Introduction

Abstract: Missionary linguistics has brought forward a blooming scholarship taking into consideration a broad range of language-related activities undertaken by different religious orders operating in different geographical and sociopolitical structures from a descriptive linguistic, historiographical, socio-anthropological, ethnographic, and translational perspective. Studying missionary grammars, vocabularies, and catechetical translations as physical and cultural objects in their own right, this book adds a layer of interpretation. The introduction explores the value of assessing books in terms of sociality, spatiality, and materiality. By focusing on the paratexts and physical features of books, it puts forward what useful book historical insights can be yielded into the particular text production and distribution, processes of control, editorial decisions, and the role of the actors involved in their creation.

Keywords: missionary linguistics, book history, early modern, New Spain, Peru

On July 24, 1607, master printer Diego López Dávalos (d. 1613) and the workmen in his workshop in Mexico City finished printing a theological treatise, titled *Espeio divino en lengva mexicana.* This extensive quarto-sized book of more than five hundred pages was written by the Augustinian friar Juan de Mijangos (d. c. 1627), born in the capital city of Oaxaca, a bishopric part of the Spanish viceroyalty of New Spain. Mijangos was a missionary who wanted to evangelize the local Indigenous communities in their own language, Nahuatl. He compiled the *Espeio divino* to help instruct fellow clergy as well as Indigenous literati about Catholic morals in this language. The copy now preserved in the Newberry Library in Chicago (Illinois, USA) offers us important clues to reconstruct the use of these kind of books throughout time.[1] At some point in the past, a man named Manuel de Santiago noted his

1 Juan de Mijangos, *Espeio divino en lengva mexicana* (Mexico City: Diego López Dávalos, 1607). NL, Chicago (Edward A. Ayer Collection, VAULT Ayer 871.A9545 M6 1607).

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name in clear black ink on the first endleaf. Santiago describes himself as 'señor d[o]n'.[2] We do not know when he wrote his name in this book, whether he owned the book, or that he had temporarily borrowed it from someone. We only know that he had this book in his hands and decided to write down his name. Can you imagine him looking at the handwritten title on the spine of the contemporary parchment cover, opening the two leather ties and thumping through the worn pages? He may have not bothered to go through the book, or, on the contrary, he may have read the contents from cover to cover. If so, he may have started by glancing at the now missing first quire with the typographical title page, the accompanying woodcut illustrations of saints and then skimmed the legal authorizations and preliminaries on the following pages. Perhaps, these first pages had already been torn out by a previous reader, directing him to head straight to the main text. Several typographical features would have guided his reading: the structure in a continuous monolingual Nahuatl text set in roman type, the Latin notes in the margins in italics would offer some clarifications; the running titles on top of each page accompanied by ornaments and a pagination would help him to navigate; pilcrow characters, text set in a larger type, and a large ornamental woodcut initial letter would introduce new chapter headings and give moments of pause.

The book has clearly been consulted intensively throughout its history, and the many (un)intentional traces offer proof of people's interactions with it: the worn edges, water stains, some ink smudges, and the various annotations in differing handwritings in the margins in both Nahuatl and Spanish. On the last page, a certain 'Juan Antonio' added a note with the date 1708, 101 years after the publication date.[3] A small scrap of paper with a certificate that someone received communion in the parish of Tlatelolco in 1776, a fragment of a woodcut illustration, a bookkeeping note, and a blank piece of cut paper are placed between the pages as bookmarks. The blank spaces in the book are filled with annotations and pen trials: on folio K4 recto, a reader practised his pen by imitating the large woodcut initial letter 'I' and the last two flyleaves contain several drawings of chickens above written text.[4] All of these features are part of the book's long and layered history. In other words, a book tells multiple stories that go well beyond its contents.

This study places missionary books as the *Espeio divino* at the centre of interest, examining the material and social practices underlying their early

2 Ibid., [first endleaf].

3 Ibid., fol. 3A3 verso.

4 Ibid., fol. K4 recto, [endleaves].

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modern production by focusing on the two Spanish viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.[5] In both of those regions, local missionaries and Native contributors were incredibly active in creating texts in the Indigenous languages. An abundance of extant source material allows us to retrace their activities devoted to learning Indigenous languages as soon as they first arrived around 1500, as well as producing and distributing books on these languages.[6] Missionaries relied extensively on Native collaborators to codify their acquired linguistic knowledge in grammars, vocabularies, and phrase books, and prepared texts for preaching and teaching the Christian doctrine (such as catechisms, sermon books, and confession manuals) written in these languages. This initiated an ever-developing process in which they accumulated, codified, and distributed knowledge on the large variety of languages spoken in the Americas. Looking at two different regions under the Spanish colonial regime, home to rich traditions of missionary linguistics, allows us to study these activities within a similar institutional framework but with differing local conditions. Instead of concentrating on a single religious order, this work studies the works written by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, the four religious orders that were the most productive in the creation of missionary linguistic books, as

5 Broadly speaking, the analysis is confined to missionary work in the mainland areas of the two viceroyalties, excluding Venezuela (part of the province of New Andalusia), islands in the Caribbean, and the Philippines in the Pacific Ocean. Because these peripheries were integral and significant parts in their own right, as briefly demonstrated by John Jay TePaske, they deserve to be treated separately. TePaske explains why these peripheries all were component parts of Spanish America and held significant positions within the realm. See John Jay TePaske, 'Integral to Empire: The Vital Peripheries of Colonial Spanish America', in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820*, ed. Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 29–41. In addition, when Christopher Columbus and his ship crew explored the Caribbean islands in the 1490s, they encountered three different population groups: the Tainos, the Island Caribs, and the Guanahatabeys. However, due to a lack of historical, archaeological, and ethnographical information and to the rapid decline of the population after 1492, there is little information available about these Indigenous groups. Peter E. Carr, 'Native Americans III–Caribbean', in *Iberia and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History*, ed. J. Michael Francis (Santa Barbara, Denver, and Oxford: ABC Clio, 2006), vol. 3, 773.

6 For example, in Portuguese America missionary linguistics was mainly limited to Jesuits (re)producing manuscripts on only three locally spoken languages, of which only a few are extant. Missionaries under the English regime had no systematic approach in codifying knowledge on Indigenous languages. See Otto Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550–1800* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2011), 143–144; E. F. K. Koerner, 'Notes on Missionary Linguistics in North America', in *Missionary Linguistics* [*I*]/ *Lingüística Misionera* [*I*]*: Selected Papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Oslo, March 13th–16th, 2003*, ed. Otto Zwartjes and Even Hovdhaugen (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 63–64.

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the RELiCTA database demonstrates.[7] As soon as Spanish missionaries went ashore, they sought to find ways to communicate with the Native populations, initiating the systematic study of Native languages and the production and diffusion of linguistic and catechetical books. For two centuries, missionary material written in Native languages was produced abundantly in the Spanish empire, backed by royal regulation emphasizing the use of these languages for evangelization purposes. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Crown passed several laws insisting on the use of Spanish in different areas of the Spanish empire, and while missionary books were still being produced, the eighteenth century was 'particularly stagnant with regard to linguistic progress'.[8] The eighteenth century was also a political turning point, heralding the start of the Bourbon regime that would redefine colonial society in the following decades.[9]

By adopting a wide perspective, this work aims to paint the contours of recording missionary linguistics on paper, creating a broad understanding and complementing the more detailed pictures provided by preceding zoomed-in and content-focused works in the scholarly field of Missionary

7 RELiCTA (Repertory of Early Modern Linguistic and Catechetical Tools of America, Asia, and Africa), brings together all metadata on books on non-European languages produced between 1500 and 1800, currently encompassing more than 4,000 records. Sources included are grammars, vocabularies, chronicles, travel reports, ego documents, correspondence, catechisms, sermon books, confession manuals, Bible translations, hymn books, prayer books, manuals for the administering of the sacraments, religious treatises, poetry, and plays. RELiCTA collects all relevant metadata on these books, such as authorship, place, and date of publication, later editions, book dimensions, and potential actors (copyists, editors) involved, to provide a comprehensive research tool for linguists, historians, and cultural heritage researchers who want to study these documents. The database allows researchers to conduct quantitative analysis for mapping out factors like the proportion of different genres, the dominance of particular religious orders, and the languages studied. Scholars can also make use of the database to reconstruct relations between different writers involved in the creation of missionary books or to examine the main places of publication. Unless stated otherwise, the tables incorporated in the different chapters rely on the data provided by RELiCTA. For more information on RELiCTA, see Toon Van Hal, Andy Peetermans, and Zanna Van Loon, 'Presentation of the Ongoing Database Project RELiCTA: Repertory of Early Modern Linguistic and Catechetical Tools of America, Asia, and Africa', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* 28, no. 2 (2018): 293–306. To access the database, see Toon Van Hal et al., RELiCTA, http://www.relicta.org.

8 E. F. K. Koerner, *Towards a History of American Linguistics* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 20–21.

9 While I am aware that making such demarcations is artificial and that the scholars are in debate to what extent 1700 really was a caesura, the change of regimes is useful in defining a chronological demarcation. For more information on the question of continuity in the Bourbon regime, see Christopher Storrs, 'Felipe V: Caesura or Continuity?', in *Early Bourbon Spanish America: Politics and Society in a Forgotten Era (1700–1759)*, ed. Francisco A. Eissa-Barroso and Ainara Vázquez Varela (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 9–21.

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Linguistics.[10] Both approaches have their value. While it is important to study localities in the production of missionary linguistics, we should not lose sight of the bigger picture that allows fragments of history to be studied in a wider perspective to establish long-term patterns.[11] Of course, the past is far too complicated to reduce the analysis of the production of missionary books in two regions to general statements, nor can one study take into account every aspect, considering the different settings and local conditions that shaped initial encounters, colonization, and Native–European interactions.[12] However, despite diverging contexts, missionary linguistics discerns commensurate and universal patterns in both areas, allowing us to trace continuities and differences. Indeed, as Edward G. Gray maintains, all Christian missionaries – regardless of the time period, religious order, or space – encountered the same sort of challenges in finding ways to establish communication with Native communities, which is why they all sought to learn, adopt, and codify the communication systems they used, even when their evangelization approaches differed.[13] Instead of writing a fragmented history of the Americas according to present-day borders, languages, and institutional imperatives, this study postulates that it is crucial to focus on the many similarities in book production. Hence, while every individual book may tell a different story depending on local circumstances, chronology, and the institutional framework, the plot shares many common themes we can study.

Missionary sources on Indigenous languages introduce a whole spectrum of research prospects. This study lies at the intersection of two well-established strands of interdisciplinary scholarship: Missionary Linguistics and book history. It first and foremost builds on the growing historiography on missionary linguistics, a relatively new subfield studying the books written by missionaries from a linguistic point of view. Missionary Linguistics emerged within the history of linguistics during the 1990s, but it is embedded in a longer tradition. As early as the nineteenth century,

10 I will capitalize the words whenever I refer to the scholarly discipline.

11 Past research tends to focus on local histories, which is why Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills state that 'the religious and cultural history of an early modern Atlantic, in contrast, remains uneven and fragmentary, with research still conducted largely in isolated silos divided by language, nationality, and region'. Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, 'A Catholic Atlantic', in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000*, ed. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 3.

12 Ibid., 14.

13 Edward G. Gray, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (Princeton and Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1999), 29.

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missionary linguistics sparked great fascination among historians, ethnologists, and linguists, resulting in the first overviews of Native languages and early modern missionary descriptions of these languages.[14] By the 1960s, the subject increasingly captured scholarly interest, but it was not until the end of the twentieth century that the subject received systematic attention, leading to the first comprehensive studies on missionary books produced in the Spanish realm, in French and British America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific.[15] Over the last two decades, Missionary Linguistics has developed into an extensive body of scholarship, as attested by a large number of international conferences, articles, monographs, and volumes dedicated to missionary grammars, vocabularies, and catechetical translations, expanding the geographical and chronological focus and studying different missionary traditions of different religious orders within different political structures.[16]

14 See, for example, [Cirpirano Muñoz y Manzano] conde de la Viñaza, *Bibliografía Española de Lenguas Indígenas de América* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1892); Joaquin García Icazbalceta, *Apuntes para un Catálogo de Escritores en Lenguas Indígenas de América* (México: En la imprenta particular del autor, 1866). More information on the first North American studies, by scholars such as John Pickering, Stephen Du Ponceau, and James C. Pilling, can be found in Franklin Edgerton, 'Notes on Early American Work in Linguistics', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 87 (1943): 25–34; James C. Pilling, 'The Writings of Padre Andres de Olmos in the Languages of Mexico', *American Anthropologist* 8 (1895): 43–60.

15 Pioneer examples from the 1960s include Roland Grass, 'America's First Linguists: Their Objectives and Methods', *Hispania* 48 (1965): 57–66; Victor E. Hanzeli, *Missionary Linguistics in New France* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1969).

16 Otto Zwartjes has provided an extensive overview of the current state of the art of missionary linguistics. See Otto Zwartjes, 'The Historiography of Missionary Linguistics: Present State and Further Research Opportunities', *Historiographia Linguistica* 39 (2012): 185–242. Fundamental studies include José Luis Suárez Roca, *Lingüística Misionera española* (Olviedo: Pentalfa Ediciones, 1992); Even Hovdhaugen, ed., *…And the Word Was God: Missionary Linguistics and Missionary Grammars* (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1996); Klaus Zimmermann, ed., *La Descripción de las Lenguas Amerindias en la Época Colonial* (Frankfurt and Madrid: Vervuert and Iberoamericana, 1997); Otto Zwartjes, ed., *Las Gramáticas Misioneras de Tradición Hispánica* (*Siglos XVI–XVII*) (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000). The five published volumes dedicated to the biennial International Conferences on Missionary Linguistics illustrate how missionary linguistics offers various possibilities for researchers conducting content-oriented approaches. Among the themes explored are grammatical theory, methodology of description, didactic processes, in-depth comparisons between different writings, orthography and phonology, morphosyntax and lexicography, among others. Zwartjes and Hovdhaugen, eds., *Missionary Linguistics I*; Otto Zwartjes and Cristina Altman, eds., *Missionary Linguistics II/Lingüística Misionera II: Orthography and Phonology: Selected Papers from the Second International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, São Paulo, 10–13 March 2004* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005); Otto Zwartjes, Gregory James, and Emilio Ridruejo, eds., *Missionary Linguistics III/Lingüística Misionera III: Morphology and Syntax: Selected Papers from the Third and Fourth International Conferences on Missionary*

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In 2009, Cristina Altman has established that the historiography of linguistics additionally requires a context-oriented methodology to gain a fundamental understanding of the historical context in which the linguistic knowledge preserved in these books was produced, stressing that content and context are inevitably linked.[17] Accordingly, a growing body of literature has gone beyond adopting a descriptive linguistic approach, additionally exploring the phenomenon from historiographical, socio-anthropological, and ethnographic points of view, e.g., by taking into account the impact of colonialism, the sociocultural context, attitudes towards the languages in question, and the exchange of ideas between missionary authors.[18] This focus is particularly visible in research conducted in translation studies, which examines missionary linguistic works in the light of translational strategies.[19] As Gary Sparks, Sergio Romero, and Frauke Sachse point out,

Linguistics, Hong Kong/Macau, 12–15 March 2005, Valladolid, 8–11 March 2006 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2007); Otto Zwartjes, Ramón Arzápalo Marín, and Thomas C. Smith-Stark, eds., *Missionary Linguistics IV/Lingüística Misionera IV: Lexicography: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Mérida, Yucatán, March 2007* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009); Otto Zwartjes, Klaus Zimmermann, and Martina Schrader-Kniffki, eds., *Missionary Linguistics V/Lingüística Misionera V: Translation Theories and Practices: Selected Papers from the Seventh International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Bremen, 28 February–2 March 2012* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2014).

17 Cristina Altman, 'Retrospectivas e Perspectivas da Historiografia da Lingüística no Brasil', *Revista Argentina de Historiografía Lingüística* I, no. 2 (2009): 128.

18 Examples for Spanish America include Kaus Zimmerman and Birte Kellermeier-Rehbein, eds., *Colonialism and Missionary Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2015); Thomas C. Smith-Stark, 'Rincón y Carochi: La Tradición Jesuítica de Descripción del Náhuatl', in *Las Gramáticas Misioneras de Tradición Hispánica* (*Siglos XVI–XVII*), ed. Otto Zwartjes (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 29–72; Henning Klöter, *The Language of the Sangleys: A Chinese Vernacular in Missionary Sources of the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011); Otto Zwartjes and José Antonio Flores Farfán, *Manuel Pérez, O.S.A. Arte de el Idioma Mexicano (1713). Gramática, Didáctica, Dialectología y Traductología* (Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Iberoamericana and Vervuert, 2017).

19 Examples of notable studies include Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua: The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru, 1550–1650* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); Robert A. Valdeón, *Translation and the Spanish Empire in the Americas* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2014); Regina Harrison, *Sin and Confession in Colonial Peru. Spanish–Quechua Penitential Texts, 1560–1650* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014); Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, ed., *La Transmisión de Conceptos Cristianos a las Lenguas Amerindias* (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 2016); Antje Flüchter and Rouven Wirbser, eds., *Translating Catechisms, Translating Cultures* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017); Lieve Behiels, 'La Traducción como Alimento y Otras Enseñanzas: Una Exploración Temática de los Prólogos de Textos Doctrinales Misioneros Americanos', *Hermeneus. Revista de Traducción e Interpretación* 20 (2018): 11–35; Nancy Farriss, *Tongues of Fire*: *Language and Evangelization in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

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missionary linguistic and catechetical books 'can only thickly be understood if read intertextually, comparatively with both their related antecedents and their contemporaries'.[20] A growing number of scholars working in the fields of Missionary Linguistics and translation studies concentrate on the European models and the underlying (Graeco)-Latin framework upon which missionaries relied as a basis for ever-developing missionary traditions.[21] What pertinently deserves scholarly attention are the various translation strategies adopted by the different religious orders, in different cultural settings for specific Indigenous languages, for example, in the choice of describing religious concepts with Native terms or Spanish loan words. Missionaries needed to adapt their frameworks and introduce methodological innovations and terminology to new contexts, engaging in a reciprocal cultural dialogue with Native contributors.[22] They relied

20 Garry Sparks, Frauke Sachse, and Sergio Romero, eds., *The Americas' First Theologies: Early Sources of Post-contact Indigenous Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 290.

21 Examples include the following: Keith W. Percival, 'Nebrija's Linguistic Oeuvre as a Model for Missionary Linguistics', in *Languages Different in All Their Sounds…: Descriptive Approaches to Indigenous Languages of the Americas 1500 to 1850*, ed. Elke Nowak (Münster: Nodus, 1999), 21–23; Klaus Zimmermann, 'La Construccíon del Objeto de la Historiografía de la Lingüística Misionera', in *Missionary Linguistics II/Lingüística Misionera II: Orthography and Phonology*, ed. Otto Zwartjes and Even Hovdhaugen (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 27; Manuel Breva Claramonte, 'Grammatization of Indigenous Languages in Spanish America: The Mental Language, Language Origin and Cultural Factors', *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 30, no. 2 (2008): 18, 20; Catherine Anne Fountain, 'Colonial Linguistics in New Spain: The Nahuatl Tradition' (PhD diss., University of California, 2006), 72–145; Astrid Alexander-Bakkerus, 'Two Colonial Grammars: Tradition and Innovation', *Asian Journal of Latin American Studies* 21, no. 1 (2008): 215–255; Otto Zwartjes, 'The Historiography of Missionary Linguistics', 210. Among others, these researchers have explored the role of the Latin tradition in the production of missionary linguistic knowledge. Andy Peetermans studies the conceptual and terminological developments in early modern American missionary grammars in his doctoral dissertation. See Andy Peetermans, 'The Art of Transforming Traditions: Conceptual Developments in Early Modern American Missionary Grammar Writing' (PhD diss., KU Leuven, 2020). An example concerning lexicographic traditions is Byron Ellsworth Hamann, *The Translations of Nebrija: Language, Culture, and Circulation in the Early Modern World* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005). Part IV of the *Cambridge World History of Lexicography* specifically devotes attention to lexicographical missionary traditions in the Americas. For example, Otto Zwartjes, 'Missionary Traditions in Mesoamerica', in *The Cambridge World History of Lexicography*, ed. John Considine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 579–596; Otto Zwartjes, 'Missionary Traditions in South America', in *The Cambridge World History of Lexicography,* ed. John Considine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 555–578.

22 Research on the modification of existing models of writing linguistic and catechetical books in a missionary context can be found in the different essays in the fifth volume on missionary linguistics. See Zwartjes and Zimmermann, *Missionary Linguistics V*.

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upon an existing European framework, but their zeal for the conversion of souls in the Americas resulted in the creation of assimilated versions of such texts, while Native communities contributed to adaptations of the Christian doctrine.[23] The fields of ethnohistory and translation studies offer comprehensive assessments of these missionary sources to explain the active role of Indigenous communities had in developing new so-called 'Indigenous Christianities'. They re-evaluate the old notion of missionaries embarking on a 'spiritual conquest' and assess the persistent vitality of Indigenous cultures by adapting to colonial society. Louise Burkhart has written a comprehensive state of the art of this field in the introduction of *Words and Worlds Turned Around: Indigenous Christianities in Colonial Latin America*.[24]

These (ethno)linguistic perspectives thus support the view that placing early modern missionary linguistic work in its historical (sociocultural, intellectual, and colonial) context is essential to understand their contents.[25] Acknowledging the value of a so-to-speak *internal* approach of studying the contents of these documents, this study seeks to complement the existing scholarship by investigating missionary writing activities from an *external* book historical perspective. Since the 1980s, scholars have systematically devoted studies to the production, dissemination, and reception of all sorts of codified material in their historical context, providing information on censorship, the economics and geographies of publishing, the material and social nature of books, the networks of distribution, and the use of libraries.[26] In more recent years, this field of research has also included

23 This topic is central in the edited collection *Words and Worlds Turned Around*. See David Tavárez, ed., *Words and Worlds Turned Around: Indigenous Christianities in Colonial Latin America* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017).

24 See Louise M. Burkhart, 'Introduction', in *Words and Worlds Turned Around: Indigenous Christianities in Colonial Latin America*, ed. David Tavárez (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017), 4–26. Noteworthy examples are David Tavárez, 'Naming the Trinity: From Ideologies of Translation to Dialectics of Reception in Colonial Nahua Texts, 1547–1771', *Colonial Latin American Review* 9, no. 1 (2000): 21–47; Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Nudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); William F. Hanks, *Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Mark Christensen, *Translated Christianities: Nahuatl and Maya Religious Texts* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014); Sergio Romero, 'Language, Catechisms, and Mesoamerican Lords in Highland Guatemala: Addressing "God" after the Spanish Conquest', *Ethnohistory* 62, no. 3 (2015): 623–649; Sparks, Sachse, and Sergio Romero, *The Americas' First Theologies*.

25 Cf. Klaus Zimmerman and Birte Kellermeier-Rehbein, 'Preface', in *Colonialism and Missionary Linguistics*, ed. Klaus Zimmerman and Birte Kellermeier-Rehbein (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2015), vii–x.

26 James Raven, *What Is the History of the Book?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), xi–xii. Pioneers in this field of history include Robert Darnton, Lucien Febvre, and Roger Chartier, who established

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the transoceanic, transatlantic, and transcontinental book trade in their research agendas. The result is a growing historiography of books and their circulation in the Americas, the vibrant book trade and networks between Europe and beyond, and readership in the overseas colonies, of which a large volume of literature focuses particularly on books in Spanish America.[27] However, even though a general well-established subfield of book history has shifted the attention to the social and material history of manuscripts in

the importance of studying books in historiography. Lucien Febvre, *L'Apparition du Livre* (Paris: Les Éditions Albin Miche, 1958); Robert Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?', *Daedalus* 111 (1982): 65–83; Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the 14th and 18th Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

27 Early examples include José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en Lima* (*1584–1824*), 4 vols. (Santiago de Chile: Impreso y grabado en casa del Autor, 1904–1907); José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México* (*1539–1822*), 9 vols. (Santiago de Chile: Impreso y grabado en casa del Autor, 1909); Juan B. Iguiniz, *La Imprenta en la Nueva España* (México: Porrúa Hermanos, 1938); Stella Maris Fernández, *La Imprenta en Hispanoamérica* (Madrid: Asociación Nacional de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros y Arqueólogos, 1977). General overviews are Leslie Howsam and James Raven, eds., *Books between Europe and the Americas: Connections and Communities, 1620–1860* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Hugh Amory and David D. Hall, eds., *A History of the Book in America*, 5 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000–2015); Hensley C. Woodbridge and Lawrence S. Thompson, *Printing in Colonial Spanish America* (New York: Whitson, 1976); Hortensia Calvo, 'The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America', *Book History* 6 (2003): 277–305; Fermín de los Reyes Gómez, *El Libro en España y América. Legislación y Censura* (*Siglos XV y XVIII*), 2 vols. (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2000); C. A. González Sánchez, *Atlantes de Papel, Adoctrinamiento, Creación y Tipografía en la Monarquía Hispánica de los Siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona: Ínsula de los Libros, 2008); Luna Nájera, 'Contesting the Word: The Crown and the Printing Press in Colonial Spanish America', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89 (2002): 575–596; Agnes Gehbald and Nora Jiménez, eds., *Libros en Movimiento. Nueva España y Perú, Siglos XVI–XVIII* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2021). Studies on the intercontinental book trade are Werner Thomas and Eddy Stols, eds., *Een Wereld op Papier: Zuid-Nederlandse Boeken, Prenten en Kaarten in het Spaanse en Portugese Wereldrijk* (*16de–18de Eeuw*) (Leuven: Acco, 2009); César Manrique Figueroa, 'Cultural Trade between the Southern Netherlands and New Spain: A History of Transatlantic Book Circuits and Book Consumption in the Early Modern Age' (PhD diss., KU Leuven, 2012); Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e Intercambio Cultural: El Comercio de Libros con América en la Carrera de Indias* (*Siglo XVII*) (Seville and Madrid: Universidad de Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2005). Studies devoted to printing in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, include, e.g., Idalia García Aguilar and Pedro Rueda, eds., *Leer en Tiempos de la Colonia: Imprenta, Bibliotecas y Lectores en América* (México: Centro Universitario de Investigaciones Bibliotecológicas, UNAM, 2010); Antonio Rodríguez-Buckingham, 'Change and the Printing Press in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 216–237; Teodoro Hampe-Martínez, 'The Diffusion of Books and Ideas in Colonial Peru: A Study of Private Libraries in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 2 (1993): 211–233; Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Imprimir en Lima durante la Colonia: Historia y Documentos, 1584–1750* (Madrid and Frankfurt am Main: Iberoamericana and Vervuert, 2019).

the handpress era and of early printed books, there has been scant detailed investigation of this book historical approach for missionary linguistic books.[28] The current study seeks to highlight the potential of this approach for the field of Missionary Linguistics.

Early modern missionaries operating in the Americas created a wide range of text categories either discussing Native languages or consisting of translations of texts into those languages, including administrative documents, playwritings, poetry, chronicles, and letters.[29] This book relies on a selected corpus of linguistic books directly employed by Spanish missionaries to help establish conversion. They broadly fall into two main categories: language descriptions and Christian pedagogical literature. Missionaries compiled grammars and vocabularies that explained the grammatical structures and listed words (and their meaning) to facilitate the study of the Indigenous languages. They also created copious translations of catechetical works to use as a reference guide to address Indigenous peoples orally. This category mainly includes catechisms, confession manuals, sermon books, treatises, prayer and hymn books, and manuals for the administering of the sacraments.

When studying these missionary works, one has to bear in mind that the sources available today are just a fraction of a once much larger production. Due to a variety of reasons, numerous – both manuscript as well as printed – books produced in the early modern period have not survived to this day.[30] Mexican authorities systematically nationalized and confiscated Church property, including the holdings of almost all colonial libraries during the nineteenth century. Today, the majority of New Spain's collections are centred in the major cities' public libraries. However, intensive use, deliberate destruction, accidental loss, natural disasters (floods, fire, earthquakes), wars, decay of books through mould, insects (bookworms), animals, and water or humidity, as well as man-made damage (cleaning manuscripts for re-use, mishandling, or damaging repairs) has caused the majority of

28 Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995). Exceptions for missionary linguistics include the oeuvre of Marina Garone Gravier and her focus on typography for the printing of Indigenous languages in New Spain. See Marina Garone Gravier, *Historia de la Tipografía Colonial para Lenguas Indígenas* (Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social/ Universidad Veracruzana, 2014).

29 See Van Hal et al., RELiCTA.

30 Andrew Pettegree discusses how the rarity of copies of a specific printed edition is often determined by their actual use. Andrew Pettegree, 'The Legion of the Lost: Recovering the Lost Books of Early Modern Europe', in *Lost Books: Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe*, ed. Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 1–3.

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print copies and manuscripts to be lost today. For example, an uprising in 1640 led to the destruction of many Jesuit libraries (and their collections) in the north of present-day Mexico.[31] A large number of books produced in the former viceroyalty of Peru disappeared from the records as well. Many extant books remain scattered in local South American convents, churches, libraries, and archives and are often difficult to access, missing, or lost.[32] These institutions often lack the resources and opportunities to catalogue their collections and holdings systematically, the result being that the manuscript missionary linguistic tradition in the viceroyalty of Peru has been documented less adequately. All these factors play down the proportion of material that was actually produced.[33] In addition, we cannot verify whether all manuscripts and printed books mentioned in contemporary sources and later bibliographies or studies actually existed, as the majority of these sources are lost today, and potential 'ghost' documents and editions form part of the dataset. Fortunately, a considerable number of these books are still extant, allowing the current study to be founded on a solid basis.

This study broadens our understanding of the nature of the linguistic books that early modern missionaries produced by bringing into play a book historical approach. The early modern circulation of missionary linguistic books encompassed four main dynamic and continuous paths or phases: (1) the initial language acquisition or accumulation and the subsequent processes of (2) producing, (3) disseminating, and (4) consuming books with linguistic knowledge.[34] Missionaries accumulated knowledge on Indigenous languages in dialogue with Native informants, which, as Simone Lässig notes, they (re)ordered and structured 'to fit in a particular framework of interpretation'.[35] The production of missionary linguistic books really was a

31 César Manrique Figueroa, 'From Antwerp to Veracruz: Looking for Books from the Southern Netherlands in Mexican Colonial Libraries', *De Gulden Passer* 87, no. 2 (2009): 96.

32 Ibid.

33 Given the limited resources in South American archives to preserve and professionally organize archival material, the British Library funds digitization projects in their Endangered Archives Programme, which currently funds eight projects in Argentina, one in Bolivia, six in Chile, five in Colombia, and thirteen in Peru. For more information, see British Library, 'Endangered Archives Programme', https://eap.bl.uk/.

34 This is just one of the many approaches available to tackle the definition of 'circulation of knowledge'. As indicated above, many scholars have reflected on the concepts of 'circulation', and 'knowledge'. Lissa Roberts defines 'circulation', in terms of production, translation, appropriation, and use. See Lissa Roberts, 'The Circulation of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Embodiment, Mobility, Learning, and Knowing', *History of Technology* 31 (2012): 48.

35 Simone Lässig, 'The History of Knowledge and the Expansion of the Historical Research Agenda', *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 59 (2016): 39.

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multifaceted interaction, which depended heavily on the interaction between missionaries, on the one hand, and Native collaborators and co-authors, on the other, who were by no means passive bystanders.[36] Moreover, the recording of these languages impacted the use of these languages. Renate Dürr describes it as follows:

> Firstly, with these dictionaries and grammars, missionaries often fostered a specific language to become the new lingua franca, establishing boundaries between languages that often had not existed to this degree or in this way before. Often, the language favoured by the missionaries was not even the one spoken most widely in the region. In addition, the lingua franca often consisted of a combination of different dialects of one language family, which meant that the policy employed by the missionaries not only established a hierarchy of local languages, it also created languages that were in many respects entirely new.[37]

'Missionary linguistic knowledge' thus only came to develop once the missionaries and Indigenous collaborators had processed the 'Indigenous linguistic knowledge' after acquiring the skills to speak and understand Indigenous languages to produce and mediate this knowledge to evangelize. We can therefore speak of a distinction between the general knowledge on these languages, and the construction of a missionary-related knowledge for purposes of conversion while relying on a contemporary European framework of writing grammars, vocabularies, and catechetical translations. Thus, when studying missionary linguistic literature – or what Joan-Pau Rubiés has defined as *savoirs missionaires* and 'missionary discourse' – one needs to bear in mind its determining ideological and instrumental nature.[38]

As soon as missionary priests and friars put into writing newly acquired linguistic concepts or prepared Christian translations, the process of knowledge production was set in motion, regarded here as the codification

36 Obviously, they played significant roles in the creation of these books by selecting, filtering and manipulating the knowledge they conveyed to missionaries. Kapil Raj, 'Beyond Postcolonialism … and Postpositivism: Circulation and the Global History of Science', *Isis* 104, no. 2 (2013): 344.

37 Renate Dürr, 'Reflection on Language in Christian Mission: The Significance of Communication in the Linguistic Concepts of José de Acosta SJ and Antonio Ruiz de Montoya SJ', in *Translating Catechisms, Translating Cultures: The Expansion of Catholicism in the Early Modern World*, ed. Antje Flüchter and Rouven Wirbser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 69.

38 Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Ethnography and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern Missions', *Studies in Church History* 53 (2017): 276, 288.

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or recording, that is, the transmission of what they had learned to paper. Missionaries thought it to be necessary for the study of Native languages to codify religious principles in Native languages and to analyse the grammatical structures and vocabulary of these languages. By storing this knowledge in manuscripts, they opened the possibility for multiplication – and thus dissemination – as others could (and often would) copy and transfer this knowledge for their own use. As soon as these books were printed, opportunities were created to spread this knowledge on a larger scale. However, missionaries did not intend to distribute their knowledge widely – to bring as many people as possible into contact with it – nor did they aim to write these books for purposes of commercial advantage or private reputational gain. Instead, they worked to make knowledge available to fellow clergymen and successors, so that they also had access to linguistic knowledge to spread the Catholic faith more efficiently.

Proceeding from a rich corpus of extant sources, this study aims to explore how missionary linguistic knowledge was recorded in both handwritten as well as printed media. In doing so, this research adopts Lissa Roberts' view that knowledge always requires an embodiment: '[K]nowledge cannot exist or travel on its own in our material world. It needs a physical carrier, whether a human, a book, an illustration, a machine or an instrument. That is, it needs to be embodied.'[39]

Knowledge moves through different forms of media – material, visual, and oral – all of which influence its durability, shape, and transferability. Next to oral communication, books were the main media embodying early modern missionary knowledge on Indigenous languages. These handwritten and printed books enabled knowledge dissemination into more permanent 'bodies' than non-written media, such as oral communication. But, material carriers – like manuscripts and printed books – have the ability to transform this knowledge during the process of writing, editing, printing, translating, revising, and reissuing.[40] Scholars of the early modern book hence not only view books as static carriers of knowledge but as physical and cultural objects in their own right by analysing their formal characteristics as well as their social functions and purposes.[41] Increasingly, research on the history of the

39 Roberts, 'The Circulation of Knowledge', 51.

40 Helge Jordheim, 'The Printed Work as a Site of Knowledge Production', in *Circulation of Knowledge: Explorations in the History of Knowledge*, ed. Johan Östling et al. (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2018), 233, 250.

41 See, for example, Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Evanghelia Stead, ed., *Reading Books and Prints as Cultural Objects* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books*

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book in the Americas takes into account its social and material aspects – legislation, organization of work, book trade and distribution, typography, illustrations, use of paper, bookbindings, and provenance.[42] An influential theory in this field of research has been Robert Darnton's 'communication circuit' that concentrates on the chain of actions performed by a network of actors involved in book production: authors, publishers, printers and their workmen, suppliers, shippers, booksellers, and readers.[43] Central to the current study is the analysis of the books' materiality, sociality, and spatiality. Building on Darnton's model, Daniel Bellingradt and Jeroen Salman have further elaborated on these three key theoretical concepts to help understand early modern book culture. The making of the printed book, as Bellingradt and Salman have argued, depended on the interplay between 'the actions and motives of its participants (sociality), by the nature of used and produced spaces (spatiality), and by the physical characteristics of printed matter and the infrastructure of the print industry'.[44]

While their volume solely centres on printed books, this study adopts their theoretical approach to provide insights into manuscripts as well. Indeed, as James Daybell and Peter Hinds correspondingly point out, devoting attention to the physical making of books and the surrounding social practices allows us to gain 'a full understanding of a writer's words as they appear in handwritten and printed form'.[45] Studying the material, social, and spatial

in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020); Roger Chartier, *The Author's Hand and the Printer's Mind*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2014); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998); Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

42 Extensive states of the art on book history in New Spain and Latin America are Marina Garone Gravier, 'Fuentes para el Estudio de la Tipografía, la Imprenta y el Libro Antiguo Mexicano (1539–1821)', *Pecia Complutense* 9, no. 17 (2012): 59–84; and Natalia Maillard-Álvarez and Montserrat Cachero, 'Introduction: The Circulation of Books during the Early Modern Period: Contexts and Perspectives', in *Book Markets in Mediterranean Europe and Latin America: Institutions and Strategies (15th–18th Centuries)*, ed. Montserrat Cachero and Natalia Maillard-Álvarez (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023), 1–15, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-13268-1_1.

43 Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?'.

44 Daniel Bellingradt and Jeroen Salman, 'Books and Book History in Motion: Materiality, Sociality and Spatiality', in *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation, and Consumption*, ed. Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles, and Jeroen Salman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 2.

45 James Daybell and Peter Hinds, 'Introduction: Material Matters', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2.

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dimensions of a book is acknowledging that it is not just a text or a text carrier. Stephen Orgel claims that 'authors do not write books; they produce texts (not always by writing) that get turned into books by scribes, editors, printers', but this statement requires some nuance.[46] Authors certainly did contribute to the production of their book, taking up these other roles by structuring their texts for potential readers, or, in the case of printing, for instance, by submitting their texts for review by the issuing authorities, by overseeing the process of printing, or by correcting proof-printed sheets. The significance of Orgel's reasoning lies in its focus on the collaborative efforts of producing a book. It is a product made by a network of human actors working with particular materials and techniques in particular places, and dependent on local conditions and possibilities.

The study also distinguishes between the intellectual production of a text and the material and technical production of a book.[47] Intellectual production is understood as the creative processes of compiling, (re)writing, adapting, and correcting a text by the author and includes the interactions with the patron(s) of the work, the controlling mechanism of the royal authorities and Church censors, and readers (reading, copying, altering, correcting). The material and technical production of a book pertain to the act of writing down and structuring information on paper, or – in the case of printed books – the work of authors, editors, printers and their workmen, as well as bookbinders: to pen down text on paper, the mediation with the printing office, to design an edition (determining the structural composition and layout of a book, typesetting, etc.), to lay sheets of paper between the printing press, to pull the bars of the presses, to fold the paper sheets into quires, to gather them as a book, and to bind quires into a binding. In the discipline of analytical bibliography, studying these processes of production and transmission is regarded as essential to understand a text.[48] In the words of Roger Chartier, 'no text exists outside of the support that enables it to be read; any comprehension of a writing [...] depends on the forms in which it reaches its reader'.[49] The current study relies upon the paratext and the physical presentation of handwritten and printed missionary books in Native languages to advance our understanding of these two processes of production.

46 Stephen Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 26.

47 Bellingradt and Salman, 'Books and Book History in Motion', 5–6.

48 McKenzie, *Bibliography*, 12.

49 Roger Chartier, 'Texts, Printing, Readings', in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1989), 161.

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The paratexts in books are key features approached by book historians to help interpret the material, social, and spatial nature in which they were produced, distributed, and used.[50] Gérad Genette has coined paratextuality a 'threshold of interpretation', which can be understood as the extratextual (or paratextual) elements that accompany the body text and form a sort of in-between zone between the text and the outside world.[51] Paratexts can provide information on the particular context in which an author created a text and had it printed, revealing motivations and what potential social, political, and ecclesiastical networks (s)he involved in the writing, editing, and publishing processes. Next to this interpretive function, Dorothee Birke and Birte Christ point to two additional and overlapping functions of the paratexts that highlight the non-authorial engagement with a book: commerciality – to promote and set the provisions for the sale or distribution of a book – and its navigational quality – to guide targeted readers when orientating within a book.[52] The paratexts shape the manifold ways in which the prospective reader could interpret and engage with the book throughout.[53] They help us to explore the particular text production and distribution, processes of control, editorial decisions, and the role of the actors involved in the making of missionary books on and in Indigenous languages.

Early modern books consist of a variety of paratextual features which can differ depending on the medium – handwritten or printed – period, and geographical scope. It can include the legal paratext, introductory and literary features, commercial elements, and navigational materials. An author (or a printer) first and foremost required the permission of several authorities before he could see his work in print, and authorizations included in the paratext usually attest to the authorities' permission: royal licences to print, ecclesiastical approval, and examination reports. Literary and introductory material, such as title pages, prefaces, prologues, and dedications, 'prepares the audience for the reading experience', as it contextualizes the book's creation, provides

50 A growing group of scholars devote their attention to these elements. See, for instance, Renske Annelize Hoff, 'Involving Readers: Practices of Reading, Use, and Interaction in Early Modern Dutch Bibles (1522–1546)' (PhD diss., University of Groningen and KU Leuven, 2022), and John Tholen, *Producing Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' in the Early Modern Countries: Paratexts, Publishers, Editors, Readers* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021).

51 See Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, translated by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

52 Dorothee Birke and Birte Christ, 'Paratext and Digitized Narrative: Mapping the Field', *Narrative* 21, no. 1 (2013): 67–68.

53 Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 6–7; Mak, *How the Page Matters*, 34.

a moral evaluation of its contents, and legitimizes why the writing and/or its printing was beneficial.[54] Prologues and addresses to the reader usually ran one or two leaves long and, as a self-reflective and performative device, gave the author the chance to engage with the readers of his book directly by describing the work, framing its creation, and explaining its original purpose. These addresses to the reader, usually written at the very end of the writing process, also enabled the author (or the printer) to address any potential errors made as well as any misprints committed during printing in lists with errata. In the dedication letter, the author (or the printer) devoted the book to a person holding a prominent position in civil or ecclesiastical administration or someone who otherwise had standing. By writing a dedication, they sought to receive support from the dedicatee in getting a book published, in the form of protection or for financial assistance in covering the large costs of printing. The commercial paratext found in printed books includes elements that advertise the book to readers and involve the conditions set for the book's printing, sale, and distribution, such as title pages, granted privileges, the imprint or colophon with information on place and date as well as the publisher(s), and a price statement or *tasa* providing information on the fixed legal price of each print copy determined by the royal authority.

Next to these features, the formal aspects of presentation – illustrated title pages, illustrations, table of contents, indices, ornaments and decorations, format, the composition, the mise-en-page, and typography or script – are conscious functional and commercial decisions that influence how the text and its meaning are transmitted to the reader. According to Mark Bland, 'writers, editors, printers, and scribes balance considerations of materials, appearance, price, and use, to appeal to their customers, employers, or readers'.[55] These editorial practices, which are not just authorial but a collaborative effort made by all the actors involved, 'are in operation all the way through the reader's experience of the text, not merely at the start, and they continuously inform the process of reading, offering multiple points of entry, interpretation, and contestation'.[56] But, not every formal aspect in a book was intentional (and thus to be considered as paratextual). Much is to be gained by taking into account both conscious editorial strategies and choices as well as mistakes, alterations, and technical and commercial limitations regarding production and printing to shed light on the history of a book.

54 Ibid., 34.

55 Mark Bland, *A Guide to Early Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 20.

56 Smith and Wilson, 'Introduction', 6.

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A bibliographical study can provide us with insights into the particular processes of production of a book, its textual features and layout, editorial decisions regarding design and the visual arrangement of texts – format, script or type, structure, typography – typographical limitations, and scribal or printer's interventions and mistakes. Studying these features allows us to trace the agency of the actors involved in the making of a book beyond its textual meaning and up to its prospective use.[57] It also highlights the transformative nature of books as actors continued to create and shape the physical appearance and contents of their books.[58] After a text was recorded by hand or printed, people continued to add meaning to the books that carried these texts by reading and using them in a variety of ways. They had the book bound in a cheap or luxurious binding or disbound, collected a number of books in one volume, added pages or tore out pages, wrote down their name, altered the contents by adding information, highlighting excerpts, and making changes or corrections. These reading habits are also connected to the geographical and social spaces, conditions, and networks of which these actors formed part. They provide insights into how readers experienced and responded to the knowledge provided in the book individually in a particular time and setting, and thus reinterpreted and regenerated the meaning that the book carries. In other words, studying the modality of books as physical artefacts that are embedded in a social and spatial framework reconstructs 'early modern texts' historical significance'.[59] The medium and the circumstances of its production and use define and shape the form of the knowledge a book conveys.[60]

The overall structure of this study takes the form of six chapters, each engaging with the question of materiality, sociality, and spatiality, by addressing the making or intended (and historic) use of missionary linguistic books. Chapter 1 considers missionaries' linguistic writing activities in the two selected regions, touching upon language study and text production to understand how the purpose of codification reflected the facilitation of evangelization. It reviews the essential contribution of Native collaborators, and looks at the process of the codification of missionary linguistic knowledge, discussing the main motivations for recording this knowledge on paper and

57 McKenzie, *Bibliography*, 15.

58 Bellingradt and Salman, 'Books and Book History in Motion', 7.

59 Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, 'Current Trends in the History of Reading', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 5.

60 Leslie Howsam, *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 75.

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gaining particular insights into the highly integrated nature of missionary linguistics in writing. The study then moves to the determining role of the process of print production. Chapter 2 assesses how the mandatory review conducted on books submitted for printing developed into a stringent mechanism of quality control that constrained the individual missionary's agency employing these procedures as a precondition for publication, developing a standard system of control before print that considerably influenced to see one's work in print. Chapter 3 explores how the market for printed missionary editions was shaped by the nature of relationships and networks between authors, institutions, and the printing businesses. Chapter 4 demonstrates the lasting impact the actions carried out in the printing offices had on their final visual form and contents. The last two chapters address the complex and contingent relationships between the handwritten and the printed book. Chapter 5 outlines the diverse material forms in which manuscripts came to be alongside print. It then discusses how the boundaries between these different forms are not always well defined by studying a specific manuscript grammar in relation to a resembling printed edition. Finally, Chapter 6 draws attention to the various motivations underlying missionaries' recourse to the handwritten or printed word in Spanish America and reflects upon the intended function(s) of books for their readers and users.

A note on conventions

In the current work, I have systematically translated quotations into English in the main text. The original passages with original spelling and typography can be found in the footnotes. Translations are my own, unless stated otherwise. Some words are left in Spanish throughout the text for want of a clear English equivalent (e.g., *definidor*). The use of 'sic' has been kept to an absolute minimum. I have attempted to normalize the spelling of Spanish names and locations to modern standards, considering there was no standardized form of spelling in the early modern period. Whenever I discuss a particular person for the first time, I have added their lifespan, as far as the dates of birth and death are known. Bearing in mind that unidentified workers in the printing office (such as compositors and correctors), writers, owners, and readers of manuscripts and print copies may have just as likely been both men and women, I address them altogether as 'he' or 'his' for ease of use.

The bibliography incorporates all primary and secondary sources consulted. However, to maintain a clear overview, only the manuscripts have a full reference. Archival documents have been listed according to their file

records and are specified in the corresponding footnotes. Whenever I discuss specifically located print copies, I have incorporated their call number and institution in the corresponding footnote, but not in the bibliography. References to manuscripts include the title as it is used in the library and archive catalogues, and for early printed books the title is spelled as it appears on the typographical title page. The names of widow printers are given in full, instead of how they are named in the imprint ('la viuda de'). Manuscripts that lack a precise date, but that have been dated in a particular century, are indicated as such in the footnotes and the bibliography. For example, a sixteenth-century manuscript is dated as 15xx. I refer to specific pages in print copies by indicating the quire signature instead of the folio or page, which is much more reliable than pagination, considering many editions do not have a constituent folio or page numbering.

I have given preference to the terms 'Native(s)', 'Indigenous', and 'local' over 'Indian(s)', except when I quote contemporary sources. However, classifying all of North, Central, and South America's Indigenous communities as one single entity still implies that I play down the societal, cultural, and linguistic diversity among these communities. I do not use the term 'Native American', because this term refers to Indigenous peoples living in the territories of the USA and present-day Canada. If at some point I refer to different degrees of civility of Native communities, I do so according to the early modern European criteria of the time. I have tried to adopt the conventional names of specific peoples used in literature in order to facilitate reading. Naming Indigenous communities and languages often presents particular challenges, as early modern Indigenous communities and Europeans each choose to use their own distinct names. For example, Michael W. Swanton notes that modern scholars applied several names to the Chocholtec people, including *Chochon*, *Chocho*, *Popoloca*, *Pinotl*, and *Nigwa*.[61] My choice for the most appropriate and correct naming is based on Lyle Campbell's publication *American Indian Languages*.[62]

Abbreviations

NL Newberry Library (Chicago, Illinois, USA)

61 Michael Swanton, 'A History of Chocholtec Alphabetic Writing' (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 2016), 12–26.
62 Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

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