioteca del Palacio Real (II-3280). Francisco del Paso y Troncoso arranged the material in several sub-

Sahagún and his multilingual employees (baptised sons of the Nahua elites, who were educated at the Franciscan college in Tlatelolco) stayed at the Franciscan monastery of Tepeapulco for approximately two years and spent more than a year in the monastery of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco in order to question local nobles.³⁰ These ‘interviews’ were carried out by using Castilian questionnaires designed in a similar way to confession and inquisition manuals.³¹ Sahagún’s questioning, thus, did not resemble a modern intercultural dialogue³² or scientific fieldwork resulting from either a slowly growing fascination about the ‘magic of the indigenous past’³³ or the friar’s struggle ‘against the boundaries of his scholastic training’,³⁴ as some scholars have suggested, but followed an interrogation practice developed for inquisitional trials:³⁵

manuscripts, which correspond to the different stages of Sahagún’s work: 1) *Primeros Memoriales* of Tepeapulco (c. 1559–1561); 2) *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco* (1561–1565), comprising the *Segundos Memoriales* (1561–1562), *Memoriales en tres columnas* (c. 1563–1565) and *Memoriales con escolios* (c. 1565) with first Castilian translations of the Nahuatl texts; and 3) *Manuscrito de 1569* (now lost) with a clean copy of the Nahuatl texts of the later *Florentine Codex*. Furthermore, a draft exists with Castilian translations of Nahuatl texts about pre-Hispanic deities. The manuscript, called *Memoriales en español* (c. 1569–1571), bears the title *Historia universal de las cosas de la Nueva España en doce libros y cuatro volúmenes, en lengua española. Compuesta y copilada por el muy reverendo padre fray Bernardino de Sahagún, de la orden de los frayles menores de observancia*; see Martínez 1989, 14. Also see Paso y Troncoso 1905–1907, vol. 7, 401 (fol. 1^v). On the history and contents of the *Códices matritenses*, see Ramírez 1885; Paso y Troncoso 1905–1907; Jiménez Moreno 1938; Ballesteros-Gaibrois 1964; Nicolau d’Olwer and Cline 1973, 190–193; Gibson and Glass 1975, 362–366; Martínez 1989, 4, 14; Bustamante García 1990; Sullivan 1997; Dibble 1999; Ruz Barrio 2010; Real Academia de la Historia 2013; Ríos Castaño 2014, 213–219.

³⁰ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 1^v.

³¹ For a reconstruction of the questions asked during the interrogations in Tepeapulco and Tlatelolco, see López Austin 1974. Also see Martiarena Álamó 1998, 209–210; Folger 2003, 230; Mainberger 2003, 186–192; Ríos Castaño 2014, 151–198.

³² Nicolau d’Olwer and Cline 1973, 188–189 call Sahagún’s questionnaire ‘strikingly modern’ and describe his method of gaining information as an ‘interview/roundtable agreement’.

³³ ‘Poco a poco los misioneros se sintieron atraídos por la magia del pasado indígena, comenzaron a estudiar sus costumbres y tradiciones, a penetrar en el secreto de su espíritu y se dieron a escribir todas las noticias que hubieran sobre el pretérito de estos pueblos tan alejados de la cultura europea. Así iniciaron la etnografía mexicana, La Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España, de Fray Bernardino de Sahagún; la Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España, de Fray Toribio de Benavente (Motolinia)’; quotation: Jiménez Rueda 1950, 105. This passage is also cited by Palomera 1963, 79.

³⁴ Klor de Alva 1988, 37.

³⁵ We must assume that Sahagún’s Nahua informants carefully checked and – if necessary – self-censored their answers; see Gruzinski 1992, 24; Navarrete Linares 2002, 105; Nicholson 1971; Ríos Castaño 2014, 199–211. According to Ríos Castaño 2014, 151–198 Sahagún’s working method followed Olmos’s technique of collecting data, stemming from the latter’s inquisitional experience. Sahagún was equally involved in inquisitional practices – it is known that he participated in three trials against indigenous people from New Spain; cf. Bustamante García 1990, 46–47; Lopes Don

the same questions were put to different people in order to compare their answers and confirm or contradict the veracity of the information.³⁶ Sahagún's writings clearly show traces of his method. By gathering alternative statements on a topic and placing them side by side, he created a text full of repetitions and synonyms, but rich in linguistic data and vocabulary, essential for New Spanish preachers and confessors, who were his original target audience.³⁷ Due to the fact that no pre-conquest manuscript survived the Spanish conquest and Christian mission of Central Mexico, Sahagún's writings turned into a major source of information about pre-Hispanic Nahua life and knowledge. But since the 1920s, research has shown a tendency to decontextualise Sahagún's work from the Franciscan mission and to present the friar as a pioneer of modern ethnography and anthropology.³⁸ This misinterpretation has recently been criticised by Victoria Ríos Castaño, who characterises Sahagún as a cultural translator and emphasises the religious and imperial motivation behind his project.³⁹ Nevertheless, Sahagún himself left no doubt about the aims of his work: using a well-established Christian metaphor, which goes back to Augustine of Hippo's (354–430) *De doctrina christiana* (c.426), he equates heresy with spiritual illness and compares his investigations on pre-Christian Nahua

customs and rites to the work of a 'physician of the soul' who needs to know about every aspect of a spiritual disease in order to employ the right medicine.⁴⁰

1.2 Pictures as evidence

Sahagún's trilingual assistants (or 'latinos' and 'gramaticos' as he calls them) mastered Nahuatl, Latin and Castilian and obviously played a key role within the multi-layered translation that took place during the first stage of the friar's work in Tepeapulco (c.1559–1561):⁴¹ Sahagún's previously prepared Castilian questions had to be translated into Nahuatl to be asked and the Nahuatl answers sometimes had to be explained to Sahagún. Finally, to record the answers, Sahagún's co-workers transcribed the oral accounts using the Latin script, introduced after the Spanish conquest of Mexico (1519–1521). Sahagún, furthermore, states that during his stay in Tepeapulco, his assistants deciphered and transcribed several pictures handed in as answers.⁴² These pictures are assumed to be indigenous drawings, which followed a pre-colonial pictorial recording tradition used by the heterogeneous Nahuatl-speaking ethnic groups of the Aztec realm.⁴³

The claimed utilisation and translation of Nahua pictorials for alphabetic writing is no isolated case, but apparently constitutes a typical method of collecting pre-Hispanic data during the Early Colonial Period.⁴⁴ A famous example is Olmos's *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*⁴⁵

2010, 136, 141. For a discussion of the problematic equation of the *modus operandi* of inquisitional questioning and ethnographic fieldwork, see Ginzburg 1989, 141–148.

³⁶ Sahagún himself linked this technique to the *Parable of drawing in the net* and a millenaristic concept when describing it as a fishing net ('red barredera') that helped him bring to light and judge all aspects of the indigenous language; see *Florentine Codex*, book 1, prologue, fol. 1^v. The expression 'red barredera' alludes to the *Parábola de la red barredera*, Biblia de las Américas, Mateo 13, 47–50. The Castilian translation of the Bible (the Reina-Valera) was first published in 1569. Regarding the Franciscans' millenarian vision of the New World, see Phelan 1956; McClure 2017.

³⁷ As one of his models, Sahagún cites the Italian lexicographer Ambrogio de Calepino (c.1440–1510). Also see Máñez 2002.

³⁸ Ødemark 2004, 98–103; Ríos Castaño 2014, esp. 16–33. For an extensive bibliography on the linguistic, ethnographic and anthropological value of Sahagún's work, see amongst others Toro 1923; Jiménez Moreno 1938; Garibay Kintana 1953–1954, vol. 2, 65–67; León-Portilla 1958, 9–12; Vincente Castro 1986; Klor de Alva, Nicholson and Quiñones Keber 1988; León-Portilla 1999; León-Portilla 2002; Kavanagh 2012.

³⁹ Ríos Castaño 2014. Ríos Castaño's work focuses on Sahagún's Nahuatl texts. The anachronistic labelling of Sahagún's work has been criticised by various scholars, including Todorov 1992, 240–241; Bustamante García 1989, 216–217; Bustamante García 1990, 376; Lockhart 1993, 28–29; Browne 2000, 54–55; Walter 2002; Ødemark 2004, 98–103; Solodkov 2010.

⁴⁰ *Florentine Codex*, book 1, prologue, fol. 1^r. The idea of a churchman as a 'spiritual physician', which was introduced in the first book of *De doctrina christiana*, was also used by Fray Andrés de Olmos in his *Tratado de hechicerías y sortilegios*; see Ríos Castaño 2014, 14–15.

⁴¹ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 1^v. Also see Kobayashi 1974, 357–387; SilverMoon 2007, 145–239; Ríos Castaño 2014, 211–223.

⁴² *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 1^v.

⁴³ As far as we know, the Nahua pictorials comprised pictographic (mimetic-iconic) and ideographic signs and their phonetic use. On indigenous pictorial manuscripts, see, amongst others, Boone and Mignolo 1994; Boone 1998; Boone 2000. On the deciphering of the Nahuatl writing system, see Zender 2008; Whittaker 2009.

⁴⁴ Garibay Kintana 1953–1954, vol. 2, 71–73; López Austin 1974, 119–120; Cummins 1995a. Also see Ríos Castaño 2014, 169–174.

⁴⁵ *Libro de oro y tesoro indico*, Ex-Joaquín García Icazbalceta No. XXXI, Latin American Collection, University of Texas Library (CEN 1083; C/D 995). Gibson 1975, 345.

(‘History of the Mexicans as told by their paintings’); the alphabetic manuscript is a 1547 copy of the lost original, which claims to be based on indigenous drawings and stems from Olmos’s Tepeapulco ‘interviews’ with Nahua elders about pre-Christian rites and customs.⁴⁶ The royal official Alonso de Zorita (c.1512–1585),⁴⁷ the Dominican Diego Durán (1537–1587),⁴⁸ the Jesuit Juan de Tovar (1543–1623),⁴⁹ the Franciscan Juan de Torquemada (c.1562–1624)⁵⁰ and the New Spanish chronicler Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl (c.1578–1648)⁵¹ likewise state that they used Nahua pictorials as sources for their manuscripts. Although this usage of and reliance on indigenous drawings seems to have been a widespread phenomenon – if not a *topos* – in Early Colonial Mexico, it is far from self-explanatory, especially if we recall the activities of the New Spanish inquisition against pre-Hispanic manuscripts that took place more or less simultaneously.⁵²

⁴⁶ In 1540, three copies of Olmos’s original manuscript, called *Tratado de antigüedades mexicanas*, were sent to Spain, and one copy became part of Ramírez de Fuenleal’s library in Cuenca. (They have all been lost since then.) In 1546, at the request of the Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (c.1484–1566), Olmos wrote a *Suma* of his original manuscript, which was used by the Franciscan monk Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604) for his own work, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (1596), but this was also lost. According to Baudot, the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*, written in Cuenca in 1547 by a scribe unfamiliar with Nahuatl, is not based on the *Suma*, but on the original copy of the *Tratado* sent to Fuenleal; see Baudot 1995, 193–217. Further information about Olmos’s *Suma* and the original *Tratado* manuscript has to be gleaned from a series of related writings, one of which is the *Codex Tudela* (c.1553, Madrid, Museo de América); also see Wilkerson 1971, 295–302; Gibson 1975, 353; Wilkerson 1974, 47–72.

⁴⁷ Gibson 1975, 315.

⁴⁸ *Durán Codex (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de la tierra firme)*, 1581, European paper, 344 folios (28 × 19 cm), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Vitr. 26–11. Book III, 44. Todorov 1992, 213.

⁴⁹ *Tovar Manuscript (Historia de la benida de los Yndios apoblar a Mexico...)*, c.1587, European paper, 158 folios (21.3 × 15.2 cm), Providence, The John Carter Brown Library, Codex Ind. 2. The manuscript was intended for the Jesuit José de Acosta (c.1540–1600), who used several chapters of the text for his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (published in 1590).

⁵⁰ Gibson 1975, 315.

⁵¹ In the prologue of his *Historia chichimeca*, de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl complains that only two of the indigenous people gathered to obtain picture-based information were actually able to understand the pictorial documents; see García Icazbalceta 1881, 360.

⁵² Christian burning of pre-Hispanic books is not the only reason we no longer have any pre-conquest manuscripts from the Central Mexican Nahua region. Sahagún writes about the destruction of Nahua manuscripts under the Mexican ruler Itzcoatl, for instance; see the *Florentine Codex*, book 10, fol. 142r. We also know of a major loss of pre-Hispanic documents in 1520 when Cortés’ indigenous allies from Tlaxcala set fire to the Texcoco palace of Nezahualpilli and the archives kept there. Other pre-conquest manuscripts were destroyed by the Nahuas themselves for fear of the inquisition that Zumárraga was conducting. Both incidents are described in Juan Bautista Pomar’s *Relación de Texcoco* (1582). See Pomar 1975, 1–2. On indigenous and Spanish book-burning in Mexico, also see García Icazbalceta 1881,

The main concern of Zumárraga’s inquisition (besides disciplining Spanish colonists) was to trace Nahua priests, pre-Christian cult objects and ritual practices. Within this scope, the ownership of a potential heretical pictorial could be turned into proof of maintaining forbidden religious practices and then lead to persecution. The most famous example of a Mexican trial involving a pictographic manuscript is Zumárraga’s case against the native leader Don Carlos Ometochtzin from Texcoco.⁵³ In 1539, Don Carlos, who was accused of owning a Nahua ritual calendar manuscript, among many other things (i.e. a *tonalamatl*, or book of the days), was tried, convicted and strangled, then his dead body was burned at the stake. The execution was a general warning to the Nahua community to respect the missionaries and their newly installed Christian rules.⁵⁴ Apparently, it was also received as a cautionary example to renounce pre-Christian manuscript practices: the New Spanish historiographer Juan Bautista de Pomar (c.1535–after 1601) writes in his *Relación de Texcoco* that after the trial, several newly baptised Nahua burned their pictorials out of fear of Zumárraga’s inquisition.⁵⁵

Zumárraga is also said to have celebrated the public burning of pre-colonial manuscripts in Central Mexico.⁵⁶ The openly performed destruction of books by a newly installed regime is a form of power demonstration and censorship with a long tradition in Europe⁵⁷ and Mesoamerica.⁵⁸ The Christian burning of Nahua manuscripts was closely connected with the Iberian inquisition and its action against converted Jews (*conversos*) and Muslims (*moriscos*),⁵⁹ likewise accused of

305–342, 349–371; McNutt 1912, vol. 2, 40–41; Robertson 1959, 25–33; Baird 1993, 23–24; Navarrete Linares 1998; Lopes Don 2010, 3–4.

⁵³ For details of the trial, see González Obregón 1910; Robertson 1959, 36; Greenleaf 1961, 68–75; Gruzinski 1993, 19; Boone 1998, 154–155; Boone 2007, 236; Douglas 2010, 6–7, 10; Lopes Don 2010, 146–174; Tavárez 2011, 26–61.

⁵⁴ Tavárez 2011, 26–61.

⁵⁵ Pomar 1975, 2.

⁵⁶ Lopes Don 2010, 4. A widespread but false accusation is that Zumárraga also burned down the Texcoco archives; see García Icazbalceta 1881, 305–342, 349–371.

⁵⁷ On the history and cultural and political implications of book-burning, see amongst others Speyer 1981; Rafetseder 1988; Körte and Ortlieb 2007; Werner 2007; Körte 2012.

⁵⁸ Navarrete Linares 1998.

⁵⁹ One famous example is the public burning of Arabic books at Plaza Bib-Rambla in Granada, which took place under the Franciscan cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517). The exact date of the book-burning is unclear, but most scholars assume that it took place in 1500. In 1501, a royal decree was issued ordering the burning of all remaining Arabic books; Kamen 2014, 128–129; García-Arenal Rodríguez and Rodríguez Media-

secretly continuing their former religious practices.⁶⁰ By confiscating and destroying ‘heretical’ Jewish, Muslim and Nahua books, the Spanish and New Spanish churchmen tried to condemn, ban and even erase non-Christian religious practices through these artifacts.⁶¹ As in Central Mexico, these objects were not alphabetic writings, but pictorials, the destruction of the books was primarily a destruction of ‘heretic’ images. This aspect becomes perceptible in one of the few depictions of a Christian burning of pre-colonial manuscripts included in Diego Muñoz Camargo’s (c. 1529–1599) *Historia de Tlaxcala* (1581–1584, fol. 242^r) (see Fig. 2).

The caption below the drawing, ‘Burning of all the cloths and books and adornments of the idolatrous priests by the Franciscan friars’, counts religious books among the heretical objects that were destroyed.⁶² But interestingly, the blaze of fire lit by the friars does not engulf any manuscripts, as the subtitle claims, but depictions of deity embodiments, flanked by masks and ritual attributes. What we can see here is the destruction of pre-Christian imagery equated with former religious practices. In addition to this, the Central Mexican confiscation and destruction of pre-conquest manuscripts was accompanied by considerable manuscript production, which replaced the Nahua originals with colonial copies and re-interpretations.⁶³ These new pictorial manuscripts – often created in the form of European codices, drawn and written with European pens in European ink on European paper – alter most physical and visual aspects of pre-Christian Nahua pictorials and withdraw their imagery from former manuscript practices. Eloise Quiñones



Fig. 2: *Historia de Tlaxcala*, 1581–1584, MS Hunter 242, Glasgow University Library, fol. 242^r.

Keber therefore interprets the colonial manuscripts as a material form of censorship; according to her, the re-interpretations are ‘another attempt at disengaging the indigenous manuscript from its suspect origins and authors and of exorcising the contents of those sections that were devoted to what were regarded as pagan gods, idolatrous religious beliefs, and superstitious rituals’.⁶⁴

In the process of destroying pre-conquest imagery and manuscript cultures and replacing them with colonial ones, a negotiation and merging of European and pre-Hispanic image concepts and practices took place. In his *Rhetorica Christiana* (printed in Perugia in 1579), Diego Valadés (1533–1582), a Franciscan missionary assumed to be born in Mexico and the son of a Tlaxcalteca and a Spanish conquistador, gives some insight into contemporary New Spanish image theories.⁶⁵ He interprets images as mnemonic aids, a concept based on a Classical theory of pictures as artificial memory.⁶⁶ He furthermore emphasises the pictorial potential to convey Christian faith to

no 2013, 41–42; Pérez 2014, 181–194. The destruction, carried out on the Catholic kings’ insistence, was aimed at eliminating religious books; Arabic books on medicine were spared and taken to the library of the University of Alcalá de Henares, founded by Cisneros; see Vallejo 1913, 35. A similar thematic separation was formulated in a degree from 1511 issued by Queen Doña Isabella, who demanded religious Arabic books to be destroyed, while those about medicine, history and philosophy were to be preserved.

⁶⁰ Lopes Don 2010, 20–51. Also see Perry and Cruz 1991.

⁶¹ Felix Hinz describes the destruction of pre-Hispanic knowledge by missionaries as a destruction of the ‘organisation and form of religious memory’ (‘Organisiertheit und [...] Geformtheit des religiösen Gedächtnisses’), but he explains the Franciscan burning of pre-Hispanic manuscripts with Spanish ignorance and a lack of interest in Mesoamerican cultures. Hinz thereby oversees the dialectic of destroying and rewriting indigenous memory. See Hinz 2005, vol. 2, 309 (quote: *ibid.*).

⁶² ‘Incendio de todas las ropas y libros y atavios de los sacerdotes ydolatricos que de los quemaron los frayles fr.’

⁶³ During the Early Colonial Period, numerous pictographic documents were used and manufactured under Spanish reign. About 500 pictorial manuscripts are preserved from Central Mexico. See Robertson 1959; Cline 1975. Regarding the usage of pictorial documents in post-conquest Central Mexico up to the end of the sixteenth century, see Boone 1998. See Quiñones Keber 1995 on European interest in these manuscripts.

⁶⁴ Quiñones Keber 1995, 231.

⁶⁵ Valadés’ book is dedicated to Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585). Its first part was written and published in Rome. On Valadés’ family background, see Palomera 1963, 1–52, esp. 50–52. Valadés was a pupil of the Franciscan Pedro de Gante at the Franciscan Colegio de San José de Belén de los Naturales. He later became a teacher at the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco; see Palomera 1963, 53–72; McClure 2017, 137–138.

⁶⁶ See Taylor 1987; Báez-Rubi 2005.

the Nahua.⁶⁷ In doing this, Valadés draws on a European image concept attributed to Pope Gregory I (r. 590–604), who declared religious depictions as being on a par with religious scripture, underlining the didactic potential of pictures and their ability to communicate with the learned and the ignorant alike.⁶⁸ To argue his case, Valadés tries to sketch a New Spanish Franciscan practice that included Christian imagery and Nahua pictorial manuscripts, but at the same time excluded ‘heretical’ content – meaning ‘heretical’ pre-Christian Nahua images.⁶⁹ He thereby implements two lines of arguments: on the one hand, Valadés equates the pictorial notation system of the Nahua with Egyptian hieroglyphs and – embedded in a contemporary reception of hieroglyphs⁷⁰ – ennobles it as a system for recording universal knowledge and ‘truth’.⁷¹ On the other hand, Valadés limits his description to the usage of pictorial Nahua manuscripts in juridical, commercial and historiographical contexts, carefully avoiding mentioning religious pictorial manuscripts and pre-Christian Nahua practices.⁷² Instead of that, he describes the lively reaction of the Nahua towards Christian imagery during church services.⁷³ According to Thomas Cummins, Valadés tries to establish pictures as a ‘mutual space’ of agreement, shared by

the missionaries and Nahua of New Spain.⁷⁴ Sahagún’s reported usage of Nahua drawings during his inquiries in Tepeapulco may have been influenced by Franciscan image conceptions linked to Valadés’ theories about imagery. Furthermore, if we recall that Sahagún’s technique of data acquisition was rooted in Early Colonial confessional and inquisitional methods, we can assume the reception of another colonial image practice: the Franciscans Motolinía and Valadés detail how Nahua drawings were applied as non-verbal aids to ‘confess’ and ‘hear confessions’.⁷⁵ A technique apparently linked to the documented Early Colonial use of pictorials during inquisitional trials and court hearings, which, in turn, was apparently rooted in a pre-Hispanic Nahua juridical tradition.⁷⁶ In these cases – and in contrast to the non-verbal ‘confessions’ – an alphabetic transcription and translation of images took place: numerous colonial sources from Central Mexico describe how drawings were handed in at court, explained to the judge and transcribed into alphabetic text.⁷⁷ Within this context, images did not merely serve as memory aids or transcultural media for evangelisation, communication or confession, but as evidence provided with legal validity.

⁶⁷ Valadés 1579. Valadés claimed the transmission of Christian faith through images to be a Franciscan invention; Valadés 1579, part 2, chap. 27, 95. Also see Robertson 1959, 53; Palomera 1963, 306–307; Cummins 1995a, 158–159; Ortega Sánchez 2013. The Franciscan technique of using and inventing images for missionary purposes was adapted by Jesuit missionaries like Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in China; see Hosne 2017.

⁶⁸ The topos of ‘images as the Bible of the illiterate’ was developed from European experiences of Christianising a largely illiterate population. Gregory’s position was reaffirmed by the second Council of Nicaea (787), the fourth Council of Constantinople (869–870) and the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Acosta, who defines images as ‘book(s) for idiots who don’t know how to read’ (*Historia natural y moral*, book 6, chapter 6) clearly refers to a similar conception of images. In his *Rhetorica Christiana*, Valadés describes images as suitable media to communicate with the ‘illiterate’; Valadés 1579, 95/230. On the European usage of images to transmit Christian faith, see Baxandall 1988, 40–45; Müller 2007.

⁶⁹ Cummins 1995a.

⁷⁰ Regarding the reception of hieroglyphs in Early Modern Europe, see note 194.

⁷¹ Valadés 1579, segunda pars, cap. 27, 93. Regarding Valadés’s interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphs and their role in his argumentation, see Watts 1991; Bolzoni 2001, 222; Leinkauf 2001; Báez-Rubi 2004, 99–130; Kern 2013, 79–80; Ødemark 2017. Regarding the debate about the ‘hieroglyphic’ character of the Mexican recording system, see Ødemark 2004, 82–90; Kern 2013, 69–76.

⁷² Valadés 1579, segunda pars, cap. 27, 93–96.

⁷³ Valadés 1579, segunda pars, cap. 27, 93–96.

⁷⁴ Cummins 1995a, 159.

⁷⁵ Both friars describe how indigenous people communicated their sins via drawings. According to Valadés, small stones were put on the images to indicate how often a sin was committed; see Toribio de Benavente, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España*, trat. 2, cap. 6: ‘De cómo los indios se confiesan por figuras y caracteres (...)’; Valadés 1579, segunda pars, cap. 27, 96. Regarding non-verbal religious practices of the Franciscans, also see Watts 2000.

⁷⁶ On the pre-conquest juridical system, see Megged 2010, 38–47. On the practice of transmitting knowledge through images in Early Modern Europe, also see Kusukawa and Mclean 2006.

⁷⁷ The usage of pictorial documents in court was a practice shared by Nahua and Spaniards alike. In Mexico City in 1531, for example, Hernán Cortés brought a lawsuit against three members of the First Real Audiencia de México. Cortés’s lawyer based his case on eight pictorial documents and the testimony of three men, who were questioned by means of the images and a questionnaire. The related drawings are preserved in the *Huejotzingo Codex* (c.1530, amate paper, Washington D.C., Library of Congress). Also see Kahler 1974, 85–176; Warren 1974, 119; Cummins 1995b; Boone 1998, 179–181. Several other pictorials have been preserved that were involved in court hearings. The corpus of these legally binding pictorial documents includes a variety of manuscripts, such as tribute lists, historiographical, genealogical and calendrical documents and maps. Amongst others, see Selzer 1902, 245–252, 269–276; Borah 1983, 241; Lockhart 1992, 353–364; Gruzinski 1993, 40–46; Brotherston 1995, 154–176; Mundy 1996, 111, 183–211; Boone 1998, 164–193; Russo 2005; Boornazian Diel 2008; Lopes Don 2010; Douglas 2010; Ruiz Medrano 2010; Ruiz Medrano Kellog 2010; Ríos Castaño 2014, 169–174.

2. The listed pre-Christian Nahua gods in the *Primeros Memoriales*

An examination of sixteenth-century manuscripts written by New Spanish missionaries about pre-Christian Nahua customs and rites shows that Franciscans like Sahagún – but also Dominicans such as Durán or Jesuits like Tovar – claimed to have used indigenous drawings as a means of gleaned information. Furthermore, they took care to include related imagery in their writings.⁷⁸ These pictures are colonial creations, but within the *mis-en-page* of the manuscripts, they are presented as the original media of recording and sources of information, deciphered as alphabetical texts. One such example is Sahagún's compilation of pre-Christian Nahua deities (Figs 3a–f, 6a–c). The image series is a forerunner of the synoptic table of pre-Hispanic Nahua gods found in the *Florentine Codex* and part of Sahagún's first collection of material from Tepeapulco, contained in the *Primeros Memoriales*⁷⁹ (c. 1559–1561⁸⁰).

The *Primeros Memoriales* is a double-column manuscript bound as a codex, written and drawn on 88 folios of European paper.⁸¹ It contains alphabetic texts in Nahuatl and 546⁸² coloured drawings.⁸³ The codex shows traces of its compilation, including cut sheets, glued-in leaves, deleted words and intertextual notations. The inserted illuminations can roughly be divided into two categories:

(a) contextualised narrative scenes⁸⁴ and (b) single figures gathered in the form of series of images, amongst them the deity series. The sequence covers 13 pages in all (on fols 261^v–267^r) and belongs to the first section of the manuscript, which is now kept at the Biblioteca del Palacio Real.⁸⁵ Below the title 'Fifth paragraph, in which is told how each of the gods was arrayed',⁸⁶ it presents a list of 41 unframed figures in profile with a corresponding alphabetical text in Nahuatl. The images were sketched on the pages using grey European ink and European pens.⁸⁷ In a later step, several of the underdrawings were modified, the thicker black outlines were drawn and the colouring⁸⁸ of the pictures was performed.⁸⁹ Pictorial alterations to the deity illuminations reveal that several hands were at work here; the stylistic analyses that Ellen T. Baird and Quiñones Keber each undertook suggest the involvement of five artists altogether.⁹⁰ Some scholars identify these painters with the Tepeapulco elders questioned by Sahagún during his interrogations,⁹¹ while others believe them to be some of Sahagún's own assistants, also trained as painters but not entirely familiar with the pre-colonial painting traditions any more, or unknown regional artists.⁹²

⁷⁸ Cummins 1995a; Boroffka 2017.

⁷⁹ The title *Primeros Memoriales* was given by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, who identified the 88 folios of the *Códices matritenses* as Sahagún's material from Tepeapulco; see del Paso y Troncoso 1905–1907. The *Primeros Memoriales* comprise four chapters, the first two (54 folios) of which are kept at the Biblioteca del Palacio Real (Ms. II-3280); the last two (34 folios) are in the Real Academia de la Historia (Ms. 9-5524).

⁸⁰ An alternative dating of the manuscript is 1558–1560.

⁸¹ The folios bear the watermarks of the 'pilgrim', the 'hand' and the 'snake', three typical sixteenth-century watermarks on paper fabricated in Italy and imported via Spain; see Hidalgo Brinquis and Ávila Corchero 2013. The watermarks were used to reconstruct the original form of the manuscript. See Quiñones Keber 1997, 20–24.

⁸² Quiñones Keber 1997, 16.

⁸³ The alphabetic text is written in Gothic and cursive European script and was divided into chapters and paragraphs. For a study of the texts and images of the *Primeros Memoriales*, see Nicholson 1973. Also see Glass and Robertson 1975, 188–189; Baird 1988a; Baird 1988b; Quiñones Keber 1988b; Baird 1993; Nicholson 1997; Quiñones Keber 1997; Nicholson 2002, amongst others.

⁸⁴ Mainly drawings of religious rituals, which show temples, people, deity impersonators, ritual offerings and sacrifices.

⁸⁵ On the gathering of the folios, see Quiñones Keber 1997, Fig. 3. For studies on the texts and images of the series, see Seler 1890; Peñafiel 1890; Seler-Sachs, Lehmann and Krickeberg 1927; Garibay Kintana 1956–1981, vol. 4, 279–290; León-Portilla 1958; Nicholson 1973, 211; Quiñones Keber 1988a; Nicholson 1988; Baird 1993; Ríos Castaño 2014, 219–221.

⁸⁶ The translation of the Nahuatl text is from Sullivan 1997, 93.

⁸⁷ Baird 1993, 118; Quiñones Keber 1997, 17, 34.

⁸⁸ During the Early Colonial Period, numerous organic pigments were substituted by natural and artificial inorganic pigments. The replacement may have been linked to the substitution of indigenous amate paper by European paper; see Kroustallis, Bruquetas and Roquero 2013. Analysis of the pigments and inks in the *Primeros Memoriales* and the *Florentine Codex* has shown that the scribes and artists of both manuscripts used traditional indigenous and European pigments; see González Arteaga and Egido 2013; Magaloni Kerpel 2011; Baglioni et al. 2011; Magaloni Kerpel 2013.

⁸⁹ Baird 1993, 34, 118–123; Quiñones Keber 1997, 24.

⁹⁰ Baird 1993, 33–34, 139–158; Quiñones Keber 1997, 33–37. Quiñones Keber suggests that different groups of artists might have produced the sketches and final drawings of the images; see Quiñones Keber 1997, 34.

⁹¹ See Gruzinski 1993, 9 on the education of Sahagún's respondents.

⁹² Baird 1988a, 222–227; Baird 1993, 109–112, 116–117, 139–158. In her analysis of the *Primeros Memoriales*, Baird points out several pictorial mistakes made by Sahagún's artists, which indicate their unfamiliarity with the material. In contrast to Baird, Quiñones Keber suggests that the artists of the *Primeros Memoriales* could be identified with painters from Tepeapulco, whose style was shaped by local artistic training or the usage of local pictorial models; see Quiñones Keber 1997, 33–37.

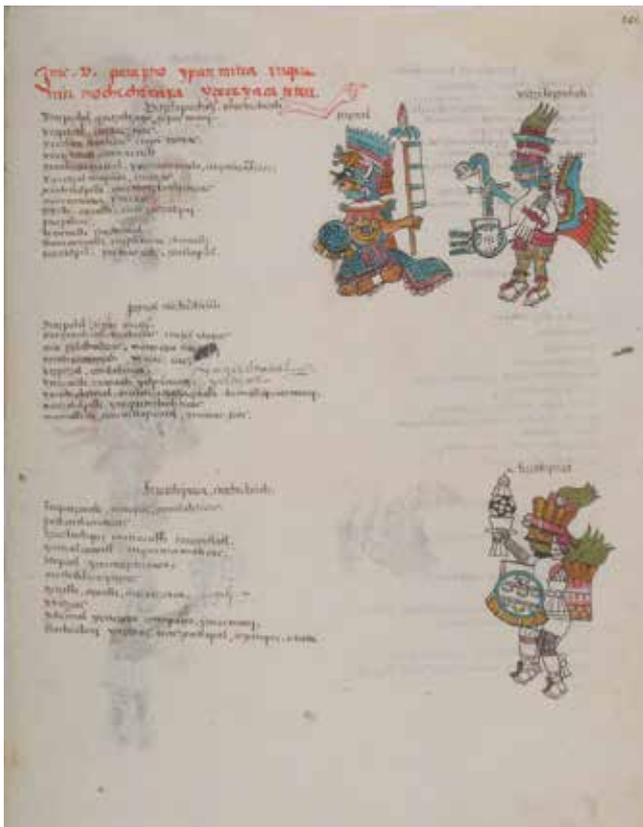


Fig. 3a: *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fol. 261r.



Fig. 3b: *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fol. 261v.

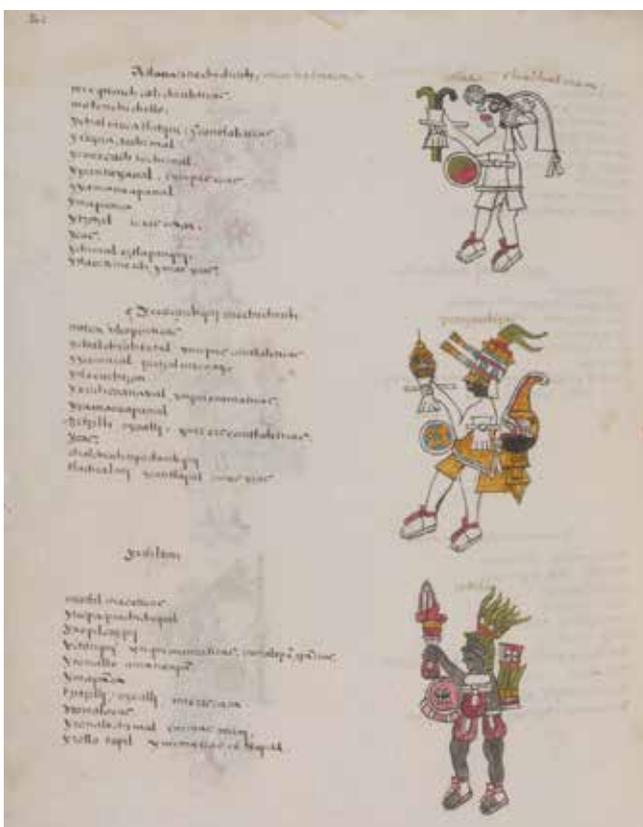


Fig. 3c: *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fol. 262r.



Fig. 3d: *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fol. 262v.



Fig. 3e: *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fol. 263r.



Fig. 3f: *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fol. 263v.

The deity figures have been inserted in the right-hand column of the manuscript, while the corresponding textual units are written in the left-hand column. Scholars generally assume the figures to have preceded the written texts on the manuscript pages. Furthermore, it is believed that the writings are alphabetic translations of the flanking images. However, the visual organisation of the series reveals some details that question the assumed picture dependency of the texts: while some of the illuminations seem to be almost finished, incorporating blank areas used as white colour, other figures are practically uncoloured, for example. This inconsistency attributes a sketchy character to the depictions, which does not quite fit in with the supposition that the images were the original media of recording and, thus, the bearers of the most accurate and complete set of information. Moreover, an examination of the page layout shows that the series postulates a correspondence between image and script rather than showing the actual process of deciphering pictorial content and transcribing it into alphabetical text. A process perceptible in the visual organisation of other colonial manuscripts, like the *mis-en-page* of the ritual calendar section of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*⁹³ (Fig. 4) terminated in 1563. In contrast to this example, Sahagún's texts do not enfold around coloured drawings in different alphabetical attempts to interpret and translate the picture, but consist of juxtaposed paragraphs whose length does not correspond with the image fields, which tend to be longer.

⁹³ Manuscrit Mexicain 385, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. During the seventeenth century, the manuscript was owned by Archbishop Le Tellier of Reims (1642–1710), who donated it to the library of the French king.



Fig. 4: Alphabetic transcription of a deity image in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis, 1563, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Mexicain No. 385, fol. 3^v.

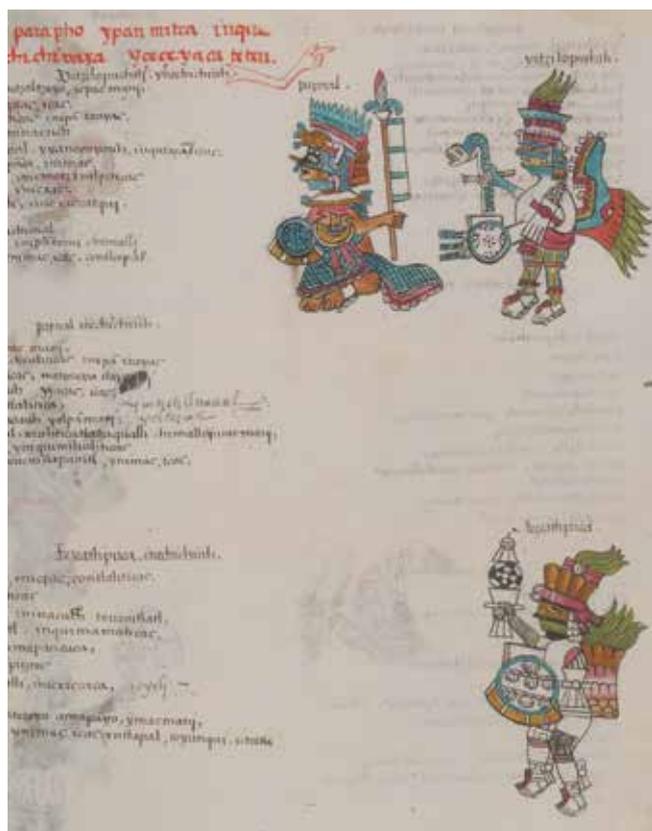


Fig. 5: Detail from *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fol. 261r.

The list-like organisation of the texts and drawings of the *Primeros Memoriales* deity series follows the vertical structure of the manuscript columns. But interestingly, this visual pattern – which abandons the horizontal alignment of figures typical for the layout of pre-colonial screenfold manuscripts – was only established on the second page of the series, whereas the grouping of the first images (Fig. 5) shows an inconsistency that reveals the modification of an originally different plan:⁹⁴ the second figure, the image of Paynal, the deputy and messenger of Huitzilopochtli, was not placed below the drawing of Huitzilopochtli, but to his left. This, however, creates a horizontal reading order from right to left that does not match the vertical orientation of the columns and the inserted alphabetic texts.⁹⁵ The artists of

⁹⁴ Baird 1993, 155–156. Baird attributes the irregularity to a change of plans based on a pragmatic decision. She suggests that during the painting process it was decided that only three figures (rather than four) should cover each page because there was not enough space to accommodate four written textual paragraphs, see Baird 1993, 34.

⁹⁵ Baird suggests that the prototype used for the deity series may have been a ritual calendar manuscript (*tonalamatl*) with a linear reading pattern that meanders from right to left and left to right, similar to the sequence of 20

the *Primeros Memoriales* obviously planned to proceed with arranging the figures into pairs, but this undertaking was interrupted – as the unfinished underdrawing of Quetzalcoatl on the left of the finished and coloured Tezcatlipoca in the lower part of the manuscript page shows. Quetzalcoatl was then moved to the next page (Fig. 3b), and the problem created by the terminated parallel arrangement of the images of Paynal and Huitzilopochtli was solved by means of a manicule drawn in red ink.⁹⁶ The hand with the pointing finger (generally used to draw attention to part of a text) is attached to a long, bare arm with a bent elbow, which gesticulates over Paynal's head towards Huitzilopochtli. The manicule connects the text and drawing as corresponding units, thereby postulating an interdependency of script and image as well as equating both recording systems and their mutual translatability. Nevertheless, in order to establish this final page layout, it was the images that were rearranged to meet the needs of the texts, not the other way round.

2.1 Original and alteration

In the prologue of the second book of the *Florentine Codex*, Sahagún says the following about the Tepeapulco interrogations: ‘Everything that we discussed was given to me by means of pictures, which was the writing they had used of old, and the *gramaticos* explained them in their language, writing the explanation at the foot of the picture. Even now I have these originals’.⁹⁷ The identity of Sahagún's pictorial ‘originals’, through which his Nahuatl respondents supplied information, is unclear.⁹⁸ Earlier research assumed that his informants either handed in pre-Hispanic pictorials⁹⁹

deities connected to day signs (pp. 22–24) from the *Codex Borgia*; Baird 1993, 155–160, Figs 59–60.

⁹⁶ On the European tradition of using the manicule, see Sherman 2008. The bare arm in the *Primeros Memoriales* reminds one of the bare arm of Christ in the New Spanish Franciscan coat of arms.

⁹⁷ ‘Todas las cosas que conferimos me las dieron por pinturas que aquella era la escritura que ellos antiguamente usaban: y los gramaticos las declararon en su lengua escribiendo [escribiendo] la declaracion, al pie de la pintura: tengo aun agora estos originales’; *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 1v. The English translation is from Anderson and Dibble 1982, vol. 14, part 1, 54. The expression ‘al pie de la pintura’ (‘at the foot of the painting’) does not necessarily mean that Sahagún's co-workers placed the text below the images, but might – as Baird suggests – be a case of wordplay; Sahagún may have alluded to the phrase ‘al pie de la letra’ (‘word for word’, ‘literally’), but replaced ‘letra’ (‘letter’) with ‘pintura’ (‘painting’) in order to value the drawings as indigenous script and to emphasise the exactitude of his assistants while translating the images into alphabetic text; see Baird 1997, 32. Also see *ibid.*, 36.

⁹⁸ León-Portilla 1958, 14.

⁹⁹ Scholars have discussed a sequence of images taken from a ritual calendar manuscript (*tonalamatl*) or depictions of annual festivities (*veintena cere-*

from which images were excerpted or that they drew pictures from memory; the resulting drawings are either believed to be part of a lost manuscript which preceded the *Primeros Memoriales* or are identified with the images in the *Primeros Memoriales*.¹⁰⁰ This last assumption is not convincing, though, as the page layout (as detailed above) does not contain any evidence that a transcription of pictorial information into text actually took place; if anything, it presents the outcome of such a translation process. The European paper and the European ink and pens¹⁰¹ used to sketch the images on the pages also clearly indicate that pre-colonial imagery, taken from traditional amate paper pictorials, was not included physically.¹⁰² This aspect is also emphasised by the colonial style of the drawings and not least by the reception of several European – especially Christian – pictorial prototypes in other sections of the manuscript.¹⁰³ If Sahagún did indeed refer to the imagery of the *Primeros Memoriales* as the originals, we will have to apply a concept of authenticity here that does not correspond to material or stylistic originality.

Furthermore, it is known that several unilluminated chapters of the *Primeros Memoriales* record transcribed Nahuatl sayings, songs, poetry and vocabulary lists based on verbal memory and discourse and thus comprise information which probably lacked a pictographic tradition.¹⁰⁴ As Emily Umberger recently pointed out, even in case of Sahagún's deity series, we must assume that the figures are based on heterogeneous sources – although some of them may stem

monies) as the pictorial model for the deity series. Regarding the speculations about potential prototypes, see Zantwijk 1963; Barthel 1964, 79–100; Baird 1979, 179–222; Zantwijk 1982; Nicholson 1988, 230–231; Quiñones Keber 1988a, 256; Baird 1993, 155–157. The *tonalamatl* is a pre-Hispanic manuscript type; Boone 2007. Depictions of the *veintena* ceremonies, in contrast, might be a colonial invention; cf. Kubler and Gibson 1951; Brown 1978; Baird 1993, 104–117.

¹⁰⁰ Dibble 1968, 147, n. 8; Glass 1975, 14; López Austin 1974, 122–123; Glass and Robertson 1975, 187; Baird 1988a, 227; Quiñones Keber 1988a; Baird 1993, 158; Nicholson 2002, 96.

¹⁰¹ Quiñones Keber 1997, 17.

¹⁰² Glass and Robertson 1975, 188; Baird 1988a, 211.

¹⁰³ On the European elements in the drawings in the *Primeros Memoriales*, see Robertson 1959, 159; Baird 1988a, 212–220; Baird 1988b; Baird 1993, esp. 35–37, 131–138.

¹⁰⁴ Baird 1993, 32–33; Quiñones Keber 1997, 18–20. According to Sahagún, however, oral memory was linked to pictographic notations. In his chapter on the pre-Hispanic religious education of young Nahua, he states that all the lyrics of the taught songs, called divine songs, had been written down with characters ('caratheres') in the indigenous books ('les enseñauan todos los versos de canto, para cantar: que se llamauan diujinos cantos: los quales versos estauan escritos en sus libros por caratheres'; *Florentine Codex*, book 3, appendix, fol. 39^v). Also see Ødemark 2004 regarding the construction of a relationship between pre-Hispanic pictorials and the memorising of indigenous songs (defended by León-Portilla).

from pictorial prototypes, other drawings are more likely to have been inspired by oral accounts.¹⁰⁵ Seen against this backdrop, it becomes clear that Sahagún's statement on the pictorial basis of all of his Tepeapulco material should not be taken as a description of the compilation process of his writings.¹⁰⁶ It may actually follow a strategy of verification, as Robert Folger's study on the texts of the *Florentine Codex* suggests:¹⁰⁷ by citing Nahua drawings as ancient script and reliable sources (still kept as evidence and proof), Sahagún strives to authorise his alphabetic texts, which according to European standards – as Sahagún writes in the prologue of the second book of the *Florentine Codex* – lack adequate (meaning alphabetic) sources and therefore lack authority.¹⁰⁸ This strategy of authorisation is already palpable in Sahagún's earlier material compilation comprised in the *Primeros Memoriales* and – as the deity series shows – it attributes an important verifying role to the inserted illuminations: by showing drawings, Sahagún later relates to an ancient Nahua pictographic tradition, the *colonial* images turn into the alleged *original* sources of the writings. The drawings prove the veracity of the texts by presenting themselves as the supposed pictorial reference media, thereby disguising the oral basis of Sahagún's writings.¹⁰⁹

2.2 Oral memory, text and image

Alfred López Austin, who tried to reconstruct Sahagún's questionnaire on the basis of texts from the *Primeros Memoriales* and the *Florentine Codex*, suggests that the following questions were likely to have been asked during the Tepeapulco questioning: '1. What were the titles, the attributes, or the characteristics of the god? 2. What were his powers? 3. What ceremonies were performed in his

¹⁰⁵ Umberger 2014, 92.

¹⁰⁶ In Baird's opinion, 'Sahagún's description of the manner in which the *Primeros Memoriales* were compiled should be taken generally rather than literally'; Baird 1993, 36.

¹⁰⁷ Folger 2003.

¹⁰⁸ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, fol. 1^v.

¹⁰⁹ In some chapters of the *Primeros Memoriales* (as Baird's analysis of the section on astronomical and atmospheric phenomena suggests), Sahagún even introduced European motives to substitute existing pre-Hispanic ones, either because suitable pre-conquest models were not at hand or they did not match his expectations, which were shaped, of course, by European concepts (and images); Baird 1988a, 226; Baird 1993, 135–138. Also see López Austin 1974, 134–137. In these cases, Sahagún's reference to traditional Nahua pictorials serves to establish an aura of authenticity used to legitimise colonial image production, which replaces the very same native sources Sahagún cites in order to authorise his writings.

honour? 4. What was his attire?’¹¹⁰ The last question is assumed to have stimulated the pictorial and textual material gathered in the paragraph of the deity series. But it is far from clear how we should picture this supposed interaction of questions, images, oral discourse and script.¹¹¹ The colonial sources about pre-Hispanic Nahua pictorials indicate a linkage between the creation and interpretation of painted manuscripts and oral memory, but the nature of this conjunction is still being debated.¹¹² Some scholars suggest that pre-Hispanic pictorials served as a kind of outline, mnemonic device or aid for an oral performance or narration, while others emphasise the independence of both the painted manuscript tradition and oral memory.¹¹³ According to Serge Gruzinski, the ‘decoding’ of pre-conquest pictorials was a ‘two-fold operation: While the eye scanned the images, the reader uttered words inspired by oral tradition’; words and pictures ‘complemented one another, without the one being a version of the other’. Paintings were thus ‘made’ to speak and, in turn, ‘paintings reinforced and refreshed oral memory’.¹¹⁴ The verbal commentaries, linked to ‘reading’ or narrating indigenous pictorials and performed by trained interpreters, are believed to be (more or less fixed) memorised texts taught at the pre-Hispanic elite school (*calmecac*).¹¹⁵ Earlier research considered the alphabetic writings of Sahagún’s deity series from the *Primeros Memoriales* to be evidence of such taught and memorised knowledge.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁰ López Austin 1974, 123. Also see Todorov 1992, 233; Ríos Castaño 2014, 174–178.

¹¹¹ Quiñones Keber 1988b, 202–203; Baird 1988a, 211–212.

¹¹² Amongst others, see Gibson 1975; Lockhart 1992, 335; Leibsohn 1994; Boone 1994, 71–72; Boone 1998, esp. 192–193; Ødemark 2004; Navarrete Linares 2011, 175–176. For a further discussion of orality and script, see Ong 1982.

¹¹³ Kubler and Gibson 1951, 77; Robertson 1959, 28; Dibble 1968, 145; León-Portilla 1969, 11; León-Portilla 1971, 453. Also see Ødemark 2004. Eduardo de Jesús Douglas points out that pictorial manuscripts may have been used as memory aids for oral performances, but they were not necessarily limited to that function; see Douglas 2010, 14.

¹¹⁴ Gruzinski 1992, 15 (with reference to León-Portilla 1983, 64).

¹¹⁵ Boone 2000, 26–27.

¹¹⁶ León-Portilla 1958, 10, 36; Dibble 1968, 147–148; Ríos Castaño 2014, 178–179. Within the scope of this research, textual characteristics (like the standardised form of describing the deities’ attire) were attributed to pre-Hispanic oral tradition rather than to the friar’s own influence; López Austin 1974, 123–124, for instance, links the rigid structure of the answers recorded in the *Primeros Memoriales* and the first book of the *Florentine Codex* to memorised text taught in the pre-Hispanic schools. More recent studies, however, show a growing awareness of Sahagún’s Nahuatl texts as being colonial products; Ríos Castaño, for instance, suggests one should interpret the rigid structure of the deity series texts as evidence of the reorganisation and modification undertaken by the friar’s employees in order to create a homogeneous textual structure; see Ríos Castaño 2014, 179, 211–223.

The texts of the deity series focus on the outer appearance of the Nahua gods, described by following a top-to-bottom order from head to feet. In the section on ‘Vitzilopuchtli’ (Huitzilopochtli), for example, we read:

Vitzilopuchtli: On his head is a headdress of yellow parrot feathers with a quetzal feather crest. His blood bird is on his forehead. There are stripes on his face, on his countenance. Ear plugs of lovely cotinga feathers. On his back he bears his fire-serpent disguise, his *anecuyotl* [a type of back device, of uncertain meaning]. On his arm is an armband with a spray of quetzal feathers. The knotted turquoise cloth is bound around his loins. His legs are painted with blue stripes. On his legs are small bells, pear-shaped bells. His lordly sandals. His shield is the *tehuehuelli* [people destroyer]. Across the shield lie stripped [arrows]. His serpent staff is in his other hand.¹¹⁷

If we compare this text to the juxtaposed drawing of Huitzilopochtli (Figs 3a, 5), we find that the description and depiction do not entirely match. The image, for instance, shows – as Eduard Seler and Nicholson have pointed out – a serpent-shaped spear-thrower (*atlatl*) in Huitzilopochtli’s right hand, although the text identifies the ritual object as a snake staff (*coatopilli*).¹¹⁸ More differences can be found in the colouring of the drawing: the depicted headdress does not include the yellow parrot feathers described in the text, the knotted cloth wrapped around Huitzilopochtli’s loins is not turquoise, as the text claims, but red, the stripes on his legs are multi-coloured,¹¹⁹ not monochrome blue, and the spray of feathers on his armband is uncoloured, not green to mark it as the quetzal feathers mentioned in the text. We can find similar discrepancies in other sections of the deity series as well. One reason for this, Quiñones Keber suggests, is that the texts might have more closely matched Sahagún’s lost ‘original’ drawings (according to her annotated images,

¹¹⁷ Quoted from Ríos Castaño 2014, 119–220. See Sullivan 1997, 93–94 for the Nahuatl text and a different English translation.

¹¹⁸ Seler 1890; Seler 1902–1923, vol. 2, 368–396, 377–380; Nicholson 1988, 234.

¹¹⁹ The image shows blue and yellow-green stripes on Huitzilopochtli’s legs. The latter stripes may be the result of involuntarily mixing yellow and blue. Huitzilopochtli’s face is adorned with blue and yellow stripes. Nicholson points out that Huitzilopochtli’s body paint is blue, so it would therefore be more logical to interpret the depicted colour scheme as yellow on blue; the correct textual description would therefore be yellow (not blue stripes) on his legs; see Nicholson 1988, 234.

which Sahagún received from his Tepeapulco informants), not the figures redrawn in the *Primeros Memoriales*.¹²⁰ Although this assumption does not provide an entirely satisfactory explanation of the colour differences, the hypothesis that the texts are closer to the original source of information and not the images does fit in with the peculiarities of the visual organisation of the deity series mentioned above. However, we should consider the possibility that in some cases (and images) the discrepancy between script and image is not rooted in the modification of the original painting, but its potential absence. Which means that a systematic combination of both deity description and depiction might first have taken place on the manuscript pages of the *Primeros Memoriales*. This assumption furthermore allows us to speculate about a potential inversion of the supposed dependency of text and images: in some cases, the deity drawings may not have been the basis of the texts, but they may well have been pictorial (re-)translations of the writings and thus reconstructions (and postulations) of the original sources of information.

For further research on this topic it is also important to take into account that Sahagún's iconographic descriptions of the Nahua deities can be linked to the *ekphrasis* of pagan deities included in European sixteenth-century mythographic manuals.¹²¹ These are a literary genre that circulated in Early Modern humanistic and artistic circles and comprise texts on the iconography, veneration and legends of pagan Greco-Roman gods. From the second half of the sixteenth century, the manuals also included pre-Christian Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese, Indian and Mexican deities as well as illustrations of their appearance and attributes.¹²²

¹²⁰ Quiñones Keber 1988a, 295–261. Also see Nicholson 1988, 233–234.

¹²¹ See Sez nec 1953, 219–323.

¹²² Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini de gli dei delli antichi* ('Images depicting the gods of the ancients') was an influential manual first published in Venice in 1556 (the original title was *Le imagini con la spositione de i Dei de gli antichi*). As of 1571, Cartari's publication was illustrated with woodcuts. In 1615, the antiquary Lorenzo Pignoria (1571–1631) added a second part dedicated to Asian and Mexican gods: Vincenzo Cartari, Lorenzo Pignoria (1615), *Seconda Novissima Editione Delle Imagini De Gli Dei Delli Antichi Di Vincenzo Cartari Reggiano*, Padua: Pietro Paolo Tozzi; Quiñones Keber 1995, 129–130; Mason 2001, 132–148; Lein 2002; Kern 2013, 91–99. Pignoria states that the woodcuts of the Mexican deities included in Cartari's manual and made by Filippo Feroverde are based on the coloured drawings from the *Icones coloribus ornatae idolorum Mexicanorum, Aegiptorum, Sinensium, Japonorum, Indorum* (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Ms. 1551), a manuscript commissioned by Cardinal Marco Antonio Amulio (1506–1572), presumably during his time as prefect of the Vatican Library between 1565 and 1566; see Cline, Gibson and Nicholson 1975b, 420; Robertson 1976, 490; Mason 2001, 132–133. The Mexican drawings were taken from the *Codex Ríos*, which has been part of the Vatican Library ever since the sixteenth century. The *Codex Ríos* itself is a modified sixteenth-century Italian version of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*.

2.3 Teotl, teixiptla and Sahagún's iconography of Nahua deities

The heading of Sahagún's image series claims the drawings depict the outer appearance of pre-Hispanic deities. But what do the images show exactly? And to what degree do the figures match pre-Hispanic religious concepts and image traditions? Given the complete loss of pre-conquest manuscripts and most other imagery from Central Mexico, scholars are still trying to understand the Nahua pre-Christian definition of a 'deity' and his or her physical representation. It was Arild Hvidtfeldt who posed one of the key questions in this debate by pointing out the difficulty of translating and defining the Nahuatl words *teotl* and *teixiptla*.¹²³ Hvidtfeldt has suggested that *teotl*, pl. *teteo* (which has been translated as 'god' or 'deity' since the colonial era¹²⁴) does not refer to a pre-existing physical or iconographic entity, but to an immaterial and transcendental energy.¹²⁵ According to him, this 'sacred' (or divine) 'force' or 'power', as others call it,¹²⁶ is comparable to the Austronesian *mana* and can be incorporated in a variety of physical representations, i.e. the *teixiptlahuan* (localised embodiments).¹²⁷ Potential *teixiptlahuan* are weather phenomena, animals, special places (like mountains), humans in ritual clothing or cult images made of different material and wrapped in amate paper costumes.¹²⁸ In other words, it is the *teixiptla* that 'materialises' the *teotl*. But exactly how the materialisation and transfer of a *teotl* worked, what relationship between *teotl* and *teixiptla* existed and how different *teteo* were distinguished is unclear, and given the lack of pre-Hispanic sources it will probably stay heuristic.¹²⁹

¹²³ This debate has been summarised by Bassett 2015, 45–88.

¹²⁴ Bassett 2015, 52–56.

¹²⁵ Hvidtfeldt 1958. His studies are based on book 2 of the *Florentine Codex*.

¹²⁶ López Austin 1973, 139; Klor de Alva 1980, 68, 77–78; Read 1994, 45; Read 1998, 147, 271, n. 41.

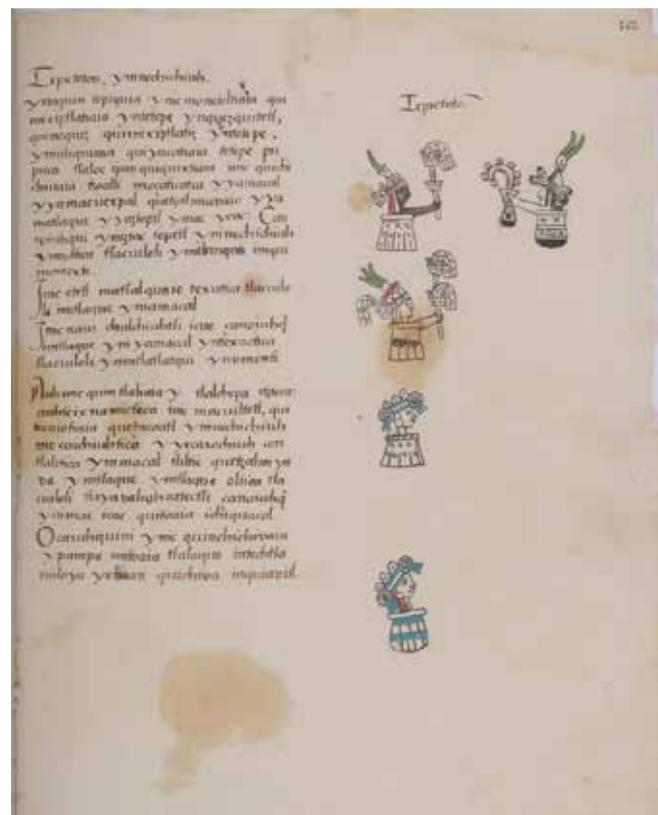
¹²⁷ Hvidtfeldt 1958. Bassett 2015, 56–60 criticises Hvidtfeldt's equation of two concepts that stem from different cultural contexts and in her opinion lead to a re-interpretation of *teotl* according to Hvidtfeldt's (limited) understanding of *mana*.

¹²⁸ Hvidtfeldt 1958.

¹²⁹ Besides ritual clothing, body paint and ritual objects, the rite and performance played a decisive role in defining a *teotl* and constituting a *teixiptla*; see Hvidtfeldt, *ibid.* Furthermore, the possession of eyes and a mouth seem to be crucial points in animating (or activating) a localised embodiment; see Bassett 2015, 130–161. Bassett also underlines the importance of the social interaction between the devotees and a *teixiptla*; *ibid.*, 192–194.



Colonial writings about pre-Christian Nahua religion show the missionaries' awareness of the terms *teotl* and *teixiptla*, although most friars had rather vague ideas about their meaning and mutual relationship.¹³⁰ In the Nahuatl texts of the *Florentine Codex*, the word *teotl* is repeatedly used to describe a divine entity and thus a deity, not a divine 'power' or 'force';¹³¹ *teixiptla* was applied to a deity's corporal materialisation.¹³² Nonetheless, Sahagún classified the image series in the *Primeros Memoriales* as '*teteu*' (gods), although it shows different anthropomorphic deity embodiments and therefore actually *teixiptlahuan*. The picture sequence can be divided into two groups: (a) the first 36 drawings present living human deity impersonators covered in body paint and dressed in ritual costumes; and (b) the last five images show inanimate deity figures moulded of amaranth seed dough and wrapped in amate paper costumes (Fig. 6c). Sahagún's visual organisation clearly distinguishes between the two types of corporeal forms. The larger deity impersonators form a coherent group of full body images facing the left side of the page (Figs 3a–f, 6a–b). The first and the last of the figures are seated (Figs 3a, 6b), while the others are shown upright in a walking posture. In contrast, the smaller dough



Figs 6a–c: Bernardino de Sahagún, *Primeros Memoriales*, *Array of the Gods*, Madrid, Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Ms. II-3280, fols. 266'–267'.

¹³⁰ Boone 1989; Bassett 2015, 45–161.

¹³¹ Bassett 2015, 89–129. Bassett assumes that Sahagún's understanding of *teotl* as 'god' reflects pre-Hispanic concepts.

¹³² Bassett 2015, 130–161.

bodies – described as ‘mountain figures’¹³³ or ‘Tlalocs’ involved in rain rituals¹³⁴ – are presented as passive objects with less of a physical presence (Fig. 6c). The figures are turned towards the right, facing a fifth one, showing how the statues had to be arranged on the ground; with the exception of their head and arms, their ‘mountain-shaped’ bodies are invisible under the amate paper clothing. Glosses next to the drawings emphasise the distinction between active and passive bodies: the dough figures are summed up under the heading *Tepictoton* (‘Small Moulded Ones’),¹³⁵ whereas each of the human impersonators bears an individual name written above his or her head.¹³⁶ The series thereby differentiates between individual deities and inanimate dough statues, shown as cult objects or idols of comparable minor corporeal presence and importance. This classification presumably follows a colonial and not a pre-Christian Nahua classification system since – as far as we know – the ritual materialisation of a *teotl* can be heterogeneous, but there is no indication of a *teixiptlahuan* hierarchy distinguishing between different kinds of ritual deity embodiments. The organisation of the series could therefore rather be linked to Sahagún’s European Christian background and his awareness of European discussions about divine corporeality and the problematic issue of statues and cult images.

The visual appearance of the deity impersonators in the first group (defined by their body paint, costumes and attributes) and the dough mountain figures in the second group is highly standardised. Each group contains drawings of approximately the same size, which practically all face in the same direction (except for one dough figure). The body language is equally uniform: the right foot of the deity impersonators is set in front of the left, the left arm is lowered and, in most cases, holds a ceremonial shield. The right arm is raised (except in the image of Paynal, Figs 3a, 5)

and equipped with a ceremonial stick or other ritual attribute; this gesture is imitated by most of the dough figures, which equally raise an arm holding a ritual object. The profile view of the figures and the standardised movement of their legs and arms reflect pre-colonial painting traditions. Nevertheless, in Sahagún’s knowledge compilation the images have been withdrawn from a pre-Christian Nahua pictorial or ritual context and translated into European (or colonial) viewing habits: the visual complexity typical for pre-Hispanic imagery was reduced and the figures were adapted to a more three-dimensional and anthropomorphic corporeality. In the context of the series and under the title ‘How each of the gods was arrayed’, one embodiment (or *teixiptla*) presented as an iconographic image and description is used as the identifier of one deity (or *teotl*). The ritual deity embodiment is defined as the outer appearance or array, composed of a figure’s clothing, attributes and ornaments. The title, text and image thereby generate an abbreviation: the construction of divine presence is reduced to the iconography of one possible materialisation – Huitzilopochtli’s embodiment is thus presented as a visual process, not a ritual one.

The iconographic character of Sahagún’s image collection was reaffirmed by earlier research (beginning with Seler’s studies at the end of the nineteenth century), which used Sahagún’s drawings as well as other images from the colonial Codex *Telleriano-Remensis* and *Codex Ríos* to establish the iconography of pre-Christian Nahua deities.¹³⁷ Seler’s approach was shaped by models of iconography and iconology developed by art historians like Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, the attempt to apply these theories to the imagery of the surviving pre-Hispanic and colonial sources soon revealed their limits; in contrast to what Sahagún’s list of deities might suggest, the ritual and localised embodiments of a divine force or *teotl* appears

¹³³ Durán describes a ritual that involves a series of mountain figures; one of them represented the volcano Popocatepetl, the others smaller mountains around Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The statues were made of a dough consisting of amaranth seeds and maize kernels, and the smaller mountain statues were placed around the volcano statue. Cf. the *Durán Codex*, Ritos y fiestas, 85–86.

¹³⁴ Also see the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, chapter 21.

¹³⁵ Translation of the Nahuatl as in Sullivan 1997, 113.

¹³⁶ Hvidtfeldt points out that the names applied by Sahagún and other missionaries are not actually names of pre-Hispanic deities but cult names that differentiate between distinct rituals (and related cult objects) performed to materialise a divine force (*teotl*); see Hvidtfeldt 1958.

¹³⁷ Seler 1890; Seler 1902; Seler 1902–1923, vol. 2, 672–694; Seler 1902–1923, vol. 2, 767–904; Seler 1902–1923, vol. 2, 913–952; Seler 1902–1923, vol. 3, 410–449; Seler 1902–1923, vol. 3, 487–513; Seler 1902–1923, vol. 4, 64–98; Seler 1904. Also see Nicholson 1971, 408; Nicholson 1973, 211; Quiñones Keber 1988a; Sullivan 1982, 8–9; Nicholson 1988; Boone 1989; Quiñones Keber 1997, 28–29.

¹³⁸ Seler interpreted the costumes, adornments and attributes of the deity embodiments as iconographic symbols used to describe the deities’ characteristics and nature. Furthermore, he was convinced of the rebus nature of Mexican pictorials and applied this theory to the iconographic symbols which he perceived not as a ‘word-rebus’ but a ‘thought-rebus’. In his opinion, the representations of deities (in pictorials or as statues) were not embodiments, but symbols of the deities’ characteristics or even names; Seler (1902–1923), vol. 1, 407–416. Hans J. Prem, who defined Aztec glyphs as pictographics and hieroglyphics, criticised Seler’s theory of Aztec rebus writing; see Prem 1968. The debate is summarised in Bassett 2015, 79–81.

to be highly heterogeneous and cannot be defined by a stable iconography.¹³⁹ Henry B. Nicholson, who followed and modified Seler's iconographic interpretation, therefore started to integrate iconographic clusters, cult themes and deity-complexes in the identification and characterisation of pre-Hispanic Nahua gods, but maintained the importance put on identifying attributes, or 'diagnostic insignia' as he calls them.¹⁴⁰ Esther Pasztory, who describes Mesoamerican deities as complex arrangements defined by costumes, symbols and insignia, followed Seler's and Nicholson's emphasis on the primacy of iconographic 'insignia' as well.¹⁴¹ Umberger and Molly H. Bassett, in contrast, more recently showed the problematic side of this iconographic approach, which – by focusing on the outer appearance – tends to neglect the medial, pictorial and semantic context of a depicted deity embodiment and its individual social and religious functions.¹⁴² As Umberger stresses, 'the modern process of identifying deity figures by a system wherein fixed traits of costumes, accoutrements, and even gender are considered diagnostic may be misleading if conceived too simply'.¹⁴³ If we apply this to the listed pre-Christian Nahua deities in the *Primeros Memoriales*, the need for a critical reflection of intention, function and medial status of early colonial imagery becomes clear. Some of the illuminations may reveal more about the friars' religious interests, the limits of their knowledge and the transformation of pre-colonial sources than providing a reliable basis to decipher pre-Christian religious and visual Nahua cultures.

3. The compilation of the *Florentine Codex*

The image series on Nahua deities is part of the first chapter of the *Primeros Memoriales* on pre-Hispanic rituals and gods.¹⁴⁴ It is followed by chapters on pre-colonial Nahua concepts of the heavens and the underworld, rulership and things of mankind.¹⁴⁵ Later, during Sahagún's stay in

Tlatelolco, a fifth chapter about the things of Earth and Nature was added.¹⁴⁶ After this, the friar moved to the monastery of Mexico-Tenochtitlan where he spent three years compiling the Nahuatl texts and organising them into twelve books.¹⁴⁷ During this process, the first chapter about rituals and gods was split up into two books, one about deities and the other about the pre-Christian calendar, festivities and ceremonies. The visual appearance of the Nahua gods was thereby separated from information on the corresponding religious context.¹⁴⁸ Sahagún furthermore added two older writings: a collection of *huehuetlatolli* (formal Nahuatl speeches used by the Franciscans for missionary purposes) from 1547¹⁴⁹ and a text about the Spanish conquest dated around 1550 or 1555.¹⁵⁰ Finally, in 1569, a clean copy of the newly arranged Nahuatl texts was made (which included further information added by Sahagún's Mexican scribes).¹⁵¹ This final *Manuscrito de 1569* has been lost, but its texts are preserved in the Nahuatl column of the *Florentine Codex*. Nicholson's comparison of the Nahuatl texts in the *Primeros Memoriales* and the *Florentine Codex*, however, shows that little of Sahagún's Tepeapulco material was included in the manuscript version of 1569; the Nahuatl texts of the *Florentine Codex* mainly comprise information gathered in Tlatelolco and Mexico-Tenochtitlan.¹⁵² This means that the *Primeros Memoriales* must be regarded as an individual manuscript rather than a mere draft of the later codex.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, both knowledge compilations are connected by their manuscript architecture and the hierarchical organisation of the chapters, which elaborate on the macrocosm of the universe and the gods before turning to the microcosm of human beings, sorted into noble and ordinary peoples, and then discuss parts of the human body and diseases.¹⁵⁴

¹³⁹ Amongst other writers, see Seler 1902–1923, vol. 3, 450–455, vol. 4, 98–156. On the heterogeneous appearance of Huitzilopochtli, also see Boone 1989.

¹⁴⁰ Nicholson 1971. Quote *ibid.*, 408. Also see Nicholson 1976; Nicholson 1988.

¹⁴¹ Pasztory 1983, 79–81.

¹⁴² Umberger 2014, 83–84; Bassett 2015, 79–88.

¹⁴³ Umberger 2014, 93.

¹⁴⁴ The first paragraph, including the original title of chapter I, is missing. Paso y Troncoso named the chapter 'Ritos, Dioses' (Rites, Gods); Paso y Troncoso 1905–1907.

¹⁴⁵ Jiménez Moreno 1938, 32–33.

¹⁴⁶ Nicholson 1973, 208–234.

¹⁴⁷ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 1^v. Also see Ríos Castaño 2014, 225–229.

¹⁴⁸ Ríos Castaño 2014, 227.

¹⁴⁹ *Tratado de la retórica y teología de la gente indiana (Libro de la retórica)*, later book 6 of the *Florentine Codex*. Also see Cintora 1995; Espinoza 1997; Folger 2003, 224. For the Franciscan utilisation of the *huehuetlatolli*, see Baudot 1982; Ruiz Bañuls 2009; Ruiz Bañuls 2013.

¹⁵⁰ *Relación de la Conquista*. Later the text became book 12 of the *Florentine Codex*; Folger 2003, 224.

¹⁵¹ The lost manuscript may have been the copy Sahagún gave to Viceroy Enriquez; Ríos Castaño 2014, 109.

¹⁵² Nicholson 1973.

¹⁵³ Nicholson 1974; Quiñones Keber 1988a; Quiñones Keber 1988b.

¹⁵⁴ Quiñones Keber rightly points out that the structure of the *Primeros Memoriales* may have been shaped by the structure of Olmos's knowledge collection; see Quiñones Keber 1997, 18.

In the *Florentine Codex*, this taxonomy was extended according to a Christian *Scala Naturae* (Fig. 7) by adding a book on animals, plants and minerals.¹⁵⁵ The similar structure of the *Primeros Memoriales* and the *Florentine Codex* can probably be traced back to the (now lost) Castilian draft ('minuta' or 'memoria'), which Sahagún composed in 1558 on all the themes his final work should cover. Since the 1950s, research has been aware of the European classical and medieval models that shaped Sahagún's knowledge compilation; amongst others, the potential prototypes that are assumed to have been used are Aristotle's (384–322 BC) *Historia animalium* (350 BCE), Pliny the Elder's (23–79) *Naturalis historia* (c.77–79), Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* (397–426), Isidor of Seville's (c.560–636) *Etymologiae* (c.630) and *De proprietatibus rerum* (c.1240) by the Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus (c.1190–after 1250).¹⁵⁶

Sahagún's original plan was to divide the pages of his final work into three columns.¹⁵⁷ The central column was intended to contain Nahuatl text, the left one to provide a Castilian translation and the right one to offer a Nahuatl glossary, which was important for Spanish missionary preachers and confessors, Sahagún's original target audience. However, during a provincial Chapter Meeting in 1570, Sahagún's writings were examined by members of the Franciscan Order, who showed no inclination to provide any further financial assistance.¹⁵⁸ The project came to a halt and was shelved for over five years.¹⁵⁹ It was only with the help of Fray Rodrigo de Sequera, who was elected Franciscan commissary general

in 1575, that Sahagún was able to resume his work.¹⁶⁰ Sequera ordered a Castilian translation of all the Nahuatl texts and provided the means to create a new two-column bilingual manuscript – the *Florentine Codex*.¹⁶¹

By that time, the target audience of the manuscript had changed: the codex was no longer intended to be of use for the Christian mission, but to be sent to Spain for the president of the Council of the Indies, Juan de Ovando y Godoy (c.1530–1575), who was collecting data for his *Libro de las descripciones de Indias* and wished to see the manuscript.¹⁶² While the Castilian translation of the Nahuatl texts was written, the manuscript was adorned with about 1,855¹⁶³ illuminations, including the pre-Christian Nahua deities placed at the beginning of the first book and serving as a visual opening for the *Florentine Codex*.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ On Sequera's support of Sahagún's project, see Baudot 1988; Baudot 1995, 496–500.

¹⁶¹ For a comparison between the *Códices matritenses* and the *Florentine Codex*, see Gibson and Glass 1975, 366–368. According to Georges Baudot, the decision to translate the Nahuatl texts was influenced by the Spanish Crown's growing rejection of the usage of Nahuatl in Central Mexico during the second half of the sixteenth century; Baudot 1995, 94–104. Ríos Castaño 2014, 111 points out that the Castilian texts comprise two types of translation: 1) the Castilian texts begun in Tlatelolco for a missionary audience and 2) the texts written later for a Spanish audience.

¹⁶² *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 2^r. Juan de Ovando y Godoy died shortly after Sequera's arrival in Mexico. In April 1577, Philip II wrote a letter to Viceroy Martín Enriquez and another to the archbishop of Mexico in May 1577 ordering the manuscript to be seized. In March 1578, Sahagún sent a letter to Philip II informing him that the year before, he had stopped working on the manuscript and had given it to Sequera. Sahagún offered to make a new copy of the manuscript if the codex did not reach Philip II, which shows that he had still kept some of his own writings. Sahagún's offer might be the reason why Philip II sent another letter to the viceroy in September 1578 ordering him to confiscate all the remaining documents in Sahagún's possession. In 1578, the archbishop informed Philip II that Sahagún had given his manuscript and all the remaining copies of it to Martín Enriquez. In December 1578, he wrote another letter to the king stating that Sahagún's manuscript and all the remaining related copies and originals had been shipped to Spain. The letters indicate the existence of two manuscripts, one given to Sequera in 1577 (almost certainly the *Florentine Codex*) and one handed to Martín Enriquez in 1578. Some scholars believe this second manuscript to be another copy of the *Florentine Codex*, which is now lost; cf. Nicolau d'Olwer and Cline 1973, 196–197. Also see León-Portilla 1999, 171. Others think it more likely that the second manuscript might have been the lost clean copy of all the Nahuatl texts (terminated in 1569 and now lost) or the *Florentine Codex*, which was given to Martín Enriquez via Sequera in 1578; amongst others, see Baudot 1995, 500–504; Bustamante García 1999, 336 ff.; León-Portilla 1999, 176; Benito Lope 2013, 18–19.

¹⁶³ Quiñones Keber 1988b, 206. The number of illuminations varies according to the counting system. Jeanette Favrot Peterson counted 1,862 primary figures and 601 ornamentals, for example; Peterson 1988, 274.

¹⁶⁴ On the deity series of the *Florentine Codex*, see amongst others Seler 1908; Robertson 1959; Sullivan 1982, 8–9; Nicholson 1988; Boone 1989; Gruzinski 1992, 65–77; Pohl and Lyons 2010, esp. 31–58.

¹⁵⁵ Also see López Austin 1974, 120; Bustamante García 1992, 326–330. Tzvetan Todorov describes the taxonomy of the manuscript as a scholastic *summa*; Todorov 1992, 235.

¹⁵⁶ Garibay Kintana 1953–1954, vol. 2, 68–71; Robertson 1959, 169–172; Robertson 1966; Bustamante García 1992, 355–364.

¹⁵⁷ *Florentine Codex*, book 1, prologue and 'al sincero lector', without foliation. Sahagún's original scheme is reflected in the visual organisation of the *Memoriales en escolios* (c.1665). See Ríos Castaño 2014, 216–219.

¹⁵⁸ See Baudot 1974 on the potential background of this conflict.

¹⁵⁹ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 2^r. According to Sahagún, the Order did not criticise the content of his writings, but refused to fund any scribes for further works. Sahagún was asked to finish the manuscript on his own, a task he was unable to accomplish due to his age and trembling hand; *ibid.* In 1570, Sahagún wrote two Castilian summaries in order to obtain approval for the continuation of his work, based on the existing 12 books of Nahuatl texts. The first one, called *Sumario*, was taken by Friar Miguel Navarro and Mendieta to Juan de Ovando from the Council of the Indies. The second one, called *Breve compendio de los ritos idolátricos que los indios desta Nueva España usaban en tiempo de su infidelidad*, was sent to Pope Pius V (1504–1572); Rome, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, A.A., Arm. I-XVIII, 1816. On the *Sumario* and *Breve compendio*, see Nicolau d'Olwer and Cline 1973, 194.



Fig. 7: Valadés, *Rhetorica Christiana*, Table with *The Great Chain of Being*, Perugia: Petrutius, 1579, table after p. 220.

4. The function of the painted table of contents in the *Florentine Codex*

The images of the pre-Christian Nahua gods are some of the few pictures redrawn from the *Primeros Memoriales*.¹⁶⁵ When they were copied (between c.1575 and 1577), the coloured drawings were edited for the new readership of the manuscript, which was now European. Whereas in the *Primeros Memoriales*, the deity images are presented as a list of unframed figures, which mainly face towards the left-hand column with the flanking Nahuatl text, in the *Florentine Codex*, the drawings are framed, separated from the alphabetical writings and turned into an image series that extends over six pages (Figs 8a–f). The viewpoint of the figures – which are still presented in the traditional pre-Hispanic profile view – now alternates according to the rhythm of flipping the pages: the deity embodiments of the first and the last page face towards the left (Figs 8a, f), but they are turned towards the right on the two double pages (Figs 8b–e). During their compilation, several drawings from the *Primeros Memoriales* were skipped, new figures introduced and the images rearranged.¹⁶⁶ While the number of dough figures stayed the same, the number of the human deity impersonators was reduced from 36 to 21 and a grouping of male and female deity impersonators took place (mixed in the *Primeros Memoriales*).¹⁶⁷ The visual complexity of the impersonator's body paint and ritual costumes was further reduced, mainly by diminishing the colourfulness of the prototypes: the vivid Maya blue (used frequently in the *Primeros Memoriales*) was replaced by green, and several ornamental elements (like the multi-coloured stripes on Huitzilopochtli's legs, Figs 3a and 5) were changed to grey (Figs 1 and 8a). The reinterpretation of the ritual costume of the deities also led to the infiltration of floral decoration clearly stemming from a European woodcut, now inserted as an ornament on Cihuacoatl's chest (Figs 9a and b). Furthermore, the three-dimensional nature of the drawings was augmented by adding shaded edges and altering the figure's corporal proportions.

Nevertheless, Sahagún's artists abstained from correcting pictorial errors (like missing arms) committed by the painters of the *Primeros Memoriales*; in one case (involving the Cioapipilti, Figs 10a and b), they even copied a dismissed underdrawing by inserting two connecting lines between the left sleeve and lower right hand of the goddess.

In contrast to the human deity impersonators, the dough figures remained practically uncoloured and were presented as a comparatively unimportant appendix (Fig. 8f). A closer look reveals that the images were regrouped. Their placement on the manuscript pages no longer shows the ritual arrangement of the statues on the ground (four of them facing a fifth one), but follows a new form of organisation that corresponds with the two-column layout: four of the figures, now glossed as representations of mountains, are placed in the right-hand column. Only one statue, which now bears the name of the deity Chalchiuhtlicue, was singled out and allocated in the left-hand column of the manuscript, directly below the last of the human deity impersonators. The new visual organisation of the statues thus classifies them into cult images of deities and personified representations of venerated natural sites.

In the *Florentine Codex*, the deity series is equipped with a foreword in which Sahagún informs the reader that the figures are images of the deities treated in the first book of the manuscript and were venerated by the native peoples of New Spain during their time of idolatry. He furthermore declares that each of the gods has his or her name written next to the head and the corresponding chapter and folio number at the feet.¹⁶⁸ The drawings thereby gain the function of a painted table of contents; the alphabetic glosses above and below the illuminations mark the iconographic figures as indexing images and establish a vertical reading direction, which corresponds to the vertical structure of the two-column manuscript page layout.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁵ Quiñones Keber 1988a. Regarding the adaptation of the images in the *Florentine Codex*, also see Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 9–14.

¹⁶⁶ Quiñones Keber 1988a, 261–265.

¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, the number of the Cioapipilti has been increased to four.

¹⁶⁸ 'Al lector. Para la inteligencia de las figuras, o ymagines que estan aqui adelante: notara el prudente lector, que son las ymagines de los dioses, de que se trata en este primero libro: los quales adorauan estos naturales desta nueva españa, en tiempo de su ydolatria: cada vna tiene su nombre escrito iunto a la cabeça, y el capitulo, y numero de hoias, donde se trata del mismo dios, o ydolo: esta iunto a los pies'; *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 9^v.

¹⁶⁹ In general, the pictures are structured in a top-to-bottom order; the system was only reversed on the last page of the series. In order to establish two coherent groups of deity impersonators and cult images, Chalchiuhtlicue, the first of the statues made of amaranth dough belonging to chapter 21, was placed at the bottom of the left-hand column, whereas the deity impersonator of Tezcatzoncatl belonging to the last chapter (chapter 22) was inserted above it.

The pictorial sequence of the deity figures follows the conventional alphabetic table of contents, so it does not replace a written directory, but rather forms a painted, parallel version.¹⁷⁰ The pictorial directory of the first book of the *Florentine Codex* is a unique example in the manuscript and – as far as I know – a singular case in the manuscript production of Early Colonial Central Mexico. But, as discussed later on, there is a predecessor in a printed sixteenth-century German mythographic manual on pagan gods, the layout of which was apparently influenced by an edition of Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica* included in the same publication.

As in the *Primeros Memoriales*, the picture series of the *Florentine Codex* focuses on the human deity impersonators, who are interpreted as pre-Christian Nahuatl gods. However, the Castilian and Nahuatl texts of the corresponding chapters are no longer restricted to a description of their ritual clothing, ornaments and attributes,¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Each of the twelve books of Sahagún's *Historia universal* is equipped with a Castilian title and prologue and an alphabetic table of contents, which lists the different book chapters. A closer look nevertheless reveals the inconsistent distribution of the contents within the manuscript. Also see Garone Gravier 2011. Most of the contents are placed at the beginning of the corresponding book (book 1 and books 6–12), but we can also find two overviews of the contents: besides listing its own contents, book 1 also includes the table of contents of books 2–5, and book 7 includes the table of contents of books 8–11 in addition to its own contents. These clusters indicate that the *Florentine Codex* was originally intended to be bound in two volumes, one containing books 1–5, the other containing books 7–11. Thus, book 6 and 12, both comprising older, previously written texts (see notes 149 and 150), must have been included towards the end of the compiling process. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the drawings of both books are the only uncoloured ones of the manuscript, hence both books may have been terminated in a hurry. Magaloni Kerpel 2011 interprets the lack of colours in book 6 as an imitation of woodcuts, not a result of haste in the compiling process of the manuscript. Also see Martínez 1989, 42. At the end of the compiling process, in 1577, the manuscript was bound in four volumes (vol. 1: books 1–5; vol. 2: book 6; vol. 3: books 7–10; vol. 4: books 11–12). In a second binding later, book 6 was incorporated into the third volume; see Rao 2011, 31 as well.

¹⁷¹ The Nahuatl writings still include a shortened description of the deities' clothing. In the Nahuatl text about Huitzilopochtli, for instance, we read: 'And he was thus arrayed: he had an ear pendant of lovely cotinga feathers; his disguise was the fire serpent. He had the blue netted sash, he had the maniple. He wore bells, he wore shells'. The English translation is from Ríos Castaño 2014, 220. The description of Huitzilopochtli's array is a reduced and lightly modified version of the Nahuatl text from the *Primeros Memoriales*. Details concerning the deity's head ornaments, face and body paint, sandals and shield are missing and a new form of adornment has been introduced (shells). Also see Anderson and Dibble 1950, vol. 14, part 2; Ríos Castaño 2014, 220. A subtle but significant novelty is the textual shift from present to past tense, which marks the description as a reference to former times, overcome by the Christian faith. In the Castilian text, the sole reference to Huitzilopochtli's ritual costume can be found in the mentioning of the fire serpent (*xiuhcoatl*), one of Huitzilopochtli's attributes, described here as a terrifying, fire-spitting dragon head ('cabeça de dragon, muy espantable: que echaua fuego, por la boca'), which does not relate at all to the tame serpent head pictured on Huitzilopochtli's spear-thrower. The quota-

tion is from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 1^r. Again, the description of the array of deities does not entirely match the corresponding depiction. In the coloured drawing from the *Florentine Codex*, Huitzilopochtli's loincloth is still red, not blue as the text claims, the ear pendant is adorned with red, not the described turquoise cotinga feathers, and the bells and shells the text speaks of are barely identifiable in the image. In other cases (like the depiction of Quetzalcoatl and Chicomecoatl), the discrepancies arise from the fact that the image appears to be back to front in the *Florentine Codex*, while the Nahuatl text still refers to the prototype in the *Primeros Memoriales*, describing raised right arms (not left ones) and lowered left arms (not right ones). Also see Nicholson 1988; Quiñones Keber 1988a.

but – like the texts in European mythographic manuals – also detail the deities' characteristics and pagan veneration.¹⁷² It is here not the shared content (the iconographic depictions and descriptions) that interlock image and script, but the inserted folio and chapter numbers. This linkage draws on the systematic of alphabetical contents, employed as orientation aids, and the connection of two corresponding units – normally a chapter heading and chapter, but deity images and corresponding texts in this case. Seen against this backdrop, it is worth returning to Sahagún's statement once more, written in the prologue of the second book of the *Florentine Codex*, where he states that all the information collected was given to him in the form of pictures, which was the ancient Nahuatl 'script'.¹⁷³ Sahagún thereby marks indigenous drawings as pictographic or mnemonic containers of text – and his postulate is proved by the first images we are shown in the codex: the deity series, in which each figure is linked to an alphabetical chapter. Within this context, the drawings are presented as ancient Nahuatl sources and prefigurations of Sahagún's texts. The picture series is thus more than a painted table of contents; it turns into visual

¹⁷² In the Nahuatl text belonging to Huitzilopochtli, for instance (inserted in the right-hand column of the manuscript), we read: 'First Chapter, which telleth of the highest gods who were worshipped and to whom sacrifices were offered in times past. Humming-bird from the left (Uitzilopochtli), [was] only a common man, just a man. [He was] a sorcerer, an omen of evil; a madman, a deceiver, a creator of war, a war-lord, an instigator of war. For it was said of him that he brought hunger and plague – that is war. And when a feast was celebrated [for him], captives were slain; ceremonially bathed slaves were offered up. The merchants bathed them'; *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 1^r. The English translation of the Nahuatl text is according to Anderson and Dibble 1950, vol. 14, part 2. This text alters the description of the properties attributed to Huitzilopochtli in the *Primeros Memoriales* (paragraph 10, fol. 270^v), where we read the following: 'Huitzilopochtli. He nourishes people. He makes people rich. He makes people wealthy. He makes peoples rulers. He is wrathful with people. He kills people'; quote: Sullivan 1997, 121. On the association of indigenous religions with Satanism, see Bauer 2014. For the mutilation of the deity's characteristics in the *Florentine Codex*, see Klor de Alva 1988, 49–50; Ríos Castaño 2014, 221. The Castilian version (inserted in the left-hand column) also emphasises Huitzilopochtli as the principal Mexican god, describing his veneration, but defaming him as a shape-shifter and sorcerer, pointing out that he was a common man who was only worshipped as a god after his death. On Huitzilopochtli's interpretation as a divinised human being, see López Austin 1973, 107; Bassett 2015, 63–64.

¹⁷³ *Florentine Codex*, book 2, prologue, fol. 1^r.



Fig. 8a: Deity series from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 10'.



Fig. 8b: Deity series from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 10^v.



Fig. 8c: Deity series from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 11'.



Fig. 8d: Deity series from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 11^v.



Fig. 8e: Deity series from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 12'.

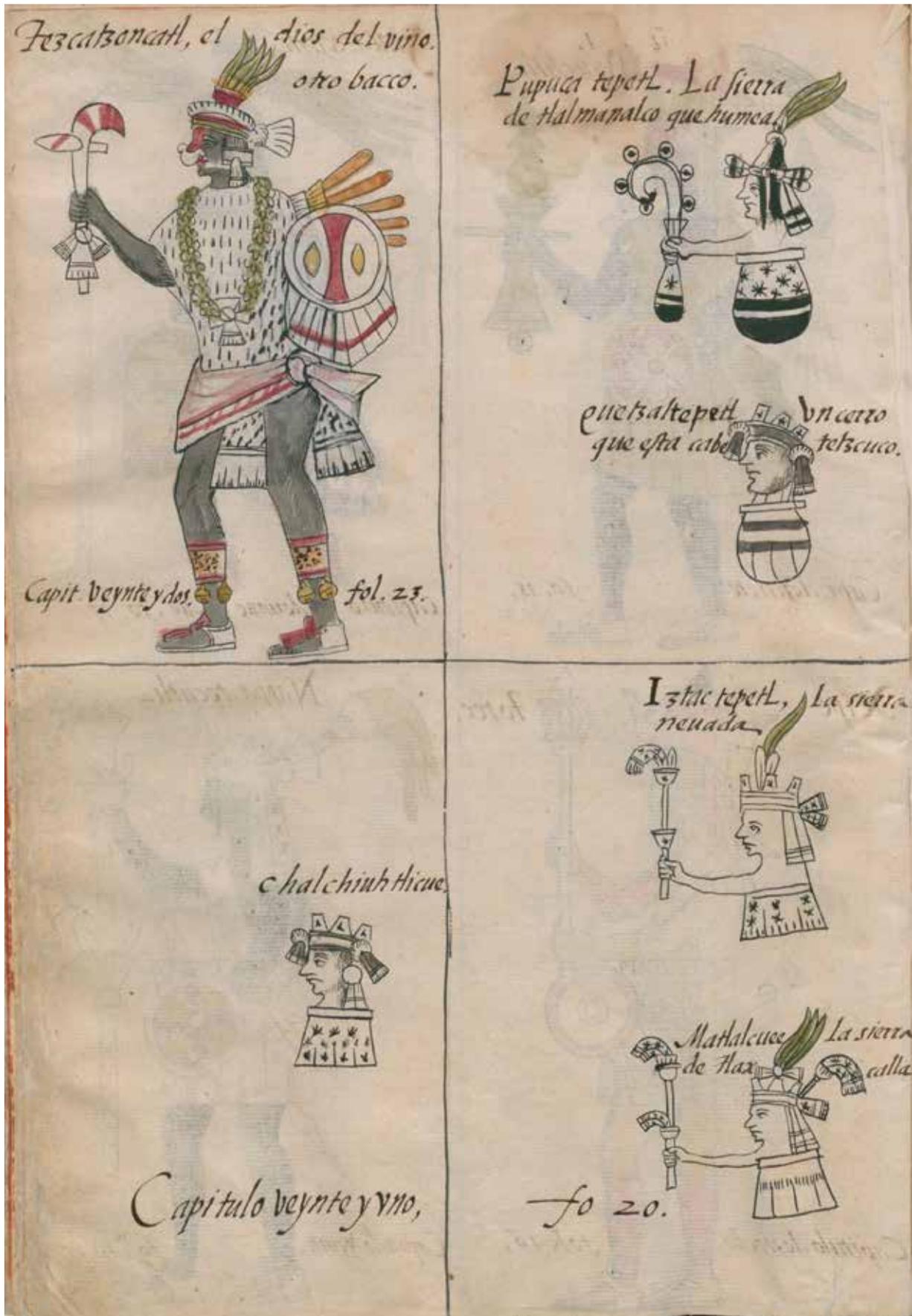


Fig. 8f: Deity series from the Florentine Codex, book 1, fol. 12r.



Fig. 9a: Detail from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 10r.



Fig. 9b: Detail from the *Primeros Memoriales*, fol. 264r.



Fig. 10a: Detail from the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 11'.



Fig. 10b: Detail from the *Primeros Memoriales*, fol. 266'.

proof of the correspondence between image and script and the existence of pre-Hispanic pictographic originals, which were translated into writings. In short, the deity series becomes an argument in Sahagún's strategy of authorising.

4.1 Sahagún's deity series and Johannes Herold's Heydenweldt Nevertheless, Sahagún does not stick to a pictographic image theory, but mixes it with a rather European concept of images when defining the drawings of the deity series as the deities worshipped in pre-Hispanic times.¹⁷⁴ By interpreting the figures as mimetic depictions with an iconographic dimension, he adds another layer to the figures' meaning and medial status: the image series not only claims to be a prefiguration of the corresponding script, but it also functions as a visual collection of pre-Christian Nahua deities. Sahagún's painted table of contents thus works on two levels: on one hand it authorises his writings by presenting the alleged pictorial sources and suggesting a mnemonic status of the images used as ancient Nahua script. On the other hand, Sahagún claims a mimetic dimension for the figures, a medial status that is underlined by the usage of several of the deity depictions as pictorial prototypes for illuminations in other sections of the codex as well.¹⁷⁵

The compiled deity images from the *Florentine Codex* – which Gruzinski has called a 'catalogue of gods'¹⁷⁶ – are presented as a synoptic table, suggesting an overview of the pre-Christian Nahua pantheon understandable to a European readership.¹⁷⁷ Some of the figures bear alphabetic glosses, which interpret them as equivalents to Greco-Roman gods:¹⁷⁸ Huitzilopochtli is called another Hercules

(‘otro Hercules’),¹⁷⁹ Chicomecoatl becomes another ‘diosa Ceres’ (goddess Ceres), and Tezcatzontecatli was turned into the god of wine and another Bacchus (‘el dios del vino. otro bacco’).¹⁸⁰ Sahagún's iconographic construction of Nahua deities thus becomes the subject of a transcultural translation, which equates the Nahua figures to pagan deities from European antiquity.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, a hierarchisation of the Nahua gods takes place: the corresponding Castilian and Nahuatl chapters highlight the first deity of the series, Huitzilopochtli, as the principal of the Mexican gods.¹⁸² The following eleven deities (Figs 8a–c) are marked as being of

¹⁷⁹ In the corresponding Castilian text, the Hercules equation is explained by the deity's exceptional physical strength and martial skills; see the *Florentine Codex*, book 1. Based on these kinds of characteristics, Cornelia Logemann has interpreted the image series as an allegory; see Logemann 2012, 124. In the *Memoriales en tres columnas*, Sahagún interpreted Huitzilopochtli as another Mars, the god of war (‘otro Marte, dios de las guerras’) – a widespread simile in the writings of sixteenth-century missionaries and chroniclers also employed by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478–1557) in his *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (1535, book X, 54) and by the *Durán Codex* (book 2, 23–24). It is only the later *Memoriales en español* that equates Huitzilopochtli with Hercules; cf. Boone 1989; Olivier 2016, 193–196. We can only speculate on the reasons for this shift. See Pohl and Lyons 2016, 13–15; Olivier 2016, 197; Cummins 2016.

¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, Xiuhtecuhtli is called another Vulcan, the Cioapipilti and three flanking minor goddesses are interpreted as nymphs (‘Ninfas’), Chalchiuhtlicue is called an ‘otro Juno’ (another Juno) and Tlazolteotl is turned into another Venus (‘otro Venus’). Tlaloc, probably for want of a classical European prototype, is glossed as a rain god (‘dios de las pluujas [lluvias]’). In comparison with Sahagún's earlier writings, we can find several differences here: in the *Memoriales en tres columnas*, Paynal is called another Mercury (‘otro Mercurio’) and Teteosinnan another Artemis; neither of them were included in the later Castilian translation and the image series from the *Florentine Codex*, however. Furthermore, in the Nahuatl manuscript, Cihuacoatl was referred to as another Venus (‘otra Venus’), a comparison the *Florentine Codex* ascribes to Tlazolteotl. In the later Castilian translation, Cihuacoatl is called ‘our mother Eve’ (‘nuestra madre Eva’), which is not repeated in the glossed image of the *Florentine Codex*, however. The annotated Nahuatl text also calls Chalchiuhtlicue ‘another Neptune, goddess of the sea and the rivers’ (‘otra Ne[p]tuno, diosa de la mar y de los rios’), which was changed to ‘otra Juno’ in the Castilian translation and the glossed depiction of the *Florentine Codex*. Equating the Cioapipilti with nymphs was occurred in the *Florentine Codex*; Olivier 2016, 192–193; Laird 2016, 173–174.

¹⁸¹ The equating of Greco-Roman and pre-Hispanic gods can be interpreted as a forecast of Mexico's spiritual future as the European pagan gods are the ones early Christian writers – like Justin Martyr (100–165) in his *First Apology* (155–157) – identified with the demons cast out by Christ. This is a destiny Sahagún and his fellow missionaries anticipated for the pre-Hispanic deities as well, convinced as he was that their own god was the only true one, unique and therefore untranslatable. In the appendix of the first book, Sahagún quotes in Latin from the Book of Wisdom, 12, 13 (‘For there is no other God but Thou, who hast care of all’) and writes ‘This is thus revealed: Huitzilopochtli is no god; Tezcatlipoca is no god; Tlaloc and Tlazoltecutli are not gods; Quetzalcoatl is no god, neither is Cihuacoatl, etc.’ He concludes with Psalm 5:5: ‘All the gods of the gentiles are demons’; the English translation is according to Anderson and Dibble 1979, 63. See Laird 2016, 170–175 as well. On the transcultural translation of gods and the theological implications, cf. Assmann 1996.

¹⁸² ‘Capitulo primero, que habla, del principal dios: que adorauan, y a qujen sacrificauan los mexicanos. Llamando vitzilubuchtlit’; *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 1^r.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, book 1, fol. 9^v.

¹⁷⁵ Also see Boone 1989, 31–33 who points out that the drawing of Huitzilopochtli was used as a ‘stock image’ in the *Florentine Codex*.

¹⁷⁶ Gruzinski 1992, 73.

¹⁷⁷ For more on Sahagún's organisation of the Nahua pantheon, see Umberger 2014, 90–93; Laird 2016, 172–173; Oliver 2016, 202–203.

¹⁷⁸ The comparison of pre-Hispanic and European gods is also repeated in the corresponding Castilian texts. The equating of Nahua deities with gods of Greek and Roman antiquity has its forerunner in the Castilian annotations to the Nahuatl text of Sahagún's *Memoriales en tres columnas* on fols. 33^r–45^r, composed in Tlatelolco between c. 1563 and 1565, and in a corresponding Castilian translation, *Memoriales en español* (c. 1569–1571), fols. 1^r–5^r, written in Mexico-Tenochtitlan. On equating pre-Hispanic and pagan deities, also see López Austin 1974, 125; Todorov 1992, 231–233; Gruzinski 1992, 65–77; Pohl and Lyons 2010; Laird 2016; Olivier 2016; Cummins 2016. Throughout the *Florentine Codex*, Sahagún repeatedly refers to classical antiquity to describe the pre-Hispanic past. In the prologue of the first book, for instance, he equates the ruined Toltec city of Tula with Troy, links the inhabitants of Cholula with the Romans, and the Tlaxcalteca with the inhabitants of Carthage. See the *Florentine Codex*, book 1, prologue, fol. 2^r.

superior importance as well, whereas the gods treated from chapter 13 onwards (Figs 8 d–f) are classified as of lower rank and dignity and the dough statues (Fig. 8f) are called ‘only imagined’.¹⁸³ This organisation of the Nahua pantheon was probably inspired by a contemporary classification of the Greco-Roman pantheon sorted into deities of major and minor relevance, with special importance being attributed to the twelve Olympic Gods, or *Dei consentes*.¹⁸⁴ By applying a related sorting of the Nahua gods and explicitly equating some of them to Greco-Roman deities, Sahagún assimilates the compiled pre-Christian Nahua deities into the pantheon of pagan gods of classical antiquity.

In search of a sixteenth-century model of a similar synoptic series of pre-Christian gods and – even more importantly – a similar interlocking of images and script, I came across Johannes Basilius Herold’s (1514–1567) *Heydenweldt Vnd irer Götter anfängcklicher vrsprung...* (‘Pagan world and the origin of its gods...’).¹⁸⁵ The book, printed by Heinrich Petri (1508–1579) in Basel in 1554, is a compilation and vernacular translation of different texts

¹⁸³ ‘El capitulo treze, trata, de los dioses: que son menores en dignidad, que los arriba dichos’; *Florentine Codex*, book 1, fol. 10. In the Nahuatl text it says ‘Thirteenth Chapter, which telleth of the little gods – the lesser [ones], who were considered the very old gods’; the English translation is according to Anderson and Dibble 1982, vol. 1, 11. The Castilian text says ‘dioses ymaginarios’ (imaginary gods). ‘Twenty-first Chapter, which telleth of those called the Little Molded ones (Tepictoton) (...) Those thus named Tepictoton were only imagined’; English translation according to Anderson and Dibble 1982, vol. 1, 21.

¹⁸⁴ The twelve Roman *Dei consentes* are Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Vulcan, Minerva, Ceres, Juno, Diana, Venus and Vesta. The *Dei selecti* comprise Saturn, Orcus, Bacchus, Janus, Genius, Sol, Luna, Tellus and Bona Dea. The minor gods (*Dei indigetes*) also include demigods. Guilhem Olivier points out that this tripartite model was also used in Augustine’s *De civitate Dei contra paganos*, a book included in the library of the Franciscan monastery of Tlatelolco and from which Sahagún quotes in the prologue of the third book of the *Florentine Codex*; see Olivier 2016, 203. Also see Bustamante García 1989; Bustamante García 1992; Laird 2016, 172–174, 176. On Augustine’s *De civitate Dei* in the library of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, see Mathes 1982, 33. The tripartite model was furthermore applied in the *Theologia mythologica* (1532, republished in 1558 as *Magazine of the Gods*) written by the German scholar Georg Pictor (c.1500–1569) to classify Greco-Roman deities and compare them to Asian and Egyptian ones; Sez nec 1953, 228. The same systematisation was used by the Dominican Bartholomé de las Casas (c.1484–1566) and the Franciscan missionary Fray Juan de Torquemada (c.1562–1624) in his *Monarquía Indiana* (1615). Regarding the classification of the Nahua gods, also see Gruzinski 1992, 65; Quiñones Keber 1988a, 261; Umberger 2014, 92; Laird 2016, 172; Olivier 2016, 202–203.

¹⁸⁵ Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt Vnd irer Götter anfängcklicher vrsprung*, Basel: Henr. Petri, 1554. One copy of the book is kept at the University Library in Heidelberg: C1588 Folio RES (<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/herold1554>). Amongst other texts, the compilation comprises six books of Diodorus Siculus’ *Bibliotheca historica* and Dictys Cretensis’ *Ephemeris belli Troiani*. On Herold, his activity in Basel and his *Heydenweldt*, see Sez nec 1953, 192, 195 (n. 25), 229 (n. 36), 240, 316; Burckhardt 1967; Mohr 2012; Plotke 2014; Gindhart 2017; Noll 2019.

on the pre-Christian knowledge of the pagan world. The first section of *Heydenweldt* comprises a treatise on the Greco-Roman pantheon, which opens just like Sahagún’s manuscript with a visual compilation or – as Herold calls it – a directory (‘verzeichnu[n]g’) of the most important pagan deities treated in the subsequent textual chapters (Figs 11a and b, Fig. 12).¹⁸⁶ Herold divides the male and female gods of classical antiquity into two groups, gathered on two double pages. The first compilation shows the twelve Olympic gods or ‘Dei consentes’ (Figs 11a and b), while the second table gathers eight ‘Dei selecti’ (Fig. 12).¹⁸⁷ The images are arranged symmetrically and set in rectangular and framed image fields. Each of the pre-Christian deities is labelled with an individual name. Unlike in Sahagún’s picture series, the deities are not set against a neutral background, but are part of narrative scenes. The corresponding textual chapters are dedicated to either one or two of the pagan gods. Prior to each of the texts, we find a repetition of the related deity figure taken from the initial synoptic tables (Figs 13a and b). By repeating the figures (easily done in a printed book), Herold interlocks the images and script, or rather the deity depiction and corresponding alphabetical description, in a strikingly similar way to Sahagún.

Herold’s chapters on the pagan gods are slightly modified translations of the mythographic manual *De deis gentium historia* written by Giglio Gregorio Giraldi (1479–1552) and first published in Basel in 1548.¹⁸⁸ An examination of Herold’s and Sahagún’s representation of the Greco-Roman and Nahua gods respectively reveals a set of similarities: like Sahagún’s descriptions of the Nahua deities in the *Florentine Codex*, Herold’s texts elaborate on the hierarchical position of the pagan gods, their characteristics and pre-Christian veneration. Furthermore, and typical of mythographic texts from the sixteenth century, a description of the deities’ outer appearance and attributes is included. In the book on Jupiter (Fig. 13a), for instance, the first figure from Herold’s deity series, Jupiter, is characterised as ‘generally depicted seated on an ebony throne, naked from head to belt, in his left hand a sceptre and in his right a thunder arrow, which he had shot

¹⁸⁶ Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva, Mars, Neptune, Ceres, Mercury, Juno, Diana, Vulcan, Vesta and Venus.

¹⁸⁷ Janus, Bacchus, Saturn, Sol, Genius, Luna, Plutus and Cellus. Furthermore, Herold placed a depiction of different antique games below the ‘selecti’, which he interpreted as predecessors of medieval knights’ games.

¹⁸⁸ *De deis gentium varia et multiplex historia*, Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1548 (republished in Lyon 1565). On Giraldi and his manual, see Sez nec 1953, 226–278; Enekel 2002.

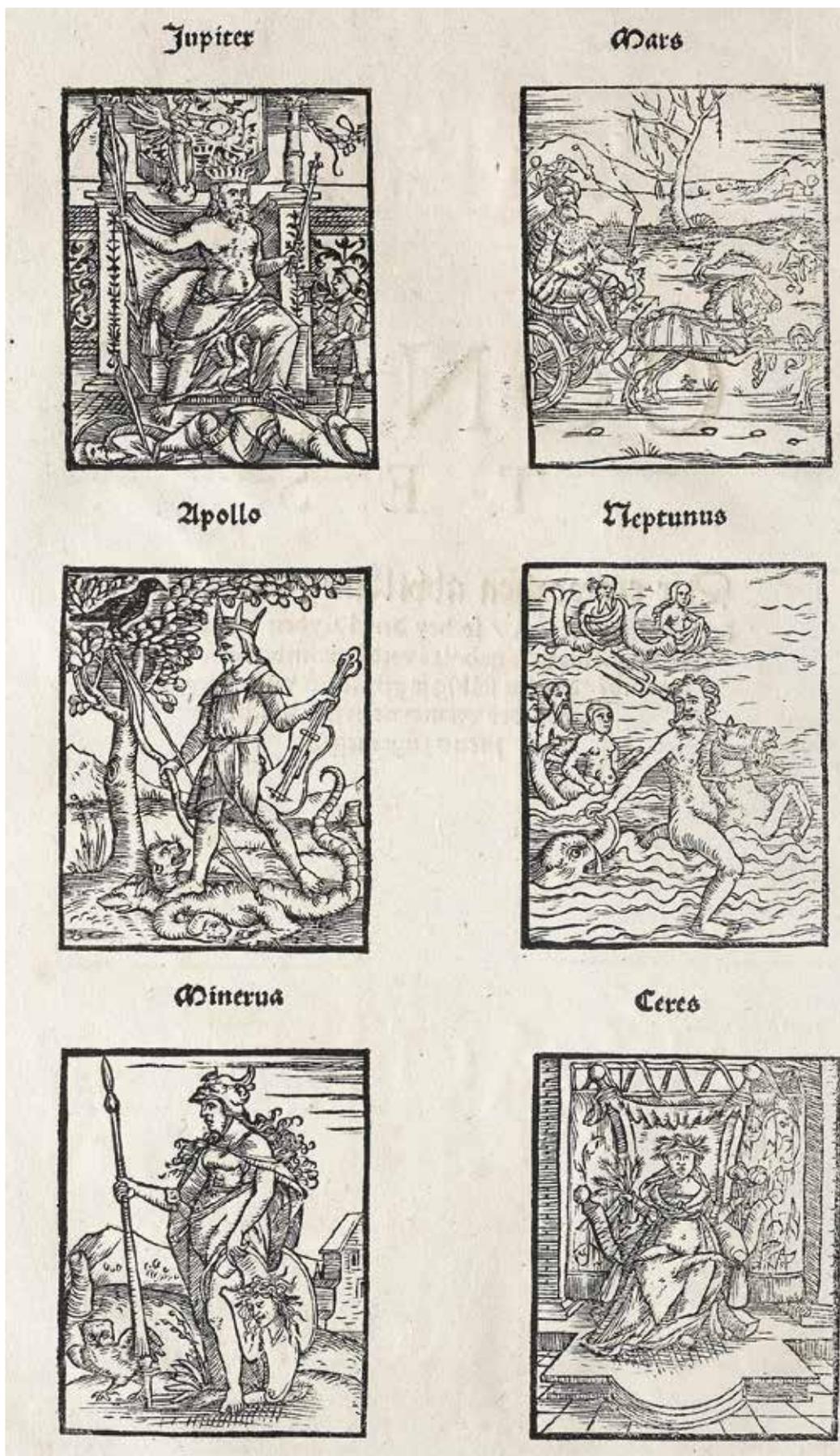


Fig. 11a: *Dei consentes*, from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES.

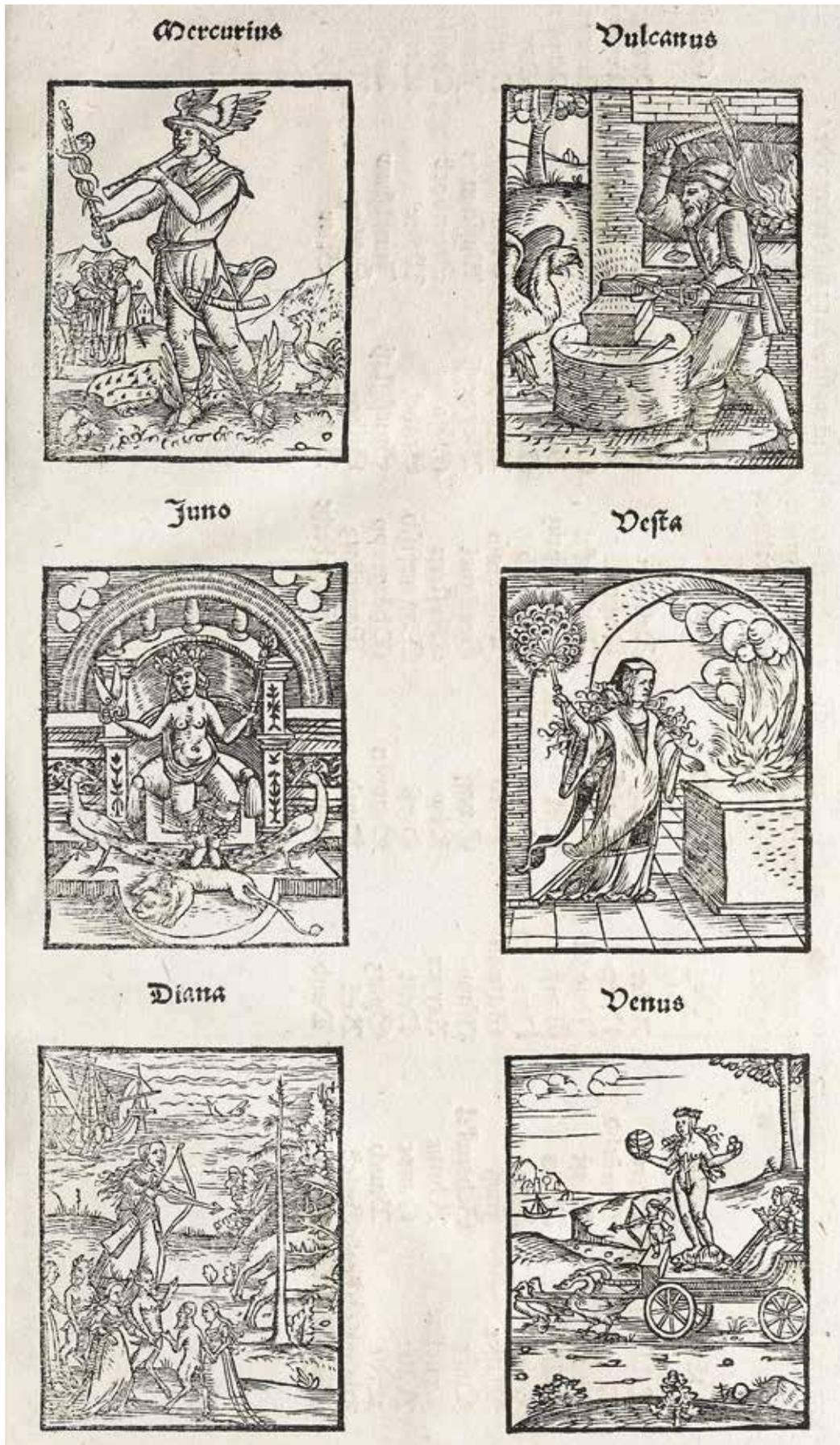


Fig. 11b: *Dei consentes*, from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES.

Janus



Saturnus



Bacchus



Sol



Fig. 12: *Dei selecti*, from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES.

Genius



Plutus



Luna



Tellus



Spil.

Das ander büch. Jupiter.



S nun anzeigen/wöllichs vnder den Heyden / die höchsten vñ mächtigste Götter geheissen/wil ich in sonderheyt von yedem nun was sye gehalten anzeigen. Vndersts von dē Jupiter / den sie den anfang aller dinge nannten / vñ auch für ein herren alles dessen so do wäre. Dañ wie die seel den leyb / also (sagt Cornutus) herrschet der Jupiter alle welt / der wegē ob die alten weisen leüt gleich wol wüßte / das ereinig vñnd alleinig / noch gaben sye ime vil zūnammens / vñnd vorab nannten jne die Latiner Jupiter als ein helffer / die Griechen (wora) der ist ein vrhab des lebens. Die

andern zūnammens wollen wir nach vñnd nach auch fürtragen / Cicero schreibt also von jme. Man zält vñnd sagt von dreyen Jupitern. Den ersten vñnd andern/wöllend ertlich / in Arcadien / des einen vatter habe Aether geheissen / des andern Celum / der dritt sey in Creta oder Caudien erporn vñnd ein son Saturni / do dan sein grab noch vorhandt seye. Varro aber / sagt wol von dreyhundert Jupitern / die hin vñnd wider durch den aber glauben der alten zūuerehren auffgworffen worden seyen.

Sein bildnuß gemeinlich sach man sitzend auff einem Helsenbeynin Königstül / von dem haupt bis zū der gürtel gantz plos / in seiner linken häd trüger ein Königstab / in der rechten hand ein Donnerpfeil den er über abschoss vff die Risen / die jme dan getödt vnder den füßen lagen. Nebē jme stünd / zur einen seytten ein Adler / der ein schönen Knaben fürret / wellicher Knab in der hand hatt ein schöns trinckgschir / vñnd jme dem Jupiter dor mit zetrincken bot. Er war auch vñden ab bedeckt.

Etlich als die Cretenser oder Candioten / maalten jne on ohren / die Lacedemonier gaben jme zū vier ohren. In der Sonnen statt Aegypti / do bildete sye jne / auß gold in gstat eins jünglings / dnoch nit barter / gaben jme in die rechte hand ein geysel mit dero er klopfet / in die lincke ein straal sampt ertlichen ähern. Die andern machten jne in gstat eins gstandten vñnd tapfermanns.

Martians Capella der bildet seinen Jupiter mit einer gflämerten Kron vff dem haupt / vber die selbig spreyt er jme ein rot schleyerlin vñnd ein weiß hembd / oben zum vberrock / gabe er jme von Lasur farb ein Kleyd das mitt steinlin versezt vñnd gestickt / in die rechte außgestreckte häd zwo Englen / die eine guldin / die and auß augstein / mit der linken / steürt er sich auff ein geygen mit neun seytten / ghüenet stifelin trägt er an / vñnd tritt auff ein garn.

Wir disem gmäl wolten sye zūuerst on geben / Erstlich das man bei seinem sitzen abnemmen solt / wie vnueränderlich / vñnd stätt sein gwalt wäre / das er aber ober teyls plos / solte zū verston sein wie er in dē himblischen seeten gschöpffen / so sicht par / wünderbarlich vñnd hell / darzū allein den englen

c ij sichts

Fig. 13a: The book on Jupiter, from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES, fol. e II'.

Das dritte buch. Apollo vnd Sol.



S Wir nun an Apollinem kummen / erzält Cicero der selbigen vier / sage der vhralt vnder jnen sey von Vulcano expozent / vnd ein hütet der Statt Achen geachtet. Der ander seye ein son Corybantis in Creta / wöllicher mit dem Jupiter vmb die herrschafft der Insel gezancket. Den dritten habe Jupiter auß Laronaerzüget / der sich zu Delo nider gelassen. Den vierdten heyst er ein Arcadier / der habe auch das Landrecht do selbst auffgericht.

Nun dem Apollini so hernach ob jro gleich vil gewesen für einen gnommen / gibt man vier stuck zu / dorinnen er überreffenlich vor andern gepreyset. Er ist ein Harpffenschlaher / hernach ein erfunder der artzney vnd artz / ein schütz vnd werffer / zum vierdten einen wharsager hielten sie jne / vnd so hob in disen künsten / das er als ein Gott dessen alles auffgeworffen ward.

Sein gstat ward also gemaaket ein vnbarterer jüngling der ein dryspitze Cron vff dem haupt / ein geygen in d lincken / in der rechtē ein bogen züschliessen / vnder seinen füßen lag ein dryhauptiger Drach von jme erschossen / der Lorberbaum doruff ein rappe saß / stünd neben jme.

Vnd dieweyl er zu zeiten an statt der Sonnen genommen / die über schwäncklich groß hitz / in dem luft ein zerrüttig vnd säulung anrichtet / doruff dann der schelm oder pestilenz entstat / haben sie jme die sträl oder pfeyl zugeben / do här es noch bey vns der Butsch geheissen. Etlich geben jme zu das die Sonn on onderlass die f. uechtigkeit an sich bis in die luft ziehe / doruff dann regen würdt / vñ die welt mit erneuert vnd abgewaschen / deshalben er so jungschaffen.

Porphyrus gibt zu / das diser Apollo am Himmel die Sonn / auff der erden Liber sey. Vnder der erden Apollo. Derhalb er drey zeichen habe / ein Leyren die do die züsamē hellung der himlischen läuff bedeiitte. Ein greyfften als ein jüdisch zeichen. Die Sträl als einem hellischen schadhafftē Gott / etlich geben jme einen rappen für den greiffen / das Phornitus widerficht derhalb das der selb vogel schwarz / vnreyn / vund do bas bey der helle der Sonen ein Schwan stünde / zü de das der Schwan so liebliche stin hat.

n iij Der

Fig. 13b: The book on Apollo and Sol, from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES, fol. n IIII^r.

at the giants, who lay dead below his feet. He is flanked by an eagle and a beautiful youth who holds a beautiful cup with which he offers Jupiter something to drink'.¹⁸⁹

Herold's iconographic description of Jupiter and the other pagan gods is based on Giraldi's unillustrated Latin writings.¹⁹⁰ For *Heydenweldt*, Herold not only translated and edited Giraldi's texts, but he also took care to include woodcuts of the deities, eager as he was to present his readers with a matching deity depiction and description (Figs 13a and b).¹⁹¹ Herold's images of the pagan gods are visual (re-) translations of an earlier *ekphrasis* and are thus text-based images. But within the visual organisation of *Heydenweldt*, the dependencies between the pictures and texts are reversed and a new image status is established: by presenting the woodcuts prior to the textual descriptions, Herold uses the figures as indexing images, which link the images and script as two corresponding units. Furthermore, by means of the woodcuts, he visualises – and thus establishes – an iconography of the pagan deities described in the subsequent text; it is now the material existence of the depiction that grounds and proves the description, not the other way round. In short, within *Heydenweldt*, the deity images (actually introduced as a novelty) are presented as pictorial sources and reference media.

Herold apparently gained his inspiration for systematically interlocking deity images and corresponding texts from the visual organisation of another section of *Heydenweldt*, which is entitled *Bildschrift* (picture writing) and comprises an illustrated translation of Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica*.¹⁹² Since Horapollon's Greek treatise on Egyptian hieroglyphs was rediscovered in 1419 and taken to Florence shortly after that, it stimulated numerous European translations.¹⁹³ Illustrated *Hieroglyphica* editions became common from the sixteenth century onwards. For the first time, these books made the alleged Egyptian signs visible by (re-)translating Horapollon's *ekphrasis* into images. The inserted depictions – the image of a scaly snake biting its own tail as a representation of the world (Figs 14 and 15a), for instance – are script-based imagery. They reconstruct the 'original' hieroglyphs alphabetically described and interpreted by Horapollon's texts. However, as the process of image formation was simultaneously a process of visualising and thus of re-establishing the pictorial prototypes of the texts, it led to an inversion of the dependency between images and script: the visual organisation of the illustrated *Hieroglyphica* editions does not present the newly created images as reconstructions, but as prefigurations of the writings. This supremacy of the picture is also evident in Herold's *Bildschrift*, which uses the same strategy of interlocking depictions and descriptions that we find in Herold's section on the pagan gods: each of the two books of the translated *Hieroglyphica* opens with a synoptic table – or 'directory' as Herold calls it – which presents the reader with an overview of all the signs treated and explained in the subsequent chapters (see Fig. 14).

¹⁸⁹ 'Sein bildnuß gemeinlich sach man sitzend auff einem Helfenbeynin Königstul/von dem haupt biß zu der gürtel gantz polss/ in seiner lincken hand trug er ein Königstab/ in der rechten hand ein Donnerpfeil den er über abschoss vff die Risen/ die jme dann getoedt vnder den fuessen lagen. Neben jme stund/ zur einen seyten ein Adler/ der ein schoenen knaben fueret/ wellicher knab inn der hand hatte ein schoens trinckgschir/ vnd jme dem Jupiter domit zetrincken bot. Er war auch vnden ab bedeckt'; quoted from Herold, *Heydenweldt*, 43.

¹⁹⁰ Giglio Gregorio Giraldi, *De Deis gentium varia et multiplex historia...* Basel 1548, 75–76.

¹⁹¹ The origin of the woodcuts Herold used for *Heydenweldt* has not been clarified yet. According to Seznec, Herold derived his images from fifteenth-century engravers; see Seznec 1953, 240, n. 79. The same depictions of the pagan gods can also be found in Georg Pictor's *Apotheseos tam exterarum gentium quam Romanorum deorum libri tres* (Basel, 1558).

¹⁹² *Bildschrift Oder Entworffne Wharzeichen dero die vhralten Aegyptier/ in ihrem Goetzendienst/Rhaetten/ Gheymnussen/ vnd anliegenden gschaefften/ sich an statt der buochstaeblichen schriffen gepraucht habend. Inn zwei buecher durch etwa Horum ein Heylig geachten Priester vnd König in Aegypten/ vor dreytausent hundert jaren verfaßt/ vnnd bescriben. See Gindhart 2017 regarding Herold's *Bildschrift*.*

¹⁹³ On the reception of the *Hieroglyphica* and the different translations and editions circulating in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Gindhart 2017, 246–267.

At the beginning of these texts, Herold inserted repetitions of the individual signs taken from the visual compilation of the directory (Figs 15a and b). By prepending the images and calling them *vorbilder* (models), he clearly marks the depictions as sources of the alphabetical writings. Herold's postulated textual decipherment and translation of the figures draws on the sixteenth-century European conception of Egyptian hieroglyphs as a form of picture-writing based on iconic symbols that incorporate an ancient and universal 'truth'.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, it follows the theories of neo-Platonists like Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), who was convinced that the Egyptians were able to 'comprehend an entire discourse in one stable image'.¹⁹⁵ This conception of images – which reverses the actual dependency of image and script by presenting pictures not as textual illustrations, but as ancient, text-independent containers of knowledge – is characteristic of other sixteenth-century illustrated editions of the *Hieroglyphica* as well. But Herold's *Heydenweldt* shows that this new 'hieroglyphic' image status could also be expanded and adapted to other knowledge fields of classical antiquity: by presenting iconographic figures of pre-Christian gods and interlocking them with corresponding texts in a way similar to his section on ancient Egyptian signs, Herold awarded the deity images a new epistemic role – the depictions were not presented as subordinated illustrations of the text, but as original visual sources.

5. Conclusion

The comparison of the synoptic tables of pre-Christian deities and their linkage to the subsequent chapters in Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* (1577) and Herold's *Heydenweldt* (1554) reveals considerable similarities. In both cases, directories composed of iconographic image compilations are used to give a visual overview of a pre-Christian pantheon discussed in the corresponding textual units. Furthermore, by putting the synoptic tables in a prior position and employing a similar system of interlocking images and textual chapters, the deity figures are turned into media of evidence, pictorial sources and prefigurations of the writings. In Herold's *Heydenweldt*, the model of his visual compilation of pagan deities and the strategy of interlocking image and script was probably

inspired by his chapter on the ancient Egyptian writing system, *Bildschrift* (an illustrated and translated edition of Horapollon's *Hieroglyphica*), which was included in the same publication. However, to understand the potential influence of Herold's publication on Sahagún's manuscript, further research will be necessary in order to clarify models and successors of the visual organisation Herold used in his *Heydenweldt* and a possible reception of Herold's book or similar publications in New Spain. Nevertheless, given the emphasis Sahagún puts on Nahua pictorials as ancient sources of information and alternative script, a potential link between Herold's and Sahagún's visual organisation of images and texts on the pagan pantheon might be found in the shared influence of contemporary publications on 'picture-writing' or hieroglyphs as an ancient and alternative form of script, including the numerous illuminated *Hieroglyphica* editions circulating in the sixteenth century.

The analysis of the directory of pre-Christian Nahua deities in the first book of Sahagún's *Florentine Codex* reveals a usage of images that goes beyond an ornamental or illustrative function. Rather, it shows the strategic employment of pictures, which are presented as a painted table of contents and – at the same time – as ancient containers of text and authenticating sources of Sahagún's alphabetic writings. This strategy of verifying texts via images (and in some cases intentionally concealing the original oral sources in the process), which was developed in two consecutive steps to be found in the images and texts of the deity series from the *Primeros Memoriales* and the *Florentine Codex*, leads us to related questions about Sahagún's image production and the character and origin of his pictorial material. As Sahagún's description of the Nahua deities in the *Florentine Codex* resembles the texts of Early Modern mythographic manuals on pagan gods of European antiquity and the layout of the deity series can be linked to the visual organisation of sixteenth-century publication on Egyptian hieroglyphs, the necessity of a thorough contextualising of Sahagún's works in the cosmos of contemporary printed books imported from Europe becomes clear. For only by capturing the semantics implied in Sahagún's literary and visual models are we able to comprehend the cultural framing Sahagún used to reconstruct the pre-Christian Nahua past – and by understanding this framework, we might even be able to gain a better understanding of how Sahagún transformed and adapted his original material in order to fit it into the framework that was employed.

¹⁹⁴ On the European reception of Egyptian hieroglyphs, see Volkmann 1923; Assmann and Assmann 2003; Keiner 2003; Scholz 2007; Curran 2007; Kern 2013, 64–88; Gindhart 2017, 244–252. On the reception of hieroglyphs in Spain, see Germano Leal 2014.

¹⁹⁵ Curran 2007, 97.



Fig. 14: *Verzeichnung der Wortbilder*, from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES, pp. LXXXVI–LXXXVII.



Ewigkeyt.

Die Aegyptier / so sie die vnendlich ewigkeyt bedeyten wolten vnnnd andern für schreiben / so malten sie Sonn vnnnd Mon / darumben das diese zwey vnschweiffende Liecht von ye weldten här zündend.



Ewigkeyt.

Sye prauchen auch ein andere bedeutung die Ewigkeyt zezeygen. Nämlich den schlangen / so man Basiliscum nennet / wölcher goldfarb angestrichen mit dem schwartz vnd schnabel / etlich Götter umb ringet. Vnd sagen das bedeytete darumben die Ewigkeyt / seytēmal dreierlei ahrtē der schlangen seyen / die andern all vsserhalb der ahrt absterbe / dann diese sey vntōdlich / vñ allein tōdte sy andere thier mit seinem achem / on allen biß. So dan nun das leben vnd tōde gleich inn seinem gwalt stāde / so schließ es billich die Götter ein.

Welde.



Die welt zeschreiben maalen sie ein schlangen / die schüppecht vnnnd von mancherley farbenn gleyßt / auch ihrs schwantz selbs frisse vnd im rachen hatt. Do die schüeppe das gskirn bedeytten. So ist das thier eben wie die welde schwartzfärtig / seiner größe nach zūachtē. Vnd die weil es so hāl oder glatt / bedeyt sie das wasser. Darumben aber das sie jārlich je hēbd hin fallen laße / vnd darmit je alter hin legt / zeigt sie gnüg an / in was weiß vnd wie die veränderung der jarläuff sich statts erneüwern vnd jüngen. Das sie aber ires eignen leybs sich selbs speiset / will anzeigen / das alles das yhenig / das durch Götliche fürsichtigkeyt inn diser welt erzeüget / auch von ihm selbs wider zū grundt gericht würdt.

Jar.



Isis die Göttin ein weibsbild / würdt zūbedeytēnn das Jar gemaalt / dan bey den Aegyptiern ist Isis das Gskirn das inn ires sprach Sothis genant / bei den Griechē Ἰσις. dessenhalben das eben dasselbig / das übrig gskirn etwz meistert. Vez groß dann klein erscheine / etwa dunckel etwa hell. Darzū wirt auß einem ersten auffgang vorgefagt vnd abgesehen.

33

Fig. 15a: Alphabetic decoding and explanation of the hieroglyphs (Bildzeichen), from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES, p. LXXXIX, detail.

xc **Heyliger gschrifte war zeichen**

sehen/wie der gantz jarlauff sein werde/also dz sie Jsidem nit vnbillich für das jar schreiben.

Jar.
Noch ein ande bedeünuß des Jars nemmē sie ab dē für geschribnen palmenbaum. Dann eben vnder allen bāumen wider jro aller abt/so truckt er yedes News mōs zeyt ein schoß/also das in zwölff Monatē/zwölff āst auffwachsen/vnd ein gantz volkommen jar darauß erlernet wirt.

Monat.
Nüzzeigen ein Monat/so maale si diser palmen āsten einen/oder aber ein obsich kōrten neüwē Mon/mitt seinen hōrnern. Des palmen āsts vsach/ist vor anzeige/der vmbthört Mon darumbē/das von stūd so er neüw wirt fünfzehen seiner theylen lār stōnd/die er noch außfüllen soll. Also vollen/müssen wider fünfzehen theyl gemindert werden. domit so thört er in dreißig tagen die hōrner vnder sich.

Schalt jar.
In schalt jar anzūzeigen/maalen sie ein vierdten theil eines ackers. Ein acker aber hat bey jnē anderthalbhūdert schüch. durch desselben vierteyl sie das jar bedeüiten wollen/thüt das von dem erstenn auffgang des sterns Jsidis/biß zū dem andern jrn auffgang/ein viertel ein jaro sich verlaufft. Das jar sagen sie halte drey hundert fünfß vnd sechzig tag/deshalb sie alweg im vierdten jar/den übrigē einzālen/dann vier mal der vierdt theyl/machen ein gantzen tag.

Gott.
In anzeigung Gottes für zūschreiben malen sie disen vogel den Adler/darumbenn das der so fruchtbar vnd langwürig.

Sonn.
Darzü vermeinen sie das der Adler sey der Sonnen bild vnd warzeichen/dann vor anders gflügels abt/so siche er gstracks inn die Sonnen strömen hinein. Deshalb die ärtz zū dem weethagen der augen/ein kraut prauchen (ich liß hie ein stein/den man *arvity* nennet.) derwegen so maalen sie zū zeitenn ein Adler/die Sonne/als ein herren des gichts zūbedeüiten. Darzü vergleichend sie dem Adler der Sonnen/vmb diser vsach willen/habē jro auch jne zūgeignet/darumbē das das weiblin/sich so offte jme das mändlin lockt in der geyle/das er wo biß in dreißig mal sich begibt/ghorsamet. Also die Sonn/so sie dreißig tag vmbblauft füle sie den Mon/vnd macht jn scheynbar.

Hochheit.
Sie yemands hochachtend vnd als ein fürnemen anzeigen wollen/so maalen sie auch ein Adler/vmb dessen willen/das das ander gflügel alles/so es sich in die hōhin schwingen will/gleich beseits vnd krumb vmb vffharen müß/do der Adler schnür schlechts vber sich steigt.

Vndertruckung.
Ingegen bedeüt der Adler auch eins vndertruckten jamer/der etwa im hohem ansehen gwesen/vnd gar in vnachtung kompt vff ein mal. Dan eben andere vōgel auch/all gmach vnd schlīms/auf den lufften sich nider lassen/do der Adler grad vnd schlechts nider scheußt.

Adel.

Fig. 15b: Alphabetic decoding and explanation of the hieroglyphs (Bildzeichen), from Johannes Basilius Herold, *Heydenweldt*, Basel, 1554, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, C1588 Folio RES, p. XC.

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Article

Tables of Contents in Arabic Manuscripts as Exemplified by Works from the Refaiya Library from Damascus

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1. Introduction

The study of Arabic manuscripts has not focused on the subject of tables of contents very much as yet. Adam Gacek's reference work *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* contains a short entry on the topic in question and further lemmas relating to it,¹ while François Déroche's standard manual *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* only contains a few lines on this phenomenon.² Florian Sobieroj has summarised some of its basic features in the handbook *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*.³ As far as printed and online catalogues are concerned, these sometimes mention the existence of such lists created by copyists and users in individual manuscripts. This article is a first systematic approach to the subject specifically concerning Arabic manuscript culture. Both single- and multiple-text/composite volumes are the object of my analysis.

The private Damascene library known as the Rifā'īya (or Refaiya)⁴ has been chosen as a source of material to demonstrate and analyse the topic. The collection of manuscripts was purchased from its last owner, 'Umar Efendi al-Rifā'ī al-Ḥamawī, in 1853 by the Prussian consul and Arabist Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (d.1905), who acquired it on behalf of Leipzig University Library.⁵ First of all, the Refaiya forms a closed unit, being a cohesive, pre-modern Arabic-Islamic private library with manuscripts copied in subsequent centuries. The oldest manuscript (Vollers 505) dates from 380 AH/990 CE and the youngest

one (Vollers 758) from 1262 AH/1846 CE.⁶ Secondly, I am familiar with the Refaiya's handwritten books as I was responsible for describing and making them available in a database and a printed catalogue in a project financed by the German Research Foundation between 2008 and 2013.⁷ The database comprises complete digital representations of the manuscripts. The Refaiya itself consists of 489 bound entities, i.e. 368 single texts and 89 multiple-text/composite volumes comprising 444 individual texts. With the total number of works contained in the manuscripts amounting to 812 texts, the Refaiya provides quite a large corpus of material with which to conduct a survey about different varieties of tables of contents. The only disadvantage it has is that the geographical scope of the collection is restricted to the eastern parts of the Arabic world; with the exception of a Maghribī Qur'ān fragment (Vollers 48) and a book on grammar in Maghribī script (Vollers 407), there are no examples of works from North Africa.

¹ Gacek 2009, 57–58 (chapter and section headings), 200–203 (prefaces of composition) and 259 (tables of contents).

² Déroche 2005, 317–318.

³ Sobieroj 2014, 83–84.

⁴ Liebrez 2016.

⁵ Liebrez 2016, 43–72.

⁶ Karl Vollers produced the first detailed description of the Refaiya manuscripts together with other oriental manuscript holdings kept at Leipzig University Library in the following catalogue: *Katalog der islamischen, christlich-orientalischen, jüdischen und samaritanischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig* von Karl Vollers mit einem Beitrag von J. Leipoldt, Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1906. The shelf marks of these manuscripts bear his surname and the consecutive numbering from his catalogue for this reason.

⁷ See the database-supported cataloguing, research and digital presentation of the Refaiya family at Leipzig University Library <<http://www.refaiya.uni-leipzig.de>>: this database has been merged into *Qalamos*, a portal for manuscripts from Asian and African script traditions in German memory institutions, see <<https://www.qalamos.net>>; Wiesmüller 2016.

2. Terminology

Two terms exist to designate a table of contents in Arabic writing:

1. *fihris*, *fihrist*, pl. *fahāris*, an arabicised word from the Persian *fihrist*, which is the most common expression
2. *tarjamah*, pl. *tarājim*

These two terms have further meanings which all centre around the topic of structuring and making information available by means of different written forms; *fihris/fihrist* can also denote a catalogue, index, inventory or list, for example.⁸ A translation, biography, chapter heading, title of a book and keyword are only some of the contents that the expression *tarjamah* can indicate in addition to a table of contents.⁹

In the Arabic manuscript tradition, the practice of dividing works into chapters can already be seen in the presentation of the Qurʾān, which is arranged in terms of *sūrah* headings. The chapter headings in non-*Qurʾānic* works are introduced by such words as *kitāb* (‘book’), *bāb* (‘gate’), *faṣl* (‘passage’), *juzʿ* (‘part’), *qism* (‘portion’), *jumlah* (‘sentence’), *maqālah* (‘article’), *nawʿ* (‘type’) and the like. The text is either arranged in a one-level or a multiple-level chapter division. The latter type is usually made up of two or three levels. In the case of two-level division, we can find the following sequences of words by which the headers of the different levels are indicated:

1. *kitāb* (‘book’) – *bāb* (‘gate’)
2. *bāb* (‘gate’) – *faṣl* (‘passage’)
3. *qism* (‘portion’) – *bāb* (‘gate’)
4. *maqālah* (‘article’) – *bāb* (‘gate’).

A three-level division can have any of the following sequences, among others:

1. *kitāb* (‘book’) – *bāb* (‘gate’) – *faṣl* (‘passage’)
2. *qism* (‘portion’) – *bāb* (‘gate’) – *faṣl* (‘passage’)
3. *juzʿ* (‘part’) – *jumlah* (‘sentence’) – *bāb* (‘gate’).

Apart from introducing chapter headings by certain terms, it was also common practice to number them consecutively. The headings of the last level frequently do not contain any numbers in multiple-level headers. Finally, an introduction and a conclusion are further essential structural parts of Arabic works. The terms *muqaddimah* (‘front part’) and *fātihah* (‘opening’) stand for ‘introduction’ in Arabic manuscript culture, and the terms *khātimah* (‘end’, ‘close’) and *natījah* (‘result’, ‘outcome’) stand for ‘conclusion’.

3. Categories of tables of contents

It is possible to distinguish two categories of tables of contents:

1. tables of contents the authors incorporated in the preface of their texts and in autographs prefixed on pages immediately preceding the opening of the text.
2. tables of contents compiled by scribes and users on pages directly preceding the text, on flyleaves or – albeit rarely – on the inside of the front cover and on the front cover itself.

Depending on the number of chapter headings there are and the size of the paper and script, the contents can be written on one of the surfaces of a folio or extend over a number of folios.

3.1 Tables of contents written by authors

The fifty works of the Refāīya with tables of contents created by the author illustrate that it was soon to become customary among scholars to incorporate an enumeration of the chapters into the preface of their works, which divided their texts into sections. This practice was not restricted to books on certain branches of study, but encompassed scholarly works on religious and profane studies alike. Table 1 shows the distribution over the centuries.

⁸ Gacek 2001, 111.

⁹ Gacek 2001, 17–18.

Table 1: Tables of contents written by authors of the manuscripts.

Shelf mark	Author	Date of death	Date of copy	Subject matter
Vollers 775:3	unknown	unknown	undated	erotica
Vollers 866:1	unknown	unknown	undated	collection of proverbs
Vollers 859:3	unknown	unknown	1085/1674	zoology
Vollers 825	‘Umar ibn ‘Alī ibn Ghaylān al-Bukhārī	unknown	577/1181	mathematics
Vollers 512	Ibn al-Mu‘tazz bi-Allāh	296/908–909	undated	ethics
Vollers 593	al-Ābī	421/1030	undated	literature
Vollers 458	al-Tha‘ālibī	429/1037–1038	1143/1730–1731	lexicography
Vollers 863:1	al-Tha‘ālibī	429/1037–1038	undated	rhetoric
Vollers 349	al-Dabūsī	430/1038–1039	undated	law
Vollers 546:2	Ibn Khāqān	529/1134–1135 or 535/1140–1141	1162/1748	biography
Vollers 18	al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ al-Yaḥṣībī	544/1149–1150	undated	religious duties
Vollers 774	al-Maghribī	570/1174–1175	undated	erotica
Vollers 398	al-Shayzarī	589/1193 or c. 590/1193–1194 or 774/1372–1373	1222/1807	ethics
Vollers 775:1	al-Shayzarī	589/1193 or c. 590/1193–1194 or 774/1372–1373	undated	erotica
Vollers 19	Ibn al-Jawzī	597/1200–1201	903/1498	biography of the Prophet
Vollers 605	Ibn al-Jawzī	597/1200–1201	703/1304	law
Vollers 747	Ibn al-Jawzī	597/1200–1201	1054/1644	zoology
Vollers 760:1	Ibn al-Jawzī	597/1200–1201	878/1474	medicine
Vollers 606	al-Malik al-Manṣūr	617/1220–1221	748/1347	ethics
Vollers 883:17	al-Jaghminī	fl. 618/1221–1222	undated	astronomy
Vollers 864:1	al-Samarqandī	fl. 675/1276–1277	undated	disputation
Vollers 864:4	al-Samarqandī	fl. 675/1276–1277	undated	disputation
Vollers 73	al-Nawawī	676/1277	undated	Qur’ānic sciences
Vollers 760:3	al-Malik al-Ashraf ‘Umar II	696/1296	undated	pharmacology
Vollers 280	Ibn al-Firkāḥ	729/1329	1129/1717	geography
Vollers 399	Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā‘ah	733/1333	1143/1730–1731	law

Table 1: Tables of contents written by authors of the manuscripts; continuation.

Shelf mark	Author	Date of death	Date of copy	Subject matter
Vollers 659	Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Umārī	749/1349	undated	stylistics for chanceries
Vollers 329	Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah	751/1350	undated	law
Vollers 842	Ibn al-Shaykh al-'Uwaynah	755/1354	undated	interpretation of dreams
Vollers 614	al-Ṣafadī	764/1363	1168/1754	biography
Vollers 282	Ibn Abī Ḥajalah	776/1375	1065/1655	dogmatics
Vollers 616	Ibn Abī Ḥajalah	776/1375	undated	entertaining literature
Vollers 662	al-Zamlakānī	probably fl. 9 th /15 th – 10 th /16 th century	undated autograph	history
Vollers 758	al-Ḍibrī	815/1412–1413	1262/1846	medicine
Vollers 759	al-Ḍibrī	815/1412–1413	undated	medicine
Vollers 490	al-Kurdī	860/1455–1456	1008/1600	rhetoric
Vollers 66	al-Suyūṭī	911/1505	undated	Qur'ānic sciences
Vollers 255	al-Sha'rānī	973/1565–1566	undated	biography
Vollers 258:1	al-Sha'rānī	973/1565–1566	1146/1734	Sufism
Vollers 353:1	al-Sha'rānī	973/1565–1566	933/1526	dogmatics
Vollers 771	al-Qūṣūnī	976/1568	undated	medicine
Vollers 866:2	Kūl Kadīsī	982/1574–1575	undated	law
Vollers 738	al-Bukhārī	fl. 991/1583	1023/1614	geography
Vollers 697	al-Biqā'ī	fl. 1000/1591–1592	1161/1748	biography
Vollers 368	Ibn Nuja'im (d. 970/1563); work compiled and edited posthumously by his son Aḥmad	must have been 10 th /16 th –11 th /17 th century	1014/1605	law
Vollers 277	al-Karmī	1033/1623–1624	undated	dogmatics
Vollers 41	al-Maqqarī	1041/1631–1632	1033/1624	dogmatics
Vollers 883:4	al-Khānī	1109/1697–1698	undated	Sufism
Vollers 385	al-Simillāwī	1127/1715	1135/1722	law
Vollers 183	al-Kamākhī	c. 1171/1757–1758	1165/1752	literature

Among the Refāiyya manuscripts, the earliest evidence of an author listing the chapters of his text in the preface is from the end of the early Islamic period, i.e. the third/ninth and the beginning of the fourth/tenth century. The author in question was the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mu‘tazz bi-Allāh al-‘Abbāsī al-Baghdādī, who succeeded his predecessor for just a day and a night in 296/908–909 before being strangled. During his lifetime, he became a leading Arabic poet. The work in which he made use of this device, entitled *Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr* (Vollers 512), deals with various drinks, drinking and one’s behaviour while drinking, and quotes numerous poetic examples. From the end of the early Islamic period and the beginning of the early middle Islamic period onwards, i.e. the fourth/tenth and the fifth/eleventh century, the practice of providing the preface of works with a list of their chapter headings began to be established, as the increasing number of authors doing so in the works in the Refāiyya library goes to show.

The preface of an Arabic work follows after the *basmalah* (‘in the name of God’), the *ḥamdalah* (‘praise to God’) and the *taṣliyah* (eulogy of the Prophet). The preface is introduced by the formula *amma ba‘d / fa-ba‘d / wa-ba‘d* (‘And then’) and may contain any of the following in this order: the author’s name, the author’s reason for composing the text, the title of the text and a list of its chapter headings. Before listing the specific chapter and section titles, the authors normally gave a resume of the total number of divisions, which structured their texts. The standard expression for such a summary goes as follows: *wa-rattabtuhu ‘alā* = ‘and I arranged it [i.e. the text] in’ (cf. Vollers 41, 183, 258:1, 280, 282, 399, 490, 616, 738, 771, 775:3, 842).

Then follows the total number of chapter headings on the first level and sometimes on the second and third level, too. If present, the introduction and the conclusion are mentioned in this standard phrase as well. According to the Refāiyya, scholars used several other phrases to summarise the organisation of their texts, viz.:

wa-banaytuhu ‘alā = ‘and I structured it into’ (cf. Vollers 512)

wa-ḥarrajtuhu fī = ‘and I gathered it into’ (cf. Vollers 863:1)

wa-ḥaṣartuhu fī = ‘and I condensed it into’ (cf. Vollers 18, 747, 825)

wa-ikhtaṣartuhu fī = ‘and I summarised it in’ (cf. Vollers 758, 759)

wa ja ‘altuhu (fī) = ‘and I made it of’ (cf. Vollers 277, 329, 398, 659, 760:3, 775:1)

wa ja ‘altuhā murattiban ‘alā = ‘and I arranged it in’ (cf. Vollers 385)

wa ja ‘altuhu muštamilan ‘alā = ‘and I made it, consisting of’ (cf. Vollers 883:17)

wa-kassratuhu ‘alā = ‘and I split it into’ (cf. Vollers 866:2)

wa qasamtuhu/qassamtuhu = ‘and I divided it into’ (cf. Vollers 760:1)

wa-waḍa ‘tuhu = ‘and I composed it using’ (cf. Vollers 606).

The summary of the total number of chapter and section headings was also given in an impersonal, neutral tone sometimes:

hādhihī risāla fī [...] wa-hiya murattiba ‘alā = ‘this is a treatise on [...] and it is arranged in’ (cf. Vollers 883:4).

In addition to the summarising formula in the first person, the enumeration of the concrete chapter and section titles could be introduced by the following headings:

dhīkr tarājīm al-abwāb = listing of the chapter headings (cf. Vollers 19, 760:1)

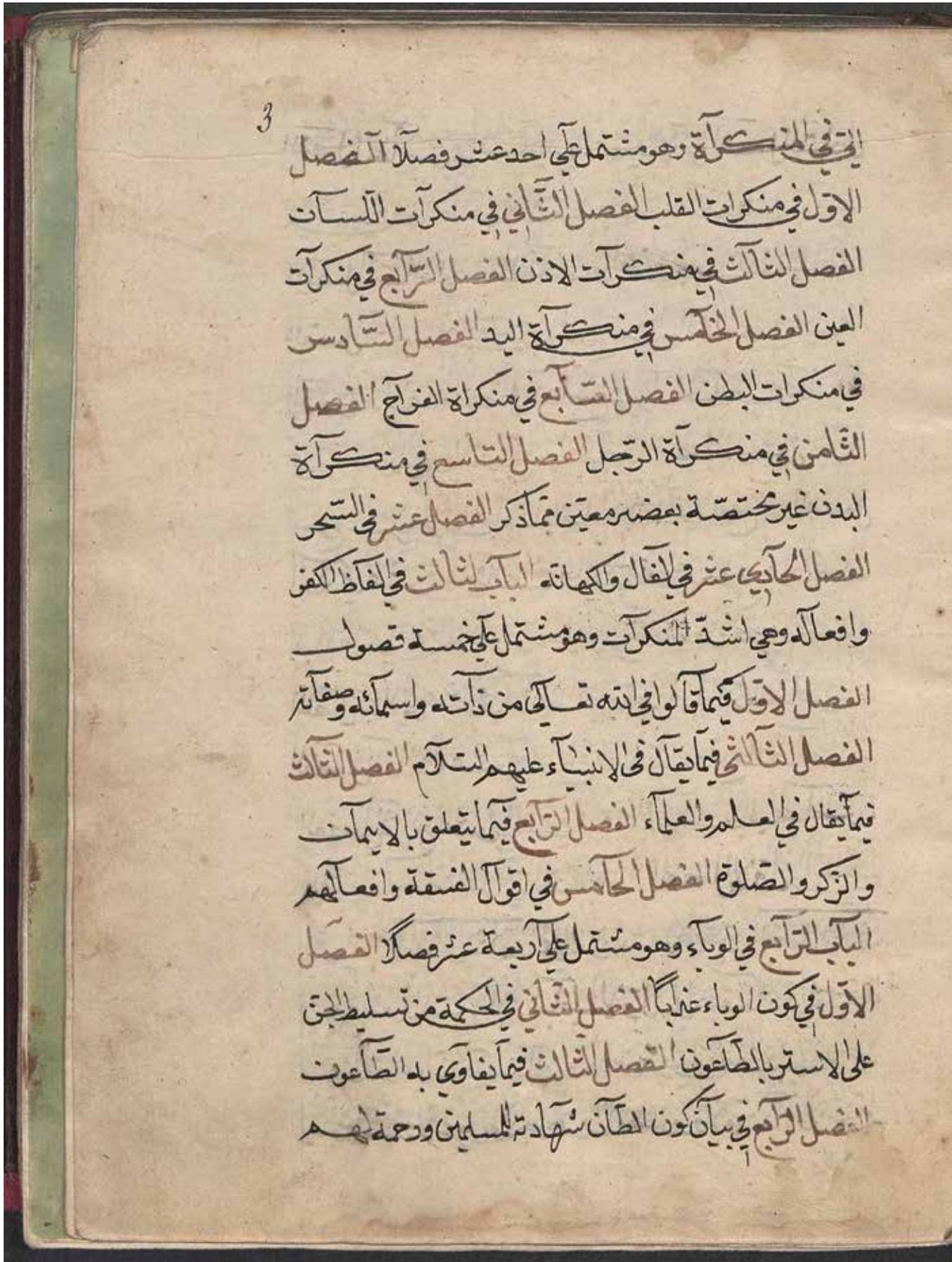
dhīkr tarjamat al-abwāb = listing of the table of chapters (cf. Vollers 398).

Sometimes, the summarising phrase is omitted and the reader is guided directly to the content listing of a book:

wa-hādhihī fihrist abwābihī = ‘and this is the list of its chapters’ (cf. Vollers 73).

In these last two phrases, we encounter the terms *fihrist* and *tarjamah* expressing tables of contents in the Arabic manuscript tradition. The chapter headings are listed after the introductory sentence. The tables of contents usually display the chapter titles of the first level and often add those of the second level as well. Unless we are dealing with a work written in the author’s own hand, a scribe and rubricator were responsible for the visual presentation and organisation of the list of contents in the preface of a text.

A copy of a work on the fear of God, *Tuḥfat al-akhyār wa-barakāt al-abrār* (Vollers 183) by the author ‘Uthmān ibn Ya‘qūb al-Kamākhī (d. c.1171/1757–1758), which was finished during his lifetime (in 1165/1752), can serve as a



3
 التي في المنكرات وهو مشتمل على احد عشر فصلا الفصل
 الاول في منكرات القلب الفصل الثاني في منكرات اللسان
 الفصل الثالث في منكرات الاذن الفصل الرابع في منكرات
 العين الفصل الخامس في منكرات اليد الفصل السادس
 في منكرات البطن الفصل السابع في منكرات الفرج الفصل
 الثامن في منكرات الرجل الفصل التاسع في منكرات
 البدن غير مختصة ببعض معين مما ذكر الفصل عشرين في السحر
 الفصل الحادي عشر في لقال والكهانة الباب الثالث في الفاظ الكفر
 وافعاله وهي اشده المنكرات وهو مشتمل على خمسة تصولا
 الفصل الاول فيما قالوا في الله تعالى من ذاته واسمائه وصفاته
 الفصل الثاني فيما يقال في الانبياء عليهم السلام الفصل الثالث
 فيما يقال في العلم والعلماء الفصل الرابع فيما يتعلق بالايمان
 والذكر والصلوة الفصل الخامس في اقوال الفسقة وافعالهم
 الباب الرابع في الوباء وهو مشتمل على اربعة عشر فصلا الفصل
 الاول في كون الوباء عنديا الفصل الثاني في الحكمة من تسليط الجن
 على الاستر بالطاعون الفصل الثالث فيما يفاوي به الطاعون
 الفصل الرابع في بيان كون الطاعون شهادة للمسلمين ورحمة لهم

Fig. 1: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 183, fols 2b–3a.



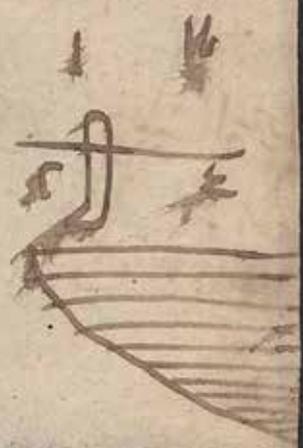
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا كتاب من كتب
الشيخ
الشيخ

هذا كتاب من كتب الأبرار

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أمرنا بالتخلاق بالاخلاق الحميدة والتقوى والصلوات
والتسليم على رسوله سيدنا محمد المصطفى وعلى آله وصحبه الذين هم
الكرام البررة الأتقياء **وله** فلما رأيت أوفر العباد التي رحمة ربه المبارك
عثمان بن يعقوب بن حسين بن مصطفى الكماحي حديث رسول الله
عليه السلام لا يؤمن من عبد حتى يحب لأخيه كما يحب لنفسه من
سعادة الدارين وهي لا تحصل إلا بالتقوى فاجتبت ان اكتب رسالة
في التقوى منتخبة من الكتب المعتمدة عند العلماء النفاة وسميتها **تجويد الاخيار**
وبركات الأبرار وما توفيقي إلا بالله عليه توكلت واليه انيب وربتنيها
على خمسة أبواب **الباب الاول** في اعتقاد اهل السنة والجماعة الباقية



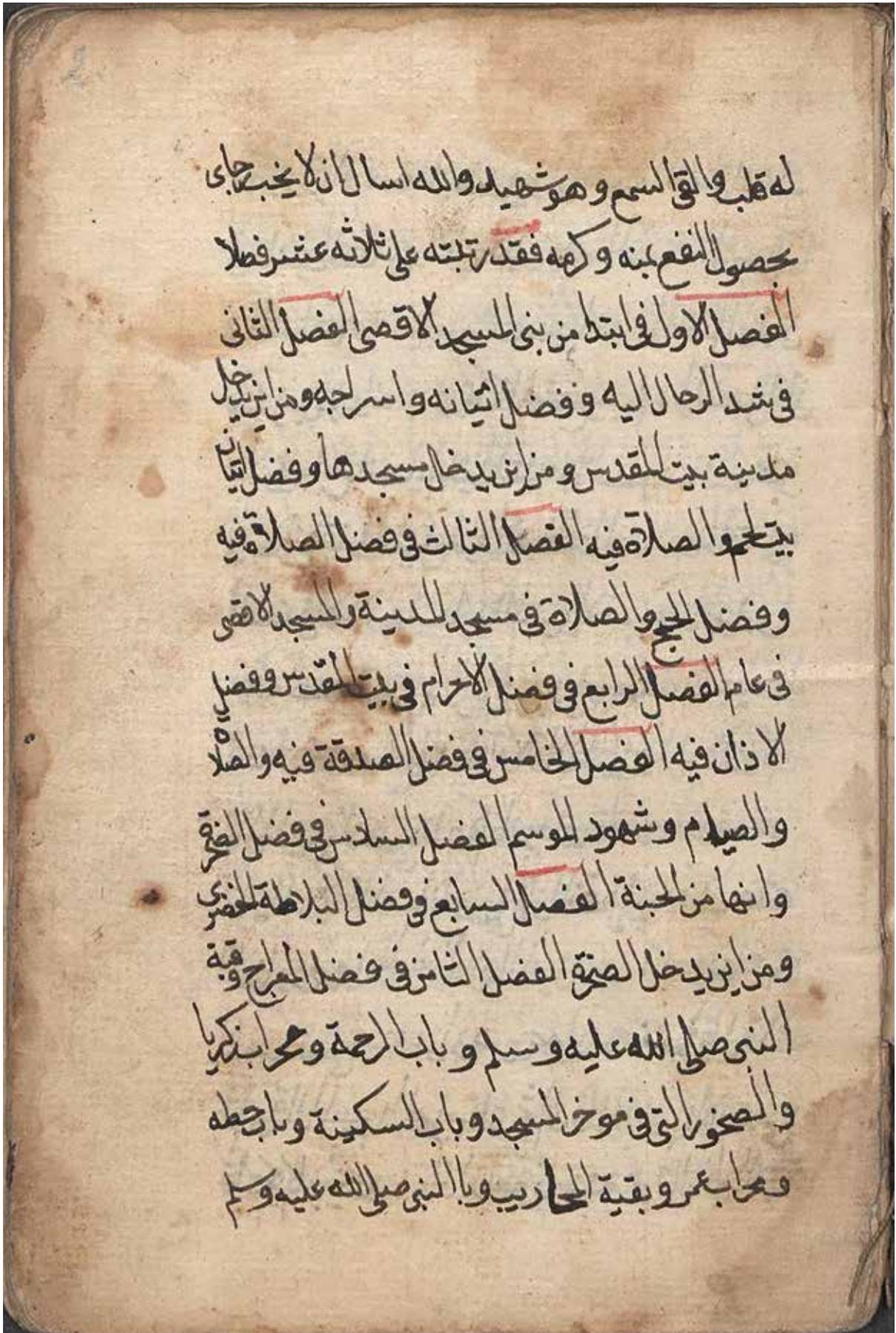


Fig. 2: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 280, fol. 2a.

prototype for the visualisation of tables of contents in Arabic manuscripts. This work is divided into five chapters (*bāb*) each subdivided into several sections (*faṣl*). The listing of the chapter and section headings has been integrated in the continuous text. In order to draw the reader's attention to this listing, the following components were rubricated: the formula summarising the total number of textual divisions, *wa-rattabtuhu 'alā* ('and I arranged it in'), and the words *bāb* for 'chapter' and *faṣl* for 'section' along with their corresponding numbers. In contrast to them, the titles of the chapters and sections are written in black ink (Fig. 1).

Another way of highlighting the introductory phrase and the structuring units with their numbers was by overlining them with a black or red stroke. A copy of a pilgrim's guide to the holy places in Jerusalem bearing the title *Bā'ith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-Quds al-mahrūs* (Vollers 280) is an example. The author was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Firkāh al-Fazārī, who died in 729/1329. The copy was made four centuries after the author's death, in 1129/1717. Ibn al-Firkāh divided his text into 13 sections (*faṣl*). The red overlining is restricted to that term, *faṣl*, and does not incorporate the numbers. As for the textual formula *fa-qad rattabtuhu 'alā* ('and so I arranged it in'), it is not the verb but the expression *fa-qad* ('and so') that has a red stroke above it (Fig. 2). This copy is also a good example to demonstrate that the marking of these elements in the body of the text frequently does not correspond with the manner in which they have been executed in the preface. At the beginning of the first chapter commencing directly after the enumeration of the chapter headings, the term for 'section' (*faṣl*) plus a number – one – are overlined in red ink. This step and the overlining of the preface in the table of contents were performed by the manuscript's scribe. He left gaps at appropriate positions in the running text for the twelve remaining sections where the rubricator was meant to insert the expression *faṣl* and the appropriate number in red ink. The blank spaces were only filled in for sections four and five; the others remained blank.

There are also numerous manuscripts in which tables of contents in prefaces are written in black or brownish-black ink, just like the main text. This is the case in a copy of a work spanning 110 chapters, which deals with all kinds of questions concerning women. The book was originally penned by the prolific author Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Jawzī al-Baghdādī, who named it *Aḥkām al-nisā'* (Vollers 605). He flourished in Baghdad, which is also where he died in 597/1200–1201. The copy in question was made on indigenous paper a century later in 703/1304. In

order to distinguish the enumeration of chapters from the other phrases in the preface, the scribe arranged the headers underneath each other, thereby separating the table from the running text. Each chapter header takes up one line. For further emphasis, the last consonant of the Arabic expression *bāb*, meaning 'chapter', has been stretched horizontally and filled in with a black or red line. The introductory formula before the enumeration used here is *dhikr tarājim abwāb hādihā al-kitāb wa-hiya mi'at bāb wa-'asharat abwāb* ('listing of the chapter headings of this book; there are 101 chapters'). It is not marked in any special way (see Fig. 3). In a copy of a work on medicine called *al-Raḥmah fī 'ilm al-ṭibb wa-al-ḥikmah* (Vollers 758) dating from 1262/1846, the enumeration of the five chapter headings is barely distinguishable from the surrounding text in the preface. Unlike the aforementioned copy of Ibn al-Jawzī's work, the scribe of this transcription incorporated the list into the main body of text. The elongation of the last consonant of the Arabic term for 'chapter' (*bāb*) in the horizontal plane is the only visual clue to the reader that the content listing of the work is provided in this specific part of the preface. The Yemeni author Maḥdī ibn 'Alī al-Ḍibrī (d.815/1412–1413) employed the expression *wa-ikhtaṣartu [...] jumlat al-kitāb fī khamsat abwāb* (meaning 'and I summarised [...] the whole book in five chapters') as a summarising phrase (Fig. 4).

There is one manuscript in the Refāiyya with a table of contents originating from the author that stands out from the others in two respects (Vollers 662). First of all, the author, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Zamlakānī, wrote the manuscript in his own hand. Unfortunately, nothing about him has been handed down to us. The Refāiyya includes the second volume of his three-volume world history *'Uqūd al-jumān fī ta'rīkh al-zamān*. Secondly, al-Zamlakānī did not enumerate the chapter headings of his work in the preface, but reserved the pages preceding the title page for recording them. The word *fihrist*, or 'table of contents', in the heading above the list is rubricated: *fihrist mā taḍammanahu hādihā al-kitāb* ('table of [the] contents of this book'). The headings in the list do not contain any structuring units or numbers. Instead of these elements, they are preceded by the terms *dhikr* ('report'), *qiṣṣa* ('tale') and *faṣl* ('section'), which rather characterise the kinds of information given (Fig. 5).

Since al-Zamlakānī dispensed with foliating his text and adding the initial folio-page numbers to the headings in the list, the listing only provides the future reader with a simple overview and is not much help in finding a specific chapter

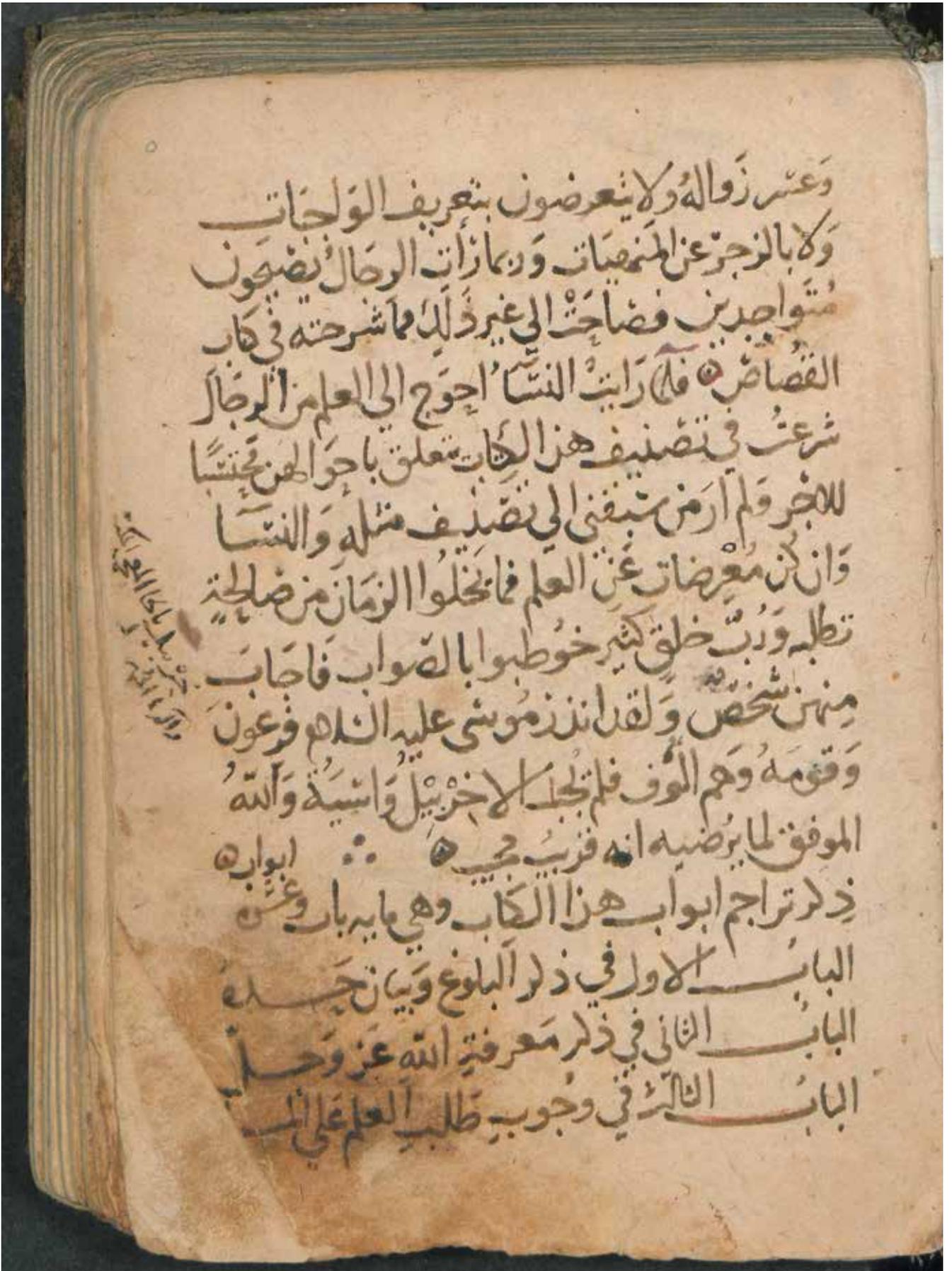


Fig. 3a: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 605, fol. 5a.

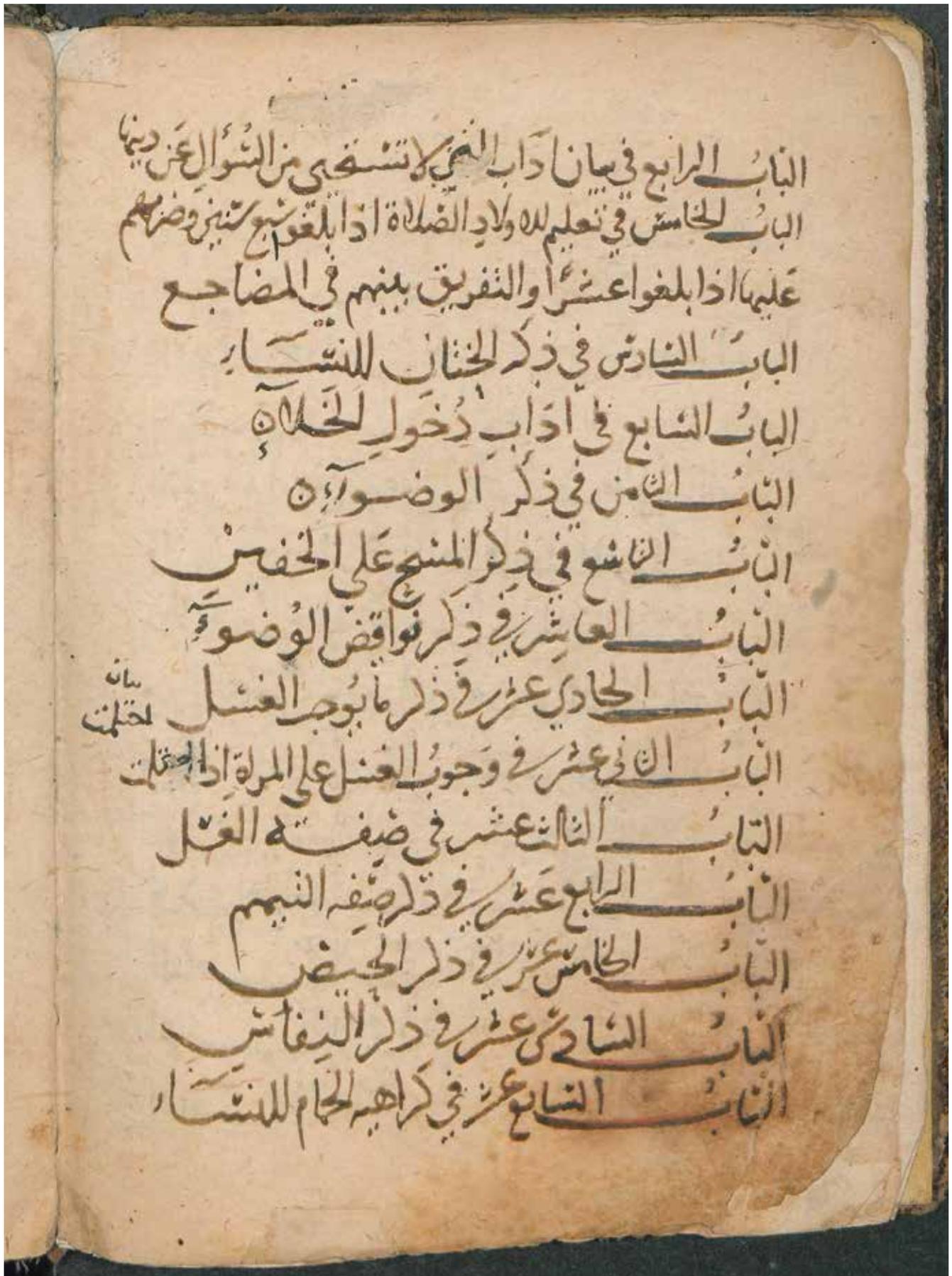


Fig. 3b: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 605, fol. 5b.

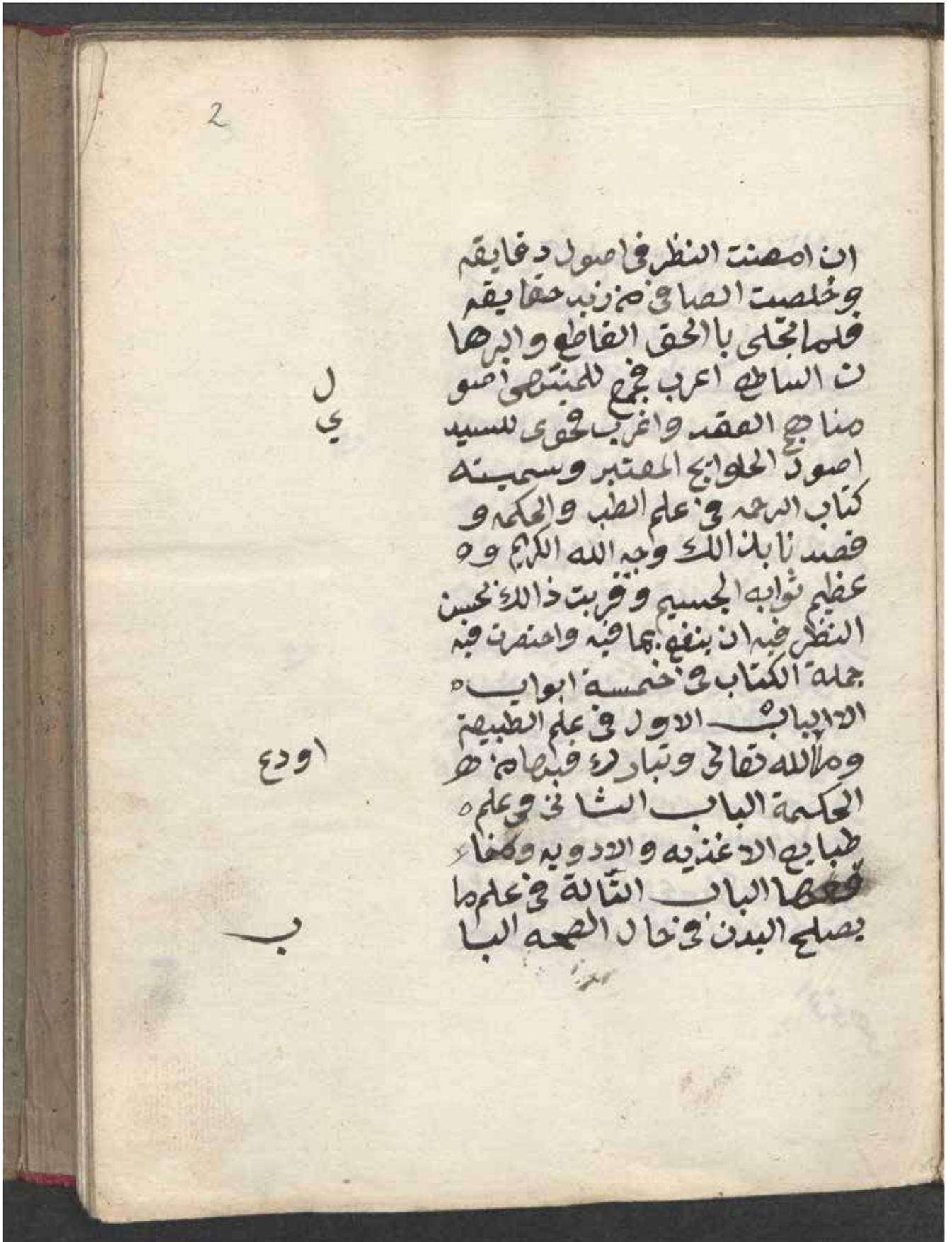


Fig. 4: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Voller's 758, fol. 2a.

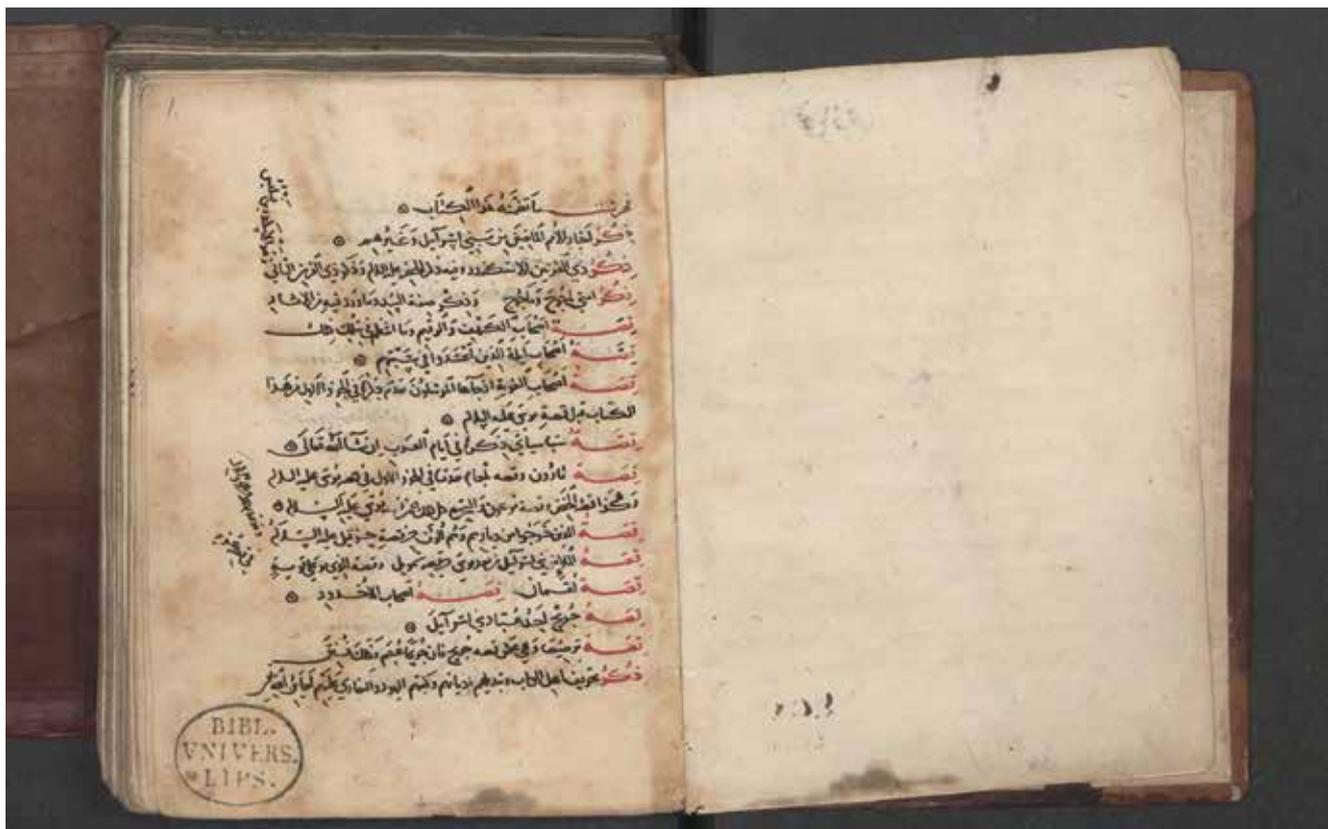


Fig. 5: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 662, fol. 1a.

more easily in his book. The prominent place where the author presented the table of contents and its well-drawn decoration on the title page reveals that al-Zamlakānī intended to enhance the importance of his world history and his own status as an author by employing these two devices. Although he did not state exactly when he finished the second volume, both the fact that he wrote it on indigenous paper, not on imported European paper, and the colouring and shape of the panel on the title page suggest that he may have written it between the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth century (Fig. 6).

3.2 Tables of contents written by copyists and users

In the material to be found in the Refāīya, the total number of manuscripts incorporating tables of contents compiled by scribes and users is 14. It is noteworthy that almost half of these lists, viz. six, were prepared for texts on Islamic law. The other works presenting such a list cover the topics of biographies, edifying literature, grammar, lexicography, rhetoric, Sufism and traditions. The distribution between scribes and users is as follows: there are five manuscripts with tables of contents written by their scribes between the tenth/sixteenth and the twelfth/eighteenth century, i.e. the late Islamic period (Table 2).

Table 2: Tables of contents written by scribes of the manuscripts.

Shelf mark	Date of copy	Copyist	Subject matter
Vollers 159	undated	unknown	literature
Vollers 365	974/1567	unknown	law
Vollers 438	1054/1644	Muṣṭafá ibn Ramaḍān al-Ṣālunawī	grammar
Vollers 357	1086/1675	Sa‘īd Muṣṭafá ibn Muḥammad	law
Vollers 470	1182/1768	‘Umar, disciple of ‘Abd al-Qādir Murād	rhetoric

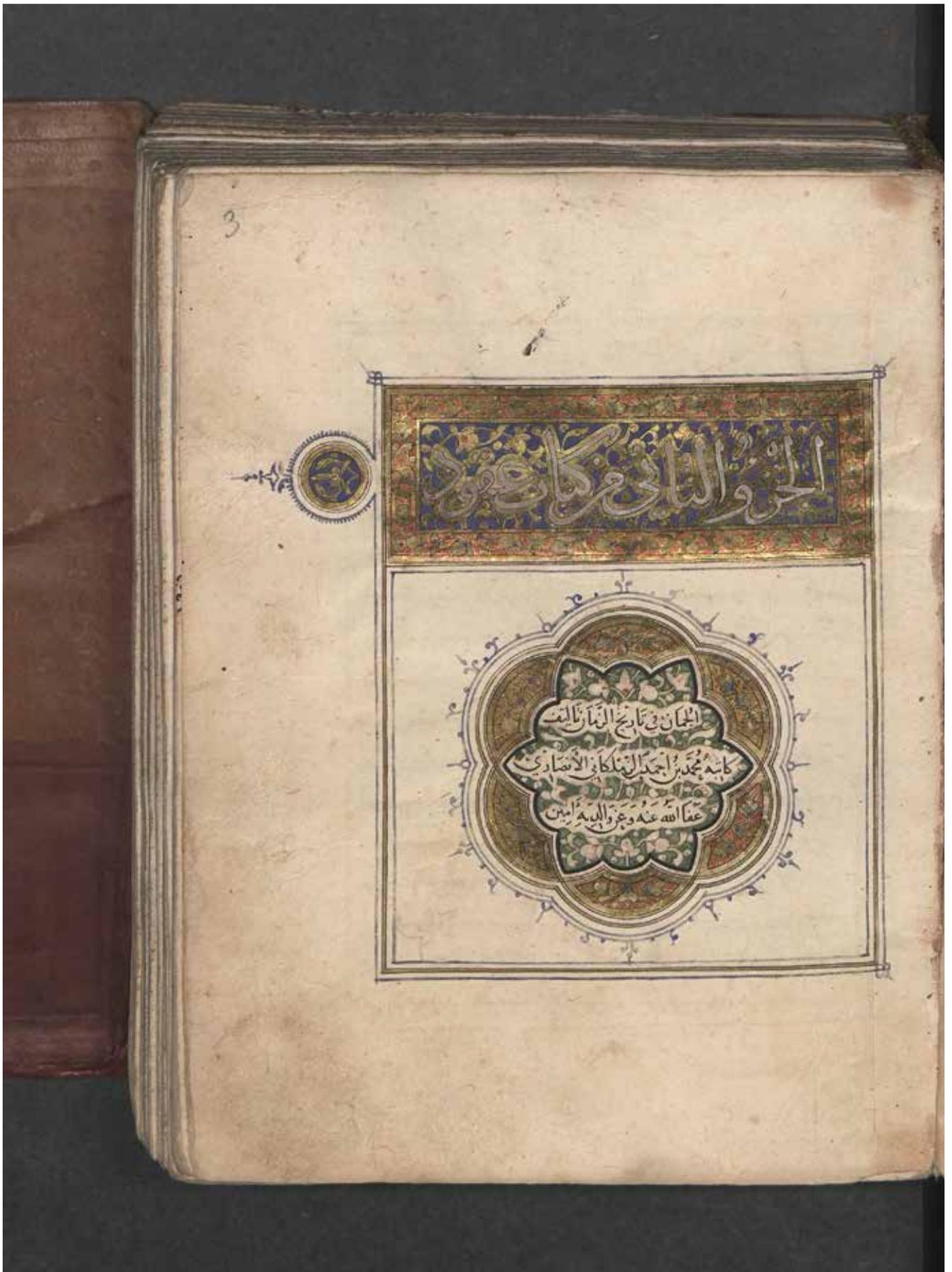


Fig. 6: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 662, fol. 3a.

Table 3: Tables of contents written by users of the manuscripts.

Shelf mark	Date of copy	Owner	Subject matter
Vollers 161	733/1332	Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ (fl. 1199/1784–1254/1838) ¹⁰	edifying literature
Vollers 255	undated	unknown	biography
Vollers 297	undated	Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusainī al-Iṣḥāqī (d. at the end of the 10 th /16 th century) ¹¹	traditions
Vollers 343	1095/1684	unknown	law
Vollers 356	undated	unknown	law
Vollers 364	840/1436	unknown	law
Vollers 368	1014/1605	unknown	law
Vollers 458	1143/1730–1731	Aḥmad al-Falāqinsī (d.1173/1759) ¹²	lexicography
Vollers 717	1022/1613	unknown	biography

Nine manuscripts contain tables of contents written by their users. Three owners who lived in the late Islamic period could be identified: one lived in the tenth/sixteenth century (Vollers 297) and the other two between the twelfth/eighteenth and the thirteenth/nineteenth century (Vollers 161, 458) (Table 3).

The characteristic and most frequent feature of lists of contents written by scribes and users is their arrangement in tabular form. The numbered or unnumbered chapter headings with their initial folio-page numbers written in numerals either above or underneath the headings constitute a compartment, as it were, and are arranged in several rows and columns. The reading direction runs from right to left and row by row. The reference numbers in such tables presuppose that the manuscript was foliated either by the scribe or at a later stage by a user.

The compartments are frequently framed in red ink. A list of contents in tabular form in a copy of a legal compendium of the Hanafi school of law has a single-line frame in red for each compartment in which the chapter headings are placed (Vollers 364). The table was drawn on the flyleaves by an anonymous user who also added the missing pages to the original copy of the text dating from 840/1436. While the original copy is

written on indigenous paper, the supplemented pages are made of European watermarked paper. The headline for the list, stating the title of the work – *fihrist Kanz al-daqa'iq* ('table of contents of *Kanz al-daqa'iq*') – has been centred over the table. The list is provided with headers at all levels, into which the author, Abū al-Barakāt 'Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d.710/1310), divided his work. The structuring unit of the first level is called *kitāb* ('book'), *bāb* ('gate') is on the second level and *faṣl* ('passage') on the third level. They do not have any numbering. In the compartments of the table, the three components constituting the heading (the structuring unit, the title and the corresponding number) are listed one above the other with the rubricated numbers being centred. When the title of a heading was quite long or the user placed the structuring unit a bit too low in the compartment, he deviated from this composition and started with the title in the first line straight after the structuring unit so that these two components form a continuous text. Furthermore, he elongated the last consonant of the word *kitāb* ('book') and *bāb* ('gate') in the horizontal plane and designed the last consonant of the word *faṣl* ('passage') as two or three perpendicular loops crossed by a horizontal one (Fig. 7).

¹⁰ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00000324>.

¹¹ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00005193>.

¹² See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00005579>.

In a copy of a text on Arabic poetry finished in 1182/1768 (Vollers 470), the scribe – a man called ‘Umar – chose to outline the compartments of his list of contents with a red double line. He wrote the table on pages preceding the title page and the main text. The work is called *Umdah fī maḥāsīn al-shi‘r wa-ādābihi wa-ṣinā‘atihi* and was composed by Abū ‘Alī Ḥasan Ibn Rashīq al-Azdī al-Qayrawānī (d.456/1063–1064 or 463/1070–1071). The interesting thing about ‘Umar’s table is the diagonal arrangement of the headings in the compartments. The headings run alternately from the lower right to the upper left corner or from the top right to the lower left, thus creating a diamond pattern within the table. This way, the functionality of such a list is combined with an aesthetic design. The reference numerals for the folio-pages are centred above the headers either in the right or left space in the compartment, depending on the direction of the header (Fig. 8).

The first part of a dictionary of Arabic synonyms, *Fiqh al-lughah wa-sirr al-‘arabiyyah* (Vollers 458), demonstrates that a manuscript can sometimes have a table of contents in the preface of a text as well as one preceding it. The author, Abū Manṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Tha‘ālibī (d.429/1037–1038), enumerated the chapter headings in the preface, and the former owner – the Damascene scholar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Falāqinsī (d.1173/1759) – prefixed a list of contents to the text in tabular form without a frame. Fortunately, al-Falāqinsī left a dated note next to the table, stating that he was the one who had commissioned the work: *istaktabahu li-nafsihi wa-li-man shā‘a al-mawlā min ba‘dihī al-‘abd al-faqīr ilā al-muḥsin al-musammā Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Falāqinsī ghafara Allāh lahu wa-li-walidayhi wa-li-mashāyikhihi wa-lil-muslimīn āmin fī sannat [1]145* (‘The master after him, the humble servant to the benefactor given the name Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Falāqinsī, had a copy of it written for himself and the one who is willing, may God pardon him, his parents, his masters and the Muslims, amen, in the year [1]145’). Al-Falāqinsī is a tragic figure in two respects. He had a brother named Fathī (d.1159/1746) who was a notorious financial administrator in Damascus with high political ambitions. In the fight for power in Damascus that he engaged in with the governors there, Fathī was eventually executed. Aḥmad was imprisoned and tortured in the course of his brother’s fall. After his release, he was no longer the same. He even had to sell his library, to which this book once belonged – he had commissioned the scribe Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān ibn

Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Sham‘ah (d.1187/1774), to copy it for him.¹³ Complying with his wish, Ibn al-Sham‘ah completed his task in 1143/1730–1731. After a while, Aḥmad al-Falāqinsī began to feel the need for a proper list of contents for the book. Apparently, he was not that familiar with the text and often had to leaf through the book in order to find specific chapters and information. Two years after the acquisition of the book – in 1145/1732–1733, as the note next to the list says – he finally prefixed a table of contents to the text with references to the folio-page numbers. He put each header together with the reference numeral in the form of an upturned triangle. The structuring unit and the corresponding numeral occupy one line, while the title extends over two to four lines and the folio-page number marks the last line. Why did he not ask the scribe to create such a table during the process of copying the text, I wonder? It would have spared him the task of compiling one himself (Fig. 9).

Scribes and users also had other options at their disposal than just presenting the contents of a book in tabular form. The anonymous scribe of the commentary on the legal compendium of the Hanafī law school entitled *Kanz al-daqa‘iq* (Vollers 365) decided to arrange the headers of the first level (*kitāb*, ‘book’) consecutively one after the other. As he reserved the recto page of the folio preceding the beginning of the text on the verso page for his table of contents, he did not have enough space left to note down the headers occurring at every level. The unnumbered headers exhibit red overlining above which the folio-page numerals are placed. After mentioning the title of the work and the author’s name, the scribe introduced his table by two of the three formulas a work normally starts with: the *basmalah* (‘in the name of God’) and the *ḥamdalah* (‘praise be to God’). The author Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Sulṭān ad-Dimašqī (d.950/1544) named his commentary *Kashf al-ḥaqā‘iq ‘an asrār Kanz al-daqa‘iq*. The scribe made a copy of the commentary in 974/1567, twenty-four years after his death (Fig. 10).

An anonymous user chose a rather unusual design for the list of contents of the third part of a commentary on another legal compendium of the Hanafī law school, *Jāmi‘ al-muḍamarāt wa-al-mushkilāt fī sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī* (Vollers 356), which was written by Yūsuf ibn ‘Umar al-Šūfī (d.832/1428–1429). At first sight, the arrangement of the unnumbered headers (*kitāb*, *bāb*, *faṣl*) in justified lines

¹³ Liebrecht 2016, 170–172.



Fig. 10: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 365, fols 1b-2a.

one beneath the other is not a particularly special one; what catches the reader's eye here is rather the distribution of the structuring units, titles and the reference numerals in each line: the word *kitāb* ('book') for the first-level headers occupies the entire line, whereas the words *bāb* ('gate') and *faṣl* ('passage') for the second- and third-level headers respectively only occupy two thirds of a line. While the user stretched the last consonant of the words *kitāb* and *bāb* horizontally, he chose the middle consonant for the word *faṣl*. In addition to that, the structuring units are also written in bigger and thicker letterforms than the headings and the numerals. The commencing folio-page numerals are arranged on top of the elongated consonants of the three structuring units in such a way that they form a sort of column within the listing. As regards the headings themselves, they have been placed above the end of the final consonant of the word *kitāb* and behind the words *bāb* and *faṣl* at the end of the line. Last but not least, the user quoted the title of the commentary on top and at the bottom of his table of contents (Fig. 11).

3.3 Tables of contents in multiple-text and composite manuscripts

The purpose of tables of contents within multiple-text/composite manuscripts is to list the titles of the works they contain, often along with the names of their authors. Twenty-seven volumes of the 89 collective manuscripts in the Refāiyya possess such a list of contents (Table 4).

Table 4: Tables of contents in multiple-text and composite manuscripts.

Shelf mark	No. of texts	Subject matter	Date of copy	Compiler of the list of contents
Vollers 40	4	biography of the Prophet, tale	undated	Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ (fl. 1199/1784–1254/1838) ¹⁴
Vollers 221	5	Sufism, religious duties	625/1228 (text 1)	copyist of texts 1–4: Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muḥsin ibn ‘Iwaḍ al-Anṣārī
Vollers 231	2	Sufism	undated	Tāhā (fl. 1186/1772), ¹⁵ Muṣṭafā ibn Ibrāhīm al-‘Aṭṭār (d. after 1162/1749) ¹⁶
Vollers 247	6	religious duties, dogmatics	865/1461 or 875/1471	anonymous user
Vollers 393	2	law	undated	anonymous copyist
Vollers 422	2	grammar	undated	anonymous user
Vollers 505	3	poetry		anonymous user
Vollers 546	2	rhetoric, biography	1164/1750–1751, 1162/1748	copyist: Aḥmad al-Falāqīnī (d.1173/1759) ¹⁷
Vollers 727	4	certificate of transmission	1123/1711 (texts 1, 3), 1124/1712 (text 2)	Muḥammad Sa‘īd ibn Muḥammad Amin ibn Muḥammad Sa‘īd Ibn al-Uṣṭuwānī (d.1305/1888) ¹⁸
Vollers 768	2	pharmacology	undated	Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ
Vollers 820	10	astronomy	undated	Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Umar al-Ḥalabī al-Dimashqī al-‘Urḍī al-Ḥusaynī al- Muṭṭalabī al-Qādirī (d. after 1279/1862–1863) ¹⁹
Vollers 844	2	edifying literature, Sufism	740/1339 (text 2)	Muḥammad al-Kafarsūsī
Vollers 845	7	poetry, edifying literature	1078/1668 (text 1)	Sa‘īd al-Saqāmīnī (fl. 13 th /19 th century) ²⁰
Vollers 848	4	travelogue, traditions, certificate of transmission	1158/1745 (text 4)	anonymous user

¹⁴ Liebreuz 2013; Liebreuz 2016, 228–233.

¹⁵ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00005562>.

¹⁶ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00000793>.

¹⁷ Liebreuz 2016, 170–172.

¹⁸ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00000677>.

¹⁹ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00000671>.

²⁰ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00000566>.

Shelf mark	No. of texts	Subject matter	Date of copy	Compiler of the list of contents
Vollers 849	5	dogmatics, Sufism, prayer, law	928/1521–1522 (text 1–2)	anonymous user
Vollers 850	4	law, wisdom sayings, religious duties	1126/1714 (text 2) 1199/1785 (text 3)	anonymous user
Vollers 851	2	law, traditions	716/1316 (text 1)	anonymous user
Vollers 854	2	traditions, biography of the Prophet	872/1467	anonymous user
Vollers 856	3	ethics, edifying literature, philosophy	1072/1662 (text 1)	anonymous user Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Uṣṭuwānī (d.1314/1897) ²¹
Vollers 859	4	astronomy, dogmatics, zoology, medicine	1124/1712 (text 2)	anonymous user Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ
Vollers 866	2	collection of proverbs, law	985/1577 (text 2)	Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ
Vollers 867	4	medicine, biography, dogmatics	undated	Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ
Vollers 868	7	poetry, dogmatics, Sufism, collection of proverbs, ethics, certificate of transmission	1172/1758 (text 5)	‘Abd al-Ḥamid
Vollers 872	7	poetry, dogmatics, Sufism, collection of proverbs, ethics, certificate of transmission	1033/1624 (text 2) 1065/1655 (text 6) 1086/1675 (text 7)	anonymous user
Vollers 875	5	geography, dogmatics, edifying literature, poetry	undated	anonymous user
Vollers 877	9	dogmatics, religious duties, occult sciences, rhetoric, Qur’ānic sciences, grammar, tales	1191/1777–1778 (text 2)	Aḥmad al-Rabbāṭ
Vollers 878	8	dogmatics, religious duties, poetry	1183/1769–1770 (text 1)	Sa’id al-Saqāmīnī

²¹ See *Qalamos* <https://www.qalamos.net/receive/MyMssPerson_agent_00005289>.



Fig. 11: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 356, fols 2b–3a.

The majority of the people responsible for compiling a table of contents in multiple-text/composite volumes of the Refāiyya were former owners. Only three scribes could be attested for Vollers 221, 393 and 546, one of whom is anonymous (Vollers 393). With four of the five texts being copied by the same scribe and the first one bearing the date 625/1228, the codex Vollers 221 is the earliest example of a multiple-text/composite volume in the collection containing a table of contents written in the scribe's own hand. With regard to the 21 owners, nine of them fortunately left their names in the codices (in Vollers 231, 727, 820, 768, 844, 845, 856, 859, 866, 867, 868, 877, 878). Details about the lives of seven of them have been determined (Vollers 40, 231, 727, 768, 820, 845, 856, 859, 866, 867, 877, 878). All of them lived between the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth century. Two former owners, Aḥmad al-Rabbāt and Saʿīd al-Saqāmīnī, drew up a table of contents for six

composite volumes (Vollers 40, 768, 859, 866, 867, 877) and two composite volumes (Vollers 845, 878) respectively.

Reference numbers relating to the folio-page are uncommon in tables of contents found in multiple-text/composite volumes. Apart from a list of the different texts included, multiple-text/composite volumes may contain texts with an enumeration of their chapter headings in the preface (see Vollers 866, for instance). There are also volumes that exhibit more than one listing of their complete contents, however, five of which are provided by the Refāiyya (Vollers 231, 546, 856, 859, 877).

Multiple-text volumes were frequently written by one and the same hand, so there is a real possibility that the scribe noted down the contents of the volume in a list. This applies to a manuscript comprising two treatises on Islamic law by the Egyptian author Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Kāfiyājī, who died in 879/1474 (Vollers 393). The first

treatise, *Mi'rāj al-ṭabaqāt wa-raf' al-darajāt li-ahl al-fahm wa-al-thiqāt*, concerns the proportion of future generations at a foundation, while the second treatise, *Wajz al-nizām fī iẓhār mawārid al-aḥkām*, deals with the manner in which ancestors and their successors applied knowledge (*ilm*) and independent interpretation (*ijtihād*) to legal questions. The volume was probably destined for a person holding a certain rank, because the paper and the binding are of good quality and the texts have been written carefully using gold and coloured inks. Last but not least, the anonymous scribe provided the recto page of the first folio on which the text of the first work starts with a decorative panel drafted in gold and blue. He placed the titles of the two treatises in the upper part of the panel and inscribed the name of the author in the medallion below it. This page thus fulfils the function of a title page and a table of contents at the same time. According to Adam Gacek, rectangular panels like this one are especially attested for the seventh/thirteenth to the ninth/fifteenth century in Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Iran.²² This multiple-text volume was possibly produced during the author's lifetime or shortly after his death (Fig. 12).

Another table of contents in a multiple-text volume (Vollers 546) brings us back to the scholar mentioned above, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Falāqinsī. This time, he did not commission the production of a book, but acted as a copyist himself: he made this copy of the volume after the loss of his precious library. In 1164/1750–1751, he copied the first work, *Unwān al-murqīṣāt wa-al-muṭribāt*, containing prose pieces and poems from ancient times and the recent past, which the author, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Mūsā Ibn Sa'īd al-'Ansī al-Maghribī (d.673/1274–1275 or 685/1286–1287) had arranged according to five aesthetic viewpoints: charming, amusing, pleasing, bearable and dull. In the second work, *Maṭmaḥ al-anfus wa-masrah al-ta'annus fī mulah ahl al-Andalus*, which was copied by al-Falāqinsī two years earlier, Abū Naṣr al-Faṭḥ ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khāqān al-Qaysī (d.529/1134–1135 or 535/1140–1141) collected biographies of viziers and secretaries, jurists and judges as well as *littérateurs* and poets from Muslim Spain. Both texts have got a separate title page. The information is presented in the shape of a triangle with the tip pointing downwards. To indicate that the two texts belonged together and formed a unit, Aḥmad al-Falāqinsī decided to repeat the title and the name of the author of the second text on the title page of the



Fig. 12: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 393, fol. 1a.

first one. He wrote the information about text two beneath the title and author of text one using the same triangular shape. The title of the second work is introduced by the expression *wa-yalīhi*, meaning ‘and it [i.e. the first book] is followed by’, thereby making it clear that the volume is comprised of two texts (Fig. 13).

Multiple-text volumes and also composite volumes do not contain immutable fixed text units but were subject to changes, i.e. texts could be taken out and new ones taken in or added on blank pages, and also the sequence of the individual texts could be changed. Occasionally, a table of contents enables us to reconstruct the stage such volumes had at a certain time of their history. As the following example reveals, a multiple-text volume could be transformed into a composite one.

On the title page of the first text of the volume bearing the signature Vollers 221 the scribe added in tabular form beneath the details of the first text information about the total of six texts that are consequently to be embodied in the codex:

²² Gacek 2009, 229.

1. Abū Nağīb ‘Abd al-Qāhir ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168):
Kitāb Ṣafwat al-ṣūfiyya fī ādāb al-murīdīn (Sufism)
2. *Kitāb fīhi min kalām al-anbiyā’ wa-al-ḥukamā’ wa-al-zuhād wa-al-‘ibād* (Sufism)
3. *Kitāb fī ādāb al-murīdīn* (Sufism)
4. *Kitāb fīhi al-masā’il allatī sa’alahā Mūsá* (religious duties)
5. *Kitāb fīhi kalām Abī Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī* (Sufism)
6. *Min kalām ba’d al-‘arīfīn fī al-taṣawwuf* (Sufism)

Beneath the enumeration of the titles the scribe stated that he copied the texts for himself and wrote them in his own hand giving his name afterwards: ‘*allaqahu li-nafsihi wa-katabahu bi-khattihi* [...] Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muḥsin ibn ‘Iwaḍ al-Anṣārī. (Fig. 14) Today the volume encloses five texts. The second text is a fragment and might belong either to the former texts two, three or six. Texts four (*Kitāb fīhi al-masā’il allatī sa’alahā Musá*) and five (*Kitāb fīhi kalām Abī Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī*) of the list now adopt the third and fourth place in the order of the texts. The current fifth text (*Hidāyat al-qāṣidīn wa-nihāyat al-wāṣilīn* by Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Maymūn ibn Abī Bakr al-Maghribī al-Idrīsī, d. 917/1511–1512) is written by a different hand and was added to the volume at a later time. The listing of the works comprised in the binding clearly shows that in the first place the manuscript was conceived as a multiple-text one and finally ended up as a composite volume. Furthermore with the first work bearing the date of copying 625/1228, the codex Vollers 221 is the earliest example of a multiple-text / composite volume within the Refāiyya collection containing a table of contents in the hand of the scribe. (Fig. 14).

Abū Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Rabbāt al-Ḥalabī al-Shaqīfātī al-Shāfi‘ī is a prominent figure in the Refāiyya library and lived between 1199/1784 and 1254/1838, i.e. the late Islamic period. He not only collected and copied a large number of books over the years, but he also wrote dialect poetry and performed songs in coffee houses. About thirty books from his personal library became part of the Refāiyya.²³ One of them, catalogued as Vollers 877, is an assemblage of nine texts on various topics. In all probability, it was Aḥmad al-Rabbāt who was responsible for grouping these heterogeneous texts together in a single binding. He recorded the contents of the book in two places, the first one being inside the binding’s front cover, where we find the proper table of contents with

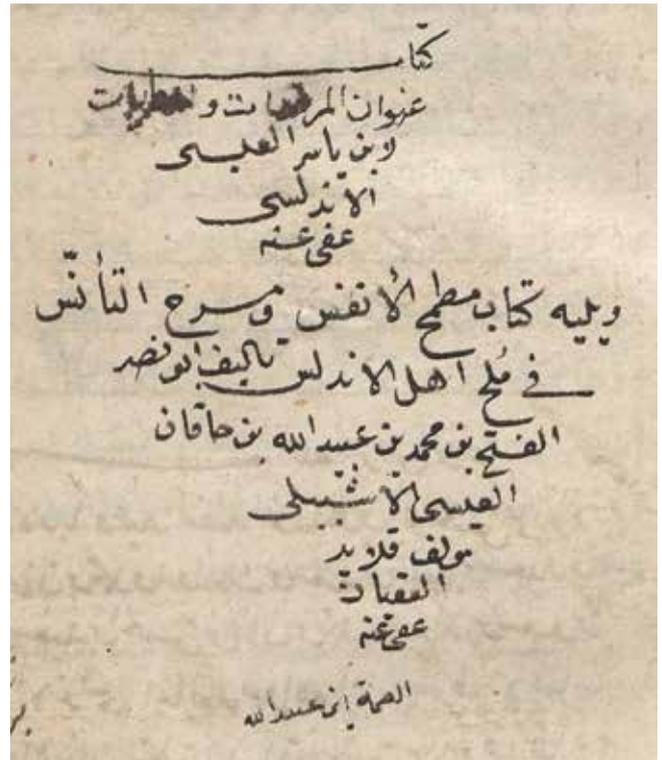


Fig. 13: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 546, fol. 2a, detail.

a tabular arrangement of the titles of the works in Aḥmad al-Rabbāt’s handwriting (Fig. 15).

Al-Rabbāt used the flyleaf of the binding as a title page, repeating the names of the texts in order and linking them to his ownership. He put them in an upside-down triangle again with the tip serving as his ex-libris. The ownership statement, which has been blacked out, formerly read: *wa-huwa min kutub al-ḥājj Aḥmad ar-Rabbāt* (‘[this] belongs to the books of Aḥmad al-Rabbāt, the pilgrim [who went] to Mecca and Medina’) (Fig. 16).

In another composite volume in his library, viz. Vollers 867, he even enumerated three of the four works it included on a piece of paper glued on the front cover, which says: *Hādhā kitāb Ḥikmah wa-yalīhi Nubdhat al-Nūr al-sāfir ‘anmā ḥadatha fī al-qarn al-‘āshir wa-yalīhi Muḥarrarat al-tamāmah fī aḥwāl al-qiyāmah* (‘This is the book *Ḥikmah* and it is followed by an excerpt from *al-Nūr al-sāfir ‘anmā ḥadatha fī al-qarn al-‘āshir* and [this] is followed by *Muḥarrarat al-tamāmah fī aḥwāl al-qiyāmah*’). As for the last text, he must have either forgotten it or overlooked it. The piece of paper is cut out in the shape of a triangle with arched outlines and the tip pointing downwards (Fig. 17).

²³ Liebreuz 2013 and Liebreuz 2016, 228–233.

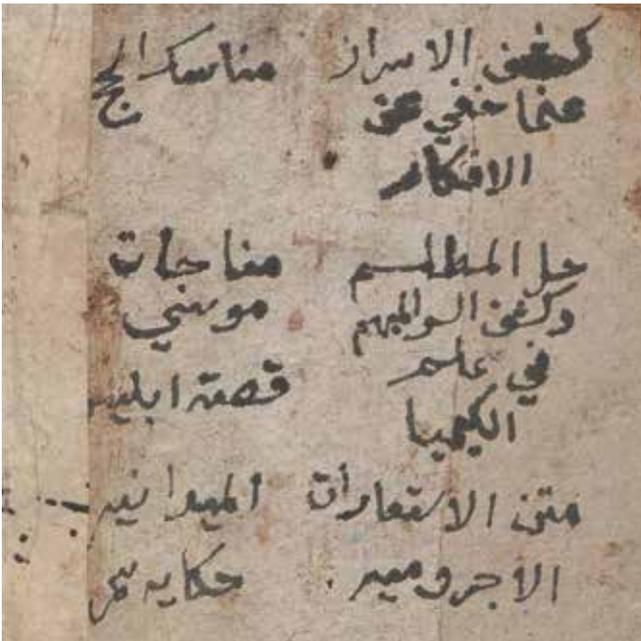


Fig. 15: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 877, inside of front cover, detail.

As an exception to the rule, Saʿīd al-Saqāmīnī, the owner of the composite manuscript Vollers 878, who lived in Damascus in the thirteenth/nineteenth century, added the *Hādhā kitāb Hikmah wa-yalīhi Nubdhāt al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿanmā ḥadatha fī al-qarn al-ʿāshir wa-yalīhi Muḥarrarat al-tamāmah fī aḥwāl al-qiyāmah* ('This is the book *Hikmah* and it is followed by an excerpt from *al-Nūr al-sāfir ʿanmā ḥadatha fī al-qarn al-ʿāshir* and [this] is followed by *Muḥarrarat al-tamāmah fī aḥwāl al-qiyāmah*'). As for the last text, he must have either forgotten it or overlooked it. The piece of paper is cut out in the shape of a triangle with arched outlines and the tip pointing downwards (Fig. 17).

As an exception to the rule, Saʿīd al-Saqāmīnī, the owner of the composite manuscript Vollers 878, who lived in Damascus in the thirteenth/nineteenth century, added the commencing folio-page numbers to the title of each text in his list of the book's contents by placing the corresponding numeral in the right-hand corner of the black stroke he had used to overline each title. The list of contents he set up on the flyleaf simply has the heading *majmūʿ*, which is the Arabic term for a multiple-text/composite volume (the term in general has the meaning of a compendium, collection, compilation or miscellany²⁴). In the left-hand corner below the list, he immortalised himself in an ownership note that says *malakahu al-faqīr al-sayyid Saʿīd al-Saqāmīnī* ('the humble gentleman Saʿīd al-Saqāmīnī possessed it'). Since

commencing folio-page numbers to the title of each text in his list of the book's contents by placing the corresponding numeral in the right-hand corner of the black stroke he had used to overline each title. The list of contents he set up on the flyleaf simply has the heading *majmūʿ*, which is the Arabic term for a multiple-text/composite volume (the term in general has the meaning of a compendium, collection, compilation or miscellany²⁵). In the left-hand corner below the list, he immortalised himself in an ownership note that says *malakahu al-faqīr al-sayyid Saʿīd al-Saqāmīnī* ('the humble gentleman Saʿīd al-Saqāmīnī possessed it'). Since the reference numbers make it easier to find the individual works in the volume, al-Saqāmīnī obviously did not consider this special collection of texts to be a temporary arrangement and the table of contents he compiled was not provisional. The table mentions seven works belonging to the volume. Al-Saqāmīnī forgot to include a poem that comes between texts six and seven in his list. The poem is not separated by the *basmalah*, with which every text should ideally begin, and it comes directly after another poem, so it must have escaped his notice (Fig. 18).

4. Conclusion

The material in the Refāiyya has demonstrated that tables of contents are not a standard phenomenon in Arabic manuscripts. In fact, only 91 manuscripts out of the 812 in the collection include such a table. These were added by their authors, scribes or users.

Scholars began to enumerate the chapter headings into which they had divided their work in the preface of the text by the end of the early Islamic period at the latest, i.e. the third/ninth to the fourth/tenth century. It is quite difficult to determine exactly when scribes and users chose to prefix a list of contents to the texts. As far as scribes are concerned, the earliest exemplar of a multiple-text/composite volume in the Refāiyya dates from the seventh/thirteenth century and the earliest exemplar of a single-text volume from the tenth/sixteenth century. Some of the users who compiled a table of contents for texts in the collection lived between the twelfth/eighteenth and the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

Conventions were gradually established for the visual organisation and presentation of tables of contents. The enumeration of the chapter and section headings in the preface of a work was done by rubricating the structuring

²⁴ Gacek 2001, 26; Steingass 1963, 1178.

²⁵ Gacek 2001, 26; Steingass 1963, 1178.

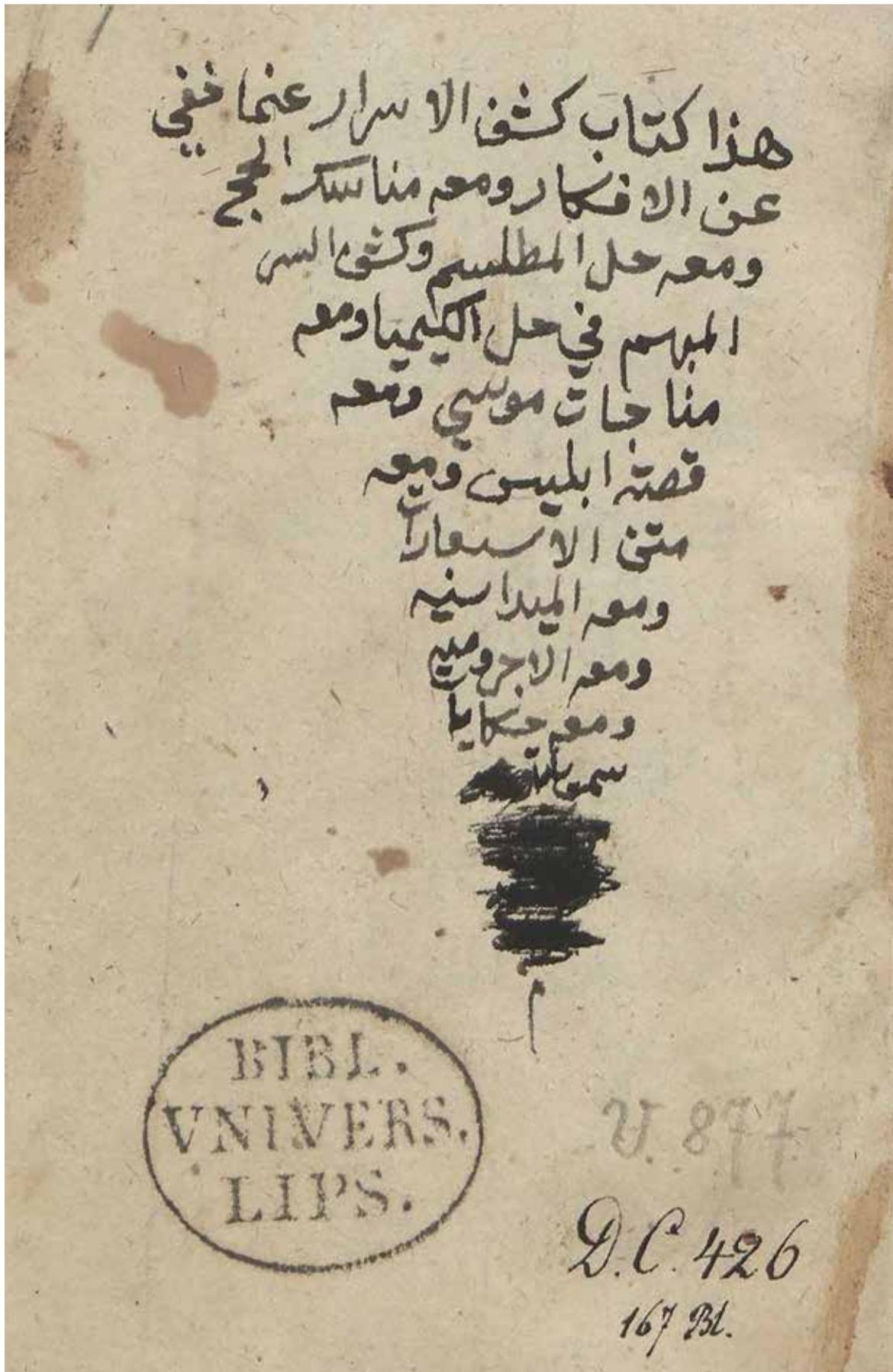


Fig. 16: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 877, fol. 1a, detail.

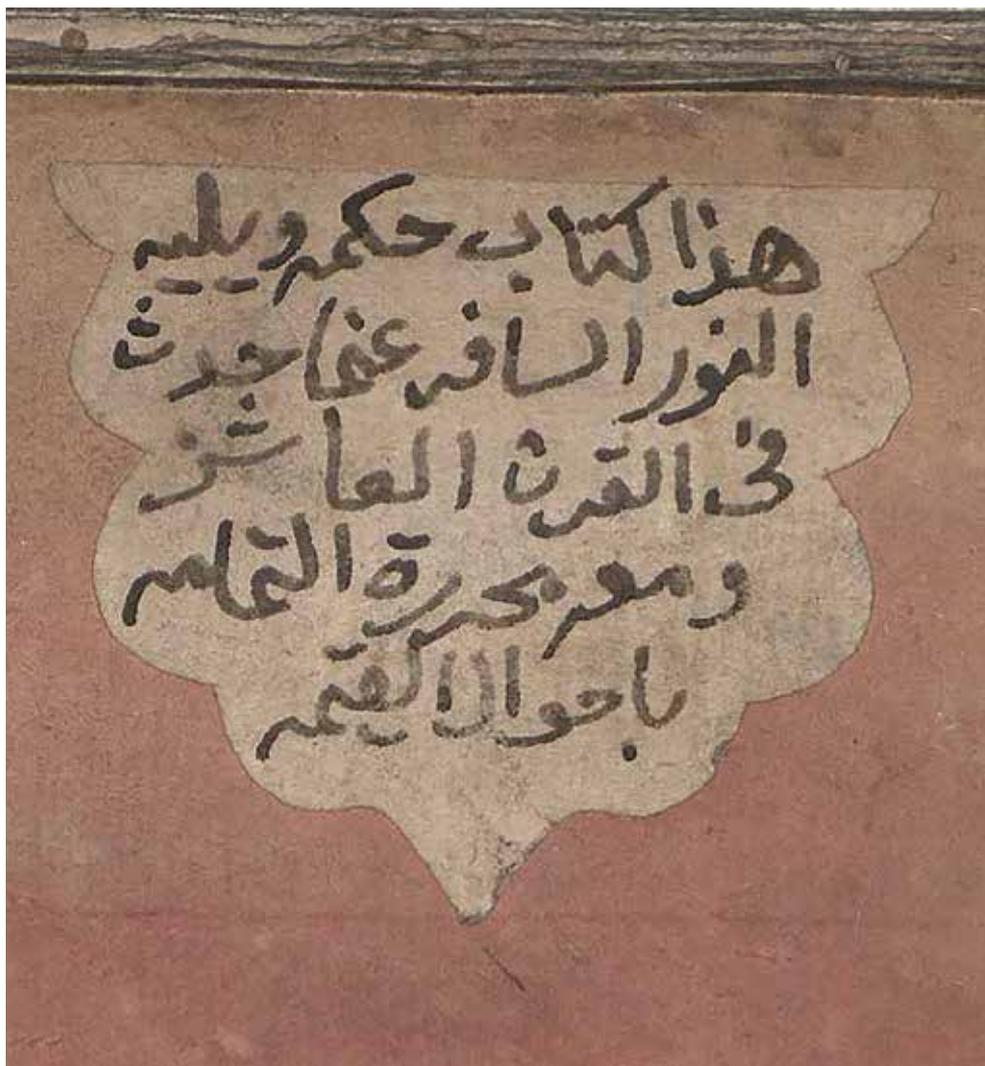


Fig. 17: Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Vollers 867, front cover, detail.

units and their numbers, by overlining them with a red or a black stroke or by writing them in bigger and thicker letterforms. In general, the list is part of the continuous text. When separated from the running text, the chapter and section headings are arranged underneath each other. Sometimes the enumeration does not stand out from the surrounding text at all because it is not highlighted in any way. Folio-page numbers are missing. A tabular structure was predominantly used to visually organise lists of contents. The compartments drawn around these lists were added in black or red ink, but some lists were not framed at all. Presenting the contents as a continuous text or listing the items underneath each other are other ways of presenting this kind of information. In multiple-text/composite volumes, the title page of the first work could be expanded to include a table of contents, and a flyleaf could also function as a

title page and a list of contents. In these places, the titles of the texts and the names of the authors are often written in the shape of a triangle with the tip pointing downwards. Scribes and users frequently added reference numerals to their lists relating to the folio-page numbers of the text. They mostly refrained from doing so if tables of contents were provided in multiple-text/composite volumes. In the Refāiya collection, Vollers 878 is an exception to this rule. Occasionally, the manuscripts include both an enumeration of the chapters in the preface of the text originating from the author and a table of contents prefixed to the work by the scribe or a user. Multiple-text/composite volumes sometimes display more than one list of the texts they contain. Lists of this kind in composite volumes occasionally reveal something about the stages of their compilation, viz. which texts once belonged to the binding, but were then taken

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Article

Tables of Contents and Titles in Japanese Shingon Buddhist Manuscripts

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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.

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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			

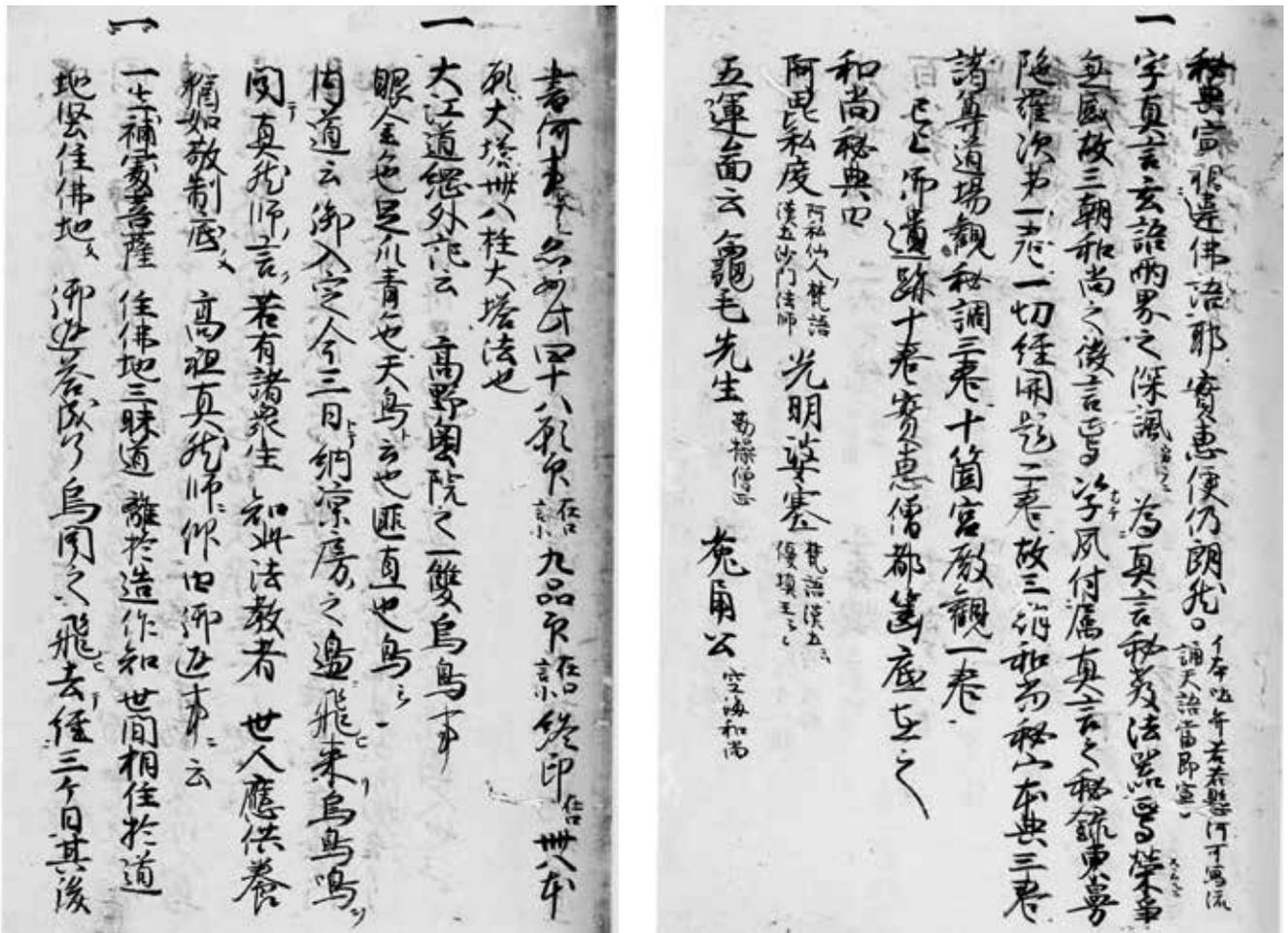


Fig. 2: On the left: two instances of the character *ichi* as a text-unit marker in the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*. The *ichi* above line 8 is wrong, probably a copy error (§9, fol. 10^r). On the right: wrong section marker in §3 (fol. 5^r, l. 2) of the Shinpukujibon *Kōyasan hiki*

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 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
 粵以曩於就寫卷之遠侍因茲秘密深奧之金典雖然
 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 jō = 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

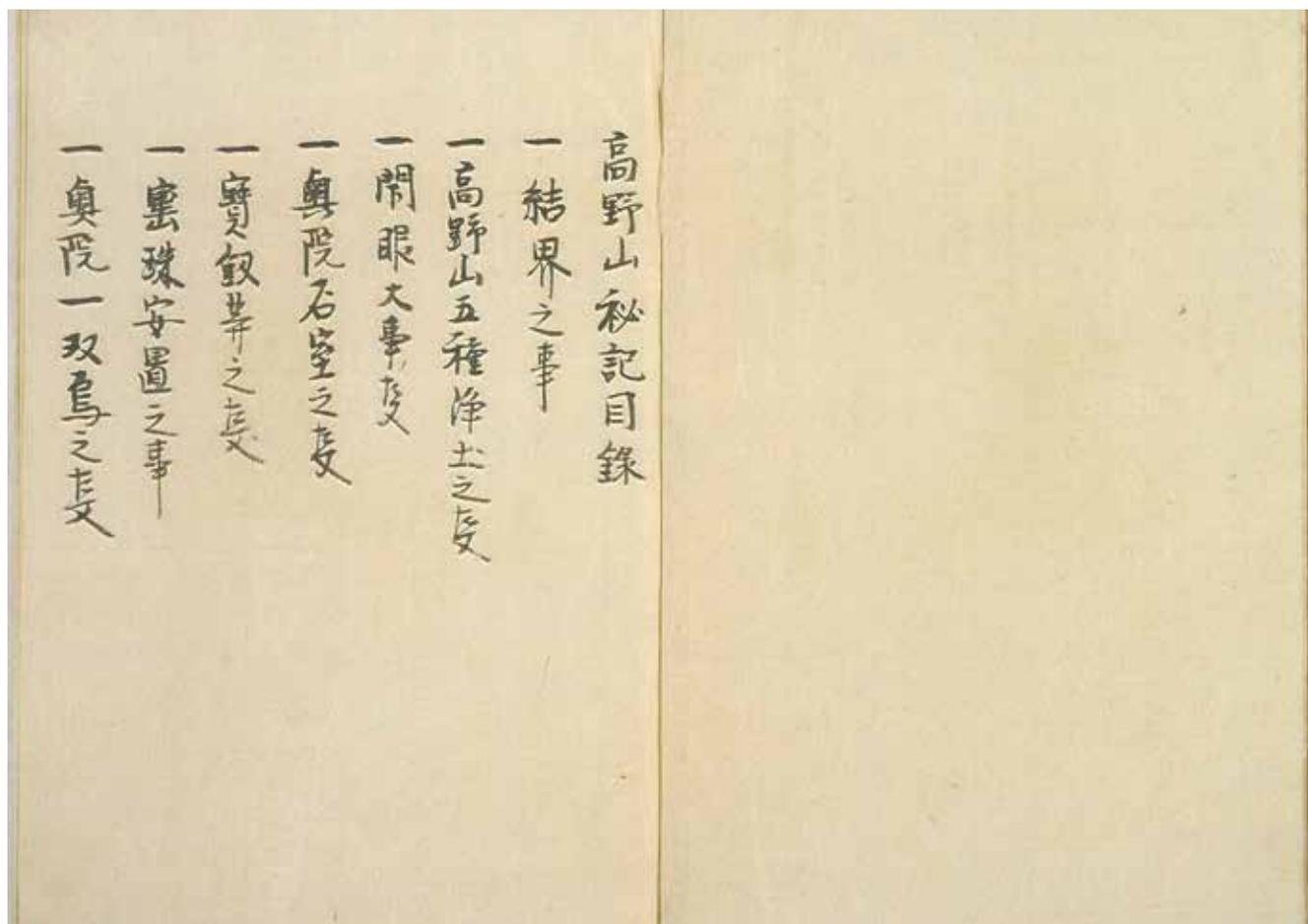


Fig. 4: TOC in the Sanbōinbon *Kōyasan hiki* (1).

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.

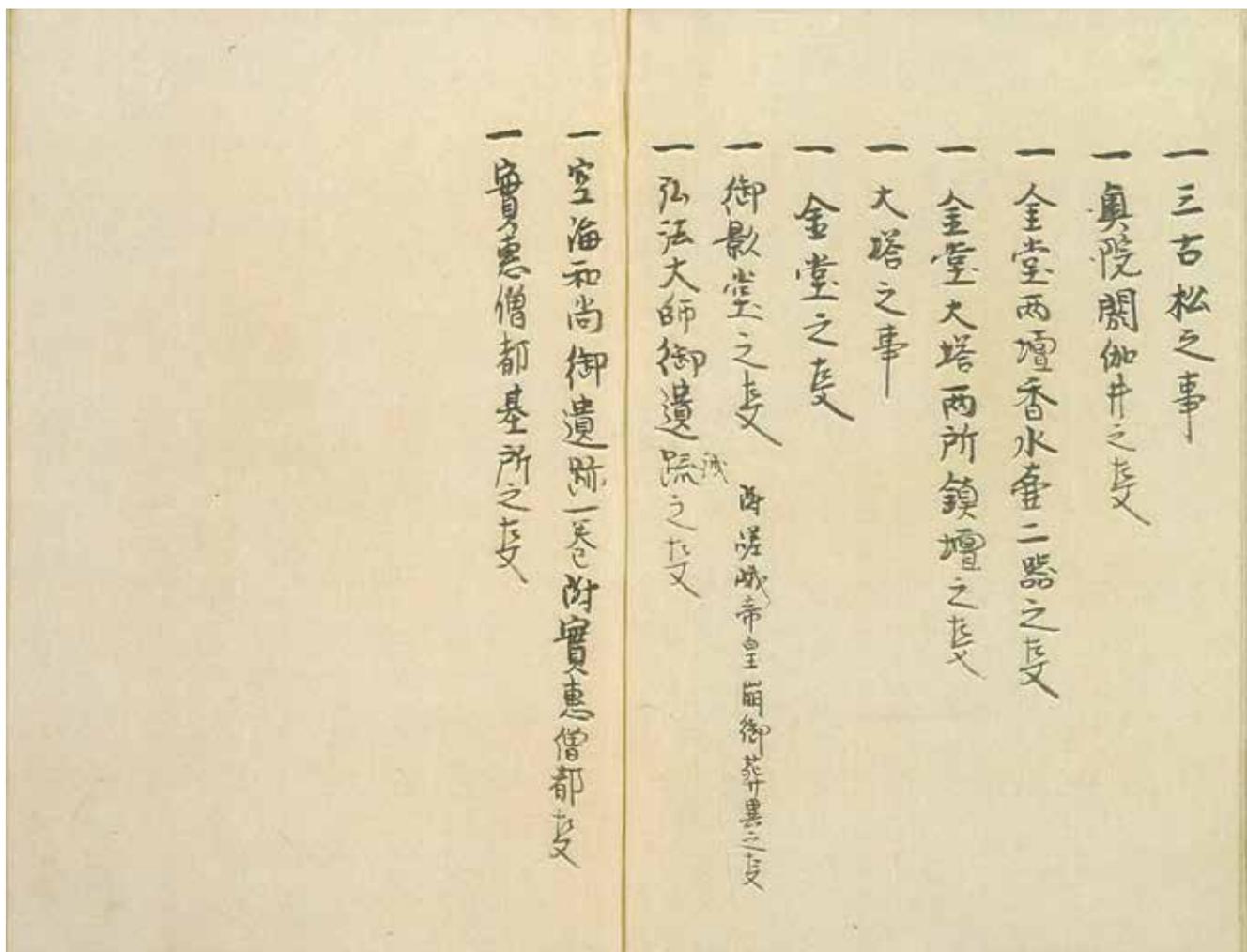


Fig. 5: TOC in the *Sanbōin Kōyasan hiki* (2).

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	高野山五種浄土之事*	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^r, 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).

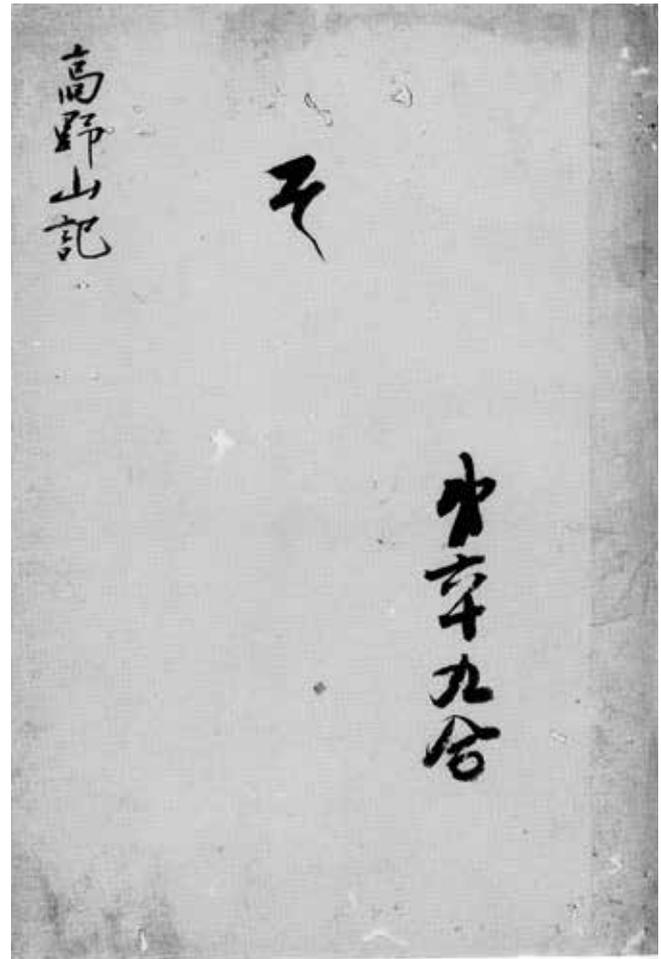
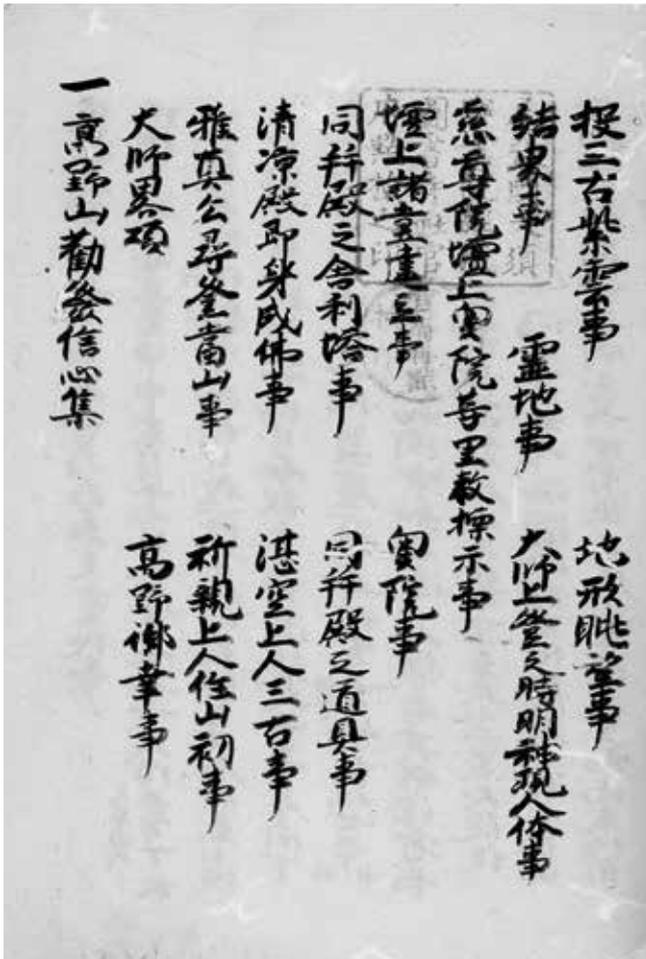


Fig. 6: *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjin shū* (Shinpukuji-bon), (1399), fol. 1' (left), front matter (right); Abe 1999, 157.

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^v, l. 7), and the Jinmyōin witness, (e) (fol. 17^v, 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]...

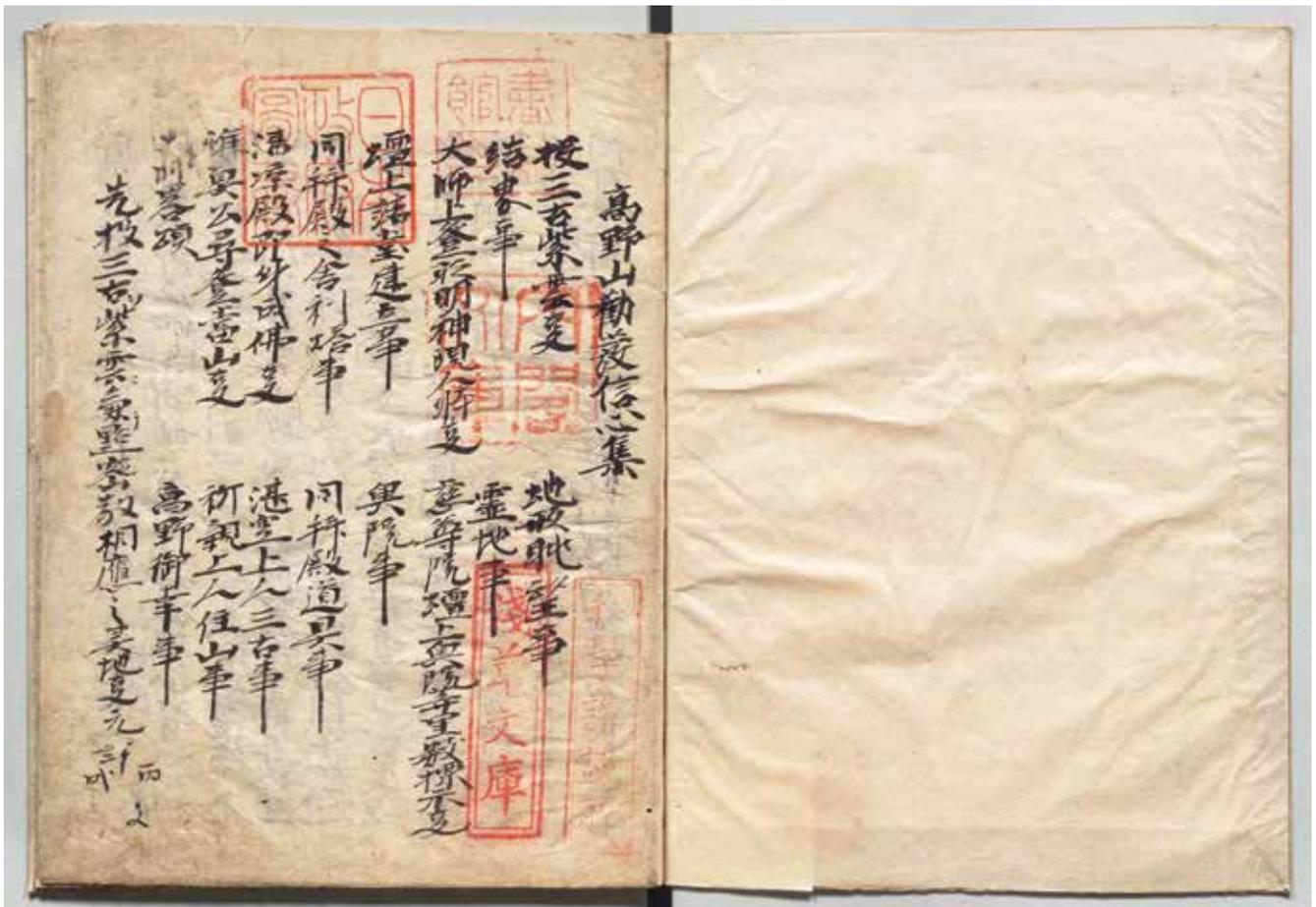


Fig. 7: *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*, Naikaku Bunko.

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).

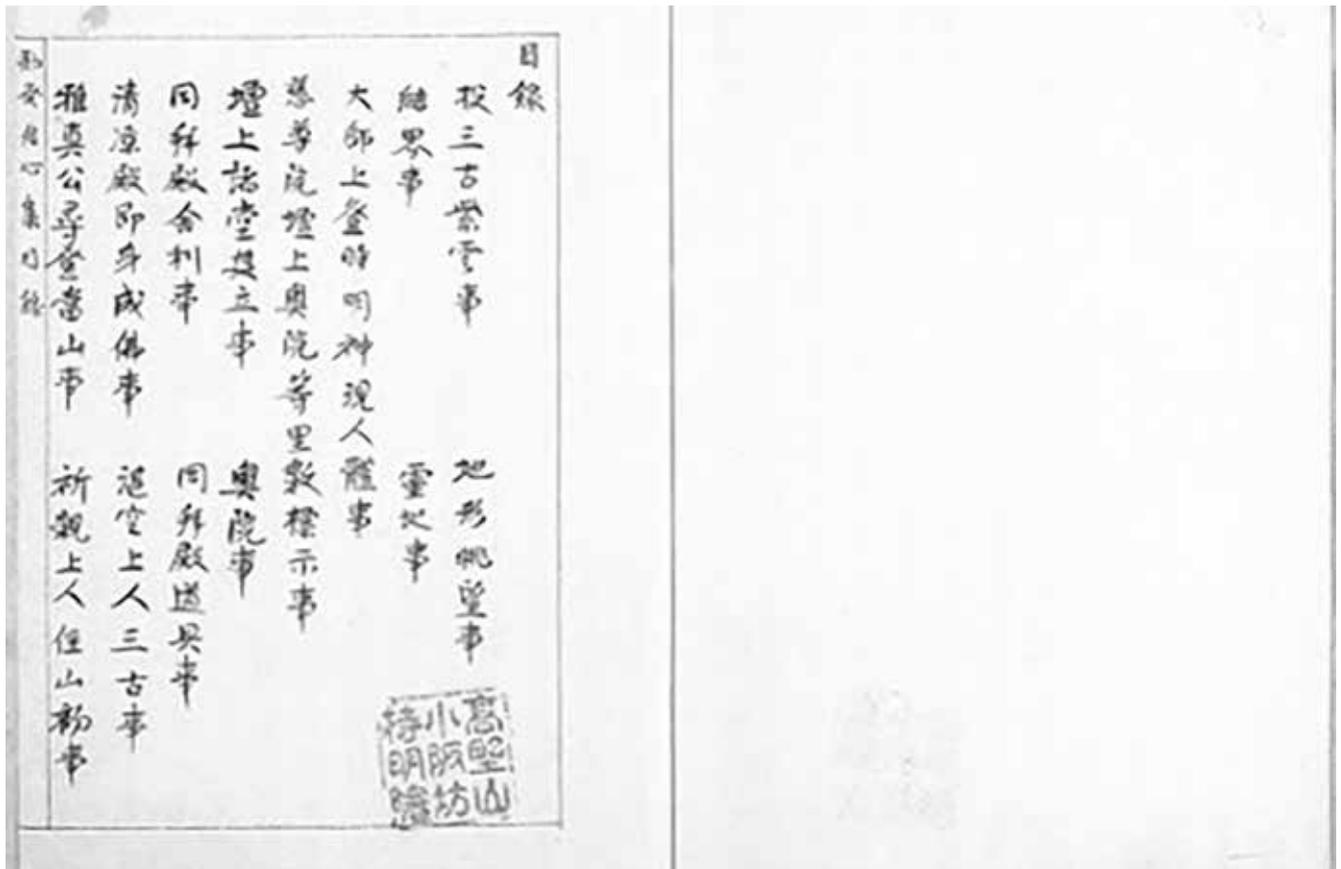


Fig. 8: Recto page of the TOC in Jinmyōinbon *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*.

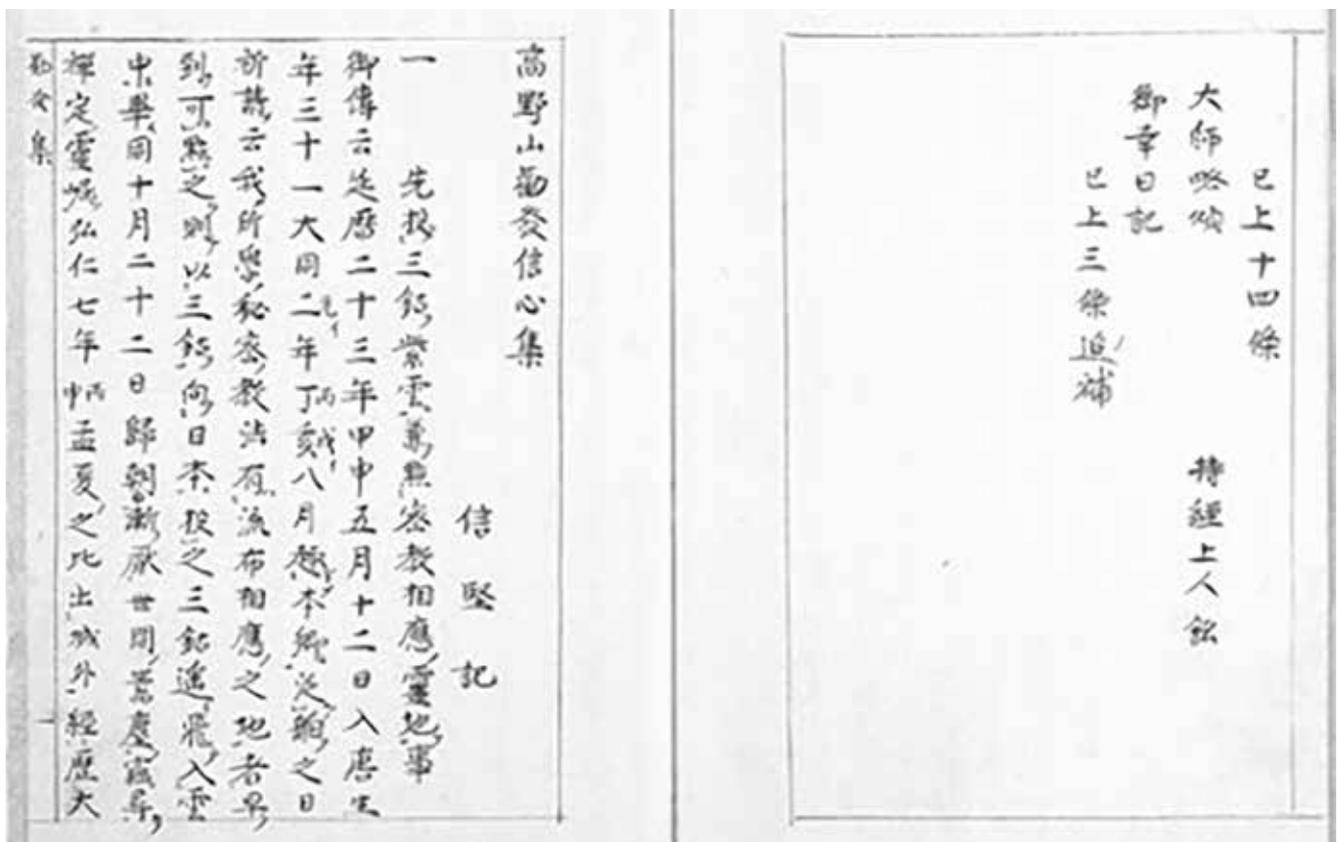


Fig. 9: Verso page of the TOC and first page of the main text in Jinmyōinbon *Kōyasan kanhotsu shinjinshū*.

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	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 Okuno 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 Okuno 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. Jōyo 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、為之補、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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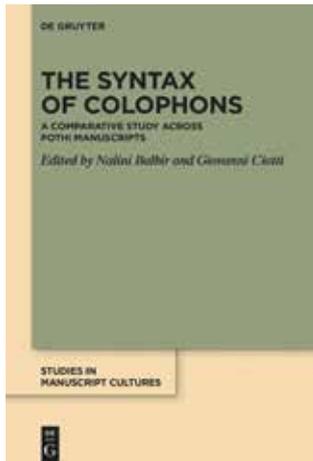
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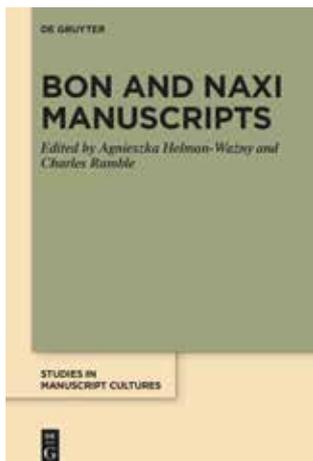


Forthcoming



27 – *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts*,
edited by Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti

This volume is the first to attempt a comprehensive and cross-disciplinary analysis of the manuscript cultures implementing the pothi manuscript form (a loosely bound stack of oblong folios). It is the indigenous form by which manuscripts have been crafted in South Asia and the cultural areas most influenced by it, that is to say Central and South East Asia. The volume focuses particularly on the colophons featured in such manuscripts presenting a series of essays enabling the reader to engage in a historical and comparative investigation of the links connecting the several manuscript cultures examined here. Colophons as paratexts are situated at the intersection between texts and the artefacts that contain them and offer a unique vantage point to attain global appreciation of their manuscript cultures and literary traditions. Colophons are also the product of scribal activities that have moved across regions and epochs alongside the pothi form, providing a common thread binding together the many millions of pothis still today found in libraries in Asia and the world over. These contributions provide a systematic approach to the internal structure of colophons, i.e. their ‘syntax’, and facilitate a vital, comparative approach.



28 – *Bon and Naxi Manuscripts*,
edited by Agnieszka Helman-Ważny and Charles Ramble

The present volume offers a dozen studies of manuscripts of the Tibetan Bon and Naxi Dongba traditions across time and space. While some of the contributions focus on particular features of manuscripts from either tradition, others explicitly bridge the two by considering common codicological and material aspects of selected examples or common themes in the content of the texts. This is the first primarily object-based study to deal with the cultural history and technology of books from the two traditions. It discusses collections of Bon and Naxi manuscripts, the concepts and history of both traditions, the science and technology of book studies as it relates to these collections, the relationship between text and image, writing materials, and the historical and archaeological context of the manuscripts’ places of origin. The authors are specialists in different fields including philology, anthropology, art history, codicology and archaeometry. The contributions shed light on trade routes, materials and technologies as well as on reading practices and ritual usage of Bon and Naxi manuscripts.

Studies in Manuscript Cultures (SMC)

Edited by Michael Friedrich, Konrad Hirschler, Caroline Macé, Cécile Michel, Jörg B. Quenzer and Eva Wilden

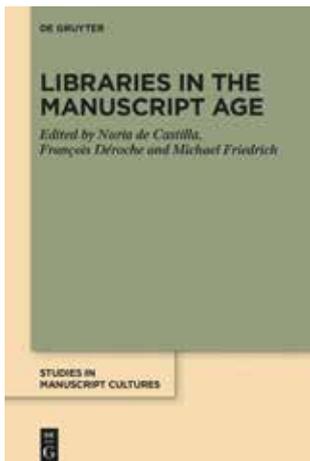
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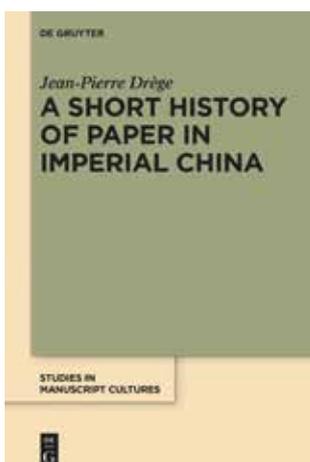
Forthcoming



29 – *Libraries in the Manuscript Age*,

edited by Nuria de Castilla, François Déroche and Michael Friedrich

The case studies presented in this volume help illuminate the rationale for the founding of libraries in an age when books were handwritten, thus contributing to the comparative history of libraries. They focus on examples ranging from the seventh to the seventeenth century emanating from the Muslim World, East Asia, Byzantium and Western Europe. Accumulation and preservation are the key motivations for the development of libraries. Rulers, scholars and men of religion were clearly dedicated to collecting books and sought to protect these fragile objects against the various hazards that threatened their survival. Many of these treasured books are long gone, but there remain hosts of evidence enabling one to reconstruct the collections to which they belonged, found in ancient buildings, literary accounts, archival documentation and, most crucially, catalogues. With such material at hand or, in some cases, the manuscripts of a certain library which have come down to us, it is possible to reflect on the nature of these libraries of the past, the interests of their owners, and their role in the intellectual history of the manuscript age.



31 – *A Short History of Paper in Imperial China*,

Jean-Pierre Drège

Paper has become the most common writing material worldwide in the course of a two millennia history. This study provides a magisterial synthesis of recent scholarship and original insights into the origins of papermaking and its subsequent history in imperial China, including a wide range of archaeological evidence and literary sources. The volume introduces the materials and technologies of paper production and presents the cultural history of paper in traditional China.

A comprehensive survey of literary sources on the production and use of paper is undertaken starting with the ongoing debate about the origin and genesis of paper, which was fuelled by recent archaeological discoveries of paper or proto-paper from the last two centuries BCE. In addition to its having become a popular writing material produced in many different qualities for both handwriting and printing, it also served as a material for wrapping or decorating, money and numerous uses in everyday life, such as umbrellas, windows, clothing, wallpapers, curtains and kites. Precious paper contributed to the aesthetics of calligraphy and painting, catering to the taste of the educated elite and artists.

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