

MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1REPORT ON REPAIRS OF 1985-6, WATERMARKS, COLLATION

by Bruce Barker-Benfield, 1985-1999

Introduction

This report is not intended as a full physical description of Codex Mendoza. Its purpose is rather to bring together various observations which emerged before, during and after the repairs of 1985-6, about the physical nature of the entire manuscript volume, MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1, in particular about its paper and collation-structure, and to record the minor structural changes made then.

Concerns over the physical safety of the manuscript in 1985-6 were related to the impetus for a new facsimile edition, raised in 1985 in the first instance by the University of New Mexico Press. A contract for the facsimile was signed on 2 Oct. 1985 and the main body of transparencies made in October-November 1985 by the Bodleian Photographic Studio (the set may have incorporated some earlier transparencies from stock). In 1986 the University of New Mexico Press decided to withdraw from the project, but the agreement was later assigned (21 July 1989) to the University of California Press, which finally published the facsimile to coincide with the Columbus Quincentenary celebrations of 1992 (eds. Frances E. Berdan & Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *The Codex Mendoza*, 4 vols., Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press, 1992). For these purposes, the important point to note is that the plates of the 1992 facsimile were derived from transparencies which predated almost all the repairs of 1985-6.

The section on watermarks was worked up by Bruce Barker-Benfield in 1990 to accompany his selection of beta-radiographs as reproduced in the 1992 facsimile (vol. 1, pp. 20-23), and is reprinted here with some modifications. The collation notes and charts below were made directly from the manuscript and independently from the material and chart published in the facsimile (vol. 1, pp. 13-20, esp. fig. 9) by Wayne Ruwet, who had examined the manuscript in 1971; however, Wayne Ruwet and Bruce Barker-Benfield did correspond in 1985 over some aspects of the binding, watermarks and flyleaves.

BCBB 27 July 1999

THE REPAIRS OF 1985-6

A brief condition-survey made in July 1985 indicated that many edges were badly frayed and that by then fols. 71-2 had finally become detached. Folios noted as requiring repair were fols. 1, 2, 7, 13, 41, 47, 51, 55, 62, 67, 68, 70, 71; amongst these, fols. 1 (badly torn, with old repairs causing further damage), 67, and 70 (with a small piece in danger of detaching) needed urgent attention. Accordingly, immediate repairs were carried out between 11 and 18 July 1985 by Linda Sutherland of the Bodleian Conservation Workshop, but on this first occasion only to fols. 67 (centre fore-edge, end of river on recto) and 70 (edge of writing on recto at lower fore-edge). The repairs were made with minimal tissue (Japanese, tengujo) and dry paste (wheat and potato starch).

A more extensive programme of paper-repair was carried out in 1986, by Nancy Bell of the Bodleian Conservation Workshop, in consultation with Christopher Clarkson and Bruce Barker-Benfield. The repairs were purposely kept to the minimum: the volume was not disbound and its sewing was left undisturbed. The bulk of the work consisted of reinforcing the fraying edges with tissue. But the first and last quires of Codex Mendoza (pt. I) required intervention at a somewhat deeper level, at the start to counteract the damage being caused by old repairs and stubs, and at the end to reattach fols. 71-2: Christopher Clarkson took an active part in these repairs.

WATERMARKS

Pt. I (fols. 1-71): Codex Mendoza

The original text-block of Codex Mendoza is made up of paper containing six watermark patterns, some of which can be further subdivided into their twin moulds.

Four of the six patterns (A-D) are of the same general design which Briquet¹ classifies under the general heading 'Homme', sub-heading 'Pélerin' (nos. 7567-7603). Apart from the differences in the letters beneath, the pilgrims themselves are close in design, each with his wide-brimmed hat, pointed chin, and crutched staff. Briquet's examples are mostly Italian, but Valls i Subirà² provides a number of Spanish examples from 1500 to 1597 (pp. 163-5, 232-5, nos. 212-227). As it happens, the non-Spanish examples of 'pilgrim' papers reproduced by Briquet provide the closer parallels to the watermarks of Codex Mendoza, but none are identical and the papers are no doubt of Spanish origin.

Pattern A: 'Pilgrim'

'Pilgrim' facing left (as seen from the wire side), in a circle; beneath, two(?) capital letters of which the first is 'B' (second illegible). The closest parallel in the two repertoires is Briquet 7586 (Provence, 1568), where the letters are 'B F': but it is not very similar.

Specimen: fol. 2 only (beta-radiograph).

Pattern B: 'Pilgrim'

'Pilgrim' facing left (as seen from the wire side), in a circle, with no letters or other additional designs outside the circle. No match in Valls i Subirà; fairly similar but by no means identical to Briquet 7570 (Milan, 1567).

Specimens (no clear division into twin moulds): fols. 4 (beta-radiograph), 8, 19.

Pattern C: 'Pilgrim'

'Pilgrim' facing left (as seen from the wire side), in a circle; beneath, three letters, 'A M F'. The only comparable example in the two repertoires is Briquet 7582 (Milan, 1570), with 'A M F': quite a good match, but not identical.

Specimens: fols. 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52.

Amongst these, the clearer specimens provide examples of at least two moulds, e.g.: (i) fols. 6, 29, 36 (beta-radiograph), 37 (beta-radiograph), 42, 48. Lower legs shapelier.

(ii) fols. 9, 41, 52 (beta-radiograph). Lower legs straighter.

But the two moulds are not differentiated on the collation chart below, as some specimens are obscured by ink or paint and thus hard to distinguish.

¹C. M. Briquet, Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600 (= The New Briquet: Jubilee edition, a facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars, ed. A. Stevenson), 4 vols., Amsterdam 1968.

²Oriol Valls i Subirà, The history of paper in Spain, vol. II, XV-XVI centuries, Madrid 1980.

Pattern D: 'Pilgrim'

'Pilgrim' facing left (as seen from the wire side), in a circle: beneath, two letters, perhaps 'I P'. No match for a pilgrim with these letters appears in Briquet or Valls i Subirà.

Specimen: fol. 71 only (beta-radiograph).

Pattern E: Cross (Latin), in pointed shield

On each side of the cross, within the shield, is a capital letter. The design makes sense from either direction, but as seen from the wire side the letters read 'F' (?) on the left and 'A' on the right. Valls i Subirà describes the shield pattern as 'abundant throughout Spain', and provides examples from 1495 to 1600 (pp. 129-132, 197-202, nos. 79-101). Briquet reproduces examples from Spain, Italy and France (nos. 5677-5704, 'très nombreux'). If the design were reversed (i.e. read from the 'felt' side), the closest parallel, by no means identical, would be Briquet 5678, with the letters 'A R' (Spain, 1576. Var. simil.: Rodez, 1579; Madrid, 1586).

Specimens, in two readily distinguishable moulds:

- (i) Fols. 56 (beta-radiograph), 63, 64 (beta-radiograph).
- (ii) Fols. 59 (beta-radiograph), 60, 66, 68.

Pattern F: Sphere, with five-pointed star above

Similar but not identical to Briquet 14013 (Angoulême, 1570). No examples of this pattern are reproduced by Valls i Subirà.

Specimen: fol. 69 only (beta-radiograph).

Early endpapers associated with Pt. I (front pastedown, fols. i-ii, 72) Thevet's signature on the former flyleaf which is now the front pastedown confirms its 16th-century date (see further below), and similarly the date '7 Sept. 1587' on fol. ii verso provides a terminus post quem non. This firm dating evidence supports the conclusion from the physical data of pleats and sewing-holes in these leaves that they pre-date the present 17th-century English binding.

Pattern G: Fleur-de-lis, crowned

The fleur-de-lis and its crown are of equal size; at the point where they join, the letter 'A' appears on the left and 'B' on the right. No Spanish examples of the crowned fleur-de-lis are reproduced by Valls i Subirà or amongst Briquet's specimens (nos. 7223-7258); the closest parallels, with different initials, are Briquet 7249 (Poitiers, 1574, with 'G L') and Piccard XIII,³ no. 786 (Florence 1579, with 'B G').

Specimens, not quite identical so presumably representing the two moulds:

- (i) Fol. i (beta-radiograph).
- (ii) Fol. ii (beta-radiograph).

The front pastedown with Thevet's signature is probably of the same paper; as now pasted down, no watermark can be discerned in it, but the chain-lines are approximately the same distance apart (c. 27-8 mm.).

Pattern H: Three objects and a letter

This is a difficult pattern, since the objects are highly stylized and the letter could be read as an 'M' (below the objects) or the upper way up as a 'W' (above the objects). Since the pattern is symmetrical, the direction of viewing whether from 'mould' side or 'felt' side makes no difference. The 1992 facsimile showed a difference of interpretation, with

³Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (Veröffentlichungen der staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Sonderreihe), XIII, Wasserzeichen Lilie, ed. G. Piccard, Stuttgart 1983.

Bruce Barker-Benfield (vol. I, p. 23 and fig.) interpreting the pattern as ' "W" over three swords or daggers' and Wayne Ruwet (vol. I, pp. 14 and 16 Fig. 6) as 'three hats over an M'. As hats, the objects have a high crown, flat brim and two ties or tassels hanging down; as daggers, the objects have a short, blunt blade with a broad hilt.

Ruwet is very likely correct, since he was able to adduce a small group of similar patterns with three 'hats' from Heawood⁴ nos. 2596-2600; they are associated with other letters (not 'M'), which are, however, useful in confirming the viewing direction as allowing the objects to be read as hats rather than as daggers. Otherwise, however, their dates are too late to offer helpful parallels, even for the period of the English 17th-century binding: they are from English and Italian examples dated between 1685 and 1694, with one later example of c. 1809. The earlier repertories reveal nothing as close as Heawood's examples, though there was a pattern current in 16th-century Germany and Austria of three helmets -- quite different in shape -- within a shield (Briquet nos. 1111-1115, examples dated 1525 to 1580; Piccard IX.2⁵, nos. 284-365, examples of 1525 to 1593).

Specimen: fol. 72 only (beta-radiograph).

Pt. II (fols. 73-84): Monetary tables

The nine tables are each written across a large folio sheet. The nine sheets were folded into bifolia and pasted together to form ten leaves, of which each of the inside eight consists of two half-sheets pasted together (see the collation-chart below). Each bifolium contains a watermark in the centre of one half but no countermark in the other. Two watermark patterns can be discerned; but unfortunately neither of the single outside leaves (fols. 73, 82) happens to be the half-sheet with a watermark, and the paste-up job makes it impossible to make beta-radiographs or to observe the fine detail well enough to distinguish between moulds.

Pattern I: Fleur-de-lis in crowned shield, over WR monogram

This pattern was common throughout the 17th century, cf. Heawood nos. 1660, 1721, 1721A, 1724, 1761-2, 1768-9, 1781.

Specimens: fols. 74[a], 75[a], 75[b].

Pattern J: Crozier in crowned shield, over the initials NCH/M

This pattern, less common, seems very similar to Heawood no. 1199 ('Schieland Records', 1616).

Specimens: fols. 77[a], 78[a], 79[a], 80[a], 81[a], 81[b].

Lower Endpapers of the 17th-century binding

Unlike those at the front, the lower endpapers clearly belong to the period of the present parchment-covered boards (17th-century English work).

Pattern K: Bunch of Grapes, with countermark 'A.GOUTON'

The countermark on the flyleaf (fol. 85), running vertically between

⁴E. Heawood, Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae . . . , I), Hilversum 1950.

⁵Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (Veröffentlichungen der staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Sonderreihe), IX, Wasserzeichen Werkzeug und Waffen, Teil 1-2, ed. G. Piccard, Stuttgart 1980.

chain-lines with the name 'A.GOUTON' in a narrow cartouche, is close to Heawood no. 2252 (London, 1607). The position of the Grapes watermark as stuck down in the pastedown makes its pattern less clear to the eye and inaccessible to beta-radiography, but the tip of the bunch seems to terminate with a small cross, as in Heawood 2252.

Specimen: fol. 85 (beta-radiograph) + lower pastedown, conjoint.

NUMBERING SYSTEMS: Quire-Signatures, Foliation, etc.

Quire-signatures

There are two types of quire-signature, both appearing in the top margin of the first leaf of the quire:

- (a) Near top edge, towards centre. A small, neat sign written with a sharp-cut pen in dark ink, always shaped like a '7' (though clearly not intended to represent that numeral). The first appears on fol. 11r (Quire II) and the last on fol. 66r, the first leaf of Quire VIII. The sign is not visible on fol. 1r.

Although of indeterminate date (in the absence of any palaeographically datable forms), it seems likely that this system of identical quire-markings would have predated the numbered system described as (b) below. The sign at fol. 21r (Quire III) is crossed out with a diagonal line (see below).

- (b) Top right-hand corner. An arabic numeral, plainly visible from '2' (fol. 11r) to '7' (fol. 56r) [none on fol. 66r], written in ink and sometimes bracketed off with curved or straight lines. These were written before the folio-numbers, since the latter are sometimes displaced to the left in order to allow room for them (e.g. fol. 31r) and/or are separated from them by an additional diagonal line (e.g. fols. 11r, 41r). The similar ink-colours, form of the numerals and bracketing suggest that these quire-numbers and the folio-numbers were written probably the same person, and if so no doubt at much the same time. All these quire-signatures except the '2' on fol. 11r have been crossed out with a diagonal ink stroke, possibly at the time of foliation; at fol. 21r the '7'-shaped quire-sign is similarly crossed out.

There is no quire-signature in the familiar position at fol. 1r, though it is just possible that a curving vertical stroke at the centre top margin, crossed through with a long horizontal stroke, might have been intended as the '1' of this sequence.

Foliation

The foliation of Codex Mendoza still in use consists of a sequence '1' to '71' written boldly in dark ink at the top right-hand corner of each leaf; each number is marked off on the left and below with a curved line. It seems most likely 17th-century, though it is hard to tell exactly when. The fact that it does not extend into Pt. II is interesting but not decisive. The foliation is of particular importance for the order of leaves in Quire VI (fols. 51-5), q.v., where the folio-numbers of fols. 53-5 show signs of alteration.

For some openings in the second and third sections of Codex Mendoza, the folio-number of the recto is repeated on the facing verso, in the same hand and usually with the familiar bracketing line. This happens especially at the starts of the sections, presumably to show that the opening is to be read across as a unit, text and pictures, with '19' (at 18v), '20' (at 19v) at the start of the tribute section, and '57' (56v), '58' (57v) and '59' (58v) at the start of the final section on Aztec life.

Whilst this could possibly mean that the foliator intended to number openings rather than folios -- maybe sometimes rather than always -- the modern convention is to interpret and cite the numbers only as folio numbers (thus, the first opening of the third section is to be cited as 'fols. 56v-57r', not '57-57').

The folio-numbers on the versos also occur in two openings in the middle of the tribute-section, with 'f^o. 43.' (at fol. 42v) and 'f^o. 44.' (43v): unusually with the word 'f(oli)o' stated, but bracketed as usual. Finally, the last few openings of the section are also marked, with '51' (at fol. 50v), '52' (51v), '53' (52v), '54' (53v) and '55' (54v). These are entered correctly and without alteration: they may have been added there, though still by the 17th-century foliator, in an attempt to elucidate the disordered leaves (and corrections to the main folio-numbers) in this area of the manuscript: see further at Quire VI.








Fols. i-ii and 71-85 were foliated in pencil in Bodleian style, probably in the hand of Falconer Madan (late 19th/early 20th cent.). Fols. I and II were foliated by Bruce Barker-Benfield at their addition in 1986.

Item number(?)



Fol. 1r also contains a '1.', boldly written in ink at the lower edge of fol. 1r, towards the right. This may perhaps be interpreted not as a quire-signature but as an item-number of the 17th century or later, no earlier than the time of the present binding, since it more or less matches in position a 'II' written at the lower edge of the first page of Part II on fol. 73r. However, the latter's numerals are smaller and the position not quite so far to the right of centre, so this interpretation is not quite certain.

COLLATION, quire by quire

Conventions used in the following collation charts

| | |
|---|--|
|  | Leaf |
|  | Stub, i.e. small width of paper visible at gutter, whether or not pasted to an adjoining leaf. A stub may or may not be visible down the whole length of the gutter. |
|  <i>OR</i>  | Join or area of paper inferred but not visible |
|  <i>OR</i>  | Paste, usually used to join two pieces of paper |
|  | Modern tissue used for repairs in 1985 or 1986 |

Watermark conventions

| | |
|---|--|
|  | Wire-direction: indentation on recto (= 'mould' side) |
|  | Wire-direction: indentation on verso (= 'felt' side) |
| Ei (etc.) | Watermark-pattern E, first mould (etc.) |
| Ei rev. (etc.) | Watermark-pattern E, first mould (etc.), pattern upside-down in relation to the text |

Pt. I: Codex Mendoza, with front endpapers**Front Endpapers & Quire I**

It seems clearest to present the complex evidence for these leaves in reverse chronological order, i.e. from the present visible evidence back to hypothetical reconstructions of their original arrangement. Accordingly, the discussion starts with a list of the changes made during the repairs of 1986 and graphic representations of the visible evidence in two charts, (Chart 1) 'after' and (Chart 2) 'before' the changes of 1986. Chart 3 restates the evidence of Chart 2 to provide a hypothetical reconstruction of how the leaves were then attached, i.e. during the period between the 17th-century binding and the repairs of 1986. Chart 4 concerns only the front endleaves, in a hypothetical reconstruction of their state before the 17th-century binding, as evidence of a previous binding. Charts 5-6 present alternative reconstructions of the original structure of quire I (omitting the endleaves).

It should be noted, however, that even this series of charts offers probably only an over-simplified account of the complex history of these leaves over four and a half centuries -- the intense interest which they have always attracted must have made them always vulnerable to overhandling, and hence to frequent running-repairs over the years.

Front endpapers and Quire I: Changes made in 1986

1. Fol. i was released from the shoulder of the front pastedown to which it had been pasted.
2. Through the build-up of paper and paste, the larger stubs (see charts below) were felt to be forming ridges and consequent weakening for the leaves against which they were pasted. They were accordingly released as follows:
 - Stub (a) verso was released from stub (b) recto.
 - Stub (b) verso was released from fol. ii recto (stub (b) remains thickened with paste deposits on either side).
 - Stub (c) verso was released from fol. 1 recto.
 - Stub (d) verso was released from fol. 9 recto.
 - Four strips of old repair paper at top and bottom of fols. 1v and 2r, matching and presumably once conjoint to provide additional support for these leaves, were removed and discarded [these strips are visible in the Cooper Clark facsimile of 1938 and in the 1985 transparencies which were used for the facsimile of 1992].
3. Stub (c) was moved back one leaf from its position before fol. 1 to a new position before fol. ii, to prevent damage to fol. 1 from its stiffened edge.
4. To prevent further pleating, two new flyleaves were added between fols. i and ii:
 - Fol. I was added between stub (a) and stub (b).
 - Fol. II was added between stub (b) and the relocated stub (c).
5. New repairing tissue had to be added across several gutters, e.g. between the front pastedown and fol. i. These new joins do not imply that the adjoining leaves thus connected by new tissue were necessarily originally conjoint.

Note. In 1985-6, the recipe for the standard paste used for tissue-repair in the Bodleian Conversation Workshop was as follows:

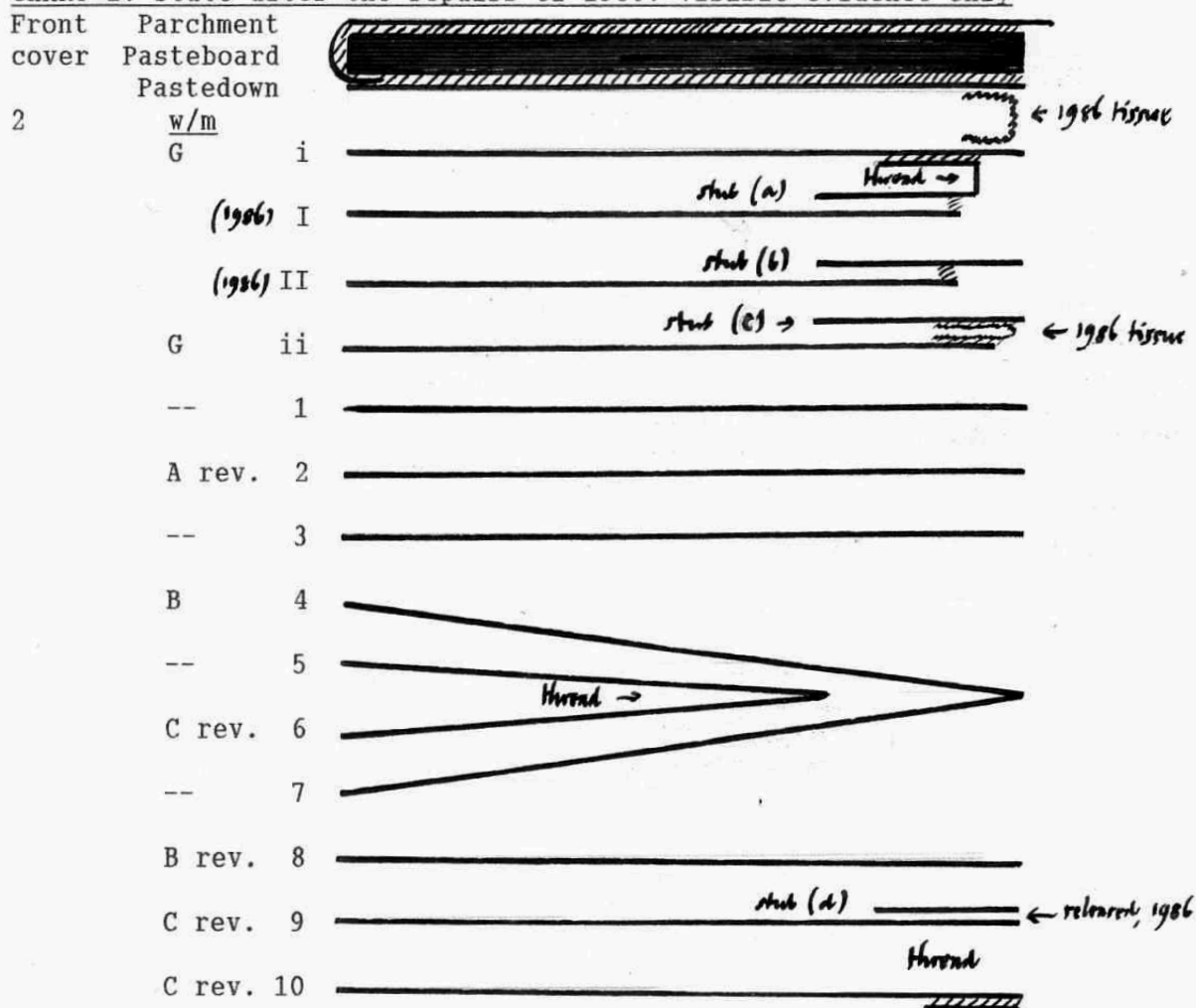
Purified wheat starch paste: 50g wheat starch GPR [General Purpose Reagent] from BDH (now Merck) Chemical Company; 5g potato starch GPR, 400ml de-ionized water. This paste used to adhere Japanese tissue, first water-torn to shape.

[Ex inf. Alison McKay, Head of Conservation Workshop, 14 Aug. 1998, who observes that since 1985-6 this recipe has been slightly modified.]

Front Endpapers & Quire I [cont.]:

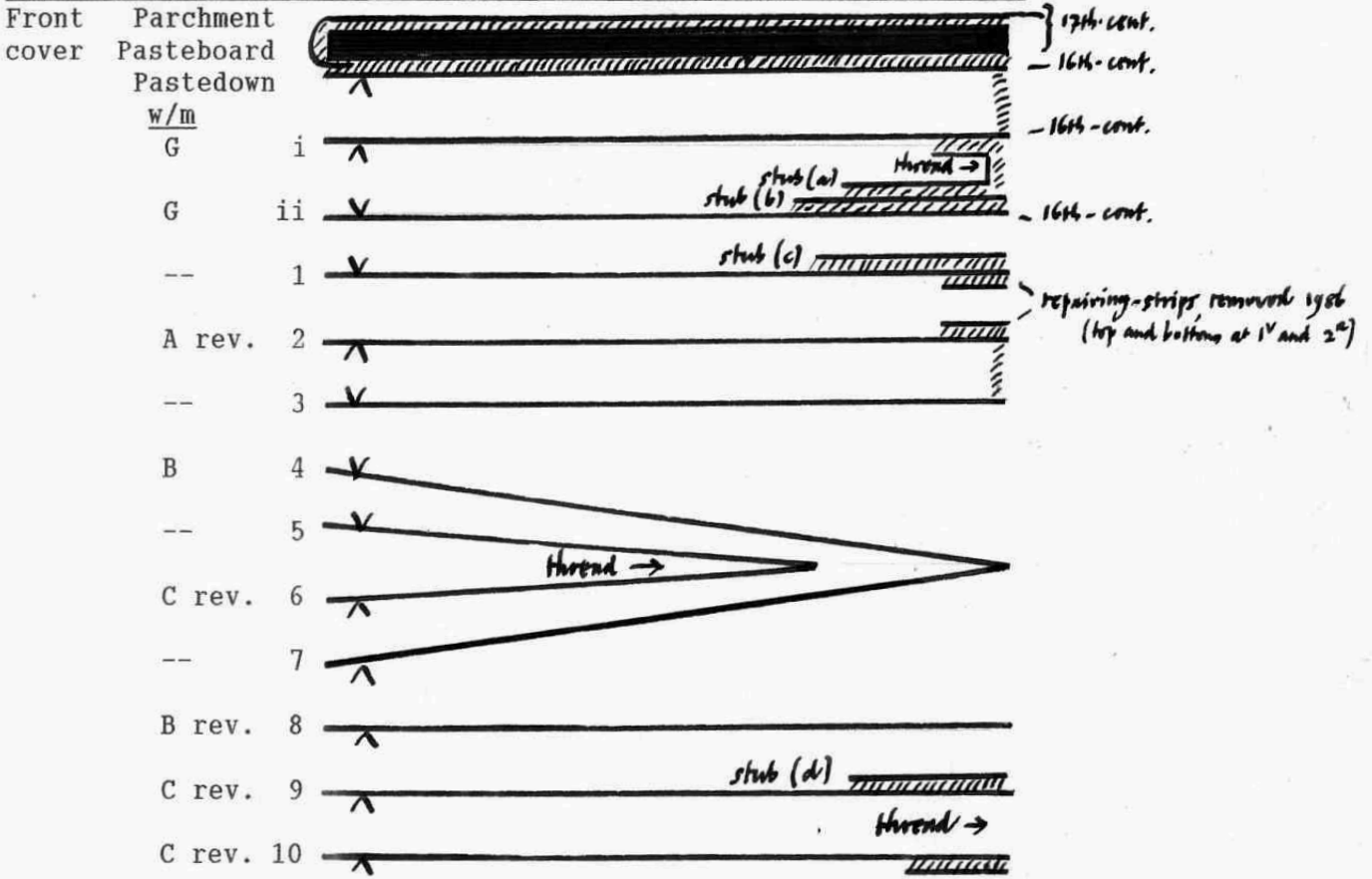
COLLATION CHARTS, in reverse chronological order

CHART 1. State after the repairs of 1986: visible evidence only



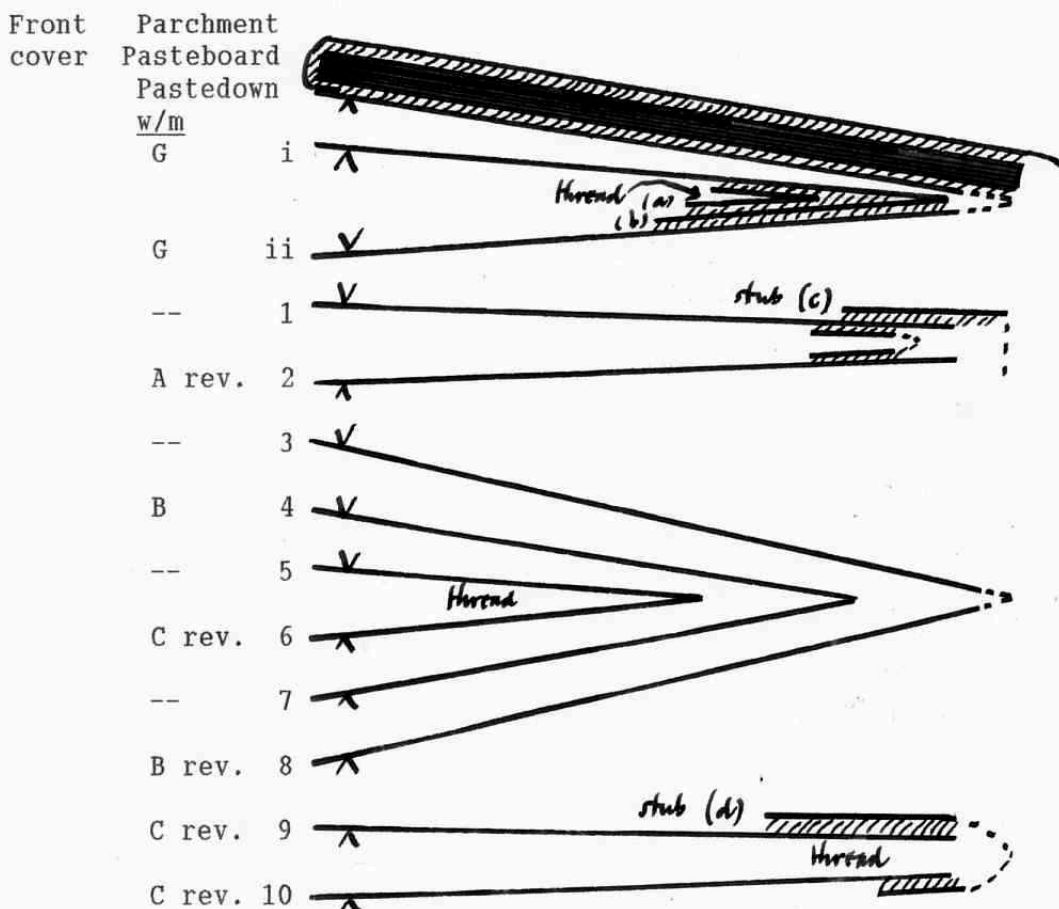
Front Endpapers & Quire I [cont.]

CHART 2. State before the repairs of 1986: visible evidence only



Front Endpapers & Quire I [cont.]

CHART 3. State before the repairs of 1986: hypothetical reconstruction
(i.e. essentially as left by the 17th-century binder)



NOTES ON THE STUBS

1. Stub (a) and its mate (still firmly pasted to fol. i verso), stub (c), and stub (d) and its mate (still pasted to fol. 10v) are all of similar laid paper, perhaps the same. It seems slightly thicker than the papers of the main manuscript or of fols. i-ii. Stubs (a) and (c) do not share the holes apparent at the gutters of fol. i, stub (b) and fol. ii (see below), and are therefore presumably later: they may well date from the time of the 17th-century rebinding.
2. There is no corresponding stub to provide a clue as to how stub (c) fitted into the structure. Its function could have been to help reinforce the join between fols. 1 and 2, and/or to hold fols. 1 + 2 in place.
3. The strip of paper which forms stub (a) and its mate is made up of two shorter strips pasted together end to end: the join occurs about two thirds of the way down. The chain-lines of both strips are horizontal (vertical in stubs (c) and (d)).

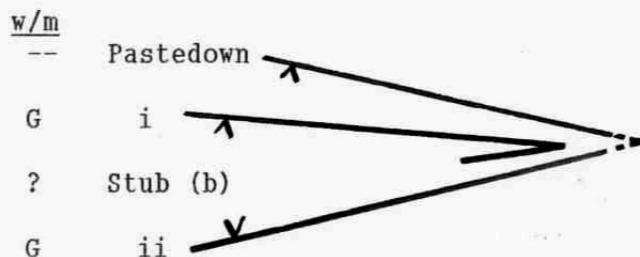
Front Endleaves & Quire I [cont.]

CHART 4. The front endleaves, before the 17th-cent. rebinding:
hypothetical reconstruction

The front pastedown has no visible watermark, but is probably of the same paper as fols. i-ii and could well be conjoint with fol. ii. Prominent vertical pleats at the centre of the pastedown match those of fols. i-ii exactly, showing that like them it was once a free-standing flyleaf before it was used as the pastedown in the 17th-century binding. Although the texture of stub (b) is thickened and coarsened by deposits of paste on both sides, it still seems to be conjoint at the top with fol. i. Since the pastedown carries the signature of André Thevet (d. 1592), these three leaves and stub must date at latest from the manuscript's period in France during the 16th century -- and before the manuscript's translation to London in 1587, as implied by the dated inscription on fol. ii verso.

It has been argued by Frank Lestringant⁶ that Thevet's signature on the pastedown belongs not with his dated signatures of 1553 (fols. 1r, 71v, with latinized form 'Thevetus') but to a later group (front pastedown and fols. 2r, 70v, French form of name, bolder script): these are undated, but that on fol. 2r is accompanied by the title 'Cosmographe du roi' which Thevet assumed, according to Lestringant, only from 1568/9. If this is correct (in spite of a slight suspicion that the signature and title on fol. 2r might not be uniformly written), the signature on the present front pastedown might have been written after 1568. This does not prove a similar terminus ante quem non for the existence of that leaf itself, though a rebinding at some later stage of Thevet's ownership would provide a motive for his rewriting of his signature again there. Nevertheless, allowing for all these uncertainties, it is tempting to suggest very tentatively that the earlier binding of Codex Mendoza, as now represented only by the earlier endleaves, was made in the twenty years or so between 1568 and 1587. This would be entirely in line with the French watermarks of the 1570s which are indicated above as (non-exact) parallels with the watermarks of fols. i-ii (Pattern G).

At their gutters, fols. i, stub (b) and fol. ii (but not stub (a) or stub (c)) carry holes which do not seem to match the 17th-century sewing and presumably predate it: the evidence is confusing, but these were perhaps caused both by earlier damage and by an earlier sewing-structure. Similar though less severe damage appears in the equivalent blank leaf which follows the end of Codex Mendoza (fol. 72), which may therefore be presumed to belong with this group of early endpapers.



⁶Frank Lestringant, André Thevet: cosmographe des derniers Valois (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 251), Geneva 1991, pp. 38, 38-9 n. 27, 43. At p. 43, Lestringant casts some doubts on the 1553 date, but ultimately accepts it.

Front Endleaves & Quire I [cont.]

CHARTS 5-6. Original structure of Quire I: alternative reconstructions

Fol. 9 can never have been conjoint either with fol. 2 or with fol. 10, since all three leaves carry watermarks and the directions of wire and felt sides do not fit. These types of evidence would allow fol. 1 to have been conjoint either with fol. 2 or with fol. 10.

CHART 5: RECONSTRUCTION A

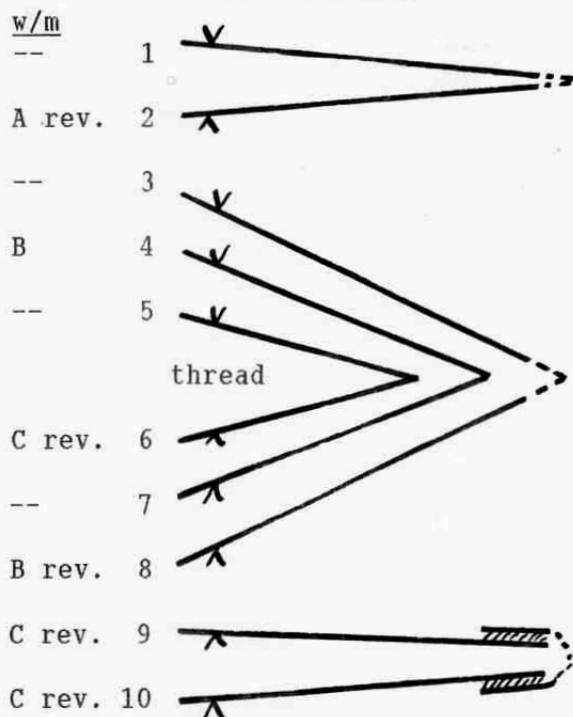
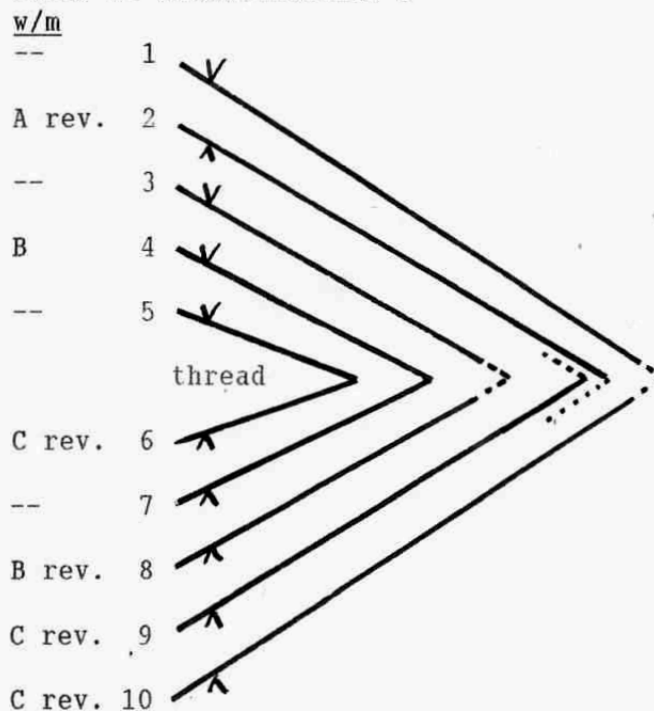


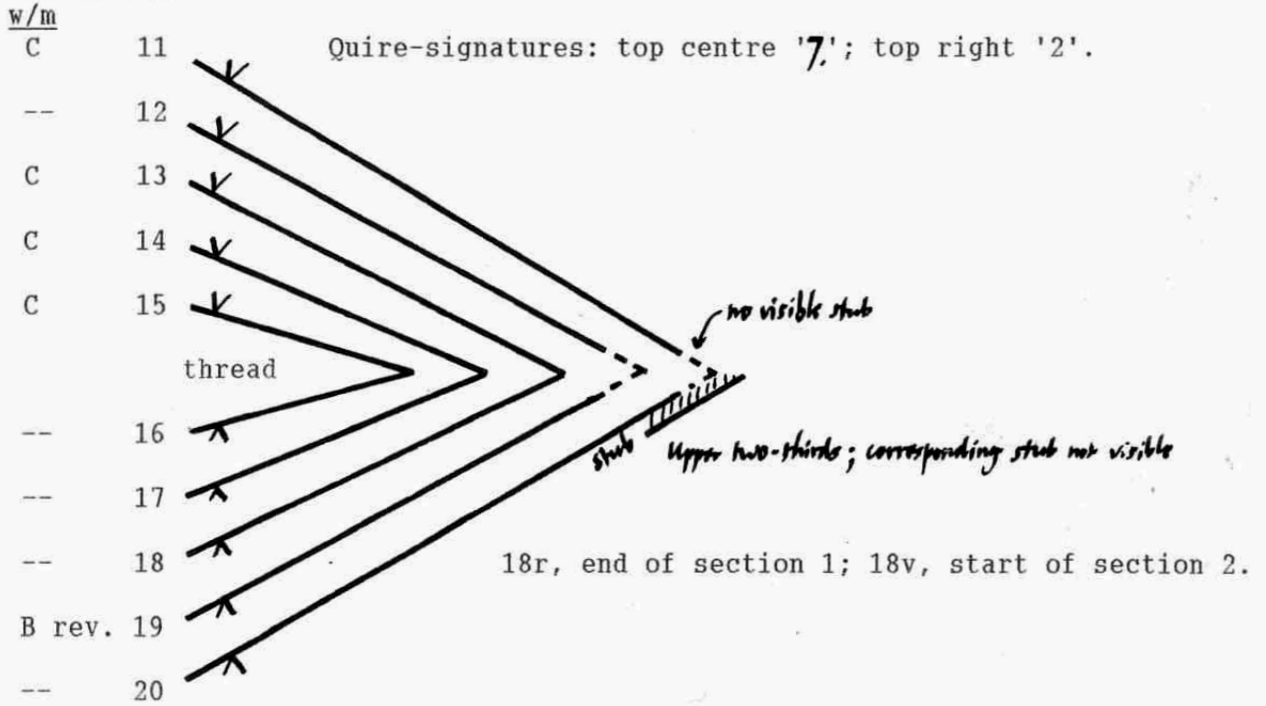
CHART 6: RECONSTRUCTION B

CONCLUSION

Reconstruction B is the more economical solution: it assumes that a late decision was taken to remake the original second leaf with a leaf of 'pilgrim' paper carrying a slightly different watermark. The present fol. 2, with the frontispiece, is the only leaf that breaks the regular pattern of mould/felt sides. The disturbance meant that special arrangements had to be made to keep fol. 9 in place after the loss of its mate.

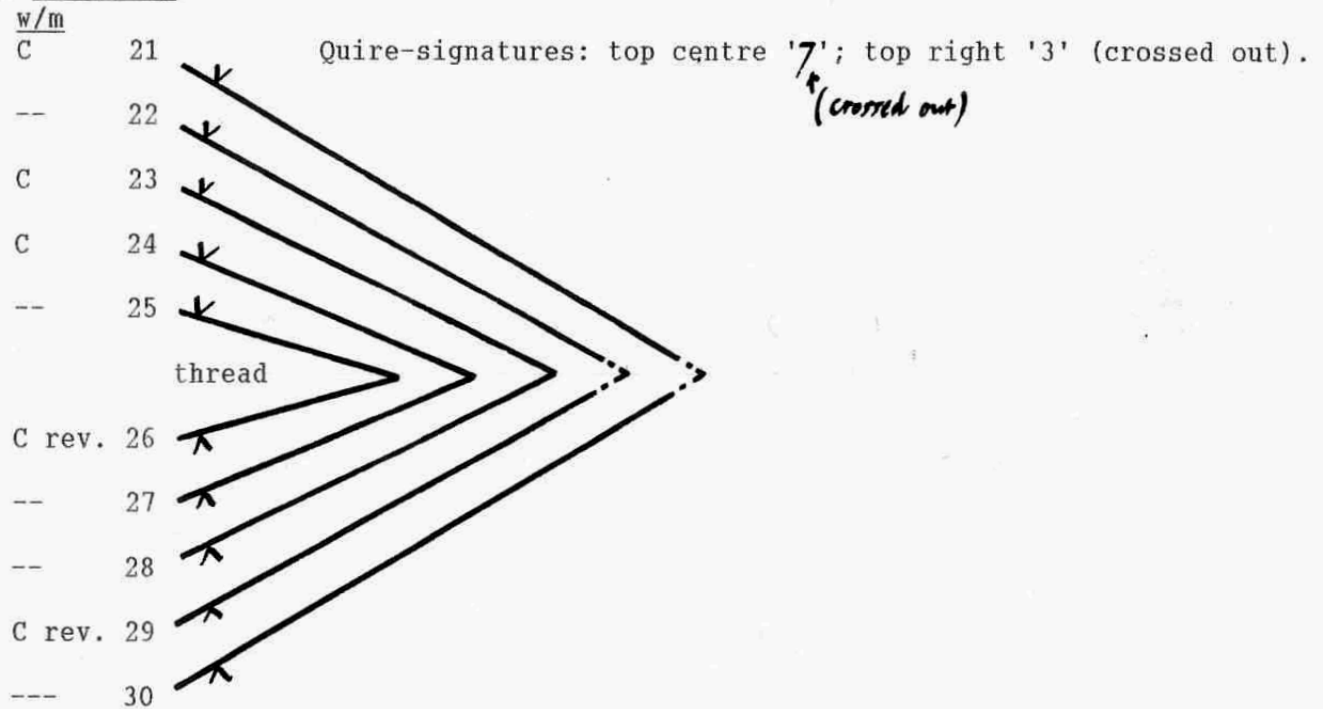
In Reconstruction A, the regularity of the quire was disrupted from the start, for unexplained reasons: fols. 1-2 formed a separate pair of leaves (perhaps a conjoint bifolium) and fols. 9-10 were two singletons which can never have been conjoint. A factor in favour of this version is that the texture of fol. 1, somewhat coarse and thick, seems to match that of fol. 2 better than that of fol. 10; but the effect could have been caused by the additional wear and tear to the first two leaves.

Quire II (CHART 7)

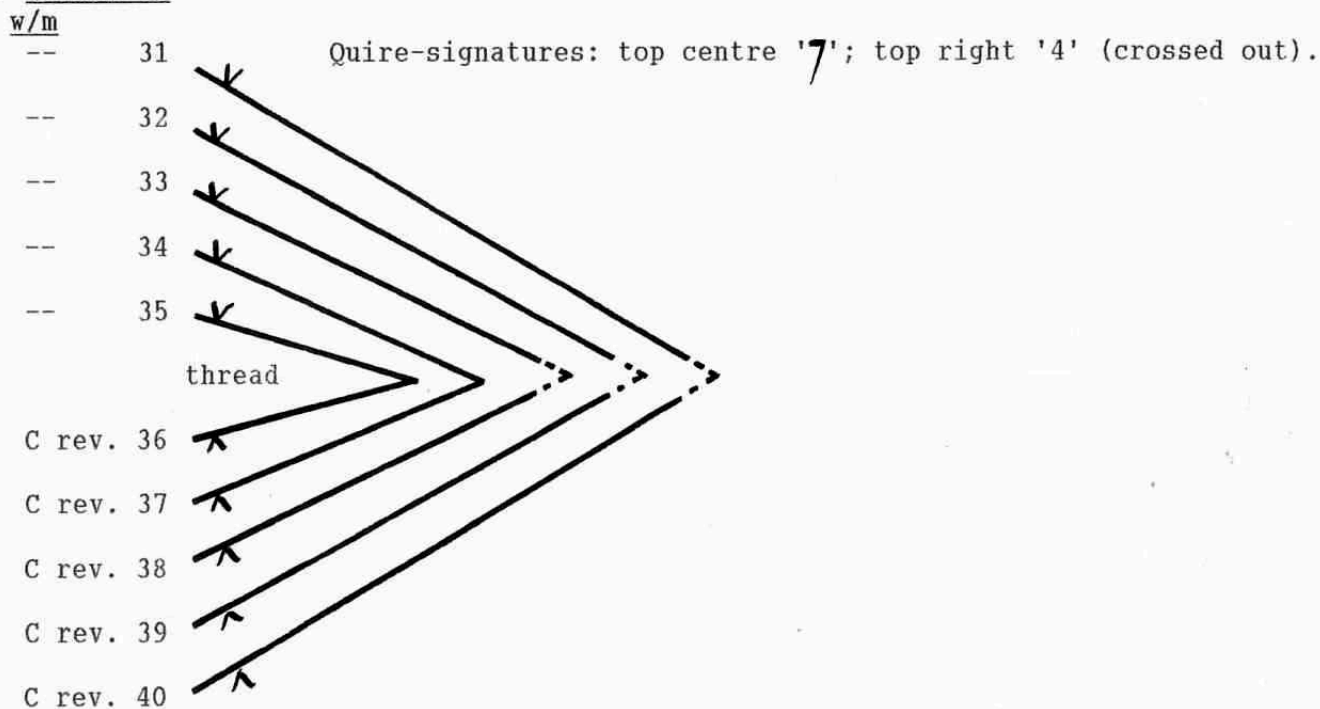


No trace of stubs between 20^v and 21^r

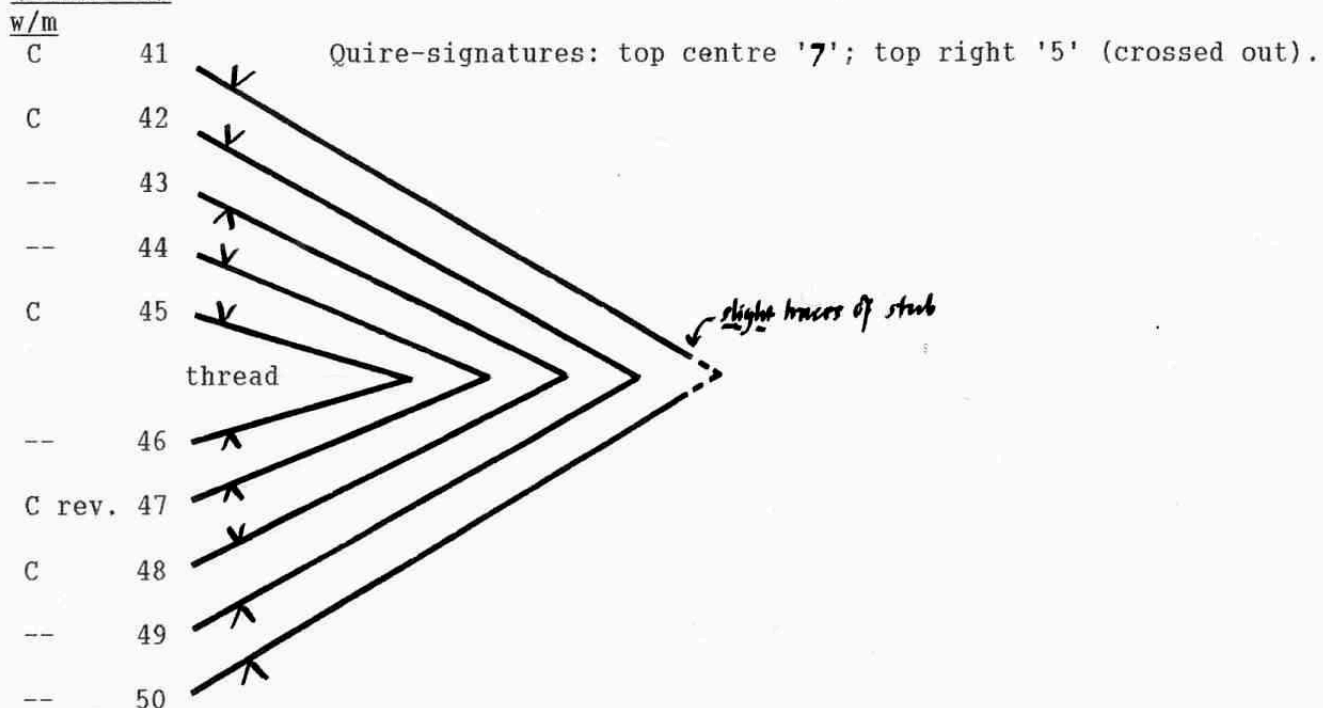
Quire III (CHART 8)



Quire IV (CHART 9)



Quire V (CHART 10)



Note on Quire V. The sequence of 'mould'/'felt' sides of the paper is broken by the bifolium 43/48, where the two leaves are folded in reverse of normal: however, since there is no sign of textual disturbance between fols. 42v and 43r, 43v and 44r, 47v and 48r, 48v and 49r, this reversal will presumably have happened accidentally when the quire of blank paper was formed before use.

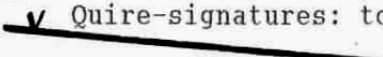

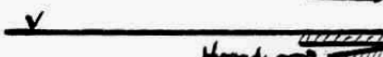

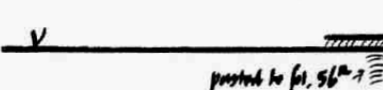
Quire VI

Apart from edge-repairs, this quire was left undisturbed during the repairs of 1986. Every leaf is lined at the gutter with a stub of similar paper to that used for stubs (a), (c) and (d) in the front endleaves and Quire I, dating perhaps from the time of the 17th-century rebinding. The stubs here are all still firmly pasted down, and it is impossible to tell how those attached to fols. 51, 52 and 54 connect and fit into the sewing structure.

Fol. 55 has long been misplaced between fols. 52 and 53 (Cooper Clark notes the disturbance, vol. I p. 85 n. 1, but artificially restores fol. 55 to its correct position in his facsimile, vol. III; the same policy was followed in the 1992 facsimile). Fols. 55 + 53 are artificially joined by a fold of the 17th(?)-cent. repairing paper, to form the central bifolium of the made-up quire with a thread at the gutter.

In the 17th-century ink foliation on the rectos of fols. 55, 53 and 54, each second digit has been altered: under the Video Spectral Comparator, it is clear that the present '53' has been altered from '54', but the first readings of the other two numbers are not clear. As noted above under 'Foliation', the versos in this area of the manuscript (as sometimes elsewhere) are numbered with the folio-number of the facing page, presumably to show that the opening was to be read as a unit with text facing pictures. The verso-foliations here are all entered correctly for the textual content, with '53' (at 52v), nothing (55v), '54' (53v) and '55' (54v). All the folio-numbers, both recto (original and corrections) and verso, seem to be by the same 17th-century hand. The foliation evidence is difficult to evaluate, but the alterations at least confirm some disturbance in the order already present at the time of the 17th-century foliation.

CHART 11. Quire VI, visible evidence



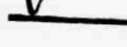
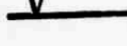
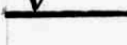
| w/m | now | orig. | |
|-----|---------|-------|--|
| C | 51 | |  Quire-signatures: top centre '7'; top right '6' (crossed out). |
| C | 52 | |  |
| -- | 55 [5*] | |  55r: closing pictures of section 2. |
| -- | 53 [54] | |  |
| -- | 54 [5*] | |  54v: closing text and title of section 2. |

The above sequence (unlike that of chart 12) in fact fits the order suggested by the original foliation, as stated above in square brackets. In theory, foliation in this order might have taken place either before or after the disordering of the leaves. However, the most natural explanation would be that the foliator originally numbered the leaves on the rectos as he found them, i.e. already disordered; then, after realizing the disorder, he corrected the numbers on the three rectos and added the correct equivalents on the relevant versos as well, though the misplaced fol. 55 itself was left between 52 and 53 where it still remains.

CHART 12. Quire VI, hypothetical reconstruction of Purchas's order (1625 or before)

The sequence of woodcuts of Codex Mendoza in Purchas his Pilgrimes, Part 3 (London 1625, Bodleian shelfmark Lister E 55), pp. 1100-1101, shows pictures derived (incompletely) from these pages in the following order: (p. 1100) Mendoza fols. 52r, 53r, and (p. 1101) fols. 55r, 54r, yielding the reconstruction in the chart below. The text, in English translation, fits the pictures, an order which could not have been achieved without some silent editorial reordering.

CHART 12. Quire VI [cont.]






| w/m | | | |
|-----|----|---|--|
| C | 51 |  | Quire-signatures: top centre '7'; top right '6' (crossed out). |
| C | 52 |  | |
| -- | 53 |  | |
| -- | 55 |  | 55r: closing pictures of section 2. |
| -- | 54 |  | 54v: closing text and title of section 2. |

Unfortunately, the chronological relationships of Purchas's edition, the strips of repairing-paper, the 17th-century ink foliation and the present 17th-century binding are not clear. Chart 12 above may put too much weight on Purchas's order, which takes only selected elements from each picture; nevertheless, all his other woodcuts are in the correct order. His evidence seems at least sufficient to confirm that the order of Quire VI was already disturbed by the time the materials for the 1625 edition were prepared, i.e. 1625 at latest. If Chart 12 genuinely reflects the physical order of the leaves in Purchas's time, it should be sufficient to date both the 17th-century binding and the foliation later than that time.

Since (apart from any artificial rejoinings) all five surviving leaves of the quire are singletons, having long since lost their conjoint leaves, their order when loose may not have been obvious. The positions of fols. 55 and 54 might originally have been reversed by some one who did not realize that each page of text was to be read with its facing pictures: the presence of the closing title of the second section at the end of the text on fol. 54v, rather than after its pictures on fol. 55r, might have been enough to cause the reversal of the two leaves.

Subsequently, if by Purchas's time fols. 55 + 53 were already artificially joined into a bifolium at the centre of a quire, their further reversal would be only a small step, pushing fol. 55 one further step back to its present position, as in Chart 11.

CHART 13. Original structure of Quire VI: hypothetical reconstruction

| w/m | | | |
|-----|----|---|--|
| C | 51 |  | Quire-signatures: top centre '7'; top right '6' (crossed out). |
| C | 52 |  | |
| -- | 53 |  | |
| -- | 54 |  | 54v: closing text and title of section 2. |
| -- | 55 |  | 55r: closing pictures of section 2. |

All conjoint leaves (Λ) lost, as v/Λ requires proves (i.e. original cancels?)

Quire VII

The change from section 2 to section 3 of Codex Mendoza's text coincides with the change from Quire VI to Quire VII (apparently deliberately contrived by the original cancellation of the last five leaves of VI after fol. 55) and with a change from 'Pilgrim' to 'Cross' paper. The structure of Quire VII could be accepted as quite regular were it not for traces of evidence between fols. 64-5: escaped thread at the top and fragments of stub lower down the gutter. The appearance of one (though not both) of the standard quire-signatures on fol. 66 implies that fol. 65 still belongs to Quire VII. At least two reconstructions are possible:

CHART 14: Quire VII, reconstruction A

This reconstruction accepts that the structure of fols. 56-65 is a regular quire of ten leaves, but fails to explain the stub between 64 and 65 except through some unspecified effect of the later disturbances.

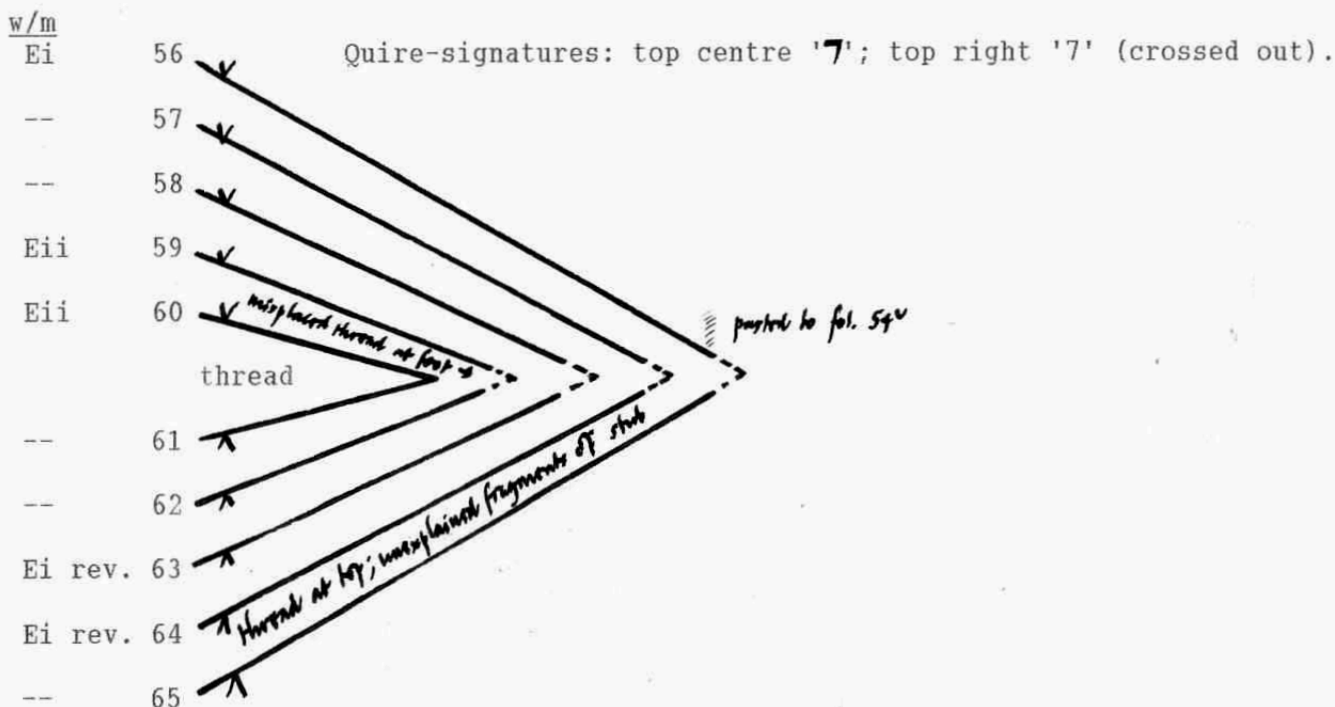
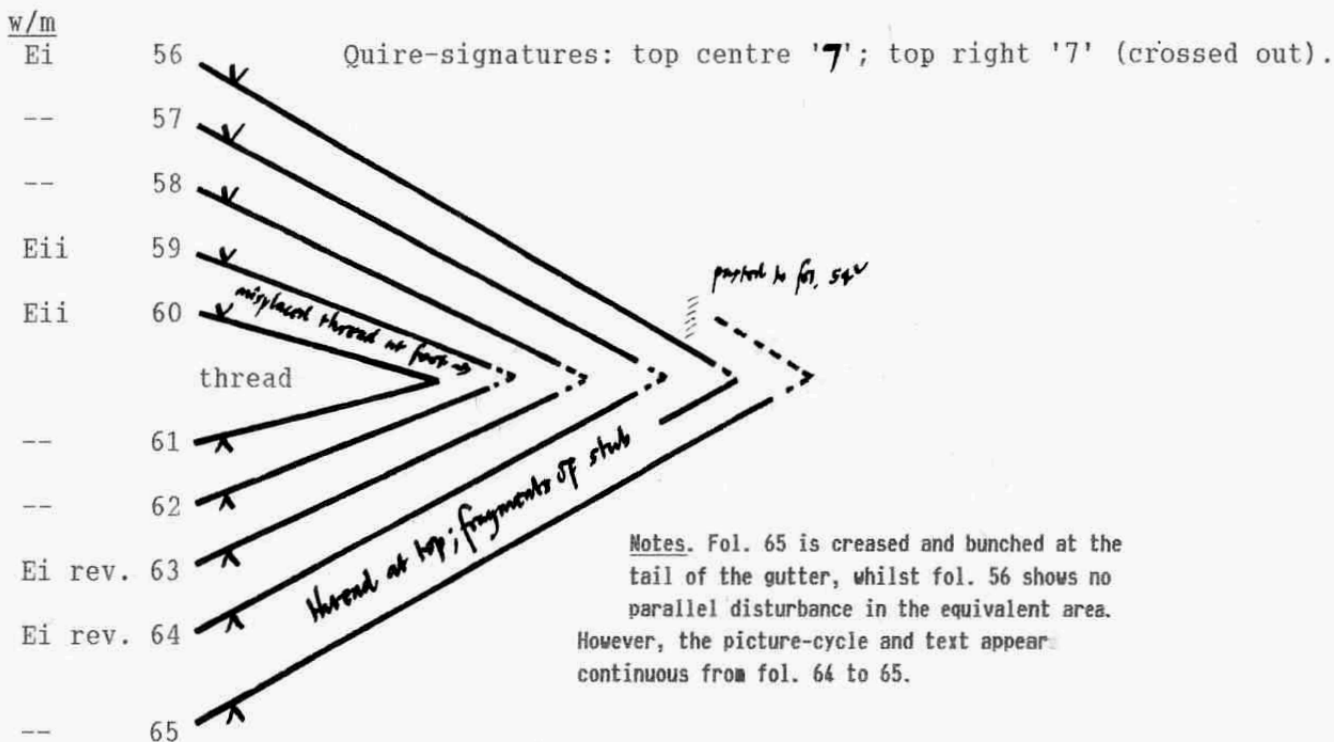


CHART 15: Quire VII, reconstruction B

On the assumption that there is no textual disturbance between fols. 64 and 65, this reconstruction assumes a similarly regular structure of bifolia in a quire of ten leaves, except that the original conjoint mate of fol. 56 was cancelled after fol. 64 and that the present fol. 65 was an immediate replacement.

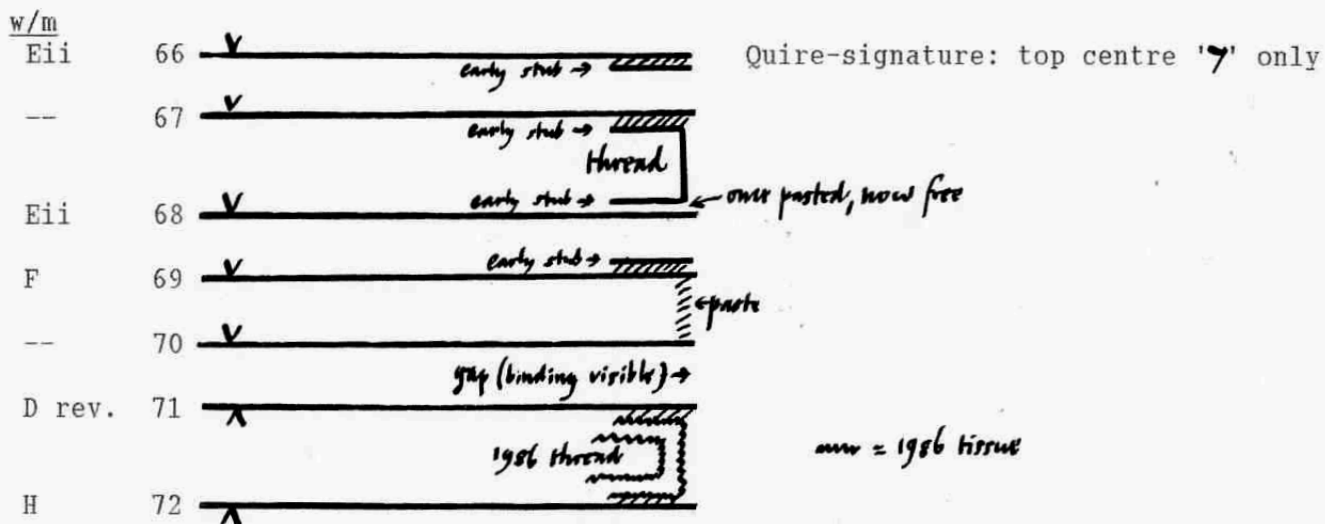


Notes. Fol. 65 is creased and bunched at the tail of the gutter, whilst fol. 56 shows no parallel disturbance in the equivalent area. However, the picture-cycle and text appear continuous from fol. 64 to 65.

Quire VIII

CHART 16. Quire VIII, state after the repairs of 1986: visible evidence only

By 1986, the last leaf of Codex Mendoza (71) and the following blank leaf (72) were detached. In the repairs of 1986, they were formed with repairing tissue into an artificial bifolium and sewn in (the thread is surrounded by an additional free-standing fold of tissue). This necessitated setting fol. 72 further out, making its old sewing-holes and conjoint stub clearly visible. The stub at the gutter of fol. 68r was released (but left in place), and the underlying surface was repaired with tissue.

CHART 17. Quire VIII, presumed earlier state, after the 17th-century rebinding

As in Quire VI, the 17th-century structure was artificial. Every leaf except fol. 70 (and 72?) was lined at the gutter with a stub of the familiar early repairing-paper. The stub at fol. 71v is visible both in the 1938 Cooper Clark facsimile, and (though perhaps already slightly modified in shape) in the transparency made in 1985 for the 1992 facsimile; it was removed in 1986 and replaced with lighter tissue. The stub at fol. 68r was released in 1986, but the rest are still stuck down. Like fols. 55 + 53, fols. 67 + 68 are artificially joined by a fold of the old repairing-paper, to form the central bifolium of the made-up quire with a thread at the gutter; but it is now impossible to tell exactly how the stubs of fols. 66v, 69r and 71v were joined up to fit into the artificial structure. There is no sign of an old stub on either side of fol. 70, but its recto is pasted at the gutter onto fol. 69v.

The blank leaf, fol. 72, carries old sewing-holes which are similar in kind and partly in position to those of fols i-ii, differing from the positions of the 17th-century binding. Although it carries a different watermark, fol. 72 probably dates from the same period as fols. i-ii and fulfilled the same function, as a flyleaf at the end of Codex Mendoza (it now serves as a blank separating Codex Mendoza from the second part of the volume). Originally, it was set deeper into the sewing, with a fairly broad stub which perhaps folded around or into Quire VIII; the area of its former fold carries traces of discoloration which could indicate that it was once lined on the outside with a fold of repairing-paper, though nothing of this now remains.

Quire VIII, CHART 17 [cont.]

| $\frac{w/m}{Eii}$ | | | | |
|-------------------|----|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| | 66 | | | Quire-signature: top centre '7' only |
| -- | 67 | | | |
| Eii | 68 | | | |
| F | 69 | | | |
| -- | 70 | | | ← paste |
| D rev. | 71 | | | |
| H | 72 | | | ← traces of glue or paste |

*Stubs perhaps
somehow connected*

It is striking that the 17th-century quire-signature, properly '8' in the sequence, is not visible at the top right of fol. 66r (there is a possible erasure at about the right place, but yielding nothing under ultra-violet light). Its absence -- or subsequent erasure, if once present -- could imply that in that system these final leaves were regarded as part of the preceding quire (Quire VII). If so, this might suggest that the 17th-century binder had somehow contrived to attach these these leaves together, to yield a large quire of fols. 56-65 + 66-71 + ?72. Given the artificiality of such a structure (chart not attempted), this might still be possible even with two sets of threads, as now visible between fols. 60-61 and 67-68. However, it is dangerous to base too much on the negative evidence of a missing quire-signature.

CHART 18. Original structure of Quire VIII: hypothetical reconstruction

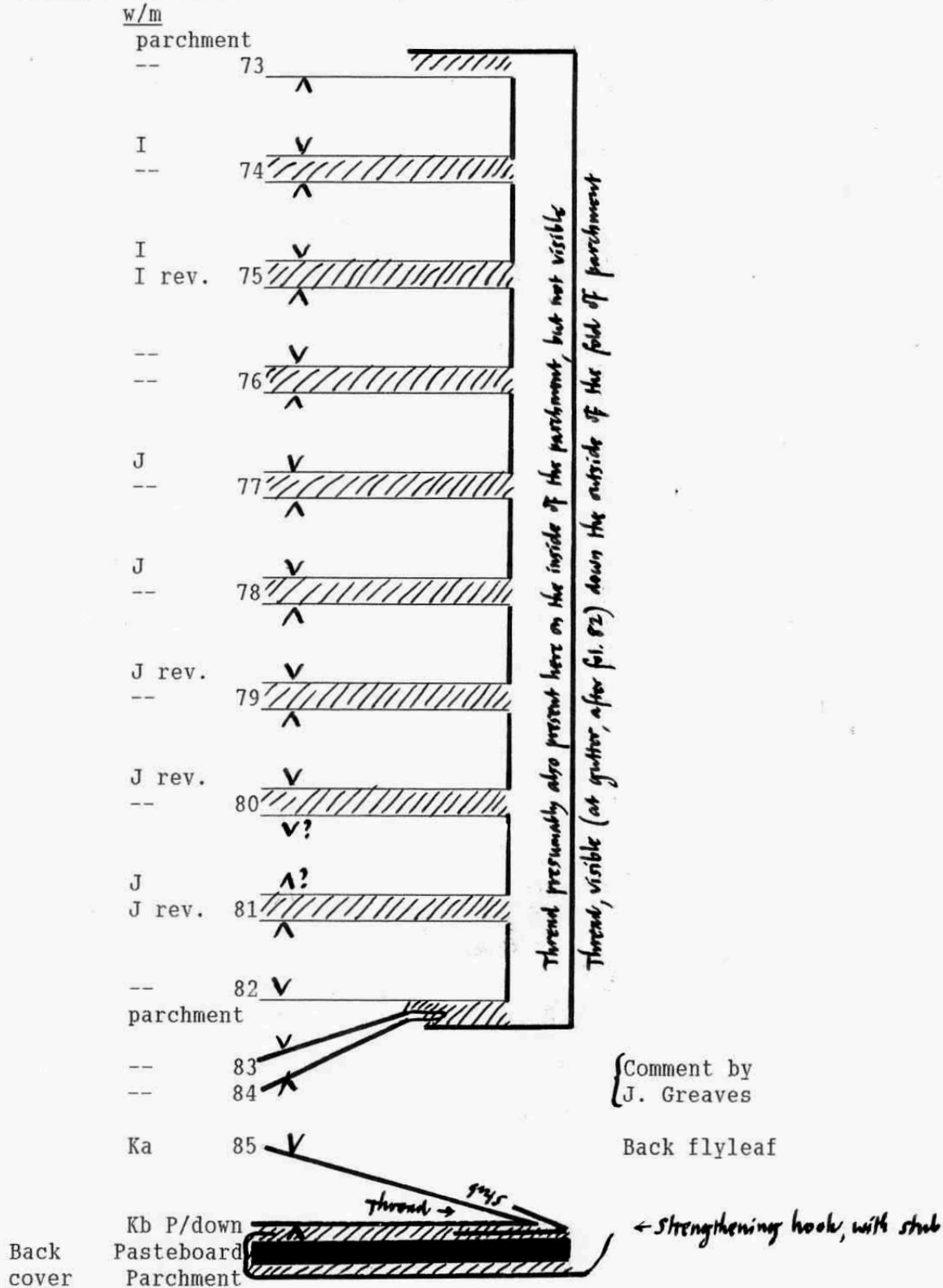
The direction of mould and felt sides shows that none of the five leaves from 66 to 70 could have been conjoint with each other, and suggests that Quire VIII resembled earlier quires in its original structure (i.e. perhaps originally a ten-leaf quire, with fols. 66-70 as the first five leaves, all with their rectos as 'mould' sides). The earlier system of quire-signatures yields the '7'-shaped sign as usual at the top centre of fol. 66r (this time without the later quire-signature, as explained above). The last original leaf, fol. 71 ('mould' side at verso), reintroduces a pilgrim watermark (pattern D), but in yet another sub-variety. The only leaf with which 71 is at all likely to have been conjoint is fol. 70, though there is some difference in texture (perhaps due to the later damage).

| $\frac{w/m}{Eii}$ | | | |
|-------------------|----|--|--------------------------------------|
| | 66 | | Quire-signature: top centre '7' only |
| -- | 67 | | |
| Eii | 68 | | |
| F | 69 | | |
| -- | 70 | | |
| D rev. | 71 | | ← connection uncertain |

Part II (fols. 73-85). Monetary tables, and lower endpapers [CHART 19]

The tables illustrate the comparative value of Roman and Greek monetary standards against their English and French equivalents of the later 16th century. The headings are in English, and English silver of 1563 is mentioned in the first table (fols. 73v-74r).

Each of the nine tables was written across a single large sheet (the first six are numbered 1-6 in early ink in the lower right corner). The tables were then folded and pasted together, as below, to form a clumsy booklet within a narrow fold of parchment. A note about the tables, on a smaller bifolium (fols. 83-4, no watermark), was kept with them: John Greaves questions whether, in view of their errors, the tables were really those by Sir Thomas Smith praised in Camden's Elizabeth.



CODEX MENDOZA: Summary reconstruction of binding historyFirst stage (1540s-?1560s)

Jerónimo López reported having seen a volume 'with covers of parchment', similar to and perhaps identifiable with Codex Mendoza, in the home of the Indian master-painter Francisco Gualpuyogualcal, around 1541.⁷ However, the identification of that book with Codex Mendoza is disputed. Codex Mendoza itself offers no physical evidence for the existence of a binding in the first three decades or so of its existence (before and immediately after its passage from Mexico to France), but instead may even contain some positive clues for its survival in a disbound condition.

The disturbances in the collation structure -- apparent replacement of the 'title-page' at fol 2, and cancellations of leaves at the ends of Quires VI (after end of section 2 at fol. 55) and VIII (after end of section 3 fol. 71) -- can all be explained as integral to the making of the book, and need not represent later accidents or losses. However, another clue to the early state of the manuscript may lie in the rough creases which are still visible, especially in the first two sections but perhaps throughout (up to fol. 71): these indicate that at some point in its history the leaves of Codex Mendoza had been roughly folded twice over, perhaps first vertically and then horizontally, into a quarter of its size. The similar character and locations of the creases seem to indicate that the manuscript was thus folded over all together, or at least a few quires at a time. Such folding could only have been possible if the manuscript had been either disbound or, at most, covered only in a single thickness of limp parchment.

Examination of the creases under a magnifying glass indicates that they took place after painting and writing: there are no signs of the disturbances in paint- or ink-flow which would have been inevitable if brush or pen were being applied to creases already present in the blank paper. Similarly, the creases do not seem to appear in the front endleaves (pastedown and fols. i-ii): these show vertical pleats which however do not match those of the main text-block, and their faint hints of horizontal indentations look like sympathetic settling against the text-block rather than the direct effects of folding. The early flyleaf at the end (fol 72) shows even less sign of creasing, except again perhaps very slight 'sympathy' marks. These observations indicate that the text-block had been folded before these endleaves were in place.

The evidence of the folds may be considered alongside the further observation that the outside pages of Codex Mendoza's text-block, fols. 1r and 71v, are browner than the inside pages of the manuscript: such discoloration is most naturally explained through the absence of a cover or any other endleaves for some considerable period -- i.e. without even a limp parchment cover. In conclusion therefore, it would seem that Codex Mendoza had survived disbound for some period of its early history, and during that time was roughly folded over twice into a small package -- maybe during a pirate raid?

Second stage (France, between 1553 (? after 1568) and 1587)

Whilst the manuscript was in the hands of André Thevet (between 1553 and 1587), it was either bound for the first time or rebound, with new endleaves of probably French paper at both ends (upper pastedown, fols. i-ii, 72). The parallels between the endleaves' main watermark (pattern G) and French watermarks of the 1570s, together with the apparent lateness of the Thevet signature on what is now the upper pastedown, may indicate

⁷Translation of the relevant passage quoted by H. B. Nicholson in his contribution to the 1992 facsimile, vol. I, pp. 1-11, at pp. 1-2.

that he had it bound later rather than earlier in his period of ownership, maybe only after 1568/9 when he assumed the title 'Cosmographe du roi'. The date 1571, written in an inscription in mirror writing on the last page of Codex Mendoza (fol. 71v) may also be relevant, though the rest of it is too heavily crossed out to be legible. This binding must have dated from before the passage to England in 1587, since the inscription bearing that date is written on fol. ii verso. The first system of '7'-shaped quire-signatures most likely dates from the time of this binding.

Third stage (England, 17th century, between c. 1655 and 1665)

The present binding of parchment over pasteboards evidently constitutes a second (or third) binding, made in England in the 17th century as the watermarks of the lower endleaves indicate. It incorporates the separate English manuscript on monetary tables which constitutes Part II (fols. 73-84). No author's name is attached to the tables, but an attribution to Sir Thomas Smith (1513-77) is assumed (and disputed) in the attached note at fol. 83r by the Oxford mathematician, John Greaves (1602-52), and also appears in early catalogue-entries (see below). The tables are certainly on the same subject and of the same character as Sir Thomas Smith's 'Tables of Money', published in an appendix to his *Life* by John Strype,⁸ but they are not identical, and are further elaborated with classical quotations which do not appear in Strype's printed version. The watermarks and script of Part II suggest that it might be early 17th century, somewhat later than Sir Thomas Smith's own time.

The disturbed order of leaves in Quire VI of Codex Mendoza, as compared with the order of pictures reproduced in Purchas's edition of 1625, may indicate in itself that the rebinding took place later than Purchas's study of the manuscript. The second series of quire-signatures and the foliation sequence almost certainly belong to this period of rebinding, as probably do also most or all of the repairing-guards of thick paper (stubs (a)-(d), etc.).

The volume itself seems to contain no direct evidence to allow closer dating of the present binding; dating from the watermarks of the lower endleaves is inconclusive. The possibilities would seem to be either (a) that the binding was made between c. 1625 and 1654, most likely for John Selden (d. 30 Nov. 1654), or possibly, since his date of acquisition is uncertain, for an immediately previous owner; or (b) that the manuscript was bound after Selden's death, perhaps soon after or maybe even before its arrival at the Bodleian between 1655 and 1659. Many of Selden's printed books and manuscripts were rebound around this time; however, such bindings are usually recognizable as modest bindings covered in brown leather (calf?), with a simple fillet decoration.⁹ The parchment binding, though modest and without decoration, does not seem entirely consistent with these.

The evidence of the 17th-century lists of Selden's books would appear to confirm that the amalgamation of Parts I and II took place after his death. A handwritten catalogue of his printed books and manuscripts (now MS. Selden Supra 111) was prepared soon after his death and before their arrival in Bodley, perhaps in 1655 whilst his collection was still housed at his London residence, Carmelite House (home of Elizabeth, Countess of Kent). Codex Mendoza is there listed in the section for books 'In the

⁸John Strype, *The Life of the learned Sir Thomas Smith ...*, new edn., Oxford 1820 [first printed London 1698], pp. 263-273 (Appendix V).

⁹See B. C. Barker-Benfield in *The works of Geoffrey Chaucer and The Kingis Quair: a facsimile of Bodleian Library*, Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. B. 24, eds. Julia Boffey & A. S. G. Edwards, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997, pp. 31-4.

Furthermost Roome but one Westwards:' (fols. 121v-128r), in that room's final bookpress headed 'F'. Section 'F' contains 88 numbered items, of which nos. 31-88 appear under the subheading 'Libri Arab:'. Most of F's books are indeed oriental (if not necessarily Arabic),¹⁰ but Codex Mendoza appears at no. 51 (fol. 127v): 'Historia Mexicana Hispanica cum Figuris fol'. Ms' '. This corresponds almost exactly to the 17th-century inscriptions in Codex Mendoza, fol. iir, 'MS. f°' and 'Historia Mexicana, Hispanice. Cum figuris, quasi hieroglyphicis.'

This catalogue-entry makes no mention of the monetary tables of Part II, and indeed the heading at the start of 'F' (fol. 126v) reads 'Bookes unbound.': it seems likely, though not necessarily certain, that this heading ought to apply to all 88 books listed below. The word 'Unbound', if genuinely applicable to Codex Mendoza, ought nevertheless to have included at least the paper flyleaves of the 16th-century French binding, since they are still present today, and might perhaps be stretched to cover at least a limp binding.

Some leaves earlier, the catalogue had listed manuscripts 'In the roome at the long end of the Librarie' (fol. 103r ff.). At Shelf 'C' presumably of that room, under the heading 'English Manuscripts:' (fol. 109r), Item 6 comprised 'English & Roman Standards Compared, fo: M:S:' '. This title seems an appropriate description for Part II (the heading of the first table at fol. 73v starts 'The first Romane Standerd of Silver ...'), and the identification is confirmed by the appearance of the number '6', boldly written in ink at the top centre of fol. 73r.¹¹

The two Parts are described together, plainly already as one volume, in an early list of John Selden's manuscripts (Library Records b. 475), in a section headed 'Libri MS Latini et Graeci in fol. etc' (fols. 20v-21r):

'Historia Mexicana cum figuris q(ua)si hieroglyphicis.

w(i)th Sr Th: Smith Tables of values of Roman & gr: coynes.'

(fol. 20v, Col. I, third item in unnumbered list)

Parts of this catalogue, including fols. 1r-7v and the list on fols. 20v-21r, are in the handwriting of Thomas Lockey, who, as Bodley's Librarian in 1660-65, was responsible for listing and arranging Selden's books.¹²

¹⁰Items 85-87 refer to a 'Rotulus', 'Liber' and Volume(n)' in hieroglyphics, with which it is tempting to correlate the Selden Roll (MS. Arch. Selden. A. 72(3)) and (with the second or third entry) Codex Selden (MS. Arch. Selden. A. 2): but what was the third item?

¹¹Also on fol. 73r, but well away at the centre left on the broad parchment guard, is the letter 'M' [?] in ink. Although this does not correspond to the 'C' of no. 6's shelf, this could nevertheless be another shelf-letter: similar matches between volume-numbers in the catalogue's listings, alongside differing shelf-letters, occur with other Selden manuscripts, see B. C. Barker-Benfield, *op cit. supra*, p. 31 and n. 8. The explanation must be simply that the shelves were allocated different letters at some point, whilst their contents retained the same order.

¹²A pencil note in the hand of Richard Hunt (1908-79) at the front of Library Records b. 475 (fol. 1r) reads 'The first twelve pages are written by Sr Matthew Hale and p. [left blank]'. Although this plainly indicates the hand of fols. 1r-7v (and hence also that of 20v-21r), the hand is not Hale's but Lockey's. This emerges through comparison with a certain example of Lockey's handwriting in his signed letter to Archbishop Sheldon of 15 July [1664] at MS. Tanner 338, fols. 180r-181v. Lockey's script is fairly large and clear, but slightly awkward; his ampersand is distinctive, as are his final 'e' and the descenders of 'p' and 'y'. Whilst the lists are written somewhat less carefully than the formal letter, it is clearly the same hand.

A second catalogue of similar early date (Library Records b. 474) is also associated with Lockey's librarianship, though in a number of different hands. It lists the materials more definitely as shelved in Duke Humfrey's Library, under the more explicit general title 'The Catalogue of Mr: Seldens bookes at the West end of Sr: Tho: Bodleys Library' (fol. i verso). The two parts of the manuscript are described together in similar terms under the heading 'MS Graeci et lat'. in folio' (fol. 7v, not in Lockey's hand): 'Hist(ori)a Mexicana cum figuris ipsorum, with Sr Tho: Smith's Tables of Roman & greek Coyns'. This catalogue is fragmentary, but survives complete in another contemporary transcript, MS. Add. C. 40, where Codex Mendoza is entered under the same heading and with the same wording at p. 35. The general title of MS. Add. C. 40 (p. xii) reads 'A Catalogue of the books given by Mr Seldens Executors to the Library of the University of Oxford:'.

The catalogue evidence proves that the two parts now bound together as MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1 were still separate at the time of John Selden's death in 1654, as catalogued in London in 1655(?), but that they were listed together by Thomas Lockey during his period as Bodley's Librarian, before his resignation on 29 Nov. 1665. However, within that period it is not clear where that binding took place, whether in London between c. 1655 and 1659, or in Oxford between c. 1655 and 1665. During that decade, a great deal of activity had taken place over Selden's books, to ensure the safe transfer of most of them to Oxford and their disposition there on the shelves at the far end of Duke Humfrey's Library. Part of that process had involved binding together various thin manuscripts of 'booklet' thickness into larger volumes, apparently on no other basis than that of approximately matching size. It was this process, for example, which left the 15th-century 'Selden Carol Book' bound up not only with an 8th-century leaf of Gregory's Pastoral Care but also with a play of the 1630s, William Cartwright's The Royall Slave: with still further pieces, these were assembled in one of the bindings of brown leather to form the composite volume now shelfmarked as MS. Arch. Selden. B. 26.

The exact dates of transfer for Selden's manuscripts are problematic. It would appear that some reached Oxford in 1655 and that others did not arrive until 1659 with the bulk of the Library, but there are no separate listings to distinguish these; and many others never reached Oxford. Because of problems with John Selden's will, the disposal of his books became in effect the decision of his executors, amongst whom Sir Matthew Hale (1609-76) took the most active part. It is not impossible that Hale could have ordered some tidying, in the way of binding up the loose materials, before Oxford's allocation of manuscripts was transferred. Otherwise, however, at least the brown-leather bindings can be matched with those of non-Selden books which can be shown to have been bound at Oxford in the 1650s-1660s, even if the style of these and of Codex Mendoza's parchment binding are perhaps too plain for definitive location.

Fourth stage (Oxford, Bodleian Conservation Workshop, 1985-6)

Over the following three centuries or so of the manuscript's period at Oxford, frequent handling may have resulted in various running repairs. A systematic programme of minor repairs, not involving major pulling or rebinding, was carried out in 1985-6, as described above. Fols. I and II were added to provide further protection at the front in 1986.