Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts

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Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts

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Contents

Preface

This volume attempts to investigate manuscripts from a well-defined perspective, namely that of paratextual studies. The term paratext was coined by Gérard Genette in his work *Seuils* (1987) in order to engage with an open category found in modern printed books in Western societies, including titles, prefaces, introductions, footnotes, and also certain illustrations and decorations.[1] In the years since Genette's theoretical exercise, literary theory has extensively studied paratexts and explored further paratexts which were not accounted for in *Seuils*, such as subscriptions and glossaries.[2] Furthermore, the concept of paratext has been then applied not only to printed books – although the majority of secondary literature focuses on this topic – but also to other fields within media studies, such as manuscripts, orality, films and television, and even digital media.[3] The recent years have witnessed the emergence of some pioneering studies which adopt the paratextual approach to engage with manuscripts.[4] It should be said, however, that the number of such studies is rather limited and most of them do not embrace a cross-cultural perspective. This volume is an attempt to fill this gap, at least in part.

The study of paratexts helps reveal the numerous ways in which texts are instantiated in manuscripts by tracing the temporal and spatial coordinates of these objects, each of which is a unique artefact. In this respect, we move beyond the idea that a paratext is just a "threshold" – according to Genette's seminal definition – that introduces readers to texts, along the guidelines traced by their authors and editors. In our view, paratexts pertain not just to *texts* but also to their carriers – in our case, *manuscripts*. As emerged from the research carried out by "Project Area A: Paratexts" of the Sonderforschungsbereich 950 – Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa (University of Hamburg), paratexts have at least three main functions, namely (1) structuring (e.g. offering navigation aids that guide the reader, such as tables of contents), (2) commenting (e.g. glosses and annotations that offer interpretations and explanations of a text), and (3) documenting. The latter category is at the centre of the contributions found in this volume.

Various aspects of manuscripts in their social environments are reflected both in the texts they contain and in their materiality, as well as in their paratexts,

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1 Genette 1987. Translated into English as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, 1997.

2 See, for instance, Watson 2010.

3 See, among others, Den Hollander/Schmid/Smelik 2003; Kreimeier/Stanitzek 2004; Lutz 2006; Böhnke 2007; McNamee 2007; von Ammon/Vögel 2008; Smith/Wilson 2011; Birke/Christ 2013; Desrochers/Apollon 2014.

4 See, for instance, Gameson 2002; Buzi 2005; Reynhout 2006; Görke/Hirschler 2011.

which can be seen as the intersection between texts and materiality. In their capacity as texts in their own right, paratexts mirror the activities of everyone involved in the production, transmission, dissemination and reception of the manuscript and its content: authors, editors, scribes, artisans, commentators, readers, sellers, owners and so on. In particular, the various types and layers of paratexts document the temporal and spatial dimensions of the process of production and transmission of manuscripts. Time and space are universal categories to which each object or person is linked, and paratexts translate into texts – in other words, they give voice to the history of every single manuscript.

Broadly speaking, paratexts can be divided into two sub-categories. The first provides explicit temporal and spatial information; this is the case for colophons, prefaces, postfaces, etc., in which the date and place of production are usually recorded. The second sub-category, on the other hand, contains non-explicit information that can only be accessed by means of philological, palaeographical, codicological and material-based investigation; glosses may be written in a language or register which is peculiar to a specific region and moment in time, for example.

Paratexts are 'settings' for the textualisation both of historical events and, at times, of the intimate impulses and emotions of individual people. In certain manuscripts paratexts depict a more vivid picture of the historical role of manuscripts as real objects in the hands of real people; it is there that opinions, feelings, inclinations, etc. of the individuals involved in the production and transmission of manuscripts can find their textual transposition.

It is with these considerations in mind that we invite our readers to cross the 'threshold' of this volume, which introduces them to several manuscript cultures spanning three continents (Asia, Africa and Europe) and one millennium (from the tenth to the twentieth century).

Some of the articles venture into uncharted territory, since there are still many manuscript cultures (or sub-areas of manuscript cultures) where works on paratexts have yet to be written. This is particularly true for many Asian and African cultures. Moving beyond earlier work on Old Mande manuscripts from West Africa, Darya Ogorodnikova's analysis of colophons and glosses written in Arabic and several vernaculars demonstrates how their authorship, sponsorship, provenance and transmission can be reconstructed through various kinds of temporal and spatial information contained in paratextual components. This type of information is often only available in part and is therefore of limited use for exact identification of time and space with regard to the manuscripts. Nevertheless, it furnishes modern scholars with new ways of re-establishing the history of the manuscripts and rectifying

any previously erroneous classifications. As the first study ever to probe into the paratextual features of this corpus of manuscripts, it also points out the current limitations which apply to the study of Old Mande manuscripts as well as outlining its future prospects.

Various colophons in a selected corpus of Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts produced in northern Laos, southwestern Yunnan and eastern Myanmar are the main focus of Apiradee Techasiriwan's enquiry. As she demonstrates with detailed examples, the majority of colophons exhibit a refined system of dating and reveal the names of the scribes, donors and sponsors and in many cases the names of the places where the manuscripts were produced and kept as well. By investigating the paper, ink, layout and the different sets of scripts used in the manuscripts, she seeks to find out how combining paratextual and non-paratextual elements provides a viable way of dating and locating the production of the manuscripts and tracing their transmission.

Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini present a pioneering study on colophons found in manuscripts from Tamil Nadu. They focus on the temporal elements, producing a thorough description of both the syntax and the graphic variants of the various dating elements. Furthermore, they offer an analysis of the problems concerning the spatial information contained in colophons – an aspect which is not devoid of ambiguities when carefully examined. The article argues that manuscripts containing texts in different languages (Tamil, Sanskrit and Manipravalam) or different scripts (Tamilian Grantha and Tamil) belong to the same manuscript culture.

As for manuscript traditions that have long been objects of scholarly attention, the field of paratextual studies still remains to be explored in full. Focusing on a group of manuscripts associated with the Donglin School in seventeenth-century China, Hang Lin delves into various paratextual components and certain taboo characters to explore the related information about the production, provenance and transmission of manuscripts. Moreover, these features contain expressions of appreciation not only of the value of the manuscripts, but also of the dignity of their authors. Different temporal and spatial information found in the components equips historians with effective tools for locating the Donglin manuscripts and other literati manuscripts from late imperial China in time, space and tradition.

Furthermore, Max Jakob Fölster investigates ownership marks, which in the form of seal imprints are another prominent feature of Chinese manuscripts. By analysing these paratexts, he is able to trace the route across Mainland China and Taiwan followed by a late imperial copy of the *Annals of the Ming Family* (a text

composed in the fourteenth century), which is nowadays held at the National Central Library (Taipei). This case study shows that even an average manuscript from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can contain a paratextual apparatus rich enough to enable the reconstruction of its several relocations. The story of this manuscript not only reflects the development of book collecting in China in the first part of the twentieth century, with its increasing interest for historiographical texts in the 1920s, but also reminds us of how multi-local the life of any manuscripts can be.

After a brief overview of the corpus of paratexts found in Church Slavonic manuscripts, Kristina Nikolovska engages with a particular colophon written by a monk called Isaija in a copy of the Slavonic translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (1371). Its marked apocalyptic character is seen as a response to the decline of the Serbian Empire and the parallel rise of the Ottoman Empire. Isaija verbalised conceptual transformations and the anxieties through which scribes and writers understood and perceived the ongoing historical events. These paratexts have long played an important role in academic discourse on the subject of Slavonic national identities.

Paratexts are also instrumental in tracing the temporal and spatial coordinates of certain traditions of knowledge since they document when and where the manuscripts were produced and used. Vito Lorusso, for instance, examines the relocation of manuscripts and scribes from the Greek to the Italian peninsula and the nature of the rise of the Renaissance manuscript culture as it emerges from a study focusing on paratexts. He thus presents us with another set of events that followed the aftermath of the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the implications of the fall for the profound transformation that affected Greek manuscript culture. In doing so, Lorusso also investigates specific case studies by employing philological, palaeographical and codicological tools.

Finally, Stéphane Ancel investigates paratexts from the region of Təgray in Ethiopia, concentrating in particular on the issue of manuscripts' ownership. By studying the legal bearing of paratexts, he is able to shed light on the peculiarities of the interplay between individual ownership, donations and institutional (religious) ownership. Furthermore, Ancel touches upon the issue of manuscripts' distribution and the history of their relocations. Paratexts containing spatial information can in fact mention one or more places that do not correspond to the place where the manuscript has been found. Other paratexts can also help reconnect certain manuscripts to a grand-narrative. This is the case of the Mäqdäla manuscripts, which bear witness on their pages of the impact of the British colonial enterprise on Ethiopia and its cultural eritage.

To conclude, the approach taken by the current volume is that of studying how the information contained in paratexts can help deepen our understanding of the relevant manuscript culture. A great deal of data about manuscript cultures is revealed from the study of texts, including what kind of texts were copied, how many copies were produced and in what circumstances they were created. However, other aspects of the same manuscript cultures can only be retrieved by studying paratexts. Fundamental categories which emerge from the study of paratexts in this regard are those of time and space, since they concern various aspects of a manuscript's production, transmission, dissemination, usage and reception. These are the main coordinates to which the authors of the articles in this volume will refer.

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The initial idea of a volume on the topic of paratexts as sources for reconstructing the temporal and spatial features of manuscripts emerged following a very productive workshop called 'Reconstructing Space and Time', which was held on the 25th and 26th of October 2013 at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg. The workshop provided a valuable forum for discussing paratexts in manuscripts and devising a concept for the current project.

The success of the workshop was due greatly to the enthusiasm and hard work of the presenters of the papers, who gathered in Hamburg from all over Europe to share their latest research experiences and discuss topics of common interest in the field of manuscripts and paratexts. The focus here was on the kinds of spatial and temporal information that can be found in paratexts and how they can be linked to broader narratives concerning manuscript cultures.

Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin
Hamburg, May 2016

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Darya Ogorodnikova
Exploring Paratexts in Old Mande Manuscripts

1 Introduction

Manuscripts produced by scholars from the Mande-speaking area constitute an important part of West Africa's Islamic manuscript traditions.[1] These manuscripts are written in either Arabic or vernacular languages that are rendered in Arabic-based scripts known as Ajami. Recent decades have witnessed the emergence of several works on a variety of manuscripts written in different Mande languages with texts ranging from chronicles, poetry and personal correspondence to medical and talismanic manuals.[2] This scholarship focuses overwhelmingly on texts, however, and examines them mainly from the perspective of linguistics, history and anthropology; few attempts have been made to concentrate on the manuscripts themselves or to analyse their codicological and palaeographical characteristics in any great detail.

Another group of manuscripts presenting attestations of Mande languages remained unnoticed until 2012 when Nikolay Dobronravin discovered a major

1 The Mande language family comprises up to 60 languages, including Bamana, Maninka, Mandinka, Juula and Soninke, which are spoken in modern-day Senegal, the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso. The first three states, which are often mentioned together throughout this article, are sometimes collectively referred to as Southern Senegambia. However, this term is rather problematic as the borders of the area it denotes do not exactly match those of Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau. I therefore prefer to mention each country independently.
2 Schaffer 1975; Hamès 1987; Tamari 1994; Vydrine 1998; Giesing / Vydrin 2007; Ngom 2010; Donaldson 2013; Vydrin 2014; Vydrin / Dumestre 2014.

collection of them in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. He also pointed to cataloguing entries in other European libraries which were suggestive of similar Mande material. His intuition eventually turned out to be right. The main texts in these manuscripts are written in Arabic, and annotations have been made in the vernacular. The works are referred to as 'Old Mande manuscripts' – the label Old Mande was first suggested by Dobronravin and is henceforth abbreviated to 'OM' in this article – since the language used in the annotations is closely related to Soninke, but it is likely to represent its earlier stage.[3] Since 2012, many more OM manuscripts have been identified in other European libraries.

The corpus of OM manuscripts hitherto identified comprises more than seventy different codicological units whose size varies from one folio to several hundred of them.[4] Most of the manuscripts are in the form of loose leaves and are kept unbound along with their original covers, but some were later bound by European librarians.[5] These manuscripts cover a wide range of subject matter, includ-

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3 Soninke is a language spoken primarily in Mali and Mauritania, but also in Senegal, the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and Burkina Faso. According to some native speakers of Soninke, the language of glosses in manuscripts is difficult to understand because it contains not only many loanwords from Arabic, but also some specialised vocabulary for interpreting religious texts. The extent to which the language of the glosses differs from modern-day spoken Soninke is still unclear. On the one hand, the linguistic variation may be due to the passage of time, while on the other, it is also possible that the language of the glosses was a specialised scholarly register used by Muslim Soninke speakers in the context of Islamic education, with the vocabulary and grammar having been developed for better interpretation of the Arabic texts. On the use of the vernacular languages in exegetical practices, see Bondarev 2013, 2014; Bondarev / Tijani 2014; Davydov 2012; Dobronravin 2013; Tamari 1996, 2002, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2013a, 2013b; Tamari / Bondarev 2013. Moreover, it is possible that an OM language once existed, which was closely related to Soninke. It might have had a special status as an exegetical language and as such was used among the Muslim communities who spoke different Mande languages across a vast area under the spiritual influence of the Soninke scholars.
4 The largest group of these OM manuscripts (more than 30) is kept by the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris. Others are to be found in the University Library, Leiden (ULL) (ca. 6), the John Rylands Library (JRL) in Manchester (ca. 12), the Palace Green Library (PGL) of the University of Durham (ca. 3), Trinity College in Dublin (TCD) (ca. 8), the Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations (BULAC) in Paris (ca. 13) and the Bibliothèque de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) in Dakar (1 unit). In addition, the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT) in Paris has several microfilms of manuscripts kept in the collections of the ex Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie (MAAO) and the Bibliothèque Municipale de Tours (BMT).
5 Many OM manuscripts found in European libraries consist of several codicological units written by different hands on different kinds of paper. In some cases, it is hard to say whether these units were put together by West African scholars or later by European librarians. In many cases, the foliation was added after the manuscripts were acquired by the library, although the order of the pages

ing theological treatises, Islamic law, religious poetry, and medicinal and talismanic texts. So far, little has been discovered about the origin and date of the OM manuscripts. Very little information is provided in the catalogue entries and acquisition notes, from which we learn that some of them may have come from Senegal, the Gambia and Mali and they were most probably produced sometime between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.

To the best of my knowledge, no comprehensive study has yet been done to examine the paratexts in OM manuscripts; this article is the first attempt to analyse their various paratextual components, in particular those containing information about their production, date and origin. Particular attention is given to three types of paratexts: (a) colophons, (b) glosses and (c) prefatory materials.

Colophons written at the end of manuscripts are at the heart of my enquiry. Most commonly, it is here that one can find relevant information about the production, ownership and transmission of manuscripts, including the names of their scribes and owners, the names of the place where they were produced, and the time and purpose of writing or copying them. This study is based on thirty manuscripts which contain colophons out of a total of seventy available OM manuscripts; the other forty manuscripts either do not have any notes left by the scribe (or copyist) or their last page – where one might expect to find a colophon – is missing.[6] Prefatory matters are also investigated in this article, because the names of authors and/or titles of texts quite often appear after the words *basmalah*, or *bism Allāh* ('in the name of God'), thereby opening a composition. Furthermore, various glosses, which usually appear interlineally or in the margins of the main text in Arabic, also provide important insights into the production and transmission of a manuscript. Frequently, the layout was specially designed, with ample space to accommodate glosses added by a later hand.

After providing a general description of the characteristics of various paratextual elements in the OM manuscripts, I shall focus on describing several case studies that are representative of the Mande manuscript tradition. Drawing on the approaches developed by Dmitry Bondarev for Old Kanembu manuscripts,[7] it will be shown that the glosses that were used to explain the texts and their grammatical structure can give clues to trace the geographical origin of the manuscripts. An indication of time is

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is not always correct. In this study, the number of folios in each codicological unit has been indicated. Sometimes there is no foliation available, as in the case of several composite manuscripts from BULAC, which I examined in October 2013. I made digital images (DI) of these manuscripts and assigned them reference numbers, which are those used in this article.

6 For example, none of the fragmentary manuscripts in the collection of ULL has a final page.

7 Bondarev 2013 and 2014.

only provided occasionally in the manuscripts studied here – most of them provide incomplete information, which is often limited to naming the day of their completion. By investigating colophons, prefatory matters and glosses, a more nuanced – but by no means full – understanding of the production and transmission of the OM manuscripts can be attained.

2 Personal names and place names

2.1 Authors and titles of texts

Names of authors and titles of the texts usually appear in prefatory materials. In the case of authors whose dates of birth and death are known, the mention of their names already provides a first *terminus post quem* for the manuscript containing their texts. With such information available, it is then possible for modern scholars to locate a manuscript within a time span of approximately a hundred years.[8]

2.2 Owners

In many of the OM manuscripts examined here, the personal names of the owners of individual manuscripts are found in colophons, introduced by the Arabic phrase *ṣāḥibu hadha-l-kitāb* ('owner of this book') or *ṣāḥibuhu* ('its owner'). Such indications of a manuscript's ownership usually include both the given and the family (clan) name of the person together with genealogical information, sometimes also along with honorific titles and/or nicknames. The name of a manuscript's owner can also be found in other places within the manuscript. In such instances, the name is often written in a decorated frame in the margin of a folio together with the title of the text or a division marker that indicates a portion of the text such as half of it, a third or a quarter. If a name appears in these places, there is usually no further genealogical information accompanying it, not even a family name.

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8 One of such examples where we can identify the *terminus post quem*, BnF Ms Arabe 5657, fols. 1a–28b, will be presented in more detail in the following section. There is another example in which part of manuscript JRL 780 [825], fols. 1a–12b, was erroneously dated in the catalogue as being produced in the mid-seventeenth century. However, information about the date of the author's death reveals that the text could not have been written before the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century.

2.3 Scribes and copyists

While the names found in the colophons most frequently refer to the owners of the manuscript, names of scribes or copyists sometimes also appear in colophons, often following Arabic words such as *kātib* ('scribe') or *ʿalá yad* ('in the hands of', 'by'). In some cases, it is specified whether the owner of the book also had the laborious task of copying it or whether the scribe and the owner are not one and the same person. Often, the information about the scribe – and sometimes about the owner as well – is supplemented by brief genealogical details of the person such as the names of his parents or even his grandparents, following Arabic expressions such as *abīhu* ('his father'), *ismu abihi* ('his father's name'), *ummuhu* ('his mother') and *ismu ummihi* ('mother's name'). Both the father's and mother's names may be preceded by the word *ibn* ('son').

     With this information at hand, as limited as it is, one can start to locate the owner or the scribe of a manuscript and establish his identity. Moreover, by examining exactly which information is contained in the genealogical notes, we may also be able to unveil the approximate date of a manuscript's production. As Nikolay Dobronravin suggests in his analysis of colophons in the West African and nineteenth-century Brazilian manuscripts, '[e]arlier manuscripts often include both father and mother of the scribe ("son of X and Y") or even the name of his mother alone', while '[m]ore recent manuscripts, especially those written in colonial and post-colonial West Africa, tend to be patrifocal' and therefore contain only the name of the scribe's father.[9]

2.4 Places

Among the total of thirty colophons examined in this study, at least fourteen give indications about the place of the manuscript's production. References to geographical locations in colophons may be given without any additional markers or they may also be introduced by terms such as *ism balad* ('name of the place'), *fī balad* ('in the place'), by the verb *sakana* ('to live', 'to dwell') or by the participle *kāʾin* ('being', 'existing', 'situated', 'located'). Quite often, indications of various places appear in conjunction with the location of the owner or scribe, and together they can provide modern scholars with relevant temporal and spatial information about the manuscript.

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9 Dobronravin 2012: 92.

In the following section, six case studies will be presented to exemplify what and how temporal and spatial information about OM manuscripts can be retrieved from their colophons. I will focus on names of various places found therein. Since personal names such as that of the scribe or the owner often appear together with place names, they will also be discussed.

2.5 Case studies

2.5.1 Fugumba Seriyanke

The first case study focuses on part of a composite manuscript in the collection kept by BnF.[10] This part, shelf mark Ms Arabe 5586, fols. 1a–177a, is a copy of *al-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawani (d. 996). It is a treatise on Mālikī law, 'which has been used as a textbook for religious instructions throughout the Sahara and Western Sudan until today'.[11] A few commentaries and glosses were added to the main text, but the most prominent paratextual element in this manuscript is a colophon at the end of the manuscript, which is arranged in three columns (Fig. 1). Although each column contains a different type of information, it is still not clear whether the layout was intentionally devised to mark the distribution of information.

The text of the first column consists of several formulae which ask God for forgiveness for the scribe, his family and all Muslims. It also states that the writing was finished on a Friday.[12] The second column includes the name of the scribe and where he lived, and reads:[13]

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10 The collection of West African manuscripts at BnF is known under the name of 'Bibliothèque ʿUmarienne de Ségou', 'Bibliothèque d'Ahmadu' or 'Fonds Archinard' belonging to Ahmadu Sheku (Ahmad al-Kabir al-Madani), son of al-Hajj ʿUmar, the religious leader of the Muslim Brotherhood Tidjaniya, who headed the Holy War between 1852 and 1864. Colonel Archinard captured this collection as a war trophy during the seizure of Ségou in 1890. He later transported the collection to Paris. See Brenner / Ghali / Mahibou 1985.
11 Ross 2011: 16.
12 The interpretation of the colophons hereafter, if not otherwise stated, is my own. When transcribing terms from Arabic, I have followed the conventions used in the transliteration guide of the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* (JQS).
13 This is one of the two examples, along with BMT Ms. 2234, pp. 833–843, where the usage of additional diacritics was attested. The additional vowel diacritic sign (one dot below) was introduced to render the close-mid front vowel [e]. The character *qaf* used in Arabic for [q] probably has another reading and is used for rendering voiced velar plosive [g].
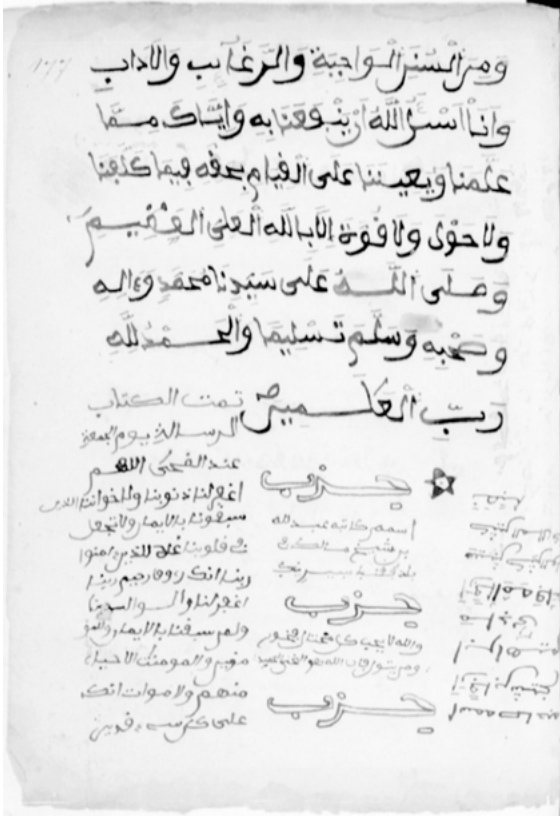
Fig. 1: The last page with the colophon from the copy of *al-Risāla* by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawani. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms Arabe 5586, fol. 177a.

اسمم كاتبه عبدلله بں شيخ مالك ﻰﻓ بلد بُفنبا سِبِرِينكِ

[*ismm kātbh ʿbdllh bn shykh mālk fī bld fuqnbā seriyanke*]
ismu kātibuhu ʿAbdallah bin Shaykh Mālik fī balad Fugumba Seriyanke.

The name of its scribe is Abdāllah ibn Shaykh Mālik from the place Fugumba Seriyanke.

The place name provided in the colophon apparently refers to Fugumba, one of the nine provinces of Futa Jallon in Guinea ruled by Seriyanke,[14] the oligarchic lineage or Islamic clerical lineage descendant of Fode[15] Seri.

2.5.2 Madina Findifeto

As in the previous case, information about the owner of a manuscript and the place where the person lived can also be found in another manuscript which has two colophons. This document is part of a composite manuscript held in BULAC with the shelf mark Ms.Ara.219bis. An additional sheet, found inside the manuscript, bears a note written by Octave Houdas and reads "écritures du XVIIIᵉ et du commencement du XIXᵉ siècle. (Provient du Soudan)" ("writing of the eighteenth to early nineteenth century (of the Sudanic origin)").[16] The manuscript contains a religious poem on *tawḥīd* called *Jawāhir min al-kalām* by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī (d. 1801/2).[17] The main text is arranged with wide interlinear and marginal spaces and is enriched by glosses in Arabic and Soninke, some of which are written in black ink and some in brownish ink.[18] The text is concluded by two short colophons.

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14 Marty 1921: 28; Sow 1968: 8.

15 The word *fóde/fóodee* (or *fódiye*), both here and in several other manuscripts, refers to a title received by a person who can translate and comment on the Qur'an. See Creissels 2011: 64; Creissels / Jatta / Jobarteh 1982: 51; Diagana 2011: 57; Smeltzer 1997: 47; Sylla 2012: 311–312. According to Sanneh, a person becomes known as *fóde* either after the ceremony of investiture in his advanced studies or after accomplishing his studies as a student (Sanneh 1979). There is also an interpretation given by Giesing and Vydrine according to which the title *fóde/fóodee* may be acquired through the 'rite of expiation' reserved for those who cannot afford to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca (Giesing / Vydrine 2007: 366). Fode may also be used as a given name (Innes 1976: 298; Sanneh 1979).

16 Note that, most probably, Houdas employs the term "Sudan" to refer to the area of West Africa.

17 As identified by the first lines. See Hunwick 1995: 51. In the texts of the manuscript, the name of the author is written as Ibn Sulaym al-Awjalī.

18 It seems safe to suggest that the glosses were written in at least two different hands in black and brownish ink respectively. The fact that some of them were probably added later than others is reflected in the position of glosses on the folio: those written in brown ink were added strictly between the lines of the main text, while those in black ink were placed in the blank spaces on the folio. Sometimes glosses in black were even written *over* the glosses in brown.
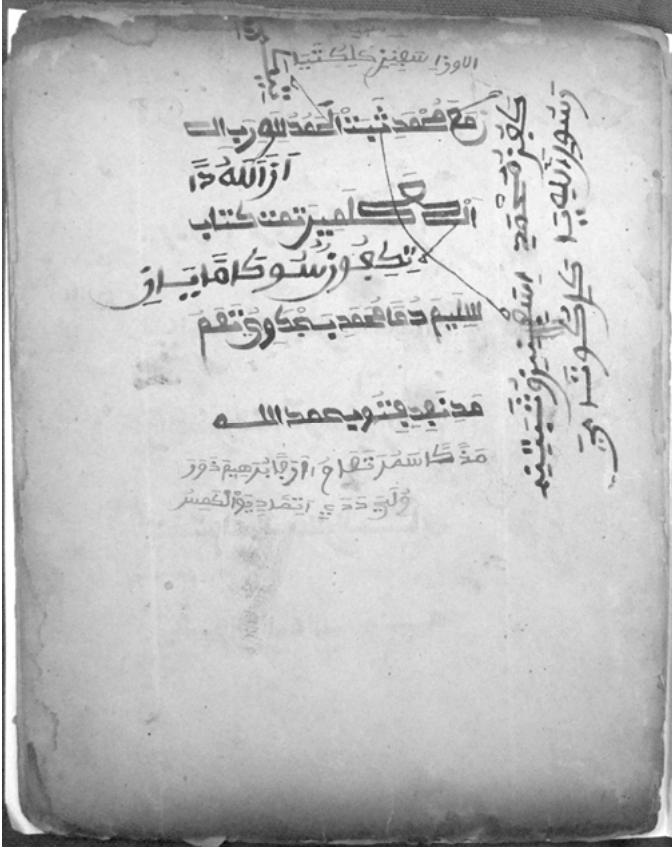
Fig. 2: The concluding lines of the poem on *tawḥīd* called *Jawāhir min al-kalām* by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī followed by two colophons. Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations, Paris, Ms.Ara.219bis DP 18.

Interestingly, these two colophons seem to be composed in a vernacular language that differs from that of the glosses. On account of their linguistic features, I believe that these colophons were written in a language close to Mandinka (both colophons also contain several Arabic words).[19]

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19 My hypothesis is based on the following evidence: the text of the colophon has the identification copula *mu* and completive marker of transitive verbs *ye*, whereas glosses in Soninke have *ni* and *da* respectively; focus marker *le* in the colophon and *ya* in the glosses, etc. In my interpretation, I mark the words in Mandinka in bold. I mark the lexical tones of the Mandinka words in

The first colophon, in black ink, was probably written by the same hand as that of the main text and it follows the layout of the main text, both having the same line length and letter size:

<div dir="rtl">تمت كتاب سِلِيمَ دُمَّا مُحَمَدِ بَجْكَوِيُ تَعَمُ مَدِنَڡِدِڡِتُو بحمد لله</div>

[*tmt ktāb Silayma duman muḥamadi bajkawiyu taʾamu madinafidifitū biḥmd allh*]
*tamat kitāb Sulayma **dóoma** Muhammadi Bajaka **táa mu** Madina Findifeto biḥamdulillah.*

The small book by (ibn) Sulayma is completed. Property of Muhammad Bajaka, Madina Findifeto. Praise be to God.[20]

Directly below the first colophon there is another one written in brown ink in smaller letters:

<div dir="rtl">مَذَّكَا سَمُرَ تَعَامُ أَرَڢَّ بُرَهِيمَ ذَوَرَ وُلْيَ دَدَي اَ تِمَّادِ يوْالْكَمِسُ</div>

[*madhinka samura tʾaā mu arafan burahīma dhawara wu laya dadayi ā tinmandi yu alka-misu*]
*Majinka Samura **táa mu** arafaŋ Burahima Jawara **wo le y'a dáda'a ye a tímmándi** yaum al-kamisa.*

It belongs to Majinka Samura. Arafan Burahima Jawara prepared it. He finished it on Thursday.[21]

From these two colophons we learn that the copying of this manuscript was finished on a Thursday and the place of its production was probably Madina Findifeto. The linguistic features of the colophons suggest that the manuscript originates from somewhere in southern Senegal, the Gambia or Guinea-Bissau. In fact, the place name from the first colophon may correspond to two possible locations in the designated area. A locality called Findifeto is situated within the modern borders of the Gambia (Kantora, Upper River Region).[22] However, there is

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accordance with the general principle used in Creissels 2011: the acute diacritics mark a high tone, while the absence of a diacritical sign corresponds to the low tone vowel.

20 The word *dóoma* in Mandinka means 'younger sibling'. However, in this case, *Sulayma dóoma* is likely to refer to a 'small' (i.e. short) version of a poem by ibn Sulaym.

21 The last two words are either distorted Arabic for *yaumu-l-khāmisa* (Thursday) or Arabic loans integrated into the Mandinka lexicon. The Mandinka verb *dádaa* means 'to make', 'to create', 'to prepare'.

22 Gamble 1996: 87 suggests that this name derives from the Portuguese expression *fundo feito* ('bottom struck') and it seems to be generally used to refer to places where shoals and rocks hindered sailing. Thus there could have been several different places that had the same name.

also another place called Madina Findifeto in southern Senegal, as mentioned in the third part of the *Pakao Book* and in some oral traditions.[23] In this example, *madīna*, meaning 'town' in Arabic, is not just a generic term for 'town', but an integral part of the place name. It is very likely that since the word *madīna* is written as one word together with the components that follow, the place name is Madina Findifeto. This part of BULAC Ms.Ara.219bis DI.8-18 probably originates from southern Senegal.[24]

2.5.3 Suwarekunda

Some spatial information pertaining to the manuscript can also be found in the colophon of part of the composite manuscript known as TCD MS 2689, which contains an anonymous work on cosmogony written on six folios (fols. 1a–6a).

The text of the colophon reads:

تمت هنا ﻲﻓ يوم احد من ﻳﻳد كويتبها هو المصطﻰﺑ سوار بن ﻳﺮمغا سوار ﻲﻓ بلد سوار كند

[*tmt hnā fī yum aḥd mn yyd kwytbhā hw al-mṣṭf swār bn yrmghā swār fī bld swār knd*]
tamat hunā fī yaum aḥad min yad kātibihā huwa al-Muṣṭafá Suware bin Yirimaghā Suware fī balad Suwarekunda.

Finished here on Sunday by the hand of its scribe, who is al-Muṣṭafa Suware ibn Yirimaghan Suware, in the place of Suwarekunda.

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23 Shaffer 1975: 114 and 121; Schaffer 2003: 78–79. The *Pakao Book*, an eleven-page manuscript written in Arabic and Mandinka Ajami, records the history of the Pakao region in southern Senegal.
24 The specific layout where the main text is arranged in a relatively wide interlinear space. The abundance of explicative materials in the vernacular (glosses) suggests that the manuscript was used for educational purposes. The term *arafaŋ* (also spelled *arfaŋ* or *afaŋ*) could refer to a person who has finished Qur'anic school (Creissels 2011: 5) or it may refer to a student who has completed the initial stage of his studies (Gamble 2000: 61), but not yet reached the final level of his advanced Islamic studies (Sylla 2012: 312). Arafan could also be a proper name.
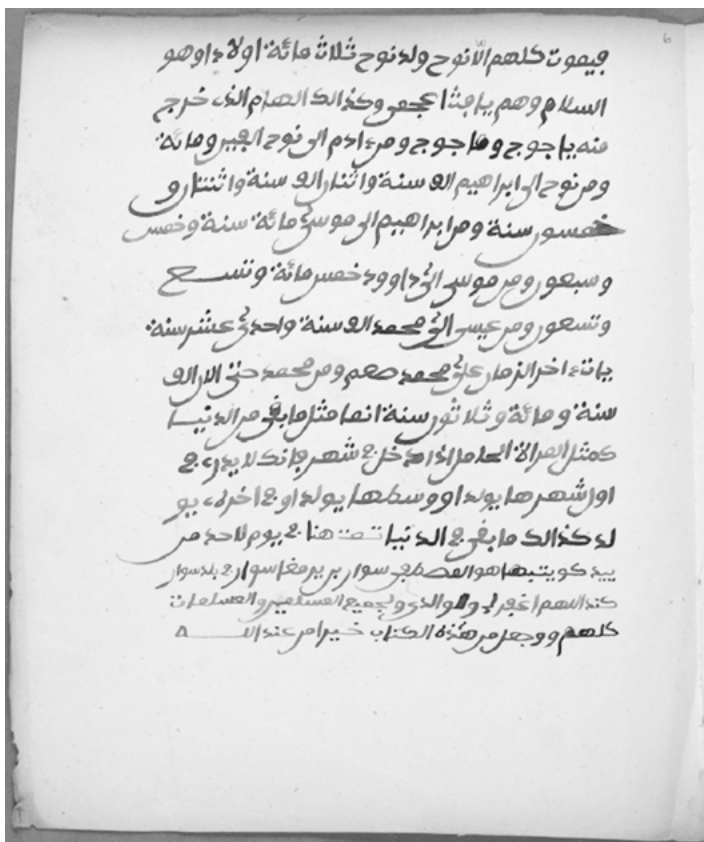
Fig. 3: The colophon at the end of the anonymous work on cosmogony. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MS 2689, fol. 6a.

The colophon states that this manuscript was copied by al-Muṣṭafa Suware ibn Yirimaghan Suware, who was from a place called Suwarekunda. There are several references to Suwarekunda (or Souaré Counda) and one of them is mentioned in the studies written by Lamine Sanneh and Taslimaka Sylla respectively.[25] Both authors mention Suwarekunda as the name of one of the clerical wards that form the Jakha settlement located in the Bambukhu region of eastern Senegal.[26]

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25 Sanneh 1979: 19, 37; Sanneh 1989: 21; Sylla 2012: 111–112.
26 The word *kúndaa* can mean 'home', 'neighbourhood', 'town' or 'region'. It is most commonly used in compound words in conjunction with family names, names of socio-professional categories, or names of ethnic groups. Here, however, it most probably refers to the part of Jakhaba

Gamble and Quinn mention another place named Suwarekunda – an important scholarly centre in Badibu (also spelt 'Baddibu' or 'Badibbu'), the Gambia.[27] Gamble also points out that although this place was once predominantly populated by Mandinka people, the original settlers, as it is evidenced in the name of the city, were the Jakhanke.[28] Furthermore, in Lamin Sanneh's description of the life of al-Ḥajj Salim Gassama (Karamogo Ba), we find in the list of his students the name of Yirimaghan Suware, who lived in Badibu-Suwarekunda in the eighteenth century.[29]

2.5.4 Mamakono

A large manuscript in the collection of the BnF, shelf mark Ms Arabe 5657, contains three different texts with glosses in OM. The first text, on fols. 1a–28b, is a copy of the poem *Dalīl al-qāʾid li-kashf asār ṣifāt al-wāḥid* by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī. Given the fact that Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī died in 1801/2 and this manuscript was acquired in Ségou in 1890, it should be safe to suggest that it was produced sometime in the nineteenth century before 1890. Apart from the glosses written by different hands, the text also contains a colophon outlined by a simple geometrical decoration (Fig. 4). The text of the colophon reads as follows:[30]

تمت كتاب كَاتِبُهُ صَاحِبُهُ لَيْسَ بِوَاحِدٍ صَاحِبُهُ اَبُوبَكرِ سَايَاوِيٌّ بُنْ عُثُمَنَ صَرَّفْلِ اِسْم البَلَدِ مَمَكُنٌ

[*tmt ktāb kātibuhu ṣāḥibuhu laysa biwaḥdin ṣāḥibuhu abūbakari sāyāwiyun bun ʿuthumana maranquli ism albaladi mamakunun*]
tamat kitāb kātibuhu ṣāḥibuhu laysa biwaḥidin ṣāḥibuhu Abūbakari Sāyāwiyun bin ʿUthmana Maranquli ism al-baladi Mamakono.

The book is completed. Its scribe and its owner are not the same person. Its owner is Abūbakari Sāyāwiyun ibn ʿUthmana Marankuli. The name of the place is Mamakono.

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inhabited by members of the Suware family. The family is known because of al-Ḥajj Salim Suware, a fifteenth-century scholar who is considered to have established a pedagogical tradition among the Jakhanke and founded the town of Jakhaba. See Wilks 2000: 96–98.

27 Quinn 1972: 100 and *passim*; Gamble 1999: 107.

28 Gamble 1999: 106.

29 Sanneh 1979: 121.

30 I have included the full text of the colophon here (the text was written in small characters and placed in a decorative frame). The last line is crossed out and thus difficult to read.
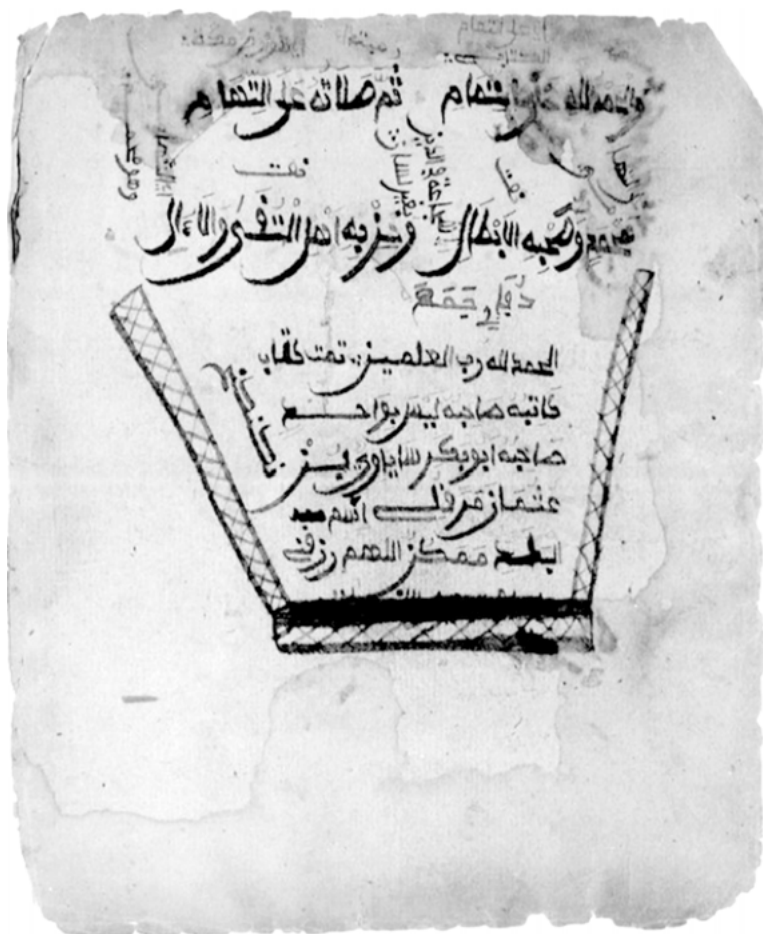
Fig. 4: The poem on the attributes of God as evidenced by the colophon on the last page was owned by Abubakar Sāyāwiyi. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms Arabe 5657, fol. 28b.

In this colophon, we can see that the name of the owner was Abūbakar Sāyāwi-yun[31] ibn ʿUthman Maraquli from Mamakono and that he was not the one who actually produced the manuscript.

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31 In these three examples and in several other colophons, the family name of the owner has the ending *-wiyu* or *-wiyun*. This is probably the *nisba* suffix forming an adjective, which indicate the origin or social affiliation of a person. In the colophon of BMT Ms 2234 (pages 833–843), the

The second text in the manuscript is written on fols. 36a–84b. It contains the *Iḍāʾat al-dujunna fī ʿaqāʾahl al-sunna* composed by the Algerian author Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqārī (d. 1632) (Fig. 5).

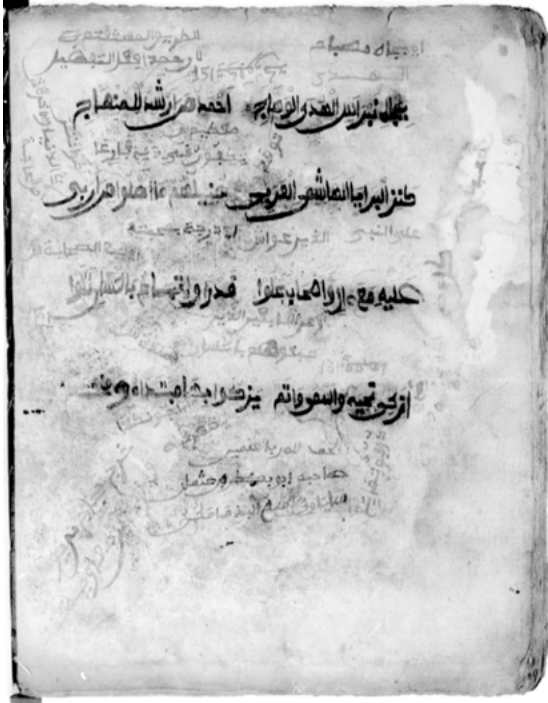**Fig. 5:** The last page of the work on belief from the library of a certain West African scholar named Abubakar ibn ʿUthman Sāyāwiyi. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms Arabe 5657, fol. 84b.

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family name of the owner ends in *-ji*: '*kātbh fūdey yula wa ammihi mā kale w abīhu dāwuwdu ibn shykh dunbā fudi dunbuyā jiyy*' (*kātibuhu Fode Yola wa ummuhu Mā Kale wa abuhu Dāwudu ibn Seikh Dunbā Fode Dunbuyaji*, which translates as 'its scribe Fode Yola and his mother Mā Kale and his father Dāwudu ibn Sheikh Dunba Fode Dumbiyaji'). The meaning of this element is still not known. The name Sāyā can be read in various ways because some characters of the Arabic alphabet (or a combination of several characters) could receive an additional value to designate the Mande sounds absent in Arabic. In the glosses, the Arabic letter *ya* is used to represent the palatal nasal [ɲ] with a respective vowel. The family name of the author could thus be read as Saɲaa. According to various sources, the family name Saɲaa (or Saɲaŋ) corresponds to the family name Keita. See Gamble 1996: 6b; Guesiŋ / Vydrine 2007: 381; Innes 1974: 130; Schaffer 2003: 98 and *passim*.

As in the previous example, the main text here is accompanied by a number of glosses in OM placed in the interlinear and marginal space and written in a style close to that of the main text. The hand used to write the colophon resembles the script of the glosses and is in small letters:

<div dir="rtl">صاحبه ابوبكر بن عثمان سَايَاوِىٌ اِشمُ البلد مَامَكُنُ</div>

[ṣāḥbh abūbkr bn ʿthmān sāyāwiyun ishmu albld māmakunu]
ṣāḥibuhu Abūbakar bin ʿUthmān Sāyāwiyun ismu al-balad Māmakono.

The owner is Abūbakar ibn ʿUthmān Sāyāwiyun. The name of the place is Māmakono.

It is evident that the personal name and place name indicated in the colophon are the same as in the previous text from manuscript Ms Arabe 5657.
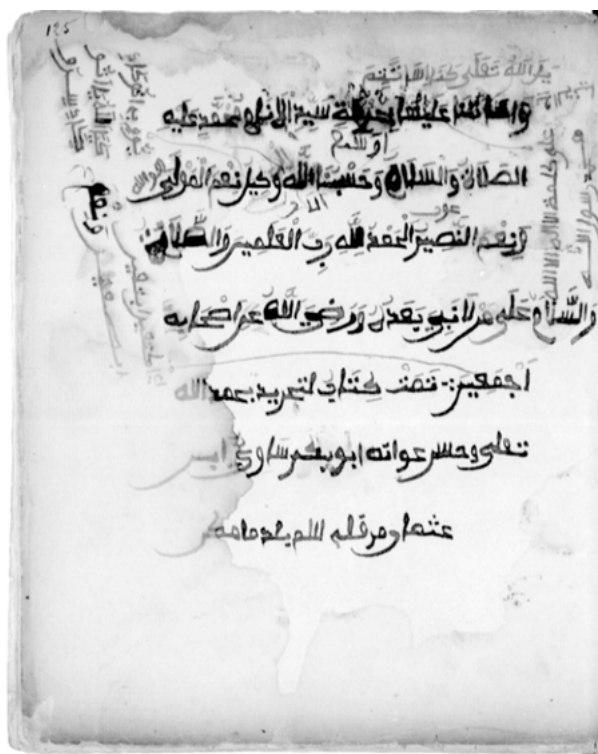

Fig. 6: The commentary on the attributes of God ending with the colophon, which indicates the ownership and provides a place name. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms Arabe 5657, fol. 125a.

The third text in this manuscript, on fols. 109b–125a, bears the title *Tajrīd fī ka-limat al-tawḥīd* and is a commentary on the attributes of God by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1123). The main text is complemented by marginal translations from Arabic into the vernacular. The colophon is written in the same script as the main text and the lines become narrower as they progress to the bottom of the folio (Fig. 6).

Here again, we find an attestation that the manuscript was owned by the same Abubakar Sāyāwiyi ibn 'Uthman Maraquli, who is said to have lived in a place called Mamakono:

تمت كتاب التجريد بحمد الله تعالى وحسن عوانه ابوبكر ساوِيٌ ابن عثمان مرفلى سم بلد مامكن

[*tmt ktāb altjrīd bḥmd allh t'ālá w ḥsn 'wānh abūkbr sāwiyun bn 'thmān mrqly sm bld māmkn*] *tamat kitāb al-tajrīd biḥamdu lillahi t'ālá wa ḥasani 'awānahi Abūbakr Sā[yā]wiyun ibn 'Uthman Maraquli ism balad Mamakono.*

The book "Tajrīd" is completed. Praise be to God, the sublime and infinitely good. Abūbakr Sāyāwiyun ibn 'Uthmām Maraquli. The name of the place is Māmakono.

The subject matter of all three texts refers to belief (*tawḥīd*). The texts probably all once belonged to the library of the West African scholar Abūbakar Sāyāwiyun, because the same name appears in each of their colophons. Although no information is available as to who the scribe was, considering that the hands are quite similar to each other, one cannot exclude the possibility that the same person transcribed all three texts. If this is true, then they may all be dated to the nineteenth century. However, a more detailed palaeographic examination is required to prove this point, especially considering the poor quality of the pictures available for this study.

As for their place of origin, there are several possible places that Mamakono might refer to. From Hecquart's travel account from the mid-nineteenth century, we learn that Mamakono was the name of a village situated not far from Kedougou in eastern Senegal, close to the Malian border.[32] Another possible candidate is a village mentioned in the *Pakao Book*. The first text in this work mentions a certain place called Mamakonoba or Maṣakonoba.[33] A village called Mākonoba

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32 Gessain 1963: 29.

33 Part 1 of the *Pakao Book* lists the first twenty-five villages in Pakao that had mosques. It also provides names of imams for whom these mosques were built as well as names of the founders of the village. It states that Mamakonoba or Maṣakonoba (as it is not clearly written in the original manuscript and the second character could be read as *ṣad* or *mim* – both interpretations are

appears in the third text. Matthew Schaffer argues that the same village is mentioned despite variations in spelling in the first and third parts of the *Pakao Book*, and its exact name should be Mankonoba.[34]

The linguistic peculiarities of the glosses in the three texts in this manuscript possibly point to the fact that the Soninke language found in the glosses was influenced by Mandinka.[35] If this assumption is correct, the manuscripts must have originated from Mamakono (or Mankonoba) in Pakao, southern Senegal, unless there are other settlements with the same name in the Mandinka-speaking area outside Pakao.

2.5.5 Bani Israʾil

The fact that a place name in a colophon may correspond to several possible locations on a map can also be observed in other OM manuscripts – this is the case for another manuscript from BULAC with the shelf mark Ms.Ara.112b, for instance.[36] The colophon is written separately from the main text on the folio at the

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possible) was founded by a certain Fode Bukari Djaa Sāyā, who came from Kantora. See Shaffer 1975: 118; Vydrine 1998: 54.

34 Schaffer 1975: 97. According to Schaffer's investigation among the elders of the Pakao region, the manuscript was most probably copied by two different scribes. This could be the reason why the name of the village is spelt differently. There are three legends explaining the origin of the village's name in Schaffer 2003: 159–168. The elders of the village say that the name Mamakono is derived from a founder's honorific nickname – Mama – as he was named after his grandfather (*maama/mama* means 'grandparent' in Mandinka). According to the legend, the name 'Mamakono' then transformed into 'Mankonoba'. The same spelling is used to mark the village on the modern map.

35 The main distinctive feature is the loss of the voiceless uvular fricative [x] in the intervocalic position attested in several instances in all three texts in this manuscript. For example, in *Iḍāʾat al-dujunna fī ʿaqāʾahl al-sunna* fol. 41b, we find glosses with the word *ɲaaminte*, which corresponds to modern Soninke *ɲaxaminte*, 'mixed'. Some other examples: fol.44a, the gloss *waati* vs. modern Soninke *waxati*, 'time'; fol. 62b, the gloss *maagenmu* vs. modern Soninke *maxagenmu*, 'agreement', 'accord'.

36 This manuscript contains fragments of several texts. It is a loose-leaf manuscript and is wrapped in a traditional cover made of cloth. The most complete and voluminous text is the famous exegetical text *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* composed by two Egyptians scholars, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maḥallī (d. 1459) and Jalālal-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505). This part consists of about four hundred folios. The text is acephalous and starts from sura *Maryam* (Q.19). It is written in light brown and red ink, and the same red colour is also used for highlighting quotations from the *Qurʾan*.

end of the manuscript and states that the writing was finished by the scribe and the owner, al-Ḥajj Drame, living in Bani Isra'il (Fig. 7):

صاحبه كاتبه واحد اسم صاحب الكتاب الحج درامى ابن الحج درمى امه فاطمة درمى كائن في بنى اسريل وجده محمد مريم درامى

[ṣāḥbh kātbh wāḥd ism ṣāḥbh alktāb alḥj drāmy ibn alḥj drmy umh fāṭmt drmy kā'in fī bny israīl wḥdh mḥmd mrym drāmy]
sāhibuhu kātibuhu waḥidu sāḥibu al-kitāb al-Ḥajj Darāme ibn al-Ḥajj Darame ka'in fī Bani Isra'il wa jaddahi Muḥammad Maryam Darāme.

Its owner and its scribe are the same person. The owner of the book is al-Ḥajj Darāme ibn al-Ḥajj Darame, who lives in Bani Isra'il, and the name of his grandfather is Muḥammad Maryam Darame.
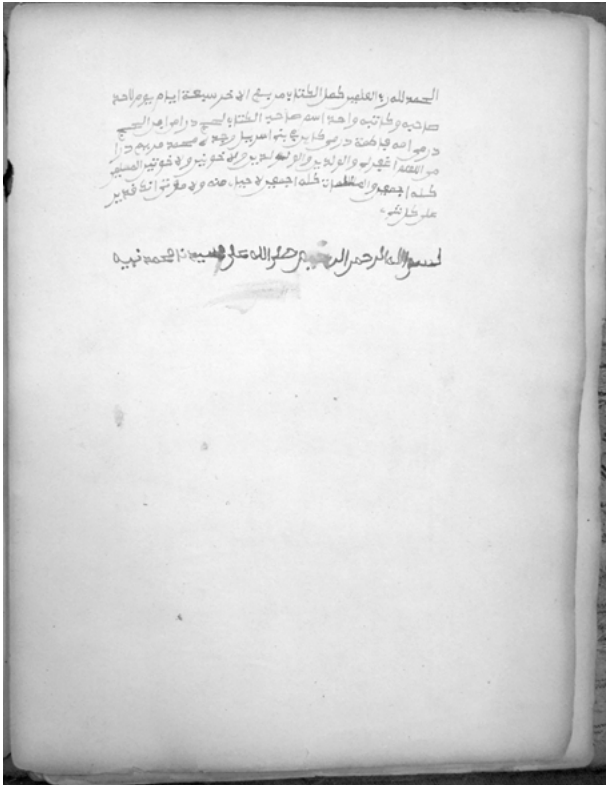

Fig. 7: The colophon placed separately at the end of a copy of the famous exegetical text *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations, Paris, Ms.Ara.112b.

Various sources suggest that Bani Israʾil is a major scholarly centre of Jakhanke clerics located in the Bundu (Boundou) region of eastern Senegal.[37] Another place with the same name, situated in the modern Casamance, Sedhiou region in southern Senegal, is reported in the third part of the *Pakao Book*.[38] In addition, there is also a place named Bani Israʾil in Kantora in the Gambia.[39]

2.5.6 Dar Silame (Dar-as-Salam)

In fact, many manuscripts contain some spatial information which cannot be easily identified, as in the case of manuscript MS 2179 in a collection kept by Trinity College, Dublin (TCD). This is a copy of al-Quayrawani's *al-Risāla*, which consists of a set of unbound pages wrapped in a leather cover.[40] A colophon written over six lines, shaped in a rectangular form, is appended to the end of the manuscript. It is rendered in letters smaller than those of the main text and only the family name of the owner is vocalised (Fig. 8).

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37 See, among others, Marty 1917; Sanneh 1979 and 1989; Smith 1965: 233; Sylla 2012: 154–160. Bonnel de Mézières suggested that this place name Bani Israʾil ('Children of Israel', 'Israelites') indicates that the founders of the town were of Jewish origin. Smith (1965) rejected this theory, however. Gamble (1996) also denies any relationship between the place name and Jewish people, but considers this as an argument in favour of the adherence of founders to the Islamic religion. Sylla (2012: 164) supposes that the place could have been named after the seventeenth sura of the *Qurʾan*. Tal Tamari (p.c.) pointed out that this tradition of Israelite origin is shared by numerous groups, especially those with a Fulbe and Soninke background. I am also grateful to Tal Tamari for referring me to Delafosse (1913) and Bello (1951), who mention this genealogical tradition in West Africa. Therefore it should not be ruled out that there were other places that had Bani Isaraʾila as a toponym.

38 Schaffer 1975: 121; 2003: 95; Vydrine 1998: 61.

39 Gamble 1996: 17 and *passim*.

40 It seems that at least two people were involved in the copying process since different hands and inks can be observed. The first part of the text is written in dark blackish-brown ink and the letters appear angular. Starting from fol. 40a, the hand changes and letters tend to be increasingly rounded. Annotations in the form of interlinear glosses provide explanations on the main text. Voluminous marginal commentaries in Arabic inform the reader about the history of the Caliphate, an Islamic cosmology, and give examples of West African calculation techniques. See Dobronravin / Gittins 2013.
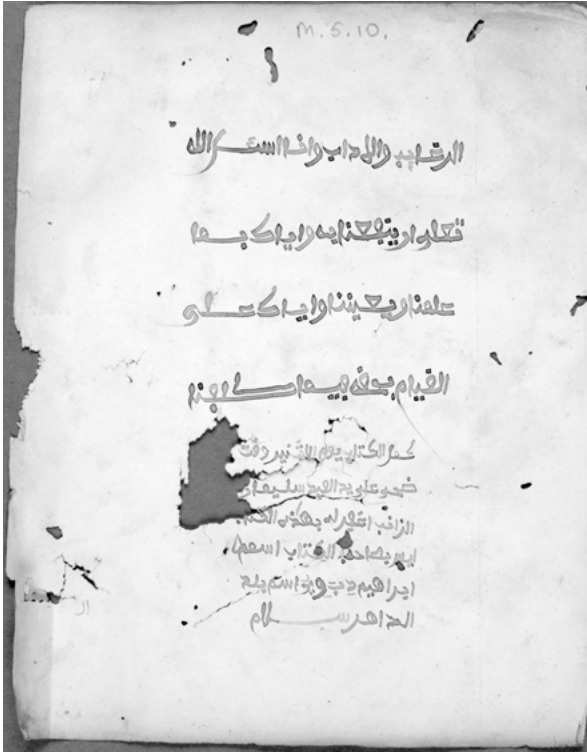
Fig. 8: A copy of *al-Risāla* appended by a six-line rectangular colophon. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MS 2179, fol. 274b.

The colophon states that the text of the manuscript was copied by a man called Suleyman and that it was finished on a Monday before noon. The owner is a different person called Ibrahim Dibawiyu. The place named Dahr Salam also appears in the colophon:[41]

الكاتب ليس بصاحب الكتاب اسمه ابرهيم دِبَ وِيُ اسم بلد الداهر سلام

[*alkatb lys bṣāḥb alktāb ismh ibrhym dibawiyu ism bld aldāhr slām*]
al-kātib laysa biṣāḥib al-kitāb ismuhu ibrahīm Dibawiyu ism balad al-Dāhr Salām.

The scribe is not the owner of the book. The [owner's] name is Ibrahim Dibawiyu. The name of the place is Dāhr Salām.

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41 Only lines 3–6 of the colophon are given here.

As for the aforementioned examples, there are a number of places to which Dahr Salam – apparently derived from Dar-as-Salam ('land', 'place of peace') and its variants, such as Darsilame, Dassilame or Darusalam – may refer. They could be in Senegal, the Gambia[42] or even other West African countries. There are no other details that could help identify a specific geographic location. However, as discussed in section 2.5.4, the linguistic features of the glosses suggest that Dahr Salam in this manuscript must be situated somewhere within the Mandinka-speaking area of West Africa.[43]

3 Indications of the time of completion

The time of copying is recorded in thirteen manuscripts out of the total of thirty I have examined for this study. However, most of them provide very limited information about the time of their production, as in eleven manuscripts only the day of the week and the time of the day is mentioned without specifying which week, month or year is actually meant.

Some temporal information is rather obscure to our present knowledge of OM manuscripts. For instance, in JRL 780 [825], fols. 1a–12b and TCD 3499, fols. 160b–296a, possible temporal names are given after the expression 'name of time' (*ism zamān*) (Figs. 9 & 10).

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42 See, for example, Schaffer 1975: 97, who mentions that Dar Silame is one of the most important villages in Pakao. See also Schaffer 2003: 5 and *passim*. In Gamble 2006: 90 and *passim*, Dar Silame appears as the name of a village in Central Kombo.

43 The glosses in this manuscript also feature lenition of the voiceless uvular fricative [x], which provides more evidence of the Mandinka influence on Soninke. Moreover, there is an additional layer of the glosses which represents translations of the Soninke words into Mandinka. These translations are written after the Arabic words *fī kalāminā* ('in our words', 'in our language') and they give us insights into the identity of the scribes and support the assumption that Soninke was not the scribes' first language. The linguistic peculiarities of the glosses will be addressed in more detail in the proceedings of the Old Mande Research Network (OMRN) sessions.

Figs. 9 & 10: Two colophons recording dates in an unknown format, which appears after the words *ism zamān* ('name of time'). Library of Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MS 3499, fol. 296a and Rylands Library, Manchester, Ms 780 [825], fol. 12b.

The colophon on TCD MS 3499, fol. 296a states:

<div dir="rtl">

تمت كتاب عند الصلاة الظهر كاتبه صاحبه سواءا شَيْخُ ذَاجُويِيٌ ابيه بُبَكَرِ ذَاجُويِيٌ امه جَانٍ فَنِ نُورِوِيٌ اسم زمان ٩ قُبُّ

</div>

[*tmt ktāb 'nd alṣlāt alẓahr kātbh ṣāḥbh swā' skaykhu dhājuwuyun abyh bubakari dhājuwiyun umh jāni qani tūriwiyun*]
tamat kitāb inda al-ṣalāh al-ẓuhr kātibuhu ṣāḥibuhu sawā' Shaykhu Jājuwiyun abihi Bubakari Jājuwiyun ummihi Jāne Qani Tūrewīyun ism zamān Qunbu.

The book was completed at the time of afternoon prayer. Its scribe and its owner are both Sheikh Jajuwiyun, his father is Bubakar Jajuwiyun, his mother is Jane Qani Turewiyun, and the name of the time is Qunbu.

The colophon on JRL Ms780 [825], fol. 12b reads:

تمت الكتاب بحمد الله تمت الكتاب على يد عبيد الله ذاك محمد كت بن الحج امه حور كتبه لنڢسيه والاولده
اسم البلد كت كند اسم زمان باڎبُ الحمد الله رب العلمين

[*tmt alktāb bhmd allh tmt alktāb ʿlá yd ʿbyd allh dhāk mḥmd kt bn alḥj umh hwr ktbh lnfsh walāwldh ism albld kt knd ism zmān bādubu ilḥmd llh rb alʿlmyn*

tamat kitāb biḥamdu lillahi tamat al-kitāb ʿalá yad ʿabd allah zāka muḥammad [kt] bin al-Ḥajj ummahu [hwr] katabahu linafsihi wa al-awlādihi ism bilad [kt knd] ism zamān Bādubu al-ḥamdu lillahi rabba al-ʿalāmīn.]

The book is completed – praise be to God. The book was completed by the hand of God's servant, that is, Muhammad [kt] ibn al-Ḥajj, his mother [hwr], written for himself and his sons. The name of the place is [kt knd, and the] name of the time is Bādubu.

The words that follow 'name of time', *Qunbu* and *Bādubu*, do not seem to be chronograms encoded in *abjad*.[44] Neither could I recognize in these words any name of a month or a season. It is much more likely that the words written after the expression 'name of time' are not Arabic or numerical encoding. This is because (1) they are vocalised and (2) the words *Qunbu*[45] and *Bādubu* quite plausibly evoke chronologically and regionally appropriate names of specific epochs of two West African kingdoms of Kombo and Badibu respectively.[46] It is possible that these words do not only refer to temporal information, but also to the geographical scope of these kingdoms.[47]

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44 *Abjad* is an alphanumerical system in which a numeral value is assigned to each letter of the Arabic script.

45 It is possible that the Arabic *q* was used here to indicate the quality of the following vowel. If this is really the case, the word following 'name of the time' can be read as Kombo.

46 Badibu and Kombo (or Combo) are two Mandinka kingdoms, which existed on the territory of what is now the Gambia until the nineteenth century. See, for example, Quinn 1972: 30 and *passim*.

47 Tal Tamari (p.c.) has suggested two interpretations for the term *zamān* as follows. (1) The word *zamān* could be interpreted as the Manding term *jamana*, 'country', which in some contexts has the more specialised meaning of 'state' or 'large chiefdom'. Going by this interpretation, the word *balad* in Ms. 780 [825], fol. 12b would designate a smaller locality within a country. (2) An alternative hypothesis suggested by Tal Tamari (email dated 5.6.2015) is that 'the Arabic word *zamān* (also used with adapted pronunciation in Manding) is to be understood as "reign" and by extension "realm". While these may not be the proper meanings of this Arabic term, they are ones that may be easily inferred from one of its most common usages ("in the times – i.e. the reign or rule – of so-and-so"). Such a usage would have been particularly appropriate in the context of the Mandinka kingdoms, each of which had its own [particular] dynasty'. I am also grateful to Tal Tamari for drawing my attention to the missionary material in the Special

4 Language of paratexts

In addition to explicit mention of temporal and spatial information, linguistic features of paratexts written in vernaculars can also help us locate OM manuscripts. This is the case for both colophons and glosses. However, the latter category stands out even more prominently as a means for our investigation, since colophons, as we have mentioned above, are often missing or incomplete in the manuscripts at our disposal. In such cases, an investigation of the language may be crucial for proper identification of a manuscript's linguistic and geographical origin. Due to the fact that linguistic features of the annotations have not been taken into consideration, OM manuscripts are usually listed under the general category of Arabic, African or Maghribi manuscripts in many library catalogues. The linguistic properties of glosses and colophons in this case allow modern scholars to classify those manuscripts as part of the OM manuscript culture.

In the corpus of thirty manuscripts examined here, at least two West African languages, Soninke and Mandinka, can be identified in colophons and glosses. Most colophons in the OM manuscripts are written in Arabic. In several cases, however, some words or phrases are composed in the vernacular, in particular annotated manuscripts and manuscripts containing medicinal and talismanic texts found in several composite volumes from Trinity College Library in Dublin, Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations in Paris, etc. Apart from personal and place names in colophons, other information is also written in languages other than Arabic. This often happens when days of the week are recorded. For instance, in two different places of TCD MS 3499, a manuscript owned by a certain Abūbakar Jāju, one can read [aramisalu^n] (*araamísa lúŋ*, 'Thursday') on fol. 42b, and [talatalu^n] (*taláata lúŋ*, 'Tuesday') on fol. 130b. Frequently, as it is the case in five manuscripts in our corpus, the name of the owner of a manuscript is followed by [tā mu] (in a different spelling [tamu] or [taʿamu]) *táa mu*, meaning 'part' or 'property of', 'that of', 'that belongs to'. Also genealogical information on the scribe or the owner is sometimes written in the vernacular, as in [a fmā] (*a faama*, 'his father') in the manuscript BULAC Ms.Ara.165a DI.246-250

Collection of the SOAS library that goes back to the 1830s. This material that comprises two gospels translated into Mandinka with the collaboration of local Muslim scholars – one in Latin-based script, the other in Arabic-based script – suggests that the term *zamān* 'seems to connote an area considered as a political (perhaps especially dynastic) unit.' (Tal Tamari, email dated 15.7.2015). To further explore this problem it will be necessary to compare these missionary documents with the contemporaneous OM manuscripts.

and [a fā t] (*a faa tóo*, 'his father's name') in MAAO AF14722 fols. 5ab and 102a–174a.

In these manuscripts, the language used for writing the colophon seems to be different from the language of the glosses and could tentatively be identified as Mandinka. Here is an example from a composite volume, BULAC Ms.Ara.219bis, which contains a fragment of an unidentified poem, DI.72-74. The colophon composed in Mandinka states the day of completion and the ownership of the manuscript. It reads as follows:

<div dir="rtl">

المصطفى شان تَا مُ تِمَ تَلَتَ لُنَ
</div>

[*almuṣṭafa shāni tāmu tinma talata lunna*]
al-Muṣṭafá Saane táa mu tímma taláata lúŋ na.

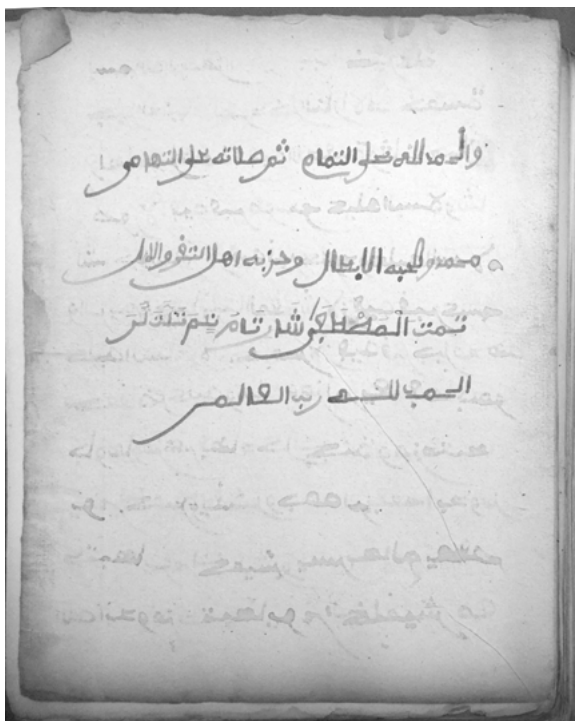It belongs to al-Muṣṭafa Saane. Completed on Tuesday.

Fig. 11: The colophon, written in Mandinka, follows an unidentified poem and indicates when the copying was completed. Fragmentary part of the manuscript kept at the Bibliothèque Universitaire des Langues et Civilisations, Paris, Ms.Ara.219bis DI.74.

The presence of Mandinka words in the colophon suggests that these manuscripts were produced, or at least once used, in the Mandinka-speaking area of modern southern Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau.

Vernaculars are also used in JRL 780 [825], fols. 1a–12b. On its first folio, four glosses are written to translate the author's name, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (lit. 'servant of the all merciful'). Two of them are written upside-down in Soninke in brown ink below the line, while the other two, which are written in black ink, could be identified as a translation in Mandinka (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12: Glosses written in two different West African languages: Soninke and Mandinka. John Rylands Library, Manchester, Ms 780 [825], fol. 1a.

Text	Transliteration	Transcription	Interpretation
Upper line (Mandinka) مَسَ حِنْتَلذُمُ	*masa ḥinat-tiladhumu*	*mansa híinántee la joŋ mu*	'This is the servant of the Lord, the all merciful'
Lower line (Soninke) كَمِنِ نِمَدَنَ	*nimadana kumini*	*neemandaana kome ni*	'This is the servant of the comforter'

Text	Transliteration	Transcription	Interpretation
Second pair of glosses for *al-mʿaruf* (literally 'known')			
Upper line (Mandinka) أُمُلُفِ تِ	*a mulufi ti*	*a mu lóɲféɲ ti*	'This is the thing that is known'
Lower line (Soninke) تِيِتِنِ	*tuyitini*	*tuyinte ni*	'This is the knowledgeable person'

If this interpretation is correct, then this manuscript was probably produced or used somewhere in Senegal, the Gambia or Guinea-Bissau.

5 Concluding remarks and further questions

As has been shown above, a number of paratextual elements in OM manuscripts provide various items of temporal and spatial information about their production and sometimes even their transmission. Several places (Suwarekunda, Bani Isra'il) and personal names (Darame, Faati, Jakite, Jawara, Kassama, etc.) recorded in the colophons suggest that these manuscripts may be traced back to the Jakhanke scholarly communities in eastern Senegal, the Gambia and northern Guinea. Other non-explicit information from paratextual components such as the linguistic features of the glosses or language of the colophon can also contribute to the identification of the places pertaining to these manuscripts, since different vernacular languages were spoken in different regions.[48] With such information extracted from

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48 The linguistic peculiarities of the Soninke language used in the glosses in several manuscripts, punctuated by deformation of certain words due to the influence of Mandinka, as well as the additional layer of Mandinka glosses marked as *fī kalāminā*, 'in our words', suggests that Soninke was not the first language of its users. According to some sources (see e.g. Sanneh 1979, Sanneh 1989:16; Sylla 2012), Soninke has been used as an exegetical language among the Jakhanke. Tal Tamari pointed out – on many occasions in personal communication and during the OMRN sessions in 2012, 2013 and 2015 as well as in Tamari (in press) – that during her fieldwork in 2004 in many areas of the Gambia, "Soninke was used as a language of Islamic education, even by Mandinka-speaking scholars with their Mandinka-speaking students – as well as, of course, by Soninke-speaking scholars with both their Soninke- and Mandinka-speaking students". This would explain why Mandinka

paratexts, it is possible to identify the place where the manuscript or codicological unit was originally produced.

However, caution is necessary regarding any further analysis of paratexts in OM manuscripts. First, in many of the above-mentioned examples, even if we are able to read place names in colophons, it is often impossible to accurately attribute the manuscript to a particular location because several places bear identical names in the same country or in different countries in West Africa. In the rare cases where some additional information about the place names is provided, such as in manuscript OR/Arab 11 (2) kept at Palace Green Library, Durham, it is much easier to find the exact location of this place. The place name marked in the colophon consists of two elements: [kuⁿbu yuⁿdumu] Kombo Yumdumu, 'Yundumu of Kombo'. Most likely, a reference is being made here to the locality named Yundum (as it is marked on the modern map and mentioned in some literature)[49] or Yumdumu located in Kombo, a kingdom once situated on the territory of the modern state of the Gambia.[50] This assumption is also supported by the information from the acquisition note, which records that the manuscript was acquired in 1853 in the town of Sabaji (Sabagee), the Gambia. The second instance where the name of a smaller locality is accompanied by the name of the country is attested in the manuscript kept by BULAC, Ms.Ara.219bis DI.1326. According to the information from the colophon, the owner, Umaru Sylla, lived in [kusarā dhābi kuda] Kusara Jaabikunda, 'Jaabikunda of Kusara', where Jaabikunda is the name of a big Jakhanke village in the country of Kusara, located in what is now Guinea-Bissau.[51] However, in other cases, when no further information about the country is available, exact identification of the place's geographical location will be relatively hard.

In addition, toponyms in the colophons may be ambiguous in many cases, since they are not vocalised and can therefore be read in several different ways. For example, the place name in the colophon of the manuscript JRL 780 [825], fols. 1a–12, is written as [kt knd]. The language used in the glosses suggests that the manuscript could originate from Senegal, the Gambia or Guinea-Bissau, yet there are still at least four possible locations that the name might refer to:

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appears in colophons and sometimes in the glosses of certain manuscripts (accompanying the glosses in Soninke). During my fieldwork in southern Senegal in 2014–2015, I also found that Soninke had been actively used as the intermediary language of Islamic learning until quite recently, before being replaced by instruction in Mandinka.

49 Quinn 1972.
50 Innes 1974.
51 Giesing / Vydrine 2007.

Kutakunda (Kootacunda) in Wuli, the Gambia, Kantakunda in Guinea-Bissau, Kinteh Kunda, and Konte Kunda in Badibu, the Gambia.

Furthermore, although various pieces of spatial information about a manuscript can often be found in its colophons, temporal information is scanty. In many manuscripts, even if some indications of time are provided, they mostly just refer to a day of the week, while the exact date of the manuscript's production remains largely unknown.

Finally, the difficulty modern scholars encounter in locating OM manuscripts in time and space is aggravated by the fact that not all the original manuscripts are accessible. Some are available for examination, but they can only be seen in black-and-white digitised microfilms. In such cases, the poor quality of the images can significantly complicate their analysis. In other cases, it may even be impossible to glean any relevant information from colophons because of severe damage to the paper, spots or illegible handwriting.[52]

As a first attempt to examine paratexts in the OM manuscripts, this study focuses primarily on temporal and spatial information in various paratextual components, in particular colophons and glosses. It is expected that other sources such as oral commentaries, reports made by colonial officials and anthropological and ethnographical accounts by European travellers, and the large number of manuscripts and works composed by West African scholars, may help overcome some of the difficulties and thus solve some of the remaining ambiguities.

Manuscripts

JRL 780 [825], fols. 1a–12b, a copy of a poem composed by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī (d. 1801/2).

BnF Ms Arabe 5586, fols. 1a–177a, a copy of *al-Risāla* composed by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawani (d. 996).

BULAC Ms.Ara.219bis DP 8-18, a copy of *Jawāhir min al-kalām* composed by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī (d. 1801/2).

TCD MS 2689, fols. 1a–6a, an anonymous work on cosmogony.

Ms Arabe 5657, fols. 1a–28b, a copy of *Dalīl al-qāʾid li-kashf asār ṣifāt al-wāḥid* composed by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī (d. 1801/2).

Ms Arabe 5657, fols. 36a–84b, a copy of *Iḍāʾat al-dujunna fī ʿaqāʾahl al-sunna* composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqārī (d. 1632).

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52 An ongoing collaboration with project Z01, 'Manuscript Analysis to Recover Lost Writing', which is being run at SFB 950, 'Manuscript Cultures in Asia, Africa and Europe' / CSMC, Hamburg, is attempting to recover such illegible words.

Ms Arabe 5657, fols. 109b–125a, a copy of *Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawḥīd*, composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī.

BMT Ms 2234, pp. 833–843, a copy of *Dalīl al-qāʾid li-kashf asār ṣifāt al-wāḥid* composed by Ibn Sulaym al-Awjilī (d. 1801/2).

BULAC Ms.Ara.112b, a copy of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* composed by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maḥallī (d. 1459) and Jalālāl-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505).

TCD MS 2179, a copy of *al-Risāla* composed by Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawani (d. 996).

TCD MS 3499, fols. 160b–296a, a copy of *al-ʿAqīda al-kubrā* composed by Muḥammad bin Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 1486).

TCD MS 3499, fols. 11b–42b, a copy of *Abāb al-ʿulamāʾ* composed by Ibn al-Nasāj.

TCD MS 3499, fols. 43b–130b, a copy of *Tajrīd fī kalimat al-tawḥīd* composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1123).

MAAO AF14722, fols. 5ab and 102a–174a (in disorder), unidentified.

PGL Or/Arab 11 (2), fols. 1–27, a copy of *al-ʿAqīda al-kubrā* composed by Muḥammad bin Yusuf al-Sanūsī (d. 1486).

BULAC Ms.Ara.165a DI.246-250, unidentified.

BULAC Ms.Ara.219bis DP 72-74, unidentified.

BULAC Ms.Ara.219bis DP 1324-1326, unidentified.

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(Note: the name 'Vydrin' is sometimes spelt 'Vydrine' in different sources. Here I have quoted this author according to the spelling that is found in each publication.)

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Apiradee Techasiriwan

Locating Tai Lü and Tai Khün Manuscripts in Space and Time through Colophons

This article is dedicated to the late Cao Maha Khanthawong (1925–2013),
the eminent Tai Lü scholar from Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung.

This article aims to study how Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts can be located in space and time using paratextual and material evidence from a corpus of fifty Tai Lü manuscripts from northern Laos and southwestern Yunnan (dated 1874–2013). In addition, we will examine forty Tai Khün manuscripts from Chiang Tung (Kengtung) collected by Anatole–Roger Peltier and kept at Chiang Mai Rajabhat University (dated 1902–2006) Most of the manuscripts analysed were produced during the last thirty years, with the most recent one in 2013. This shows quite clearly that the manuscript culture in the Tai Lü and Tai Khün areas in the Upper Mekong valley is still very much alive. While manuscript production in Chiang Tung in eastern Myanmar and northern Laos prospered almost without interruption during the twentieth century, this is unfortunately not the case in the Tai Lü areas in the Chinese province of Yunnan. In the years following the Great Leap Forward (1958) and during the Cultural Revolution (starting in 1965–66), traditional Tai Lü culture, deeply imbedded in Theravada Buddhism, was severely persecuted and manuscript production came to a halt. Since the early 1980s, the region has experienced a cultural revival which includes the revival of the indigenous manuscript culture. Most of the Tai Lü manuscripts from Yunnan included in our corpus are from private collections and were photographed by the author and Volker Grabowsky (University of Hamburg) in the course of several field trips made between 2002 and 2013. This preliminary study is mainly based on paratextual evidence. Apart from a few titles, only colophons have been analysed for this article.

1 Introductory remarks about Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscript cultures

Tai Lü is the name of a Tai ethnic group which predominantly lives in the Tai Autonomous Prefecture of Sipsòng Panna (*Xishuang banna Daizu zizhi zhou* 西双版纳傣族自治州), situated in the far south of Yunnan in China, bordering Laos and Myanmar (formerly known as Burma). Although Sipsòng Panna is considered to be the original homeland of the Tai Lü, we also find numerous Tai Lü settlements in northern Laos, eastern Myanmar and northern Thailand as a result of forced resettlements and voluntary migration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One can estimate the total number of Tai Lü speakers at more than one million, almost 400,000 of whom live in Sipsòng Panna.[1]

Tai Khün is the self-appellation of an ethnic Tai group living in the eastern Shan state of Chiang Tung in Myanmar and in some areas in northern Thailand, where they were forcibly resettled in the early nineteenth century. The Tai Khün language is closely related to Tai Lü and Kam Müang, the language of Lan Na. The Tai Khün people also use a variant of the Dhamma script,[2] which differs from the Tai Lü and Tai Lan Na variants in a number of ways, especially with regard to the shape of consonant clusters and the use of subscripts and superscripts.[3]

The Tai Lü and Tai Khün alphabets are both variants of the Dhamma script that developed from the Old Mon script of Hariphunchai (an ancient Mon kingdom with its centre in present-day Lamphun province) in the fourteenth century in the Lan Na kingdom (the centre of which is situated in present-day Chiang Mai province, northern Thailand). It later spread to the eastern Shan region, Sipsòng Panna and Laos. It is called Dhamma script because it was originally only used to write Pali texts, although later it was also employed for religious texts written in vernacular languages. Ultimately, it was even used for secular literature and became the only script in Lan Na and Sipsòng Panna. The Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script has spread throughout the Tai Lü communities – and even beyond them – to China, Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand.[4]

As for the writing support, we have to distinguish between roughly two kinds of Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts, namely those written on palm leaf (*bai lan*)

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1 On the demography of the Tai Lü in the Upper Mekong, see Liew et al. 2012: 7–11.
2 The Dhamma script domain as a cultural region is discussed in Grabowsky 2011.
3 Sai Kham Mong 2004: 167–200.
4 On the origins and development of the Dhamma script, see Grabowsky 2008: 16–17.

and those using mulberry paper (*kradat sa*) as writing material.[5] In general, religious texts are mostly incised on palm leaves, whereas secular texts are almost exclusively written on mulberry paper, which is less durable in the humid climate of Southeast Asia. Tai Lü mulberry-paper manuscripts are mostly bound at the top margin of each folio. However, they can also be bound either according to the Chinese book-binding tradition called whirlwind binding (where folded sheets are stacked on top of each other) or as folding books in a concertina format. Tai Khün mulberry-paper manuscripts are bound either at the top margin (Fig. 1) or in the concertina format (Fig. 2). There has been a tendency over the last century to favour mulberry paper, perhaps due to its easier accessibility. Moreover, a great many manuscripts have been written on industrially manufactured paper since 1980.

Fig. 1: A mulberry-paper manuscript is bound at the top margin (MS 6). Photograph by Volker Grabowsky.

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5 The standard paper pulp is derived from the *sa* tree, a kind of mulberry (*Broussonetia Papyrifera, Urticaceae*). Therefore, one of the common expressions for a folding book is *pap sa* – Tai Lü/Tai Khün *pap* (Thai: *phap*) meaning a folded piece of paper or a book. To describe the production of mulberry paper manuscripts, let us take the example of the production of *sa* paper in the village of Talaw, Lampang province, northern Thailand. This is a place where *sa* paper has been produced for many generations, well before the introduction of industrial technology in 1986. The procedure is as follows: the bark of the *sa* tree is peeled off, boiled in water mixed with ashes until it is soft (i.e. for approximately six hours), then washed in water, pounded by large wooden mallets until it is mush, stuck onto a wooden frame, dried in the sunlight and finally peeled off the frame; see Terwiel, 2003: 17–20 and Somsak Wachiraphantu, 1994.
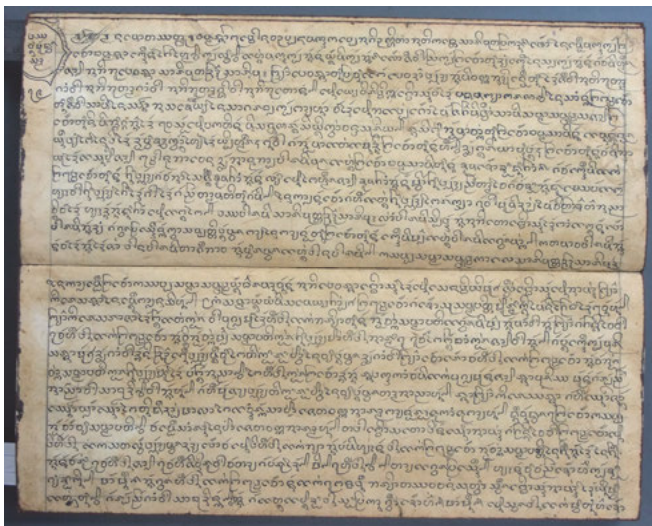
Fig. 2: A mulberry-paper manuscript in the concertina format (MS Kh 5). Source: the archive of Chiang Mai Rajabhat University.

Paratexts in Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts can provide a wealth of information for the reader. Colophons in particular can provide important information about scribes, donors and the manuscript itself, such as:

1. title of the text
2. name of the scribe and donor
3. date on which the scribe completed his writing; date on which the donor donated the manuscript to a monastery[6]
4. place where the author of the text or scribe of the manuscript lives; place to which the manuscript is donated
5. desires and wishes of scribes and donors
6. purposes of copying the text and/or donating the manuscript
7. price of the manuscript
8. particular events or special situations.

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6 154 colophons found in the manuscripts that constitute my corpus and, in particular, those found in manuscripts containing religious text written in Tai Lü inform us that the main reasons for donating manuscripts to monasteries were to support Buddhism, paying homage to the triple gems (Buddha, *dhamma* and *saṅgha*) and producing merit for future lives until reaching *nibbāna*.

With this in mind, in the following sections we will focus on a selected range of information emerging from the study of the paratextual material contained in our corpus, with a particular focus on spatial and temporal data.

2 Manuscript dating

The dates in colophons in the Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts under investigation can be divided into at least three categories:

2.1 Date when the scribe started writing the text of the manuscript

In our corpus there are very few examples of colophons giving the date when the scribe started the writing process. Usually the only temporal information provided is the date on which the copying of a manuscript was completed. The system of dating consists of different components. A complete dating formula would comprise the following elements:

Tai year/Cūḷasakaraja (CS)/month/lunar day/Mon day/Tai day/auspicious moment/time of the day

In general, we have found very rare instances where the dating of colophons is complete and contains all eight components outlined above. Sometimes only one or two components are provided, usually the *Cūḷasakaraja*.[7]

Example: MS 1 *Kam khap khao mahawong taeng òn* คำขับค่าวมหาวงศ์แตงอ่อน ('The Epic Poem of *Mahawong Taeng Òn*').[8]

The scribe mentioned the date on which he started and finished copying the text. He spent 45 days copying the manuscript altogether, but did not work on every one of those days because he sometimes had other commitments or was ill.

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7 The *Cūḷasakaraja* (Thai: *cunlasakkarat*) is a lunisolar calendar derived from the Burmese calendar. It came into use in large parts of mainland Southeast Asia during the period of Burmese political dominance in the sixteenth century. It was used by most kingdoms and principalities in the region until the late nineteenth century and even beyond; see Saimöng 1981.
8 In this article, I have assigned a progressive label to each manuscript (e.g. MS 1, MS 2, etc. and MS Kh 1, MS Kh 2, etc.). For more information about individual items, see the bibliography.

Colophon:

คำขับค่าวมหาวงแตงอ่อนเปนของผู้ข้าใหม่คำบ้านเสี้ยวเมิงกงแล คุ้นไผหยืมอ่านค็ขอพอกส่งข้า แด่
ขออย่าอำเสิ่งแด่ ผู้ข้าก่ายแล้วปีเต่าสี่สักขาด 1374 ตัว เดิน 8 ลง 15 ค่ำ วันจัน กดเสด เลิกฟ้า 6 ตัวแล
กางวันหน้าหลี่ 12 ตา ปาย 5 ฟัน แต้มแล้วแลเวลาแม่น 45 วันหึงยาวแท้แล
ย้อนว่าซานวันบ่ได้แต้มค็มี แม่นกินน้ำอ้อยขึ้นเรินใหม่ค็มี เจบไหม้ใข้หนาวค็มีแลท่านทังหลายเอย

[This manuscript with the title] *Kam khap khao mahawong taeng òn* is my own, Mai Kham
of Ban Seo in Moeng Pong. Anyone [who wants to] borrow [this manuscript] should return
it afterwards, please. I finished copying [it] in the *tao si* year, CS 1374, in the eighth [lunar]
month, on the fifteenth waning moon day, a Monday – [the Tai say] a *kot set* day – at the
auspicious time of 6, at noon, 5 past 12. I spent a very long time on it – 45 days – because
on some days I did not copy it as I had to attend a house-warming party or I fell ill.[9]

2.2 Date on which the scribe finished writing the text of the manuscript

Usually, the information that is reported is the date on which the scribe com-
pleted the manuscript.

Example: MS 8 *Wetsandòn cadok* เวสสันดรชาดก ('*Vessantara Jātaka*')[10]

Colophon:

ปีเต่าสงะ จุฬสักกราชสักขาดได้ 1364 ตัว เดิน 11 วุฒิจ่าเรินขึ้นได้ 9 ค่ำ เมงวัน 1 ไทรายเสด
ฤกษ์ฟ้าได้ 19 ตัว ริกขิตตแล้วแล

[The copying of this manuscript] has been completed in the *Tao Sa-nga* year, CS 1364, in the
eleventh month, on the ninth waxing day,[11] a Sunday – the Tai [say] the *Rai Set* day – at the
auspicious constellation of nineteen.

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9 In the translations provided in this article, I have applied the following conventions: round
brackets are used for the author's own explanations, whereas square brackets indicate additions
to the text by the author. Tai terms are put in italics. Whenever the original text gives numbers
in Tai Lü numerals, the translation uses Arabic numerals.
10 The Pali work called *Vessantara Jātaka* (Thai: *Maha Chat*, 'the great existence') contains the
most popular stories of the Buddha's past lives. The story is about a compassionate prince,
Vessantara, who gives away everything he owns, including his children, thereby displaying the
virtue of perfect charity; see Gombrich and Cone 1977.
11 374 Bhadrapada 9 = Sunday, 15 November 2002.

In some cases, mulberry-paper manuscripts might have been copied from palm-leaf manuscripts comprising many fascicles (Thai: *phuk* ผูก). The content is divided into many parts, each of which has a colophon. In the example below, the colophon reports the date on which the scribe finished copying the first, fourth and seventh fascicles. This enables us to calculate the period of time he spent copying the manuscript. After completing the first fascicle, the scribe needed another nine days before finishing the fourth fascicle. Then he spent around thirteen days working on and completing the seventh fascicle.

Example: MS 4 *Totsa panha alòng pae kham* ทสปัญหาอลองแพะคำ ('Ten Questions of the Golden Goat [Who Is the] Bodhisattva')

(โคโลโฟน ผูก ๑)

สาธุ บุนเหย ยอนเอาชูโส ผลา อานิสง หื้อ
ได้ลู่ ได้ทาน ชั่วนิ แลชาดหน้า หื้อมีหน้าตางามองอาด
หื้อมีประยาฉลาด เปนเช่เรเมิง เสคำขา แล
137(1 / 7) ตัว เดิน 7 ลง 13 ค่ำแต้มเย้า แล
                    หมอยา 3 แกว แต้ม แล !

(โคโลโฟน ผูก ๔)

สาธุ สาธุ หน้าลี 9 ตา 15 เผิ่น แล ยอนเอาผลาอานิสงแล
หมอยาแต้ม 3 แกว แล ֢
1371 ตัว เดิน 8 ใหม่ 7 ค่ำ แล

(โคโลโฟน ผูก ๗)

สาธุ สาธุ บุนเหย
ผู้ข้าแต้มเย้า หนาลีได้ 8 ตาง่งข้าแล ผู้ข้าแต้มยอนเอาคูโสผลาอาสง หื้อมีประยาปัญญา หื้อหูหื้อ
ดักเสคำ ข้าแล ผู้ข้าแต้มหมอยา 3 แกว ข้าพู้ชอเอาทีมิงยางมาแต้มไว้เสแล แพะคำมีเมิ่งเหา 4 ผูก
เมิงยางมี 7 ผูกแล ‹137(1 เลขอารบิค)ตัว เดิน 8 (เลขอารบิค) ลง 4 ค่ำ เย้าแล

Colophon of fascicle 1:

Sādhu. Merit. I ask for religious benefit from the donation of this manuscript. May I get happiness in this life and my next lives. May I be endowed with a handsome appearance and wisdom. May I become a person who knows the scholars of the country.
I finished copying [this manuscript] in the year [CS] 1371, on the thirteenth waning day of the seventh month.[12]

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12 1371 Vaishaka 28 = Thursday, 21 May 2009.

Colophon of fascicle 4:

> *Sādhu Sādhu.* At 15 minutes past 9. May this be of benefit.
> Mò Ya Sam Kaeo copied [this manuscript].

Colophon of fascicle 7:

> *Sādhu Sādhu.* I finished copying [this manuscript] at 8 o'clock. I copied [it] for religious benefit (*phala anisong*). May I become a person endowed with intelligence. I, the scribe, [whose name is] Mò Ya Sam Kaeo, copied [this manuscript] from a master copy in Moeng Yang. [The manuscript entitled] *Pae Kham* ('Golden Boat') of our country has four fascicles, [while the corresponding manuscript] of Moeng Yang has seven fascicles. The copying was competed in the year [CS] 1371, on the fourth waning day of the seventh month.[13]

2.3 Date on which the scribe/donor donated the manuscript to a monastery

Theravada Buddhism is the most widespread belief among Tai Lü and Tai Khün people, so sponsoring and donating manuscripts to monasteries is regarded as both a privileged means of supporting and promoting Buddha's teachings and a strategy by which the sponsor/donor can acquire merit. Therefore, the majority of Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts have a religious content, ranging from canonical texts and commentarial literature to Jātaka stories[14] and Buddhist chronicles. Such manuscripts would usually be kept in monastic libraries (*hò trai*). These manuscripts mostly record the date on which they were donated, sometimes along with that of their ritual consecration.

Example: MS 10 *Tamnan that long cao ceng tuem* ตำนานธาตุหลวงเชียงทึม ('The Chronicle of the Great *Ceng Tuem* Pagoda')[15] – Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing district, Luang Namtha province, 1959

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13 1371 Vaishaka 19 = Tuesday, 12 May 2009.

14 The Jātakas are a collection of stories pertaining to the Buddha's previous lives, both in human and animal form. Although in the Theravada tradition, Jātakas form part of the *Sutta Pitaka* (a canonical work written in Pali), we also find numerous non-canonical Jātaka tales composed in vernaculars throughout Southeast Asia.

15 The actual pronunciation in the areas where Tai Lü is spoken is different from the orthography because the Tai Lü written language differs from the spoken language. The written language has diphthongs, whereas the spoken language only has monophtongs. For example, in written language, the word 'great' is *luang*, but in spoken language it is *long*. Moreover, some consonant letters are different from the consonant sounds, such as the aspirated consonant /tɕʰ/, which the

หน้าทับพายเคล้าชำตำนานธาดหลวงเชียงทึมผูก 1 ย่าขวัรเข้าผูก 1 อยู่กับกันสองผูกแล เปนปุพพฆ เจตนาสัทธาผู้ข้าอาจานขนานอินประยา แลลูกเต้าทัง 2 ชื่อว่าหัวอินดวงแลอิป้อมเปนเคล้า ลูกเต้าทัง 3 ทัง 4 ส้างเปนทานแก้ว 3 ประกานในปีกัดใค้สักขาดใค้ 1321 ตัว ขอหื้อเปนอุปนิไส ประไจค้ำชูชั่วนิ แลชาดหน้า ยวะตราบต่อเท้าเข้าสู่นิพพาน นิพพานํปรมํสุขยาจามิ ขอหื้อถึงสุกทะแท้ข้าแล บุนเอย เดิน 3 ออก 15 ค่ำ หยาดน้ำหมายทานแล

The front cover folio [contains the title of] the religious chronicle of the great *stūpa* of Chiang Tüm (Tüng), one fascicle, and of *Ya khwan khao*, one fascicle. These two fascicles are put together [in this manuscript]. As the leading initiator and devoted believer, I, Acan Khanan In Paya, and my two children, whose names are Ho In Dong (Hua In Duang) and I Pòm, along with their three and four children respectively, have donated [this manuscript] to the three gems in the year [CS] 1321.[16] We ask that [this donation] will be a disposition helping us in this life and in the next existences until finally reaching *nibbāna*.[17] *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ yācāmi.* (We crave for *nibbāna* as the highest stage of happiness.) May this lead us to real happiness and religious merit. The consecration ceremony was conducted on the fifteenth waxing day of the third month.[18]

Some manuscripts convey two different dates, namely the one on which the scribe finished writing his manuscript and that on which the manuscript was donated to the monastery. In the following example, the scribe completed the copying process on the fourteenth waning day of the ninth month, as the first sentence of the colophon states. Thereafter, the colophon is continued in pencil, stating that the manuscript was donated to the monastery in '[CS] 1338, on a waxing day, the Mon [say] a Wednesday of the eleventh [lunar] month', corresponding to either 25 August, 1 September or 8 September 1976.

Example: MS Kh 1 *Phra Sing Long Chiang Mai Chronicle* ตำนานพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่. ('The Chronicle of the Singha Buddha Image of Chiang Mai')

ผู้ข้าริจิตแต้มแล้ว มื้อวันต้ำ ห้อยสีน เดิน 9 ล่อง 14 ค่ำ แต้มแล ข้าแล ผู้ข้าได้แต้มก็ขอหื้อได้ เปนผลอานิสูง ขอหื้อข้าได้หันหน้าพระเจ้าทังสี่ตน ด้วยแด่ นิพพาน ปรมํ สุกขํ (เขียนด้วยดินสอ) ปุพพฆเจตนาสัทธา ตัวผู้ข้าชื่อว่าลูงใส่ เมิงเมล้ะ เปนเค้าว่าภาริยา ชื่อว่านาง สุก พร้อมกับด้วยบุตตีบุตตลูกยิงลูกชายทังหอทังเริน จิ่งจักขอสุกยอนบูนเอา สุกสามพระกาน

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16 CE 1959/60.

17 Tai Lü and Tai Khün texts usually prefer the Pali form *nibbāna* to the more widely known Sanskrit term *nirvāṇa*, which literally means 'extinction' and in the Buddhist context pertains to absolute freedom from desire. It constitutes the highest and ultimate goal of all Buddhist aspirations; see Nyanatiloka 2004: 123.

18 1321 Pausha 15 = Wednesday, 13 January 1960.

มีมหาเนรพานเจ้าเปนที่แล้วด้วยแด่   ทานเม่อปี   1338   ตั๋ว   เดิน   11 แพงเมงวันพูด
หยาดน้ำหมายทานกับวัตราชฐานหลวงวัตอิน ว่าเปนประกานสันนี้ข้าแล

I finished copying [this manuscript] on the fourteenth waning day of the ninth month. I ask for religious benefit. May I see the four previous Buddhas. *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukkhaṃ.* (*Nibbāna* is the highest stage of happiness.)
(Written in pencil) the principle initiators are Lung Sai of Moeng Ma and his wife, Nang Suk, along with their children. May we all obtain the three kinds of happiness in finally entering into *nibbāna* as the most supreme state. They donated [this manuscript] to the Rajathan Long Wat In monastery in [CS] 1338, on the full-moon day of the eleventh month, the Mon [say] a Wednesday.[19]

The year of the writing process is not stated in the colophon, but we assume it is the same as the year of donation. Therefore, it ought to be safe to suggest that around 47 days elapsed between the compilation and the donation. However, this case cannot be taken as a model, as other examples show that the donation could have happened immediately after the compilation or long after that. In the manuscript entitled (MS 14) *Pha cao lep lok* ('The Legend of the Buddha's Journeys around the World') from Moeng Hai (Sipsòng Panna), for instance, the colophon on the front cover page says '[The manuscript] was donated in the *rai cai* year, [C]S 1358, on the full-moon day of the fifth month', and the colophon on the back cover page says 'The writing/copying [of the manuscript] was finished in the *rai cai* year, [C]S 1358, on the twelfth waxing day of the fifth month'. In other words, the donation took place only three days after the manuscript was compiled. In contrast, in the manuscript entitled (MS 15) *Pathama puen lok cadok* ('Jataka about the Creation of the World') from Müang Sing, the colophon tells us that the writing process was finished in CS 1353, on the twelfth waning day of the fifth month (1353 Phalguna 27 or Monday, 30 March 1992), while the donor donated the manuscript in CS 1354, on the fifth waning day of the eleventh month (1353 Bhadrapada 20 or Wednesday, 16 September 1992). This means that this manuscript was donated almost half a year after the scribe finished writing it.

Furthermore, Volker Grabowsky and I have found some remarkable cases in which several dates are found in the same manuscript. A manuscript called *Hom phithikam tang tang*, for example – a multiple-text manuscript containing different ritual texts over 145 pages – was written in two periods. The first date records the year in which the manuscript was written by the monk, Phra Thera Dhamma Paññāsa (CE 1908). He wrote the manuscript for himself, as he explicitly points out. His handwriting ends on the 29th page of the manuscript. Then, a further

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19 1338 Bhadrapada 15 = Wednesday, 8 September 1976.

scribe added another text to the same manuscript. We know the identity of this second scribe from the second colophon appearing at the end of the manuscript. It states: 'This manuscript is mine – my name is Nan Thera Saeng Wong. I wrote it in CE 1971'. That happened 63 years after the manuscript was originally written/copied.

Example: MS 7 *Hom pithikam tang tang* รวมพิธีกรรมต่างๆ ('Collection of Rituals') – Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing district, Luang Namtha province

พับลูกนิเปนของข้าตนชื่อว่าเถรธัมมปัญญาสภิกขุส้างไว้กับตนแล ส้างในปีสักราชได้ 1270 ตัว ในเดินสิบสองขึ้น 8 ค่ำ วันนั้นแล เราตนเปนอธิกอนสอนในสาสนาพายเมิงเหนอวัดน้ำ แก้วหลวงเปนกาลวิปัตติ คนอันใค่อยู่สาสนามีพายน้อยเปนที่ซ้อยพระน้อยกิน เข้า คึบ่มีกาละยามเวลา คึมียามนั้นมีหันชะแล ยากแท้ ๆ ยากแท้ ๆ เอยเอย …

(ปกพับหลั่น - ตัวอักษรลาว เขียนด้วยเมจิกสีน้ำเงิน)

แก้อุบาท ราทนาต่าง ๆ ของหนานเถรแสงวง

(บันทึกท้ายเรื่อง)

ผู้ข้าอาจานหนานเถียนใส่ค้ำน้ำแก้วแต้มในปี 1333 ตัว เดิน 6 ขึ้น 3 ค่ำ วันนั้นแล

Colophon (at the beginning of the text):

This manuscript is owned by me, Thera Dhammapaññasa Bhikkhu, who created (*sang*)[20] it for myself in the year CS 1270, in the eighth waxing day of the twelfth month.[21] I am an abbot teaching the religion (*sasana*) [according to the tradition] of the northern country at Wat Nam Kaeo Luang in difficult times. Those who have devoted themselves to religion are very few in number. It is deteriorating as the novices (*pha nòi*) do not eat at the appropriate time; they eat whenever they like. It is really very difficult, so difficult.

Front cover folio (passage in Lao script written with a blue ballpoint pen, colloquially called a 'magic marker' in Thai):

[The proposals for] overcoming calamities and [achieving] satisfying results are from Nan Thera Saengwong.

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20 A *phu sang*, literally the 'maker' of a manuscript. This term refers to the person who sponsors the making of the manuscript by employing a scribe before the manuscript is donated (*thawai* or *than*) to a monastery or to monks. However, in the above context, the scribe (*phu taem* or *phu likkhita*) and the sponsor are one and the same person.
21 1270 Asvina 8 = Saturday, 3 October 1908.

Colophon (end of the text):

> I, Acan Nan Thera [Saengwong], dedicated [this manuscript] to [Ban] Nam Kaeo [Luang] in the year [CS] 1333, on the third waxing day of the sixth month.[22]

Moreover, in some of our corpus manuscripts, the scribe inserted his biography in between the main texts. In the example below, the scribe is a monk. He noted his birthday, the date when he was ordained as a Buddhist monk, the date when he rose to the higher ranks of the Saṅgha (lit., 'association', 'assembly', referring to the Buddhist monastic community of ordained monks and novices) and the last date is the date when he wrote this manuscript.

Example: MS 2 *Kammathan* กัมมัฏฐาน ('Buddhist Meditation', in Pali '*Kamma-thāna*')

(ประวัติผู้แต้มแทรกอยู่กลางเรื่อง)

สักกราชได้ 1274 ตัว ปีธำเต่าไจ้ ปีไทรวงเร้า ฤกษ์ฟ้าได้ 06 ตัว ปีเกิดแล ; สักกราชได้ 1295 ตัว ปีธำก่าเร้า ปีไทเมิงมด เดือนกำ ลง 7 ค่ำ แมงวัน 7 ไทยวันกัดเร้า ขึ้นภิกขุแล ; สักกราชได้ 1298 ตัว ปีธำรายไจ้ ปีไทยขดเมด เดินเจียง ขึ้นสิบสองค่ำ แมงวัน 3 ไทวัน(เต่า)สิงั้า ขึ้นเปนเถียรแล ; สักกราชได้ 131 ตัว ปีธำก่าเป้า ขึ้นเปนสิมิแล ; สักกราชได้ 133 ตัว ปีธำรวงไส้ ขึ้นเปนสังแล; สักกราชได้ 1315 ตัว ปีธำก่าไส้หลกหนีปีไทเมิงเหม้า เดือน สี่ ขึ้น 11 ค่ำขึ้นเปนครูว๋าไหน่แล้วแล // จุพสักกราชได้ 136 ตัว ปีธำกาบ สง้าหลกหนีปีไทยเปิกสี เดือน .11 ขึ้น 9 ค่ำ แต้มกัมมัฏฐานผูกนี้ไปแล ;

I was born in [C]S 1274,[23] the *tao cai* Dhamma year [which is] a *ruang rao* Tai year, at the auspicious time of 6. In the *ka rao* Dhamma year [which is] a *moeng met* Tai year, [CS] 1295, on the seventh waning day of the second [lunar] month, the Mon [say] a Saturday, the Tai [say] a *rat rao* day,[24] I was ordained as a Buddhist monk; in the *rawai cai* Dhamma year [which is] a *kat met* Tai year, [CS] 1298, on the twelfth waxing day of the first [lunar] month, the Mon [say] a Tuesday, the Tai [say] a *tao sa-nga* day,[25] I became a *thera*[26]; in the *ka pao* Dhamma year, [CS] 13[1]1,[27] I became a *sami*[28]; in the *ruang sai* Dhamma year, [CS] 13[1]3,[29] I became a [high-ranking member of the] Saṅgha. In the *ka sai* Dhamma year [which is] a

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22 1333 Caitra 23 = Friday, 17 March 1972.

23 CE 1912/13.

24 Friday, 24 November 1933.

25 Tuesday, 27 October 1936.

26 Usually the title of a monk who has been ordained for more than ten years already.

27 CE 1949/50.

28 Sanskrit: *svāmin*, literally 'master', refers to a higher rank in the Saṅgha hierarchy above the *thera* level.

29 CE 1951/52.

moeng mao Tai year, [CS] 1315, on the eleventh waxing day of the fourth [lunar] month,[30] I became a *khuba*.[31] In CS 13[1]6, in the *kap sanga* Dhamma year [which is] a *poek si* Tai year, on the ninth waxing day of the eleventh month,[32] I wrote this manuscript, *Kammathāna*.

3 Placing manuscripts in a locational context

In colophons of Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscripts, places usually appear together with the names of scribes or donors. If manuscripts are not too old, it is very useful to look for scribes who are still alive so they can be interviewed. In the following example, the manuscript mentions the name of the scribe and the names of the scribe's 21 informants and their places.

Example: MS 5 *Khao nitan satsana moeng long atikamma latthabuli thon sam* ค่าวนิทานสาสนาเมิงลวง อติกัมมรัฏฐบุรี ถ้วน 3 ('Religious legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Raṭhapuri, vol. 3')

(หน้าปก)

หน้าทับพายเค้า ค่าวนิทานสาสนาเมิงลวงอติกัมม
รัฏฐบุรี   ตาติยถ้วน 3
ไชยยสรี อ้ายแสงน้อย พ่อคำลือบ้านเฟยลงเมิงลวง
แต้มเขียนในปีจุพสักขาด 1356 ตัว แล แต้มไว้กับเริณแล
คำนำ
เกตตนาว่าแจง
          พับหน่วยนิเวเต้มไว้หลายเดินแล ผู้อันเอากากคำมาเติ่มช่อยนั้นมีพายใต้แล มีขนานแพงเมิง
เชียงจัน, พ่ออ้ายตูน บ้านเฟยลง, อ้ายชายขน เชียงหลวง, อ้ายคำผุง เชียงมูน, ขนานพิงเชียงมูน, ขนานบัน
เชียงจัน, พ่อเถ้าชาโบ เชียงใน, พ่อเถ้าแดงหมออยา เชียงใน, พ่อเถ้านาคำแดง เชียงใน, พ่อเถ้าบุนน้อย
เชียงหลวง, ขนานช้อย บ้านทอง, พ่อเถ้าอ่อนแก้ว บ้านเฟยลง, พ่อเถ้าบุนหมออยา บ้านเฟยลง, อ้ายช้อย
บ้านเฟยลง, พ่อเถ้าจานเถ้า, ขนานหน่อแก้ว บ้านเฟยลง, พ่ออิมอน บ้าน   เฟยลง, พ่อเถ้าแดงสิง
บ้านเฟยลง, ขนานแตงยวง บ้านล้องขือ, พ่ออ่นแพง บ้านเฟยลง, พ่อคำหลวง บ้านเฟยลง

[The front cover page]

> The front page of the manuscript bears the title Khao Nithan Sasana Moeng Long Atikamma Rattha Buri, part 3

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30 Sunday, 14 February 1954.

31 The honorary title of a senior monk who is both of greater age and has already been ordained for quite a long period. A *khuba* (Thai: *khruba*) would need to behave as a model monk and is in charge of a wide range of activities in the monastic order.

32 Monday, 6 September 1954.

I, the scribe, [called] Caiya Sari Ai Saeng Nòi, father of Kham Lue of Foei Lung village, in Moeng Long. I copied it for my household in the year [CS] 1356.[33]

[Preface]

I spent many months copying this manuscript. The people who gave me the information [regarding the legends] are Khanan Phaeng Moeng [from] Chiang Can, Phò Ai Tun [from] Ban Foei Lung, Ai Chai Khon [from] Chiang Long, Ai Kham Pung [from] Chiang Mun, Khanan Ping [from] Chiang Mun, Khanan Ban [from] Chiang Can, Phò Thao Cabo [from] Chiang Nai, Phò Thao Daeng Mò Ya [from] Chiang Nai, Pò Thao Na Kham Daeng [from] Chiang Nai, Pò Thao Bun Noi [from] Chiang Long, Khanan Còi [from] Ban Thong, Pò Thao On Kaeo [from] Ban Foei Lung, Pò Thao Bun Mò Ya [from] Ban Foei Lung, Ai Còi [from] Ban Foei Lung, Pò Thao Can Thao, Khanan Nò Kaeo [from] Ban Foei Lung, Pò I Mon [from] Ban Foei Lung, Pò Thao Daeng Sing [from] Ban Foei Lung, Khanan Taeng Yong [from] Ban Tong Khü, Pò On Paeng [from] Ban Foei Lung and Pò Kham Long [from] Ban Foei Lung.

In the following example, the name and place of residence of the former owner of the manuscript are stated in the colophon. He is identified as a monk called Duang Saeng who previously lived in Myanmar. Afterwards, a monk called Khanthawathi Bhikkhu bought this manuscript at the price of eleven piastres, which is equivalent to 55 yuan, in order to donate it to the monastery of Ratchathan Wat Long Moeng Long in the northwestern Lao province of Luang Namtha.

Example: MS 3 *Puttha boek* พุทธเบิก ('Opening [the eyes] of the [image of] Buddha')

(เขียนด้วยปากกาหมึกแห้งสีน้ำเงิน)

พอบพุทธเบิกหน่วยนิตัวข้าขันธวาทีภิกขุ
ทุชายทุหลวงดอนหลวงบูชาซื้อเอาหนังทุดวงแสงบ้านซ้าวไห้ เมิงภยาก ปีลวงเมด ค่ามัน 11 หมันงึนหนัก แม่นงึนกดกาด 55 แย้น น้อมถายเปนทานกับ ลาชถานวัดหลวงเมิงลอง

Colophon (before the beginning of the text, written in dry, dark blue ink):

I, Khandhawadi Bhikkhu Phra Cai, abbot of Wat Dòn Long, purchased this Phuttha boek manuscript from Phra Duang Saeng at Ban Sao Hai in Moeng Phayak in the *ruang met* year [CS 1353] at the price of 11 piastres, which is equivalent to 55 yuan. I donated it to the monastery of Wat Long Moeng Lòng.

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33 CE 1994/95.

4 Paratexts in different scripts

One element that might help to identify manuscripts in terms of time and space pertains to the scripts used in Tai Lü (and Tai Khün) manuscripts. Tai Lü has two systems of script called the old Tai Lü script and the new Tai Lü script, which developed from the old one. The basic difference between these two competing scripts is in the orthography. The old Tai Lü script (Fig. 3) follows the Indian tradition of lining consonants, vowels and tone markers. Vowels can be positioned around the initial consonant and tone markers always appear above the initial consonants, while final consonants can be placed either beneath, behind or above the initial consonants or vowels. On the other hand, the new Tai Lü orthography breaks radically with the Indian tradition (Fig. 4). Here the consonants, vowels and tone markers are all placed on the same line. The new, simplified system was introduced by the Chinese authorities throughout Sipsòng Panna in 1955,[34] so when we find manuscripts written in the new Tai Lü script or the new script being mixed with the old one, we might be able to roughly determine the date and age of the manuscripts.

Moreover, one interesting characteristic feature of Tai Lü manuscripts is the use of other scripts along with the traditional Dhamma script. There are several Tai groups whose settlements are situated at the interstices of the zone dominated by the Tai Lü language (written in the Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script) and the zone where the Tai Noe language is dominant (a language written in the Lik Hto Ngouk script of the Chinese Shan). Although the local dialects in Tai-inhabited areas of Simao such as Gengma and Moeng Ting are very close to the Tai Noe language spoken in Dehong, we find a significant number of manuscripts in these counties written in Dhamma script, most of which contain religious texts.

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34 See He Shaoying et al. 2008: 215; Isra 2001: 459–60. The simplified alphabet abolished Pali consonants, banned the use of ligatures as well as of subscript and superscript symbols that are a typical feature of the Dhamma script, "simplified" the shape of the remaining consonant and vowel characters, and lined up consonants, vowels and tone markers in one and the same line. Since then, the younger generation has been educated exclusively in the new script, which is also used for typesetting vernacular books and newspapers.

Fig. 3: Manuscript written in old Tai Lü script and orthography (MS 11). Photograph by Volker Grabowsky.

Fig. 4: The printed book in the new Tai Lü script and orthography (MS 5). Photograph by Volker Grabowsky.

Paratexts such as marginal notes and colophons are frequently written in Lik Hto Ngouk. The mulberry-paper manuscript MS 9 *Lik hong khwan khon* ลิ่กฮ้องขวัญคน. ('Ceremony for Calling the Guardian Spirits of Persons')[35] from Gengma, for example, has the main text written in the Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script, with its titles and colophons written variously in Lik Hto Ngouk script (*alias* Tai Noe script), Shan script and Burmese script (Fig. 5). The title folio (1r) is written in Tai Noe script, on the recto side (1v) the first line is also written in Tai Noe script, followed by a line written in Shan script: 'Ceremony for Calling the Guardian Spirits of Persons, as already mentioned'.[36] Then the year of copying, [CS] 1367 (CE 2005), is again written in Tai Noe script. A few lines later, a Pali phrase inscribed in Burmese script is inserted into a Tai Noe text. It reads: *Namo tassa bhagavato arāhato saṃmasa buddhassa*.

Fig. 5: The manuscript entitled *Lik hong khwan khon* (MS 9) showing the colophon written in Lik Hto Ngouk script (Tai Noe script), Shan script and Burmese script. Photograph by Volker Grabowsky.

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35 In traditional Tai beliefs, a *khwan* is an invisible spirit that lives within each person and is responsible for psychological and spiritual well-being. Losing one's *khwan* is thought to cause health or mental problems. Unfortunately, a *khwan* gets frightened easily and any scary or unnerving experiences can easily cause it to flee the body. To keep a *khwan* inside one's body, or to coax it back once it has fled from it, it is necessary to feel safe, peaceful and at ease.
36 The transcription of the Shan text into Thai script is ลิ่กฮ้องผันกุนว่าไน้เย้า.

The colophon at the end of the manuscript starts with a line written in Shan script stating that the text 'Ceremony for Calling the Guardian Spirits of Persons has been finished'.[37]

In the same vein, some manuscripts in bilingual Tai Noe villages in Müang Sing, northern Laos, such as the village of Nam Kaeo Luang, have colophons written in several scripts. For instance, a mulberry-paper manuscript entitled *Tamnan phaya tham ha pha ong* has a long colophon that is mostly written in Tai Lü script, but also contains three passages in Burmese, Shan, and Lao scripts. MS 13 *Tamnan phaya tham ha pha ong* ตำนานพระยาธรรมห้าพระองค์ ('The Chronicle of Five Phaya Tham') from Luang Namtha province (CE 1975) also has its main content written in Tai Lü script, with its first colophon written in Shan and Tai Lü scripts and its second colophon written in modern Lao script (Fig. 6).
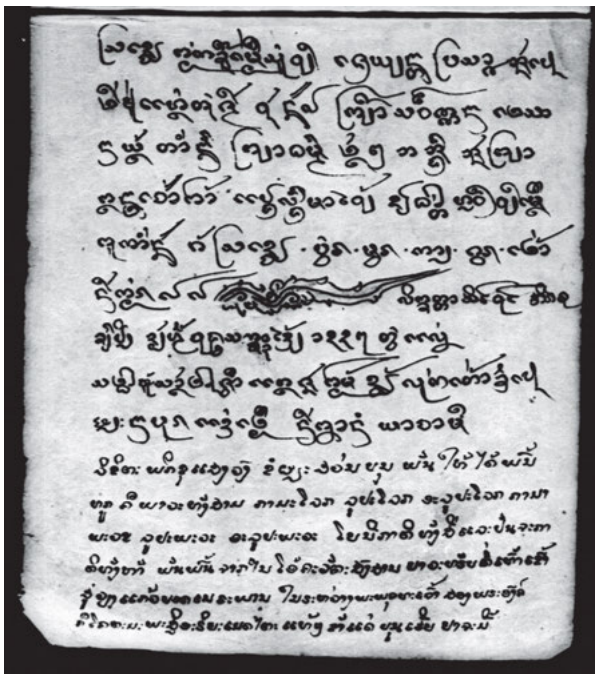
Fig. 6: The manuscript entitled *Tamnan phaya tham ha pha ong* (MS 13), the first colophon written in Shan and Tai Lü scripts, and the second colophon written in modern Lao script. Source: Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts.

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37 The transcription of the Shan text into Thai script is ลิ่กฮ้องผันกุนสุดเส้งกานเย้า.

5 Other means of locating manuscripts

Notwithstanding the helpful insights obtained from the analysis of paratexts, other non-textual features must also be taken into consideration when reconstructing the temporal and spatial features of manuscripts. What we want to stress here is the importance that a comprehensive approach to both textual and non-textual features can have in the study of manuscripts. In the following paragraphs we analyse features of the writing supports and substances used as well as aspects concerning page layout and ask how they can help us locate manuscripts in space and time.

5.1 Materials for writing manuscripts (paper, ink)

In 2012, Volker Grabowsky and I made a field trip to southern Yunnan in China. We found a surprisingly large number of manuscripts written on industrial paper in black ink and/or ballpoint pen. Furthermore, we also found photocopies of older mulberry-paper manuscripts.

The oldest extant manuscript in our corpus (MS 11) is written on industrial paper and contains an astrological treatise called *Pòp Pakkatün* ('Calendar'). According to its colophon, this manuscript was finished in 1983 and was copied by Cao Maha Khanthawong (1925–2013), a former government employee from an aristocratic background who became a productive scribe after retirement as well as a scholar who was very knowledgeable about the history and culture of Sipsòng Panna. Cao Maha Khanthawong copied numerous secular texts into notebooks and onto industrial paper. Moreover, a number of manuscript copies are being kept in a wooden casket at Rājathān Long monastery (MS 12) situated in the city quarter of Ban Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung. These are photocopies from older mulberry manuscripts that still exist or have been lost. Another case is a manuscript (MS 6) recording the dynastic history of Chiang Rung (1160–1950). It is owned by Ai Saeng Kham (born in 1932), a prolific elderly scribe and collector of manuscripts from Ban Mòng Mangrai, a village situated on the outskirts of Chiang Rung City. The front and back cover page of this manuscript are made of mulberry paper. They contain the title of the text and include a statement of ownership mentioning the owner's name and year of acquisition (1999). However, the main text is not handwritten, but printed in the Dhamma script on industrial paper. The traditional whirlwind binding, however, makes the manuscript appear genuine.

5.2 Layout of manuscripts

During our field study we identified several Tai Lü manuscripts in Yunnan that were influenced by modern printing technology introduced once the Communist Party of China had risen to power in Yunnan (1950). However, in the areas of northern Laos inhabited by Tai Lü, such as Müang Sing, traditional manuscript culture does not seem to have changed that much. Printing technology had probably not spread into the countryside at that time.

With regard to the layout of Tai Lü manuscripts, we observed that Tai Lü manuscripts produced before the Cultural Revolution are usually written in *scriptio continua*, that is, in a continuous flow of letters without the separation of words, sentences and paragraphs. In contrast, manuscripts from the post-1980 period exhibit the influence of modern printed books: many of these later manuscripts contain tables of contents, prefaces, headings and sub-headings followed by new paragraphs.

We also found four Tai Khün manuscripts, namely MS Kh 5 (multiple texts), MS Kh 2 (*Namasap Pajitti*), MS Kh 3 (*Namasap Pariwan*) and MS Kh 4 (*Wisakha Thassawong*) from the archive of Chiang Mai Rajabhat University, which were copied on the orders of a high-ranking monk. These manuscripts are noteworthy, as the page immediately preceding the main text consists of a colophon – which is otherwise usually found at the end of the main text – and a table of contents. At present, we cannot find a convincing explanation of the peculiar feature of this manuscript. Remarkably, a photograph of the high-ranking monk is glued on the page on which the colophon is written in all these manuscripts (Fig. 7).

Example: MS Kh 4 *Wisakha Thassawong* วิสาขาทัสสวงส์

พับธัมม์ลูกนี้　สมณเจตนาสัทธา　พระมหาคุรุคูบาธัมมกถสุนธร　เจ้าอาวาสวัดจอมใหม่ มาส้างถวายเปนทาน　ในปีกัดเร้า จุฬสักกราชได้ ₁₃₃₁ ตัว เดิน ₇ ออก ₆ ค่ำ แมงวันอังคาร ไทวันมึงเหม้า เริกฟ้าได้ ₈ ตัว พุทธสักกราชได้ ₂₅₁₃ วสา หากเปนที่บัวรมวรหยาดน้ำหมายทาน ขอหื้อเปนผละอานิสงอันประเสิฐ ด้วยแด่ นิพุพานํ ยาจามิ

Colophon (before the beginning of the text):

This manuscript was donated by the faithful monk Phra Maha Kuru Khruba Dhammakatha Sunthòn, the abbot of Còm Mai monastery, in CS 1331, BE 2513,[38] in the sixth waxing day of

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38 BE = Buddhist Era. In Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, the Buddhist Era starts one year after the Buddha passed away. In Myanmar, India and Sri Lanka, however, the Era starts one day after the Buddha passed away. Therefore, 1 BE in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia corresponds to 543

the seventh month, the Mon [say] a Tuesday, the Tai [say] a *moeng mao* day, at the auspicious moment of 8, when the consecration ceremony was performed. I hope this will bring me a reward of merit. *Nibbānaṃ yācāmi.* (We crave for *nibbāna*.)
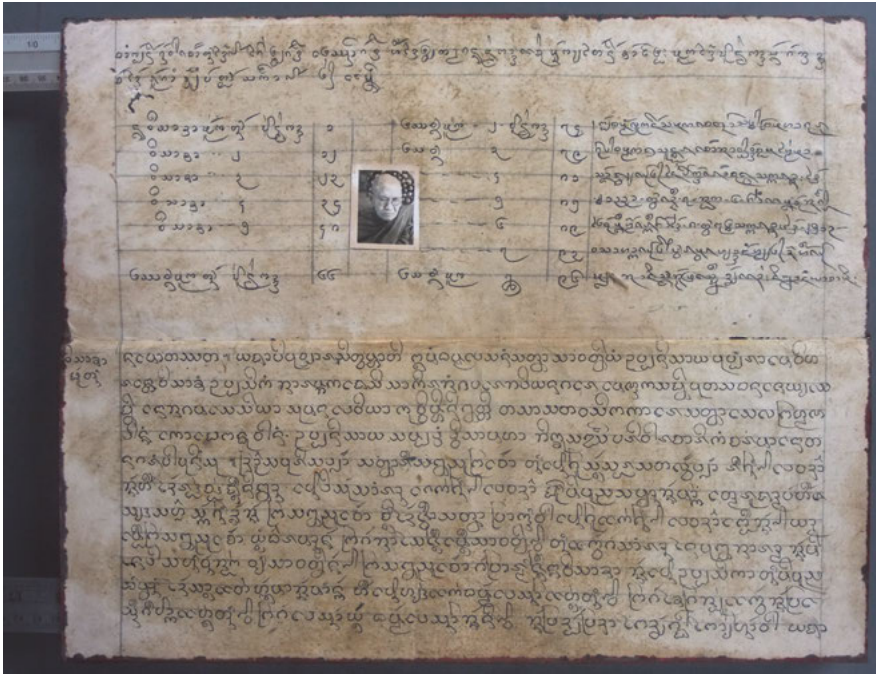
Fig. 7: The table of contents, colophon and photograph of the high-ranking monk who ordered the manuscript to be copied appeared at the beginning of *Wisakha Thassawong* (MS Kh 4). Source: Archive of Chiang Mai Rajabhat University.

6 Concluding remarks

In Tai Lü and Tai Khün manuscript cultures paratexts, in particular colophons, exhibit characteristic features which provide information about the date and time when the scribe started and/or finished copying his manuscript. In most cases, only the date and time when the copying process was finalised are stated, but

BCE, whereas 1 BE in Myanmar, India and Sri Lanka is equivalent to 544 BCE (Visudh Busyakul 2004: 468–478). For this article, the author has calculated the eras in terms of the Thai, Lao and Cambodian system; 2014 CE is equivalent to 2557 BE, for example.

there are a few cases in which paratexts mention both the date when the scribe started the writing process and when he finished it. This enables us to calculate the number of days needed for writing the whole manuscript or parts of it. Furthermore, colophons also exhibit a refined system of dating and reveal the names of the scribes, donors and sponsors as well as the names of locations where the manuscripts were produced.

In the case of manuscripts produced during the last twenty years, this data was very helpful in identifying the scribes, many of whom are still alive and active despite being in their seventies or eighties, enabling us to visit them at their homes where the manuscripts originated. Volker Grabowsky, who studied the colophons of the Tai Lü manuscripts kept in the Payap University archive (Chiang Mai, Thailand), found that according to their colophons, some manuscripts date to around the last twenty years. In February 2014, he undertook a field trip to Sipsòng Panna to meet three scribes whose names appear on the colophons: Ai Khan Kaew in Moeng Long, Cao Maha Buntan in Moeng Hai and Cao Maha Suriyawong in Chiang Rung (Jinghong 景洪). He conducted interviews with them in their residences and had the opportunity to photograph manuscripts in their personal collection.

Furthermore, it is not only the kind of writing support used for scripts (in our case study, this was mulberry paper and industrial paper) that is crucial for locating a specific manuscript in space and time, but the layout, too. Most if not all of the manuscripts produced after the Cultural Revolution show the influence of printing technology. Moreover, there are paratexts other than colophons as well as structural elements that are worth studying, such as the insertion of Chinese, Shan and Burmese characters. In a number of instances, especially in manuscripts containing historiographical texts, we find even longer Chinese, Shan or Burmese words written in the Dhamma script. Such "curiosities" reflect the fact that many Tai people in the cultural domain of the Dhamma script in the Upper Mekong were fluent in more than one dialect or language and were able to read and write several scripts, such as variants of the Dhamma script, as well as scripts of neighbouring languages. They were also quite mobile, even when the region came under the competing sovereignties of modern nation states.

Tai Lü manuscripts

MS 1: *Kam khap khao mahawong taeng òn* คำขับค่าวมหาวงศ์แตงอ่อน (The Epic Poem of Ma-hawong Taeng Ôn). Tai Lü mulberry-paper manuscript copied and owned by Ai Mai Kham, Ban Seo, Moeng Phong. 66 fols. (CE 2013).

MS 2: *Kammathan* กัมมัฏฐาน (Kammathāna). Moeng Ting. Mulberry-paper manuscript written in Tai Lü script, Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county. 75 fols. (CE 1954).

MS 3: *Puttha boek* พุทธเบิก (Foundings of the Buddha). Tai Lü manuscript from Wat Long Phak-ham, Luang Namtha, Laos. Tai Lü mulberry-paper manuscript, 49 fols. (undated).

MS 4: *Totsa panha alòng pae kham* ทสปัญหาอลองแพะคำ. Tai mulberry-paper manuscript, writ-ten in Tai Lü script from Wat Ban Lan, Moeng Laem, Simao, Yunnan. 48 fols. (CE 2008?).

MS 5: *Khao nitan satsana moeng long atikamma latthabuli thon sam* ค่าวนิทานสาสนาเมิงลวง อติกัมมรัฏฐบุรี ถ้วน 3 (Religious legends of Moeng Long Atikamma Raṭhapuri, vol. 3). Tai Lü mulberry-paper manuscript written and owned by Ai Saeng Nòi, Ban Foei Lung, Moeng Long, 74 fols. (1994).

MS 6: *Pop pün moeng ceng hung* พอบพื้นเมิงเชียงรุ่ง (The Chronicle of Chiang Rung). Tai Lü man-uscript, Ai Saeng Kham (Ban Mòng Mangrai), Yunnan province. 34 fols. (CE 1999).

MS 7: *Hom pithikam tang tang* รวมพิธีกรรมต่าง ๆ (Collection of Ceremonies), Ban Nam Kaeo Lu-ang, Müang Sing district, Luang Namtha province, 145 fols. (CE 1908).

MS 8: *Wetsandòn cadok* เวสสันครชาดก (Vessantara Jātaka), Wat Ban Nakham, Müang Sing dis-trict, Luang Namtha province, 217 fols. (CE 2002).

MS 9: *Lik hòng khwan khon* (Ceremony for Calling the Guardian Spirits of People) ลิ๊กฮ้องขวันคน. Wat Kun Nòng, Moeng Ting, Gengma county, Yunnan province. 86 fols. (CE 2005).

MS 10: *Tamnan that long cao ceng tüm* ตำนานธาตุหลวงเจ้าเชียงทึม (Chronicle of the Great Stupa of Chiang Tüm), Müang Sing district, Luang Namtha province, CE 1959, PLMP Code: 03 02 02 13 004 07, 13 fols.

MS 11: *Pòp pakkhathün* พอบปักขทึน (Divination). Tai Lü manuscript kept by Cao Maha Khan-thawong, Chiang Rung. 79 fols. (CE 1983).

MS 12: *Parami* ปารมี. Tai Lü manuscript, Wat Latcathan Long, Bang Chiang Lan, Chiang Rung, Yunnan province. 6 fols. (undated).

MS 13: *Tamnan phaya tham ha pha ong.* ตำนานพระยาธรรมห้าพระองค์ (The Chronicle of Five Phaya Tham), Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing district, Luang Namtha province, CE 1975, PLMP Code: 03 02 02 13 012 00, 31 fols.

MS 14: *Pha cao lep lok.* พระเจ้าเลียบโลก (The Legend of the Buddha's Journeys around the World). Tai Lü manuscript, Wat Long Cheng Hai, Moeng Hai, Yunnan province. 4 fols. (CE 1991).

MS 15: *Pathama puen lok cadok.* ปถมพื้นโลกชาดก (Jataka about the Creation of the World). Ban Nam Kaeo Luang, Müang Sing district, Luang Namtha province, CE 1991, PLMP Code: 03020212006_00, 62 fols.

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Anatole Roger Peltier Collection
MS Kh1: *Phra Sing Long Chiang Mai Chronicle* ตำนานพระสิงห์หลวงเชียงใหม่. 142 fols. (CE 1973).
MS Kh2: *Namasap Pajitti* นามศัพท์ปาจิตตีย์. 267 fols. (CE 1970).
MS Kh3: *Namasap Pariwan 1–7 bundles* นามศัพท์ปริวาร ผูก ๑-๗. 267 fols. (CE 1970)
MS Kh4: *Wisakha Thassavong* วิสาขา ทัสสวงส์. 203 fols. (CE 1970)
MS Kh5: (multiple texts). 267 fols. (CE 1972)

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Giovanni Ciotti and Marco Franceschini

Certain Times in Uncertain Places: A Study on Scribal Colophons of Manuscripts Written in Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts

1 Introduction

In this article, we present the initial results of our ongoing collaborative research, which aims to produce a comprehensive study of colophons found in manuscripts written in Tamilian Grantha and/or Tamil scripts.[1] In keeping with the theme of the present volume, we have focused our investigation on the temporal and spatial data that are found in such colophons.

The premises of our project are rooted in Marco Franceschini's preparatory work for his forthcoming monograph on the evolution of Tamilian Grantha script as found in manuscripts from Tamil Nadu and neighbouring areas. It is evident that the results of this palaeographical research should be combined with other manuscript-related investigations, such as those conducted on colophons, in order to reach a thorough understanding of the features of the manuscript culture of that region – or, indeed, of any other regions.

Before continuing, it is necessary to specify what we mean here by the term 'colophon'. In our understanding, this is a short paratext containing information about the production, internal organisation and storage of a particular manuscript. In this respect, one could name a colophon of this type a 'scribal colophon', since it is composed by scribes and generally relates to the material aspects of a specific

1 Tamilian Grantha is sometimes referred to as Grantha Tamil in the secondary literature.

manuscript.[2] Being a text in itself, a colophon is composed according to a set of more or less fixed conventions, which translate, for instance, into a formulaic use of the language (e.g. use of a specific lexicon, fixed invocations, etc.) and a number of graphic devices (e.g. *puṣpikā*s and *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*s[3]). Colophons are among the main means by which scholars can outline the aspects characterising a manuscript culture – in the present case that of Tamil Nadu. In fact, they are the sources of a wide variety of data that are not only of a temporal and spatial nature, but which also pertain to the identities of the scribes and owners of manuscripts; the religious environment in which manuscripts were produced, the features of the language – or languages – used by the scribes (Wagner *et al.* 2013) and the categories into which literature was organised (e.g. colophons may contain labels used to name literary genres), etc.[4] As for the manuscript material under consideration here, colophons are quite rare. In the absence of an exhaustive statistical study, it is possible to estimate that only one manuscript in five to ten contains colophonic material (see also Wilden 2014: 363 for a similarly impressionistic account).

2 The corpus

The corpus that we decided to examine here is limited in extent, numbering a total of 45 colophons found in 28 manuscripts (see Appendix 2 for their transcriptions and translations). The discrepancy between the number of colophons and

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2 In the manuscript culture under investigation here, it is difficult to ascertain whether scribes used to reproduce colophons along with the texts of the manuscripts they were copying. In fact, we generally do not possess antigraphs. As far as dates are concerned, it seems that colophons were not copied very often.

3 *Puṣpikā*s ('small flowers') are floreal signs that are variously used in South Asian manuscripts, in order to mark sections of a text, such as its beginning, end and its subdivisions. On the other hand, *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*s ('Gaṇeśa's trunk') are peculiar to the manuscript culture of southern India, and are used both as section markers and as auspicious signs.

4 Ever since we began our research, it has been clear to us that manuscripts written in other scripts such as Telugu and Grantha Malayalam should also be taken into account if we are to examine the manuscript culture of Tamil Nadu properly, if only for the reason that quite a number of manuscripts written in Tamilian Grantha and/or Tamil scripts also contain short colophons written in the Telugu language and in Telugu script, e.g. RE45807 (see fn. 55). This means that in future we will welcome the collaboration of colleagues whose expertise can help us to enlarge the scope of our investigation towards a broader understanding of the manuscript culture of Tamil Nadu and, indeed, of South India in general.

manuscripts stems from the fact that some of the latter are multiple-text manuscripts, whereas others contain colophons that mark both the dates when the scribal activity began and when it ended. By building an ad hoc repertoire we intend to offer a first systematisation of the wide typological variety we have so far encountered. As a consequence, at present, we do not claim any statistical value for the results of our study, although this is, of course, a further aim that we will pursue in our ongoing investigation once we are able to deal properly with larger amounts of data. It goes without saying that adding more and more cases to our repertoire will challenge our first systematisation, possibly by revealing new typologies of colophons. Thus, allowance must be made for a certain degree of flexibility in our ongoing research.

Furthermore, one should note that the size of our corpus has been affected by the nature of the extant catalogues of manuscript collections preserved in various libraries in Tamil Nadu. Unfortunately, they rarely record colophons in their entirety. The catalogues of the two main manuscript collections in Pondicherry are exceptions to this rule: the catalogue of the Institut français de Pondichéry (IFP) in four volumes (Varadachari 1986, 1987, 1990; Grimal and Ganesan 2002), a remarkable piece of scholarship, indeed, which, however, does not encompass the whole collection; and the catalogue of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Pondicherry, which at present mainly consists of the unprinted sheets prepared by Pandit R. Varadadesikan and, again, does not feature the whole collection. We selected the majority of the colophons in our corpus from these two collections. Furthermore, we took the manuscripts written in Tamilian Grantha into consideration that belong to the collection held at the University Library of Cambridge (Marco Franceschini has recently compiled the first catalogue of these items for the Cambridge Sanskrit Manuscripts Project). As for manuscripts written in Tamil script, we were able to access images of palm-leaf manuscripts collected by the Caṅkam Project (EFEO, Pondicherry), including, in particular, the poems of the *Caṅkam* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora. Finally, we also included one manuscript written in Tamilian Grantha held at the Leiden University Library (formerly the Van Manen Collectie).

In the following article, manuscripts are referred to by their accession numbers. Each of them bears a siglum that indicates the library in which they are held: RE for IFP, EO for EFEO, OR for Cambridge University Library, UVSL for U.V. Swāmināthaiyar Library (Makāmakōpātyāya Ṭākṭar U. Vē. Cāminātaiyar Nūlnilai) in Chennai, and MS for Leiden University Library.

Despite the usefulness of catalogues, for our study it has been necessary to check each manuscript in order to confirm (and not seldom amend) the recorded

data and to account for all the elements that we intend to study, given our definition of a colophon. Catalogues, for instance, do not always regard invocations as part of colophons. This examination was possible thanks to the fact that most of the manuscripts studied here are available in digital form. In particular, the fact that both the IFP and the EFEO collections have been digitised in line with very high standards has given us the possibility of engaging extensively with such valuable material. Bearing this in mind, the present article intends to show – to the best of the abilities of its authors – how important digitising collections is in furthering our understanding of manuscript cultures.

3 Linguistic considerations

From the linguistic point of view, the manuscripts we deal with contain text written in Sanskrit, Tamil and Manipravalam. The latter is a mix of the previous two, mostly blending the Sanskrit lexicon with Tamil morpho-syntax.[5] In this respect, Manipravalam could be considered as a highly Sanskritised register of Tamil, where the frequency of Sanskrit lexemes depends on the style of each author (see Venkatachari 1978).

In order to write these languages, two scripts are generally used, namely Tamil script for the Tamil language and Tamilian Grantha for Sanskrit. When it comes to Manipravalam, the latter is mostly employed, but cases in which a combination of both scripts are used are relatively frequent. A deeper investigation of this phenomenon is still a desideratum.[6]

A question that immediately arises is whether any differences in terms of language choice occur between colophons found in manuscripts containing Sanskrit, Tamil or Manipravalam texts (the same question is also asked by Wilden 2014: 363, fn. 323). Given the geographical connotations of the manuscript culture under investigation here, one might intuitively expect Tamil to be the mother tongue of scribes and owners (Telugu being an alternative) and hence a viable option for writing the colophon(s) of any manuscripts, regardless of the language of the texts they carry. The data emerging from our corpus confirm such intuition. Tamil colophons are found in manuscripts containing Sanskrit texts (e.g.

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5 The spelling 'Manipravalam' is based on the transliteration from the Sanskrit version of the word, i.e. *maṇi-pravāla*, meaning 'pearl and coral'. Its Tamil version is *maṇi-p-piravāḷam*.
6 Additionally, as far as the manuscript culture of nineteenth century Tamil Nadu is concerned, Telugu script can also be used to write both Sanskrit and Manipravalam.

RE08256), Tamil texts (e.g. UVSL511) and Manipravalam texts (e.g. EO0583a). A blending of Tamil and Sanskrit is also not uncommon, ranging from colophons in which the two languages are clearly kept separated (e.g. EO0069), to colophons composed in Manipravalam alone (e.g. EO0583b). Finally, the distribution of colophons written exclusively in Sanskrit is limited to manuscripts only containing Sanskrit texts (e.g. EO0002a).

Often, no matter what language the text contained in the manuscript is composed in, colophons can contain invocations in Sanskrit (e.g. EO0009a [14v3] *hariḥ om – śubham astu – avighnam astu* 'Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. May there be no obstacle'), in Tamil (e.g. UVSL1080c [25r5] *naṉṟāka* 'May there be prosperity') or in both Sanskrit and Tamil together (e.g. EO0003c [18(148)v3-4] *hariḥ om – śubham astu* [...] *yemperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam* 'Hariḥ om, May there be prosperity. The holy feet of Emperumāṉār (= Rāmānuja) are the refuge'). The only case that is not attested in our corpus is that of a manuscript containing a Sanskrit text with invocations exclusively written in Tamil.[7]

Religion also affects the linguistic features of the manuscript culture of Tamil Nadu. Many of the manuscripts under investigation originated in a milieu in which the combination of Sanskrit and Tamil was programmatically intended. In particular, this is the case for manuscripts containing Manipravalam texts, which generally belong to a śri-vaiṣṇava context, where the coexistence of the two languages conforms to theological requirements.[8] Therefore, it is not surprising that in many manuscripts the two languages blend at various degrees, such as in the use of a highly Sanskritised register of Tamil, or in the occurrence of one Tamil invocation in a colophon otherwise fully composed in Sanskrit.

4 Time

This section is devoted to the analysis of the dates given in the colophons analysed here. They span more than two centuries, from 1675 (UVSL511) to 1908 (OR2344b). Dates may vary significantly in many respects: the amount of calendar information they include; the system of chronology they use to number the years (or to name them); the sets of names used to indicate months, weekdays

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7 The rather limited variety of invocations recurring in our colophons suggests that scribes could draw from a fixed repertoire of formulaic expressions, according to the circumstances. This colophonic feature awaits further investigation.
8 Śri-vaiṣṇavism is a form of Viṣṇu's cult in which Sanskrit and Tamil scriptures are given the same importance (see Venkatachari 1978).

and constellations; the language in which they are composed; the script in which they are written; as well as other minor aspects. Yet a certain degree of consistency may be observed, especially with reference to the order in which the elements of time reckoning are arranged in the dates.

As mentioned previously, the amount of information included in the dates varies considerably. At the very least, they are generally made up of three fundamental elements: the year, which is given according either to the Kollam era (see section 4.1.1) or, alternatively, the Jovian sixty-year cycle (see section 4.1.2), the solar month, and the solar day. At their most comprehensive, they include eight different pieces of calendar information: the year according to both the Kollam era and the Jovian cycle, the solar month, the solar day, the weekday, the fortnight, the lunar day (Skt. *tithi*, Tam. *titi*) and the constellation or lunar mansion (Skt. *nakṣatra*, Tam. *naṭcattiram*). Of these eight elements, the first five are 'solar', since they are calculated on the basis of the (apparent) course of the sun, whilst the last three are 'lunar', that is to say, based on the lunar phases.

In the following sub-sections, each of these eight calendar elements is examined in detail with respect to their meaning, the way in which they are presented in the colophons, the symbols or words that accompany them and so forth. Finally, some conclusions will be drawn, especially about the order of the calendar information included in the dates and the attendant symbols employed.

4.1 Year

All the dates under scrutiny are given according to either one or both of the following two systems of annual reckoning: the Kollam era and the Jovian sixty-year cycle.

4.1.1 The Kollam era

The Kollam era (Skt. *kolamba*, Tam. *kollamāṇṭu*), also known as the Malabar era, is named after the coastal city of present-day Kerala, where it was introduced on 15 August 824 CE (Gregorian dating).[9] It was, and still is, prevalent in Malabar and in the past was also in use in some southern districts of present-day Tamil Nadu,

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9 For a concise but valuable introduction to the Kollam year see Sarma 1996.

namely Tirunelvēli *māvaṭṭam* (Tirunelveli district) and Maturai *māvaṭṭam* (Madurai district), as well as in part of Sri Lanka (Sarma 1996, 93).[10]

The Kollam era is based on a calendar that is solar (or solar-sidereal), current and *siṃhādi* (or *kanyādi*). It is solar, or solar-sidereal, since it is reckoned on the basis of the course of the sun in relation to the position of the 'fixed stars', i.e. the constellations of the zodiac. In this respect, it is contrary to lunar and luni-solar calendars in use all over northern and central India, with the exceptions of Bānlā/Baṅga (Bengal) and Oṛiśā (Odisha/Orissa), which are based on the lunar phases. It is current in that the year is reckoned in reference to ongoing years, as opposed to so-called 'expired'-year calendars (e.g. Śaka, Vikrama, Kaliyuga and Bengali San), in which year-numbers refer to the elapsed year, since the first year is counted as 'year zero'. Finally, it is *simhādi* ('beginning with *siṃha* [= Leo]') since the start of the Kollam year coincides with that of the month of Siṃha, i.e. when the sun enters the zodiacal sign of Siṃha ('Leo') in mid-August,[11] as opposed to *meṣādi* calendars in which the beginning of the year corresponds to the month of Meṣa ('Aries'), when the sun enters the homonymous zodiacal sign.

In respect of the colophons under investigation, the Kollam year is characterised by three quasi-regular features: it appears as the first element of a date,[12] it is written in numerical form,[13] and its year number is preceded and/or followed by a symbol or word specifying that it refers to the Kollam year.[14] With respect to

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10 Geographical names are given in transliterated form followed by their most common English renderings in round brackets.

11 In the northern provinces of present-day Kerala, the Kollam year is *kanyādi*: it commences one month later than the *siṃhādi*, in mid-September, when the sun enters the zodiacal sign of Kanyā ('Virgo') and the month named after it begins. It is only possible to ascertain whether a date is given in accordance with the *siṃhādi* or the *kanyādi* Kollam year if it falls on a day in the month of Siṃha and if it includes 'additional' elements such as the weekday or the *nakṣatra*, which are necessary for cross-checking. In our corpus only two dates meet these requirements (EO0003a and EO0006 [6v1–2]), both following the *siṃhādi* reckoning.

12 The date in EO0001 [GL3v1] is the only exception: in fact, it consists of the month, day and Kollam year in this order.

13 The Kollam year is given in words only in RE05920, namely as *sahasrādhikaṣaṭpañcaḥ* ('1056'). However, it is worth noting that the compound is incorrect: °*ṣaṭpañcaḥ* stands erroneously for °*ṣaṭpañcāśaḥ*, and °*adhika*° should follow the smaller number, not the larger one. The compound was probably modelled on the version written in numerals: 'thousand plus 56'.

14 Contrary to all other occurrences, in OR2355d the year number is written without any 'identification mark'. In this particular colophon we also find one of two cases (the other is in UVSL1080c) of a Kollam year given in 'abbreviated form', i.e. made up of just the tens and units, and lacking the numerals referring to the century and the millennium: in OR2355d the number '78' stands for '1078', in UVSL1080c '48' stands for '1048'. It may be noted, however, that both

the last feature, the following cases are attested in the dates of our corpus: the year number is preceded by the word *kollam* (see OR2344b), it is followed by a Tamil ordinal marker,[15] it is both preceded by the word *kollam* and followed by an ordinal marker,[16] and it is followed by a symbol (or an abbreviation) for 'year'. In our dates, the symbol for the Kollam year is written in three different styles: an 'accurate form', shaped like a Grantha ligature *nna* with an added curved line forming a semicircle below it (e.g. EO0003a) or a circle around it (e.g. EO0069 [63v5]); a soft cursive style (e.g. EO0002a); and an extreme cursive and rounded form very similar to the Tamil/Grantha number '5' (e.g. EO0001, both at [GL3v1] and [140r5])[17] or to the Grantha sign for the inherent vowel *-e* (e.g. in EO0006 [GL3v1]). In the appendices to this article, these three forms of the symbol are labelled respectively as {YK1}, {YK2} and {YK3}. None of these three is found in the lists of symbols and abbreviations available to us,[18] although the cursive forms {YK2} and {YK3} bear a certain similarity with the second abbreviation for 'until' (Tam. *varaikkum*) given by Pope (1859: 18).

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dates appear in multi-text manuscripts in which the complete year number is given in other colophons (namely, OR2355c, OR2355g and UVSL1080a).

15 See *1039 āmta* (OR2345) and *1078 mta* (OR2355c). The term *āmta* is not recorded in the Tamil grammars and dictionaries available to us. However, *āmta* is clearly used as a marker in websites /1/, /2/, and /3/ (see webography) to indicate ordinal numbers. Since all three occurrences deal with Tamil matters in Sri Lanka, *āmta* is possibly a localism. The form *mta* can be understood as a variant of *āmta*.

16 See *kollam 1066 mtu* (OR2340j) and *kollaṃ 1078 āmta* (OR2355g). The form *mtu*, which appears to be otherwise unattested, should possibly read *mta*; for *āmta* and *mta*, see the preceding note.

17 This similarity must have confused the compiler of the cataloguing sheet of EO0001; he actually misinterpreted the Kollam year symbol occurring in both dates ([GL3v1] and [14r5]) as a number '5', with the result that he dated the manuscript to Kollam year 1045 (mistakenly reading '1000', '4', '5') instead of 1004 ('1000', '4', '[symbol]'). There is no doubt that the character under discussion represents the Kollam year symbol, as it is demonstrated both by internal and external evidences. On the one hand, it clearly differs from the number '5' as it is written by the same scribe elsewhere in the manuscript; on the other hand, it is almost identical graphically to the '5'-ish symbol occurring twice in analogous contexts within dates found in EO0006 [GL1r1] and [GL3v1]. In fact, in the case of EO0006, such a symbol certainly stands for the Kollam year symbol, at least in the latter date, i.e. [GL3v1], where all the calendar elements consistently point to Kollam year 1006 ('1000', '6', '[symbol]'), and not to 1065 (as it would if we were to read the disputed character as '5': '1000', '6', '5').

18 Several of the abbreviations discussed in this article are to be found in the lists in Pope (1859: 18), Winslow (1862: 976), Arden (1942: 310) and Grünendahl (2001: 52–54).

4.1.2 The Jovian sixty-year cycle

A Jovian year corresponds to the period of time in which Jupiter travels through one sign of the zodiac (Skt. *rāśi*, Tam. *rāci*). This corresponds to one twelfth of the planet's revolution around the sun. Since Jupiter completes its orbit in somewhat less than twelve solar years, one Jovian year is slightly shorter than one solar year.

Two distinct chronological systems based on a cycle of sixty Jovian years have been used in India, or rather in the northern and southern regions of the subcontinent (Pillai 1922 [I.I]: 50–52).[19] In both systems, each year of the cycle is designated by a specific name. Although the names and their order are the same in both systems, the beginning of the cycle starts in different years in each list (Pillai 1922 [I.I]: 195–196). Furthermore, the definition of the Jovian year given at the beginning of this section applies only to the former (northern) chronological system, so it is not relevant to this particular study. The latter Jovian cycle (Skt. *Bṛhaspaticakra*, Tamil *Pirakaspaticakkaram*) is still used in southern India today and simply consists of a series of sixty solar years (generally called Skt. [*bārhaspatya-*]*saṃvatsara*s, Tamil *camvaccaram*s), each one given a Jovian year name.[20] In what follows, we only refer to the latter system, since it is the one used in the dates analysed in this article.

The Jovian years are solar and *meṣādi*, that is, they begin on the first day of the month of Meṣa, when the sun enters the zodiacal sign of Aries, usually around mid-April in the Gregorian calendar. Since the sixty-year cycle starts anew at the conclusion of the last year of the series, the same year name recurs every sixty years. As a consequence, a date consisting of just the Jovian year, the solar month and the day is ambiguous, in that it recurs every sixty years.[21]

In the colophons selected for this article, the Jovian year appears at the beginning of the date, preceded only by the Kollam year; the Jovian year is always stated by name, followed (but seldom preceded) by a word for 'year' or by a symbol representing it as a Jovian year. Three different words for 'year' are used within this context: *saṃvatsara*, *varṣa* and *abda*. Sometimes the adverb *nāma*

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19 This work is a revised and expanded version of Pillai 1911, as stated by the author himself (Pillai 1922 [I.I]: iii).

20 This convention was current in southern India starting from 907 CE, when the periodical suppression of one Jovian year, which was necessary to harmonise the Jovian cycle with the solar years, was abandoned (Renou and Filliozat 1953: 726–727).

21 Six dates of this kind are included in our corpus, i.e. OR2347.1, OR2348, OR2359, RE20020b, RE37121, RE45807.

('by name') or the adjective *nāmaka* ('named', 'bearing the name') is inserted between the name of the Jovian year and the word for 'year'.

As in the case of the symbol for the Kollam year, the symbol used to mark the Jovian year also occurs in three variant forms: an 'accurate' form (attested, for example, in RE08256), which is interpreted by Pope (1859: 18) as an abbreviation of the Tamil word *varuṣam* ('year'); a slightly simplified version of it (found in RE45807 and EO0009b [94v4]); and a cursive style variant (as in EO0583a and EO0583b). In the appendices, these three abbreviated forms have been respectively labelled as {YJ1}, {YJ2} and {YJ3}. Besides these three, however, there are two more variants of the abbreviation as well, labelled {YJ4} and {YJ5} respectively,[22] which are rather puzzling since they correspond to the 'accurate' and the 'mild cursive' forms of the symbol of the Kollam year, i.e. {YK1} and {YK2}, with the addition of just a single or double upward hook to the upper right. Thus, it appears that at least in some cases the two symbols tend to overlap; whereas the distinction between the symbols/abbreviations for Kollam and Jovian years is clear and unquestionable, when they are written in their respective 'accurate' forms and when they appear within the same date (e.g. EO0069 [GL2r5] and EO0009b [94v4]). Their distinctiveness becomes subtler when they are drawn in a cursive style, especially if only one of the two symbols occurs in a date and there is no need to distinguish it from the other year symbol. Generally speaking, the data in our corpus – despite its admittedly limited nature – seem to suggest that a (single or double) curl or knot at the top right of the symbol was characteristic of the Jovian year tags. In RE37121, though, a Jovian year name is followed by what is clearly a Kollam year symbol, whereas the opposite occurs in UVSL511.

As for the names of the Jovian years, they are expressed both in Sanskrit and in Tamil, the Tamil names being derived from their Sanskrit counterparts by being adapted to the Dravidian phonology (e.g. Tamil Piracōrpatti corresponds to Skt. Prajāpati, Cukkila to Śukla, Īccura to Īśvara, and so on). The Sanskrit names of the Jovian years are given by Pillai (1922 [I.I]: 195) and Grünendhal (2001: 217–218), and their Tamil counterparts by Pope (1859: 197) and Arden (1942: 317). In the dates under scrutiny, the Jovian years are given with their Sanskrit names (written in Grantha script) in all manuscripts containing Sanskrit texts and in a few containing Manipravalam and Tamil texts, whereas Tamil year names are found in most of the manuscripts containing Tamil texts and in some containing Manipravalam texts (UVSL1080a, UVSL1080c, RE45807 and RE37121).[23]

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22 The form labelled {YJ4} is given by Pope (1859: 18) as an alternative to {YJ1}.

23 As noted by Arden (1942: 316), some Tamil Jovian year names are spelt in more than one way; see, for instance, the year name Tāraṇa, always spelt *tāruṇa/dāruṇa* in the dates in our corpus (EO0009b [94r3], [94v1], [94v4], and EO0069 [GL2r1 col1], [GL2r5]).

4.1.3 The solar (and the lunar) month

The month is the only chronological element appearing in all the dates under scrutiny, usually right after the information concerning the year(s):[24] since the Tamil calendar is basically solar, the month referred to in the dates is a solar month as a rule. In manuscripts from Tamil Nadu, solar months are designated either in Sanskrit or in Tamil. In the former, they are named after the signs of the zodiac through which the sun transits,[25] whereas in the latter case, each name is the (more or less straightforward) Tamil rendition of the Sanskrit name of the lunar month current when the solar month begins, i.e. of the lunar month that began during the preceding solar month (Pillai 1922 [I.I]: 7, 25).[26] Notably, however, in some of the dates in our corpus, the name of the lunar month is given instead of that of the solar one: Āṣāḍha (in OR2344b and EO0009b [94v1]), Caitra (in RE20020b), Phālguna (in EO0002a). Whenever the lunar month is followed by a number (as in OR2344b, RE20020b and EO0002a), the latter refers to the solar day and not to the so-called 'lunar day' (*tithi*).

Be they solar or lunar, the names of the months in our colophons are almost invariably followed by a label specifying that what precedes them is the name of a month;[27] it can be a word (Skt. *māsa*, Tam. *mātam* or *mācam*, 'month')[28] or an abbreviation, of which there are four different types in our corpus. The first one, which is transcribed in the appendices as {M1}, is represented by the Tamil syllable *ma* with one or more curls to its upper right; according to Pope (1859: 18), this is the abbreviation for Tamil *mācam*.[29] The second type, transcribed as {M2}, is

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24 EO0002 and EO0009b [94v1] are exceptions; here, indications of the fortnight and of the weekday respectively have been inserted between the year(s) and the names of the months (a lunar month in both cases; see below). EO0001 [GL3v1] is another such case, where the month precedes the day and the year (see fn. 12).

25 From an astronomical point of view, the solar month begins at the *saṃkrānti* ('entry into'), i.e. at the moment when the sun enters a new constellation of the zodiac.

26 Lists of the three sets of names (Sanskrit and Tamil for solar months and Sanskrit for lunar months) are given by Pillai (1922 [I.I]: 198); for a more reliable spelling of the Tamil names of the solar months, see Pope 1859: 198 and Arden 1942: 316.

27 Exceptions to this rule are found in EO0009b [94r3] and OR2355d, where the name of the month is not followed by any label whatsoever.

28 In EO0069 [GL2r1 col1] the scribe writes *prāpte divākare* ('when the sun has entered [the month/sign of the zodiac]'); the use of such an elaborate expression in place of a simple word is probably justified by the fact that the scribe composed the colophon in metre.

29 In one instance (RE08256) this abbreviation is followed by the Grantha character *ma* with *virāma* (i.e. *m*, the *virāma* being the sign used for writing a consonant without its inherent short *a* vowel).

similar to the Tamil syllable *pu* (although with the wrong sign for the inherent vowel *u*). According to Pope (1859: 18), this is the abbreviation for the Tamil word *paṟṟu* ('received, receipt'), used as a debit sign.[30] The reason why this abbreviation was employed in manuscript colophons to mark the name of the months is obscure. The third type, transcribed as {M3}, resembles the Tamil ligature *ṭṭa* followed by the Grantha *ma* with *virāma*; it is possibly an abbreviation as well, although it is not clear which word it stands for.[31] The fourth abbreviation, transcribed as {M4}, is represented by a Tamil syllable, *ma*, with a full-height '2'-shaped sign appended to the right. In both its attestations in our corpus (OR2345 and OR2348), it is followed by the Tamil element *cam*, forming the Tamil word *⋆m(a)cam* (read *mācam*).

All four abbreviations described above only occur after the name of a solar month and, most notably, only when the solar month is mentioned by its Tamil name.[32] Despite the limited size of our corpus, the regularity of this pattern is possibly not just a coincidence, but a conscious habit of the scribes, as the date in EO0003c seems to suggest. In this colophon, the name of the same month is given twice, with its Sanskrit name (*kanyā*) specified by the Sanskrit word *māsam* (written in Grantha script), and with its Tamil name (*poṭṭāci*, written in Tamil script) specified by the *ṭṭam*-type abbreviation, i.e. {M3}.[33]

Finally, a remark concerning spelling is occasioned by the data at our disposal. Whilst the Sanskrit names of the months are usually written uniformly and correctly,[34] Tamil names show a considerable amount of deviation from their standard spelling (as given in Arden 1942: 316): thus, the name of the month Puraṭṭāci (corresponding to Skt. Kanyā) is variously spelt as *piṟaṭṭāci* (EO003b), *piṟaṭṭaci* (RE45807), *peṟ²aṭṭāci* (EO003c) and *poṭṭāci* (EO003d, OR2359); Aippaci,

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30 'Tamil debit sign (= *patru*)' is also the definition of the Unicode character U+0BF6, corresponding to this abbreviation (see website /4/).

31 The abbreviations for month in UVSL511 and RE10829 [134v1] are hardly legible, the former due to the poor quality of the digital image, the latter because the writing is uninked. All the same, both of them have been transcribed as {M3} in the appendices to this article because their first element is a Tamil ligature *ṭṭa*, despite the fact that the following sign is unreadable in both dates.

32 It may be also noted that the Tamil names of months (over thirty in number), which occur in our dates, are followed by an abbreviation for 'month', with only two exceptions: *āvaṇi māsaṃ* (EO0003a) and *kārttikai māta* (UVSL107).

33 Similarly, in EO0069 and EO0009b, where the date is stated two and three times respectively in a row, the abbreviation for 'month' only appears where the name of the month is written in Tamil (the last date in both colophons).

34 The only exception is *kaṭaka* (EO0009b) for Karkaṭaka (also known as Karka or Karkaṭa).

or Arpaci, is spelt *aṟ²ppaci* (EO0583a, EO0583b) and *aṟ²paci* (EO0069 [GL2r5]); Mārkaḻi is spelt *māṟ²kaḻi* (RE37121); Cittirai, Āṇi and Kārttikkai, despite being written correctly in most of their occurrences, are also spelt as *cittira* (EO0001 [GL3v1]), *āṇi* (EO0001 [140r5]) and *kārttika* (OR2345) or *kārti*[35] (EO0006 [GL1r1]) respectively. It is most probable that what might first seem like idiosyncratic spelling actually reflects the high level of variability that Tamil dialects (or registers) exhibit (see section 4.1.5).

4.1.4 The solar day

The solar day, or day of the solar month, is given in most of the dates under scrutiny and always comes right after the name of the solar month (sometimes after a lunar month; see section 4.1.3). Since the solar day is designated by a number, it is in most cases written in numerals. With just a few exceptions, the numerals are followed by a symbol or a word for 'day', by an ordinal marker or by a locative suffix.[36]

The symbol found in our dates stands for the Tamil word *tiyati* (also *tēti* or *tiṉam*), meaning 'date', 'day of the month' (Arden 1942: 310). In the appendices, it has been transcribed either as {D1}, when it is written in the form given by Arden (very similar to the Tamil number '2', sometimes with its horizontal stroke elongated), or as {D2}, where the final horizontal stroke runs along the top-line of the character. A third symbol for 'day' (transcribed as {D3}) that seems to be mainly used in manuscripts written in Malayalam script, is found once in our corpus (OR2355c). In place of the symbol for day, in some dates the numeral(s) are followed by the Tamil ordinal marker *ām* or *ā*, which may be followed in turn by the word *tiy(y)ati* ('date', 'day of the month') (OR2355d, OR2344b twice).[37] In one case, the number is simply followed by *tiyati* (OR2355g), with no ordinal marker interposed. Incidentally, it is worth noting that in some dates (OR2345, OR2348, RE37121) the number of the solar day is followed by the Tamil locative suffix *-t(t)il*, written in an abbreviated form and characterised by a hook or a '2'-shaped sign added to the upper right of the syllable *ti* (or, perhaps, *tti*).[38]

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35 In shortened form, with the abbreviation being marked with a '2'-shaped curl added at the end of the *-i*.

36 Only the dates of three colophons (UVSL511, RE10829 [134v1] and EO0007a) do not present any 'specifying element' after the number that refers to the solar day.

37 The form *tiyyati* (also spelt *tīyati*) is the Malayalam counterpart of Tamil *tiyati* ('date').

38 In OR2355d and OR2355g the sign for the vowel *i* in the last syllable of *tiyati* is followed by an ambiguous short horizontal stroke. This may be understood either as an abbreviation for the locative suffix or as some sort of punctuation mark.

In some dates, the number of the solar day is written out in letters (in the Sanskrit language and using Grantha script); these numbers[39] are always followed by a Sanskrit noun for 'day': *divasa* (EO0002a, RE05920), *dina* (RE10829 [134r5]) or *ahan* (EO0009b [94r3]).

4.1.5 The days of the week

In Indian calendars, the weekdays (Skt. *vāra*, Tam. *kiḻamai*) are named – as in the European tradition – after the sun, the moon and the five main planets: Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn. Since they are systematically consistent in both traditions, 'the weekday is the meeting ground of the Indian and European calendars' (Pillai 1922 [I.I]: 14). The names of the weekdays are formed by compounding the name of the relevant 'planet' with a word denoting 'weekday'; in the dates in our corpus, these compounds are either entirely in Sanskrit (written in Grantha script) or in Tamil (written in Tamil script), with two interesting exceptions (see below).

In Sanskrit each of the seven planets is designated by several different names, and so is the weekday associated with it; a useful – although admittedly not exhaustive – list of Sanskrit names of the planets is provided by Sewell (1896: 2).[40] In our dates, the Sanskrit name of a planet is always compounded with a Sanskrit word for 'day': *vāra* (EO0006 [GL3v1], MS2.40, RE08256), *vāsara* (EO0002a, EO0009b [94r3], EO0069 [GL2r1 col1], EO0583b, RE05920) or *dina* (EO0009b [94v1]). It may be noted that *dina* is also used to mark the day of the month (see section 4.1.4).

In Tamil the names of the planets are followed by the word *kiḻamai* ('weekday'). This is only spelt in its standard form in two colophons (RE10829 [134v1] and EO0583a); in its other occurrences, it is variously written as *keḻamai* (EO0003a,b,c,d and EO0069 [GL2r5]), *keḻamai* (EO0009b [94v4]) or *keḻame* (EO0069 [63v5]). Furthermore, the names of the planets also exhibit some variant spellings. Thus, in place of *viyāḻa*[-*k-kiḻamai*], 'Thursday', we have *vyāḻa°* (EO0003b and EO0003c), and instead of *ñāyiṟṟu*[-*k-kiḻamai*], 'Sunday', we have the colloquial form *nātti°* (EO0003a and EO0069 [63v5]). A list of the Tamil names

39 Numbers are doubtlessly ordinals in a couple of cases (*daśama*, EO0009b [94r3], and *pañcadaśama*, RE10829 [134r5]), while in other cases they may ambiguously represent either cardinal or ordinal numbers (*saptadaśa*, RE05920, and *ekādaśa*, EO0002a).
40 The list does not include, for example, the term *sthira* ('fixed', 'immovable') as a name for Saturn, and consequently for Saturday (occurring in EO0583b).

for the weekdays is provided by Arden (1942: 315) and Pope (1859: 198).[41] As is the case with names of months (see section 4.1.3), also these variants can be understood as being due to the different Tamil dialects (or registers) used by scribes.

Finally, it is worth noting the two Manipravalam compounds *śanikkiḻamai*, 'Saturday' (RE10829 [134v1]), and *budhanṅkiḻamai*, 'Wednesday' (EO0583a). They are constructed by appending the Tamil word *kiḻamai*, written in Tamil script, to the Sanskrit names of the planets, written in Grantha script: *śani*, 'Saturn', and *budhan* (incorrect for *budha*), 'Mercury', respectively.

4.1.6 The lunar chronological elements in dates: *pakṣa*, *tithi*, *nakṣatra*

Many of the dates in our corpus include references to the *pakṣa*, the *tithi* and the *nakṣatra*, which are elements of time division based on lunation, or lunar months. In northern India, the lunar month extends between two successive full moons (Skt. *pūrṇimā*, Tam. *pūraṇami*), whilst in southern India it ends with the new moon (Skt. *amāvāsyā*, Tam. *amāvācai*).[42] These two systems are called *pūrṇimānta* ('ending with the full moon') and *amānta* ('ending with the new moon') respectively in Sanskrit, and all the dates in our corpus adhere to the latter.

The lunar month is divided in two *pakṣa*s ('wings, sides', i.e. 'fortnights [of the lunar month]'): the first fortnight, during which the moon is waxing, is usually called 'bright' since after sunset the moon is above the horizon and illuminates the night; the second fortnight, when the moon is waning, is commonly called 'dark', since after sunset the moon is below the horizon and the night is dark (Sewell 1896: 4). In our corpus, the first fortnight is called *śukla*, 'bright, white' (EO0003c, EO0003d, EO0069 [GL2r1 col1], EO0069 [GL2r5]) or *pūrva*, 'first, former' (RE05920, EO0583a); the dark fortnight is termed *kṛṣṇa*, 'black' (EO0003b, EO0069 [63v5]) or *apara*, 'latter' (EO0583b).[43] All these adjectives are compounded with, or accompanied by the noun *pakṣa*, which they qualify; in some cases, the Sanskrit compound thus formed is declined by appending to it the Tamil suffixes -(*t*)*t-il* (EO0069 [GL2r5], EO0069 [63v5]) or -(*t*)*tu* (EO0003b, EO0003c, EO0003d).

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41 In addition to the Tamil names of the weekdays, Pope also provides the Tamil version of the Sanskrit names.

42 Epigraphical evidence suggests that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme was also used in (at least some regions of) southern India until the ninth century CE (Sewell 1896: 4–5).

43 Possibly *metri causa* (see similarly fn. 28), in EO0009b [94v1] the scribe ingeniously employs the compound *vaḷakṣetara* (for *valakṣa-* or *balakṣa-itara*), 'the other-than-white'.

A *tithi* (sometimes called a 'lunar day') corresponds to the time it takes for the moon to move away from the sun by twelve degrees. The starting point of the *tithi* cycle is the new moon, when the sun and the moon 'dwell together' (this is the literal meaning of the expression *amā-vāsyā*, otherwise 'night of new moon'), i.e. when they have the same longitude measured from Earth. As the complete cycle extends through 360 degrees, there are thirty *tithi*s in one lunar month. Thus, the lunar month is divided in thirty *tithi*s, fifteen *tithi*s for each *pakṣa*: since the lunar month is a little shorter than thirty days (about 29.5 days), a *tithi* is a little shorter than a solar day.

As a rule, in our dates *tithi*s are designated by a Sanskrit ordinal number inflected in the feminine gender. Often the Sanskrit feminine endings are replaced by their Tamil counterparts, with a final short -*i* in place of -*ī* (*pañcami* in EO0583b and EO0069 [63v5], *daśami* in EO0003b, *dvādaśi* in EO0009b [94v4], *caturddaśi* in EO0069 [GL2r5], etc.) and -*ai* (written in Tamil or Grantha script) instead of -*ā* (*prathamai* in EO0003c, *dvitiyai* in EO0003d, *tritikai* in EO0583a – probably for *tritiyai*, in turn from Sanskrit *tṛtīyā*). Sometimes the ordinal is accompanied by, or compounded with the word *tithi*.

Traditionally, three particular *tithi*s are given special names rather than an ordinal number: the first *tithi* of the lunar month (called *pratipad* or *pratipadā*), the full moon *tithi* (called *pūrṇimā*, *paurṇimā* or *pūrṇamāsi*), the new moon *tithi* (called *amāvāsyā* or *darśa*) (Sewell 1896: 13; Pillai 1922 [I.I]: 198). Of these three, only the name of the full moon *tithi* is attested in our corpus, in the Sanskritised Tamil form *paurṇamāvāsai*, 'the full moon [*tithi*]' (EO0003a). The *tithi*s from the second to the fourteenth, identified just by their ordinal number, bear the same name regardless of which of the two *pakṣa*s they belong to. In order to avoid confusion, these *tithi*s are always mentioned together with the *pakṣa* and/or the *nakṣatra*.

A *nakṣatra* (lit. 'star', by extension 'constellation' or 'lunar mansion') is the twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic and, as an element of time reckoning, it represents the time required for the moon to move through one of the constellations, or lunar mansions. Since it takes slightly more than 27 days for the moon to travel through the whole ecliptic, one *nakṣatra* is a few minutes longer than one day. Each *nakṣatra* is identified by a special name, either in Sanskrit or in Tamil: lists of these names are provided by Sewell (1896: cxiii [table VIII]) and Pillai (1922 [I.I]: 199).[44]

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44 The former gives only the Sanskrit names, whereas the latter also gives the Tamil names, although unfortunately transliterated into Roman script according to an unsatisfactory method of conversion.

In the dates in our corpus, the great majority of the names of the constellations are given in Sanskrit and are generally spelt correctly.[45] They are mostly compounded with the word *nakṣatra*, sometimes written as *nakṣattira* with an epenthesis induced by Dravidian phonology (EO0003b, EO0009b [94v4], EO0069 [GL2r5]); occasionally they are compounded with *tāraka* (EO0009b [94r3]) or *tāra* (EO0009b [94v1]), and, in one single case, the name of the *nakṣatra* alone is given in the locative case (*aśvinyām*, EO0069 [GL2r1 col1]). In a small number of dates the *nakṣatra* is mentioned by its Tamil name, always in a non-standard spelling: *āyilliya* for Āyiliya (RE10829 [134v1]), *anuṣam* for Aṉuṣam (EO0006 [GL3v1]), *avuṭṭa* for Aviṭṭa (EO0003a). The last two names are followed by the word *nakṣatra/nakṣattira*.

4.1.7 Other elements of time reckoning

In addition to the principal elements of time reckoning surveyed in the preceding sections, a small number of other time-related terms are mentioned in our colophons.

The colophon at the end of OR2347.1 states that the copying of the text was completed *udiccu 13 ṉāḻikaiyāṟ †poṭtu*, 'once [the sun] has risen, at the time of the thirteenth *nāḻikai*'. A *nāḻikai* (Skt. *ghaṭikā* or *ghaṭī*), sometimes called the 'Indian hour', is the sixtieth part of a day, corresponding to 24 minutes. As a rule, *ghaṭikā*s/*nāḻikai*s are counted from sunrise to sunrise, as is clearly the case in this colophon ('once [the sun] has risen…').

In the date in EO0002a, mention is made of *uttarāyaṇa*, the 'northward path [of the sun]', which begins with the Makara *saṃkrānti* (mid-January) and ends with the Karka[ṭaka] *saṃkrānti* (mid-July), when the *dakṣiṇāyaṇa* ('southward path [of the sun]') begins (Sewell 1896: 9).

Finally, words or expressions with broader temporal meanings occasionally occur in our colophons – e.g. *utaiyattil*, 'at dawn' (EO0004), *udiccu*, '[the sun] being risen' (OR2347.1) –, most notably when they are prompted by metrical ingenuity: *tāruṇābde gate bhānau*, 'when the sun has entered the [Jovian] year Tāruṇa [= Tāraṇa]' (EO0009b [94r3]), and *tulāṃ prāpte divākare*, 'when the sun has entered the [Jovian] year Tulā' (EO0069 [GL2r1 col1]).[46]

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45 The only exceptions are *aśvanī* (MS2.40) and *aśvatī* (EO0069 [GL2r5]), both incorrect for Aśvinī.

46 Both examples are lines of eight syllables from *anuṣṭubh* stanzas.

4.1.8 Some observations on the dates

Some general findings concerning dates can be drawn from an examination of the data collected for this article. It seems clear that the year (Kollam and/or Jovian), the solar month and the solar day are core elements of the dates in our corpus insofar as they appear in almost all of them, whereas the other chronological elements are only given occasionally.

As for the order of the elements in the dates, there are evidently some consistencies. Generally speaking, the data based on solar reckoning come first, followed by information based on the lunar cycle (*pakṣa*, *nakṣatra* and *tithi*). This order is followed in all but four of our dates. In all the exceptions, the anomaly is represented by the position of the weekday, which is either centrally positioned (EO0009b [94r3] and [94v4], EO0583b) or placed after (EO0069 [GL2r1 col1]) the lunar calendar elements. However, it should be noted that the weekday appears together with four lunar elements of time division (*tithi*, *nakṣatra*, *yoga* and *karaṇa*)[47] in the *pañcāṅga*s ('[consisting of] five parts'), i.e. the traditional Indian calendars that are widely used for astrological purposes and for calculating the exact timing of religious festivals, rites and observances (Sewell 1896: 2, 13–18; Renou and Filliozat 1953: 727). Therefore, despite being based on solar calculations, weekdays may perhaps be traditionally perceived as being closely related to chronological lunar elements and for this reason interspersed with them in the dates of the manuscripts.

When examined in further detail, it is clear that in most of the cases, the order of the elements in the dates corresponds to that followed in the previous subsections (see sections 4.1.1–6): Kollam year, Jovian year, solar month, day of the month, weekday, *pakṣa*, *tithi*, *nakṣatra*. However, variations to this arrangement do occur; some of them can be accounted for,[48] whereas others cannot.[49] On the

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47 Unlike *tithi*s and *nakṣatra*s, *yoga*s and *karaṇa*s are units of time based on discretionary mathematical calculations. A *yoga* corresponds to the period of time during which the sum of the motion in longitude of the sun and the moon is increased by 13° 20' (i.e. a twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic). A *karaṇa* is a subdivision of a *tithi*; each *tithi* being divided in two *karaṇa*s, there are 60 *karaṇa*s in one lunar month.

48 For example, the irregular position in the sequence of the month in EO0009b [94v1], which is placed after the weekday and immediately before the lunar elements, is probably the consequence of metrical requirements; the same holds true for the jumbled sequences of the lunar elements in EO0009b [94r3] and [94v1].

49 At the moment, we are not able to adduce any explanation for the odd sequence in EO0001 [GL3v1] (month, solar day, year).

whole, although this sequence does not represent a pattern without exceptions, at this point in our study we will consider it the standard.

In some of our manuscripts, scribes have recorded either the dates when they began and concluded their work or, in multiple-text manuscripts, the date when each text was finished. We are thus able to calculate how long it took them to copy a whole manuscript or a section of it.[50] Thus, EO0001, which consists of 140 folios, was completed in less than two months (from 4 May to 30 June 1829). EO0006, consisting of 52 folios, was written in thirteen days (from 26 August to 7 September 1830).[51] The fourth text of OR2355 (that is, OR2355d), in thirteen folios, was completed within a day (and on the same day the preceding text was also completed), whilst it took three days (from 12–15 November 1902) to complete the following three texts, sixteen folios in all. Similarly, it took one and a half months (from 17 August to 3 October 1845) to write the 92 folios needed for the second, third and fourth texts that were included in EO0003 (EO0003b,c,d).[52] Finally, it took a remarkable period of five entire years (from 5 November 1824 to 15 November 1829) to complete the copy of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in EO0069.[53] It is not possible at this stage of research to draw conclusions about the average time employed by scribes to write a given number of folios. However, it is worth pointing out that once a larger amount of similar data has been gathered, these pieces of information may help us understand the temporal features of manuscript production more fully.

The conversion of the dates found in the scrutinised manuscripts into their equivalents in the Gregorian calendar is based on Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (1922 [VI] and 1923). As already noticed (see section 4.1.2), dates consisting of just the Jovian year, the solar month and the day of the month do not point to a unique day, since they recur every sixty years. Among their possible equivalents in the Gregorian calendar, only the more plausible are given in the table in Appendix. The date in UVSL107 is not precise to the day, since it only consists of the Kollam year and the solar month. Among the other dates, three contain contradictory

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50 Although bearing two dates each, the manuscripts EO0007, EO0583 and RE10829 are not relevant here, because their dates were written by different scribes.

51 The scribe also kept a record of the day on which the manuscript was entrusted to the person who had commissioned it, on 26 November 1830.

52 More specifically, it took forty, eight and two days to write 61, 19 and 12 folios respectively.

53 It appears that the scribe who copied this manuscript (Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Raṅgācārya) was very active: he wrote four of the manuscripts included in the present study (EO0002, EO0003, EO0007, EO0009), each of them consisting of over one hundred folios. In the same period of time when he was writing the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in EO0069, he completed a copy of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in about 300 folios, the colophon of which is not included in this article (EO0083, completed in 1828 CE).

is evident that the place where the manuscript was written – or at least finalised – was Tirunelvēli (Tirunelveli).

However, one can also find random occurrences of place names, the relevance of which is rather difficult to evaluate in terms of establishing a manuscript's provenance. For instance, RE10829 mentions the name *tiruvaiyāṟu* [134v1], which corresponds to a town located in the Tañcāvūr *māvaṭṭam* (Thanjavur district), approx. 13 km North of Tañcāvūr. It seems plausible that there might be a direct link between the manuscript and that location. But what kind of link? Can we assume that Tiruvaiyāṟu (Thiruvaiyaru) was the place where the manuscript was produced? Or the place where it was stored? Moreover, how can we ascertain that the manuscript was not moved from one place to another over the course of time? In this particular case, the position of the name *tiruvaiyāṟu* in the colophon might be of assistance. In fact, it was incised, presumably in the same hand, immediately after the date of production of the manuscript. One might then assume that Tiruvaiyāṟu was the place where the scribe was writing, or at least completed, the manuscript. However, such a reconstruction of the whereabouts of the manuscript should only be taken as an educated guess.

5.2 Places of scribes and owners

In most of the colophons, place names accompany the names of scribes and owners. Therefore, they could varyingly refer either to their birthplace, the place from which their family (supposedly) originates or their place of residence at the time of writing. Which one is meant is not easily ascertainable. As a consequence, it is rather difficult to establish whether these locations have anything to do with the place of production or storage of the manuscripts.

One striking case is that of RE05920, which gives the name of its scribe as *cucīndiraṃ nārāyaṇar putran senāpati* [89v1], 'Senāpati from Cucīndiram son of Nārāyaṇar'. As reported by Varadachari (1986: 201), Cucīntiram (Sucīndiram) is a town in the Kaṉṉiyākumari *māvaṭṭam* (Kanyakumari district) with an important temple. However, Varadachari also reports, without further explanation, that the manuscript is from Tirunelvēli (Tirunelveli). If the latter information is correct, one must draw the conclusion that the place of origin of the scribe had no connection with the location in which the manuscript was produced and/or stored. Such a discrepancy clearly shows the limits of our present enquiry.

An important consideration to keep in mind when trying to locate any of the places mentioned in colophons on a map is that the available information about them can sometimes be ambiguous; the same name can refer to more than one

place. The graphic representation of the same toponym is liable to significant variations, not to mention that place names can change over the course of time. In this respect, the case of RE45807 is complicated, since it states that *icalimaṭai kopālakṛṣṇaṉ eḻutiṉatu* [36r2], 'Kopālakṛṣṇaṉ from Icalimaṭai wrote [the first chapter of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*]'. There are two villages in the Virutunakar *māvaṭṭam* (Virudhunagar district) that could correspond to Icalimaṭai: one is actually called Icalimaṭai (Isalimadai) and is found in the Kāriyāpaṭṭi *vaṭṭam* (Kariapatti taluk), while the other is called Icali (Isali) and is found approx. 5 km to the East in the Tiruccuḻi *vaṭṭam* (Tiruchuli taluk). Both are found approx. 40-45 kms Northeast of Virutunakar, the district headquarters.[55] The former village would be the best candidate if it were not for the fact that the latter village is also sometimes called Icalimaṭai (Isalimadai) in some official documents recently issued by various Indian national authorities (see websites /5/ and /6/). It is, therefore, difficult to establish which one of the two villages the scribe, Kopālakṛṣṇaṉ, was from.

Owners are rarely mentioned in our corpus when one compares them to scribes. The only case in which an owner's name is accompanied by a place name is that of RE22704, where the relationship shared by the two is characterised rather precisely. In fact, a form of the verb *piṟa-ttal* ('to be born') is used to state that the town of Pāḷayaṅkoṭṭai (Palayamkottai), in the Tirunelvēli *māvaṭṭam* (Tirunelveli district), is the birthplace of the owner of the manuscript: *veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi kuruṉātayyaṉ yeḻutiṉatu pāḷayaṅkoṭṭai piṟ³anda paṭṭaravarkaḷukku* [79r7-8], 'Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi (?) Kuruṉātayyaṉ wrote [this manuscript] for Paṭṭaravarkaḷ, who was born in Pāḷayaṅkoṭṭai'.

5.3 Gods, shrines and place names

A further category of place names found in colophons concerns particular divinities and the location of their shrines. In most cases, geographical information can be indirectly deduced from the name of the deity praised in the colophon. At times, gods and goddesses are, in fact, referred to by names corresponding to one of their particular forms, the veneration of whom revolves around a specific location, e.g. a temple. RE20020b, for instance, states *sahāyadāmnisametaśritanun-*

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55 The same manuscript also contains another colophon, composed in Telugu, where the same location is mentioned as Śalimada, and the name of another town is reported, i.e. Pālavanattam [205v2-4]. The latter is a village in the Virutunakar district, approx. 40 km Northeast of the district headquarters. Courtesy of R. Satyanarayan.

āthes̄varasvāmine namaḥ [6v3] 'Honour to the image (*svamin*) of Lord Śritanun-
ātha together with Sahāyadāmnī'. Tanunātha and Sahāyadāmnī, in Tamil Taṉu-
nātar and Cakāyavalli ('She with a garland as companion'), are the names of the
installations of Śiva and his wife as worshipped at the Tirumēṉinātar temple of
Tiruccuḻi (see website /7/).[56]

Therefore, it is possible to assume that mentioning the divinity venerated at
a particular place was in keeping with the activity or devotional practice of the
scribe or with that of the commissioner/owner, assuming that the latter had
asked to have that specific invocation in the manuscript. In other words, loca-
tions and manuscripts might have been linked intellectually as well as devotion-
ally (if one is to assume a difference between these two categories). What pre-
cisely does this mean? Were those manuscripts part of private collections
belonging to specific individuals who resided in those places? Or did they belong
to individuals who were simply devotees of the divinities worshipped there? Or
did those manuscripts belong to local institutions? Unfortunately, at present, it
is impossible to establish in any precise terms exactly what the link was between
the manuscripts and the places mentioned in their colophons. One might, how-
ever, postulate that the references are not just random.

5.4 Some final remarks

Spatial data contained in colophons are generally characterised by a certain de-
gree of ambiguity. In fact, as seen above, they usually do not allow researchers to
ascertain where exactly a manuscript was produced and/or stored. There are,
however, a number of alternative scenarios besides such a depressing impasse.

First of all, one should remember that a quantitatively meaningful database
is yet to be built. If a particularly telling colophon were to be found, it could pro-
vide us with precise spatial data to be cross-checked with the partial information
found in one or more other manuscripts, thus casting new light on the geograph-
ical coordinates of the manuscript(s). Furthermore, if cataloguing information
were more easily searchable, i.e. digitised, it might be possible to cross-check the
spatial information contained in, say, one colophon with a whole set of data

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56 Note that Tiru-mēṉi-nātar is the literal Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit term Śri-tanu-nātha,
whilst Cakāya-valli is the equivalent of Sahāya-dāmnī. Also note that Varadachari (1990: 312 and
passim) still locates Tiruccuḻi in the Irāmanātapuram *māvaṭṭam* (Ramanathapuram district). In
1987 this was, however, split into several areas: its eastern part was joined to the then Karmavirer
Kamarajar district in order to form the Virudhunagar district of today (see website /8/).

emerging from the material analysis of manuscripts. If we were to match the length of palm leaves, the number of lines per folio, etc. with one manuscript containing precise spatial information, we could potentially locate and characterise centres of manuscript production. Finally, one cannot forget that the institutions in which manuscripts are stored today can in certain cases hold records about where items were purchased or about their donors.

Another line of enquiry might be to make use of the linguistic data found in colophons. Data concerning features characteristic of peculiar dialects or registers of Tamil (such as those collected in sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.5) might prove to be particularly helpful in locating manuscripts. However, to the best of our knowledge, there are no publications in which those features of Tamil are dealt with comprehensively and exhaustively.[57]

Knowing that these research strands must wait for the more or less foreseeable future, the attentive reader might ask what can be done with the available data at present. Our answer is that, owing to their nature, data found in colophons can be used to address a set of questions that does pertain to spatial localisation. For instance, colophons can inform us about the religious milieu in which a particular manuscript was produced. In some cases, one can directly link such a manuscript to a particular divinity, whose image is worshipped at a specific temple, hence at a specific location. Once again, this does not mean that the manuscript was necessarily produced or stored there, but that, for its producers and users, it bore an intellectual and devotional association to that particular place. This kind of perusal would help trace the distribution of particular texts within the territory under consideration and also help us understand the dynamics of knowledge exchange that occurred there.

Furthermore, colophons can inform us about the place to which scribes and owners associated themselves, i.e. either their birthplace or the place of origin of their families, or, indeed, the place where they resided. As mentioned previously, this sort of information does not automatically provide us with an exact map indicating the locations of activity of individuals who were interested in manuscripts. However, such information can be cross-checked with what is already known about the religious – and possibly also social and economic – geography of Tamil Nadu and the surrounding areas and, where available, with other spatial data contained in the colophon(s) of the same manuscript. This operation would

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57 Partial data can be found in a small number of publications. See, for instance, Burnell 1880: 132 for a list of publications on Tamil dialects from the same author, and Zvelebil 1959, 1960 and 1963.

help us to contextualise the places mentioned in the names of scribes and owners.

An example may help to clarify what might be the outcome of our proposed approach. EO0006 contains, as Varadadesikan noted in his cataloguing sheet, 'The work '*Amalaṉātipirāṉ*' [that] consists of ten hymns sung by Tiruppāṇālvār in praise of the Lord Ranganatha in Srīraṅgam. This work is a commentary on those hymns'. From the information found in the colophons of this manuscript, we can hypothesise about the dissemination of its text within a particular area of Tamil Nadu, namely the Tūttukkuṭi *māvaṭṭam* (Thoothukudi district). In fact, one of the colophons mentions the owner of the manuscript as Tirukkurukai Perumāḷ, where Kurukai is a variant name for Āḻvārtirunakari. Furthermore, a certain Āḻvārtirunakari Criperiyanampi is also mentioned as the person who produced a new copy of EO0006. Āḻvārtirunakari (*alias* Tirukkurukai), to which both the owner and copyist are linked either in terms of devotion or of family affiliation, has a temple called Āḻvārtirunakari Perumāḷ (Alwarthirunagari Perumal), which is one of the Navatiruppati (Nava Thirupati), i.e. the nine temples dedicated to the cult of Viṣṇu found in the Tūttukkuṭi *māvaṭṭam*. Interestingly, a man named Critirukkumaraṟ Kaḷḷappirāṉ Aiyyaṅkār is also mentioned as the person into whose custody the copy of EO0006 was given; it is possible that he was the owner himself. Kaḷḷappirāṉ ('Lord of the Thieves') is the form of Viṣṇu venerated in another one of the Navatiruppati temples, namely the Vaikuṇṭanātar (Srivaikuntan-athan Perumal) temple, which is located in the town of Tiruvaikuṇṭam (Srivaikuntam). Thus, we can postulate that this latter individual had some sort of connection to that place, whether anagraphical or devotional. What emerges from these data is the milieu in which EO0006 and its text moved, i.e. a network of individuals and places, namely the Navattirupati temples, which were deeply connected to the *vaiṣṇava* cult.

Such an example shows the importance of asking the right questions of the available sources. It also challenges what one might intuitively understand in terms of locating. In fact, here the focus is not on spatial features concerning the production and storage of a particular manuscript, but on the intellectual and devotional context within which the manuscript and its text(s) were circulated and used. Even if collecting data from colophons is not sufficient to give a comprehensive picture of the spatial dimension of a manuscript, it might, however, represent an important step to take towards corroborating and contextualising other available data.

with them in future. We would also like to acknowledge the help of Eva Wilden (EFEO/CSMC/NET-amil) in providing the images of the *Caṅkam* and *Kīḻkkaṇakku* corpora, amassed by the Caṅkam Project (EFEO, Pondicherry), and also for reading an earlier draft of this article. We are also grate-ful to Jean-Luc Chevillard (CNRS/NETamil) for providing the images from Varadadesikan's cata-loguing sheets of the EFEO manuscript collection, Jonas Buchholz (NETamil) for his help with interpreting the colophons of UVSL1080a and UVSL1080c, and Florinda De Simini (Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale) for providing the image of MS2.40.

6 Abbreviations, symbols and conventions

Codicological/manuscriptological/palaeographical abbreviations and symbols

GL	guard leaf
Skt.	Sanskrit
Tam.	Tamil
{D1}, {D2}, {D3}	abbreviations for 'day'
{M1}, {M2}, {M3}, {M4}	abbreviations for 'month'
{YJ1}, {YJ2}, … {YJ5}	abbreviations for 'Jovian year'
{YK1}, {YK2}, {YK3}	abbreviations for 'Kollam year'
r²a	variant of *r* (*periya ṟa*, 'big *ṟ*') with a single 'hook'
r³a	variant of *r* (*periya ṟa*, 'big *ṟ*') similar to Tamilian Grantha *gra*
[']	Sanskrit *avagraha* not marked in the text
-	punctuation mark
―――	*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi*
―――~	*piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* with a final 'curl'
❋	*puṣpikā* 1 (found inside the text block)
❦	*puṣpikā* 2 (found on the margins of the folio)

Editorial symbols

º	abbreviation at the end of a word (e.g. *t*º = *ttil*, *y*º = *yam*)
[✗]	erased graph
[X]	inferred graph
†	*crux desperationis*

Brackets in manuscript transcriptions and translations

[ ] Square brackets are used to indicate the folio number of the manuscript, the folio side and the line number, as in RE05915 [41v3], which should be read as RE05915, folio 41, verso, line 3. If the manuscript has double folio numeration, the one that applies to the whole manuscript is indicated in round brackets, as in EO0003d [30(160)r4]. If the folio is not numbered in the man-uscript, it is referred to as GL (= guard leaf), as in EO0001 [GL1r1]. If the folio is written over more

than one column, this is specified as OR2355g [65v1 col2]. Square brackets are also used to indicate: Sanskrit *avagraha* when not graphically represented, as in EO0009b [94r3] *daśame* [']*hani*; a graph that has been cancelled but is still readable, as in EO0009b [94v4] *1000* [*1*] {YK1}; and a graph that is unreadable (either because it was cancelled or because the folio is damaged). In the latter case, a crossed-out capital X is inserted in the brackets, as in EO0009b [94v2] °*veṃkaṭāryyagu*[X̶]*ruṇā*. Finally, square brackets are used in transliteration to integrate graphs that are missing and/or omitted in the original, as in EO0009b [94r3] *kaṭakaṃ* given in translation as *ka*[*rka*]*ṭaka*.

{ } Curly brackets are used to indicate the symbols and the abbreviations for the Kollam year ({YK}), Jovian year ({YJ}), month ({M}), and day of the month ({D}), as in EO0069 [GL2r5] *1000* {YK1} *tāruṇa* {YJ1} *aṟ²paci* {M3} *22* {D1}. The number included in the curly brackets specifies which variant of the symbol/abbreviation is used; for a description of these variants, see the section on Time above (section 4).

\ / A backslash and slash are used to indicate the portion of the text that the original scribe, or a later one, inserted interlinearly, as in EO0009b [94r3] *ve**ṃ*/*kaṭaguru*°. Sometimes, scribes wrote the sign '+' in order to mark where the new portion of text should be inserted, as in EO0002a [106v7] *kāverīmahimā*+\†[?]*tāt*/.
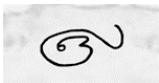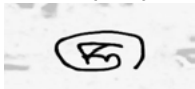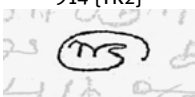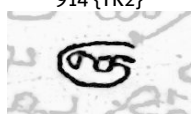
\\ // A double backslash and slash are used to indicate alternative readings pointed out by the scribe interlinearly, as in EO0069 [GL2r3 col1] *śrīraṃgarājadāsa sva**raṃgarājātmaja svena*//*kareṇa veṃkaṭāryyakaḥ*, where *raṃgarājātmaja svena kareṇa veṃkaṭāryyakaḥ* is given as an alternative to (and possibly as an improved version of) *śrīraṃgarājadāsa svakareṇa veṃkaṭāryyakaḥ*.
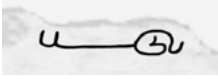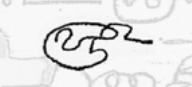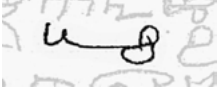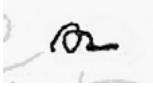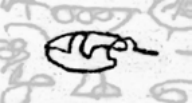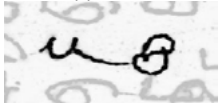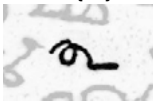
7 Appendix 1: Table
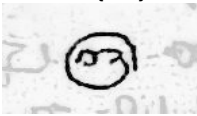
All the pictures in the table are taken from digital images, with the exception of those excerpted from manuscripts OR2345, OR2348, RE10829 [134v1], RE20020b, RE37121 and UVSL (all), which have been digitally redrawn due to the poor quality of the original pictures; in particular, the reconstruction of the symbols and the abbreviations found in RE10829 [134v1], UVSL107 and UVSL511 is tentative.
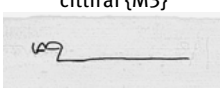
In the table, the entries are given in chronological order. The abbreviations TA, GR and MP stand for 'TAmil script', 'GRantha script' and 'ManiPravalam' (i.e. a mixture of the two), respectively. The abbreviations O. and R. stand for Owner and Recipient, respectively.
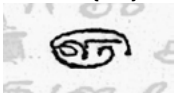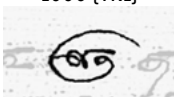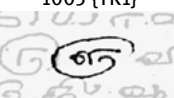
Texts are presented in diplomatic transcription.
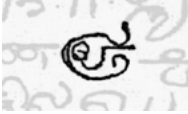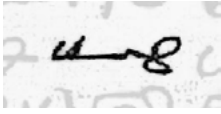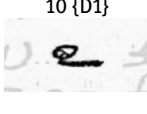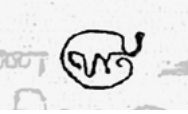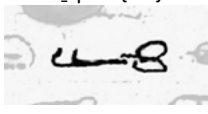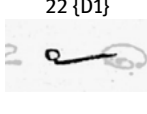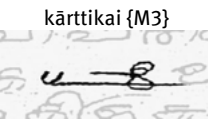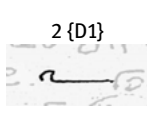
CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
UVSL511 *Kalittokai* TA / TA	1675 Feb				850 {YJ4}
UVSL107 *Akanāṉūṟu* TA / TA	1726 Nov				902 {YK2?}
EO0583a [GL1v4] *Tiruṉakarippiḷḷai Rahasyam* (?) GR(?) / MP	1738 Oct 4				914 {YK2}
EO0583b [95v8] *Ācāryabhakti* [from cat.] *Sārārttharatnamālai* (?) MP / MP	1738 Oct 21				914 {YK2}
RE10829 [134r5] *Vātulaśuddha* GR / GR	1797 Dec 26			Satyajñāni [from cat.]	
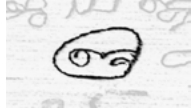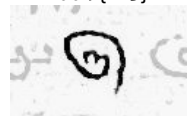
Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
	māci {M3?}					
	kārttikai māta	mutal ('first'?)				
kālayukti {YJ3}	ar^{2}ppaci {M3}	2 {D1}	budhanṅkiḻamai	pūrvapakṣa-	tritikai	viśākhānakṣatram
kālayukti {YJ3}	ar^{2}ppaci {M3}	19 {D1}	sthiravāsaram	aparapakṣa-	-pañcami	ārdrānnakṣatram
piṃgala-saṃvassara	dhanurmmāsa	pañcdaśama-dinam				
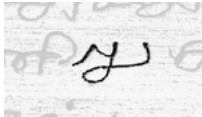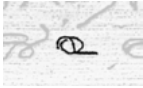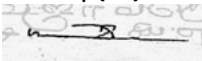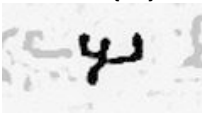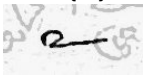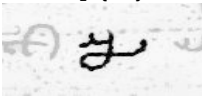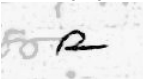
CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
RE10829 [134v1] *Vātulaśuddha* GR / MP	1823 Apr 19	Tiruvaiyāṟu (Thanjavur dist.)			
EO0002a *Tulākāverī- māhātmyam* GR / GR	1819 Mar 22	Śrīdhanvinūtanapurī (?)	narasiṃhāryyapautreṇa śrīraṃgācāryyasūnunā coranāthena [likhitā]		994 {YK2}
EO0009b [94r3] *Śrīguṇaratnakośa- vyākhyā* GR / GR	1824 Jul 23		[vilekhitā] veṃkaṭāryyābhi- dhānena śrīraṃga- gurusūnunā		
EO0009b [94v1] *Śrīguṇaratnakośa- vyākhyā* GR / GR	1824 Jul 23		śrīraṃgāryyaja- veṃkaṭāryya- guruṇāpūrṇāryya- vaṃśotbhavenā [...] ālikhyate		
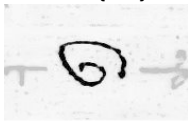
Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
subhānu {YJ4}	cittirai {M3}	8	śanikiḷamai		8	āyilliya
bahudhānya nāma saṃvatsare	phālgunamāse	ekādaśa-divase	induvāsre	utarāyaṇe	ekādaśyāṃ	śravaṇanakṣatre
tāruṇābde gate bhānau	kaṭakaṃ	daśame [']hani	bhṛguvāsare		dvādaśyāṃ	mṛgaśīrṣākhya-tārake
abde tāruṇanāmake	āṣāḍhamāse		bhṛgudine	pakṣe vaḷakṣetare	tithau dvādaśyāṃ	mṛgaśīrṣatārasahite
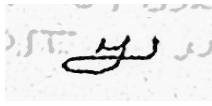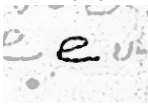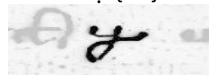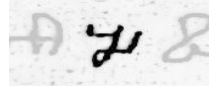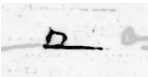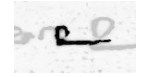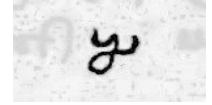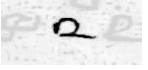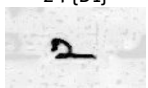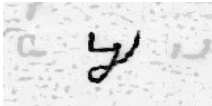
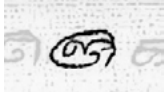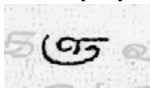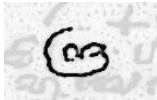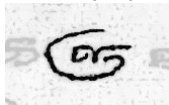| CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
EO0009b [94v4] *Śrīguṇaratnakośa-vyākhyā* GR / MP	1824 Jul 23		periyanvikaḷ tirmāḻikai śrīraṃgācāryyar dāsan veṃkaṭācāryyar		1000 {YK1}
EO0069 [GL2r1 col1] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* GR / GR	1824 Nov 5	Āḻvārtirunakari (Thoothukudi dist.) [from cat.]	śrīraṃgarājadāsa svakareṇa [OR raṃgarājātmaja svena kareṇa] veṃkaṭāryyakaḥ		
EO0069 [GL2r5] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* GR / MP	1824 Nov 5		periyanvi śrīraṃgācāriyar dāsan veṃkaṭācāryyar		1000 {YK1}
EO0069 [63v5] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* GR / MP	1829 Nov 15		periyanampi śrīraṃgācāryyar dāsan veṃkaṭācāryyar	śrīpūrṇaveṃkaṭāryyeṇa śrīraṃga gurusūnunā [... vilekhitam]		1005 {YK1}

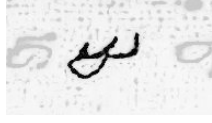| Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
tāruṇa {YJ2}	āṭi {M3}	10 {D1}	veḷḷikeḷamai		dvādaśi tithi	mr̥gaśīrṣaṇanakṣattiram
dāruṇanāmābde	tulāṃ prāpte divākare		śukravāsare	śuklapakṣe	caturddaśyām	aśvinyām
tāruṇa {YJ1}	aṟ²paci {M3}	22 {D1}	veḷḷikkeḷemai	śuklapakṣattil	caturddaśi	aśvatinakṣattiram
virodhivarṣam	kārttikai {M3}	2 {D1}	nāttikkeḷamai	kr̥ṣṇapakṣaṭ°	pañcami	punarvasu-nakṣatram
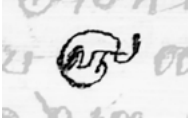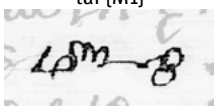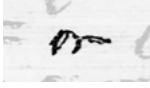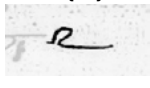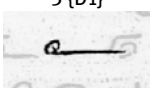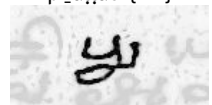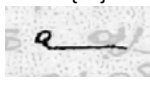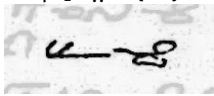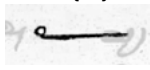
CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
RE05915 *Jayantīpuramāhātmya* GR / GR (in TA only *āṉi* and *eḻuti mukiñcutu*)	1827 Jun 21	Thiruchendur (Thoothukudi dist.) [from cat.]			1002 {YK2}
EO0007a *Candrāvaloka* GR / GR (in TA only the word *āṭi*)	1827 Aug 10		mahāpūrṇaśrīraṃgācāryya-dāsaveṃkaṭācāryyaḥ		1002 {YK2}
EO0001 [GL3v1] *Tiruvāymoḻi Nālām Pattu Īṭu Vyākhyānam* GR / TA (mostly)	1829 May 4				1004 {YK3}
EO0001 [140r5] *Tiruvāymoḻi Nālām Pattu Īṭu Vyākhyānam* GR / TA	1829 Jun 30				1004 {YK3}
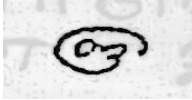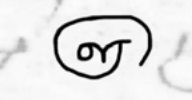
Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
	āṇi {M2}	9 {D1}				
	āṭi {M3}	27				
	cittira {M2}	24 {D1}				
	āṇi {M2}	19 {D1}				
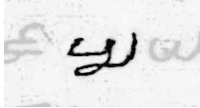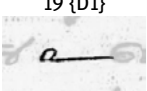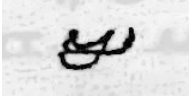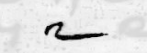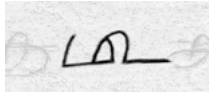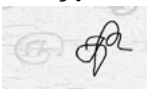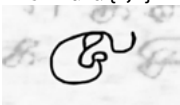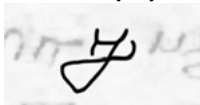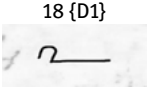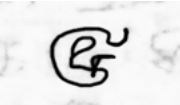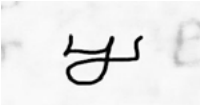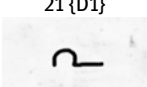
CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
MS2.40 *Śivadharma* GR / MP	1830 Apr 22				
EO0006 [GL3v1] *Amalaṇātipirāṉ Vyākhyāṇam* GR / TA	1830 Aug 26 – 1830 Sep 7			critirukkumaṟ²ar kaḷḷappirāṉ aiyyaṅkār	1006 {YK3}
EO0006 [52r6] *Amalaṇātipirāṉ Vyākhyāṇam* MP / MP	1830 Aug 26 – 1830 Sep 7				1006 {YK3}
EO0006 [GL1r1] *Amalaṇātipirāṉ Vyākhyāṇam* GR / TA (mostly)	1830 Nov 26	Āḻvārtirunakari / Tirunelvēli (?)			1006 {YK3}

Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
vikratināma-saṃvatsaram	cittirai { M2}	12 {D1}	guruvāram			aśvanī-nakṣatram
	āvaṇi {M2} āvaṇi {M2}	12 {D1} 24 {D1}	guruvāram			anuṣam nakṣatram
	āvaṇi {M2}	12 { D1} 24 {D1}				
	kāṟ²tᵒ {M2}	13 {D1}				
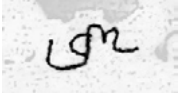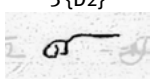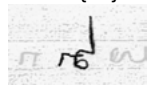
CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
RE08256 *Sakalāgamasarasaṃgraha* [from cat.] GR / MP	1834 Jan 24	Rameśvaram [from cat.]			
EO0007b *Kuvalayānanda* GR / TA	1839 Nov 21				1015 {YK2}
EO0003a *Triṃśatpraśnottara* MP / MP	1845 Aug 17		periyanampi veṅkaṭācāriyar		1021 {YK1}
EO0003b *Triṃśatpraśnottarakhaṇḍana* MP / MP	1845 Sep 25		periyanampi veṅkaṭācāriyar		1021 {YK2}
EO0003c *Īṭupāṭu* of *Jīyar* MP / MP	1845 Oct 2		periyanampi veṅkiṭācāriyar		1021 {YK1}

Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
vijaya {YJ1}	tai {M1}	13 {D2}	śukravāraṃ			punarvasu-nakṣattraṃ
	kār[2]ttikai {M2}	7 {D1}				
viśvāvasuvarṣam	āvaṇi māsaṃ	3 {D1}	nāttikkeḷamai	parṇamāvāsai		avuṭṭa nakṣattiram
viśvāvasuvarṣaṃ	piraṭṭāci {M2}	11 {D1}	vyāḷakkeḷamai	kṛṣṇapakṣattu	daśami tithi	punarvasu nakṣattiram
viśvāvasu nāma saṃvatsaraṃ	kanyā māsam per[2]aṭṭāci {M3}	18 {D1}	vyāḷakkeḷamai	śuklapakṣattu	prathamai	citrānakṣatram
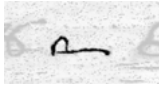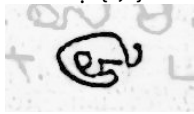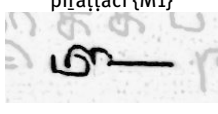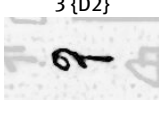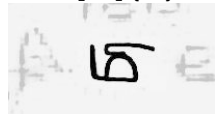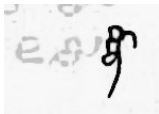
CAT. No. / TITLE / SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
EO0003d *Svarūpavijñānavikāsa-darppaṇam* (or *Īṭupāṭu*) of *Vedāntācaryyar* MP / MP	1845 Oct 3		periyanampi veṅkaṭācāriyar		1021 {YK1}
EO0004 *Tirumālai Pratipatavurai* MP / MP	1862 Apr 29				1037 {YK2}
OR2345 *Jaiminīya Āraṇyaka Gāna* GR / TA	1863 Nov 19		cuppaḷam (?) kecavaṉ		1039 āmta
UVSL1080a *Ciṟupañcamūlam* TA / TA	1873 Apr 29	Tirunelvēli	ta (?) kumāreṭṭu		1048 {YK2}
UVSL1080c *Ācārakkōvai* TA / TA	1873 May 2	Tirunelvēli	mu (?) kumāreṭṭu		48 {YK2}

Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
viśvāvasu saṃvatsaraṃ	poṭṭāci {M2}	19 {D1}	veḷḷikkeḷamai	śuklapakṣatu	dvitiyai	svātīnakṣatraṃ
dundubhi nāma varṣaṃ	cittirai {M2}	18 {D1} utaiyattil				
	kārttika {M4} cam	5 t°				
śrīmuka {YJ2}	cittirai {M2}	18 {D1}				
śrīmuka {YJ2}	cittirai {M2}	21 {D1}				
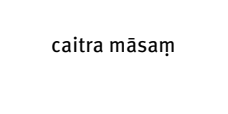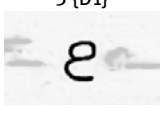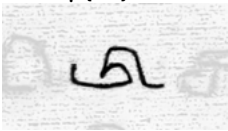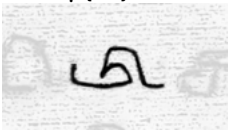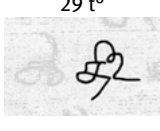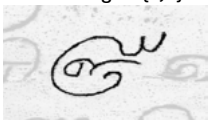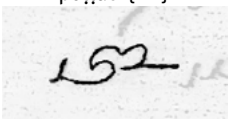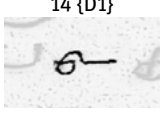
CAT. No. / TITLE / SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
RE05920 *Śucīndrasthalamāhātmya* GR / GR (in TA only *sucīndiraṃ*)	1880 Dec 30 (or 31)	Sucīndiraṃ (Kanyākumāri dist.) [from cat.]	ejuśākhāddhyāyān śrīvatsagotrotbhave satyāṣaḍaśūtraḥ cucīndiraṃ nārāyaṇar putran senāpati		sahasrādhika ṣaṭpañcaḥ
OR2340j *Ṣoḍaśīkalyāṇīstotra* GR / MP (invocations in GR, the rest all in TA but the word *śāstri*)	1891 Jul 17	cantiracekapuram	cantiracekapuram kirāmam ayyar śāstrikal̤ kumāraṇ †crī† cuvāmi		kollam 1066 mtu
OR2355c *Pradoṣārccana* GR / MP	1902 Nov 12				1078 mta
OR2355d *Ṛṣipañcami-vratodyāpana* GR / MP	1902 Nov 12	rāmapaṭṭar	ve kṛṣṇavāddhyār		78
OR2355g *Somavārārccana* GR / GR (in TA only *āmata*)	1902 Nov 15	nārāyaṇapaṭṭar puttran rāmayan	vekiṭīśvara vāddhyār puttiran kṛṣṇavāddhyār		kollaṃ 1078 āmta

Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
vikramanāma-saṃvatsare	dhanurmmāse	saptadaśa-divase	bhṛguvāsare	pūrvapakṣa-	-caturddaśyāṃ	jyeṣṭhānakṣatre divase
	āṭi {M1}	3 {D2}				
	tulāmāsam	27 ā {D3}				
	tulāṃ	27 ā tiyati				
	tulāmāsam	30 tiyati				

CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
OR2355h *Nakṣatradevatā ṛk* GR / GR			rāman	kṛṣṇavāttiyār	
OR2344b *Devīmāhātmya* GR / MP	1908 Jul 25 – Aug 5		sundaran putran nārāyaṇan		kollaṃ 1083
MANUSCRIPTS WITH AMBIGUOUS DATES					
OR2347.1 *Devīmāhātmya* GR / MP	1789 Nov 1 or 1849 Nov 2 or 1909 Nov 4				
RE45807 *Amarakośaḥ Drāviḍārthasahitaḥ* MP / MP	1796 Sep 14 or 1856 Sep 16 or 1916 Sep 17		icalimaṭai kpālakṛṣṇaṉ		
RE37121 *Amarakośaḥ* (with Tamil meaning) MP / MP	1797 Jan 4 or 1857 Jan 5 or 1917 Jan 7		sadāśivan		

Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
	āṣāḍhamāsaṃ	10 āṃ tiyyati āraṃbhicca 21 āṃ tiyyati				
MANUSCRIPTS WITH AMBIGUOUS DATES						
saumyanāma-savatsaraṃ	tulāmāsaṃ	19 {D1} udiccu 13 nāḻikai				
naḷa {YJ2}	piraṭṭaci {M1}	3 {D2}				
naḷa {YK2}	mārꞏkaḻi {M1}	24 t°				

CAT. No. TITLE SCRIPT (text/colophon)	DATE	PLACE	SCRIBE	O. or R.	Kollam YEAR
RE20020b *Devīpratiṣṭhā* GR / GR	1799 Apr 12 or 1859 Apr 14 or 1919 Apr 15				
OR2348 *Lalitātriśatīnāmāvalī* GR / MP	1800 Jul 10 or 1860 Aug 11 or 1920 Aug 13		kecavapaṭṭar nāḷayaṇaḷ (?)		
OR2359 *Cakravidhi* GR / GR (n TA only *poṭṭāci*)	1803 Sep 28 or 1863 Sep 28 or 1923 Sep 30			ayyyāsvāmidikṣitan	
COLOPHONS WITH ONLY PLACE NAMES					
RE22704 *Amarakośaḥ Drāviḍaṭīkāsahitaḥ* MP / MP			veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi (?) kuruṇātayyaṉ	pāḷayaṅkoṭṭai piṟ³anda paṭṭaravarkaḷ	

Jovian YEAR	MONTH	DAY	WEEKDAY	PAKṢA	TITHI	NAKṢATRA
siddhārtthi {YJ4}	caitra māsaṃ	3 {D1}				
raudri varṣaṃ	āṭi {M4} cam	29 t°				
rudhirotgāri {YJ5}	poṭṭāci {M1}	14 {D1}				
COLOPHONS WITH ONLY PLACE NAMES						

8 Appendix 2: Corpus

Note: If not otherwise indicated, the date refers to when the manuscript was completed.

RE05915 – *Jayantīpurāmāhātmya* (21 July 1827)

[41v3] *hariḥ om śubham astu | śrīvallidevasenāsametaśrīsubrahmaṇyasvāmi*[✕]*sahāyam |* ––– 1002 {YK2} *āṇi* {M2} *9* {D1} *eḻuti mukiñcutu* –––

Hariḥ om, may there be prosperity. With the support of *śrī* Subrahmaṇya along with [his spouses] *śrī* Vallī and Devasenā, [this manuscript] was fully written [in the] Kollam year 1002, month of Āṇi, 9th day.

Notes: (1) Varadachari (1986: 186-7) thinks that the manuscript looks much younger than the age indicated by the date in the colophon. (2) According to Varadachari (1986: 186-7), Jayantīpura is another name for the town of Tiruccentūr (Tiruchendur/Thiruchendur) in the Tūttukkuṭi *māvaṭṭam* (Thoothukudi district). In fact, the Tiruccentūr Cuppiramaṇiyacuvāmi Kōyil (Thiruchendur Murugan Temple), where Murukaṉ is venerated as Subrahmaṇya (Cuppiramaṇiya in Tam.), along with his two wives, is there.

RE05920 – *Śucīndrasthalamāhātmya* (30 or 31 December 1880)

[89r7] *hariḥ oṃ | sahasrādhikaṣaṭpañcaḥ vikramanā*[89r7]*masaṃvatsare dhanurmmāse saptadaśa*[*ta*]*divase bhṛguvāsare pūrvapakṣacaturddaśyāṃ jyeṣṭhā*[*na*]*kṣatre divase ejuśākhāddhyāyān* [89v1] *śrīvatsagotrotbhave satyāṣaḍsūtraḥ* [✕] *cucīndiraṃ nārāyaṇar putran senāpati* [✕] *likhitaṃ | hari om* [89v2] *śubham astu gurubhyo namaḥ | sthāṇusahāyam*

Hariḥ om. [In the Kollam year] 1056, the [Jovian] year called Vikrama, month of Dhanus, the 17th day, a Friday, the 14th [*tithi*] of the bright fortnight, under the Jyeṣṭhā constellation, on [this] day Senāpati from Cucīndiram, reciter of the Yajurveda, born in the Śrīvatsa *gotra*, [belonging to the tradition] of the *Satyāṣaḍ*[*h*]*asūtra*, son of Nārāyaṇar, wrote [this manuscript]. Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. Honour to the teachers. With the support of Sthāṇu (i.e. Śiva).

Notes: (1) *Divase* has been translated as 'on [this] day' since it resembles the Tamil expression *inta śubhadinattil* found in the colophons of many other manuscripts, such as EO0003a. (2) The locative form in °*otbhave* seems to be a mistake. (3) The syntax seems to be rather loose, thus the passive verbal form *likhitaṃ* has been translated as active.

RE08256 – *Sakalāgamasarasaṃgraha* (24 January 1834)

[162v2] *śubham astu śriparvatavarddhanīsametaśrirāmanāthāya namaḥ | aṃbāsahā*[*yam*] [162v3] *vijaya* {YJ1} *tai* {M1} *13* {D2} *śukravāraṃ punarvasunakṣatraṃ śubhadinattil*

perivālakṛṣṇa kurukkaḷ uṭaiya pustakattaip pāṟ²ttu yenakku yeḻutik koṇṭeṉ ākamam pa[r]-vatayyaṉ hastali[162v4]khikhitam [sic!] śubham astu śriaṃbāsahāy° dharmmadevataye sahāya°

May there be prosperity. Honour to śrī Rāmanātha together with [his spouse] śrī Parvatavardhanī. With the support of Ambā. In the Jovian year Vijaya, month of Tai, 13th day, a Friday, under the constellation of Punarvasu, on [this] auspicious day, having seen the book belonging to Perivāla Kṛṣṇa Kurukkaḷ, I, Ākamam Parvatayyaṉ, wrote [this manuscript] for myself. May there be prosperity, with the support of śrī Ambā [and] the God of Dharma.

RE10829 – *Vātulaśuddha* (26 December 1797; change of ownership (?) 9 April 1823)

[134r5] *piṃgalasaṃva[134r6]ssara dhanurmmāsa pañcadaśamadinam śubham astu satyajñāni*

[Jovian] year Piṅgala, month of Dhanur, 15th day. May there be prosperity. Satyajñāni.

[134v1] *subhānu* {YJ4} *cittirai* {M3} *8* | *śanikkiḻamaiy 8 āyilliya* [one or more syllables missing] [134v2]†*tra*† *tiruvaiyāṟu*

Jovian year Subhānu, month of Cittirai, 8th [day], Saturday, 8th [*tithi*], [constellation of] Āyilliya. Tiruvaiyāṟu.

Notes: (1) The meaning of the word *satyajñani* is not immediately clear. Most probably, it indicates the name of the scribe, since it is written by the same hand that copied the text of the whole manuscript. The same name, written by the same hand, is also found in RE10845 (manuscript not studied in this article). At present, it cannot be ascertained whether Satyajñani was also the owner of the two manuscripts. (2) The second date, which was added by a second hand to the verso of the folio and left uninked, could be that of the first owner of the manuscript, or record the change of ownership of the manuscript, in case Satyajñani were the first owner.

RE20020b – *Devīpratiṣṭhā* (12 April 1799, 14 April 1859, or 15 April 1919)

[6v3] *hariḥ om śubham astu śrigurubhyo namaḥ* || *sahāyadāmnisametaśritanunāthe-śvarasvāmine namaḥ* | *siddhārtthi* {YJ4} *caitra māsaṃ 3* {D1} –––

Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. Honour to the teachers. Honour to the image (*svamin*) of Śritanunātha (i.e. Śiva) together with Sahāyadāmnī. Jovian year Siddhārtthi, month of Caitra, 3rd day.

Note: Śritanunātha and Sahāyadāmnī are the names of the installations of Śiva and his wife as worshipped at the Tirumēṉiṉātar temple of Tiruccuḻi.

RE22704 – *Amarakośaḥ Drāviḍaṭīkāsahitaḥ* (no date)

[79r4] *nāmaliṃgānuśāsana*[79r5]*ttile prathamakāṇḍaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃm āy mukintatu* ‖ *śrīrāmacandrāya paramagura*[79r6]*ve namaḥ* ‖ *rājagopālasvāmisahāyaṃ* ‖ ––– ❊ ❊ ❊ [79r7] ❀ *veḷaṅkoḷḷi kuruṇātayyaṉ yeḻutiṉatu pāḻayaṅkoṭṭai piṟ³anda paṭṭaravarka*[79r8]*ḷukku* ‖ *śrīsāṃbasadāśivāya namaḥ* ‖ ––– ❊ ‖ ––– ❀

The first chapter of the *Nāmaliṃgānuśāsanam* has been fully completed. Honour to the supreme guru śrī Rāmacandra. With the support of Rājagopālasvāmin. Veḷaṅkoḷḷi (?) Kuruṇātayyaṉ wrote [this manuscript] for Paṭṭaravarkaḷ, who was born in Pāḻayaṅkoṭṭai. Honour to śrī Sadāśiva along with Ambā.

Note: It is possible that Veḷaṅkoḷḷi corresponds to a town halfway between the cities of Kollam and Tiruvaṉantapuram (Thiruvananthapuram/Trivandrum), which are both found in present-day Kēraḷam (Kerala) (see website /9/).

RE37121 – *Amarakośaḥ* (with Tamil meaning) (4 January 1797, 5 January 1857, or 7 January 1917)

[27v5] *ity amarakośe prathamakāṇḍas samāptaḥ* | ––– *hariḥ om* | *śubham astu avighnam astu*

> [27v6] *bind[u]durllipivisargavīdhikāpaṅntibhedapadabhedadūṣaṇaṃ* |
> *hastavegajam abuddhipūrvakaṃ kṣantum arhatha samīkṣya satjanāḥ* |

––– *ṉaḷa* {YK2} *mār²kaḻi* {M1} *24tº* [27v7] *eḻutiṉatu sadāśivan pustakaṃ* | *svahastalikhitaṃ* | *asmatgurucaraṇāravindābhyo namaḥ* | ––– *om*

The first section of the *Amarakośa* is completed. Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. May there be no obstacle.

> O good people, once you have investigated [this manuscript], you may forgive [any] unintentional mistake[s] concerning nasal signs, bad writing, signs of aspiration at the end of words, a row, omission of a line (*paṅkti-bheda*) or word, which are born from a hasty hand.

Sadāśivan wrote [this] book with his own hand in the Jovian year Naḷa, month of Mārkaḻi, 24th day. Honour to the lotus like feet of our guru. Om.

Notes: (1) The stanza is in *rathoddhatā* metre. (2) °*vīdhikā*° should be read as °*vīthikā*° ('row'), and °*paṅnti*° should be read as °*paṅkti*° ('line'). It is not clear to what exactly the former refers, since the latter seems to indicate the same phenomenon, i.e. the 'omission of a line' or 'aplography'. (3) *Ṉaḷa* should be read as *Naḷa*, and *Mār²kaḻi* as *Mārkaḻi*. (4) Note that the name of the Jovian year is followed by a symbol for the Kollam year.

RE45807 – *Amarakośaḥ Drāviḍārthasahitaḥ* (14 September 1796, 16 September 1856, or 17 September 1916)

[36r1] *śubham astu – – – || kumāragurave namaḥ – – – [36r2] icalimaṭai kopālakṛṣṇaṉ eḻutiṉatu naḻa {YJ2} piṟaṭṭaci {M1} 3 {D2} amaraṃ – prathamakāṇṭam – eḻuti mukintatu – – –*

May there be prosperity. Honour to Kumāraguru. Kopālakṛṣṇaṉ from Icalimaṭai wrote in the Jovian year Naḷa, month of Piṟaṭṭaci, 2nd day. He finished writing the first chapter of the *Amara[kośa]*.

EO0001 – *Tiruvāymoḻi Nālām Pattu Īṭu Vyākhyānam* (30 June 1829) (the date 4 May 1829 is also recorded)

[GL1r1] *śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ tiruvāymoḻi nālā\m\/ pattu yīṭu vyākhyānam jīyar tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam – – – tirukkurukaip perumāḷ – – –*

Honour to śrīmat Rāmānuja, *Tiruvāymoḻi Nālām Pattu Īṭu Vyākhyānam*, the holy feet of Jīyar are the refuge. Tirukkurukai Perumāḷ.

[GL2r1] *śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ tiruvāymoḻi nālām pattu yīṭu vyākhyānam jīyar tiruvaṭikaḷe śaraṇam tirukkurukaipperumāḷ dāsan – – –*

Honour to śrīmat Rāmānuja, *Tiruvāymoḻi Nālām Pattu Īṭu Vyākhyānam*, the holy feet of Jīyar are the refuge. Devotee of Tirukkurukai Perumāḷ.

[GL3r1] *śrī[ma]d varavaramunaye namaḥ tiruvāymoḻi nālām pattu yīṭu vyākhyānam – – – jīyar tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam – – –*

Honour to śrīmat Varavaramuni, *Tiruvāymoḻi Nālām Pattu Īṭu Vyākhyānam*, the holy feet of Jīyar are the refuge.

[GL3v1] *gopālapiḷḷai kuṭṭa rāmānu[ja]nūntantāti urai* [GL3v2] *jñānasāram prameyasāra vyākhyānam periyatirumuṭi*[GL3v3]*yaṭaivu dinacari vāḻi tirunāmaṅkaḷ yivaḷavu munnamum kuṭuttᵒkutu* [GL3v4] *cittira {M2} 24 {D1} 1004 {YK3} kuṭuttᵒkutu*

The *Rāmānu[ja]nūntantāti Urai*, the *Jñānasāram*, the *Prameyasāravyākhyānam*, the *Periyatirumuṭiyaṭaivu* were given by Gopālapiḷḷai. Having praised the holy names every day, so much [i.e. so many manuscripts] is already given. It is given on the month of Cittira, 24th day, Kollam year 1004.

[140r5] *āḻvār tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam | emperumāṉār tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam – – – maṇavāḷa māmuṉikaḷ tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam – – – śrīmad varavaramunaye namaḥ* [140r6] *rāmānuja-dāsan caramāvadhidāsan dāsānudāsan tirukkurukaip perumāḷ ācāryyan tiruvaṭikaḷe tañcam jīyar tiruvaṭikaḷe tañcam – – – [140r7] 1004 {YK3} āṉi {M2} 19 {D1} samāptam – – –*

The holy feet of the Āḻvār are the refuge. The holy feet of Emperumāṉār (= Rāmānuja) are the refuge. The holy feet of Maṇavāḷa, the great sage, are the refuge. Honour to śrīmat Varavaramuni. The holy feet of master Tirukkurukai Perumāḷ, devotee of Rāmānuja, last (*caramāvadhi*) of the servants, servant of servants, are the refuge. The holy feet of Jīyar are the refuge. [The manuscript] was finished in the Kollam year 1004, month of Āṉi, 19th day.

Notes: (1) Since this colophon presents a list of many *śrīvaiṣṇava* teachers, such as Emperumāṉār/Rāmānuja, Maṇavāḷa, etc., one cannot exclude the possibility that Tirukkurukai Perumāḷ corresponds to Tirukkurukaippirāṉpiḷḷāṉ here, a *śrīvaiṣṇava* master of the twelfth century, who was a pupil of Rāmānuja (Venkatachari 1978: 61-64). Alternatively, the expression *tirukkurukaipperumāḷ dāsan* could be interpreted as 'Tirukkurukai Perumāḷ, devotee [of Rāmānuja]' in the light of EO0006 [GL1r2] and [52r7]. (2) The colophon found in [GL3] presents a rather colloquial style. In particular, one should note the form *kuṭṭa* for *kuṭutta*, and the expression *kuṭutt°kutu*, which seems to mark a contracted form of the standard *kuṭutt' irukkiṟatu* with a symbol for abbreviation (Vijayavenugopal personal communication). If its interpretation is correct, this colophon does not pertain to the production of EO0001, but refers to the date of donation of three other manuscripts.

EO0002a – *Tulākāverīmāhātmyam (Āgneyapurāṇa)* (22 March 1819)

[106v4] *āgneyapurāṇe kāverīmāhātmya samāptam | [106v5] hariḥ om – – – kāveryyai namaḥ – – –~ | śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ – – – śrīmahāpūrṇagurave namaḥ | – – –~ śrīvaikuṇṭhanāthasvāmine namaḥ – – –~ [106v6] 994 {YK2} bahudhānya \nāma/ saṃvatsare uttarāyaṇe phālgunamāse ekādaśadivase induvāsare ekādaśyāṃ śravaṇanakṣatre narasiṃhāryyapautreṇa [106v7] śrīraṃgācāryyasūnunā | coranāthe\na/ likhit[×]\ā/ kāverīmahimā+\†[?]tā†/[×××] | – – –~ śrīdhanvinū[×]tanapurīgurave namaḥ | śrīraṃgavallyai namaḥ – – – |*

The *Kāverīmāhātmya* in the *Āgneyapurāṇa* is completed. Hariḥ om. Honour to the Kāverī. Honour to śrīmat Rāmānuja. Honour to the guru śrī Mahāpūrṇa. Honour to śrī Vaikuṇṭanāthasvāmin. In the Kollam year 994, Jovian year called Bahudhānya, in the second fortnight, month of Phālguna, 11th day, on Monday, 11th [*tithi*], under the Śravaṇa constellation, Coranātha grandson of Narasiṃhāyya and son of Śrīraṃgācāryya wrote the *Kāverīmahimā* (?). Honour to the guru of Śrīdhanvinūtanapurī (?). Honour to Śrīraṃgavallī.

Notes: (1) The scribe, Coranātha, is the son of Śrīraṃgācāryya and grandson of Narasiṃhā[ca]ryya. Veṃkaṭācāryyar (the scribe of EO0002, EO0007 and EO0069) is also the son of a man called Śrīraṃgācāryya. Since the two scribes were active in the same period, they may have been brothers. Unfortunately, we cannot confirm this hypothesis since we do not (yet) know the name of Veṃkaṭācāryyar's grandfather. (2) The form *°āryya°* could be a contraction of *°ācāryya°*. (3) The identification of both the guru of Śrīdhanvinūtanapurī (?) and Śrīraṃgavallī has not yet been made.

EO0003a,b,c,d

EO0003a – *Triṃśatpraśnottara* (17 August 1845)

[68v3] *hariḥ om – śubham astu – ⸻~ || śrīmatbhyo parāṃkuśaparakālayativarādibhyo namaḥ – śrīmahāpūrṇagurave namaḥ – ⸻~ ||* [68v4] *1021* {YK1} *viśvāvasuvarṣam āvaṇi māsam 3* {D1} *nāttikkeḷamai paurṇamāvāsai – avuṭṭa nakṣattiram – yinta śubhadinattil* [68v5] *triṃśatpraśnottara*[*khaṇḍana*]*ṃ eḻuti*/ *mukintatu – periyanampi veṅkaṭācāriyar sva-hastalikihitam – muḻuvatum – periyanampikaḷ tiruvaṭikaḷ caraṇ° ⸻*

Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. Honour to śrīmat Parāṃkuśa, Parakāla and Yativara. Honour to guru śrī Mahāpūrṇa. In the Kollam year 1021, Jovian year Viśvāvasu, month of Āvaṇi, 3rd day, on Sunday, under the full moon, under the constellation of Avuṭṭa, on this auspicious day, the *Triṃśatpraśnottara* was fully written. Periyanampi Veṅkaṭācāriyar completed [it], writing with his own hand. The holy feet of Periyanampikaḷ are the refuge.

EO0003b – *Triṃśatpraśnottarakhaṇḍana* (25 September 1845)

[129v6] *śrīmate rājāya namaḥ – śrīmahāpūrṇagurave namaḥ – – hariḥ om śubham astu – ⸻~ || 1021* {YK2} \+ *viśvāvasuvarṣaṃ*/ *piṟaṭṭāci* {M2} *11* {D1} *vyāḷakkeḷa*[129v7]*mai* \+ *kṛṣṇapakṣattu*/ *daśami tithi punarvasu nakṣattiram inta śubhadinattil triṃśatpraśnottara-khaṇḍanaṃ eḻuti mukiñcatu – periyanampi veṅkaṭācāriyar svahastalikihitam – ⸻~*

Honour to śrīmat Rā[mānu]ja. Honour to guru śrī Mahāpūrṇa. Hariḥ om, may there be prosperity. In the Kollam year 1021, Jovian year Viśvāvasu, month of Piṟaṭṭāci, 11th day, on Thursday, 10th [*tithi*] of the dark fortnight, under the constellation of Punarvasu, on this auspicious day, the *Triṃśatpraśnottarakhaṇḍana* was fully written by Periyanampi Veṅkaṭācāriyar with his own hand.

EO0003c – *Īṭupāṭu* of Jīyar (2 October 1845)

[18(148)v3] *– ⸻~ ||| hariḥ om – śubham astu – – ⸻~ ||* [18(148)v4] *yemperumāṉār tiru-vaṭikaḷ caraṇam – maṇavāḷa māmuṉikaḷ tiruvaṭikaḷ caraṇam – ⸻~ – śrīmahāpūrṇa gurave namaḥ – ⸻~ ||* [18(148)v5] *1021* {YK1} *viśvāvasu nāma saṃvatsaraṃ kanyāmāsam* *peṟ²aṭṭāci* {M3}/ *18* {D1} *vyāḷakkeḷamai śuklapakṣattu prathamai citrānakṣatram yinta śubhadinattil* [18(148)v6] *jīyar īṭupāṭu – eḻuti mukintatu – ⸻~ – periyanampi veṅkiṭācāriyar svahas-talikihitam – muḻuvatum – ⸻~ || ❀ – – ⸻~ ||*

Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. The holy feet of Emperumāṉār (= Rāmānuja) are the refuge. The holy feet of the great sage Maṇavāḷa are the refuge. Honour to guru śrī Mahāpūrṇa. In the Kollam year 1021, the Jovian year called Viśvāvasu, month of Kanyā

varamunaye namaḥ [GL1r3] *itaṟ²ku mel prati āḷvārtirunakari criperiyanampi criśrīkośam pārtt*['] *eṟ²iyaruḷappaṇṇiṉatu anta mel pratiyai critirukkumaṟ²ar kaḷḷappirāṉ aiyyaṅkār vacat-til* [GL1r4] *1006* {YK3} *kāṟ²tº* {M2} *13* {D1} *nelveliyil kkoṭuttuviṭṭeṉ* – – –

Honour to śrīmat Rāmānuja, *Amalaṉātipirāṉ Vyākhyānam*. The holy feet of Jīyar are the refuge. The book (*śrīkośam*) [of] Tirukkurukaipperumāḷ devotee (*dāsan*) of Rāmānuja. Honour to śrīmad Varavaramuni. Having Āḷvārtirunakari Criperiyanampi seen the book (*criśrīkośam*), its copy was produced (*eriyaruḷappaṇṇiṉatu*); I gave that copy into the custody (*vacam*) of Critirukkumaṟar Kaḷḷappirāṉ Aiyyaṅkār in [Tiru]nelveli in the Kollam year 1006, month of Kāṟt[tikai], 13th day.

[GL3v1] *1006* {YK3} *ā\va/ṇi* {M2} *12* {D1} *guruvāram a*[X̶X̶]*\nuṣam/ nakṣatram* [GL3v2] *āram-pam \†li†/ āvaṇi* {M2} *24* {D1} *utaiyam samāptaḥ*

Beginning in the Kollam year 1006, month of Āvaṇi, 12th day, Thursday, under the constellation of Anuṣam; [the manuscript] was finished at dawn on the 24th day.

(Fig.2) [52r6] *hariḥ om* – – – *aḷakiyamaṇavāḷapperumāḷnayiṉār tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam* – – – *ra-myajāmātṛmunaye namaḥ* – – – [52r7] *tirukkurukaip perumāḷ dāsan śrīkośam ācāryyan tiru-vaṭikaḷe tañcam* – – – *1006* {YK3} *āvaṇi* {M2} *12* {D1} *ārampañ ceytu 24* {D1} *utaiyam samāptaḥ* – – –

Hariḥ om. The holy feet of Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷapperumāḷnayiṉār are the refuge. Honour to the sage Ramyajāmātṛ. The book of Tirukkurukai Perumāḷ, devotee. The holy feet of the teacher are the refuge. Kollam year 1006, month of Āvaṇi; [the manuscript] was begun on the 12th day, and finished at dawn on the 24th day.

Notes: (1) The term *śrīkośam* is translated as 'manuscript/book' (see *Glossary of Historical Tamil Vaishnava Prose* 2001 and EO0583a). (2) *Prati* ('copy') is the Sanskritised spelling of the Tamil *pirati*. (3) *Pārtt*['] (from *pārttu*, absolutive form of the verb *pār-ttal*, 'to see'), which literally means 'having seen', could mean 'having checked' or 'having proofread' here. (4) *Vacattil* (locative form of *vacam*) could mean either 'in the custody' or 'in the possession'. (5) The syllable *criº* in both *criperiyanampi* and *criśrīkośam* is just a tentative reading of the character found in the manuscript. It is understood as a Tamil version of the Sanskrit *śrī* here.

EO0007a,b

EO0007a – *Candrāvaloka* (10 August 1827)

[11v6] – – – *candrāvalokas samāptaḥ |* – – – *hariḥ om śubham astu* [11v7] *mahāpūrṇa-śrīraṃgācāryyadāsaveṃkaṭācāryyaḥ svakīyakaravegena samāptavān |* – – – *1002* {YK2} *āṭi* {M3} *27* – – –~ ❋ – – –~ - - - - – – –~ - - - -

The *Candrāvaloka* has been completed. Hariḥ oṃ, may there be prosperity. Veṃkaṭācāryya son of Mahāpūrṇa Śrīraṃgācāryya completed [it] by the swiftness of his own hand. Kollam year 1002, month of Āṭi, 27th [day].

EO0007b – *Kuvalayānanda* (21 November 1839)

[119v1] *1015* {YK2} *kār²ttikai* {M2} *7* {D1}

Kollam year 1015, month of Kārttikai, 7th day.

Note: This colophon was inserted on the verso of the last folio in a different hand from the one that wrote the text contained in the manuscript. Possibly, it was written by the same scribe of EO0003 and EO0069, namely Veṃkaṭācāryyar.

EO0009b – *Śrīguṇaratnakośavyākhyā* (or *Lakṣmīsatguṇamāṇikkakośavyākhyā*) (23 July 1824)

(Fig. 3) [94r3] *hariḥ oṃ iti yativaracaraṇāṃburuhabhṛṃgāyamāṇāc c[hr]ive\ṃ/kaṭagurukṛ* [93r4]*pālabdhaśrībhāṣyānvayena śrībhāṣyanārāyaṇaguruṇā vira*[94r5]*citeṣu śrīguṇaratnakośa-vyākhyā samāptā |* ––– *hariḥ oṃ śubham astu* [94r6]

 tāruṇābde gate bhānau kaṭakaṃ daśame [']*hani |*
 dvādaśyāṃ mṛgaśīrṣākhyatārake [94r7] *bhṛguvāsare |*
 lakṣmīsatguṇamāṇikkakośavyākhyā vilekhitā |
 veṃka[94v8]*ṭāryyābhidhānena śrīraṃgagurusūnunā |*
––– *mahāpūrṇagurave namaḥ* –––

 [94v1] *abde tāruṇanāmake bhṛgudine* [']*py āṣāḍhamāse tithau*
 dvādaśyāṃ mṛgaśīrṣatārā[94v2]*sahite pakṣe valakṣetare |*
 śrīraṃgāryyajaveṃkaṭāryyagu[✖]*ruṇā pūrṇāryavaṃ*[98v3]*śotbhave*
 nādya śrīguṇaratnakośaparamavyākhyeyam ālikhyate | –––~ · ❀

(Fig. 4) [94v4] *1000* [1] {YK1} *tāruṇa* {YJ2} *āṭi* {M3} *10* {D1} *dvādaśi tithi veḷḷikeḷamai mṛgaśīrṣanakṣattiram* [94v5] *inta śubhadinattil periyanvikaḷ tirumāḷikai śrīreṃgācāryyar dāsan veṃka*[94v6]*ṭācāryyar svahastena eḻuti mu\ki/ttāṉ śrīguṇa*[✖]*ratnakośavyākhyānam muḻuvatum |* –––~ |||

Hariḥ oṃ. The *Śrīguṇaratnakośavyākhyā* has been completed, which is among the compositions (*viraciteṣu*) of guru Śrībhāṣyanārāyaṇa of the Śrībhāṣya lineage, for which he obtained the grace of śrī Veṃkaṭaguru by approaching (*ayamānāt*) the lotus-like feet of Yativara (= Rāmānuja) [as] a bee. Hariḥ oṃ, may there be prosperity.

 When the sun (*bhānu*) entered the Tāruṇa year, in [the month of] Ka[rka]ṭaka, on the 10th day,
 on the 12th [*tithi*], under the constellation called Mṛgaśīrṣa, on Friday,
 the *Lakṣmīsatguṇamāṇikkakośavyākhyā* was written
 by the one called Veṃkaṭāyya, son of the guru Śrīraṃga.
Honour to the guru Mahāpūrṇa.

In the year called Tāruṇa, on Friday, also in the [lunar] month of Āṣāḍha,
on the 12th *tithi*, under the constellation of Mṛgaśīrṣa, in the other fortnight than the bright one (*pakṣe vaḷakṣa-itare*),
today, this *Śrīguṇaratnakośaparamavyākhyā* has been written
by the guru Veṃkaṭāryya, son of Śrīraṃgāryya, born in the Pūrṇāryya lineage.

In the Kollam year 1000, Jovian year Tāruṇa, month of Āṭi, 10th day, 12th *tithi*, Friday, under the constellation of Mṛgaśīrṣa, on this auspicious day, Veṃkaṭācaryyar, son of Śrīreṃgācāryyar, the vaiṣṇava teacher (*periyanvikaḷ*) of respectable family (*tiru-māḷikai*), has fully written (*eḷuti mukittāṉ* […] *muḷuvatum*) the *Śrīguṇaratnakośavyākhyāna* with his own hand.

Notes: (1) The amending of *ayamānāccivemkaṭaguru°* to *ayamānāc c[hr]ivemkaṭaguru°* (i.e. *ayamānāt śrīvemkaṭaguru°*) is somewhat tentative. (2) The two stanzas are in *anuṣṭubh* and *śārdūla-vikrīḍita* metre respectively.

EO0069 – *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (or *Vvyākaraṇasūtram*) (from 5 November 1824 to 15 November 1829)

[GL1r1] *hariḥ om śubham astu - avighnam astu* | [GL1r2] *vyākaraṇasūtram aṣṭāddhyāyī* | ––– ~ || [GL1r3] (uninked and effaced line)

Hariḥ om, may there be prosperity. May there be no obstacle. *Vvyākaraṇasūtram Aṣṭāddhyāyī*.

(Fig. 5) [GL2r1 col1] *asmin dāruṇanāmābde tulāṃ prāpte divākare* |
[GL2r2 col1] *śuklapakṣe caturddaśyām aśvinyāṃ śukravāsare* |
[GL2r3 col1] *śrīraṃgarājadāsa sva\\raṃgarājātmaja svena//kareṇa vemkaṭāryyakaḥ* |
[GL2r4 col1] *premayārabdhavān aṣṭāddhyāyīsūtraṃ vilekhituṃ* |

In this [Jovian] year named Dāruṇa, when the sun has entered the [month of] Tulā,
in the bright fortnight, on the 14th [*tithi*], under the [constellation] of Aśvinī, on Friday,
the pitiful Veṃkaṭāryya, son of Śrīraṅgarāja, with his own hand,
began to write the *Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtra*, out of affection [for that work] (?).

Notes: (1) As suggested by Varadadesikan (personal communication), the suffix *-ka* in *vemkaṭāryyakaḥ* could indicate humbleness. In fact, rule 5.3.78 of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* prescribes [*anukampāyāṃ* (5.3.77)] *bahvaco manuṣyanāmṇaṣ ṭhaj vā* ('Optionally, the suffix *-ka* (*ṭhac*) [can be used] after a polysyllabic personal name [to express compassion]') (see, for instance, Katre 1987: 603). (2) Possibly, *premayā* is an ungrammatical variant of *premnā*, the instrumental of *preman* ('affection'). (3) The two stanzas are in *anuṣṭubh* metre. The interlinear insertion *raṃgarājātmaja svena*/ seems to be a later attempt by the scribe to compose a verse in which the *caesura* does not fall in the middle of a word or a compound, as is customary in Sanskrit metrics. In fact, *raṃgarājātmaja svena* | *kareṇa vemkaṭāryyakaḥ* would be considered to be a

better verse than *śrīraṃgarājadāsa sva|kareṇa veṃkaṭāryyakaḥ*. The same solution is not attempted in the following verse, where the *caesura* splits the compound as follows: *aṣṭā|ddhyāyīsūtraṃ*.

> [GL2r5] 1000 {YK1} *tāruṇa* {YJ1} *aṟ²paci* {M3} *22* {D1} *veḻḻikkeḻamai śuklapakṣattil caturddaśi aśvatīnakṣattiram yinta* [GL2r6] *śubhadinattil periyanvi śrīraṃgācāriyar dāsan veṃkaṭācāryyar vyākaraṇasūtram aṣṭāddhyāyīm* [GL2r7] *svahastena eḻuta ā\\ā//raṃbhiccāṉ*

In the Kollam year 1000, Jovian year Tāruṇa, month of Arpaci, 22nd day, on Friday, in the bright fortnight, 14th [*tithi*], under the constellation of Aśvatī (= Aśvinī), on this auspicious day, Veṃkaṭācāryya, son of the vaiṣṇava teacher (*periyanvi*) Raṃgācāryya, began to write the *Vyākaraṇasūtram Aṣṭāddhyāyī* with his own hand.

Notes: (1) In the manuscript, the initial *ā°* in *āraṃbhiccāṉ* is written twice, above in Tamil and below in Grantha. (2) *Periyanvi* is an abbreviated form of *periyanampi*; see below [63v8].

> (Fig. 6) [63v5] *hariḥ om śubham astu - addhyāyo* [']*pi samāptaḥ | śāstram api parisamāptaḥ* –––~ [63v6] *namaḥ pāṇinikātyāyanipatañjalibhyaḥ | –––~ 1005* {YK1} *virodhivarṣam kārttikai* {M3} *2* {D1} *nāttikkeḻa*[63v7]*mai kṛṣṇapakṣat° pañcami punarvasunakṣatram inta śubhadinat° vyākaraṇasūtram eḻuti mukiñcutu muḻuvatum* ––– [63v8] *idaṃ vyākaraṇasūtram periyanampi śrīraṃgācāryyar dāsan veṃkaṭācāryyar svahastalikhitan nikhilam* –––
>
> > [63v9] *śrīpūrṇaveṃkaṭāryyeṇa śrīraṃgagurusūnunā |*
> > *svakīyena kareṇāṣṭāddhyāyīsūtraṃ vilekhitam | –––~ ||||*

Hariḥ om, may there be prosperity. [This] section is also completed. And the treatise is also fully completed. Honour to Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. In the Kollam year 1005, Jovian year Virodhi, month of Kārttikai, 2nd day, on Sunday, in the dark fortnight, on the 5th [*tithi*], under the constellation of Punarvasu, on this auspicious day, the *Vyākaraṇasūtram* has been fully written (*eḻuti mukiñcatu muḻuvatum*). This *Vyākaraṇasūtram* has been entirely written with his own hand by Veṃkaṭācāryyar, son of the vaiṣṇava teacher (*periyanampi*) Śrīraṃgācāryyar.

> With his own hand the *Aṣṭāddhyāyīsūtra* was written,
> by Śrīpūrṇaveṃkaṭāryya, son of Śrīraṃgaguru.

Notes: (1) The final *-ttil* is written in this manuscript in four different ways: *-ttil* (as in *kṛṣṇapakṣattil* and *śubhadinattil* [63v7]), *-tti-l* (as in *śuklapakṣattil* [GL2r5]), and *-t-ti-l* (as in *śubhadinattil* [GL2r6]). (2) The stanza is in *anuṣṭubh* metre.

EO0583a,b

Preliminary notes: (1) Both colophons present some rather obscure passages. For instance, the expressions *tiruvāymoḻipiḷḷaiv eṉru mālaipiḷḷaikumārar* (EO0853a [GL1v7-8]) and *tiruvāymoḻiv eṉru mālaipiḷḷai* (EO0583b [95v10-11]), the latter apparently a reduced version of the former, are particularly difficult to account for. Furthermore, despite the fact that, if our interpretation is correct, EO0583a and EO0583b were written by two different scribes, the hand of both manu-

scripts looks very similar. (2) In his cataloguing sheets for this manuscript, Varadadesikan described only what we call EO0583b here, labelling it *Ācāryabhakti*, which seems to be the name of the literary genre rather than the text itself. Here we tentatively propose two different titles on the basis of our reading of the colophons. In fact, neither of them seems to be recorded in the secondary literature.

EO0583a – *Tiruṉakarippiḷḷai Rahasyam* (?) (4 October 1738)

(Fig. 7) [GL1v4] ––– *śrīmate rāmānujāyaya namaḥ | ––––~ | [GL1v5] 914 {YK2} kālayukti {YJ3} aṟ²ppaci {M3} 2 {D1} budhaṅnki[GL1v6]ḷḷamaiyum pūrvapakṣatritikaiyum viśākhānakṣatramum pe[GL1v7]ṟ²ṟ²a nāḷ melait tiruvāymoḻipiḷḷaiv eṉṟ²u mālaipiḷḷai[GL1v8]kumārar cuntararācapiḷḷaikku eṉṟ²ut tiruṉakarippiḷḷai raha[GL1v9]syam śrīnivāsarāmānujadāsan svahastattiṉāle eḻuti ni[GL1v10]ṟ²avettiṉāṉ cuntararācapiḷḷai śrīkośam - ––––~*

Honour to śrīmat Rāmānuja. On the day on which the Kollam year 914, the Jovian year Kālayukti, the month of Aṟppaci, the 2nd day, Thursday, the 3rd [*tithi*] of the bright fortnight, and the constellation of Viśākhā all fall (*peṟṟa-ṉāḷ-melai*), Śrīnivāsarāmānujadāsan finished writing the *Tiruṉakarippiḷḷai Rahasyam* (?) with his own hand exclusively (*eṉṟu*) for Mālaipiḷḷaikumārar Cuntararācapiḷḷai, *tiruvāymoḻipiḷḷaiv eṉṟu* (?). The book (*śrīkośam*) of Cuntararācapiḷḷai.

Notes: (1) Although marked as GL here, this is probably the only surviving folio of a manuscript with no page numbers. Presumably, the manuscript was lost or destroyed. (2) *Tiritikai* (also spelt *tiritiyai*) is the Tamil name of the 3rd *tithi* (see Skt. *tṛtīyā*).

EO0583b: *Sārārttharatnamālai* (?) (21 October 1738)

(Fig. 8) [95v8] ––––~ *hariḥ om śubham astu - ––––~ [95v9] 914 {YK2} kālayukti {YJ3} aṟ²ppaci {M3} 19 {D1} aparapakṣapañcamiyum sthiravāsa[95v10]ramum ārdrānnakṣatramum petta nāḷ melait tiruvāymoḻiv eṉṟ²u mālaipiḷ[95v11]lai taṉakku eṟ²iyaruḷappaṇṇiṉa sārārttharatnamālai sampūrṇam āka †riveṟ²u[95v12]ttu† - śrīśailanāthagurave namaḥ - piḷḷai tiruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam*

Hariḥ om, may there be prosperity. On the day on which the Kollam year 914, the Jovian year Kālayukti, the month of Aṟppaci, the 19th day, the 5th [*tithi*] of the dark fortnight, Saturday, and the constellation of Ārdrā all fall (*petta-ṉāḷ-melai*), having fully completed the *Sārārttharatnamālai*, which Mālaipiḷḷai, *tiruvāymoḻiv eṉṟu* (?), copied for himself (?). Honour to the guru śrī Śailanātha. The holy feet of Piḷḷai are the refuge.

Notes: (1) *Tiruvaṭikaḷe* should be read as *tiruvaṭikaḷe*. (2) *Riveṟuttu* could be read as *niraiveṟuṟṟu*, which would resemble an irregular absolutive form of the root *niraiveṟu* ('to complete'). (3) Both Śailanātha and Piḷḷai could be tentatively understood as appellatives of Tiruvāymoḻipiḷḷai, a *śrīvaiṣṇava* master of the fourteenth century, also known as Śaileśa (see Śailanātha in [95v12]) (Venkatachari 1978: 86–87).

UVSL107 – *Akanāṉūṟu* (November 1726)

[GL?4] *veṇ tāmaraiyāḷ viḷaṅku maṇi nūpuran̄ cūḻ taṉ ṭāmaraiye caraṇa[m] ––– āḻvār tiru-
vaṭikaḷe caraṇam ––– ––– [GL?5] 902 {YK2(?)} kārttikai māta mutal reṅkaṉātaṉ eḻuti
varukiṟ²atu ––– [GL?6] vaṉaca maṇṭapattil aracu vīr²r²irukkum vakuḷa mālikaic ceṇpakac
caṭakopak kārimār²avar taṉ r²iruvaṭikaḷe caraṇam ––– paṭcirācak kaṭavuḷ pātāravinta keti
––– ––– [GL?7] caṅkattār pāṭiya neṭuntokaiyuṉ tur²aiyuṅ kavi pāṭiṉ per\†per†/kaḷum
eḻutiyirukkutu ––– makiḻmār²avar taṉ malar aṭiye tañcam ––– śubham astu śrī rāma jayam
––– keruṭāya namaḥ ––– –––*

The cool lotus surrounding the shining jewel anklet of the female one on the white lotus is
the refuge. The holy feet of the Āḻvār are the refuge. [This manuscript] is being written by
Reṅkaṉātaṉ and was begun in the month of Kārttikai in the Kollam year 902. The holy feet
of Caṭakōpaṉ Kārimāṟavar (= Nāmmaḻvār) with *campakam* for a garland [along with]
vakuḷam, who sits in distinction as king of the lotus temple hall are the refuge. The lotus-
like feet of the god [seated] on the king of birds are the refuge. The *Neṭuntokai* ('Long Col-
lection') sung by those of the academy and the miniature commentaries and the names of
the songs' poets have been written. The flower feet of joyful Māṟavar are the refuge. May
there be prosperity. Victory to śrī Rāma. Honour to Garuḍa.

Note: The translation is a slightly modified version of the one in Wilden 2014: 129.

UVSL511 – *Kalittokai* (February 1675)

[last folio damaged, v2] *850* {YJ4} *māci* {M3} [part of the folio missing] [v3] *tiruvarūril
irukkum ceṅkamala por²patam mar²aiñāṉa paṇṭarattiṉ puttiraṉ civakuruṇātaṉ eḻuttu* [v4
contains 12 illegible characters]

Kollam year 850, month of Māci, the script of Civakuruṇātaṉ, son of Ceṅkamala Poṟpatam
Maṟaiñāṉa Paṇṭaram, who is in Tiruvarūr.

Notes: (1) The UVSL catalogue (Ramanuja Aiyangar 1956: 249–250) interprets the day as the 29th.
It is possible that the folio was in better condition at the time the catalogue was prepared. (2)
Tiruvarūr is more often spelled Tiruvārūr (Thiruvarur). (3) The translation is a slightly modified
version of the one given in Wilden 2014: 132.

UVSL1080a,c[58]

[GL2r1 col2] *eṭṭaiyapuram* [GL2r2 col2] *araṇamaṉai* [GL2r3 col2] *jēyam*

The palace of Eṭṭaiyapuram. Victory.

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58 In connection with the interpretation of the colophons of UVSL1080a,c we would like to
acknowledge the collaboration of Jonas Buchholz.

UVSL1080a – *Ciṟupañcamūlam* (29 April 1873)

[30v4] [...] *kāriyācāṉ* [30v5] *ciṟ²upañcamūlañ ceytāṉ* ––– *ciṟ²upañcamūla muṟ²r²um* ––– *1048* {YK2} *śrīmuka* {YJ2} *cittirai* {M2} *18* {D1} [30v6] *tirunelveliyil eḻuti muṭittatu - civacuyam-* *pirakāca muṉṉiṟ²ka* [30v7] *ta kumāreṭṭu cakkatēvi muṉṉiṟ²ka vēṇṭiyatu*

[...] Kāriyācāṉ composed the *Ciṟupañcamūlam*. The *Ciṟupañcamūlam* is finished. In the Kollam year 1048, Jovian year Śrīmuka, month of Cittirai, 18th day, it was fully written in Tirunelvēli. May Civacuyampirakāca stand in front [of me]. Cakkatēvi [worshipped by] Ta Kumāreṭṭu should stand in front [of me] (?).

UVSL1080c – *Ācārakkōvai* (2 May 1873)

[25r3] *ācārakkōvaiy urai muṟ²riṟ²ru* ––– [25r4] *k[ā]ntimati nellaiyappar muṉṉiṟka* ––– *48* {YK2} *śrīmuka* {YJ2} *cittirai* {M2} *21* {D1} ––– *makārācā avarka*[25r5]*ḻuṭaiya ūḻiyam*[¥] *mu – kumā-* *reṭṭu tirunelvēliyil eḻutiyatu* ––– *naṉṟāka tēvituṉaic* [25r6] *ceyya vēṇṭiyatu* ––– *tavacittam-* *pirāṉ ṟiruvaruḷē caraṇam* –––

The commentary on the *Ācārakkōvai* is completed. May I stand in front of Nellaiyappar (= Śiva) [together with] Kāntimati. In the Kollam year [10]48, Jovian year Śrīmuka, month of Cittirai, 21st day, in service of the great king, Mu (?) Kumāreṭṭu wrote in Tirunelvēli. May there be prosperity, [he] desired to serve the Goddess. The holy grace of Tavaci Tampirāṉ is [our] refuge.

Notes: (1) The town of Eṭṭaiyapuram (Ettayapuram) used to be in Tirunelvēli *māvaṭṭam* (Tirunel-veli district); today it is part of Tūttukkuṭi *māvaṭṭam* (Thoothukudi district). (2) The colophons of UVSL1080a and UVSL1080c are different palaeographically: the latter employs the so-called *puḷḷi*, a symbol used to mark a consonant without a vowel, and shows a more modern form of the consonant *ṟ*. In this respect, one should note that the two colophons were probably written by two different scribes, namely Ta. Kumāreṭṭu and Mu. Kumāreṭṭu. (3) The name Kumāreṭṭu may correspond to the title held by various zamindars of Eṭṭaiyapuram (see Vadivelu 1903: 129–52, who writes 'Kumara Ettappa'). In particular, Mu. Kumāreṭṭu may correspond to Jagavira Rama Kumara Ettappa Nayakar Aiyan, the 36th zamindar of Eṭṭaiyapuram (see Vadivelu 1903: 138–45, where various events that happened to the zamindar are reported from 1875 until his death in 1890): the syllable 'Mu' may, in fact, be understood as an abbreviation of the name of his father, namely Muthuswami Jagavira Rama Ettappa Nayakar Aiyan (see Vadivelu 1903: 138). However, the syllables 'Ta' of UVSL1080a would still remain problematic. (3) Nellaiyappar and Kāntimati are the names of the god and goddess venerated in the *śaiva* temple of Tirunelvēli called Nellai-yappar Tirukkōyil (Nellaiyappar Temple).

OR2340j – *Ṣoḍaśīkalyāṇīstotra* (17 July 1891)

[59r3] *hariḥ | om | - śubham astu - devi | ślokaṃ 16 || śrīmahādev*[3 syllables lost] [59r4] *kollam* *1066mtu āṭi* {M1} *3* {D2} *cantiracekapuram kiṟāmam ayyar śāstrikaḷ kumāraṉ* †*crī*† *cuvāmi* †*kay yeṭuttu*† - *gaṇ*[3 syllables lost]

Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. The 16 verses for the Goddess. Śrī Mahādev… In the Kollam year 1066, month of Āṭi, 3rd day, śri (?) Cuvāmi son of Ayyar Śāstrikaḷ from the village of Cantiracekapuram wrote [3 syllables lost].

Notes: (1) Possibly, °*mtu* should be amended to °*mta* (see section 4.1.1, fn. 16). (2) The expression †*kay yeṭuttu*† could mean 'having held in the hand', thus possibly 'wrote' or 'copied'. However, in order for this reading to be possible, one should accept the presence of an odd graph used to write the syllable *ṭu* and that the word for 'hand' is spelled *kay* instead of *kai*.

OR2344b – *Devīmāhātmya* (from 25 July to 5 August 1908)

[46v2] *śrīmahādevyai namaḥ | śrīmatsarasvatyai namaḥ | śrīgurubhyo namaḥ | śrīrā*[*mā*]*ya namaḥ |* [46v3] *kollaṃ 1083 āṣāḍhamāsaṃ - 10 - āṃ tiyyati āraṃbhicca - 21 - āṃ tiyyati devī*[46v4]*mahātmyaṃ mukiñcutu | śrīmahāde*[46v5]*vyai namaḥ | śrī | śubhaṃ |* [46v6 this line contains decorative signs only] [46v7] *sundaran putran nārāyaṇan sva*[46v8] *hasthalikhitaṃ | śrīkṛṣṇāya namaḥ |*

Honour to śrī Mahādevī. Honour to śrīmat Sarasvatī. Honour to the śrī gurus. Honour to śrī Rā[mā]. The *Devīmāhātmya*, which was begun in the Kollam [year] 1083, month of Āṣāḍha, 10th day, was completed on the 21st day. Honour to śrī Mahādevī. Śrī. Prosperity. Nārāyaṇan son of Sundaran wrote [it] with his own hand. Honour to śrī Kṛṣṇa.

OR2345 – *Jaiminīya Āraṇyaka Gāna* (19 November 1863)

[66v1] *| hari om |* [66v2] *ity āraṇapāṭhasamāptaḥ | śubham astu śrīgurubhyo namaḥ | cuppaḷam kecavaṇ āraṇakurantaṃ 1039*[66v3]*āmta kārttika* {M4}*cam 5 t° eḻuti mukuñcatu*

Hari[ḥ] om. The *Āraṇapāṭha* is completed. May there be prosperity, honour to the śrī gurus. Cuppaḷam (?) Kecavaṇ finished writing the *Āraṇakurantam* in the Kollam year 1039, month of Kārttika, 5th day.

Notes: (1) The term *cuppaḷam* is rather unclear. It could be a variant spelling of either *cuppaḷam* or *cuppalam*, both meaning 'good merit'. (2) The word *kecavaṇ* is also found scratched over the wooden cover as *keśavaṇ*. (3) The way in which the vowel *u* is attached to the consonant *ḻ* in *eḻuti* is graphically unconventional.

OR2347.1 – *Devīmāhātmya* (1 November 1789, 2 November 1849, or 4 November 1909)

[77v1] *śubham astu | śrīmahādevyai namaḥ | ––– *[77v2] *saumyanāmasa*[*ṃ*]*vatsaraṃ tulāmāsaṃ 19* {D1} *udiccu 13 nāḻikaiyār* †*poṭtu devīmāhātmyaṃ* [77v3] *samāptaṃ ––– śrīmahādevyai namaḥ | ––– hariḥ om | –––*

May there be prosperity. Honour to śrī Mahādevī. In the [Jovian] year Saumya, month of Tulā, 19th day, once [the sun] has risen (*udiccu*), at the time of the 13th *nāḷikai*, the *Devīmāhātmya* was completed. Honour to śrī Mahādevī. Hariḥ om.

Note: The expression *nāḷikaiyāṟ †po†tu* is not completely clear. *Nāḷikaiyāṟ* probably means 'at the *nāḷikai*', with the term *nāḷikai* (a measure of time of 24 minutes; see section 4.1.7) marked with the locative ending *-āṉ*, which becomes *-āṟ* because of *sandhi*. On the other hand, *†po†tu* can either be read as *potu* (i.e. *pōtu*), meaning 'when' or 'at the time', or as *śetu* (possibly a variant of *śeytu*/*ceytu*, i.e. the absolutive form of the root *cey-* 'to make'), meaning 'having been made'. The former reading seems to be more consistent with the style of colophons, such as those of EO0583a and EO0583b, where the verbal form *peṟ²ṟ²a*/*petta* is employed.

OR2348 – *Lalitātriśatīnāmāvalī* (10 July 1800, 11 August 1860, or 13 August 1920)

[10r6 col2] *hari om - raudri varṣaṃ āṭi* {M4}*cam* [10r7 col2] *29tº kecavapaṭṭar †nāḷaya\ṇa/ḷ† triśati* [10r8 col2] *arccaṉai mukiñcitu harihara*[10r9 col2]*viriñcebhyo namaḥ |*

Hari[ḥ] om. In the [Jovian] year Raudri, month of Āṭi, 29th day, Kecavapaṭṭar Nāḷayaṇaḷ (?) completed the *Triśati Arccaṉai*. Honour to Hari, Hara and Viriñca.

Notes: (1) The word *nāḷayaṇaḷ* (read *nāḷayaṇaḷ*) is rather puzzling. It could either be part of the name of the scribe or part of the title of the work contained in the manuscript. In the former case, one might be at least tempted to amend it to Nārāyaṇaḷ, since it is an attested personal name. In the latter case, it would be the Tamil counterpart of Lalitā (see title): could Nāḷayaṇaḷ then be a (local) name for the goddess? (2) Note that the spelling of *arccaṉai* is in between the Sanskrit *arccanā* and the Tamil *aruccaṉai*. (3) Hari, Hara, and Viriñca are Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā respectively.

OR2355c,d,g,h

OR2355c – *Pradoṣārccana* (12 November 1902)

[36r2] *pradoṣārccanasamāptam |* [36r3] *1078 – mta tulāmāsam 27ā* {D3} *samāptam – – –*

The *Pradoṣārccana* is completed. It is completed in the Kollam year 1078, month of Tulā, 27th [day (?)].

Note: Regarding the symbol written after *27ā*, see section 4.1.4.

OR2355d – *Ṛṣipañcamivratodyāpana* (12 November 1902)

[49v3] *hari om śubham astu | ṛṣipañcamivratodyāpanasamāptam | 78 tulāṃ 27ā tiyati –* [49v4] *ve kṛṣṇavāddhyārkka veṇṭi rāmapaṭṭar svahastalikhitam | –––*

Hariḥ om. May there be prosperity. The *Ṛṣipañcamivratodyāpana* is completed. [Kollam year 10]78, month of Tulā, 27th day. As desired by Kṛṣṇavāddhyār, [son of] Ve[kiṭīśvara-vāddhyār], Rāmapaṭṭar wrote [it] with his own hand.

Notes: (1) Read *kṛṣṇavaddhyārkku* for *kṛṣṇavaddhyārkka*. (2) Most probably, the syllable *ve* stands for Ve[kiṭīśvaravāddhyār], i.e. the name of Kṛṣṇavāddhyār's father as indicated in OR2355g.

OR2355g – *Somavārārccana* (15 November 1902)

[65v1 col2] *somavārārccanasamāptam śubham |* [65v2 col2] *kollaṃ 1078 – āmta tulāmāsam 30 tiyati –* [65v3 col2] *vekiṭīśvaravāddhyār puttiran kṛ*[65v4 col2]*ṣṇavāddhyār grandham nārāyaṇa*[65v5]*paṭṭar puttiran rāmayan svahastalikhitam –––*

The *Somavārārccana* is completed. Prosperity. In the Kollam year 1087, month of Tulā, 30th day, the book of Kṛṣṇavāddhyār, son of Vekiṭīśvaravāddhyār, was copied by Rāmayan, son of Nārāyaṇapaṭṭar, with his own hand.

OR2355h – *Nakṣatradevatā Ṛk* (no date)

[73v6] *hariḥ – om kṛṣṇavāttiyār grandhaṃ | rāman svahastalikhitaṃ |*

Hariḥ om. The book of Kṛṣṇavāttiyār. Rāman copied [it] with his own hand.

OR2359 – *Cakravidhi* (28 September 1803, 28 September 1863, or 30 September 1923)

[9r2] *śrīcakravi*[9r3]*dhiḥ | saṃpūrṇaṃ ––– rudhirotgāri* {YJ5} *poṭṭāci* {M1} *14* {D1} *ayyyā* [9r4]*svāmidīkṣitan uṭaya grandhaṃ hariḥ om | –––*

The *Śrīcakravidhi* is completed. Jovian year Rudhirotgāri, month of Poṭṭāci, 14th day. The book belongs to A[r]yyāsvāmidīkṣitan. Hariḥ om.

Note: *Poṭṭāci* is a contraction of *puraṭṭāci*.

MS2.40 – *Śivadharma* (22 April 1830)

[167r6] *vikratināmasaṃvatsaram ci*[✗]*ttirai* {M2} *12* {D1} *guruvāramu° aśvanīnakṣatra*[✗]*mu° kūṭṭuṇa cubhadinattil eḻuti muhiñcutu | śiva śiva – – –*

On the auspicious day on which the [Jovian] year called Vikṛti, month of Cittirai, 12th day, Thursday falls together with the constellation of Aśvanī, [this manuscript] was fully written. Śiva, Śiva.

Notes: (1) *Vikrati°* should be read as *vikṛta°*, of which it might be thought to be a variant. (2) The syllable *mu°* should be read as *mum*.

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(Links were last checked on 23 September 2015)

On the suffix *-āmta*:
/1/ <http://negombotamilweb.blogspot.de/2012/05/blog-post_10.html>
/2/ <http://www.tamilmirror.lk/2010-07-14-09-13-23/2010-08-12-10-11-54/2010-08-12-10-14-24/82057.html>
/3/ <http://www.globaltamilnews.net/GTMNEditorial/tabid/71/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/24990/language/ta-IN/--27--.aspx>

Unicode:
/4/< http://www.unicode.org/charts/PDF/U0B80.pdf>

Isalimadai:
/5/ <usof.gov.in/usof-cms/state/tamilnadu.xls>
/6/ <http://ccatn.gov.in/usofiles/infra/cluster69.pdf>
<http://ccatn.gov.in/usofiles/infra/cluster69.pdf>

Tirumēṉinātar temple:
/7/ <http://temple.dinamalar.com/New.php?id=606>

Tiruccuḻi:
/8/ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Virudhunagar_district>

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/9/ <https://www.google.it/maps/place/Vellamkolli/@8.7146011,76.7597171,10z/
data=!4m2!3m1!1s0x3b05c26650caaaa1:0xbc099ac68bd30861>
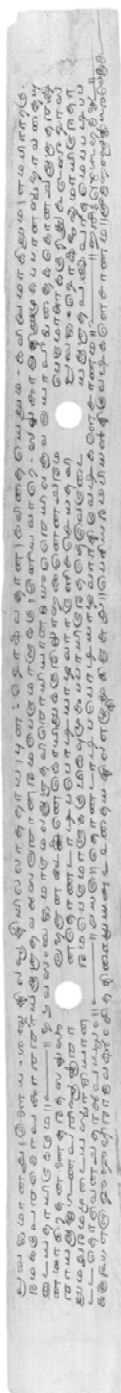
Fig. 1: EO0004 [36v] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
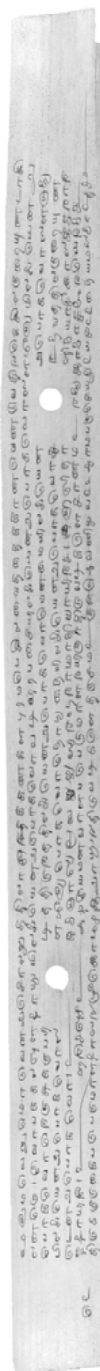
Fig. 2: EO0006 [52r] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
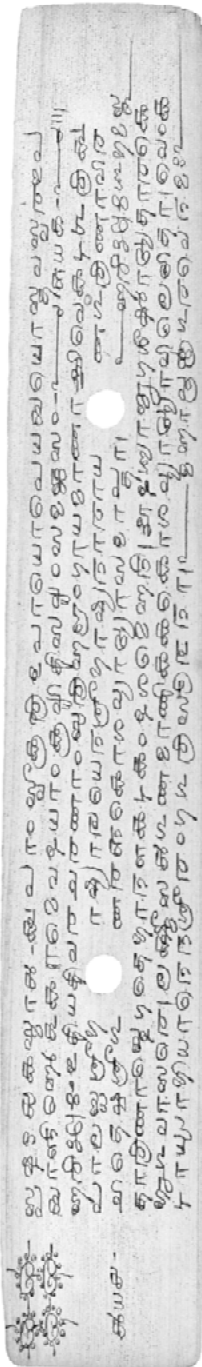
Fig. 3: EO0009b [94r] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
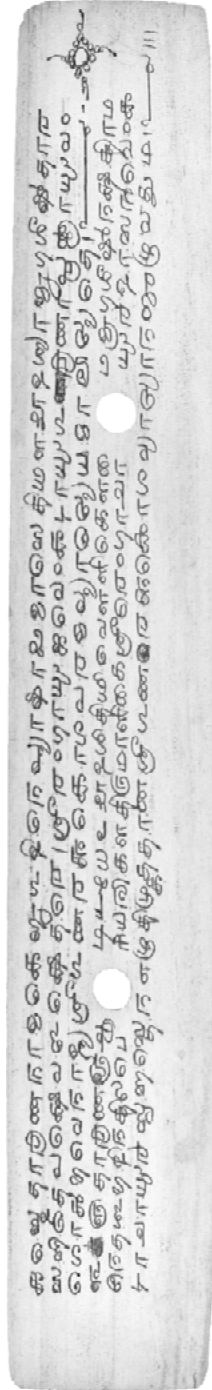
Fig. 4: EO0009b [94v] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
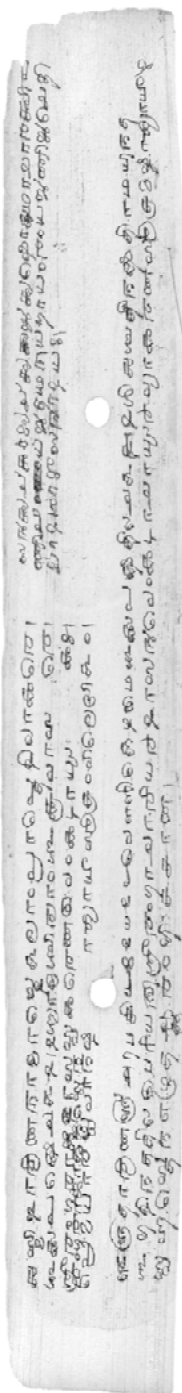
Fig. 5: EO0069 [GL2r] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
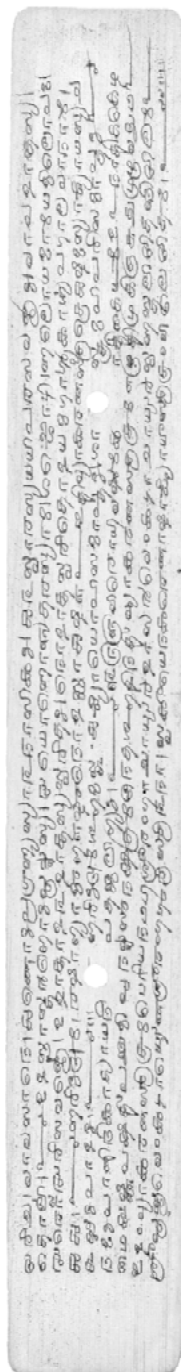
Fig. 6: EO0069 [63v] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
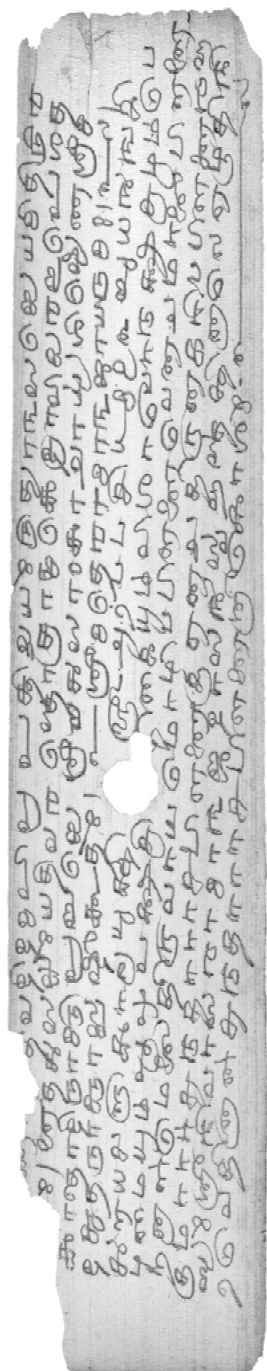
Fig. 7: E00583a [GL1v] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.
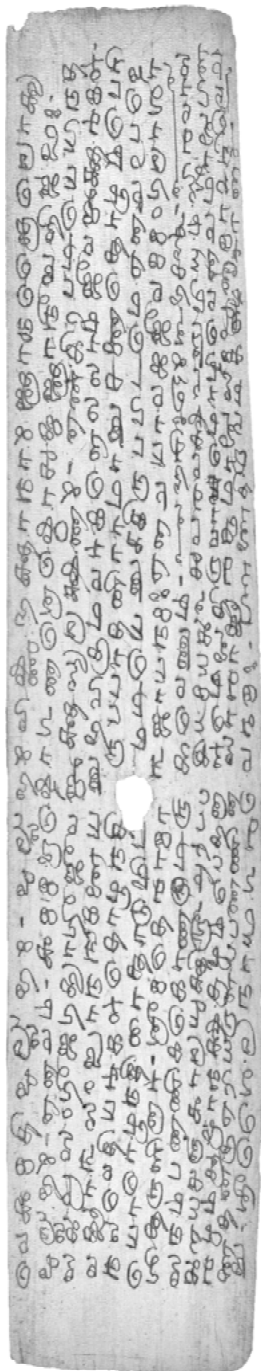
Fig. 8: E00583b [95v] - © 2014 Pondicherry, École française d'Extrême-Orient.

Hang Lin

Looking Inside the Cover: Reconstructing Space and Time in Some Donglin Manuscripts

1 Introduction

If we happened to have a Chinese manuscript in front of us, what we would look at first is probably its cover. This would seem to be the part of a manuscript most likely to tell us about its contents, production and provenance. However, the unversed reader will often be disappointed to find that the cover of many Chinese manuscripts contains nothing more than a title. More information about the manuscript may be acquired if we take a look inside the cover, in particular if we examine any paratexts located at the beginning and end of the manuscripts, in the centrefold of its folios and at its edges and corners, for example.

This article considers the way in which various paratextual elements of manuscripts enable the reconstruction of space and time encountered in late imperial Chinese manuscripts by concentrating on a selection of manuscripts collectively referred to here as 'Donglin manuscripts'. The corpus of these manuscripts consists mainly of commentaries and interpretative notes on Confucian canonical texts produced by members of the Donglin Faction (*Donglin dang* 東林黨), also known as the Donglin School, and later handmade copies (*chaoben* 鈔本 or 抄本) of these manuscripts. The name 'Donglin' derives from the name of the Donglin Academy (*Donglin shuyuan* 東林書院) in Wuxi, Jiangsu province, and members of the Donglin Faction were mostly well-educated literati. They were also politically active in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, which is traditionally considered to be the period of decline of the ruling Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644).[1]

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1 For a discussion of the Donglin Faction in late Ming politics, see Dardess 2002. See also Busch 1949–1955; Hucker 1973; Miller 2009: 95–123; Dardess 2012: 94–95, 99–101. On the role of the Donglin Academy in a larger continuum of Confucian 'anti-authoritarianism', see Elman 1989:

These manuscripts are therefore illustrative examples of Chinese literati manuscripts and can provide valuable insights into the intellectual and cultural milieu in late imperial China. Furthermore, the apogee of the Donglin movement at the beginning of the seventeenth century paralleled with a decisive turn in the history of the Chinese book. The proliferation of commercially printed books available at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century marked an "ascendance of imprints" in which printed books outnumbered manuscripts for the first time.[2] This proliferation of imprints, however, did not entail the demise of manuscripts. In fact, manuscripts coexisted with printed books as "an important vehicle for textual transmission well into the 20th century" and there was continuous and evident mutual influence between the two media.[3] At the same time, this period also witnessed a drastic expansion of paratexts – in the form of an increase in the number of prefaces and postfaces, reading guides and commentaries produced, which provide historians with more data for enquiries into the history of books, both in printed and handwritten form.[4]

Many scholars have analysed paratexts as essential elements in the historical and sociocultural understanding of textual production in China, and they have ventured into questions such as how paratexts construct and contest authority, promote cultural values, articulate self-identity and influence readership.[5] All of

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387–390, 393–395. On the Donglin Faction's allegiance, especially that of Gao Panlong, to the Cheng-Zhu school of Neo-Confucianism and its modifications of interpretation, see Taylor 1978.
2 McDermott 2005; 2006.
3 Meyer-Fong 2007: 789–790.
4 On the change in the reading public brought up by the growth in imprints and the expansion of paratextual components in seventeenth-century China, see Chow 2004: 149–188 and McLaren 2005.
5 In her analysis of several Huizhou publishers in the mid-seventeenth century, Ellen Widmer (1996) describes how paratexts – glosses, indices and commentaries – were used to target specific readers. Marta Hanson (1997) unveils how editors of medical treatises made use of prefaces and commentaries to form a new medical tradition. By examining maps and illustrations in Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) blockprinted books, Lucille Chia (2002) explores how commercial publishers used non-textual paratexts – in particular illustrations and images – to design and modify the elements of the printed page to suit their various purposes. Kai-wing Chow (2004: esp. ch. 4) analyses various paratextual components in commercial printings of the sixteenth and seventeenth century to investigate the literati's involvement in commercial publishing and to facilitate the conceptualisation of the impact of printing on the formation of reading publics and on political practices. Concentrating on the "female alchemy" (*nüdan* 女丹) texts in the Qing period, Elena Valussi (2008) expounds how prefaces and rearrangement of texts shaped the ways these texts were presented to the female public. Based on a survey of vernacular literature in the late Ming, Yuming He (2013) notes that the expansion of paratexts in the period was concomitant with an increase in the power of the editor over the printed text.

these studies investigate paratexts in various imprints in a context in which commercial printing was booming, whereas very few attempts have been made to explore paratexts and the impact they once had in Chinese manuscripts, in particular those produced in the late imperial period. As Kai Vogelsang notes, except for occasional inclusion of handmade copies of rare books, most cataloguing efforts in late imperial China focused on editions of printed works.[6] Certainly bibliographers and connoisseurs of Chinese books, both handwritten and printed, have always been aware of the different kinds of information to be found in the paratexts they contain. Yet most of the paratextual components have heretofore served almost exclusively to help scholars deduce bibliographic data for cataloguing these works.[7]

Drawing upon Paul Colilli's assertion that paratextual research "deals with the pragmatics of transmission",[8] this article examines a number of Donglin manuscripts in order to unveil information about their production, provenance and transmission. It will focus on the paratextual elements that do not appear on the cover, concentrating mainly on prefaces, postfaces, colophons and certain formatting features whenever these are relevant. In addition, attention will be paid to the use of taboo characters (*bihui zi* 避諱字), which can provide clues to help researchers to date a manuscript. Through this examination, I shall demonstrate how various paratextual components and other elements in Chinese manuscripts can furnish historians with feasible tools with which to retrieve spatial and temporal information.

2 Prefaces and prefatory notes

In most cases, the first set of texts that follow the cover page of a manuscript are prefaces (*xu* 序 or 敘) and other prefatory notes. In his classical treatment of paratexts, Gérard Genette emphasises that a preface usually fulfils diverse functions and allows the person who writes it to do a variety of things at the same time: declare their intent, give generic definitions, narrate the book's genesis or guide

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6 Vogelsang 1998/1999: 152–153.
7 Some catalogues or bibliographies, if they contain entries on manuscripts, occasionally devote several lines to describing whether the work contains a preface or postface. Even if such information is provided, though, no more details are usually supplied, except for mentioning the name of the author of the preface or the postface.
8 Colilli 2007: 445.

the reader. A preface can be considered a threshold that entices its potential read-ership to enter within.[9] Regardless of its writer's intentions, however, the preface constitutes a specific space in a manuscript that also accommodates various items of information about how it was composed, written or copied, edited and collated. This is clearly shown in the *Zhouyi Kongyi* 周易孔義 ('Confucius' Mean-ing of *Zhouyi*')[10] composed by Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562–1626), "a principal leader of both the intellectual and political movements associated with the Donglin Academy".[11]

This manuscript, now kept by the Shanghai Library, is a hand-copy produced in the early twentieth century.[12] Besides two prefatory notes written by anony-mous authors, there are also three prefaces attached. The first was contributed by Hua Yuncheng 華允誠 (1588–1648), one of Gao's favourite students, followed by a preface by Gao himself and another one by his nephew, Gao Shitai 高世泰 (*fl.* 1630s–1640s).[13] The calligraphic style and page layout of the latter three pref-aces are identical to those of the main text, suggesting that they were probably all copied by the same hand. From these prefaces we learn that Gao finished his *Zhouyi Kongyi* in the winter of the *renshu* 壬戌 year during the reign-period of Tianqi 天啓 (1621–1627), that is, the year 1622, and that it was first printed at the end of the *bingzi* 丙子 year during the reign-period Chongzhen 崇禎 (1628–1644), which corre-sponds to 1636.[14]

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9 Genette 1991; 1997: 196–236.

10 Unless otherwise specified, all translations of manuscript and book titles in this paper are my own.

11 This sentence is quoted from Hucker 1976: 701. Taylor 1978: 108–109 notes that the *Book of Changes* played an important role in Gao's religious world view. See Wang Shounan 1999: 89–91 for a study of the *Zhouyi kongyi*. Gao's posthumous title is Zhongxian 忠憲. For biographies on Gao, see *Mingshi*, 243.6311–6314; *Donglin liezhuan*, 1.38–47; Hucker 1976: 701–710; Taylor 1978: 13–18.

12 Collection number: *xianpu* 552233.

13 Gao's own preface is actually his prefatory statement about another work, the *Dayi yijian shuo* 大易易簡說. Why it appears in the current manuscripts is unknown. On the *Dayi yijian shuo*, see Wang Shounan 1999: 89. After the fall of the Ming in 1644, Hua refused to serve the Qing and died with dignity when beheaded in 1648 in Nanjing after refusing to cut his hair at the order of the new Manchu regime. On Hua, see *Mingshi*, 258.6648–6650; Busch 1949–1955: 140–141. Gao Shitai restored the Donglin Academy in 1655 and taught there for over twenty years (*Donglin shuyuan zhi zhengli weiyuanhui* 2004: 15.608–609).

14 The term 'reign-period', *nianhao* 年號, is a way of naming regnal years in imperial China and many other East Asian countries. Most reign-period names originated as a motto or slogan cho-sen by the new emperor. Some emperors had several reign-period names, while each of the Ming and Qing emperors had only one reign-period title during their rule. For a comprehensive study of reign-period names in imperial China, see Li Chongzhi 2001.

The first anonymous prefatory note dated 1921 is of particular interest in my analysis of the spatial and temporal information about the manuscript. This succinct account yields some surprising facts about the production and transmission of this manuscript (Fig. 1):

鄉先賢高忠憲公《周易孔義》三卷，上下經各一卷，繫辭、說卦一卷。原本為明崇禎丙子邑人秦儼海氏所刊。每葉十八行，行十九字。民國五年，本館向邑中藏書家借得景寫副本，藏之館中。越五年，丁君仲祐自滬來只囑為代鈔一本，诏將有重刻之舉。亟為照彔是冊，並校閱一遍。書中有空白處，係蟲蝕殘闕，先照原刊寫彔。間有字句疑義者，亦不敢臆改，以存真也。滬上有藏書家，倘得別本，重為覆校，俾臻完善，則更佳矣。他日刊成，還乞惠賜一本，留存館中也。民國十年一月二十五日。

Zhouyi Kongyi by the Honourable Gao Zhongxian, an earlier worthy of my native place, three *juan*, one for each of the two parts of the classic and one for 'Xici' and 'Shuogua'. The original edition was printed in the *bingzi* year during the reign-period Chongzhen [1636] by a native called Qin Yanhai.[15] Each leaf has eighteen lines and each line nineteen characters. In the fifth year of the Republic [1916], this library borrowed a facsimile hand-copy from a local book collector and stored it in the library. Five years later, Mr Ding Zhongyou came from Shanghai and only commissioned a hand-copy of this manuscript, announcing that there would be a reprint of it.[16] These booklets were ordered immediately and were then examined once. The blank spaces in this manuscript are damages caused by wormholes in the original. They are copied in accordance with the print edition. Occasionally, there are doubts about some characters and sentences. I did not dare correct them merely by assumption, in order to keep the appearance of the original. If there is a book collector in Shanghai who obtains other editions and collates this version again to make it more complete, it would be much better. One day when the new edition has been published, I would like to receive a copy so it can be stored in the library. 25 January, tenth year of the Republic [1921].

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15 Yanhai is the soubriquet of Qin Gang 秦堈 (1587–1648; *jinshi* 1622), courtesy name Qixin 器新. As recorded on the first page of *juan* 1, he was also the editor of the *Zhouyi Kongyi*. See also Liu Shuxun 1920: 13a.

16 Zhongyou is the courtesy name of Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952), who was a scholar on Buddhism, a book collector and a publisher. For a short biography of Ding, see Boorman 1970: 3.269–270. See also Liang Zhan and Guo Qunyi 1991: 5; Reed 2004: 60; Kiely 2010: 191–194.
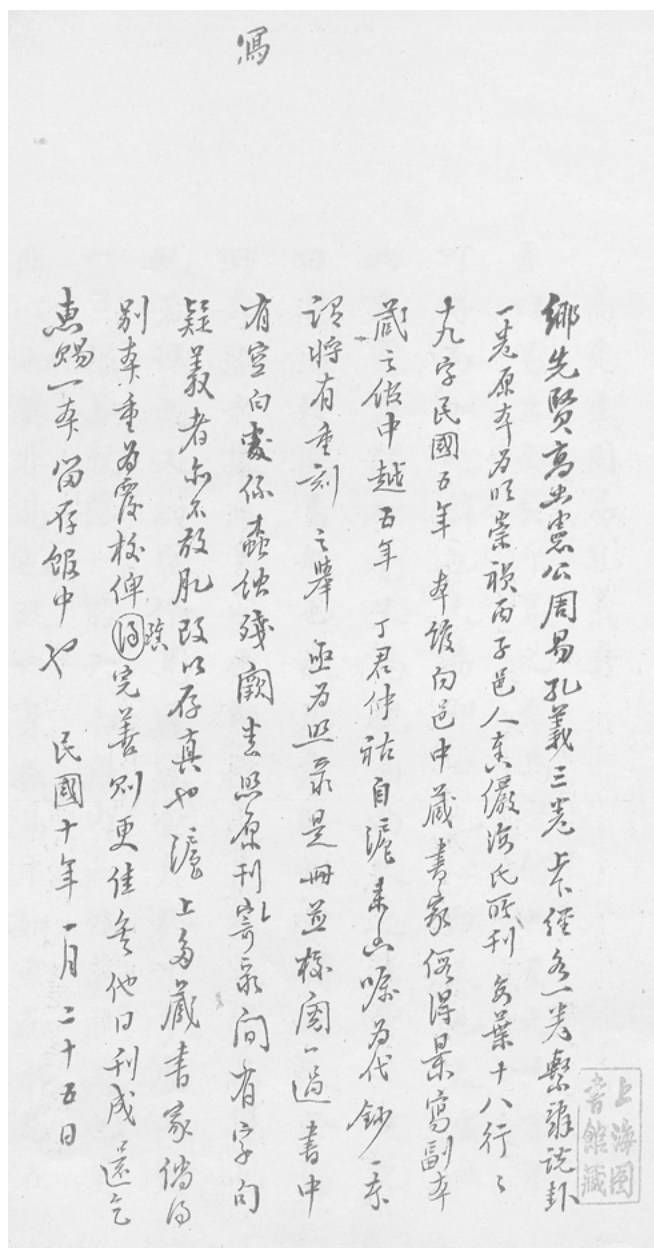
Fig. 1: Prefatory note in *Zhouyi Kongyi*. Courtesy of Shanghai Library, collection number: *xianpu* 552233.

Our knowledge about the manuscript is further enriched by a short note that prel-
udes the above prefatory note (Fig. 2). Written on the back of the cover, it reads:

周易孔義計字式萬玖千五百〇五个，合洋四元七角二分。外代辦紙，洋壹角三分。二共
洋四元八角五分。江记。

Zhouyi Kongyi consists of a total number of 29,505 characters, for 4.72 silver dollars; paper
by commission for 0.13 silver dollars, making 4.85 silver dollars altogether. Noted by Jiang.
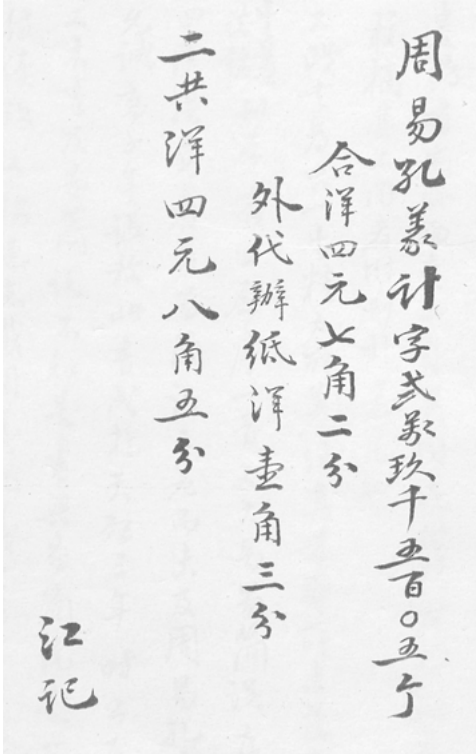
Fig. 2: Short note in *Zhouyi Kongyi*. Courtesy of Shanghai Library, collection number: *xianpu*
552233.

The last two characters, 'Jiangji', might be translated here as "noted by Jiang".
Alternatively, taken together, they may also be the name of the copyist or the
copy shop that produced this manuscript (probably also in Wuxi). From the
above notes it is interesting to observe that the current manuscript is a hand-cop-
ied duplicate of another hand-copy, which in turn is again a copy of the original

printed version dating from the year 1636.[17] Although no further information about the first hand-copy owned by the "local book collector" is provided, it is not impossible that it is one of the hand-copies produced by Ding Bing 丁丙 (1832–1899), a book collector from Hangzhou.[18] Such a short note with detailed figures on costs is a rarity in Chinese manuscripts and is thus of particular importance for our understanding of the economic conditions in which this manuscript was produced. Ming and Qing 清 (1644–1911) literati, as Kai-wing Chow observes, "routinely and systematically suppressed or erased" all information with reference to economic undertakings, and often anything containing prices or payments would be expurgated.[19]

It is also worth noting that this manuscript was created in 1921, a time when modern typography had already penetrated into the publishing world in China and lithographic printing was nothing new to the Chinese. This fact calls for a consideration of the persistence of manuscript production parallel to print in China. The tradition of producing and using manuscripts in many parts of China, in particular in the lower Yangzi delta, continued to have a life of its own and handwritten duplicates of existing imprints continued to be produced long after the ascendancy of print in the late sixteenth century.[20] The *Zhouyi Kongyi* here is representative of these hand-copied facsimiles of imprints. In faithful imitation of the original printed version, each leaf has eighteen lines (nine per page) with nineteen characters in each line, and the scribe restricted himself to a formal calligraphic style neatly formatted on the page, adopting the precise layout of equal space for each character. The calligraphy is carefully executed, showing stylistic excellence that is not to be found in many second- or third-hand manuscripts.

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17 The only extant copy of the 1636 edition, in five booklets (*ce* 冊), is currently kept in the Wuxi Library (collection number 34251). According to Sun Zuji 1941: 經部.1a, the imprint was published in 1636 by Jianguang ge 劍光閣.

18 In 1907, Ding's entire collection was sold to the Jiangnan Library, later known as Nanjing Library, which was not far away from Wuxi. Possibly the book collector mentioned here acquired a copy produced by Ding from the Jiangnan Library. Ding notes explicitly in his *Shanben shushi cangshu zhi* that his copy is a hand-copy of the Ming printed version (1967: 1.18a–18b). On Ding, see Hummel 1943: 726–727; Liang Zhan and Guo Qunyi 1991: 1.

19 Chow 2004: 13–14.

20 Although woodblock printing was invented as early as the eighth century and China also experienced its first 'age of print' under the Song 宋 dynasty (960–1276), it was only during the late sixteenth century that printed books became the predominant means of textual transmission, marked by an unprecedented boom in commercial printing and an ever-widening distribution network. On this historical transformation, see Inoue Susumu 2002: ch. 14; McDermott 2005; 2006: ch. 2.

The copy was collated carefully and this process is recorded in the red-inked marginalia above the main text. It is quite likely that this manuscript, as noted in the prefatory note, was prepared specifically for woodblock printing. The plan for the reprint had probably never been realised, however, as no later reprint of the work can be identified.

3 Postfaces and colophons

Quite often, though, manuscripts did not contain a preface or any prefatory notes, particularly if they were only drafts (*gaoben* 稿本). Unlike the *chaoben*, most draft manuscripts were not intended to be published or read by their ultimate readers, so they rarely contain prefaces or prefatory notes.[21] Some of them did eventually come to light, however, and their later owners often appended their notes and comments to the end of the manuscript, usually as postfaces or colophons (*ba* 跋) written on additional sheets. Indeed, adding owners' colophons and postfaces to both imprints and manuscripts was an established tradition among connoisseurs of Chinese books. This tradition is summarised by Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864–1927), a book collector and connoisseur of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century:

> 凡書經校過及新得異本，必係以題跋，方為不負此書。或論其著述之指要，或考其抄刻之源流。

> When a book has been collated or a variant edition has been newly acquired, a postface or a colophon must be added to it, otherwise one would not do justice to it. Some postfaces or colophons outline the main points of its contents, while others examine the transmission of its hand-copies or printed editions.[22]

For Gérard Genette, postfaces and colophons fulfil many of the informational functions of allographic prefaces which "retrace the stages of the work's conception, writing, and publication and move on logically to a 'history of the text'".[23] In this regard, these paratexts are also valuable for reconstructing the history of a manuscript.

The fact that postfaces and colophons reveal much of the history of a manuscript is shown in an autograph by Gao Panlong, posthumously entitled *Gao*

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21 Genette 1991: 1–2, 239–241, 263–264.
22 *Cangshu shiyue*, 235. See also Fang 1950: 151.
23 Genette 1991: 265.

Zhongxian gong shi shougao zhenji 高忠憲公詩手稿真蹟 ('Autograph of Poems by the Honourable Gao Zhongxian'). The original manuscript, consisting of three booklets (*ce* 冊) which contain a total of 272 poems by Gao, is no longer extant, but fortunately there are still photo-lithographic reprints of it available. One well-preserved reprint is currently kept in the National Science Library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Beijing.[24] A publisher's note pasted onto the back cover of the reprint records that it was produced in 1924, approximately 300 years after the original manuscript was created. A brief table above the note provides a comparison of the contents of the original version and those of the *Gaozi yishu* 高子遺書 ('Remaining Writings of Master Gao'), the most complete collection of Gao's literary compositions to date. Yet far more can be learnt about the transmission and life of the original work when we cast a look inside the cover, in particular at the two postfaces. The first of them, written in 1881, is of special interest for my examination (Fig. 3):

> 此高忠憲公詩手稿也。公諱攀龍，字景逸，前明與顧端文公為東林講學之倡，氣節凜然。《明史》有傳，原不藉。區區翰墨見重。然即此冊而論，詩宗陶韋，書法雲林，亦非尋常翰墨家所能企及。內有"玉齋曾藏"小印，又有"鼎雲"、"汾祥"兩印。[25] "玉齋"諱勇均，乾隆己末科探花。鼎雲字汾祥，曾任如皋縣學教諭，族兄縵卿方伯之高曾祖也。蓋本其家所藏，不知何時流遺在外，予探究後得之。同里沈君旭亭藏公手劄一通，急佽之與之合對。筆墨的出一手，以視高子遺書所刻詩亦較多，其爲公手書底稿無疑。爰付裝池，釐爲三冊。今世得公片紙隻字往往珍如拱璧，況此煌煌全帙。其寶貴又當何如？光緒辛己仲秋邑後學秦臻謹跋。

> This is an autograph of poems by the Honourable Gao Zhongxian. His given name is Panlong and his courtesy name is Jingyi. Formerly during the Ming dynasty, he initiated the discussion of learning at the Donglin Academy together with Gu Duanwen,[26] and he was full of noble spirit and dignity. There is a biography of him in the *History of Ming*, but this [text] is not recorded there.[27] Even small pieces of his handwriting are valued. With regard to this booklet, his poems follow the styles of Tao [Yuanming] and Wei [Yingwu] and his calligraphy is modelled on that of [Ni] Yunlin[28] – certainly nothing that ordinary poets or

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24 Collection numbers: 40307, 40308 and 40309. See also Sun Zuji 1941: 17a.

25 The second *you* 有 appears in its variant.

26 Duanwen is the posthumous title of Gu Xiancheng 顧憲成 (1550–1612), whose courtesy name was Shushi 叔时 and soubriquet Jingyang 涇陽. Gu was the founder of the Donglin Academy and another main leader of the Donglin in addition to Gao. For biographies of Gu, see *Mingshi*, 231.6029–6033; *Donglin liezhuan*, 2.31–38; Busch 1976: 736–744. See also Busch 1949–1955: 144–176.

27 See *Mingshi*, 243.6311–6314.

28 Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365?–427), also known as Tao Qian 陶潛, spent his life in reclusion. His poetry depicts an idyllic life of farming and drinking. From the eleventh century onward, he was regarded as the most famous pre-Tang 唐 (618–907) poet of all. For a recent study of Tao and

calligraphers can achieve. Inside the manuscript there is a small seal imprint reading "once held by Yuzhai", accompanied by two other seal imprints reading 'Dingyun' and 'Fenxiang' respectively. 'Yuzhai' is the given name of [Qin] Yongjun, who ranked third in the palace examination of the *jimo* year during the reign-period of Qianlong [1739].[29] [Qin] Dingyun, whose courtesy name was Fenxiang, used to be the director of the prefectural academy of Rugao.[30] He is the great-great-grandfather of my elder cousin, [Qin] Manqing, whose courtesy name is Fangbo. Probably this manuscript was originally held by his family, but it is not clear when it left their possession. I acquired it after searching for it. Mr Shen Xuting, a native of my neighbourhood, possesses a letter written by the Honourable.[31] I hurried to borrow it to compare it with this manuscript.[32] There is no doubt that they were both written by the same hand. This manuscript also contains more poems than those printed in *Gaozi yishu*.[33] There is no doubt that this was a draft written by Gao's own hand. Therefore, I commissioned it to be mounted and arranged it into three booklets. Today, when only small pieces of writing or single characters by the Honourable are acquired, they are valued just as much as large jade tablets, so just imagine how valuable a complete manuscript is! How should one deal with this treasure? In the mid-autumn of the *xinji* year during the reign-period of Guangxu [1881], reverently written by Qin Zhen, a later student of the city [Wuxi].[34]

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his literary production, see Tian 2005. Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (c. 733–793) was largely influenced by Tao and claimed to be imitating the Tao Yuanming style in many of his poems. For an examination of Wei and his poetry, see Nielson 1969. Yunlin is the soubriquet of Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374), a renowned painter-calligrapher during the late Yuan and early Ming periods.

29 Qin Yongjun 秦勇均 (1701–1771), whose courtesy name was Jianzi 健資 and soubriquet Zhuchuan 柱川. His reading room was named Yuzhai 玉齋 ('jade studio').

30 Qin Dingyun 秦鼎雲 (1741–1805), whose courtesy name was Fenxiang 汾祥, was the son of Qin Yongjun and a devoted book collector. For more about Qin Dingyun, see his short biography in Liang Zhan and Guo Qunyi 1991: 340. Rugao is located in Jiangsu province, about 100 km north of Wuxi.

31 Probably the character *ting* 亭 is erroneously written. The correct character should be the homophone *ting* 庭. Xuting 旭庭 is the courtesy name of Shen Wu 沈梧 (1823–1887), a late-Qing painter-calligrapher and book collector. He had collected a large amount of private letters and correspondences, most of which are now kept in the National Palace Museum in Beijing.

32 The character *chang* 伥 used here is probably miswritten; the correct term should be *jie* 借.

33 There are 332 poems in *Gao Zhongxian gong shi shougao zhenji*, yet only 167 of them were published in *Gaozi yishu*.

34 Qin Zhen 秦臻 (1821–1898), courtesy name Sisheng 巳生, soubriquet Chaifeng 茝風. On Qin Zhen, see Zhu Deci 2004: 80.
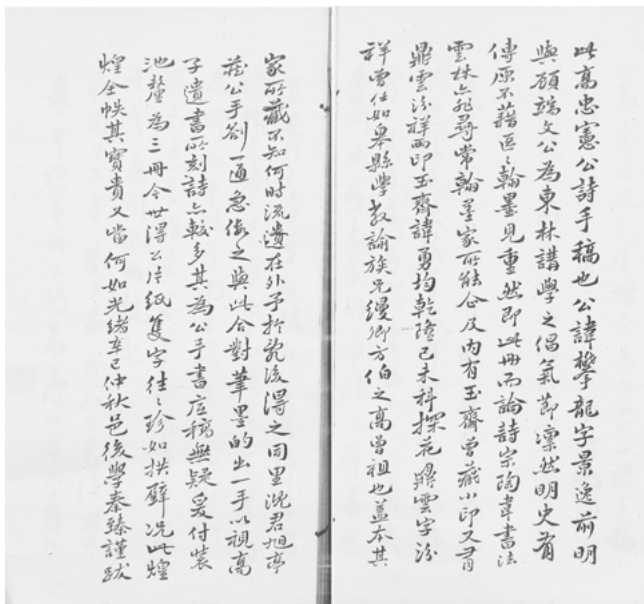
Fig. 3: First postface to *Gao Zhongxian gong shi shougao zhenji*. Courtesy of the National Science Library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences; collection numbers: 40307, 40308 and 40309.

The first lines of the second postface, probably written by Qiu Kefu 裘可桴 (1857–1943) on the occasion of donating this manuscript to the Wuxi Library on 2 October 1923, tells us about the further transmission of the manuscript (Fig. 4):

> 曩秦莅風先生贈余高忠憲公詩手稿三冊，与共昕夕垂三十年。今將浼鄉人致諸縣立圖書館。作暗示篇以送其行其氣。

> Previously, Mr Qin Chaifeng gave me the three booklets of the autograph of poems of the Honourable Gao Zhongxian as a present. They have been in my possession day and night for almost thirty years. Now I'm about to request my countryman to take this manuscript to the Prefectural Library [of Wuxi]. I have composed this allusive piece to accompany the activities and spirits of its author.[35]

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35 Another translation is "I compose this allusive piece to accompany the activities and spirits of its author", because it is not impossible that the character *song* 送 is mistakenly taken for its homophone *song* 頌, meaning 'to praise, to acclaim'.
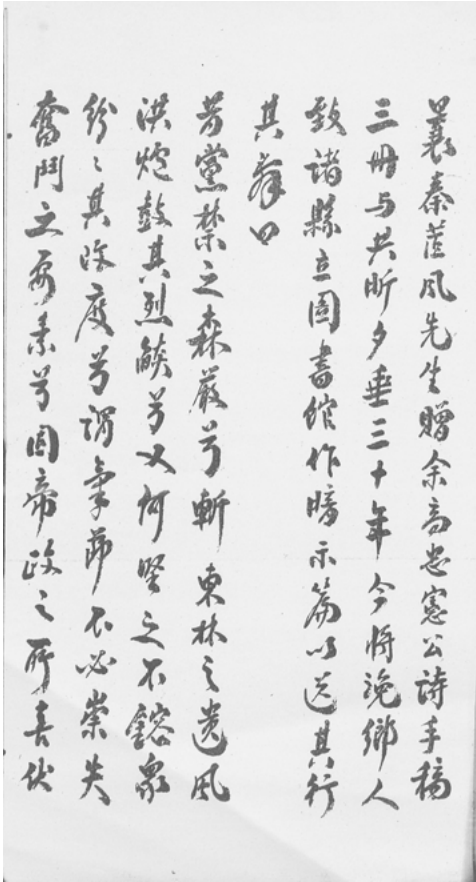
Fig.4: Excerpt of the second postface to *Gao Zhongxian gong shi shougao zhenji*. Courtesy of the National Science Library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences; collection numbers: 40307, 40308, and 40309.

After writing these sentences, Qiu continues to note down some details about why he considered this manuscript to be of special significance – not merely because of the literary accomplishment of its author and its artistic fineness, but more importantly because of what is hidden behind the words: the political consciousness and the unswerving spirit of Gao as well as the whole Donglin Faction. For Qiu, the disruptive and chaotic situation in China in the 1920s created an inviting context in which to compose this postface. The current photo-lithographic reproduction of the manuscript is probably the direct result of Qiu's donation because the publisher's note specifies that it was published in 1924.

4 Taboo characters

If little can be gained from reading the prefaces or postfaces of a manuscript or if neither of them is available, there are other ways of retrieving some spatial and temporal information about it such as by examining any taboo characters it happens to contain. The Chinese had a long tradition of indicating respect for hierarchy in writing. One common means of doing this was by the use of taboo characters for elders and superiors, usually by replacing characters in the personal names of superiors (such as emperors and ancestors) with homophones, synonyms or graphically altered characters. In imperial China, the use of characters in the Emperor's personal name (and often that of the Empress, too) became taboo upon his death during the Qin 秦 (221–207 BCE) and the Han 漢 (202 BCE–220 CE) and upon his accession thereafter. Successive imperial dynasties institutionalised complex systems of language formalisation that included the compilation of official lists of taboo characters. Each time a new emperor ascended the throne, a new set of tabooed characters would be issued. This taboo applied not only to the reigning emperor, but also to all his predecessors from the same dynasty.

Using taboo characters was considered a severe offence to the authority of the Emperor and even the political legitimacy of the current dynasty. Thus authors would be extremely careful that their texts were not to be read as political allegories of the present, since careless use of such taboo characters would have serious consequences. The chief examiners in charge of the Shuntian provincial examination in 1456, for instance, were charged with selecting topics that violated the taboo against using characters identical to imperial names.[36] During the first decades of the Qing dynasty, little attention was paid to setting up taboos on certain characters. It was only after the beginning of the Kangxi 康熙 Emperor's reign (1662–1722) that a strictly observed system of taboos was applied to Chinese characters, and the regulations intensified during the reigns of Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1722–1735) and his successor, Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1735–1796).[37] For example, one Qing scholar was executed after criticising the imperially compiled *Kangxi Dictionary* (*Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典) in his own dictionary and printing the taboo

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36 Ku 1938: 279–290; Elman 2000: 206.
37 For general accounts on the practice of avoiding taboo characters in the Qing period, see Li Guoqiang 2007; Inoue Susumu 2011: 160–165.

characters in the Emperor's name in full, and twenty-one members of his family were enslaved.[38]

To counteract the strict taboo applied to certain written characters, writers and printers found ways of avoiding taboo characters by dropping a stroke of the characters used in the personal names of emperors, using close homophones of such characters or adopting graphic variants as substitutes for such characters.[39] Since different sets of taboo characters existed during different periods, examining the taboo characters and their substitutes in a manuscript (as well as an imprint) can therefore be very helpful in determining when it was produced.[40] A large proportion of the Donglin manuscripts were produced sometime during the Qing period, therefore different regulations for avoiding taboo characters applied. This method is promising and instructive for this study.

By examining taboo characters, it is possible to rectify erroneous bibliographical information about a manuscript, in particular concerning the date of its production. For instance, a photo-lithographic facsimile of Gu Xiancheng's 顧憲成 (1550–1612) *Yu Meng shuolüe* 語孟說略 ('Brief Explanations and Comments on the *Work of Mencius*') is reprinted in *Wuxi wenku* 無錫文庫 ('Literary Treasure of Wuxi').[41] A short editorial note in *Wuxi wenku* records that it was reprinted from a Ming manuscript kept in the Fudan University Library in Shanghai.[42] In fact, this work must have been copied sometime during the Qing, and after 1662 to be more precise, because the final stroke of the character *xuan* 弦 in the name of Xu Jingxuan 徐儆弦 (*fl.* 1610–1630), one of the two main commentators of the text, was omitted (Fig. 5).[43] From 1662 to the end of the Qing in 1911, the taboo of *xuan* 玄 in the name of the Kangxi Emperor, Xuanye 玄燁, also accounted for other characters, of which *xuan* was only one element. For example, the last stroke of

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38 Fairbank 1992: 159.

39 There is a huge amount of graphic variation to be found in Chinese scripts. Li Pu's *Yitizi zidian* (1997) contains nearly 10,000 head characters and about 50,000 graphic variants of them drawn from 151 dictionaries and epigraphical works from the tenth century to the present day.

40 By examining different taboo characters found in a collection of Tao Yuanming's works whose date of production remained unknown for most of the twentieth century, Xiaofei Tian has identified the collection as an 1876 reprint of an earlier edition dating back to 1861 (2005: 292–293). With the help of different variants of taboo characters, Paul Ulrich Unschuld and Jingsheng Zheng have been able to determine the exact date of a group of medical manuscripts that had been vaguely labeled as "manuscripts dating from the Qing dynasty" (2012: 198–201). For more examples, see Li Guoqiang 2007.

41 Wuxi wenku bianji weiyuanhui 2011: 643–702.

42 Wuxi wenku bianji weiyuanhui 2011: 572c.

43 See, for instance, Wuxi wenku bianji weiyuanhui 2011: 643d.

the character *xuan* 弦 is always missing in the late eighteenth-century *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ('Complete Library of Four Treasures') edition of *Yu Meng shuolüe*. Thus, had this manuscript really been a Ming product, the *xuan* would have appeared unchanged in its standard form.
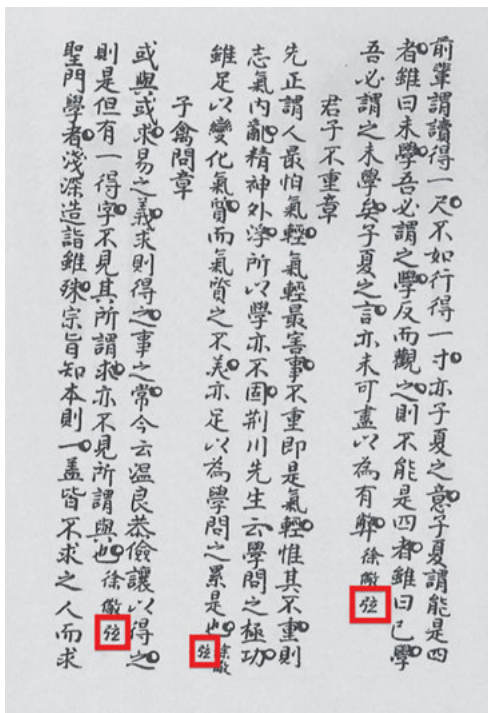
Fig. 5: The character *xuan* (in a red square) on page 1b of the hand-copied version of *Shuo Meng yulüe.* Source: *Wuxi wenku*, 643d.

More commonly, these characters provide us with many supplementary adminicles for assessing the date of production of a manuscript if no such information is available elsewhere. One illustrative example is the manuscript *Gaozi yishu* kept in the National Library of China in Beijing, which contains an abridged version of the complete works of Gao Panlong.[44] As is common in most traditional Chinese book catalogues, the entry of this manuscript in the Library's catalogue

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44 Collection number: *wen* 277.355.

only includes a very brief description of it, noting that the text was composed by Gao Panlong and that the manuscript was produced sometime between 1851 and 1949.[45] The manuscript has no preface or postface that provides any information about its scribe or copyist, the date or place of production or the transmission of its later ownership. Only a very short note that follows the title of the first *juan* states that the text of this *juan* was collated by Gao Panlong himself and was printed in the autumn of the *kuihai* 癸亥 year of the reign-period of Tianqi (1623). Despite the relative dearth of information about this manuscript, we may still be able to extract something out of the text it contains by taking a look at the taboo characters.

In line 10 of page 2a, the final stroke of the character *xuan* 玄 was omitted and appears as 玄 (Fig. 6). This is probably not a writing error by the scribe, but an intentional choice aiming at avoiding the taboo character *xuan*, because this is the character in the personal name of the Kangxi Emperor. It will become clear that this manuscript must have been written sometime between 1662 and 1911, since the taboo associated with the name of the Kangxi Emperor was only valid in this period. Apart from the character *xuan*, there are also other clues that can help us assess the age of this manuscript. In line 2 of page 2b and line 12 of page 4b, the character *ning* 寧 appears in its graphic variant 寍, that is, the element *xin* 心 ('heart') was omitted (Fig. 7). Here, the second character in the personal name of the Daoguang 道光 Emperor (r. 1820–1850), Minning 旻寧, was tabooed and 寍 was used instead of *ning*. But as of the fourth year of his successor's reign, in 1854, as ordered by an imperial edict, the character *ning* was to be written as 甯 or 盦.[46] Thus, whenever the latter two are seen as substitutes for *ning*, the text was written in 1854 or later. Combining the two time spans as suggested by the taboo characters, it becomes clear that this version of *Gaozi yishu* was probably produced sometime between 1820 and 1854.

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45 An online entry in the catalogue is available at <http://find.nlc.gov.cn/search/ show-DocDetails?docId=5780285988958717171&dataSource=ucs01&query=高子遺書>.
46 Chen Yuan 1997: 124; Unschuld and Zheng 2012: 200.
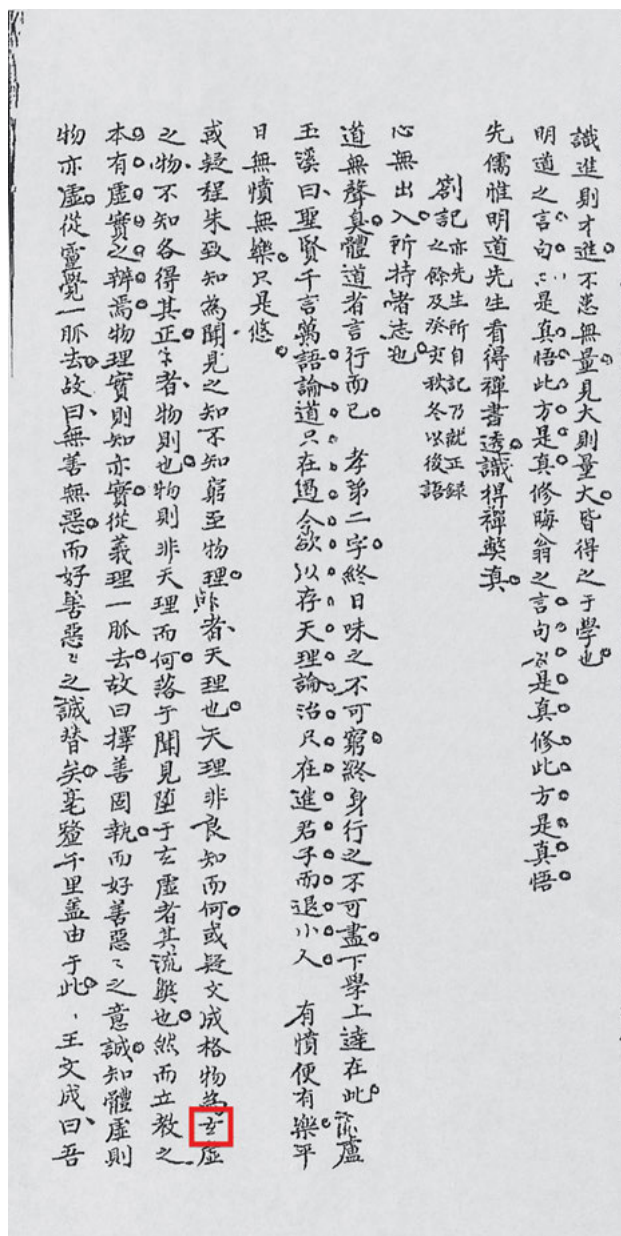
Fig. 6: The character *xuan* (in red square) on page 2a of *Gaozi yishu*. Courtesy of National Library of China, collection number: *wen* 277.355.

直攻而謂其貼激乃為相成今願相反弟以空言維之又何救焉

答凌寧
卿人生作令率爾放過真是寶山空回一生令名百世血食方寸有無窮之懍子孫有無

窮之報不過三年申一念自持而已

答黃鳳衞
唐荊川所選諸儒語要各盡其長不執己見編輯中法眼也

答七弟
不朽之業不在長安長安中以不失足為第一義

與吳覲華馮少墟云人生自幼讀書成名作家生子俱少不得卻俱箏不得雖至作好人尤少不得
也箏不得愚謂若知道此少不得者供箏得一切熙鐵成金如知易者一草一木一禽一獸皆封

得也箏不得愚謂若知道此少不得者供箏得一切熙鐵成金如知易者

與任希顏
深院幽閒小齋閒寂道人無事臥起從容胸中廓然隨意靜坐隨意讀書隨意會友吟

域不設物我皆春事既易簡味更悠長此為本分人作本分事欨修乃來如日加長而不覺也

The method of locating a manuscript in time through the observation of taboo characters functions equally with the *Shiding lu* 事定錄 ('Record of Sealed Affairs') held by the Fu Ssu-Nien Library of Academia Sinica in Taipei.[47] The text is dedicated to Gu Yuncheng 顧允成 (1554–1607) and it consists of three *juan*, one for his epitaph by his friend Shen Sixiao 沈思孝 (1542–1611), one for his biographical sketch by Gao Panlong and one for the descriptive record of his life written by his elder brother, Gu Xiancheng.[48] The library's catalogue merely notes that the current manuscript is "an old hand-copy" (*jiu chaoben* 舊鈔本) and it is incomplete, as a large part of the first *juan* and the last few pages of the second and the third were not extant. A closer examination of the manuscript reveals that the character *xuan* appears in its unaltered form in line 8 of page 1: 4b, line 5 of page 1: 15a and line 2 of page 3: 3b, suggesting that this manuscript was produced before the reign of Kangxi (Fig. 8).
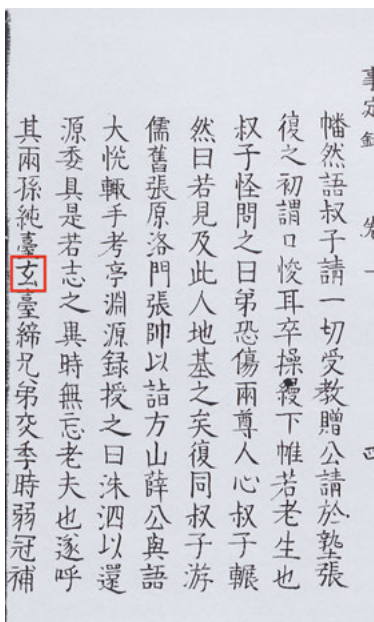
Fig. 8: The character *xuan* (in a red square) on page 1.4b of the hand-copied version of *Shiding lu*. Courtesy of Fu Ssu-Nien Library of Academia Sinica, collection number: 172973.

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47 Collection number: 172973.
48 For biographies of Gu Yuncheng, see *Mingshi*, 231.6034–6036; *Donglin liezhuan*, 2.36–37. On Shen Sixiao, see *Mingshi*, 229.6005–6007; *Donglin liezhuan*, 13.281–285.

The layout of this manuscript strictly follows the Ming dynasty's *pingque* 平闕, also known as *taitou* 抬頭 (literally 'shift head'), the practice of changing the line where an emperor is mentioned so that phrases referring to the emperor and his ancestors start on a new line.[49] The same text of *Shiding lu* in the *Siku quanshu* edition, in contrast, has no *pingque* applied to it and also observes the Qing taboo against writing *xuan* (omitting the last stroke) (Fig. 9). As the Ming *pingque* practice was not followed during the Qing period, it is evident that the current manuscript must be a Ming product.

A comparison of the manuscript with a 1613 print version of the same text reproduced in the *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊 ('Collection of Precious Books in the Palace Museum') (Fig. 10) shows that this manuscript is probably a handmade copy of the print: not only are their formats identical – eight lines per page with eighteen characters per line and the same *pingque* practice – but also the calligraphic styles of the scripts are noticeably similar.[50] The calligraphy of the characters in the manuscript is not the standard script (*kaishu* 楷書), nor the 'academic script' (*guange ti* 館閣體 or *taige ti* 台閣體) popular in official Ming and Qing manuscripts. Slightly rectangular in shape and with sharply defined strokes, the style does not present the flowing brushstroke of a calligrapher, but is a close imitation of the so-called 'Song style' (*songti* 宋體), a common script used in contemporary woodblock imprints.[51] Taking all these facts into consideration, it is probably safe to assume that this manuscript was produced sometime between 1613 and 1644. It therefore becomes evident that it is possible to date this manuscript with better precision by means of integrating textual (taboo characters) and non-textual (layout) observations, although no such information was provided in earlier catalogues.

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49 Various *pingque* practices can be observed in some early manuscripts from Dunhuang. The first official regulations concerning *pingque* in formal writing were promulgated later in the Tang dynasty. They became more strict and detailed in the Ming, however. On *pingque*, see Wu Liyu 2002: 229–232; Lei Rongguang 2006.

50 Gugong bowuyuan 2001: 541.93–128. For the dating of this version, see Gugong bowuyuan 2001, 卷首.88; Cui Jianying, Jia Weiming and Li Xiaoya 2006: 383.

51 Interestingly, the current manuscript may be a work of collaboration between two scribes since the second half of the manuscript appears in another calligraphic style than the first half, although both of them clearly reflect the Song style.

弄其塾師張使贈公更傳焉以激之已幡然語叔子請

一切受教贈公請於塾張復之初謂曰悚耳卒操縵下

帷若老生也叔子怪問之曰弟恐傷兩尊人心叔子輒

然曰若見及此人地基之矣復同叔子游儒舊張原洛

門張帥以詣方山薛公與語大悅輒手考亭淵源錄授

之曰洙泗以還源委具是若志之異時無忘老夫也遂

呼其兩孫純臺玄臺締兄弟交季時弱冠補郡諸生屬

文遒贍為識所賞時施守周令直指使者邵君並遇以

小辨齋偶存

三

Fig. 9: The character *xuan* (in a red square) on page 1.5a of the *Siku quanshu* version of *Shiding lu*. Source: *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu*, 1296.696.

其兩孫純臺玄熹締兄弟交季時弱冠補
源委具是若志之異時無忘老夫也遂呼
大悅輙手考亭淵源錄授之曰沫酒以還
儒舊張原洛門張帥以詰方山薛公與語
然曰若見及此人地基之矣復同叔子游
叔子怪問之曰弟恐傷兩尊人心叔子輙
復之初謂口悛耳卒操緩下帷若老生也
幡然語叔子請一切受教贈公請於龔張
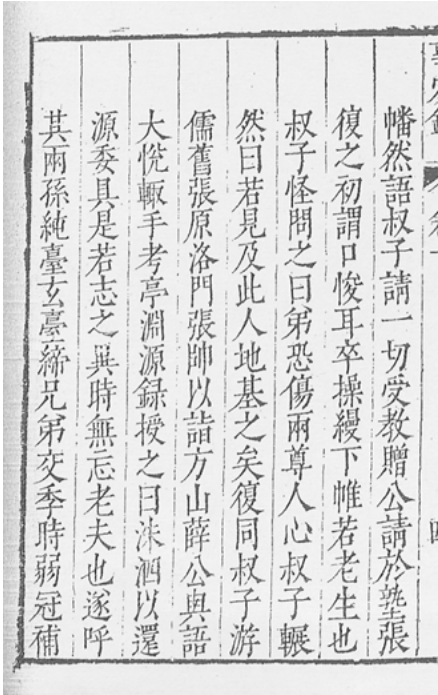
Fig. 10: Page 1: 4b of the 1613 print version of *Shiding lu*. Source: *Gugong zhenben congkan*, 541.93.

Whether or not such taboo characters can be considered as paratexts is still an open question. For the purpose of this paper, I propose to treat them as a special type of paratext, mainly because they have many of the functions that paratexts do. Although most taboo characters are found in the main text and therefore may not be qualified to be paratexts, they are not simply textual corrections, but are strong indicators of the temporal context in which a manuscript was produced. When it comes to locating a manuscript in space and time, these taboo characters link the manuscript and its text to the external world and may appear or disappear at any time "by authorial decision or outside intervention".[52] Certainly, one may argue that these characters are part of the editing process since they are proof of intervention in the main text, or rather, they are palaeographic features because they are variants of established writing standards. On the other hand,

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[52] Genette 1997: 6.

however, it should also be noted that they do not alter the original meaning of the text, nor do they represent the evolution of the style, but are rather an artificial suspension of the conventions for a limited time. Instead of attempting to draw clear demarcations between categories, the above examination aims at questioning the classification of taboo characters.

5 Concluding remarks

The previous discussion in this paper is by no means a comprehensive treatment of the complex subject of reconstructing the 'position' of manuscripts from late imperial China in terms of space and time, and many of the methods presented here are already familiar to Chinese editors and bibliographers. Several other types of paratexts, which are not dealt with in detail in this paper as they do not often appear in Donglin manuscripts, can also provide ways of retrieving spatial and temporal information about a manuscript. One useful paratextual element that provides such information is the collector's seal (*cangshu yin* 藏書印).[53] The act of putting a seal on a painting or book is a long-standing tradition among collectors in China. It was quite common for a collector to examine a new acquisition carefully and then stamp his personal seal on it, with or without a signature. Later collectors often added imprints of their seals to those of previous owners to mark their own possession of the article.[54] Ye Dehui once stated that "a collected book must bear collectors' seals".[55] Yet in reality, not all books, printed or handwritten, have seals stamped on them. However, if seals do happen to be found on a manuscript, they may help identify its owners. Each copy of *Zhouyi kongyi* and *Gaozi yishu*, for instance, bears only one collector's seal added by its latest owner; these tell us at least that they now belong to the Shanghai Library and the National Library of China in Beijing respectively.[56]

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[53] Other frequent variants for the collector's seal are *cangshu zhang* 藏書章, *cangshu yinzhang* 藏書印章, *tuyin* 圖印, *tuji* 圖記, *tuzhang* 圖章 and *yinji* 印記. More often, the collector's seal simply appears as *yin* or *zhang*. For an elaborate discussion of the terms, see Wagner 1987.

[54] For a study of the history and function of book collectors' seals, see Fölster 2015.

[55] *Cangshu shiyue*, 238. See also Fang 1950: 156.

[56] The seal on the last page of *Gaozi yishu* reads *Beijing tushu guan* 北京圖書館 (Beijing Library). This name existed from 1951 to 1998; it was changed to 'National Library' (*Guojia tushuguan* 國家圖書館) at the end of 1998. Since the seal reads *Beijing tushuguan*, we can tell that the current manuscript must have joined the Library's collection before 1999.

Historians who examine Chinese manuscripts often encounter various obstacles in their attempts to reconstruct the spatial and temporal context of their objects of study. The first of these is the relative dearth of information available in existing catalogues and bibliographies, despite the long and thriving tradition of book study in China. Traditional connoisseurship and bibliographies of Chinese manuscripts have devoted considerable effort to recording aspects of texts contained in manuscripts such as their content, authors, editors and collators rather than examining their actual carriers, the manuscripts themselves. Even in the rare cases when information about a manuscript is actually provided, more often than not, it is merely about its visual appearance: mostly very basic data about its size, the number of characters on a page or the calligraphic style used. Sometimes, the overall condition of a manuscript can be gleaned from bibliographic information in the catalogues. Many other elements in manuscripts, however, have not been utilised in a way that creates what D.F. McKenzie has designated as bibliography in its broadest sense – a "sociology of texts" that studies them "as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception".[57]

By examining paratexts, we are able to overcome some of these obstacles. Many paratexts are hidden inside the cover and even between the lines of the main text, with the result that these 'surplus texts' have often been relegated to marginality in conventional studies of manuscripts and books. As Gérard Genette reminds us, though, finding a text that is free of paratexts is practically impossible: "a text without a paratext does not exist and never has existed," he says.[58] With the help of various paratextual elements in different parts of a manuscript, it is possible to retrieve information that can serve as a useful clue in locating the manuscript's place in time and space and in helping us create a list of its manufacturing features and uncover its history of transmission. We should certainly not borrow any concepts used in the study of Western books in a hasty way without questioning them first, and this applies to paratexts as well. In the study of Chinese manuscript culture, as Joachim Kurtz suggests, such concepts must be subjected to necessary modifications due to different historical and cultural contexts.[59] However, paratexts often contain rich spatial and temporal data, and together with other features such as taboo characters and *pingque* practice, they offer many insightful ways of developing a 'sociology of the Chinese manuscript'.

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57 McKenzie 1999: 12.
58 Genette 1991: 3.
59 Kurtz 2011: 210–211.

Manuscripts

Gaozi yishu 高子遺書. Composed by Gao Panlong 高攀龍 (1562–1626). 1 *ce*. Courtesy of National Library of China, collection number: *wen* 277.355.

Gao Zhongxian gong shi shougao zhenji 高忠憲公詩手稿真蹟. Autograph by Gao Panlong. 3 *ce*. Courtesy of National Science Library of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, collection number: 40307, 40308, and 40309.

Shiding lu 事定錄. Composed by Gu Xiancheng 顧憲成 (1550–1612). 1 *ce*. Hand-copied version: courtesy of Fu Ssu-Nien Library of Academia Sinica, collection number: 172973; 1613 printed version: facsimile reprint in *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊, 541.93–128. Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001; *Siku quanshu* version: facsimile reprint in *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文源閣四庫全書, vol. 1296, 695–720. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2008.

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Max Jakob Fölster

'Traces in Red': Chinese Book Collectors' Seals as a Means to Track the Transmission History of a Manuscript

1 Introduction

This paper focuses on one type of paratext: ownership marks. Ownership marks are commonly found in many manuscript cultures. They usually furnish valuable information on a manuscript's provenance and transmission and thus offer an important means to locate manuscripts in time and space. Ownership marks usually do not stem from the original production of the manuscript but are later additions, often done consecutively at different times by various holders of the manuscript, and therefore, drawing on Gérard Genette's terminology, could be referred to as "belated paratexts".[1]

Of course inscribing one's name, as the most common way of marking ownership, is not restricted to manuscripts alone but is also found in printed books, a practice continued until today. In Western Europe such inscriptions are attested at least since the twelfth century. Besides a simple signature various forms such as monograms, initials, ciphers, or mottoes, but also printed book labels and book stamps may be found. Most widely known and studied are probably bookplates or *ex libris*, which came up only around 1470 and are almost exclusively found in printed books.[2] Also in the Islamic world various ownership statements may be found on manuscripts, often complemented with a seal impression.[3] In China there is a long tradition of using seals to mark books (manuscript and print)

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1 Genette 1991: 264.
2 Pearson 1994: 12–96. On ownership marks or statements in Greek manuscripts, sometimes referred to as bookplates or *ex libris*, see the contribution by Vito Lorusso in this volume.
3 Gacek 1987; Liebrenz 2011.

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and other collectibles dating back at least to the sixth century CE.[4] In Chinese art history this is a well-known and often considered feature found on paintings and pieces of calligraphy,[5] which may also be applied to the study of manuscripts in general. Chinese book collectors' seals (*cangshuyin* 藏書印) are often compared to bookplates or *ex libris* in the European tradition. And some Western scholars use the term *ex libris* seals.[6] Indeed the two share common features. Both are not mere marks of ownership, but have developed into a form of art in its own right, which could be used by collectors to express their personality.[7] From a paratextual perspective they are not just purely "textual" but at the same time "iconic".[8] In bookplates the illustration is no doubt the central element whereas the text is only secondary. Although there are examples of Chinese book collectors' seals with legends that use pictorial designs, either in combination with Chinese characters or without, they for the most part consist of Chinese characters only. However, because of the specific character of the most frequently used script, the so-called seal script (*zhuanshu* 篆書), and its close connection to calligraphy, these seals are equally not mere texts. The seal script is not easy to decipher as it emulates ancient forms. Furthermore, design and execution of seals legends are done on the basis of aesthetical considerations. Despite these similarities there are some important differences. Bookplates are a product of the age of printing in Europe, whereas Chinese book collectors' seals are not exclusively confined to the printed book.[9] What further makes them quite unique is the common practice of collectors to add their seal imprint to those of previous owners,[10] which sometimes results in large numbers of imprints in one single book. In extreme cases one may find more than 100 such imprints, although they are not necessarily all

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4 For a general introduction into the history, use and function of Chinese book collectors' seals see Fölster 2015.

5 There are special reference works for seals found on paintings as these are an important means of authentication: Contag / Wang 1966; Zhuang Yan et al. 1964.

6 Van Gulik 1958: 425; Edgren 1997: 59; Edgren 2006: 197.

7 There are a number of studies comparing the two: Huang Zhiguang 2011; Liu Zhong et al. 2001; Wang Dongming 1987; Qian Jun 1998: 78–101. *Ex libris* (*cangshupiao* 藏書票) only came into use in China in the early twentieth century (Li Yunjing 2000).

8 For the differentiation between "textual" and "iconic" paratexts, see Genette 1991: 265.

9 Regarding the origin of bookplates it has been argued that since "printed books had lost their unique character, it was now necessary to provide a designation of individual possession to protect them from theft or even only confusion" (Wolf 1993: 14). Chinese seals, however, have been identified as technical precursors of the printing technology (Tsien 1985: 136–139).

10 This use is not only restricted to China. It can be said that book collectors' seals are characteristic of East Asian books in general (Kornicki 1998: 398).

from different collectors as it is not uncommon for collectors to have and use multiple seals. This allows us to trace the book's transmission history and to pursue its journey through time and space by identifying the seal imprints on it.

Hereafter, I will present the example of one late imperial manuscript and trace the history of its transmission by scrutinising the seal imprints found on it. Before turning to the individual seal imprints, it will be necessary to introduce this particular manuscript, describe it and discuss its date of production.

2 Description of the manuscript

The manuscript under examination is held by the National Central Library (*Guoli zhongyang tushuguan* 國立中央圖書館, since 1996 *Guojia tushuguan* 國家圖書館), in Taipei 臺北, Taiwan (shelfmark: 204.26 02205). Neither executed in a lavish calligraphic style, nor bearing a work penned by an especially esteemed author, it is an example of an average manuscript from the eighteenth/nineteenth century. There are numerous places throughout the manuscript where the copyist inserted characters in a smaller script between the lines. These are presumably later additions executed by the copyist as he obviously had forgotten to insert them.[11] It is not an example with a great number of seal imprints. There are just five imprints, which are situated, rather typically, above and below the title in the first line of the first folio and arranged in chronological order from bottom to top (Fig. 1). The seal imprint at the top is that of the current owner, the National Central Library in Taipei.[12]

11 Taipei, National Central Library 204.26 02205: 1B, 2A, 3A/B, 4B, 5A, 9B, 10A, 11B, 12B. There are also cases of obvious corrections, where a character is crossed out and the correction is placed next to it. National Central Library 204.26 02205: 7A, 8B, 11B. The here given page numbers are my own, since the manuscript itself has no pagination. I am indebted to Jörg Huesemann who provided me with a photocopy of the entire manuscript. Fölster 2013b offers a brief presentation of the manuscript and the history of its transmission.
12 All five seal imprints are described and transcribed in the rare books catalogue of the National Central Library: *Guojia tushuguan* 1997: 245.

明氏實錄

明新都揚學可編

夏國主姓明氏諱玉珍湖廣隨州人也母參遇神遇遂娠
而生珍珍長有異像身高八尺一目重瞳家世以農
畝為業珍素有大志不屑為也至正辛卯兵起穎蔡間
玉珍一日謂鄉耆老曰元君無道天下兵起荼毒吾儕
將亦不免也為之奈何耆老對曰明公平日勇畧人所
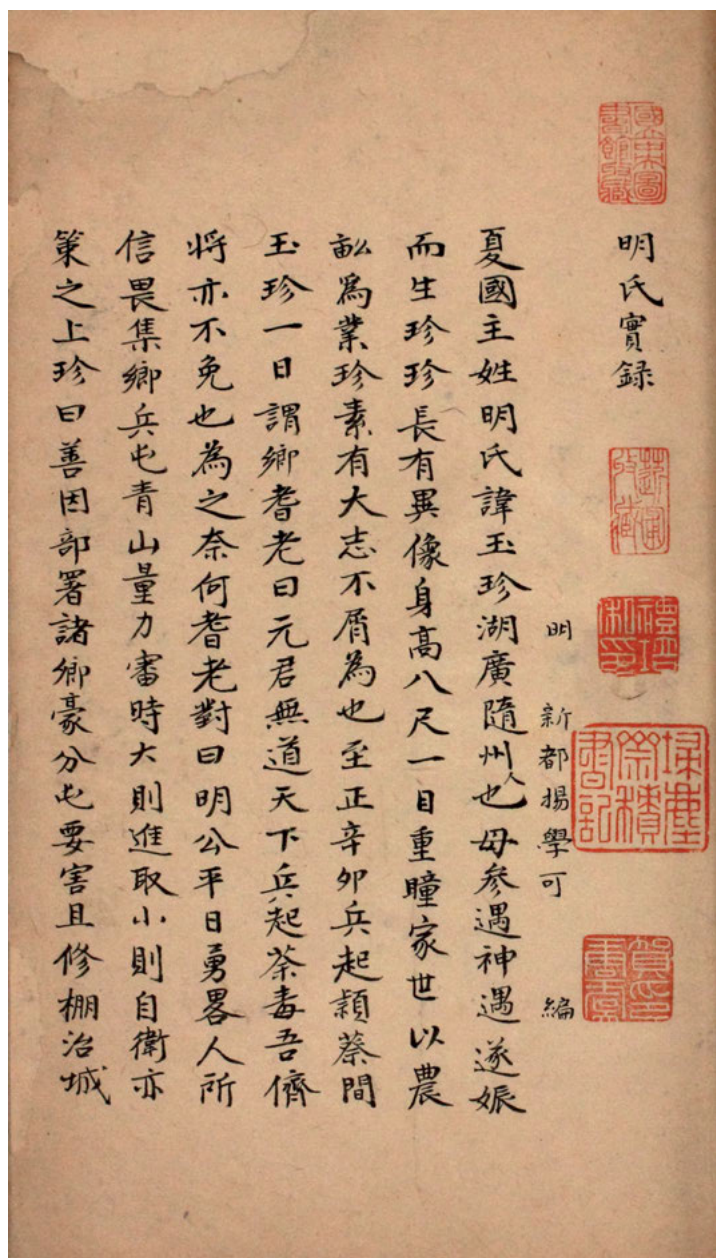信畏集鄉兵屯青山量力審時大則進取小則自衛亦
策之上珍曰善固部署諸鄉豪分屯要害且修棚治城

Fig. 1: *Annals of the Ming Family* (Taipei, National Central Library: 204.26 02205), folio 1 recto.
© National Central Library 國家圖書館.

The manuscript is written in black ink on paper (size: 28.7 x 17.8 cm) and has a total of seven bifolios with an average of nine lines per folio. It contains a historiographical work on the short-lived Great Xia 大夏 dynasty, which ruled over Sichuan 四川 in the southwest of China from 1362 to 1371. The title *Annals of the Ming Family* (*Mingshi shilu* 明氏實錄) was chosen, because the ruling house's family name was Ming. The Great Xia are one of the many local regimes that came to power in the wake of the downfall of the Mongolian empire (Yuan 元 dynasty) in the middle of the fourteenth century. Short-lived and locally confined rules like the Great Xia were deemed illegitimate by traditional Chinese historiography and thus, other than legitimate dynasties, did not receive an officially sponsored history, usually compiled under the succeeding dynasty. Nonetheless, it was not uncommon for scholars to privately write unofficial histories of these kinds of rules. The compiler of the *Annals of the Ming Family*, Yang Xueke 楊學可, a native of Xindu 新都 (Sichuan), was eyewitness to the events surrounding the rise and fall of the Great Xia. He obviously had access to their archives, because he regularly quotes edicts and the like. Since the text does not carry a date, we can only assume that it was compiled sometime after the end of the Great Xia in 1371 and before the author's death, probably sometime around the beginning of the fifteenth century.[13]

As the text it contains, this particular manuscript is also undated. For the dating of the manuscript's production the seal imprints do not offer any meaningful help. For this another paratext, the author's name, does yield some information, but above all certain features of the main text offer important evidence to narrow down the production date.

The author's name, Yang Xueke, is given in the second line directly following the title. The name is complemented by both spatial and temporal information. Besides an indication of his hometown Xindu, the author is further identified as a person living during the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644) by the character *Ming* 明 at the top. This would not be the case if the manuscript were produced during Ming times. And indeed, another textual witness to the *Annals of the Ming Family*, a manuscript that can be dated to Ming-times, has no such character before the

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13 For a detailed study on the Great Xia and questions concerning the *Annals of the Ming Family* as the main source see Fölster 2013a.

author's name.[14] Furthermore, there are six cases of blank spaces, where characters were deliberately omitted (Fig. 2).[15] From the comparison with the just mentioned Ming-time manuscript it can be seen that the omitted characters are pejorative expressions for non-Chinese people, which in the text refer to the Mongolians – *hulu* 胡虜 "northern barbarians" or just one of these two characters. The rulers of the Qing 清 (1644–1911), the dynasty following the Ming dynasty, were Manchu and were, like the Mongolians, of non-Chinese origin. The Manchu rulers feared the subversive potential of such terms as this could undermine their political legitimacy to rule China. Entire works were banned, for the most part these were writings directly treating the Manchu conquest of China and thus the conflict between these and the Han-Chinese. If not directly aiming against the Manchu but insulting "previous dynasties which were, in a sense, ancestral to the Qing"[16] like the Mongolian Yuan, altering certain characters would suffice.[17] This is exactly what can be observed in the two printed versions of the *Annals of the Ming Family*. In these the characters in question are not left out, but instead replaced by more neutral ones, such as *Yuan ren* 元人 "people of the Yuan".[18] This kind of censorship is said to have been most severe during the first 150 years of the Qing rule under the Kangxi 康熙 (reigned 1662–1722), Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1722–1735) and Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1735–1796) emperors.[19] However, it has been pointed out that "the Kangxi emperor [...] was very tolerant of accounts in unofficial histories (*yeshi* 野史), local histories and other historical sources", because he wanted these to be used for the compilation of the official history of the Ming

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14 This manuscript is held at the National Library of China (*Guojia tushuguan* 國家圖書館) in Beijing, shelfmark: 002300262. A facsimile is found in: *Zhonghua lishi renwu biezhuanji* 2003: 577–583. Besides the missing indication of the author as a person living during Ming times the fact that, wherever the Ming dynasty's name is mentioned ("Great Ming" *Da Ming* 大明), this is written at the top of line, is clear evidence for its production during this dynasty. This practice is called "shift head" (*taitou* 抬頭) and can also be observed with the character "Heaven" (*tian* 天) in this manuscript. On this practice, see Lei Rongguang 2006. See also the contribution of Hang Lin in this volume.

15 National Central Library: 204.26 02205, 1B, 3B, 4A/B, 6A.

16 Goodman 1966: 45.

17 Chen Zhenghong / Tan Beifang 2004: 228–229.

18 The two prints are: (1) *Mingshi shilu, ju yingshi qianqibaiershijiu quezhai congshuben paiyin* 據仰視千七百二十九鶴齋叢書本排印, Xu Song 徐松 (*jiaobu* 校補), in: *Congshu jicheng xinbian* 103: 81–87 (First printed in 1875?). (2) *Mingshi shilu*, in: *Xuehai leibian* 1977 (first printed in 1831): 1269–1276. This rules out the possibility that the manuscript was copied from these prints.

19 Chen Zhenghong / Tan Beifang 2004: 194–195. For studies on the censorship in this period see: Goodman 1966; Okamoto 1998.

(*Mingshi* 明史).[20] For the reigns of Yongzheng and Qianlong there is evidence for the practice of omitting characters instead of altering them.[21] Especially under Qianlong avoiding characters like *hu* 胡, *lu* 虜, *di* 狄, etc. (all meaning barbarians) seems to have been very common. This can be seen from the imperially sponsored editions of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書), the largest of all collections in the history of imperial China, for which starting in 1773 books from all over the country were sent to the capital.[22] This would suggest that the manuscript was produced in the eighteenth century, probably after 1722. Therefore, it cannot be an autograph.
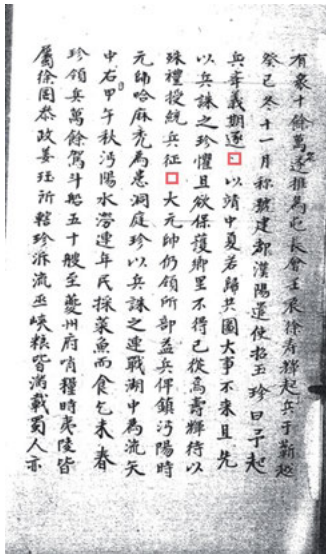
Fig. 2: The two red boxes mark blank spaces deliberately omitting characters in *Annals of the Ming Family* (Taipei, National Central Library: 204.26 02205), folio 1 verso, Photocopy. Courtesy of the National Central Library.

The date may be further narrowed down by looking at the use of taboo characters (*bihuizi* 避諱字).[23] The frequent observance of name taboos offer an important

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20 Okamoto 1998: 50.

21 Chen Yuan 1996: 24–25.

22 Wang Jian 2002: 255. On the history of the *Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, see Guy 1987.

23 For taboo characters see also Hang Lin's contribution in this volume.

hint in the dating of manuscripts from late imperial China. In this manuscript one can observe that the character *ning* 寧 is invariably written in the abbreviated form *ning* 寗, omitting the element *xin* 心.[24] The character is part of the Daoguang 道光 emperor's (r. 1821–1850) personal name, Minning 旻寧, during whose reign it was ordered to use the abbreviated *ning* 寗 instead, in compliance with the name taboo practice on emperors' personal names. This would suggest that the manuscript was produced during the reign of Daoguang and not later than 1854, when the taboo was changed to yet another variant of the character, *ning* 甯.[25] However, there are actually many abbreviated or simplified characters found throughout this manuscript. The use of the character *ning* 寗 might therefore just reflect the copyist hand and not be due to the observation of the name taboo.[26] Excluding this possible restriction, one may suggest that the manuscript was produced before 1854. Putting all the information together, the manuscript was most likely produced between 1722 and 1854.

3 Seal imprints

Seal imprints might not offer meaningful help in dating this manuscript, due to the fact that they are later additions to it, but they do yield much information about the history of its transmission. However, in general they do not contain explicit temporal and spatial information. Although seal imprints bear a whole range of contents, they for the most part give names of owners. Examples with place names (e.g. the hometown of an owner) and dates (e.g. an owner's birthdate or the date of acquisition of a book) exist but are not the rule. So the seal imprints itself are just the starting point and it is only by further inquiry about the owners and their collections that we will be able to retrieve more detailed temporal and spatial information.

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24 Taipei, National Central Library: 204.26 02205, 6B, 9A, 11A. In one case (4A) the character *ping* 平 is used, where all other textual witnesses use *ning* 寧. Another striking deviation in this manuscript is the use of *xi* 禧 instead of *xi* 熙 (11A/B, 12A), but this cannot be explained as a name taboo.

25 Li Guoqiang 2007: 103. On the use of taboo characters for authenticating manuscripts see Chen Xianxing / Shi Fei 2009: 71–72.

26 In the other manuscript version of this text one also invariably finds the abbreviated form *ning* 寗 (*Zhonghua lishi renwu biezhuanji* 2003: 578, 579, 581, 582), this clearly cannot be due to this very name taboo as it was produced in Ming-times.

3.1 He Tangyu

The lowest and therefore oldest of the five seal imprints is a square formed intaglio-seal (*baiwen* 白文) with the reverse style legend "He Tangyu's seal (賀唐虞印)". Unfortunately this He Tangyu has not left many traces in historical records. There are two poems accredited to a person of this name in the local gazetteer of Wuyi 武義 county (Zhejiang 浙江) and three paintings attributed to an artist of the same name that have been auctioned in recent years in Shanghai 上海 and Ningbo 寧波.[27] Poems and paintings are either dated to the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) or the Republic of China (1912–1949). This sparse information suggests that he was a native of Wuyi and lived sometime during the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Nothing can be said about how the manuscript came into his possession. It also cannot be completely ruled out that he himself copied it, but the evidence on the production date presented above rather speaks against this.

3.2 Wang Lipei

The next two imprints above both belong to Wang Lipei 王禮培 (1864–1943), about whom there is much more information. The upper imprint is of a square intaglio-seal with the legend "Lipei's private seal (禮培私印)", while the lower one is of a relief-seal (*zhuwen* 朱文) with Wang's studio name "Book collecting seal of the Dust Sweeping Studio (掃塵齋積書記)". The studio name expresses the joys and pains of collating books which already in the eleventh century has been compared to sweeping dust – eliminating errors is like sweeping dust, as soon as it is swept away new dust settles down.[28] The use of two seal imprints, relief and intaglio, reflects a common convention as it has been observed for collectors' seals used on paintings and calligraphies, which surely stems from aesthetic considerations.[29]

 Wang Lipei was a native of Xiangxiang 湘鄉 (Hunan 湖南). Born into a well-respected local family he attended school in Changsha 長沙 (Hunan) and took on

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27 Zhu Heshen 1990: 822, 824–825. For the auctions, see <http://pmzp.findart.com.cn/author/_lknimmmgndnn_1.html> (last checked 23/09/2015).

28 Zhao Wenyou 2010.

29 Van Gulik 1958: 437. However, there is a little, yet important difference. According to van Gulik the upper seal imprint should be an intaglio-seal giving the style name and the lower one a relief-seal with family and personal name. In this case the upper imprint bears just the personal name.

the traditional path of education by sitting the civil service examinations. He passed the provincial examination in 1893, but failed the imperial examination at the capital. While he was staying in Beijing Wang supported the call for reforms initiated by Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) in 1898. After the abolition of the traditional examination system in 1905 and the subsequent introduction of modern schools Wang became educational inspector (*Xuejian* 學監) for middle schools in his home town. As a combined result of his involvement in one of China's first student protests against the misuse of educational funds and his membership in a revolutionary organisation, the China Revival Society (*Huaxinghui* 華興會), whose explicit aim was to overthrow the Qing dynasty, he had to escape to Japan in 1906. After having learnt Japanese, he studied politics and law at the Imperial University (*Teikoku daigaku* 帝國大學) in Tokyo 東京. There he also made the acquaintance of Sun Yat-sen and joined the Chinese United League (*Tongmenghui* 同盟會), an underground resistance movement founded by Sun in 1905 in Tokyo. After the Chinese revolution in 1911, in which the imperial order was overthrown, Wang, like many Chinese students in Japan, returned to China. Back in his home province he took up an official post, but resigned after less than a year, because he was frustrated with the chaotic situation of the time. Together with some friends he decided not to pursue an official career anymore. In the following years he spent his time collecting and editing old books as well as writing poetry. Only in 1931 he took up a position as professor for literature at Henan University (*Henan daxue* 河南大學), but already resigned the following year to return to Changsha. Back in Hunan he was appointed vice-director and soon after director of a private academy (*Chuanshan xueshe* 船山學社) devoted to the study of the ideas of Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692), whose writings had been rediscovered in the late nineteenth century and were deemed to offer remedies in the confrontation with "Western" ideas. He remained in this post until resigning in 1938, after the academy had to move elsewhere due to an air-raid by the Japanese air force. Some time later, he returned to his native town Xiangxiang, where he stayed until his death in 1943.[30]

Wang was a very passionate book collector, who also annotated, collated and copied books, and even personally travelled to Beijing 北京, Shanghai and other places to buy books. He is considered one of the most important collectors from Hunan of the early twentieth century, the size of his collection only being second

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[30] Yi Xinxia 2010 offers the most detailed biography of Wang Lipei. See also Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1318–1321. There are also short entries in *Minguo renwu da cidian* 1991: 108 and Wang He 1991: 25. On Wang Lipei as a poet, see Yi Xinxia 1988. On the rediscovery of Wang Fuzhi and the academy devoted to his ideas see Platt 2007.

to Ye Dehui's 葉德輝 (1864–1927), author of the influential manual for book collectors *Decalogue of Book Collecting* (*Cangshu shiyue* 藏書十約), who was also from Hunan.[31] Since Wang could not afford extremely rare and sought-for editions from the Song (960–1279) and the Yuan (1279–1368) epochs, he resorted to collecting fragments of those – single folios which he rescued from paper-making manufactures. However, the largest part of his collection consisted of more "ordinary" manuscripts from the more recent Ming and Qing periods. The catalogue of his collection, *Catalogue of Books Hidden in a Double-Wall* (*Fubi cangshu mulu* 復壁藏書目錄),[32] lists a total of 325 works. The catalogue, unlike those of many other collectors, was never printed, but at least three different manuscript versions of it survive nowadays – two in Changsha and a third in Beijing.[33] All have an entry on the *Annals of the Ming Family* manuscript. The entries are basically the same and do not yield much information. Other entries frequently mention seal imprints but this only records title, extent and author's name: "*Annals of the Ming Family*, no division in chapters, one booklet, Ming [dynasty], Yang Xueke (明氏實錄不分卷 一冊 明楊學可)." From a statement in the colophon found at the end of the catalogue (Fig. 3) it can be deduced when the catalogue was compiled:

此就舊目草草編成，鄉城避兵搬徙，恐尚有出入刻本。各書大半在鄉喪失，尤多去年廖軍據舊宅。[34]

This was hastily compiled based on an old catalogue, when I had to flee from soldiers leaving my home town. I am afraid there are still some inconsistent entries of block-print editions. More than half of the books were lost in my home-town, particularly many last year when Liao's troops occupied my old house.

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31 Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1319. Fang 1950 offers a complete translation of the *Decalogue of Book Collecting*.
32 The title very likely alludes to the famous retrieval of old books from a wall of Confucius' estate in the second century BCE (*Hanshu* 30:1706–1707; 36:1969).
33 Hunan Provincial Library (*Hunan sheng tushuguan* 湖南省圖書館) in Changsha: 298.3/96. National Library of China in Bejing: 450\9096\pgl. The further version held by the Hunan Provincial Library has a slightly different title, *Fubi shulu* 復壁書錄 (294.3/35). Here the entry on the *Annals of the Ming Family* mistakenly names a certain Xiao Xun 蕭洵 as author. I am indebted to my colleague Wang Bin 汪斌 who was so kind to consult the two manuscripts in Hunan for me.
34 Hunan Provincial Library: 298.3/96; National Library of China: 450\9096\pgl. The text of the whole colophon is identical in both manuscripts.
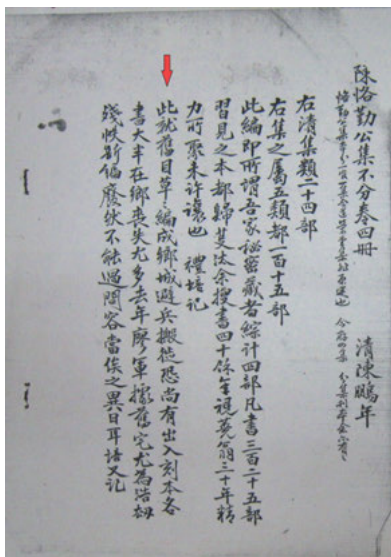
Fig. 3: Colophon in Wang Lipei's *Catalogue of Books Hidden in a Double-Wall*. Changsha, Hunan Provincial Library: 298.3/96.

"Liao's troops" plausibly refers to Liao Lei 廖磊 (1891–1939), who is undoubtedly mentioned because he was in a leading position, but no specific rank is mentioned. From 1917 on Xiangxiang was repeatedly occupied by different armies in the ongoing conflict between north and south over the control of the central government. Xiangxiang's local chronicle on military affairs gives a detailed list of the troops coming and going. Together with the information about Liao Lei's military career it may be concluded that Wang's colophon probably refers to July 1926, when during the so-called Northern Expedition (*beifa* 北伐), led by Chiang Kai-shek with the objective of gaining control of the entire country, Xiangxiang was conquered by the 8th army of the National Revolutionary Army (*Guomin geming jun di ba jun* 國民革命軍第八軍), in which at the time Liao Lei was serving in quite a high position as major general and deputy division commander in the 4th division (*di si shi shaojiang fushizhang* 第四師少將副師長).[35] This would mean that the catalogue was compiled in 1927, one year after the occupation by "Liao's troops".

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35 For Liao Lei's biography see Mo Fengxin 1981 and *Minguo renwu dacidan* 1991: 1338. *Xiangxiang junshizhi* 1989: 74–76. Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1320 puts the date around 1921 without giving further evidence.

Wang Lipei must have acquired the manuscript before this time and probably after he had quit his political career in 1912. However, the additional character "supplemented" (*bu* 補) on top of the entry found in one of the Changsha manuscripts (Fig. 4) could mean that it was added at a later stage together with the preceding three entries all marked with the same character.[36] As the entry includes no information on former owners – He Tangyu's seal probably was not recorded because he was no reputable collector – one can only speculate on how the manuscript came into Wang's possession. Wang obtained a number of manuscripts from other collectors with the family name He 賀, as can be known by the recorded seal imprints in the catalogue, above all from He Yuan 賀瑗 of Shanhua 善化 (Hunan).[37] Implying that He Tangyu was related to He Yuan this might be, albeit extremely speculative, a link between the two collectors.
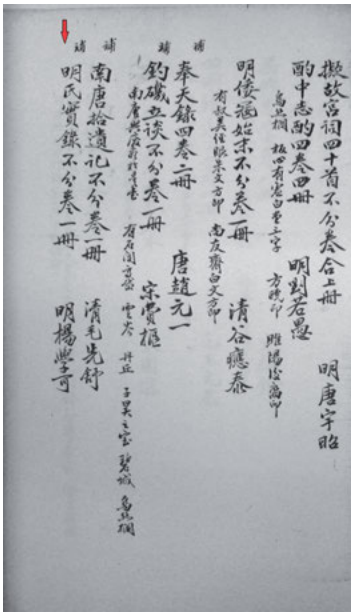
Fig.4: Entry on the *Annals of the Ming Family* in Wang Lipei's *Catalogue of Books Hidden in a Double-Wall*. Changsha, Hunan Provincial Library: 298.3/96.

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36 Hunan Provincial Library: 298.3/96.

37 There are 13 entries with imprints of He Yuan and another three from other collectors with the family name He. This is based on my examination of the Beijing manuscript, National Library of China: 450\9096\pgl. On He Yuan see Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1322.

Fleeing his home-town part of Wang's collection was brought to Nanjing 南京, where his son lived, and later to Shanghai. It is known that Wang refused to donate his collection to the state library and also did not want to sell to the Shanghai Commercial Press (*Shanghai Shangwu yinshuguan* 上海商務印書館), the major publishing house of the time, whose representatives had approached him. However, he did sell some of his holdings to Yi Peiji 易培基 (1880–1937), a similar ardent book collector and fellow Hunanese from Changsha. These books were destroyed in 1932 during the first Japanese bombing of Shanghai, where Yi Peiji held a university position.[38] Our manuscript obviously was not among them. The fate of Wang's other books is illuminated through a short note by Lun Ming 倫明 (1875–1944),[39] another book collector and chronicler of the book collectors of the period. He writes:

> 已巳，余居瀋陽通志館，王君以書目一冊，寄金息侯求售，凡三百二十五部，皆抄校本，皆有名人收藏圖記。[40]

> In the year *yisi* (1929), when I dwelled at the Shenyang Local Archive, Mr Wang (i.e. Wang Lipei) sent a catalogue in one booklet to Jin Xihou (1878–1962)[41] seeking to sell [his collection]. It listed a total of 325 works, all copied and collated manuscripts[42] and all with seal imprints of well-known collectors.

Apparently Wang was in need for money and therefore offered his collection to other collectors by sending them a list of his books. This was probably also the reason for him to finally take up the position as professor for literature at Henan University in 1931. Altogether it is safe to assume that the manuscript was sold around this time. However, it was not sold to Shenyang in the very north, but rather to Nanxun 南潯 in the southwest of Shanghai.

3.3 Zhang Naixiong

The seal imprint above those of Wang Lipei is a rectangular intaglio-seal with the legend "Collected by Qinpu (菦圃收藏)". It belongs to Zhang Naixiong 張乃熊

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38 Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1320. On Yi Peiji see Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1537–1538.
39 Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1467–1470.
40 Lun Ming 1990: 118.
41 I.e. Jin Liang 金梁, a Manchu who at the time was director of the museum in Shenyang (Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1502–1503).
42 This is not true for the *Annals of the Ming Family* manuscript in question, which shows no signs of collation.

(1890–1945), whose *zi* 字, name adopted when attaining majority, is Qinpu. Zhang was born into a rich merchant family from Nanxun (Zhejiang). The source of the family's wealth was the salt business, but they also owned much land in different parts of the country. Moreover Zhang Naixiong was involved in Shanghai's banking industry. Following the example of his father Zhang Junheng 張鈞衡 (1871–1928), he had passed the lowest state examination in 1905, the year in which the official state examinations were abandoned for good. Father and son were both generally fond of literature and scholarship. They can be seen as typical representatives of what is called Confucian-businessman (*rushang* 儒商), combining scholarly and entrepreneurial activities.[43] His father was also a passionate book collector and according to the catalogue of his collection, which he had compiled by the well-known scholar and bibliophile Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844–1919) and printed in 1916, he possessed 920 books. About half of these were manuscripts, which he collected with the aim to have them printed. The manuscript in question is not among them though.[44]

Zhang Naixiong inherited the better part of his father's collection – the second half went to other sons. He shared his father's passion for book collecting and continued to enlarge the collection. Allegedly he only spent half day in his business office, so he could have time during the other half of the day to pursue his passion for old books. Zhang's descendants described him to have been more of a scholar than a businessman.[45] By 1940, the year Zhang Naixiong catalogued his collection, he possessed 1486 books, of which 581 came from his father's collection.[46] This handwritten catalogue has an entry on the *Annals of the Ming Family*: "*Annals of the Ming Family*, one chapter, written by Yang Xueke, Ming [dynasty]" (明氏實錄一卷, 明楊學可撰). It is classified as an "old hand-copy in one booklet" (舊抄本一冊) and finally it is also indicated that it once belonged to Wang Lipei's collection by referring to Wang's studio name, the one found on one of Wang's seals mentioned above (Fig. 5).[47] Furthermore, this is not the only manuscript originating from Wang Lipei's collection. There are another 23 entries, except for two all indicating manuscripts, which point at Wang Lipei as the former

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43 On Zhang Naixiong see Su Jing 2009: 213–214; Huang Ting-pei 2009: 13–21; Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1434–1435. On Zhang Junheng, see Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1404–1405; Su Jing 2009: 211–214.
44 On the history of Zhang Junheng's collection see Liu Hecheng 2008; Zhao Congcheng 2008. Zhang Junheng's catalogue: Miao Quansun 1968. On Miao Quansun see Zheng Weizhang 1999: 1136–1142. See also Campbell 2009.
45 Huang Ting-pei 2009: 14.
46 Huang Ting-pei 2009: 31.
47 Zhang Naixiong 1969: 117. This is a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript.

owner.[48] Although it cannot be entirely excluded that the manuscript was bought by Zhang Junheng after the compilation of his catalogue in 1916 and before his death in 1928, it seems more likely that the son purchased this manuscript. Firstly, because there is no seal imprint of Zhang Junheng on the manuscript. Secondly, Wang Lipei's efforts to sell can be dated to 1929 when he sent his catalogue to Jin Xihou, and that is after Zhang Junheng's death in 1928. However, whether Zhang Naixiong bought it directly from Wang Lipei or via an intermediary is impossible to say.
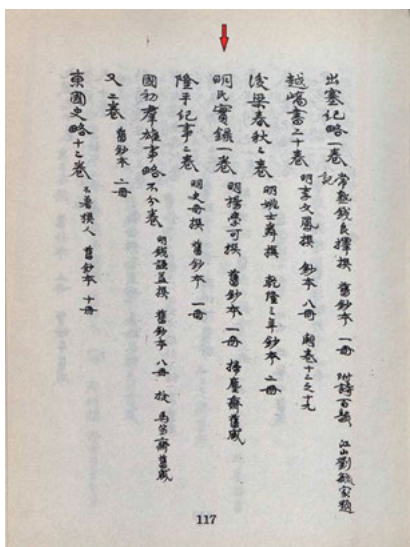
Fig. 5: Entry on the *Annals of the Ming Family* in Zhang Naixiong's catalogue. Facsimile print of the original manuscript: Zhang Naixiong *1969*, p. 117.

3.4 National Central Library

Zhang Naixiong's catalogue was compiled for the purpose of selling his collection. Due to the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 Zhang's business suffered severely and he seems to have been in need for money. Furthermore, he had heard rumours that the Japanese were interested in his collection and he was quite aware that it would be very difficult to keep his collection together and in safety

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48 Huang Ting-pei 2009: 43–44.

in the light of the increasingly oppressive war situation. In the end he preferred to sell his collection to the Chinese government.[49]

Zhang Naixiong was not the only collector, who had to sell his collection in these years. Many people sold their books due to financial constraints. Huge amounts of old and rare books flooded the book markets in Shanghai, where they were often bought by representatives of foreign libraries. Some Chinese scholars were very concerned about this situation. They feared that future generations of Chinese would then have no access to these materials anymore. To counteract this development they contacted the Chinese government, which in 1937 had retreated from the Japanese army to Chongqing 重慶 in the western part of China, to find a remedy. As a reaction to this the Ministry of Education sent a representative to Shanghai, where under the leadership of Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 (1898–1958), at the time professor of literature at Shanghai Jinan University (*Shanghai ji'nan daxue* 上海暨南大學), they formed the Association for the Preservation of Documents (*Wenxian baocun tongzhihui* 文獻保存同志會) to secretly purchase precious books and documents for the Chinese National Central Library in the area occupied by the Japanese. Zheng was the key-figure of this undertaking, which lasted only two years, but in the end secured more than 4,800 valuable prints and manuscripts. He was responsible for selecting and appraising the books as well as for negotiations with book dealers and collectors. Many of the letters he wrote in this time to Jiang Fucong 蔣復璁 (1898–1990), director of the Chinese National Central Library from 1940 to 1949, as well as others, have been preserved and they inform quite in detail about their activities. The money used to buy the books, a total of 1,800,000 *yuan*, came from the Chinese English Boxer Indemnity Fund (*Zhong-Ying gengkuan* 中英庚款). The so-called Boxer rebellion (1898–1900), an anti-imperialist uprising that also found support by the ruling Qing government, was quelled by an international coalition, which then imposed the payment of 450 million *taels* of silver as indemnity on the Chinese government. Other than the United States, which already in 1909 had given up on their share using it to set up a scholarship program for Chinese students, Great Britain decided to use the reparations to support cultural and educational projects in China not until 1931.[50]

In November 1941, after intricate and protracted negotiations lasting over half a year, Zhang Naixiong finally sold his collection (with the exception of a few

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49 Huang Ting-pei 2009: 83–84.
50 Huang Ting-pei 2009: 83–84; Su Jing 2009: 235–240. On the activities of the Association for the Preservation of Documents see Gu Liren / Ruan Jingling 2010.

books he wanted to keep for himself) for the price of 700,000 *yuan* to the Association for the Preservation of Documents. In the beginning Zhang demanded 500,000 *yuan* or 30,000 USD, but he kept changing his mind and the negotiations were further complicated by the raging inflation of the Chinese currency. Zhang only reluctantly separated from his collection and clearly planned to repurchase it some time later, for which he applied a total of four seal imprints – two with his own and two with his sons names – to those books he treasured most. The *Annals of the Ming Family* manuscript obviously was not among these since it only shows one imprint by him. Zheng Zhenduo, on the other hand, as the negotiator for the Association for the Preservation of Documents faced the obstacle that his funds were not large enough and there were problems to transfer the money from Chongqing to Shanghai. In the end he managed to obtain more money and they agreed on a first payment of 100,000 *yuan* with the rest to be paid a month later. The deal was sealed only shortly before the Japanese, after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, took possession of the whole city of Shanghai. Until then the International Concessions had not been occupied by the Japanese. This also brought an end to the activities of the Association for the Preservation of Documents.[51]

Attempts to transport all purchased materials via Hong Kong to Chongqing were not successful. After one batch sent to Hong Kong had fallen into the hands of the Japanese it was decided to keep and hide the remaining books in Shanghai, among them also Zhang Naixiong's collection with the *Annals of the Ming Family* manuscript. The many books were probably stored in different places, among them private homes and foreign banks. In 1949, after the Republican Party of Chiang Kai-shek had lost the civil war against the Communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong, which followed the war against the Japanese, they retreated to Taiwan taking many valuable cultural objects with them, e.g. many items of the Imperial Palace Collections in Beijing, which today are housed in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. Also Zhang Naixiong's collection was shipped to Taiwan. It was personally brought there by Jiang Fucong, the aforementioned director of the National Central Library. In Taiwan it was first temporarily stored in Taichung 臺中 and then shortly after transferred to the new site of the National Central Library in Taipei.[52] This institution is the so far last to have added a seal

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51 Gu Liren / Ruan Jingling 2010: 143–146; Su Jing 2009: 241.
52 Su Jing 2009: 243–246; Huang Ting-pei 2009: 102–104. On the Imperial Palace Collection see Li 1958. Today the Zhangs' collection is the largest intact family collection in the holding of the National Central Library (Su Jing 2009: 243–246), which has stimulated a number of studies: Zhao Congcheng 2008; Liu Hecheng 2008; Huang Ting-pei 2009; Lin Jinghui 2010.

imprint to the manuscript, a rectangular intaglio-seal reading "from the collection of the National Central Library (國立中央圖書館藏)". The manuscript is recorded in the rare books catalogue of the library, published in 1997, and the entry also includes a description of all five seal imprints.[53]

4 Conclusion

This example of one late imperial manuscript shows clearly that seal imprints enable us to track its transmission in much detail. The imprints itself did not offer explicit spatial and temporal information, but just the names of the different owners. It is by further research on these men and their collections that we were able to pursue this manuscript through time and space. For this, their biographies and especially their book catalogues, if available, proved to be useful.[54] At the same time, one has to admit that the information on this particular manuscript for the most part remained rather limited. This is likely due to the fact that this manuscript was not considered exceedingly precious. There is no evidence that any of the collectors studied the manuscript in detail or that they might have been particularly interested in its content. No preface or colophon was ever attached to it, nor is there any hint in this regard mentioned in the catalogues.

The spatial and temporal information obtained can be used to visualise the transmission of this manuscript both geographically and chronologically (Fig. 6). However, such a representation cannot be but partial since it cannot be ruled out that the manuscript was brought to other places or was even held by other persons, e.g. book dealers serving as intermediates. Also the temporal information remains fragmented, neither were we able to find out the exact date of production, nor can we always be sure about the exact time when the manuscript changed owner.

Furthermore, the history of this particular manuscript vividly reflects the broader development of book collecting in China in the first part of the twentieth century. In general, historiographical texts such as this manuscript received increased attention from collectors, while the interest in canonical writings waned, due to the abolishment of the traditional examination system in 1905, in which

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53 *Guojia tushuguan* 1997: 245.
54 Following Genette's thoughts catalogue entries might also be understood as paratext or more precisely as "epitext", the spatial category which Genette gives to paratexts situated "outside the book" (Genette 1991: 264).

they formed the subject matter. This interest in historiographical texts is said to have further increased in the late 1920s. At the same time, more and more books circulated among book collectors and became regarded as commercial commodities. While in earlier times the main worry of collectors was that their descendants would not be able to keep the collection together, in the first half of the twentieth century it was not uncommon for a collector to lose the collection he had built up all by himself. The unstable political situation and the frequent armed conflicts of this period put many collectors into financial difficulties causing them to sell as was the case for Wang Lipei and Zhang Naixiong. At the same time, there was a general shift in the type of collectors, from scholars like Wang Lipei to rich businessmen like Zhang Naixiong, and a trend away from private collectors to public collections of the newly established state and public libraries.[55] Notably though the practice of adding collectors' seals was, despite all differences, held up by all of the owners.
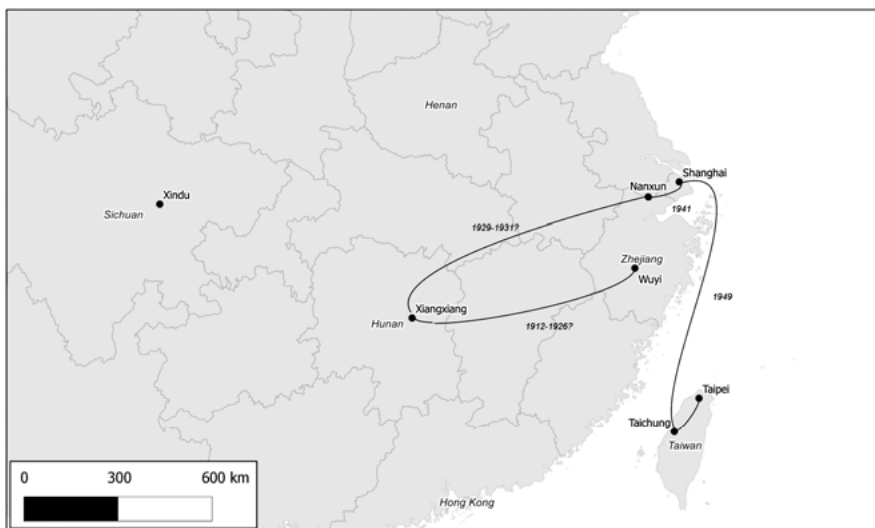

Fig. 6: Geographical and chronological transmission of the *Annals of the Ming Family*. Taipei, National Central Library: 204.26 02205. © CHGIS Harvard Yenching Institute.

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55 Li Xuemei 1999: 7, 67, 122, 137–143.

Manuscripts

Fubi cangshu mulu 復壁藏書目錄, compiled by Wang Lipei 王禮培, Changsha: Hunan Provincial Library (*Hunan sheng tushuguan* 湖南省圖書館). shelfmark: 298.3/96.

Fubi cangshu mulu 復壁藏書目錄, Beijing: National Library of China (*Guojia tushuguan* 國家圖書館). shelfmark: 450\9096\pgl.

Fubi shulu 復壁書錄, Changsha: Hunan Provincial Library, shelfmark: 294.3/35.

Mingshi shilu 明氏實錄, composed by Yang Xueke 楊學可, Taipei: National Central Library (*Guojia tushuguan* 國家圖書館). shelfmark: 204.26 02205.

Mingshi shilu 明氏實錄, composed by Yang Xueke 楊學可, Beijing: National Library of China, shelfmark: 002300262 (facsimile print in: Zhonghua lishi renwu biezhuanji 2003).

Qinpu shanben shumu 菦圃善本書目, compiled by Zhang Naixiong 張乃熊, present holder unknown (facsimile print in: Zhang Naixiong 1969).

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Kristina Nikolovska

'When the living envied the dead': Church Slavonic Paratexts and the Apocalyptic Framework of Monk Isaija's Colophon (1371)

1 Introduction

With the Ottoman Empire on the verge of collapse in the first decades of the twentieth century, several historians in the service of the splintered nations that formed the Balkans took great interest in archiving the writings handed down by their forebears, the South Slavic subjects of the Sultan. Apart from historiographical genres (chronicles and annals), an interest developed in collecting other writings that provide information about the history of the South Slavs, such as hagiographies, princely biographies and polemical treatises.[1] Since this is a relatively sparse corpus of texts, nationalist scholarship also obsessively mined Church Slavonic manuscript colophons and marginalia for scraps of historical information. The first enthusiasts, such as the writer and national revolutionary Evtim Sprostranov (1868–1931), scanned the repositories of various churches and monasteries, copying marginal notes from manuscripts and compiling them into published compendia.[2] They believed that by protecting and copying these fragments – rare textual accounts of the South Slavs under Ottoman rule – they were pre-

1 After the fall of the Serbian and Bulgarian Empires in the second half of the fourteenth century, South Slavic production of historical literature was fostered by the descendants of Branković dynasty up until the early sixteenth century (Guran 2012: 328). Modern editions and translations of these medieval and early modern South Slavic writings rich in historical thought are to be found in Petre Guran's overview of South Slavic historiography (Guran 2012: 336–339).

2 Sprostranov published catalogues of manuscripts which included copies of the paratextual material; see Sprostranov 1900 and Sprostranov 1902. Other scholars only published the paratexts, however.

serving 'бита' ('the core') of the 'българе' ('Bulgarians') (Ivanov 1908: III), an idea that has been transmitted largely unchallenged.[3]

In the Balkans, the heritage of Church Slavonic marginal notes made in liturgical manuscripts and early printed books presents an intriguing case. While great importance is bestowed upon the marginal notes, their relationship to the primary text has been largely sidelined. This is a trend which has continued up to the present day. Marginal inscriptions made in manuscripts and early printed books are considered valuable as they 'садрже трагови интимног живота' ('contain traces of the private life') of the South Slavs, which is not the case for the rest of Church Slavonic literary production. More importantly, inscriptions purportedly hold information about the history of the 'свакидашњице' ('daily life') of the South Slavs during Ottoman rule (Radojičić 1962: 102).

Although modern compilations of Church Slavonic marginal notes are numerous, studies on the paratextual traditions have been restricted to typological exercises.[4] The paucity of scholarship can be explained by the widely held view in the Balkans that these accounts represent outlying authentic voices from 'below'. These voices are taken as true reports about 'разни настани од економската, политичката, воената и воопшто од социјалната сфера' ('various events from the economic, political, military and social spheres') (Velev 1996: 364).[5] This assumption of transparency has removed the need for a critical

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3 Even in the preface of a recent collection of colophons and scribal marginalia, Bozhidar Raĭkov writes that these inscriptions are 'важен източник' ('an important source') as they contain 'душевността и бита на българина' ('the spirituality and the core of the Bulgarians') (Raĭkov 2003: 11).

4 The most exhaustive and commonly used compendia were compiled by Stojanović 1902–1926, Ivanov 1970, Nachev and Fermandzhiev 1984, Pavić 1986, Pop-Atanasov 1996, Hristova, Karadzhova and Uzunova 2003.

5 Regional scholars have long been interested in finding out as much as possible about 'the ordinary people'. As a result, marginalia have been identified – sometimes too literally – with the narratives of the marginal classes. As Milorad Panić-Surep writes in the conclusion of his compilation of marginalia, 'Историје владара имамо. И летописе догађаја, и монографије великих људи, и студије знаменитих покрета. А да ли се може рећи да имамо и историју народа, оног његовог дела што га сачињавају мали свакидашни људи — орачи и чобани, зидари, занатлије, горосече, кириције, најамни работници, немоћни старци и недоучена младеж. Такву у нас, а и другде на на страни, ја не видим' ('We have [written] the history of our rulers and records of events and monographs of great men and studies of important movements. But could we say that we have written the history of our people, the part of our nation which consists of small and ordinary people – ploughmen, shepherds, bricklayers, merchants, lumberjacks, carriers, hired labour, old people and unread youth? That kind of history I cannot see being written here and in general.') (Panić-Surep 1960: 235).

investigation into these sources and their generic history. The compendia are usually presented in the form of lists in which marginal inscriptions are copied in chronological order, while the source texts are merely indexed. This separation is justified by the fact that many marginal inscriptions in Church Slavonic manuscripts do not comment upon the subject matter of the source text which they border, but digress onto other topics such as scribal complaints dealing with the hard labour of writing, the occurrence of celestial events and natural disasters in the region, the rivalries within the Church and the high price of food and drink.

The compilations of Church Slavonic paratexts only select inscriptions which can be comprehended without the source text and omit those which are meaningless unless the source text is available, such as commentaries, glosses and editorial notes. The subject of most marginal writing was seen as separate from the content of the main text, and the editors of compendia did not pay attention to the historical clues that were lost in compilation.[6] While it is true that some of these fragments may have talked about contemporary events, of life outside the texts they accompanied, they very much addressed the communal life to which the liturgical writings belonged. Manuscript production was an important activity for monasteries and the remarks written in the margins by bookbinders, scribes and illuminators are fundamentally connected to the material and social history of the actual manuscript. Since manuscripts were ritual objects in the monasteries and churches where they were used, the extent to which the marginal notes were involved in monastic life would be lost to us if the history of the period were to be attested mainly through compendia.

This article aims to serve as a corrective to the limits of regional and nationalist historical bias by demonstrating one of the ways in which this vast corpus of paratexts can be coherently conceived of as a writing tradition that evolved over the centuries to have its own repetitions, patterns, functions and meanings rather than serving as plain and authentic testimonials of daily life and suffering.[7] To tackle the entire Church Slavonic paratextual corpus is beyond the scope of this article and would have to be a part of a much larger project. In order to provide

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6 The editors of these compendia, for example, do not discuss whether the paratexts are authentic or not; whether these paratexts were original or copied along the main text in later editions of a manuscript.

7 A different approach of studying paratexts would be to relate them to the primary text of the manuscript. A good example of such scholarship is Veselin Panaĭotov's article 'Belezhkata v Suprasŭlskiĭa sbornik' (2002). Panaĭotov convincingly argues that the author of marginalia who signed himself as Retko carefully chose the location of his inscription. By reading the sections of the primary text next to which the marginal note was written, Panaĭotov demonstrates that Retko was a follower of the Christian dualist sect known as Bogomilism.

both a general view of the paratextual traditions of the South Slavs (and their historiographical reception) and a more detailed close reading of particular paratexts, this paper is divided into three sections: i) a brief overview of the features and templates that constitute South Slavic paratexts and the genre of the colophon in particular, ii) the significance of marginalia and colophons dealing with historical themes and the limits of regionalist and nationalist historiography in the study of these inscriptions and finally iii) the demonstration of an alternative method of reading historical paratexts through a close reading of Isaija's colophon added to the Slavonic *Corpus Dionysiacum* from 1371.[8]

In the third and final part of the paper, I suggest that Isaija's colophon borrows from an apocalyptic writing tradition written in the context of the collapse of empire.[9] I will also speculate on Isaija's use of apocalyptic time as signalling a historiographical mode through which South Slavic scribes could make sense of important political events. By linking the paratextual corpus to the apocalyptic traditions of the South Slavs we can not only draw attention to the multi-faceted historical evidence contained within the under-explored genre of the colophon but also contemplate ways in which Church Slavonic manuscripts were located in time and space.

2 A brief overview of Church Slavonic marginalia and colophons

Church Slavonic manuscripts produced in the orthodox area of south-eastern Europe are replete with various kinds of marginal inscriptions. From their pervasive

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8 In 1371 Isaija translated the *Corpus Dionysiacum* from Byzantine Greek along with the commentaries attributed to Maximus Confessor. The *Corpus Dionysiacum*, also known as *Corpus Areopagitum*, is a set of theological and philosophical writings by an anonymous Christian Neoplatonist from the late fifth or early sixth century CE (the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite as part of the Neoplatonist tradition have been explored thoroughly by Wear and Dillon 2007). The anonymous writer has come to be known as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, portraying himself in the corpus as St Dionysius the Areopagite in order to acquire unquestionable authority. The Slavonic *Corpus Dionysiacum* includes four treatises (*On the Divine Names, Mystical Theology, On the Celestial Hierarchy* and *On the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*) and ten letters addressed to different clergymen (Afonasin, 2008: 102–105).
9 Isaija's commentary on political events occurs in the context of the fall of the Serbian principality of Serres in 1371, which led the descendants of these local governors to accept Ottoman suzerainty.

presence in the relatively small corpus of manuscripts that has survived to this day, it can be concluded that writing marginal notes was an integral part of manuscript production and reception.[10] One way to categorise this large body of diverse notes is to divide it into: a) notes that were written by the scribe when the manuscript was produced, and b) inscriptions added later by a different hand.

Some Church Slavonic manuscripts contain scribal colophons – a formulaic inscription which is usually located at the end of the principal text and provides information about the production of the manuscript. We know that colophons in Church Slavonic manuscript culture were important in that they were often considered an inextricable part of the text and were copied alongside it (Petrova-Taneva 2001: 126–7). They were thus deemed significant enough to endure and circulate across different versions. Church Slavonic colophons are largely stereotyped inscriptions in which the scribe provides information about the time, place and circumstances in which the manuscript was produced and the purpose of writing. It is difficult to say whether colophon writing began with the first manuscripts; the corpus that has remained from the Old Church Slavonic period (c. 850–1100 CE) is too small to even hazard a guess. However, in later manuscripts from this period we do find transcriptions of the original colophon supplemented by a note from the later copyist, which may suggest that the practice of colophon writing among the South Slavs began very early.[11]

Church Slavonic colophons are generally placed after the principal text. In some manuscripts, there is no spatial marker to help us distinguish between the former and the latter due to the fact that the colophons are incorporated into the page layout designated for the main text. In some monastic centres, scribes wrote their colophons in a formal register of Church Slavonic rendered in semi-uncial script. Since the principal text was also written in the same language and script, we can infer that these were instances in which colophons occupied an official position similar to the main text. In a copy of the *Четвероевангелие* ('Four Gospels') from 1562, the famous calligrapher and illuminator Ĭoan of Kratovo (1526–1583) added a colophon which not only uses the formal semi-uncial script, but

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10 The compendia mentioned earlier can give us a good idea of exactly how widespread paratextual practices were. In the largest collection of extant Church Slavonic paratexts to date, the Serbian scholar Ljubomir Stojanović published around 20,000 marginal inscriptions from the manuscript collections to which he had access. See Stojanović 1902-1926.

11 The so-called *Izbornik* of 1076 is one such manuscript where we find two colophons. The first one is copied from the original manuscript and the second is composed by the later copyist (Petrova-Taneva 2001: 127).

features initials which are carefully illuminated in gold ink like those in the primary text (Figs. 1a and 1b).[12]

Fig. 1a: The first page of St. Matthew's Gospel (fol. 10a). The famous calligrapher and illuminator Ĭoan of Kratovo used black ink for the main text and gold for the decorations. The text is written in elegant semi-uncial script. In Sofia, the Church-Historical and Archival Institute, shelfmark: ms. 34.

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12 I have not seen the actual ms. 34. I am very grateful to Ilija Velev for providing me with a copy of a digitised version which he edited. Also, I would like to sincerely thank him for giving us permission to reproduce the images of ms. 34.
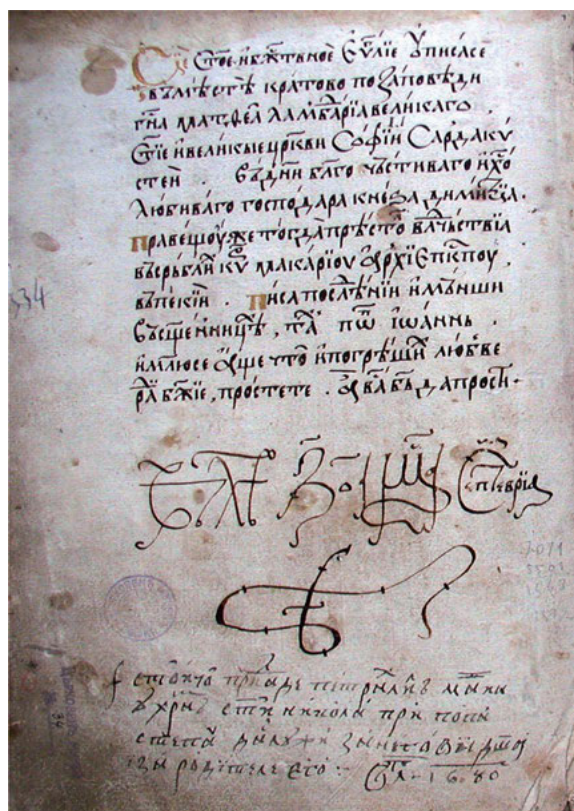
Fig. 1b: Ῑoan of Kratovo's colophon is also written in semi-uncial script (fol. 335b). The initials are illuminated in gold ink and black is used for the rest of the colophon, just like the primary text. In Sofia, The Church-Historical and Archival Institute, shelfmark: ms. 34.

However, there are other instances where scribes segregated the principal text of the manuscript from the colophon by varying the script, the style and the ink colour. *Jepej* ('priest') Ῑoan who copied *Четвероевангелие* ('Four Gospels') in 1658, used calligraphic semi-uncial script, dark brown ink and a thicker brush for the main text (Fig. 2a). For the colophon (Fig. 2b), on the other hand, he used a cursive script known as *brzopis* ('quick writing'), a thinner brush and light-brown ink.[13]

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13 The St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library (Sofia) provides access to fully digitised manuscripts held at the library, with descriptions of their contents. I used digitised copies of three
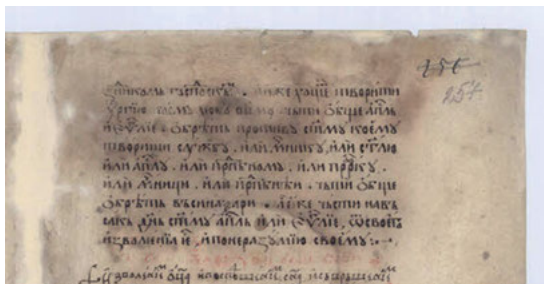
Fig. 2a: The final lines of the 'Four Gospels' by priest Ĭoan written in calligraphic semi-uncial script (fol. 257a). *Четвероевангелие* ('Four Gospels') by priest Ĭoan, copied in 1658. In Sofia, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, shelfmark: ms. 76.
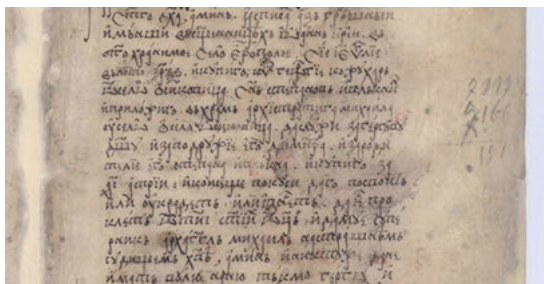

Fig. 2b: The colophon written by the same scribe in a cursive script known as *brzopis* (fol. 257a). *Четвероевангелие* ('Four Gospels') by priest Ĭoan, copied in 1658. In Sofia, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, shelfmark: ms. 76.

Another interesting example is a colophon from a manuscript containing a copy of the 1640 *Часослов и дамаскин на Даниил и Никита Етрополски* ('Horologion and Damaskin of Daniil and Nikita of Etropole'). In this case, black ink and an elegant semi-uncial script are used for the main text of the manuscript, the spacing between the lines is consistent and the writing ends with a decorative tailpiece (Fig. 3a). An elaborate curlicue is then added to separate the main text from the colophon (Fig. 3b). The latter appears to be written carelessly in cursive script with the final lines not following the alignment. The scribe used different ink (brown) and a thinner brush to make this distinction (Fig. 3c).
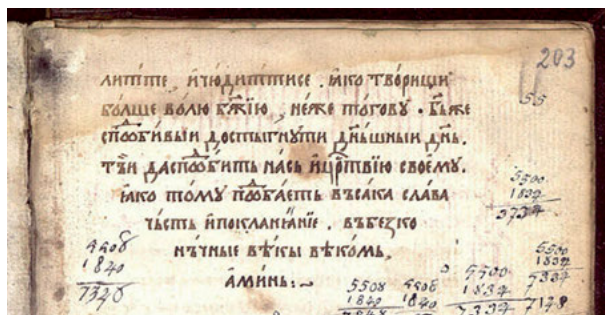

Fig. 3a: The final lines of the primary text are written in a semi-uncial script with a decorative tailpiece (fol. 203a). *Часослов и дамаскин на Даниил и Никита Етрополски* ('Horologion and Damaskin of Daniil and Nikita of Etropole') copied in 1640. In Sofia, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, shelfmark: ms. 1388.

Fig. 3b: The colophon written in a cursive script (*brzopis*) is separated from the primary text with a curlicue (fol. 203a). *Часослов и дамаскин на Даниил и Никита Етрополски* ('Horologion and Damaskin of Daniil and Nikita of Etropole'), copied in 1640. In Sofia, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, shelfmark: ms. 1388.
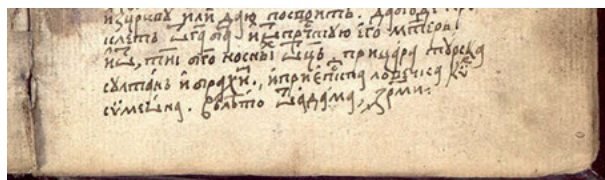

Fig. 3c: The final lines of the colophon are not following the alignment (fol. 203a). *Часослов и дамаскин на Даниил и Никита Етрополски* ('Horologion and Damaskin of Daniil and Nikita of Etropole'), copied in 1640. In Sofia, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, shelfmark: ms. 1388.

The most typical characteristic of Church Slavonic colophons is the templates which their authors borrowed from the Byzantine scribal tradition. The beginning of the colophon usually constitutes a short prayer which can be a variation of 'Слава Съврьшителю Богȣ в векь аминь' ('To our God, the Creator, be the glory forever, Amen'). This is followed by stating the title of the work and honouring the commissioner of the manuscript. The scribe usually describes the qualities of the donor in glowing terms, adding a request that they be commemorated for their deed. The scribe then provides details about where the manuscript was copied. As a rule, he states the name of the monastery, sometimes with additional information regarding the *hegumen*[14] who governed the religious institution, the town or village where the monastery was located and the larger ecclesiastical polity to which it belonged. Frequently, the author of the colophon would state the reasons for the production of the manuscript, revealing whether the work was copied on his own initiative or at the request of a higher-ranking member of clergy. Some colophon authors revealed their names and ecclesiastical titles, often supplicating themselves by referring to their sinful hand and life and then requesting the reader's forgiveness for their imperfect writing. To avoid being cursed by their readers, scribes would justify the imperfections in their manuscripts by describing the unfavourable circumstances in which they had to write them. In some colophons, scribes wrote curses in the hope that their manuscripts would be protected from being pawned, stolen or sold. Towards the end of the colophon, the scribe normally provided the date of completing the manuscript, using Slavonic letters to express the numbers and stating the year and indiction according to the Byzantine calendar. While these are details that may be encountered in Church Slavonic colophons, it is important to note that they need not contain all of the above features. However, it can be taken as a matter of fact that most colophons contain *explicit* information about the provenance of manuscripts.[15]

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14 The *hegumen* (or *igumen* in Macedonian and Bulgarian) is the head of an Orthodox monastery, a title similar to the office of abbot in Western monastic orders.

15 Given that not every Church Slavonic manuscript contains a colophon, paleographers and codicologists rely on other features such as medium, language, script or techniques of decoration and production, in order to determine the provenance of manuscripts. But even when manuscripts do contain colophons, their provenance is not easily determined: some colophons provide vague and erroneous information. In addition to this, some manuscripts contain a colophon from the protograph, although they themselves are later copies. As Maya Petrova-Taneva tells us, the provenance of a codex known as the Ghent manuscript of the *Bdinski zbornik* was previously determined by the details stated in the colophon, according to which the manuscript was commissioned by 'Tsaritsa Anna' in 1369, in the city of Bdin [Vidin]. However, by examining the paper watermarks and the orthography of the manuscript, Petrova-Taneva demonstrates that

Apart from colophons, scribes could also add marginalia. Some scribal marginalia are lively interjections where the author of the manuscript complains about the scarcity of writing materials or the difficult and laborious task of writing. A scribe with the signature 'Radul' made this inscription in a sixteenth-century manuscript known as *Апостолски Деяния и Евангелия* ('Acts of the Apostles and Gospels'):[16]

> Пиян писах.
> Ох, що ми се досади!
> Помени, боже, раба своего Радула.
>
> I wrote this drunk.
> Oh, how bored I got!
> Remember, God, your servant Radul (Nachev and Fermandzhiev 1984: 22).

Some margins were used to thank people who contributed to the production of the manuscript. The notes include the names of those who provided implements or even the nourishment necessary for writing. For instance, the copyist of one *Минеа* ('Menaion')[17] from the fifteenth-century wishes that God bless 'Калиноу' ('Kalina'), who provided the clergy with 'овощïа вса благаа…ни оупокои виномъ' ('sweet fruits… and kept us calm with wine') (Stojanović 1902: 73).

Notes written by later hands can be just as intriguing as those written by the original scribe. Some of them give us an insight into the ways in which Church

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this codex could not be the protograph, but an early-fifteenth century copy of a manuscript commissioned by "Tsaritsa Anna" (Empress Anna of Wallachia, the wife of the Bulgarian Emperor Ivan Stratsimir). Petrova-Taneva goes on to say that the scribe probably had no intention to deceive the reader and seems to have followed the South Slavic practice of adding a second colophon along with the one found in the protograph which states 'the name and the rank of the later copyist, or the time and place where the transcript was written' (Petrova-Taneva 2001: 126). Only the last word of the second colophon remains, suggesting that it might have been purposely destroyed more recently so that the manuscript could gain better value on auctions as 'a fourteenth-century original coming from the library of a Bulgarian tsaritsa' (Petrova-Taneva 2001: 127).

16 Given that Church Slavonic manuscripts are scattered in various libraries and archives around the world, I used examples from library catalogues and compilations of marginalia in order to provide the reader with a general overview of Church Slavonic paratextual traditions. I have also relied on these publications for other information about the manuscripts, such as titles and dating.

17 *Menaion* is a liturgical book used by the Eastern Orthodox Church and contains the propers for feasts that take place on fixed dates in the calendar year (that is, offices which do not depend on the movable date of Easter).

Slavonic canonical texts were read through the centuries. These include indicators created by readers to select significant passages for reading aloud in the liturgy, commentaries discussing the content of the work, glosses which translate or clarify words employed in the primary text and annotations suggesting revisions of the work. Other subsequent notes deal with the story of the manuscript as a material object. These marginalia provide us with evidence of the purchase, sale and ownership of manuscripts. They also hold information about manuscripts being rebound into finer covers and valuable manuscripts being pawned as collateral during times of financial hardship, only to be returned to a place of worship by wealthy patrons decades or centuries later.[18] Some manuscripts contain records of donors and donations made to churches and monasteries, and others contain notes left by believers who visited the churches and monasteries. They would usually write a short prayer, recording their name and the date of their stay. Similar notes were scribbled by pilgrims who mentioned the places to which they travelled. We thus learn the names of specific people linked to the various sites of religious exchange that were prevalent among the South Slavs. For instance, a note by Mihail of Kratovo, a seventeenth-century metropolitan bishop, tells us that he read a fifteenth-century copy of *Цветен Триод* ('Pentecostarion')[19] when he visited the monasteries on Mount Athos. This note is an exception in the extent to which it is a personal account where he tells the reader that the monastery cell he rented cost fifty *groschens* and adds 'Престојував во ќелијата една година. А отсега натаму не знам дали ќе престојувам или нема да престојувам. Бог знае. Како што Господ сака, така нека биде'. ('[I] spent the summer in this cell and from now on I don't know whether I will be here or I will not be. For now, as God wills it to be, let it be') (Pop-Atanasov 1996: 73).

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18 The 1562 *Четвороевангелие* ('Four Gospels') by Ĭoan of Kratovo is one such instance where the turbulent history of the manuscript can be reconstructed through marginal inscriptions (Velev 2012b: 61-65).

19 *Pentecostarion,* also known as *Festal Triodion*, is a liturgical book used in the Eastern Orthodox Church during the fifty-day Paschal season, which covers the period from Pascha (Easter) to the Feast of All Saints (the Sunday following Pentecost).

3 The incidence and reception of historical themes in Church Slavonic paratexts

Some of the most interesting types of Church Slavonic paratexts are the large number that do not directly pertain to the manuscript as a material or textual object, but instead engage with historical themes that were central to the political and ecclesiastical culture to which the manuscripts belonged. These extant paratextual writings date the reigns and eventual deaths of patriarchs and rulers, the demolition of monasteries and churches, celestial events, bad weather conditions and catastrophic events such as wars, famine, natural disasters, outbreaks of plague and the rise in food prices. One such instance of a note with historical content is to be found in an *Осмогласник* ('Octoechos')[20] from the monastery of St Panteleimon in Skopje. The marginal inscription in this liturgical manuscript tells us that 'Во 1535 година беа разрушени црквите во Скопје' ('In the year 1535, the churches in Skopje were demolished') (Pop-Atanasov 1996: 29). In an interesting example of a celestial record, three accounts written in three different locations record the same event of volcanic ash falling from the sky. In one of these manuscripts, a volume from 1547 which contains John Chrysostom's homilies, we find a single inscription on the last blank leaf: 'Да се знаетъ кога падна пепелъ по въсеи земли, беше снег се не видеше ѿ пепелѡ и бе земла помрачена ꙗкоже изгорена. Бѣше то въ лето ҂з.р.м. мѣсеца декемврїа .з. дьнъ.' ('Let it be known when dust fell to the whole earth, the snow could not be seen from the dust and the earth went dark as if burnt. This was in the year 7140, month of December, 7th day.' (Mrgić 2004: 229).[21] In an example of a celestial record found in a *Псалтир* ('psalter') from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the chronicler mentions two

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20 *Octoechos* ('The Book of Eight Tones') is a liturgical book used in the Eastern Orthodox Church which includes services with specific hymns in eight tones that are chanted from the end of the Pentecostarion season to the first day of the Great Fast (the 40-day fasting season before Orthodox Easter).

21 According to Byzantine reckoning, history begins with the year of the Creation of the World, which was calculated to be 5,509 years before the Incarnation. The creational year for the Byzantines and South Slavs lasted from 1 September 5509 BCE to 31 August 5508 BCE. The corresponding year according the Gregorian calendar can therefore be determined by subtracting 5,509 for the period between September and December, or 5,508 for January to August. The year 7140 in the Byzantine calendar thus corresponds to the year 1631 as mentioned in non-Slavic sources about the event. There is only a discrepancy of ten days between all three accounts, which can be explained by the Gregorian reform of 1582 when Pope Gregory XIII dropped ten days from October (Mrgić 2004: 229).

events which occurred in the same year, namely a solar eclipse and an outbreak of plague: 'Во 7208 [година], а од Рожество Христово 1700. Во таа година имаше затемнување на сонцето, а во истата година имаше голема чума во Македонија и голем помор. Никаде не остана здрав град, ниту здраво село.' ('In [the year] 7208, 1700 [years] after the birth of Christ. In this year, the sun got dark and there was a plague in Macedonia that caused great mortality. There was not a healthy city or [healthy] village anywhere') (Pop-Atanasov 1996: 85).

As we can see from the above instances, several of these inscriptions were appealing to the historians of the Balkan nation states as they offered specific stories of the past which were described using powerful imagery. This has led scholars from the region to celebrate these textual fragments as a distinctive literature which is authentic, personal, self-representational and unmediated, as opposed to the canonical writings which the fragments surround. Marginal notes have been understood by scholars such as Ivan Duĭchev (1998) to 'reveal more honestly and truthfully the reality than the works of the official literature'.[22] In one of the few attempts to counter this dominant stream of opinion, the Serbian scholar Rade Mihaljčić argues for the derivative nature of these accounts. He cautions against trusting the credibility of this type of narrative form and questions the value of the accounts as 'аутобиографских извора' ('autobiographical sources') since the majority of the writings are 'подложни монашкој фразеологији' ('subject to monastic phraseology') where 'са готовим клишеима, неретко започиње и завршава се запис' ('with ready-made clichés the notes begin and continue in this manner until the end') (Mihaljčić and Ćirković 1999: 218). This perspective abandons the initial impulse to believe the purported particularity of the 'I' or the first person voice in the margins, and aims to account for the formulaic repetition of phrases and themes that is apparent when the fragments are compared alongside each other.

In Bulgaria, faith in the 'truth status' of Church Slavonic paratexts was challenged after investigation into cases of forgery. In 1984, the historian Ilii͡a Todorov ascertained that the chronicle written by Metodi Draginov in a seventeenth-century prayer book – the source crucial for attesting that the Bulgarian population had been forced into converting to Islam during the Ottoman rule – was actually a late nineteenth-century literary mystification. It was established that the language had been modernised and that the compiler had based his account on another nineteenth-century chronicle (Todorov 1984: 68–77).[23]

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22 Cited by Nikolova-Houston (Nikolova-Houston 2008: 5).

23 For more detailed information about the de-authentication of this paratextual account, known as the Metodi Draginov chronicle, see Todorova 2004: 130–136.

Fraudulent pre-modern paratextual writings were discovered to have been produced even before the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth-century Balkans, although the motive for making these forgeries was different. A particularly interesting case is the luxurious, heavily illuminated edition of the *Four Gospels* from the first half of the thirteenth century, known as *Добрейшово евангелие* ('Dobreĭsho Gospel'). The notes in the margins of this manuscript include short prayers and various names which have only confused philologists who have tried to place the manuscript in time and space. Given that few names are mentioned in the margins, it remains unclear whether they refer to the scribes, the commissioner or to later owners. Ben'o TSonev, one of the first scholars to discuss the provenance of the manuscript, argues that it was written by one hand only, namely that of priest Dobreĭsho (TSonev 1906: 13). However, as Elisaveta Musakova has pointed out, the simple inscription 'Edrene, priest Dobrĕĭsho' (Fig. 4) could not have been written at the same time as the manuscript. According to her, the inscription is an imitation of a medieval signature written in a much later hand using inks which differ from those used for the primary text. Moreover, Musakova notes that the name 'Edrene' (Edirne) is itself an anachronism since the Ottoman name of the city previously known as 'Adrianopol' (Adrianople) among the South Slavic writers could not have been used prior to the Ottoman conquests of Thrace in the 1360s. In addition, the Church Slavonic dialect in which the primary text is written does not coincide with the dialects used around Edirne, but with those used in the territory of present-day northern Macedonia. Musakova suggests that Dobreĭsho was not the scribe, but probably a later owner of the manuscript who recorded his location and name or perhaps the name of the medieval scribe (Musakova 2005: 186–195). While the question as to the specific site of production of the manuscript remains unresolved, the discovery that Dobreĭsho's signature is an imitation of an older signature suggests that some Church Slavonic paratexts related to the provenance of manuscripts could have been faked in order to resolve the question of the ownership of expensive manuscripts.[24]

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[24] Some Byzantine manuscripts were wrongly dated, as scholars relied on the date provided in the colophon. As Ernest C. Colwell has demonstrated, Byzantine scribes often increased the value of their manuscripts by 'antedating' them (Colwell 1969: 141). It is a difficult task to detect a fraudulent date in a colophon due to the scribal practice of imitating older styles of colophons. While such studies have been carried out for the Byzantine tradition of colophon writing, the dating of Church Slavonic colophons has remained largely unchallenged.
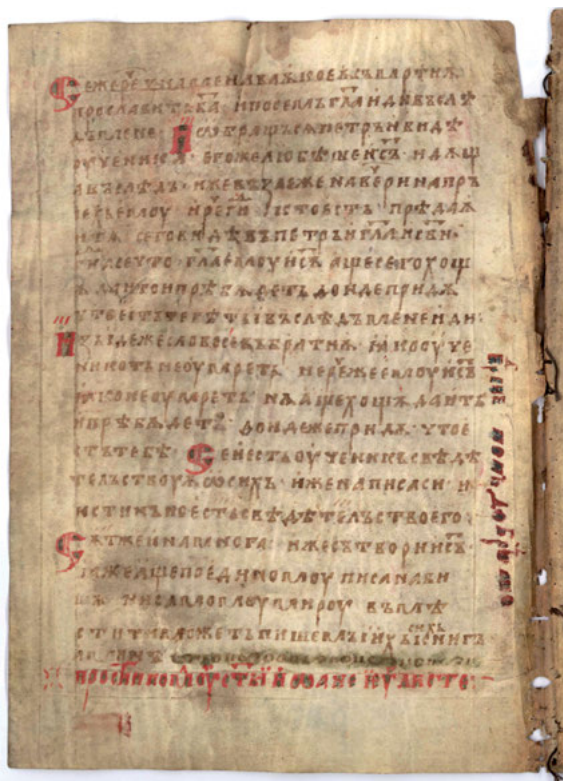
Fig. 4: An imitation of a medieval signature written in red ink in the inner margin, fol. 120b. *Добрейшово евангелие* ('The Four Gospels of priest Dobreĭsho'). In Sofia, St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library, shelfmark: ms. 17.

One of the many reasons why paratextual writings are often considered 'straightforward and candid' is because of the precise numerical information they sometimes contain. This is particularly true of colophons and historical marginalia, where dates feature prominently. The dating of events in historical marginalia is often preceded by a variation of the formula *Знатисе* (*Znatise*, 'let it be known'), which has been interpreted as indicative of a self-conscious tendency to create chronologically precise testimonials of suffering under Ottoman rule.[25]

In the former Yugoslavia, too, a few scholars have questioned the accuracy of certain paratexts. Nenad Janković, for instance, holds the accounts of celestial

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25 This has been argued by several scholars including Despodova 1997.

phenomena to be 'непоуздани' ('unreliable') in that they often have 'погрешни датуми' ('wrong dates') (Janković 1989: 36–37). Additionally, Đorđe Trifunović demonstrates that there is only one inscription concurrent with the Battle of Kosovo (1389), whereas other paratexts valued by scholars are based on folklore motifs and were written long after the battle they describe (Trifunović 1989: 9). Despite these debates, Church Slavonic paratexts are considered to be reliable and truthful sources. Even a very recent study attests that these fragments are 'straightforward and candid accounts' by 'scribes (who) wrote honestly' (Nikolova-Houston 2008: 326).[26] The emphasis in this study is on the status of Church Slavonic paratexts as eyewitness accounts which 'taken together, tell a story of constant turmoil and the struggle for survival of a marginalized people living on the periphery of European and Ottoman Empires' (Nikolova-Houston 2008: 365).[27]

Even if one were to discount the importance of precise dates in evaluating the historical writings of the Slavs in paratexts, taking these testimonials at face value still leaves us with many problems. A significant gap remains where existing scholarship has failed to explain or even investigate the nature of historical writing that these paratexts might have once constituted. This failure is of pressing importance when it comes to the vast number of extant Church Slavonic inscriptions that deal with historical events, especially those written after the major Ottoman conquests of territories in the Balkan Peninsula. The question of what these notes meant to the community that produced them has never been seriously posed. Instead, a more modern conception of accurate and independent historical narration has been hastily transposed onto them. If this paratextual historiography was intended as an independent testimonial to Ottoman oppression, it would be reasonable to assume that a variety of themes and events would figure in paratextual records, reflecting the complexity of social, political, economic and religious transactions that might have taken place for the South Slavs living under Ottoman rule. Instead, one is struck by the limited scope of the patterns and repetitions that pervade a majority of these inscriptions. For instance, the

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26 This is the first study focusing on South Slavic colophons and marginalia to have been written in English.

27 Various South Slavic sources have been used in Balkan historiography to support its claims about the Turkish 'yoke' – a five century period of 'continuous terror' by the Ottoman administration against their South Slavic subjects – including the historical genres of chronicles, hagiographies, and more significantly, marginalia and colophons. A good example of using marginalia and colophons for nationalist readings of Balkan history is Ivan Snegarov's work. According to him, a number of Church Slavonic paratexts offer substantial evidence for Ottoman cruelty (Snegarov 1958: 44).

wide range of diseases which were a constant companion of the early modern South Slavs is not reflected in the marginal annotations of manuscripts from the period. Instead, we read exclusively about outbreaks of plague, often labelled as the 'мор' ('great mortality'). The clergy kept records of this disease and not of 'треска' ('fever') epidemics, for example, although the latter was also a serious health problem at the time if we go by the number and variety of extant magical formulae used to dispel the affliction (Katić 1990: 62). Similarly, the clergy regularly reported on the demolition of monasteries and high taxation in the margins of manuscripts, but rarely tackled the Islamisation of the Orthodox population despite the fact that the religious conversion of many South Slavs was a major anxiety for the Orthodox Church from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century (Krstić 2011: 2–3).

How do we meaningfully account for the systematic patterns (and exceptions) that feature in these historical paratexts while at the same time not reading the dates and statements in these paratextual accounts too literally as has been mostly the case until now? The first point of departure would be to inquire into whether the patterns that these historical marginalia and colophons develop have a shared context. In the instances of historical paratexts encapsulated above, there are records of celestial events, bad weather conditions or of catastrophic events such as wars, famine, natural disasters, and outbreaks of plague (as in the case of three scribes in different locations recording volcanic ash falling from the sky, or the link between a solar eclipse and the outbreak of plague). There are also many instances of paratexts that deal with events such as the reigns and eventual deaths of patriarchs and rulers, and the demolition of monasteries and churches. In all of these instances, these records either deal with events which also figure as portents, signs of things to come (a solar eclipse or volcanic ash falling from the sky) or the events that also figure as the outcome of prophecy (the outbreak of plague or the reign and death of a ruler). The various themes that make up historical records in Church Slavonic marginalia and colophons feature prominently in the eschatological and apocalyptic schemes that were central to South Slavic beliefs and attitudes towards time and history. By comparing and relating the paratextual corpus to the apocalyptic literature of the South Slavs we can also account for the exceptions noted above. Events such as outbreaks of 'треска' ('fever') and the religious conversion of many South Slavs under Ottoman rule did not feature in the paratextual corpus as they were not present in the apocalyptic texts whose focus on certain kinds of events were central to forming the inventory of themes that would occupy the history writing of the South Slavs.

A very large part of the Church Slavonic paratextual corpus dealing with historical events stretches from the late fourteenth century which coincides with the rise of the Ottomans until the nineteenth century where the Ottoman Empire and manuscript production itself declined in a conclusive manner. As Petre Guran tells us in the context of the connection between the fall of the Bulgarian Empire in the late fourteenth century and the production of historical writings in this period, 'the sense of this historiography is not to record facts, but to discover the metaphysical place of a given community within the larger context of God's creation' (Guran 2012: 333–334). The historiography of the South Slavs in this period, Guran argues, was driven by the 'nostalgia of the Empire' (ibid., 344)., with an emphasis on apocalyptic schemata occupying the space previously reserved during the heyday of the empire for eulogies, princely biographies and regnal chronologies. This transformation in the concept and practice of timekeeping was also registered in paratextual writings. The clergy were even more strident in assuming the role of prophecy: to reveal the approaching Apocalypse. The epithet Знатисе ('Let it be known') is therefore not a conscious declaration to record testimonials of suffering under Ottoman rule so that a future readership may one day know about the past. Instead, it is a clairvoyant impulse to interpret contemporary phenomena – mortal or celestial – as the fulfilment of the various phases of an elaborate prophetic scheme that was to culminate in salvation from the rule of the Antichrist.

As mentioned early on in the article, to undertake a comprehensive study of the vast number of historical marginalia and colophons and their relation to the apocalyptic writing traditions of the South Slavs would be much beyond the scope of this paper. One of the difficulties of such a task – when compared to the study of other historical writings in Church Slavonic, such as chronicles and princely *vitae* where we find long and developed narrative sequences – is that the majority of these marginal historical accounts appear too scant for the present-day reader to easily infer their contemporary functions. Often, they can be compared to yearly records in the annals where the date and a brief description of the event are given.[28] There are a few exceptions which are unusual in their detail and therefore allow us to explore the discursive milieu of even the shorter and more

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28 The historical paratexts share common form and substance with another important historical genre of the South Slavs, the so-called Newer Serbian chronicles (*mladi letopisi*). These chronicles, a type of historiography similar to Western annals, are records of historical events arranged in yearly sequence.

formulaic paratexts. It is the close investigation of one such example, Isaija's colophon to the Slavonic *Corpus Dionysiacum,* that will form the remainder of this article.

4 'The most evil of all evil times': apocalyptic time and space in Isaija's colophon

A large number of Church Slavonic colophons are almost identical to each other, which suggests that scribes sometimes borrowed templates, changing only the details which would necessarily vary, such as the title of the work, the name of the commissioner and the date and place of production. Although the intervention of some scribes amounted to very little, there were others who sought new ways of employing the strict Byzantine generic conventions. A number of colophons begin with long and erudite prayers, for example.[29] In some of the more notable colophons, such as the one written by Deacon Dimitar of Kratovo in 1466, we find a lengthy exploration of a contemporary political and religious crisis. Deacon Dimitar of Kratovo, in a Slavonic copy of the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares,[30] wrote a polemical colophon against the Bogomils – a dualist heresy which threatened the power of the Orthodox Church in the Balkans from the tenth century onwards.[31] Other scribes expanded into an elaborate panegyric to the patrons, as is the case in a colophon added to a psalter from 1336/7, where the scribe composes an unusually long and ornate passage praising the religious and military virtues of Tsar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria (reigned 1331–1371) (TSonev 1916: 4–13).

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29 One such lengthy prayer is found in the colophon of a manuscript which contains *Апостолски Деяния* ('Acts of the Apostles'), copied in Zograf monastery in the fourteenth century (Nachev and Fermandzhiev 1984: 56).

30 Matthew Blastares was a fourteenth-century Byzantine monk who compiled the *Syntagma Alphabeticum*, a corpus of civil and church laws that he ordered alphabetically. For information about the manuscript tradition of the Slavic Syntagma, see Alexandrov 2012.

31 A detailed study on the Bogomil movement in the Balkans – its relation with the State and Church, doctrine, practices and history – has been written by Obolensky 1948. The original polemical colophon by Deacon Dimitar is contained in a fragment known as Grigorovich MS 27, kept in the Russian State Library in Moscow (Alexandrov 2012: 193). The entire colophon has been published by Angelov (Angelov 1967: 260–267).

Intriguingly, the assumedly stable templates designated for locating production of the manuscript in time and space were employed creatively to include historical narratives reflecting and responding to political upheavals that were coterminous with the writing of the manuscript. Where a date and place name would suffice, sentiments regarding larger political upheavals were inscribed, expanding the colophon into a valuable historiographical space over and beyond the prefatory function it served. The scribe of a *Празничен Минеj* ('Festal Menaion') called Rastko of Meševišta, for instance, tells us that 'оваа книга започна да се пишува кога одеа Турците против Цариград, а се заврши кога го презедоа' ('this work was begun when the Turks attacked Constantinople and was finished when they conquered it') (Pop-Atanasov 1996: 19). This colophon provides details about the chronology of manuscript production and is deliberately framed so that it is consistent with, and therefore participates in, the chronology of a significant event.

It is important to note that there were colophons which included passages addressing historical themes even before the first Ottoman campaigns in the Balkans. In a *prolog*[32] copied in Lesnovo by monk Stanislav, for instance, the scribe tells us that he finished his work 'во деновите на превисокиот крал Урош Стефан, кого татко му го ослепи и го испрати каj Грците' ('during the reign of the great King Uroš Stefan, whose father sent him to Greece to have him blinded') (Pop-Atanasov 1996: 11). While in the pre-Ottoman colophons some scribes commented on political events related to the history of the Bulgarian, Serbian and Byzantine empires, a few extant colophons concomitant with the martial campaigns of the Ottomans and their subsequent rule in the Balkans locate the time of the manuscript production within an apocalyptic framework. Apart from Isaija's colophon, which will be discussed in what follows, I would like to list two other less-known colophons which make clear reference to an apocalyptic prophecy. A scribe who signed his name as Pribil tells us that he copied the manuscript in 1409.[33] In his colophon he dates the completion of the manuscript to the year 1409 when, as he tells us, his mind was preoccupied as 'Тоурци воеваху, и рат[и] велици биваху' ('the Turks were at war, and many wars were [occurring]') (Matić 1952: 140). Pribil ends his account thus: 'а по писанию въка сего близоу ес[ть] амын его' ('according to Scripture, the century is now [going to]

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32 A *prolog* or *Slavonic synaxarion* is a collection of short lives of the saints.

33 This miscellany included the *Revelation of St John the Theologian*, Old Testament apocryphal writings and hagiographies. Unfortunately, the manuscript does not exist any more as it was destroyed during the Second World War. However, Pribil's colophon has 'survived', having been published in the library catalogue.

close. Amen') (ibid.: 140). It is apparent that the author was referring to passages in the so-called *Little Apocalypse* here, in which Jesus describes the end of times. Among other signs that are to precede his Second Coming, Christ mentions wars and foretells that 'nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom' (Mark 13: 1–37; Matthew 24: 1–25; Luke 21: 5–38). This account is unusual in that the scribe explicitly associates it with a prophecy found in the Gospels. In a similar fashion, Ĭoan of Kratovo added an 'apocalyptic' colophon in his 1526 copy of the *Четвороевангелие* ('Four Gospels'). Here, the scribe requests the reader to forgive his 'ᲈмъ слабъ' ('weak mind') since 'Бѣхᲈ врѣмена зла, а смъръти по места често бивахᲈ, а по писанию кончина близь' ('the times were evil, there were many deaths in diverse places, and according to Scripture, the end is nigh') (Velev 2012b: 21). Christ prophesied in the *Gospel of Matthew* that apart from wars 'there shall be famines, and pestilences and earthquakes in divers places' (Matthew 24:7). Ĭoan's colophon is interesting in that it displays a participatory play between text and paratext. Ĭoan fixes the moment of completing the manuscript in the scheme of its own time as well as within divinely ordained history by linking the divine apocalyptic imagery of the primary text – the Gospels – to contemporary events, which feature paratextually.

One of the earliest examples in Church Slavonic paratextual writings anticipating the Apocalypse is found in monk Isaija's colophon of 1371.[34] Isaija was an influential South Slavic monk who spent most of his life in the St Panteleimon monastery on Mount Athos. He provided the Slavic world with the first Slavonic translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* – one of the most significant theological and philosophical works for the Orthodox clergy. In the colophon to this work, Isaija depicts the 1371 battle at Maritsa River near Chernomen (present-day Ormenio, Greece) as the overriding event to occur while he was finishing his translation of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius. The battle is not just mentioned briefly in order to help mark the time, as is the usual convention in this type of colophon

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34 Apocalyptic sentiments expressed in paratextual writing could have existed even before the late fourteenth century if we go by the fact that the most influential Byzantine apocalypses were translated into Old Church Slavonic much earlier. However, the extant colophons which make use of apocalyptic imagery are from the period of the incipient stages of the Ottoman invasions into the Balkans. One such instance is an undated inscription made in *Octoechos* and copied during the last decades of the reign of Tsar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria (reigned 1331–1371). An anonymous scribe tells us that he copied the manuscript 'когато господ изпрати измаилтяните по лицето на цялата земя и те тръгнаха, поробиха и опустошиха' ('when God sent the Ishmaelites on the face of the whole Earth and they moved, took captives and desolated') (Nachev and Fermandzhiev 1984: 20).

where the expression of time generally resembles the practice of compiling annals. Rather, Isaija writes a long narrative about the battle itself spanning sixty-eight lines.

In the first half of the colophon, Isaija provides us with his reflections on the ambitious task he had been given of translating the corpus of Pseudo-Dionysius from Byzantine Greek into the Slavonic tongue (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 1, lines 1–42).[35] After requesting the reader to forgive him for any mistakes he might have made, he tells us that the initiative for translating the work came from Theodosius, the metropolitan bishop of Serres (active in the second half of the fourteenth century), whose religious and moral virtues he celebrates (ibid., lines 43–93). The second half of the colophon tells us that the battle started when Despot Uglješa (r. 1346–1371) raised several regional armies numbering around sixty thousand men 'и пойдоша въ македонїю на изгнанїе тоуркъ' ('and they left for Macedonia to chase the Turks away') (ibid., lines 101–108). According to Isaija, Despot Uglješa, his brother King Vukašin (reigned 1365–1371) and other supporters of the attack failed to see that 'гнѣвоу бжїю никтоже мощенъ противоустати' ('nobody can oppose God's wrath') (ibid., lines 109–110) and therefore 'тѣхъ оубо не изгнаша нъ сами ѿ нихъ оубиени быша. и тамо кости их падоша и непогребенни превыша.' ('they did not chase them [the Turks], rather they were killed by them and their bones fell and remained unburied') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 2, lines 1–4). The colophon then proceeds with a lengthy depiction of the disastrous consequences of the battle (ibid., lines 5–50). Isaija finishes his account by inscribing a cryptogram and dating the completion of the manuscript by year and indiction (ibid., lines 62–73).

The oldest preserved copy of Isaija's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* can be found in the Gilferding collection at the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg. This copy, known as Gilf'. 46, is not only the earliest extant Slavonic codex, but is also Isaija's autograph and, according to Prochorov, even features notes made by him during the translation (Prokhorov 1980: 183–185).[36] Unfortunately, the first eleven folia of the manuscript are missing and we cannot be entirely

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35 I have taken the citations of Isaija's colophon from the first full publication of the Slavonic translation of *Corpus Dionysiacum,* edited by Herman Goltz and Gelian Prochorov (2010–2011). Given that the original colophon from 1371 has been lost, the editors published a facsimile and a transcription of the colophon included in a 1541 copy of Isaija's *Corpus Dionysiacum*. This manuscript is held in the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg (Sofijskoe sobranie, Min. Cod. 1318, fol. 74–74v).

36 A great deal has been written about the provenance of Gilf'. 46. Recently, Mihail Alekseevich Shibaev has confirmed previous opinion that the information provided by Isaija in the colophon matches with features of the manuscript from which the provenance can be determined. According

sure whether the colophon was part of Isaija's autograph. Nevertheless, we can speculate that this was the case from the copies of the colophon that feature in several later editions of Isaija's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (Fig. 5).[37]
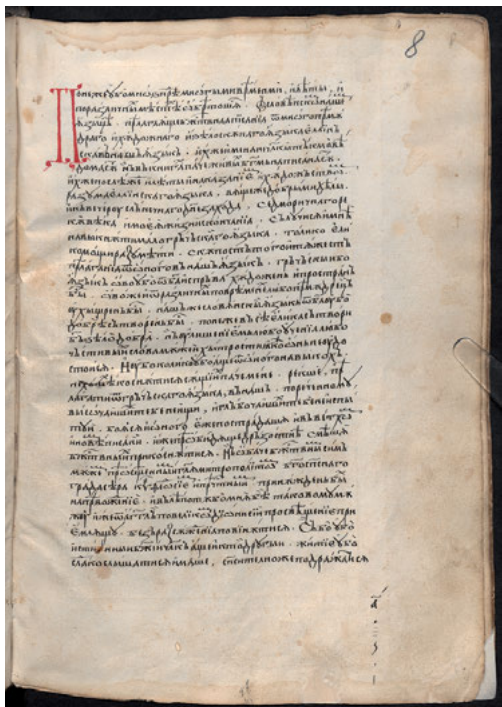

Fig. 5: A fragment of Isaija's colophon included in a manuscript from the first half of the sixteenth century (fol. 8r). In Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Schriften mit Scholien des Maximos Homologetes,* shelfmark: Cod. Slav. 14.

to Shibaev, these features confirm that the manuscript was written in the 1370s on Mount Athos (Shibaev 2013: 16–27).

37 Two later editions of *Corpus Dionisyacum* have been used for details about Isaija's colophon. There is a fifteenth-century East Slavic version kept at the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow (shelfmark MS 93). Aleksandr Khristoforovich Vostokov was the first scholar to publish this version of the colophon (Vostokov 1842: 161–165). In the Balkans, transcriptions of the colophon are to be found in several scholarly editions based on a sixteenth-century South Slavic copy of the *Corpus* which is kept at the Austrian National Library in Vienna (shelfmark Cod. Slav. 14). The first scholar to publish transcriptions of both versions of the colophon was Bonю̄ Angelov (see Angelov 1967: 148–161). More recently, Trifunović published a translation of the whole colophon into Serbian (see Trifunović 1980: 84–88).

Isaija's account has gained attention in the Balkans since it is the oldest known source depicting the Battle of Maritsa in 1371 – the biggest military success of the Ottomans in Europe before the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It vividly depicts human suffering after the armies of the brothers King Vukašin and Despot Uglješa Mrnjavčević were defeated by the Ottomans. Donka Petkanova celebrates the truthfulness of Isaija's account as a narrative 'отличаващ се с ист[орическа] конкретност и достоверност' ('distinguished by its historical accuracy and credibility') in which there is a prevailing 'чувството на ужас от настъпващия поробител' ('feeling of dread from the future occupier') and 'безнадежни нотки и предусещания за трагични събития' ('hopelessness coming from the antici- pation of future tragic events') (Petkanova 1992: 196). Other scholars, however, such as the Georgije Ostrogorski, have a less credulous view of the value of Isaija's account as a historical document. Ostrogorski questions the reliability of the colophon as he perceives it to be similar to more recent historical documents of the battle 'испреплетене легендама и пуне очигледних претеривања' ('mixed with legends and rich in obvious exaggerations') (Ostrogorski 1965: 143). Ђорђе Trifunović, a Serbian scholar who published an influential monograph about Isaija's life and work, also argues against the historical objectivity of Isaija's account on the grounds that it is 'надахнуто књижевно виђење српско- турског сукоба и страдања' ('an inspired literary vision of the Serbo-Turkish confrontation and suffering') borrowed from the rhetorical repertoire of the Byz- antine writer Philotheos Kokkinos (Trifunović 1980: 6). Although the colophon has attracted wide academic interest, existing scholarship is limited to discussing a) the extent to which Isaija's account matches up with the historical reality and b) the details that the colophon provides regarding the first Slavonic translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, which constituted a literary milestone.[38] The colo- phon has not yet been explored as a source which largely borrows from Byzantine historical apocalypses and, as such, may shed light on the ways in which South Slavic writers responded to religious and political crises in the late fourteenth century.

The colophon begins by marking the time of writing by referring to an apo- calyptic chronology where Isaija tells us: 'и къ вечероу слнчнаго дне захода сед- моричнаго рекоу вѣка и моеѧ жизни скончанїа, слоучисѧ и мнѣ навы́кноути мало

гречьскаго ꙗзыка.' ('on the eve of the solar day, that is to say, [at] the sunset of the seventh age, and towards my life's end, it happened that I also learnt some Greek') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 1, lines 14–18). In this case, 'седмеричнаго вѣка' ('seventh age') refers to the seventh millennium, which Pseudo-Methodius, as we will see later, prophesied would be the last one. A few scholars have pointed out that these lines of the colophon refer to the widespread belief in Byzantium that the world would end in the 7,000th Byzantine year, which corresponds to the year 1492 CE (Tapkova-Zaimova and Miltenova 2011: 22).[39] In Byzantine chronography, there was a 'correspondence between the seven days' in which God created the world and 'its total existence of 7,000 years' (Tapkova-Zaimova and Miltenova 2011: 21). Isaija tells us towards the end of the colophon that he finished translating the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius in the year 6879, a number close to the notorious end.

Isaija's colophon locates the manuscript in the 'seventh age' and makes stock use of apocalyptic themes to depict the Battle of Maritsa in 1371. The ethnic designator 'Turks' appears just once in his narrative, only to be replaced with 'Ishmaelites', a label pregnant with apocalyptic meaning. The Ishmaelites, mentioned in the *Book of Genesis*, play an important role in extra-biblical literature since their advent was a portent of the imminent End of Days.[40] Ishmaelite invasions are associated with the End of Days in Byzantine apocalyptic writings such as the 'Visions of Daniel', which borrows largely from the 'Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius', both of which were in circulation among the South Slavs long before Isaija's colophon was written.[41] Although both apocalyptic writings significantly

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39 This connection is relegated to a footnote by Đorđe Trifunović (Trifunović 1980: 87) and Sima Ćirković (Ćirković 2006: 28).

40 The term 'Ishmaelites' has been associated with various groups of people in different historical and cultural contexts. Before the mid-tenth century BCE, various nomadic tribes that wandered in the area between Palestine and Egypt were believed in biblical literature to be the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham and Hagar. Centuries later, as I. Eph'al has pointed out, Arabs alone became associated with the biblical Ishmaelites in various Judeo-Christian and Muslim sources (Eph'al 1976: 225). This identification became particularly strong in the period between the sixth and ninth centuries in which Byzantine 'historical' apocalypses were written. These writings depict the Ishmaelites as a cruel invading force that would eventually destroy the Byzantine Empire and bring the world to its end. As Paul J. Alexander puts it, these works are centred around 'the wars against the enemies of the Empire, notably against Persians and Arabs' (Alexander 1968: 998).

41 The original *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, hereafter referred to as *Apocalypse*, mistakenly attributed to Methodius of Olympus (bishop and martyr), was composed by an unknown author in the Syriac language in the mid-seventh century (Alexander 1985: 25). It was translated into Greek fairly soon and from Greek into Old Church Slavonic in the late ninth or early tenth

feature the Ishmaelites, I shall focus on the *Apocalypse* since it presents the division of world history into seven millennia.

According to this late seventh-century Syriac composition issued under the patristic authority of the fourth-century Church Father and Saint Methodius of Olympus, history begins with Adam and the biblical establishment of kingdoms and ends with the Antichrist being defeated by Jesus Christ in the last seventh millennium.[42] The account is divided into two parts: the first deals with imperial histories, the establishment of various biblical lineages, their empires and the wars they conducted with each other, while the second part is prophetic, set in the future and tells us that the Ishmaelites – the 'children of the desert of Yathrib' – would invade the world and bring suffering to the entirety of Christendom. Although depictions of great cruelty and devastation permeate this account, it ends with the faithful Christians moving towards salvation. The victory of the Ishmaelites is seen as a temporary period of suffering, lasting until the Last Emperor arises from dormancy to defeat them and govern Christianity for ten year-weeks. The Last Emperor returns the empire to God only to be usurped by the Antichrist, who will be overcome by the Second Coming of Christ.

The *Apocalypse* has been seen as a response to the seventh-century Arab conquests in the Near East, where higher ecclesiastical circles declared the Arab victories to be temporary divine punishment for humanity's sins (Reinink 1992: 149–187). The prophecy that the Ishmaelites would finally be defeated by the Last Emperor was also used in historical works written in a variety of distant territories and cultures and depicting invasions of various non-Christian tribes and empires. The oldest known Slavic reminiscence of Pseudo-Methodius's prophecy occurs in the earliest extant Rus' chronicle, the *Primary Chronicle*, which is thought to have been written in Kiev circa 1116 (Cross 1929: 329–330). The compiler explicitly mentions Pseudo-Methodius's vision in order to describe the Cuman conquests of South Russia and Wallachia in the eleventh century. Unlike the *Primary Chronicle*, Isaija does not refer to any prophecy in particular. Nevertheless, the imagery

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century (Thomson 1985: 144). The oldest Slavonic translation has not been preserved, but the text has been reconstructed from codices from the late thirteenth century (ibid., 144). There is also a second translation – a South Slavic version from the thirteenth or fourteenth century – which survives in copies from the sixteenth century (ibid., 144). The 'Visions of Daniel', according to Alexander, was translated into Slavonic between 827 and 829 in Sicily (Alexander 1985: 64).

42 The Syriac original of the *Apocalypse* has been reconstructed and translated into German by Gerrit J. Reinink (1993). For English translations of the *Apocalypse* from Greek, see Alexander (Alexander 1985: 36–51) and Garstad (2012).

and phraseology which Pseudo-Methodius used to describe the tribulations preceding the end of the world are strikingly similar to the ones found in monk Isaija's account. The apocalyptic landscape in both texts is a desolate wasteland devoid of life and abundant with corpses, where Christians lie slaughtered and unburied. In a poignant passage, Pseudo-Methodius describes the consequences of the invasion and the devastation of the landscape where 'many [Christians] will perish and there will be none to bury the bodies' (Garstad 2012: 63) and 'the wild asses and the gazelles of the desert and every kind of beast, both wild and tame, will starve and grow less, and the men will be driven away and the animals will be wasted, and they will cut down all the trees of the forest and the beauty of the mountains will disappear. The cities will be made desolate, and the fields will be impassable because of the diminishment of humanity, and the earth will be stained with blood and will withhold her fruits' (ibid., 47).[43]

In staking a comparison between the text of the prophecy and the colophon text, it is important to remember that the textual space available for exploring ornate description is very different in each case, with the prophecy text being more extensive than the colophon. Isaija's fragment condenses the defeat by the Ottomans and the description of the ensuing wasteland into a pithy lament: 'кости их падоша и непогребенни пребыша' ('their bones fell and remained unburied') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 2, lines 3–4). The apocalyptic landscape features the Earth 'ѡста землѧ всѣх добрыхъ поуста, и людеи и скотъ и иныхъ плодовъ' ('left without what was good in it – man, beast and fruit' (ibid., lines 31–33). Both accounts use the metaphor of the flight of a flock of birds to capture the rapid advance of the invaders' battalion. Where Pseudo-Methodius describes the incoming ships of the Ishmaelites as 'birds flying over the waters' (Garstad 2012: 15) during the Battle of Maritsa 'по оубиенїи во моужа сего храбраго деспота оуглеша. просыпашасѧ измалтане' ('when Despot Uglješa , the courageous man was killed, Ishmaelites spilled out'), the power of the invading forces is likened by Isaija to 'птица по воздоухоу' ('birds flying in the air') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 2, lines 14–17).

The way in which the time course has been understood is also similar in both works. For Pseudo-Methodius, time spans from Adam until the end of times, that is, from 'paradise' to 'last tribulation' until Christ returns to restore the world's order. Monk Isaija's span of time is much shorter, but he follows a similar logic.

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43 There is no English translation of the Slavonic *Apocalypse*. Given that the Greek original used for the Slavonic *Apocalypse* has been translated into English, I have borrowed the quotes from there to simplify citation. Otherwise, I worked with a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century version of the Slavonic *Apocalypse* reconstructed and published by Istrin 1897.

Instead of writing about universal time, however, he attributes the same path from 'добра оубо времена' ('good times') when 'божественыꙗ оубо цркви и стаа гора раеви подобнѣ цвѣтахоу' ('Churches of God and the Holy Mount befitted paradise') to 'злѣише всѣхъ злыхъ временъ. когда егда ѡгнѣви бъ христїане западныхъ странъ' ('the most evil of all evil times when God got angered by the Christians of the Western lands') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 1, lines 93–101).

Both accounts also explore the horror of death by siege, and they conclude by allocating more despair for the fate of the survivors who were taken captive. The *Apocalypse* concludes the episode of suffering that precedes the appearance of the Last Emperor: 'And their road will be called a road of anguish, and old men and old women will travel along it, rich and poor, hungry and thirsty, bound captives, and they will think the dead happy' (Garstad 2012: 46–47). Isaija finishes his account of the battle by stating that he finished translating 'тогда оублажахоу живїи преже оумершихъ' ('when the living envied the dead') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 2, lines 43–44). Although the trope concerning the despair of the living people who survive a bloody or famished death can also be found in some eschatological passages of the Bible, such as *Ecclesiastes* 4:2, a comparison between Isaija and Pseudo-Methodius is especially pertinent.

The assumption that Isaija used the account of Pseudo-Methodius to compose his colophon can be based on the case of a Slavonic copy of the *Apocalypse* which, according to Istrin, has been housed in the Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos since the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Istrin 1987: 121). This is a location which Isaija would have frequently traversed and therefore indicates the extent of the access he could have had to this important apocalyptic work. More importantly, Isaija's colophon transforms the episode which Pseudo-Methodius added as a new element of Christian eschatology – the Last Emperor. As stated earlier, according to Pseudo-Methodius, the Last Emperor would come to redeem the Christians from the Ishmaelites. But redemption is preceded by despair; the narrator grieves on account of the fact that people have 'no hope of salvation or redemption out of the hands of the Ishmaelites' (Garstad 2012: 55). Monk Isaija employs this lament to report of the fall of the empire where 'не бо бѣ кнꙗзꙗ ни вожда ни наставника в людех, ни избавлꙗюща ни спасаюшаго' ('there was no prince, nor an emperor, nor a teacher left among the people; there was no one to redeem them') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 2, lines 34-35). Significantly, Isaija omits the divine resolution that is to be found in the figure of the Last Emperor. This omission is central to understanding how monk Isaija locates the South Slavic community in apocalyptic time and space. One possibility is that Isaija felt that the upheavals brought about by the Ottoman conquests and the consequent

challenges to his own authority and to that of his superiors were far too immedi-
ate and tangible to entertain thoughts of salvation.[44] It is also possible that Isaija
used the minor form of the colophon to muse over current circumstances and how
the transformations would affect his milieu, and was less interested in discussing
the vast timeline of entire generations that is encompassed by an apocalyptic
scheme.

But why would Isaija use a text written in the seventh century in order to dis-
cuss contemporary political events? As mentioned earlier, the *Apocalypse* has
been seen as a response to the seventh-century Arab conquests in the eastern part
of the Byzantine Empire, present-day Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in which higher
ecclesiastical circles declared the Arab victories to be temporary divine punish-
ment for humanity's sins. Some scholars, such as Paul J. Alexander, M. Kmosko
and Bernard McGinn, who have explored the political context in which the *Apoc-
alypse* was written, argue that the anonymous author constructed a powerful im-
perial myth at a time when the majority of the Syrian population believed the op-
posite and subsequently welcomed the rise of the Arabs as they sought liberation
from the Byzantine 'yoke'. In order to prevent massive popular support for the
Arabs, the Syrian writer of the *Apocalypse* is seen by Alexander as having written
'a politico-religious manifesto… preaching that salvation from the Moslem yoke
could come from only one source, the most powerful Christian monarch of the
time, the *basileus* of Byzantium'.[45] By incorporating the rapid seventh-century ex-
pansion of Muslim power into an apocalyptic scheme of history, Pseudo-Metho-
dius offered a divinely determined explanation of the political and religious crisis
in Syria, a model which would be formative for the discursive shape of later po-
litical and religious crises in regions that traversed both the Eastern and Western
churches. We could say that Isaija's apocalyptic colophon, like the *Apocalypse*,
was born amidst serious religious and political crises.[46] Isaija's anxiety, too, was
profoundly immediate due to changes in the geopolitical balance of power in the

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44 Before the Ottoman conquests, monk Isaija was one of the most powerful religious figures
on Mount Athos. Three biographies have been written about him. During the reign of the Serbian
emperor Stefan Dušan (1331–1355), Isaija became a *hegumen* of St Panteleimon monastery, re-
ceiving generous support from the Emperor. After the Emperor's death, Isaija played an im-
portant role in settling the dispute between the Patriarchates of the Serbian Empire and Byzan-
tium. He was also a representative in the Imperial Court, where Despot Uglješa was the supreme
judge (Ostrogorski 1965: 113).
45 Cited by McGinn (McGinn 1979: 70).
46 Much has been written about the political context in the Balkans in the period 1330–1371,
but for our analysis it is sufficient to say that monk Isaija writes in a period when the Ottomans
defeat the South Slavic rulers and make vassals of most of the remaining provincial governors.

Balkans. As Isaija tells us, the Despot Uglješa and King Vukašin were not the only ones to die. In the colophon we read that 'въ то бѫ врємѧ и́ плємѧ сєрбьскꙑхъ го́сподъ сєдми мню ро́дъ ко́нєцъ прїѧтъ' ('at that time, I think, God put an end to the Serbian rulers of the seventh generation') (Goltz and Prochorov 2011: 2, lines 40–42). Here, Isaija refers to the death of the last Serbian monarch under the Nemanjić dynasty, the King Stefan Uroš V (Uroš the Weak), who died in December 1371, after which the Serbian Empire dissolved into fragments.

Thus, Isaija's account is 'pessimistic' not because he personally witnessed the battle, as has been suggested by Petkanova, but rather because he borrowed apocalyptic imagery to depict the fall of an empire. Monk Isaija corroborates the purport of his colophon by bringing the Antiochene sophist Libanius into the story. He says that even the most talented orator among the Greeks would not have been able to describe the suffering encountered after the Battle of Maritsa. By likening his task to that of Libanius, we see hints of what Isaija's patron might have demanded and the mode in which his ornate description was received among the political elite. That the colophon was not written as a truthful account can also be understood from the historical moment which coincides with the beginning of Isaija's translation and is described as 'paradise' for the Athonite monks.[47] We know from a few extant letters written by monks that the monasteries on Mount Athos were not as tranquil as the colophon suggests – they were frequently attacked by Ottoman armies even before the Battle of Maritsa.[48]

By placing the military success of the Ottomans within an eschatological scheme, Isaija interprets the battle as a historical inevitability born of divine will. The colophon is therefore not to be positioned or interpreted as a fragment that documents the battle and its aftermath; in fact, it hardly provides any relevant

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47 Isaija does not explicitly state when he started translating Dionisyus's writings, but he does tell us that Theodosius, the Metropolitan of Serres, commissioned the production of the manuscript. Given that Theodosius was appointed metropolitan bishop in October 1366, monk Isaija could not have started translating any earlier than this.

48 Historians such as Ostrogorski have pointed to letters written by Athonite monks in which they sought financial support from various rulers on the grounds that the monasteries were being demolished by the Ottomans (Ostrogorski 1965: 127). If these letters were not mere rhetorical exercises, could we say that Isaija writes about the financial stability of the monasteries during Despot Uglješa's rule when he tells us that 'the Churches of God and the Holy Mount befitted paradise'? As Ostrogorski tells us, this despot – like his predecessor, Stefan Dušan – invested generously in the Serbian monasteries of Mount Athos in order to have the monks' support for various political questions. After the battle, the financial stability of the clergy was shaken. After the collapse of his principality, it appears that the Athonite monks enjoyed fewer privileges than before.

information about the historical event itself. Instead, it tells us a lot about how one erudite clergyman sought to accept, respond to and fashion the political circumstances that surrounded him. It is important to note that the dark message of the colophon was meant to be passed on to the religious elite. We know this from the cryptogram at the end of the narrative, through which monk Isaija hides his identity. This was a common medieval practice by 'the monachus ludens' ('playing monk') who 'does not want his identity to be revealed in the vanity of mundane life' (Moutafov 2013: 72). Isaija must have been aware of the higher ranks among which the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius would circulate. These complex philosophical works were created for those who had the power to design and implement doctrines, such as the members of the ruling families and the highest reaches of the clergy. Including an apocalyptic colophon in the Slavonic *Corpus Dionysiacum* may have been a strategic decision, with Isaija employing a prophetic mode in order to demonstrate despair to his superiors over the recent incursions by the Ottomans and possibly also to shape the narratives through which this powerful readership could protect their political interests. The use of apocalyptic mythology for such ends was not uncommon – it represents a discursive practice employed in diverse imperial contexts to legitimate war and represent the rival political faction as an evil force. Similarly, powerful vassals used this type of narrative in order to foment social upheaval and opposition to the Emperor (Rubenstein 2011: xi–xiv).

The apocalyptic understanding of time and history, as has been pointed out by Guran, was closely related to imperial ideologies in medieval Bulgaria and Serbia. Isaija, just like his Byzantine counterparts, asserted in his colophon that the empire was God's chosen realm and its fall was charted as the end of history to eventually culminate in the return of Christ, who would rule and restore glory (James 2010: 7). Isaija follows the model of history which interprets the fall of an empire as a necessary event, since it would release the Antichrist, who would eventually be defeated. The military defeat of one's own empire according to this chronology could have been seen by Isaija as an inevitable step to overcoming a mighty rival who was, in turn, painted as a tyrant.

Isaija adds to the most common method of dating found in colophons (Byzantine year and indiction) by placing the historical moment in which the manuscript was produced within apocalyptic chronology. Not only does he record the time when the manuscript was created, but he also tells us how time and history could have been understood. The centrality of eschatological schemes permeates his account and it is absolutely critical to factor this into the interpretation of his colophon. His colophon is not a 'personal' eyewitness account of the decline of the Serbian Empire and Ottoman military success, but an argumentation used

against a powerful invading force through the employment of apocalyptic imagery. While the imperial greatness of the Nemanjić dynasty vanished with the Ottoman expansion in south-eastern Europe, the story of loss recounted in Isaija's colophon flourished. We know that it has been widely read across the ages since it accompanies many of the one hundred extant manuscripts copied from Isaija's protograph (Afonasin 2008: 112). As in the case of Isaija's colophon, tracking the lineage of South Slavic paratexts – in terms of the writing traditions they borrowed from – would be important not just to investigate the authenticity of the records and the claims of historical veridicity that have been forced upon them, but also to recover the various roles that these textual fragments could have played in the historical imagination of the South Slavs.[49]

Note on the transcription of Slavic names and references

In order to be consistent while transcribing Slavic personal names and references I used the Library of Congress ALA-LC Romanization tables for Serbian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Church Slavonic scripts. It is important to note that one name may be differently transliterated into Latin script depending on whether we use a Serbian, Bulgarian, Macedonian or Church Slavonic source. In such cases I have had to make a decision and follow it consistently throughout the article. For some Slavic names already transcribed in Latin script, I have had to use different transcriptions. Apart from the alternative transcription provided in the non-Slavic sources (Prochorov), I also used the Library of Congress system whenever I cited from Slavic sources (Prokhorov).

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49 Ilija Velev (Velev 1996: 367) alluded vaguely to how the South Slavs borrowed paratextual templates from Byzantine writing, especially regarding the format in which information is presented. Vladimir Ćorović wrote a long article about this borrowing (Ćorović 1910: 1–60), but failed to elaborate on the potential significance of the lineage in evaluating South Slavic paratexts as historical records.

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Four Gospels, The St. St. Cyril and Methodius National Library (Sofia), ms. 76.

Four Gospels, The Church-Historical and Archival Institute (Sofia), ms. 34.

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Vito Lorusso

Locating Greek Manuscripts through Paratexts: Examples from the Library of Cardinal Bessarion and other Manuscript Collections

> Aristotle discussed motion right at the beginning of Book 3 of *Physics*. [...]
> Having completed his account of the elements and the other causes [...]
> later on he investigates and teaches [...] space and time. [...]
> For a body is in a space, and motion happens to a body, and time is present in motion.
>
> Simplicius, *On Aristotle's Physics 4* – Prooemium (*passim*)

1 Preliminary remarks: Theory and materials

In this paper I study the temporal and spatial features characterising a representative selection of Greek manuscripts belonging to the Byzantine tradition. In particular, I focus on codices produced either in Byzantine workshops (alias scriptoria) from the Middle Ages (610–1453 CE) or in Italy, particularly in Rome in the workshop centred around Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), one of the most influential Greek scholars and manuscript collectors in the Renaissance period.[1]

Out of a total of thirteen codices examined here, twelve are kept in European collections today: one in the Laurentian Library in Florence, five in the Vatican Library, five in the National Library of St Mark's in Venice and one in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Another is kept in an Egyptian collection, *Sinaiticus gr*. 180, held at the Monastery of Saint Catherine (South Sinai).[2] The earliest of these

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1 For a very general overview of Cardinal Bessarion's life, see Hintzen 2012: 93–95.
2 These codices contain a variety of texts: the four Gospels, liturgical texts (consisting mostly of those pericopes from the four Gospels usually read during religious services), theological and philosophical treatises and scientific works. In particular, the manuscripts currently held in Ven-

manuscripts dates back to 964 (*Vaticanus gr.* 1591), whereas the latest was completed in 1552 (*Vaticanus gr.* 588). In this respect, this corpus attests to the uninterrupted production of manuscripts that characterised the scholarly environment of both the Greek–Byzantine world and the Italian peninsula from the Byzantine Middle Ages to the Renaissance, even after the printing revolution.[3] With regard to time and space, the corpus of selected manuscripts, although rather limited in size, is representative of a plethora of common phenomena characterising the Byzantine manuscript culture.

Some of these manuscripts have already been studied by modern scholars.[4] However, little effort has been made to elucidate the circumstances of their production. To carry out an investigation of this nature, the paratexts of these manuscripts will play a central role in this enquiry. In fact, as borderlands of the text, paratexts are possibly the main sources from which one can retrieve information about the temporal and spatial context in which manuscripts were produced and used. In particular, paratexts help reconstruct the history of an object that might have passed through several hands on what may have been a long journey before reaching the library in which it is preserved today.[5]

As for the corpus analysed here, the main paratexts providing explicit information about the temporal and spatial features of manuscripts are colophons and

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ice and Vienna are the main focus of research project C06 at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures. The manuscript held in Vienna was written by scribes affiliated to Cardinal Bessarion's scriptorium, whereas the five Venice codices belong to the manuscript legacy donated to the Republic of Venice by the Cardinal himself in 1468 (see Labowsky 1979: 3–34).

3 On the enduring Byzantine practice of transmitting Ancient Greek literary, philosophical and scientific texts through manuscripts, see Brockmann 2014: 9–12.

4 For the Vatican manuscripts, see Follieri 1969; for *Sinaiticus gr.* 180, see Harlfinger/Reinsch/Sonderkamp 1983.

5 Genette 1987: 7: '[Le] texte se présente rarement à l'état nu, sans le renfort et l'accompagnement d'un certain nombre de productions, elles-mêmes verbales ou non, comme un nom d'auteur, un titre, une préface, des illustrations, dont on ne sait pas toujours si l'on doit ou non considérer qu'elles lui appartiennent, mais qui en tout cas l'entourent et le prolongent [...] pour le *présenter* [...] pour le *rendre présent*, pour assurer sa présence au monde, sa "réception" et sa consommation, sous la forme [...] d'un livre' ('this text is rarely presented in an unadorned state, unreinforced and unaccompanied by a certain number of verbal or other productions, such as an author's name, a title, a preface or illustrations. And although we do not always know whether these productions are to be regarded as belonging to the text, in any case they surround it and extend it, [...] in order to *present* it [...] to *make it present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and its consumption in the form [...] of a book'; translation by Lewin 1997).

subscriptions, where we can find dates and toponyms.[6] These data can be further integrated with other paratexts, such as dedication poems, ownership marks, exegetical notes and page numbering which can help reconstruct the social context of scribal activity and thus contribute to locating manuscripts.

When the data found in paratexts are not accurate enough to allow full location of the manuscripts with which they are associated, this does not mean that they cannot provide other useful information about the manuscripts. There are in fact several tools – philological, palaeographical and codicological – that allow the retrieval of information about time and space, albeit in very general terms. In this respect, peculiarities of the language, writing conventions and the numbering of pages and quires, etc. represent very valuable sources of information.

In the following two sections, I will discuss the data concerning time and space as they are provided by the paratexts of the corpus under consideration. Further details about the manuscripts containing those paratexts are compiled and discussed in the Appendix.

2 Time

In Greek manuscripts, dates usually contain indications of the year (Byzantine year, lunar and solar cycles, and the 15-year cycle called indiction), month and day when manuscripts were completed. Furthermore, the name of the weekday and the hour of the day are also sometimes mentioned. The distribution of the date elements does not follow a fixed pattern, but varies freely, as we can see from the following three examples:

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6 For an examination of the problems surrounding the term 'colophon', see Reynhout's (2006: 20–25) study of colophons in Latin manuscripts. The term 'colophon' derives from the Greek noun κολοφών (*kolophṓn*), meaning 'summit, top, finishing touch'. We are well informed about the etymology of the word 'colophon' by Strabo, the Greek geographer and historian (62 BCE– 23/24 CE). In his work *Geography* (XIV 1.28), Strabo says that the inhabitants of Colophon on the Aegean coast of modern Turkey once possessed notable naval and cavalry forces. In particular, Colophonians were known for their superior cavalry. According to a widespread popular sentiment, as reported by Strabo, whenever a war reached a state of deadlock, the intervention of the Colophonians' cavalry brought it to an end. Thus, as Strabo remarks, 'arose the proverb, "he put Colophon to it", which is quoted when a sure end is put to any affair'. On the other hand, the term 'subscription' is by no means synonymous with 'colophon'. In this regard, the Greek case rather suggests that in manuscript studies the term 'colophon' should definitely be preferred to the term 'subscription', which must only be used for the signature written at the end of a work; see e.g. Agati 2009: 288–289.

colophon of *Vaticanus gr*. 354

> ἐγράφη ἡ τιμία δέλτος [...] μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ α΄ ἡμέρᾳ ε΄ ὥρας ἔτους ͵ϛυνζ ἰνδικτιῶνος ζ΄

> This valuable book was written [...] on 1 March on Thursday at the sixth hour (noon) of the year 6457 (949 CE), the seventh year of the indiction.

colophon of *Vaticanus gr*. 1591

> [...] τέρμα πυκτίδος γραφὲν [...] μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κδ΄ ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ ὥρᾳ ϛ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος η΄ ἔτους ͵ϛυογ σελήνης κύκλου ιγ΄

> The end of the book written [...] on Saturday, 24 December at the sixth hour (noon) in the eighth year of the indiction of the year 6473 (964 CE), the 13th year of the lunar cycle.

invocation in the subscription of *Laurentianus Conv. Soppr. 39*

> μνήσθητι, Κύριε, Λουκᾶ [...] τῷ γράψαντι ἐν ἔτει ͵ϛχιγ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος γ΄ μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιζ΄

> Remember me, oh Lord, the scribe Lukas [...] 17 June 6613 (1105 CE), the third year in the indictional cycle.

As is already evident from these examples, the year is the most complex among the dating elements as it can be expressed according to various reckonings. As a rule, Greek paratexts follow the Byzantine calendar, a system which came into being during the tenth century. This refers to the date of the creation of the world as the starting point for counting the remaining years. The Byzantines called this date either ἔτη γενέσεως κόσμου κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ('years from the creation of the world according to the Romans')[7] or ἔτος κτίσεως κόσμου/ἔτος κόσμου ('year from the foundation of the world/year of the world', Latin: *Annus mundi*), fixing the creation of the world at 5508 years before Christ's birth. Thus, to set the date according to our calendar, it is necessary to subtract the figure 5508 or 5509 from the date found in the colophon. This relies on the fact that the Byzantine year started on 1 September. As a result, two years of our calendar are included in a single Byzantine year. Consequently, for the period between the months of September and December, we must subtract 5509 from the *Annus mundi* and 5508 for the months between January and August.

With regard to the Byzantine calendar, we should not omit to mention a note written by Bessarion on leaf Iv of *Marcianus gr*. 333. Here, Bessarion listed the

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7 The Byzantines usually regarded themselves as the descendants of the ancient Romans.

years from 1441 to 1452, also indicating their equivalent according to the Byzantine system:

⸌ α̅υ̅μα Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅λ̅ν
⸌ α̅υ̅μβ Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅λ̅να^{ον} [...]

1441 September 6950
1442 September 6951 [...].

Furthermore, Greek paratexts always report the indiction. This is a fifteen-year cycle introduced in Late Antiquity for fiscal reasons.[8] However, the indiction has no absolute value with regard to the date of manuscripts, since this only indicates the year number within the cycle. An expression such as 'fifth indiction', for instance, simply means this year was the fifth year within the indictional cycle. On the other hand, Greek scribes seldom also record the moon phases and the year number within the lunar cycle. This consists of a period of nineteen years, at the end of which the moon phases occur on the same days of the year as they did nineteen years previously.[9] Sometimes, the year number according to the solar cycle[10] and the apparent position of the sun on the celestial sphere are mentioned, too. For instance, the colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 1650 reports January 1037 as the date on which the manuscript was completed, adding the equivalent value of that year in both lunar and solar cycles:

κύκλου σελήνης θ′, κύκλου ἡλίου κα′

The 9th year of the lunar cycle, the 21st year of the solar cycle.[11]

It goes without saying that data belonging to cyclic reckonings, such as those indicated according to the moon calendar, the lunar cycle, the solar cycle and the names of weekdays, are ambiguous dating elements. In fact, we must combine these elements with linear calendar information to successfully locate manuscripts in time.

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8 The number of years was fixed at fifteen under the Byzantine emperor, Constantine I (274–337). Previously, at the end of the third century, the indiction had been regularised on a five-year cycle by the Roman emperor, Diocletian; see Oikonomides 1991: 993; Meimaris 1992: 32–34.
9 See Grumel 1958: 129–136.
10 That is, a 28-year cycle where the days in the next solar year fall on the same days of the week they fell on 28 years before; see Grumel 1958: 129–136.
11 See Follieri 1969: 52.

Finally, further chronological data offered by Greek paratexts refer to the historical situation by indicating the names of emperors and/or patriarchs as well as by recording specific events. A pertinent example of this is found in *Sinaiticus gr.* 180. Before indicating the month, indiction and year, the scribe also records the name of the reigning Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelos, who was emperor from 12 September 1185 to 8 April 1195:

> ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν τετραβάγγελον [...] ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰσαακίου μεγάλου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων τοῦ Ἀγγέλου μηνὶ Φευρουαρίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος δ΄ ἔτους ͵ϛχϟδ΄

> This Gospel Book was completed [...] during the reign of the great king and Roman emperor Isaac Angelos in the month of February, the fourth year of the indiction, in the year 6694 (1186 CE).

This sort of information represents a non-explicit form of dating as it needs cross-checking with other sources, such as, in this case, chronological lists of historical figures and prosopographical works.

3 Geographical space and social space

In this section, I will focus on 'space', examining this category both in terms of the physically definable place in which Greek manuscripts were produced (the 'scriptorium') and in terms of the scholarly environment in which the manuscripts were kept and used. Next, I will extend the repertoire of paratexts considered so far, including not only colophons and subscriptions, but also dedication poems, owner marks and exegetical notes.

3.1 Production sites

Scriptoria producing Greek manuscripts during the Byzantine Middle Ages are spread right across Byzantine territory. Palaeographical literature indicates four general macro-areas: Constantinople, the Greek-Cypriot region, the Syro-Palestinian area (including Sinai) and southern Italy (including Sicily). During the Renaissance period, Rome also emerged as a centre of manuscript production thanks to the establishment of the Vatican Library (finally inaugurated by Pope Sixtus IV in 1475) and the strong patronage activity of the Pope and several cardinals.

The evidence emerging from our corpus exclusively examines Italian scriptoria. For instance, *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 was produced in 991 in Capua, roughly 30 km North of Naples, as is explicitly stated in a note that its scribe, a monk called Kyriakos, wrote in red ink and capital letters on leaf 52r:

Κυριακὸς μοναχὸς πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἄστεω (*sic*) Καπούης ἔγραψεν

The monk and priest Kyriakos wrote [this manuscript] in the town of Capua.

Furthermore, Rome was the location of at least two scriptoria of particular relevance for the production of Greek manuscripts. One was located at the workshop in Cardinal Bessarion's house in Rome, where many Greek émigrés were employed as manuscript scribes in the middle of the fifteenth century.[12] *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 and *Marcianus gr.* 206 were produced there, for instance, as indicated respectively in the colophon on leaves 447v–448r:

ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον [...] ἐν [...] Ῥώμῃ

This book was completed [...] in [...] Rome.

and in the subscription found on leaf 67r:

ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τῆς Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ λ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε΄ ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ͵αυξζ΄ ἐν Ῥώμῃ

This book of Aristotle's Physics was completed on 30 January, in the year from [the birth of] Christ 1467, the 15th year in the indictional cycle, in Rome.

The second workshop was located in the Vatican Library (in today's Vatican City) where, for example, *Vaticanus gr.* 588 was issued, as stated in Latin in the colophon on leaf 272r:

Ego Ioannes Honorius Malliae Oppidi Hydruntini civis librorum Graecorum instaurator, hunc librum ad Vaticanae Bibliothecae usum sic exscribebam. Anno Domini MDLII. Iulio III. Pontifice Maximo sub Marcello Cervino Cardinali Sanctae Crucis Bibliothecae praefecto.

I, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, citizen of Otranto, restorer of Greek books, wrote this book in this way for the use of the Vatican Library in the year 1552 under the pontificate of Pope

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12 On the scholarly network around Cardinal Bessarion as well as on some of the Greek scribes working for him, see e.g. Diller 1967; Mioni 1976; Bianca 1994: 121.

> Julius III, as Marcello Cervini, cardinal-priest of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* (in Rome), was prefect of the (Vatican) Library.

It is a particularly interesting fact that two of these colophons contain linguistic elements that help to successfully locate the manuscripts. A clear mark of an Italian production is evident in *Vaticanus gr.* 588. Its colophon is fully composed in Latin, thus constituting the only occurrence in the corpus investigated here of a manuscript that does not bear a colophon written in Greek. Subtler spatial information can be retrieved in *Vaticanus gr.* 2138, where we encounter the Greek translation of a rather common Latin expression, as in fact εἰς τάς (*eis tás*, 'on the day') underlies an original *die*. Such phenomena are clear reflections of the multilingual character of the scholarly environment in which the two manuscripts originated.

3.2 Manuscripts in motion (storage and use)

Ownership marks (alias bookplates, or *ex libris*) and annotations provide information about further steps in the history of the manuscripts, in particular, concerning the places they ended up after their production, having passed through the hands of several users. Consequently, flicking through the pages of Greek manuscripts, we can easily discover traces of how the manuscripts' readers, who were very often erudite men, used manuscripts as means of knowledge transmission and learning and the context surrounding this.

An interesting example is represented by the bookplates of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 mentioned above. This manuscript was produced in Rome in 1457 for Bessarion's secretary, Isaiah of Cyprus. At a certain point in its lifetime, after having been in Isaiah's library, it came into the possession of the Cretan scholar, Marco Mamuna (after 1430–before 1528). This is reported by two ownership marks on leaf 8r, where the statement

> κτῆμα τοῦ Ἡσαΐου ἱερομονάχου καὶ πνευματικοῦ τοῦ Κυπρίου

> Possession of the priest-monk and spiritual father Isaiah of Cyprus.

is immediately followed by the further statement

> βίβλος Μαμοῦνα ἦν, εὖτε τάδ' ἐγράφετο

> This book belonged to Mamuna when this [bookplate] was written.

Moreover, *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 also contains clear traces of its use in a school. On the edges of several leaves we find notes on Aristotle's *Physics* – one of the texts found in this manuscript – based on classes taught by the Byzantine philosopher Theodorus Gazes (circa 1410–circa 1475) in Cardinal Bessarion's house around 1465. These commentaries were written by Isaiah himself, who participated in these classes. This example is particularly relevant for reconstructing the learning practices that were current in Cardinal Bessarion's circle, in particular concerning the actual use of manuscripts in an educational context. In fact, despite the economic effort behind their production, manuscripts were not 'untouchable' objects, but were expected to host further paratextual materials, such as erudite annotations.[13]

3.3 Scribes in motion: from Greece to Italy

It may be useful here to remember that the place of origin of the scribes is a further spatial element that emerges from the paratexts of the corpus. In fact, particularly careful scribes also include their birthplace when writing colophons and subscriptions. This phenomenon is remarkably relevant for Greek manuscripts, because it happens to provide a record of the migration of scholars from the Byzantine world to the Italian peninsula during the Renaissance period, and even more remarkably, in the years around the fall of Constantinople (1453). As we have already mentioned, a city like Rome was the location of munificent patrons, such as Cardinal Bessarion, who were willing to offer protection and rich emoluments to scholars. In return, the work of the protégés enhanced the scholarly – and thus the social and political – prestige of their patrons.[14]

One striking example is the subscription found at the end of Aristotle's *Meteorology* in *Marcianus gr.* 206 on leaf 165v. There, the scribe Charitonymus Hermonymus explicitly mentions his home town, Peloponnesian Sparta (in Greece), and the miserable conditions of its economy:

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13 The critical edition of Gazes' commentaries on *Physics* will be available in Brockmann/Lorusso/Martinelli Tempesta (forthcoming 2016). In future, I intend to devote a further article to the scholarly environment surrounding Theodorus Gazes and to the distribution of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 by various libraries in the Renaissance period. For the time being, further information about Gazes' materials can be found in the Appendix.
14 In this respect, paratexts can be considered as both pre-texts, that is, texts that are placed before the main text(s) in manuscripts (or books), and pretexts, that is, the details which make both textual and editorial activities possible (see Maclean 1991: 277, who refers to observations made by Ross Chambers).

[...] ἐτελειώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποινηλατουμένῳ μοι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀπριλίῳ ια´ ἔτει ͵ϛϡοε´
πατρὶς δέ μοι Λακειδαίμων ἡ πάλαι ποτέ μὲν εὐδαίμων, νῦν δὲ μάλιστα κακοδαίμων

[This text] was also completed for his sake, [that is, for Cardinal Bessarion,] in Rome by me [Charitonymus] so persistently afflicted on 11 April 6975 (1467 CE)./My country is Lacedaemon (Sparta). This town was once blessed with a good genius, whereas today it is most certainly possessed by an evil one.

4 Non-explicit information about time and space

In this section, I focus on some selected case studies with the intention of showing how paratexts that do not openly mention temporal and spatial data can also be used to date and locate manuscripts. In this respect, it is possible to extract this kind of information using the tools provided by philology, palaeography and codicology. In fact, the data obtained by the application of these disciplines, such as *termini post* and *ante quem*, are necessarily relative. Ideally, these data must be cross-checked with other information that is explicitly mentioned elsewhere, either in the same manuscript (in colophons, subscriptions, etc.) or in other documents.[15] The following case studies examine the former possibility.

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15 A convincing example of the applicability of philological and palaeographical arguments to locate manuscripts was recently provided for a Greek manuscript from Cardinal Bessarion's library, for instance, by Margherita Losacco during the *VIIIeme Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque* 'Griechische Handschriften: gestern, heute und morgen' (22 to 28 September 2013, Hamburg). On that occasion, basing her study on those arguments as well as on archival documents, Losacco successfully established the time and place when a corpus of scholia (annotations) on the *Bibliotheca* of Photius was written on the edges of *Marcianus gr.* 451, a well-known twelfth-century codex containing the work of this famous Byzantine humanist. According to Losacco, the scholia date back to the beginning of the fourteenth century and were added while *Marcianus gr.* 451 was being kept in Thessaloniki in the Theotokos Peribleptos monastery. By copying the scholiastic corpus, the scribe – probably a member of the Cabasilas family – aimed to make the text transmitted by this voluminous manuscript of 441 parchment leaves more user-friendly as well as more understandable for future readers.

4.1 Palaeography and time: *Marcianus gr.* 227

Let us start by considering the famous evidence of Aristotle's *Physics* taken from Bessarion's library. *Marcianus gr.* 227 is a 437-leaf manuscript on paper[16] (260 mm × 170 mm) containing both *Physics* and the *Commentary* by the Neoplatonic philosopher Simplicius (sixth century CE). It was written during the second half of the thirteenth century somewhere in the capital of the Byzantine Empire, probably by Gregory of Cyprus, the well-known monk, scribe, writer and eventually patriarch of Constantinople. Gregory mentions his own name in the autographic invocations to Jesus placed at the top of several leaves (for example, folios 10r, 17r and 19r) as well as on leaf 378r in the subscription at the end of *Physics*. In this latter case, however, the name appears as a monogram signature consisting only of the letters Γ^ε Κ^υ. Dieter Harlfinger explained these letters as the initials of Gregory's name.[17]

Besides Greek marginal notes, *Marcianus gr.* 227 also contains Latin annotations, as on leaf 31r (Fig. 1).
Some of these annotations are written between the lines of the main text. They only offer a translation in Latin of a few Greek words from *Physics*, regardless of the entire context:

185b9 ὁ τοῦ τί ἦν εἶναι, ὥσπερ μέθυ καὶ οἶνος. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν

translated as

que aliquid erat esse quemadmodum vappa <et> vinum. Si quidem igitur.[18]

185b11 ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν περὶ τοῦ μέρους καὶ τοῦ ὅλου, ἴσως δὲ

just translated as

dubitationem (ἀπορίαν) and *fortassis* (ἴσως).[19]

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16 In fact, this was oriental paper, that is, paper produced by a factory somewhere in the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire, as noted by Prato 1973–1974: 107. A peculiar feature of such paper is the absence of any watermarks.
17 See Harlfinger 1987: 277–278. There is such a huge bibliography about this manuscript that it is not possible to include it in this article. I will report on it in a forthcoming article for the proceedings of the Greek Palaeography Conference 2013; see note 15 above.
18 The translation of this whole passage from *Physics* I 2 (185b8–9) is: 'the essence of things that are said to be "one", is one and the same as flat wine and wine. Therefore, if, etc.'
19 Translation of this whole passage from *Physics* I 2 (185b11–12): 'there is, indeed, a difficulty concerning "part" and "whole", perhaps not closely connected to the present topic.'
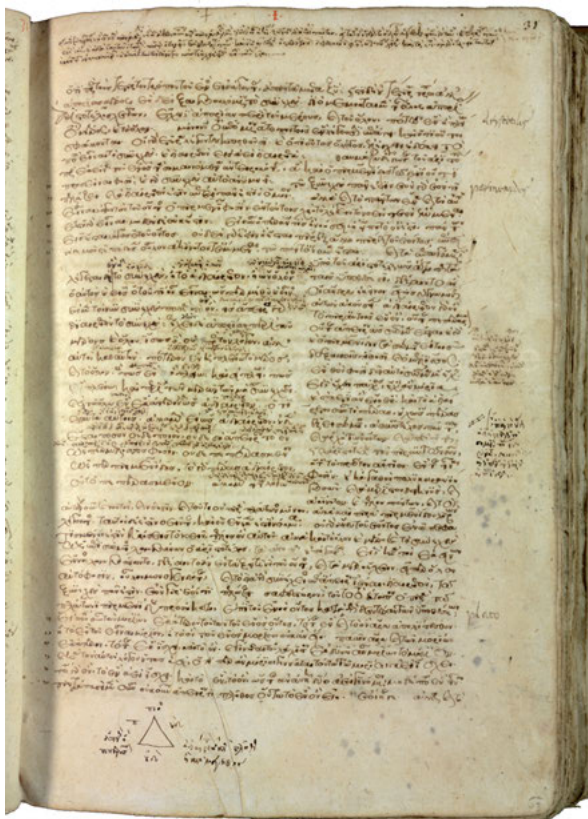
Fig. 1: *Marcianus gr.* 227, folio 31r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

However, the scribe who annotated this translation above the lines in the Greek text was not the translator himself; he simply copied the translation written by Iacobus Veneticus (James of Venice, twelfth century), which was revised twice in the thirteenth century by Gulielmus de Moerbeka (William of Moerbeke).[20] From

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20 See Bossier/Brams 1990: 11 ll. 18–19. The corpus containing ten Latin translations of Aristotle's *Physics* dating from the Middle Ages through to the translation by C. Bussemaker (Paris 1854) is also available on the website of the 'Aristotelis Physica latine versa' project hosted by the University of Zurich <www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/xanfang.php?corpus=1&lang=0>. The translations by James of Venice and William of Moerbeke can also be found there. The former is also known for translating Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* from Greek into Latin.

a palaeographical point of view, the handwriting of the interlinear annotations seems to date back to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the latter years of the same century, another Latin reader of *Marcianus gr.* 227 noted on the right edge of the same leaf (31r): *Arystotilis* (*sic*), *Parmenydis* (*sic*) – 'of Aristotle, of Parmenides'.[21] The part of Simplicius' commentary that is written on this page around the text of *Physics* in fact mentions Aristotle and Parmenides. The two Latin annotations which are placed at the margins of Simplicius' text mark the occurrence of the names of the two Greek philosophers in the commentary:

> διὸ μέμνηται μὲν τῆς ὅλης ἀπορίας Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων κτλ.

> Consequently, Aristotle mentions the entire difficulty saying, etc.
> <div align="right">(cf. Simpl., in Phys. CAG IX, p. 86, 13 Diels)</div>

and

> ἃ καὶ ὁ Παρμενίδης τῷ ἑνὶ ὄντι προσεῖναί φησι

> [The things] that Parmenides also presents as attributes of 'being one'.
> <div align="right">(cf. Simpl., in Phys. CAG IX, p. 86, 20 Diels).[22]</div>

The palaeographical analysis of the Latin annotations that are disseminated on leaf 31r of *Marcianus gr.* 227 allows us to formulate the following conclusion: at two different times over the course of the fifteenth century, this manuscript came into the hands of two Latin scholars who clearly left their traces while reading and consulting the text.

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21 I am indebted to Antonio Rollo for the palaeographical analysis of the scripts of both annotators. The letter *r* in the script of the two marginal annotations shows an apex which imitates earlier Latin scripts from the mid-ninth century to the eleventh century. This is a frequently occurring phenomenon in Latin manuscripts produced in Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century, as noted by Di Benedetto 1991: 165–167.

22 The main topic in this passage of *Physics* is how Parmenides and his followers can consider all things as being one; see Arist., *Phys.* I 2, 185a22 'πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ λέγοντες εἶναι ἓν τὰ πάντα'. Specifically, in *Phys.* I 2, 185b11–16 the following questions arise: is the part and the whole one or many? How can they be one or many? And if they are many, in what sense? On the other hand, if each part is one with the whole since it is undivided and indivisible, they will be also one with each other. This last point is explained by Ross 1936: 468 in a short and convincing way as follows: 'your hand is you; your foot is you; therefore your foot is your hand'.

4.2 Codicology, philology, time and space: *Marcianus gr.* 212

The second manuscript I would like to focus on is *Marcianus gr.* 212. This is also a manuscript originating from Bessarion's collection and is probably the working copy the Cardinal himself used to study several of Aristotle's treatises. This is certainly also one of the early books in his library. As Friederike Berger has already noted, the earlier parts of this manuscript have watermarks dating back to the years before 1425. Therefore, one might assume that these parts were produced when Bessarion was still studying in Constantinople.[23]

Marcianus gr. 212, an Aristotelian volume containing *Nicomachean Ethics* as well as a selection from the corpus of scientific treatises,[24] has already been considered in detail by Dieter Harlfinger, both from the codicological and the philological point of view.[25] In this respect, Harlfinger was able to identify the three scribes who had taken part in copying *Marcianus gr.* 212.[26]

This Venetian manuscript also offers fascinating examples of paratexts that help us locate it. Firstly, it presents a two-fold system for numbering quires. On the one hand, this consists of Greek letters written in red ink at the bottom of the first recto side of each single quire[27] while on the other, there are Arabic numerals written on both the right and left of the Greek letters. Moreover, within the quires, each single leaf is marked with Arabic numerals at the bottom of the recto side. On the bottom of leaf 9r, the first leaf of the actual second quire, for instance, we read: '2. γ′ 2.1.', whereas we read '2.2.' on the bottom of the subsequent leaf (10r). Here, 2.1 and 2.2 indicate the first leaf of the second quire and the second leaf of the second quire (Fig. 2). However, on leaf 9r there is a discrepancy between the numbering of the quires marked by the Greek numbers and that marked by the Arabic numbers. In fact, the Greek letter γ corresponds to the number 3, and thus it is in marked contrast to the Arabic number 2. Most probably, the Greek letters used to number the quires were written earlier than the Arabic numerals, as the

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23 See Berger 2005: 83.

24 For instance, *Marcianus gr.* 212 does not contain the *Physics*.

25 Harlfinger 1971: 174–183.

26 Harlfinger (1971: 175 and note 2) conventionally named the three scribes as follows: A (ff. 1r–262r and 346r–406v), B (ff. 265r–338r, except for ff. 296r bottom–297r top of the page, 407r–412r top of the page and 425–497v) and C (ff. 338v–342v, 412v, 413r–424r and 498r–499v).

27 In codices, the recto side of a leaf is usually defined as the front side corresponding to the right-hand page. The recto side is opposed to the verso, that is, the back or reverse side of the leaf; see Beal 2008: 338.

quire beginning with leaf 9r is actually the second quire in the present arrange-ment of the manuscript.[28] However, it remains uncertain when the Arabic num-bers were added to *Marcianus gr.* 212. As a matter of fact, Bessarion refers to him-self as the Cardinal of Tusculum in both the Latin and the Greek autographic bookplates on the guard leaf, VIIIv:

> *liber meus Bessarionis Cardinalis Tusculani*

> This is a book of mine, Bessarion, Cardinal of Tusculum.

> κτῆμα ἐμὸν Βεσσαρίωνος καρδηνάλεως τοῦ τῶν Τούσκλων

> This book belongs to me, Bessarion, the Cardinal of Tusculum.

When he mentioned the Latin name of Tusculum, the ruined ancient city in the region of Latium in modern-day Italy, Bessarion was referring to the Roman Cath-olic diocese of Frascati, which is still officially called *dioecesis Tusculana* today. We may therefore assume that Bessarion was created *Cardinalis Tusculanus* sometime before 1450.[29] Thus, by way of hypothesis, Bessarion or someone acting for him might have added the Arabic numbers to mark the quires of the manu-script while using *Marcianus gr.* 212 in Italy.

Furthermore, throughout the manuscript, Bessarion wrote short glosses, more elaborate commentaries and further marginalia. On leaves 1r–44v, for in-stance, he copied the paraphrasis of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, a work by the Byzantine philosopher George Pachymeres (1242–circa 1310).[30] However, Bes-sarion interrupted the copying in the course of Book 6 on leaf 44v with the words: ἀρξάμενοι δ' αὖθις περὶ τούτων λέγωμεν ('so let us in turn talk about these topics, beginning with...').[31] Other explanatory comments or scholia written around the

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28 The quire γ is preceded only by a quire numbered β (2) consisting of the first eight leaves of the manuscript. Thus, the Greek system used to count the quires in this manuscript seems to presuppose a quire α (1) that was lost in the actual arrangement of *Marcianus gr.* 212. One may thus conclude that *Marcianus gr.* 212 is a composite manuscript (see Gumbert 2004: 26–29, 40), meaning that various physically and textually independent units were fitted together in it.

29 In this respect, two dates are equally possible: either shortly before 1446, as argued by Mohler 1923: 254, or during 1449 according to Eleuteri 1994: 190.

30 See Harlfinger 1971: 182.

31 The title of Pachymeres' paraphrasis according to *Marcianus gr.* 212 is τοῦ δικαιοφύλακος καὶ πρωτεκδίκου παράφρασις ἠκριβωμένη τοῦ Παχυμέρη ('Accurate paraphrasis of Pachymeres, the judge and head of the ecclesiastical tribunal'). On the *cursus honorum* of Pachymeres, who reached the rank of δικαιοφύλαξ and πρωτέκδικος at the end of his career, see Golitsis 2008: 53–54. Generally, on the Byzantine titles of δικαιοφύλαξ and πρωτέκδικος see *LBG* s. v.

edges of *Marcianus gr.* 212 deal with significant passages from Aristotle's treatises contained in the manuscript. They provide evidence of Bessarion's philosophical and philological interest in Aristotle and Aristotelianism.[32]
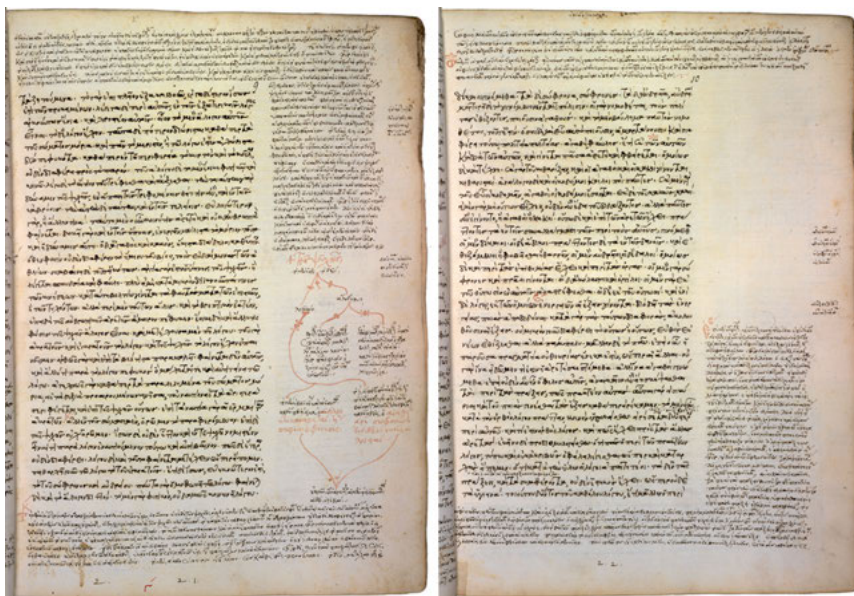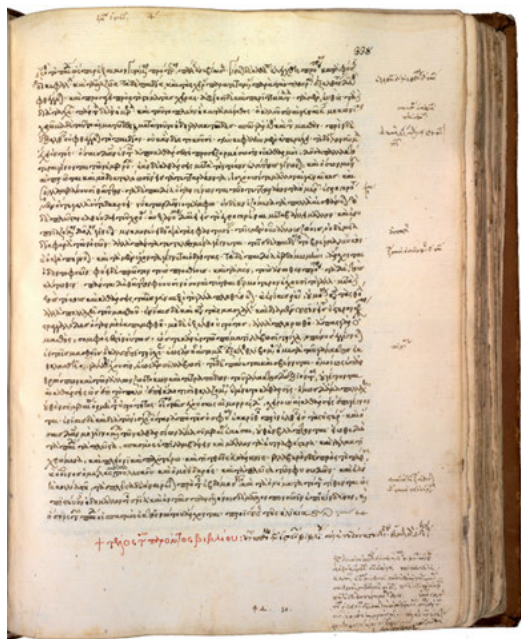

Fig. 2: *Marcianus gr.* 212, folios 9r and 10r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

In a note written on the bottom of leaf 338r at the end of Book 7 (numbered 9 in the initial title on leaf 334v) of Aristotle's treatise *History of Animals*, Bessarion remarks that the Greek version of the tenth book of the same work was not found in manuscripts, although its Latin translation was.[33] Bessarion's note reads:

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32 Five of these notes by Bessarion on Aristotle's treatise *On the Heavens* have been studied recently and are described in Brockmann/Lorusso 2014: 106–111.
33 For a long time, scholars have regarded Book 10 of *History of Animals*, which is devoted entirely to explaining the causes of infertility, as a spurious work by Aristotle; see Louis 1969: 147–154. This view has been contested by distinguished Aristotelian scholars such as J. Tricot and D. Balme, who considered Book 10 to be authentic. Furthermore, Ph.J. van der Eijk has recently argued that this Book is not a biological work at all, but corresponds to the two Aristotelian medical treatises listed by the Greek biographer Diogenes Laertius in the catalogue of Aristotle's works (5.25); see van der Eijk 2005: 267–268 with a critical discussion of the previous literature.

σημείωσαι ὅτι ἐν τῷ Λατινικῷ εὕρομεν καὶ δέκατον βιβλίον τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστοριῶν οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἡ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ συνερχομένοις μετ᾿ ἀλλήλων αἰτία ποτὲ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοῖν ποτὲ δ᾿ ἐν θατέρῳ μόνον ἐστίν· οὐκ οἶδα εἰ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ· μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐνέτυχον αὐτῷ

Note that we also found Book 10 of the *History of Animals* in Latin, which starts: 'to an advanced age, the cause of the fact that a man and a woman cannot procreate although they have sexual intercourse is sometimes in both of them, sometimes only in one of them.' I do not know whether it would be possible to find this Book in Greek as well, for I have not come across it at all up to now.

This note has partially been edited by Immanuel Bekker, too, in the critical apparatus of his edition of Aristotle's *History of Animals* 633b11–14[34] as well as by Elpidio Mioni.[35] In both cases, however, the quotation from the beginning of Book 10 reads in an abbreviated form: προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἡ τοῦ μὴ – θατέρῳ (*sic*! without μόνον) ἐστίν. Actually, while quoting the incipit of Book 10 of the *History of Animals* according to the Latin evidence at his disposal, Bessarion retranslates the Latin text into ancient Greek. Of course, Bessarion's retranslation of *History of Animals* 633b11–14 is slightly different from the Greek text we read, as in the latest edition of this treatise of Aristotle's.[36] The main difference is in the order of the words. Furthermore, there are also variant readings (underlined in the quote below). Unfortunately, at this point in my research, I am unable to indicate the Latin source Bessarion discovered. This was probably a book containing the translation by William of Moerbeke, a very impressive example of literal translation, as the table shows:

On the relationship between Aristotle's biological treatises and medical thought of the fifth–fourth century BCE, see also Brockmann 2011, in particular pp. 41–42.

34 Bekker's edition shows the standard edition of the complete works of Aristotle. It was financed by the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1831. In the text, the reference to the passage from the *History of Animals* (633b11–14) is based as usual on Bekker's page numbers.

35 See Mioni 1958: 54.

36 See Balme 1991: 476.

Balme	[προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας] ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν ἀλλήλοις συνόντας τὸ αἴτιον ὁτὲ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἐστίν, ὁτὲ δ' ἐν θατέρῳ μόνον
Gulielmus de Moerbeka	*procedente autem etate viro et mulieri non generandi invicem convenientes causa aliquando quidem in ambobus est aliquando autem in altero solum*[37]
Bessario	προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἡ τοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ συνερχομένοις μετ' ἀλλήλων αἰτία ποτὲ μὲν ἐν ἀμφοῖν ποτὲ δ' ἐν θατέρῳ μόνον ἐστίν

However, as soon as a complete Greek manuscript was discovered, Bessarion added a sentence to the same paratext reporting the discovery and stating that the text of Book 10 was fully copied in *Marcianus gr.* 212:

ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐνετύχομεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ κἀνταῦθα ἐνεγράψαμεν[38]

But now we have come across it (Book 10) in Greek, too, and we have copied it here (in this manuscript, *Marcianus gr.* 212).[39]

Moreover, on leaf 338r after the subscription τέλος τοῦ παρόντος βιβλίου ('end of the present book') placed at the end of Book 9,[40] Bessarion himself added the following phrase (Fig. 3):[41]

οὐ τοῦ καθόλου τῶν ἱστοριῶν βιβλίου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐννάτου δηλονότι· εὕρηται γὰρ καὶ δέκατον

Not of the whole of *History*, but clearly Book 9 since Book 10 has been discovered, too.

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37 William of Moerbeke's Latin translation of Book 10 of *History of Animals* is included in the comprehensive digital collection of all surviving medieval translations of the works of Aristotle *Aristoteles Latinus Database* published by Brepols and available online.

38 This passage is also edited in the apparatus of Bekker 1831: 633, as well as by Mioni 1958: 54 and Harlfinger 1971: 176.

39 A further scribe wrote the text of Book 10 of the *History of Animals* beginning on leaf 338v with the title: Ἀριστοτέλους τῶν περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστοριῶν βίβλον δέκατον ('Book 10 of Aristotle's *History of Animals*'). The reading δέκατον ('tenth') corrects a previous reading θ, which is conventionally used to represent the number nine (δέκατον *e* θ!).

40 This subscription actually refers to Book 7 of Aristotle's treatise, which is counted as 9 in *Marcianus gr.* 212.

41 This is edited in the critical apparatus of Bekker's edition, 1831: 633 as well as by Mioni 1958: 54.

Fig. 3: *Marcianus gr.* 212, folio 338r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

Bessarion's paratexts on leaf 338r of *Marcianus gr.* 212 provides valuable information enabling us to locate manuscripts that had been used in his workshop. Firstly, Bessarion alludes to two books as having come into his own hands. These are evidence of the Latin translation of Aristotle's *History of Animals*, which still remains undiscovered, and a Greek manuscript that served as a model for completing Aristotle's *History of Animals* in *Marcianus gr.* 212. This model was identified as *Vaticanus gr.* 262 in 1958.[42] Secondly, with regard to *Marcianus gr.* 212, Bessarion's paratexts, in particular the one beginning with the word σημείωσαι

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42 See Mioni 1958: 54. Mioni's results were also acknowledged by Harlfinger later (1971: 176). Nevertheless, we should be aware that *Marcianus gr.* 212 does not have several small lacunas and additional texts in common with *Vaticanus gr.* 262, as noted by Dittmeyer 1902: 12: 'die naheliegende Frage, woher Q (*Marcianus gr.* 200) Fᵃ (*Marcianus gr.* 207) Gᵃ (*Marcianus gr.* 212) das 10. Buch abgeschrieben haben, kann ich nicht beantworten. Jedenfalls stammt es nicht aus Dᵃ (*Vaticanus gr.* 262), weil sich in Q Fᵃ Gᵃ verschiedene kleine Lücken und Zusätze von Dᵃ nicht finden'. This can, of course, also be due to the skills of the scribes of the Venice manuscripts in filling the gaps and amending the text of the Vatican manuscript, as suggested by Mioni 1954: 55. While

(*sēmeíōsai*, 'note'), help us define the time frame in which Book 10 was copied onto leaves 338v–341v. In this respect, we cannot determine in absolute terms when the copying was carried out. However, it is certain that the text on leaf 338v onwards was written later than the paratext beginning with σημείωσαι, or at least than the part of that paratext reporting about the Latin translation. Furthermore, the *History of Animals* in *Marcianus gr.* 212 was possibly completed between 1438 and 1457.[43] On the one hand, Bessarion went to Italy for the first time in 1438 to take part in the Council of Ferrara–Florence: it was after this date, then, that Bessarion came across *Vaticanus gr.* 262 containing the Greek text of Book 10. On the other hand, the copying of *Marcianus gr.* 200 was completed by Ioannes Rhosos in Rome in 1457. As far as the Aristotelian *History of Animals* is concerned, this manuscript is a direct copy of *Marcianus gr.* 212.[44] *Marcianus gr.* 200 contains Book 10 of Aristotle's *History of Animals* on leaves 199v–202r. We can therefore conclude that this treatise in *Marcianus gr.* 212 was completed before 1457.

4.3 Philology and time: *Marcianus gr.* 200 and *Marcianus gr.* 212 again

In this subsection, I would like to examine the location of paratexts themselves. The results presented here were obtained by employing philological tools. In this regard, the textual note that Bessarion added to the bottom of leaf 472v in *Marcianus gr.* 212 provides a significant example (Fig. 4):

ζήτησαι τὸ ἐπόμενον μετὰ φῦλλον ἕν· τινὰ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην

Look for the continuation [of this passage] after one leaf: 'a cause such as this'.

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examining *Vaticanus gr.* 262 and *Marciani gr.* 200, 207 and 212, Berger 2005, 83–93 and 107–109 does not focus on this textual problem. Berger's main topic is the manuscript transmission of Books 1 to 9 of the *History of Animals*. It would therefore be worth studying this textual problem in more detail.

43 With regard to Aristotle's treatise *On Indivisible Lines*, this has already been suggested by Dieter Harlfinger. Furthermore, by studying the watermarks of the manuscript, Harlfinger was also able to define the years between 1438 and 1443 as the period in which the additions to *Marcianus gr.* 212 were made; see Harlfinger 1971: 176–177. Harlfinger's hypothesis is also based on textual arguments, because the amendments to the text of *On Indivisible Lines* in *Marcianus gr.* 212 were made from a further manuscript, *Marcianus gr.* 214, kept in Italy since at least 1432.

44 As demonstrated definitively by Berger 2005: 84–85. See also Mioni 1958: 54–55.
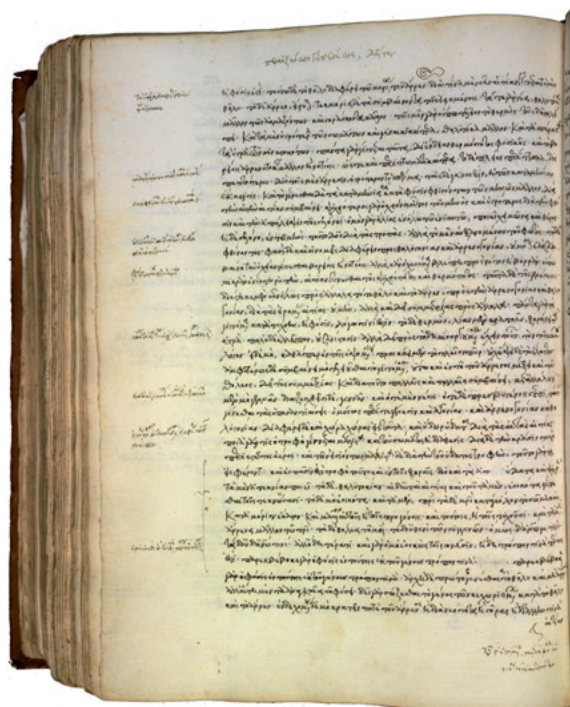
Fig. 4: *Marcianus gr.* 212, folio 472v. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

This annotation refers to passage 767b12 in Aristotle's treatise *Generation of Animals*: τινὰ αἰτίαν τοιαύτην (*tinà aitían toiáutēn*, 'a cause such as this'). *Marcianus gr.* 212 transmits this passage in the wrong sequence since the final words on leaf 472v, τινὰ αἰτίαν (*tinà aitían*, 'a cause'), are followed on the subsequent leaf by the words ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος (*apò toû árrhenos*, 'from the male'; 769a20), which do not make any sense in this context. Thus, in the textual note I have just transcribed above, Bessarion points out the mistake while at the same time quoting the reading τοιαύτην (*toiáutēn*, 'such as this'; 767b12), which should follow αἰτίαν in the correct sequence. We can find this reading just by skipping one leaf (473rv), as Bessarion's note in fact states. In other words, leaves 473 and 474 are dislocated within *Marcianus gr.* 212.[45] While examining this manuscript recently (October 2014) at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, I was able to assess

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[45] This fact has already been noted by Elpidio Mioni; see Mioni 1958: 61.

that the quire including folios 473–485 combines a set of five conjugate leaves, that is, a *quinio* with a single leaf (473) as well as a single *bifolium* (or pair of conjugate leaves) added at the beginning and the end of the quire itself. On the bottom of leaf 473r the whole quire is numbered as νη´ (58) according to the Greek numbering system or 49 according to the Latin system. This discrepancy between the two numbering systems represents further proof that *Marcianus gr.* 212 is a composite manuscript.[46]

Philological arguments enable us to ascertain, albeit in relative terms, the time when Bessarion wrote the note on leaf 472v in *Marcianus gr.* 212. In fact, this note may only have been added after the text of Aristotle's treatise *Generation of Animals* had been copied from *Marcianus gr.* 212 into *Marcianus gr.* 200. On leaf 262v (line 25), this Aristotelian volume completed by Ioannes Rhosos on 15 July 1457[47] transmits the text of *Generation of Animals* 767b12 in the same incorrect sequence as *Marcianus gr.* 212: τινὰ αἰτίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος.[48] Rhosos is generally considered to have been an observant copyist. Thus, the fact that the text he copied is arranged in the wrong order and does not follow Bessarion's note may suggest that this was written after Rhosos had finished his copy.

Moreover, Bessarion wrote the following remark on the left margin of leaf 262v in *Marcianus gr.* 200:

ζήτησαι τὸ ἑπόμενον τοῦ *τινὰ* μετὰ τοῦτο φῦλλον ὅπου σημεῖον Α

Look for the sequel of [the word] "a" ['a cause such as this'] after this leaf where the critical mark A [is written].

In fact, on the left edge of leaf 263v, Bessarion wrote the letter A to mark the sequel 767b12, accompanied by the explanation:

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46 By the way, on the bottom of leaf 474v ending with the word ἀπιέναι (*apiénai*, 'comes' 769a20), Bessarion wrote: ζήτησαι τὸ ἑπόμενον πρὸ φύλλων β·ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος 'look for the sequel (of this passage) two leaves before: "(semen) comes from the male".'
47 As the colophon on leaf 594r states.
48 It goes without saying that this fact provides an extremely convincing proof of the direct textual dependency of *Marcianus gr.* 200 on *Marcianus gr.* 212; see also Mioni 1958. As far as the manuscript transmission of Aristotle's treatise *Generation of Animals* is concerned, Mioni's results represent real progress in comparison to the results obtained in 1913 by the German scholar Karl E. Bitterauf. In his study, Bitterauf was also the first person to consider the three Greek manuscripts from Bessarion's library containing *Generation of Animals*, that is, *Marcianus gr.* 200, *Marcianus gr.* 207 and *Marcianus gr.* 212 (see Bitterauf 1913: 15–16). However, Bitterauf does not say anything with regard to the textual affiliation between the three Venice manuscripts apart from the fact that they share rather similar readings with *Vaticanus gr.* 261; see Bitterauf 1913: 25.

τοῦτο ζητητέον ὄπισθεν

This passage is sought above.

Thus Bessarion corrected both the manuscript used as the model for copying (*Marcianus gr.* 212) and the manuscript that was copied (*Marcianus gr.* 200).

5 Conclusion

Inevitably, manuscripts, their scribes and their users are entangled in time and space, and such entanglement can emerge – i.e., in the context of this article, can be *textualised*– in the form of paratexts. Paratexts can be thus understood as textual items attached to both manuscripts (as artefacts, or physical objects) and the text(s) contained in them.

Paratexts are not at all rare.[49] Thus, on the leaves of virtually every manuscript, we can find valuable sources of spatial and temporal information. According to the focus of the research we intend to undertake, this information is suitable for reconstructing two different historiographies. On the one hand, we can combine the individual data obtained through the study of several paratexts to outline the broad history (macro-history) of the production and circulation of manuscripts in the Byzantine world. On the other hand, each piece of paratextual data is of fundamental importance for sketching the biography (micro-history) of a specific manuscript (see section 4), scriptorium or scribe.

As we have seen in the examples discussed above, spatial and temporal information is not always stated explicitly in paratexts. For instance, while colophons tend to provide unequivocal data such as the day, month or year of production of a manuscript (see section 2), other paratexts may contain less obvious temporal and spatial indications of its provenance or history. The latter can only be retrieved by extensively applying the tools provided by philology, palaeography and codicology. By considering the Greek and Arabic system of quire numbering in *Marcianus gr.* 212, for instance, it was possible to reconstruct the state of the object before it moved from Constantinople to Rome (see section 4.2).

However, there are limits to the kind and amount of data that can be retrieved from paratexts, even those containing explicit information. Contrary to what can

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49 As Genette wrote concerning printed books, 'a text is rarely presented in an unadorned state' (see note 5).

happen in other manuscript cultures,[50] Greek scribes seem to have been interested in recording only the date and place of a manuscript's completion, without providing any information about the time and place in which their work was begun.[51] Some frequently occurring expressions in Greek colophons and subscriptions to indicate that the manuscript was completed are, for example, ἐγράφη (*egráphē*, 'it was written'), ἐπληρώθη (*eplērṓthē* 'it was completed'), ἐτελειώθη (*eteleiṓthē* 'it was brought to a close'), τετελείωται (*teteleíōtai* 'it has been brought to a close'), ἐτελέσθη (*etelésthē* 'it was accomplished'), εἴληφε τέρμα (*éilēphe térma* 'has reached the end') and τέλος εἴληφε (*télos éilēphe* 'has come to the end').[52] In all these cases, the subject of the verb is obviously the manuscript itself.[53]

Nevertheless, paratexts and what they can tell us about the temporal and spatial features of manuscripts leave ample room for further research. In fact, both macro- and micro-historiographies would definitely benefit from the study of temporal and spatial information contained in a more extended corpus of Greek–Byzantine manuscripts – ideally, in all of them.

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50 See, for instance, the articles of Ciotti/Franceschini and Techasiriwan in this volume.

51 It may not be a coincidence that what matters from a temporal perspective is the publication date of a book rather than the date of its commencement (Genette 1987: 162): 'c'est un lieu commun que d'observer que les préfaces, aussi bien que les postfaces, sont généralement écrites après le texte qu'elles concernent (il existe peut-être des exceptions à cette norme de bon sens, mais je n'en connais aucune qui soit formellement attestée); là n'est pas notre objet, puisque la fonction préfacielle s'exerce sur le lecteur, et qu'à ce titre le moment pertinent est celui de la publication' ('It is a commonplace to note that prefaces, as well as postfaces, are generally written after the texts they deal with (perhaps exceptions to this sensible norm exist, but I know of none that has been formally attested to); that's not what we're talking about, however, for the prefatorial function is directed at the reader, and accordingly the relevant time is the time of publication'; translation by Lewin 1997).

52 In the corpus considered in this article, we find ἐγράφη (see *Vaticanus gr.* 354), ἐτελειώθη (see *Marcianus gr.* 200, *Marcianus gr.* 206, *Sinaiticus gr.* 180 and *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64) as well as τετελείωται (see *Vaticanus gr.* 2138).

53 With regard to the evidence included in this article, colophons/subscriptions refer to manuscripts either as physical objects or just in terms of their contents. In the former case, the scribes call manuscripts, for instance, βιβλίον/βίβλος (*biblíon/bíblos* 'book'; see *Marcianus gr.* 200, *Marcianus gr.* 206 and *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64), δέλτος (*déltos* 'small book'; see *Vaticanus gr.* 354) and πυκτίς (*pyktís* 'codex'; see *Vaticanus gr.* 1591), whereas in the latter they are referred to as τετραβάγγελον (*tetrabággelon* 'Gospel Book'; see *Sinaiticus gr.* 180) and τὸ ἐκλογάδιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (*tò eklogádin toû euaggelíou* 'Evangeliary'; see *Vaticanus gr.* 2138. Specifically, in the colophon to *Vaticanus gr.* 2138, the word ἐκλογάδιν is a *terminus technicus*, meaning a 'collection of pericopes'. However, there are other occurrences of this word as well as the more commonly used form ἐκλογάδιον and/or its variant ἐκλογάριον, suggesting that ἐκλογάδιν also means 'collective volume', as demonstrated by Gippert (forthcoming).

6 Appendix

This Appendix contains more detailed descriptions of the main paratexts mentioned in this article, together with essential information concerning the manuscripts in which they are found. The material is arranged according to the alphabetical order of the manuscripts' library labels.

Florence   Laurentian Library

Laurentianus Conv. Soppr. 39 – The Florentine parchment codex *Conv. Soppr. 39* from the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana originally contained two Byzantine commentaries on the Bible as well as two further theological treatises. It is a dismembered manuscript today. The last six leaves are stored at the University and State Library of Hamburg under the shelf mark 'Cod. in scrin. 221'. On leaf 245v of *Conv. Soppr. 39*, the scribe, Lukas, noted the date on which he was working and also left an invocation to Jesus (Fig. 5).

This invocation is part of the subscription added by Lukas at the end of the first biblical commentary contained in the Florentine part of the manuscript. Lukas wrote the whole subscription in red ink using a very elegant script in which minuscule and capital letters were used equally. The subscription is decorated with two flower motifs. Lukas' invocation is preceded by the title of the work he copied last, that is, Τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδωρίτου ἐπισκόπου Κύρρου εἰς τοὺς ρν´ Ψαλμοὺς ἑρμηνεία ('Commentary on the 150 Psalms of the Blessed Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus') and followed by the conclusive formula, probably referring to the scribe himself:
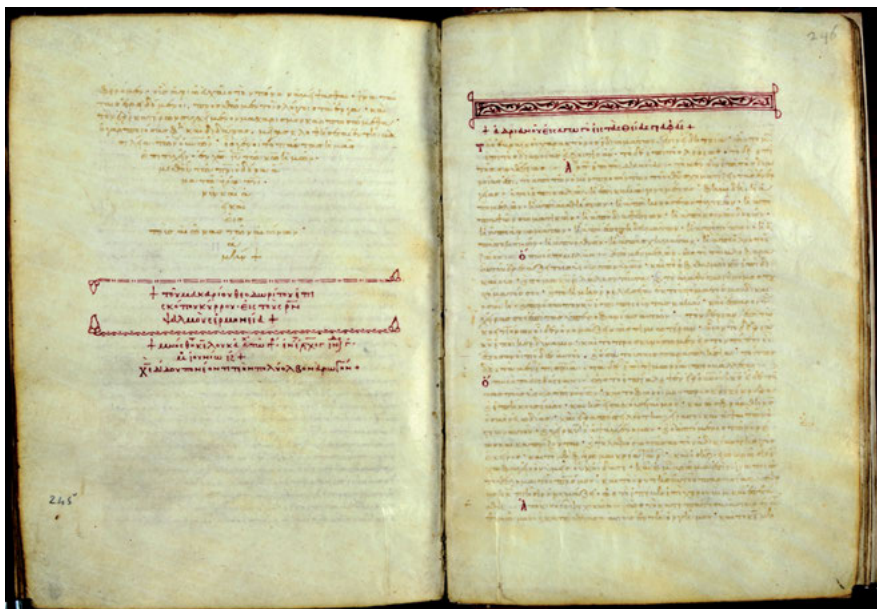
Fig. 5: *Laurentianus Conv. Soppr. 39*, folios 245v–246r. © 2015 MiBAC – Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

Χριστέ, δίδου πονέοντι τὴν[54] πολύολβον ἀρωγήν

Christ, give a very wealthy aid to the man who is suffering.

The invocation reads as follows:

μνήσθητι, Κύριε, Λουκᾶ αχ[55]τῷ γράψαντι ἐν ἔτει ͵ϛχιγ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος γ΄μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιζ΄

Remember me, oh Lord, Lukas the scribe, 17 June 6613 (1105), the third year in the indictional cycle.

Lukas referred to the year using the Byzantine calendar. In addition, he also mentioned the year within the indiction. However, in this case, there seems to be a discrepancy between the date and the indiction: 17 June 6613 corresponds to the

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54 Actually, *Conv. Soppr.* 39 reads τεὴν, but that makes no sense.
55 So far, there is no plausible solution for this abbreviation. It probably alludes to the status of Lukas within the Church.

thirteenth year and not to the third year of the indiction.[56] Furthermore, the case of *Conv. Soppr.* 39 confirms that the indiction only represents supplementary information in addition to the other explicit dating elements present in colophons and subscriptions.

Sinai   The Holy Monastery of Mount Sinai

Sinaiticus gr. 180 – This famous manuscript consisting of 261 parchment leaves (222 mm × 155 mm) was written by an otherwise unknown scribe, Georgios, in February 1186, as indicated in the colophon on leaf 260v.[57] Georgios probably produced this codex for a Greek priest named Michael (see line 11). Unfortunately, since lines 4–10 of the colophon have been almost totally erased, we are unable to read them, apart from a few words and letters that are still legible. Before indicating the month, indiction and year in lines 15–17, in lines 11–14 Georgios also recorded the name of the reigning Byzantine emperor, Isaac II Angelos, who was emperor from 12 September 1185 to 8 April 1195:

	Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν τετρα-	This Gospel Book was completed[58]
	βάγγελον διὰ χειρὸς	by the hand
	κἀμοῦ Γεωργίου ἀναγνώστου	of the reader, Georgios
	lines 4–7 deleted and	
	at the end of the line still legible ἱερομονάχου	of the priest-monk,
	at the end of the line still legible της	
10	at the end of the line still legible παπᾶ	Priest
	Μιχαὴλ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας	Michael, during the reign
	Ἰσαακίου μεγάλου βασιλέως	of the great king
	καὶ αὐτοκράτωρος Ῥω-	and Roman emperor
	μαίων τοῦ Ἀγγέλου	Isaac Angelos
15	μηνὶ Φευρουαρίῳ ἰνδικ-	in the month of February,
	τιῶνος δʹ ἔτους	the fourth year of the indiction, of the year
	‚ϛχϟδʹ. καὶ οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες	6694. And [all of] you who read

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56 More details on this point in Lorusso 2013: 34.

57 Edited by Harlfinger/Reinsch/Sonderkamp 1983: 58.

58 Literally 'was brought to the end'. In general, the translations provided in this appendix mirror the wording of the original Greek in order to enable the reader to trace the position of specific information in the original text.

ταύτην εὔχεσθέ[59] μοι	this [book] should pray for me
διὰ τὸν κύριον· ἀμήν.	through our Lord. Amen.

Vatican City   Vatican Apostolic Library

Vaticanus gr. 354 – This liturgical manuscript of 235 parchment leaves is an Evangeliary containing just the passages from the four Gospels that are read during the divine services of the Church. It is still uncertain where the manuscript was produced (perhaps in Constantinople or mainland Greece). In contrast, we are told about the scribe, a certain Michael, who indicated his own name both in a colophon on leaf 234v and in two invocations addressed to Jesus on leaves 77v and 115v. Michael's script in the main text is a beautiful example of capital script, referred to by the current literature as 'maiuscola ogivale inclinata'.[60]

The colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 354 explicitly reports the month, day of the month, year, indiction, day of the week and hour of the day:[61]

	Ἐγράφη ἡ τιμία δέλτος	This precious book was written
	αὕτη διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Μιχα-	by my hand, [that is, the hand]
	ὴλ μοναχοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ αʹ	of the erring monk Michael, on 1 March
	ἡμέρᾳ εʹ ὥρᾳ ϛ	on Thursday at the sixth hour [about 12 noon][62]
5	ἔτους ͵ϛυνζ ἰνδικτιῶνος ζʹ.	of the year 6457,[63] the seventh year of the indiction.

Vaticanus gr. 588 – Among the Greek manuscripts produced in Italy during the Renaissance, we can find some with colophons that are written exclusively in

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59 The manuscript reads εὔχεσθαι. This depends on the Byzantine pronunciation.
60 See Cavallo 1967: 117–123.
61 The colophon is edited in Follieri 1969: 17.
62 In Greek colophons the days of the week are usually indicated in the same way as they are today: κυριακή (Sunday), ἡμέρα δευτέρα (Monday), ἡμέρα τρίτη (Tuesday), ἡμέρα τετάρτη (Wednesday), ἡμέρα πέμπτη (Thursday), παρασκευή (Friday) and σάββατον (Saturday). As far as the hours of the day are concerned, the calculation obviously depends on the daytime varying with the (latitude and) seasons. Assuming an ideal daytime around the equinoxes, the first hour of the daytime (*Prime*) starts at approximately 6 in the morning. Therefore, the remaining hours are calculated as follows: third hour (*Terce*) at 9 a.m., sixth hour (*Sext*) at 12 noon and the ninth hour (*None*) at 3 p.m. On this topic, see Perria 2011: 180–181.
63 That means in 949 CE.

Latin. One example of this is *Vaticanus gr.* 588, a manuscript of 274 paper leaves containing works by early Christian theologians. *Vaticanus gr.* 588 is the product of Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, the well-known *scriptor Graecus* of the Vatican Library from 1535 to circa 1563.[64] Giovanni's script clearly imitates the style of printed books and is an example of print minuscule (or *Druckminuskel*) as noted by Enrica Follieri.[65] The colophon written by Giovanni Onorio himself in Latin on leaf 272r informs us that *Vaticanus gr.* 588 was completed in 1552:[66]

> *Ego Ioannes Honorius Malliae Oppidi Hydruntini civis librorum Graecorum instaurator, hunc librum ad Vaticanae Bibliothecae usum sic exscribebam. Anno Domini MDLII. Iulio III. Pontifice Maximo sub Marcello Cervino Cardinali Sanctae Crucis Bibliothecae praefecto.*

> I, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, citizen of Otranto, renovator of Greek books, wrote this book in this way for the use of the Vatican Library in the year 1552 under the pontificate of Pope Julius III while Marcello Cervini, cardinal-priest of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme* (Rome), was prefect of the (Vatican) Library.

Vaticanus gr. 1591 – While reporting the date when the manuscript was completed, the scribe of the colophon on leaf 216v in *Vaticanus gr.* 1591 (a codex of 216 parchment leaves written in southern Italy[67] and containing hagiographies) also refers to the day of the week as well as to the year number within the lunar cycle. Moreover, in this particular case, the word τέρμα (*térma*, 'end') is used by the scribe himself to describe the colophon:[68]

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64 On this scribe, see *RGK* I 174. *Scriptor Graecus* is the official title, still in use today, of the curator of the Greek manuscript collection belonging to the Vatican Library.

65 See Follieri 1969: 94. '*Druckminuskel*' is the name which the Austrian Byzantinist Herbert Hunger called the script in Greek manuscripts dating from the Renaissance period that were imitating the style of printed books. In his own words, 'Diese Schrift [...] weist eine gewisse Starre und Sterilität auf. So finden sich häufig großes, unziales Sigma mit Haken unter der Zeile am Wortanfang, einstrichiges Tau mit griffartiger Gestalt des Querbalkens, ähnliches, hochgezogenes Gamma mit Griff, fast bis zu einem Strich zusammengepreßtes, häßliches Majuskel-Theta, eckiges Phi usw.'; see Hunger 1961: 105–106.

66 The colophon was edited by Follieri 1969: 94.

67 Devreesse 1955: 28–30 regarded this manuscript as belonging to the group of 'Tyrrhenian manuscripts'.

68 Edited by Follieri 1969: 44.

Σὺν Θεῷ τέρμα πυ-	With [the help of] God the end of the book [was reached that was]
κτίδος γραφὲν διὰ	written[69] by
χειρὸς Βασιλείου μοναχοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ	the hand of Basil, a humbled and erring monk,
μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κδ΄	on Saturday, 24 December
5 ἡμέρᾳ σαββάτῳ ὥρᾳ ϛ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος η΄	at the sixth hour, the eighth year of the indiction,
ἔτους ͵ϛυογ σελήνης κύκλου ιγ΄.	of the year 6473,[70] the 13th year of the lunar cycle.
δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἔνεκεν.	Glory to God for all things.

Vaticanus gr. 2138 – This manuscript, an Evangeliary consisting of 91 parchment leaves, can be attributed to the group of 'greco–lombard' manuscripts on palaeographical grounds.[71] *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 was written and completed in 991 by a scribe whose name was Kyriakos, as the colophon added by Kyriakos himself on leaf 91r clearly states. The colophon appears in capital letters up to line 7:[72]

Τετελείωται σὺν Θεῷ τὸ	This Evangeliary has been completed[73]
ἐκλογάδιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου	with [the help of] God
τούτου διὰ χειρὸς Κυριακοῦ	by the hand of priest Kyriakos,
πρεσβυτέρου, τλήμωνος	miserable
5 τοῦ καλογήρου, ἐν ἔτει ͵ϛ	monk, in the year 6–
υϟθ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος δ΄	499, the fourth year of the indiction,
μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰς τὰς ιβ΄.	on 12 June.
Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως	From the Incarnation
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔτη ἐν-	of our Lord Jesus Christ they are
10 νακόσια ἐνενήκοντα ἕν.	nine hundred and ninety one years.
ϡϟα	991

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69 In the original Greek, the participle γραφέν (*graphén*, 'written') refers only to the word τέρμα (*térma*, 'end').

70 That means in 964 CE.

71 See Devreesse 1955: 11, 30. Basically, the handwriting of this Vatican manuscript is in minuscule with some letters written in majuscule.

72 Edited by Follieri 1969: 50.

73 Literally 'has been brought to the end'.

Some colophons, especially those contained in Greek manuscripts from southern Italy, are based on both the Byzantine and the Latin calendar. *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 is an example of this. Moreover, it is particularly interesting to note that the day of the month is introduced by the formula εἰς τάς, that is, 'on the day', followed by the numeral ιβʹ, 12 (see line 7). This practice seems to be quite common in manuscripts from southern Italy.[74] As has been mentioned above, linguistic elements in colophons can also help us locate manuscripts successfully. However, information about the place where *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 was produced is clearly stated in a note that Kyriakos wrote in red ink and capital letters on leaf 52r:

> Κυριακὸς μοναχὸς πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἄστεω (*sic*) Καπούης ἔγραψεν

> The monk and priest Kyriakos wrote [this manuscript] in the town of Capua.

Colophons and subscriptions very often provide information about the social status of the scribes, too. For instance, in the colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 on lines 4 and 5, the scribe, Kyriakos, presents himself as both priest (πρεσβύτερος, *presbýteros*) and monk (καλόγηρος, *kalógēros*).[75] Other titles occurring in the evidence considered in this Appendix are ἀναγνώστης (*anagnṓstēs* 'reader'; see line 3 in the colophon of *Sinaiticus gr.* 180), μοναχός (*monachós* 'monk'; see line 3 in the colophon from both *Vaticanus gr.* 354 and *Vaticanus gr.* 1591) and πρεσβύτερος (*presbýteros* 'priest'; see line 19 in the colophon of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 below).[76]

In the colophon of *Vaticanus gr.* 2138 (see lines 4 and 5), Kyriakos describes himself as a 'miserable monk.' This is not at all peculiar to Kyriakos since Greek scribes usually refer to themselves in colophons and subscriptions as humble individuals, if not sinners deserving of contempt. In this respect, the most frequent epithets are ἀβέλτερος (*abélteros* 'stupid'), ἁμαρτωλός (*hamartōlós* 'erring'), ἀσύνετος (*asýnetos* 'witless'), ἀφυής (*aphyḗs* 'not clever'), εὐτελής (*eutelés*

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74 See Perria 2011: 182.

75 Actually, καλόγηρος means 'venerable'. Generally, the term is used when referring to priests and ascetics; see Lampe 1961: 698 s.v.

76 Of course, Greek manuscripts were not written exclusively by priests and monks, but also by other professional figures that are mentioned in colophons and subscriptions such as notaries and other legal professionals, scholars, teachers, etc. (νοτάριος, *notários* 'shorthand writer, secretary' [Latin *notarius*]; ταβουλλάριος, *taboullários* 'registrar, recorder'; νομικός, *nomikós* 'lawyer'; γραμματικός, *grammatikós* 'learned scholar'; διδάσκαλος, *didáskalos* 'teacher'). Key publications appearing on this topic over recent decades have already shown how data provided by colophons can be interpreted to shed light on the social, cultural and economic situation of Greek scribes. See Granić 1922; Treu 1966; Cutler 1981; Gamillscheg 1993.

'worthless'), ταπεινός (*tapeinós* 'humbled'), etc. referring to the personality of the scribes, and ἀγροικικός (*agroikikós* 'rustic'), κακογράφος (*kakográphos* 'bad scribe'), χωρικός (*chōrikós* 'boorish'), etc., which refer to the final result of their activity.[77]

Venice   National Library of St Mark

Marcianus gr. 200 – This very luxurious multiple-text manuscript written on parchment contains the whole corpus of Aristotle's works apart from the *Organon*. With regard to its content, Bessarion noted the following on leaf 1v:

Ἀριστοτέλους πάντα τὰ νῦν εὑρισκόμενα συγγράμματα πλὴν τῆς λογικῆς· βιβλίον ἄριστον

Aristotle's complete works as far as now acknowledged [as being authentic] except *Logic*. [This is] a very precious book.

Marcianus gr. 200 was written by Ioannes Rhosos of Crete, one of the most celebrated Greek calligraphers working in Italy during the fifteenth century. Rhosos finished copying for Cardinal Bessarion on 15 July 1457 in Rome, as he clearly stated in the colophon on leaf 594r:

	Ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος	This book was completed
	ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ͵αυνζ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος ε΄	in the year 1457 from the birth of Christ, the fifth year of the indiction,
	μηνὸς Ἰουλίου ιε΄	on 15 July
	διὰ χειρὸς ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου	by my hand, [that is, the hand of]
5	ἱερέως Ῥόσου τοῦ ἐκ Κρήτης	Priest Ioannes Rhosos from Crete
	δι' ὁρισμοῦ καὶ ἐξόδου	on behalf of and with the financial support of
	τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὸς	the most venerable father in Christ,
	κυρίου κυρίου Βησσαρίωνος	Bessarion,
	καρδηνάλεως ἐπισκόπου	Cardinal, Bishop
10	τῶν Τούσκλων καὶ αὐθέντου ἡμετέρου	of Tusculum as well as our patron
	ἐν Ῥώμῃ.	in Rome

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77 As early as 1950, the German scholar C. Wendel collected all these epithets from colophons, indicating for each of them the age of the oldest manuscript in which they are attested for the first time; see Wendel 1950: 261.

This colophon is preceded by a couple of verses written by Rhosos himself on leaf 593v at the end of Aristotle's *Poetics* to mark the conclusion of the entire copying activity. In his concluding verses, Rhosos emphasises how hard his own work was (Fig. 6):
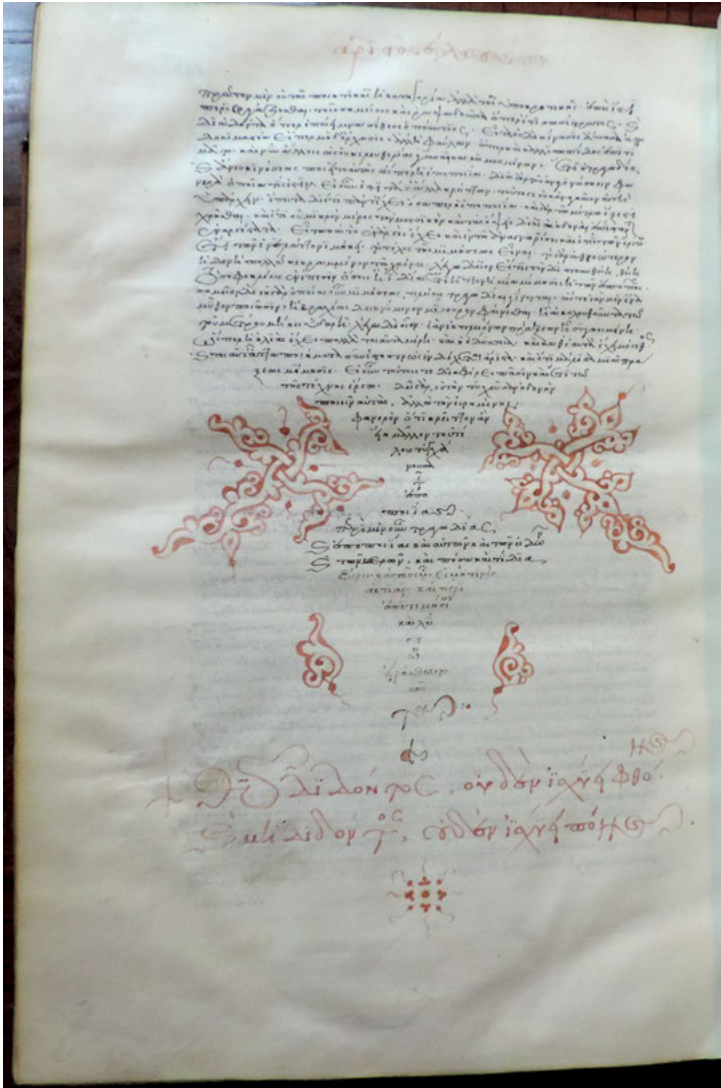
Fig. 6: *Marcianus gr.* 200, folio 593v. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

Θεοῦ διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει φθόνος
καὶ μὴ διδόντος, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πόνος

With the help of God[78] envy has no power
Without the help of God,[79] working hard is not useful.

Marcianus gr. 206 – This manuscript consisting of 336 parchment leaves is a multiple-text manuscript containing several philosophical and scientific works by Aristotle. It was written by three different scribes affiliated to Cardinal Bessarion's workshop in 1467. One of these scribes is Charitonymus Hermonymus, who wrote leaves 1r–176r and 295r–333r. On the basis of palaeographical features, Dieter Harlfinger successfully identified two further scribes: leaves 178r–282r were written by the anonymous copyist referred to by Harlfinger as 'Anonymous 40', whereas leaves 282r–291r originated from the pen of scribe Theodorus. Both of these scribes produced other Greek manuscripts as well.[80]

Together with other Greek scribes such as Demetrius Trivolis and Athanasius Chalceopulus,[81] Charitonymus was employed by Bessarion to produce a set of manuscripts containing the whole corpus of Aristotle's works, except the six preparatory treatises devoted to logic (the *Organon*).[82] This set consists of the four codices known as *Marciani gr.* 206, 207, 213 and 215. As already noted by Aubrey Diller, all of them are made of parchment, are of the same size and have the same number of lines.[83] In two paratexts of *Marcianus gr.* 206, the scribe Charitonymus mentions his own name as well as his native country at the end of *Physics* (leaf 67r) and the end of *Meteorology* (leaf 165v). This last paratext is a subscription which reads as follows:

τῷ Θεῷ χάρις. ἐτελειώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ποινηλατουμένῳ μοι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀπριλίῳ ια΄ ἔτει ˛ςϡοε΄ πατρὶς δέ μοι Λακειδαίμων ἡ πάλαι ποτέ μὲν εὐδαίμων, νῦν δὲ μάλιστα κακοδαίμων

Thanks be to God – [this text] was also completed for his sake, that is, for Cardinal Bessarion, in Rome by me [Charitonymus] so persistently afflicted on 11 April 6975 (1467)./My

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78 Literally 'if God provides assistance'.
79 Literally 'if God does not provide assistance'.
80 See Harlfinger 1971: 420 and 417. For a detailed description of *Marcianus gr.* 206, see Mioni 1981: 320–321. This manuscript, like its textual relationship with other Greek manuscripts, has been studied recently in Brockmann/Lorusso 2014: 86–87, 89 along with note 20, and 90–91.
81 See Mioni 1981: 321, 327, 329.
82 This sub-corpus within the body of Aristotle's work is expressly devoted to logic and consists of the following treatises: *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics* and *Sophistical Refutations*.
83 See Diller 1967: 408.

country is Lacedaemon (Sparta, that is, Mystras in Laconia, Peloponnese, Greece[84]). This town was once blessed with a good genius,[85] whereas today it is most certainly possessed by an evil one.[86]

Charitonymus' paratext on leaf 67r after the final words of Aristotle's *Physics* consists of a short subscription, some laudatory verses on Bessarion and a signature. The subscription mentions the time (the penultimate day of January 1467) and the place (Rome) where the scribe completed his work on *Physics* as follows:

ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τῆς Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐν μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ λ΄ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε΄ ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ͵αυξζ΄ ἐν Ῥώμῃ

This book of Aristotle's *Physics* was completed on 30 January, in the year from [the birth of] Christ 1467, the fifteenth year in the indictional cycle, in Rome.

Thereafter, Charitonymus wrote the following dedication poem (Fig. 7):[87]

Βησσαρίων κλέος οὐρανόμηκες ὃς ἔσχ᾽ ἐπίγαιος,
ἄλκαρ ἐὼν μέγα τληπαθέων ἀχέων Ἑλλήνων,
τὴν δ᾽ ἄκος ἄθλου δέλτον Ἀριστοτέλους γε σοφίης
τεῦξεν ἀριπρεπέως ξὺν ὅτι πλείσταις θεὶς ἆθλα

Bessarion, who on Earth acquired a clear fame reaching up to Heaven,
since he is a powerful protection for the Greeks in their great suffering,
let this book of Aristotelian wisdom be produced as a cure for [my] pain
in a wonderful way together with as many books as possible. For this work he had fixed a reward.

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84 See Diller 1967: 409.
85 In other words, 'fortunate'.
86 Anyone familiar with Ancient Greek will appreciate the homoeoteleuton, or repetition of the same sounds, at the end of the words Λακεδαίμων, εὐδαίμων and κακοδαίμων in the second line of the subscription.
87 This dedication poem has already been edited and translated. See Brockmann/Lorusso 2014: 87, note 12.
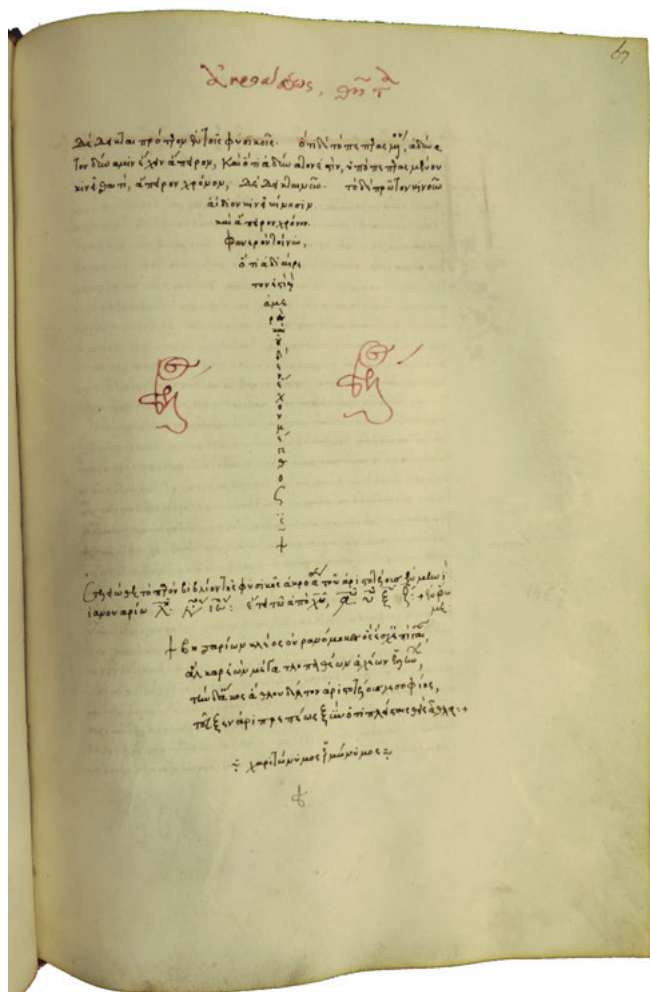
Fig. 7: *Marcianus gr.* 206, folio 67r. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

The goal of these verses is manifestly to celebrate Cardinal Bessarion for financially supporting both the production of *Marcianus gr.* 206 and the many Greek émigrés working in the scholarly network centred around the Cardinal. The phrasing of Charitonymus' poem is extremely conventional. It contains formulaic expressions also used by other Ancient Greek poets, such as κλέος οὐρανόμηκες (*kléos oyranómēkes*, 'clear fame reaching up to Heaven') occurring, for instance,

in Aristophanes, *The Clouds*, v. 459 or ἄλκαρ μέγα (*álkar mega*, 'powerful protection') seen, for example, in Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 6, v. 119. Moreover, in the last two lines, there is a minor wordplay consisting of using two Greek words that look very similar orthographically, but which actually have a different meaning: ἆθλος (*áthlos*, 'struggle, ordeal'), see ἄθλου (*áthlou*) on v. 3, and ἆθλον (*áthlon*, 'prize of the contest'), see ἆθλα (*áthla*) on v. 4.

Finally, at the end of the subscription on leaf 67r, Charitonymus mentions his own name in the signature Χαριτώνυμος Ἑρμώνυμος (*Charitṓnymos Hermṓnymos*, 'Charitonymus Hermonymus').

Marcianus gr. 333 – This codex on paper consisting of 287 leaves was copied almost entirely by Bessarion himself between 1440 and 1450.[88] *Marcianus gr.* 333 is a valuable record of Bessarion's astronomical interests.[89] For instance, *Marcianus gr.* 333 transmits Bessarion's still unedited summary of the first book of Aristotle's treatise *On the Heavens* on leaves 1r–2r, whereas on leaves 4r–7r we find his summary of the first six books of Aristotle's *Physics*.[90]

Leaf Iv of *Marcianus gr.* 333 contains an autographical note written by Bessarion about the Byzantine calendar. The note simply states that the Byzantine year 6950 began in September 1441 (Fig. 8):

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88 Mioni 1985: 62 ascribes leaves 1r–282r of *Marcianus gr.* 333 to Bessarion. With regard to the date, we have to be aware that *Marcianus gr.* 333 is a composite manuscript consisting of three parts: leaves I–33, 34–271 and 272–286. By studying the watermarks present on leaves 34–271, the Italian scholar Paolo Eleuteri was able to assign the production of these leaves more precisely to the fifth decade of the fifteenth century. The three parts of the manuscript were put together around 1450–1451; see Eleuteri 1994: 190. Generally, earlier scholars considered *Marcianus gr.* 333 as being written either in the middle of the fifteenth century or before 1450; see Harlfinger 1974: 26 and Mioni 1985: 61.

89 On this topic and, particularly, on the manuscripts from Cardinal Bessarion's library containing Greek astronomical texts, see Rigo 1994: 105–117.

90 Edited by Bernardinello 1975: 32–42. As far as the content of *Marcianus gr.* 333 is concerned, in this manuscript we find fundamental works in the fields of mathematics and astronomy elaborated by ancient Greek as well as Byzantine authors: among others, the *Introduction to Arithmetic* in two books by the Neoplatonic mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa (about 100 CE), on leaves 39r–83r, the two books of the astronomical teaching manual *On the Circular Motion of the Celestial Bodies*, which was written sometime between the middle of the first century BCE and the third century CE by Cleomedes, on leaves 91r–142v and the treatise *On the astrolabe* by the Byzantine astronomer and historian Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295–1360) on leaves 272r–274r.

Fig. 8: *Marcianus gr.* 333, folio Iv. © 2015 MiBAC – Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Unauthorised reproduction prohibited.

> σημείωσαι ὅτι μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ τοῦ ͵αϠ̅ν̅α̅ου ἔτους ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἤρξατο ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ͵ϛϠν ἔτος ἰνδικτιῶνος ε΄

> Note that in September 1441 – counting from the birth of Christ – the year 6950 – counting from the creation of the world – began. [This was] the fifth year of the indiction.

Moreover, on the left margin of the same leaf, Bessarion listed the years 1441 to 1452, also indicating the year number according to the Byzantine system for each of them. The entries in this list were probably written on three different occasions since different inks are used for the years 1441–1446, 1447–1450 and 1451–1452:[91]

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91 As has already been noted by Eleuteri 1994: 190.

	α̅υ̅μα Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅α̅ν		1441 September	6950
	α̅υ̅μβ Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅α̅ναᵒᵛ		1442 September	6951
	α̅υ̅μγ Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅α̅νβᵒᵛ		1443 September	6952
	α̅υ̅μδ Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅α̅νγᵒᵛ		1444 September	6953
5	α̅υ̅με Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅α̅νδᵒᵛ		1445 September	6954
	α̅υ̅μϛ Σεπτέμβριος ϛ̅α̅νεᵒᵛ		1446 September	6955
	αυμζ Σεπτέμβριος ϛανϛ		1447 September	6956
	αυμη Σεπτέμβριος ϛανζ		1448 September	6957
	αυμθ Σεπτέμβριος ϛανη		1449 September	6958
10	αυν Σεπτέμβριος ϛανθ		1450 September	6959
	αυνα	ξ	1451		60
	αυνβ Σεπτέμβριος	ξα	1452 September		61

The years according to the Byzantine system are indicated exclusively in lines 11 and 12 of the above list, with Greek letters being used as numerals: ξ (60) and ξα (61). In both his note and the list written on leaf Iv, Bessarion indicated the month of September as the first month of the year. However, he forgot to mention this month in line 11 of the list.

Vienna   Austrian National Library

Vindobonensis phil. gr. 64 – This manuscript consisting of 510 paper leaves represents a fundamental record of the textual transmission of Aristotle's ideas in the Renaissance period.[92] It was produced by a team of at least five scribes from Cardinal Bessarion's *scriptorium* in Rome. The production of the Vienna manuscript

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92 The Vienna manuscript is also available on the Teuchos Centre website of the University of Hamburg <www.teuchos.uni-hamburg.de>. On leaves 9r–447r, the Viennese manuscript contains philosophical and scientific works of Aristotle as follows: *Physics* (9r–84v), *On the Heavens* (85r–138v), *On Generation and Corruption* (139r–161r), *Sense and Sensibilia* (161r–172v), *On Memory* (172v–176r), *On Sleep* (176v–180v), *On Dreams* (180v–184v), *On Divination in Sleep* (184v–186v), *Movement of Animals* (186v–192v), *On Length and Shortness of Life* (193r–195v), *On Youth, Old Age, Life and Death, and Respiration* (195v–207v), *On Colours* (208v–216v), *Meteorology* (219r–284r), *Parts of Animals* (285r–342v) and *Metaphysics* (343r–447r). Other works transmitted by *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 are: the treatise *On the Harmonics* written in the first half of the fourteenth century by the Byzantine astronomer and mathematician Manuel Bryennius (see *PLP* 3260) on leaves 453r–499v as well as *On the Nature of the Cosmos and of the Soul* on leaves 501r–

was guided by Ioannes Rhosos, the same scribe we have already mentioned in respect to the Venetian manuscript *Marcianus gr.* 200. On leaves 447v–448r of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64, we read the following colophon:[93]

	Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον	This book was completed[94]
	ἐν ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ	in the year from [the birth] of Christ
	͵αʷ υʷ νʷ ζʷ´ ἰνδι-	1457 of the
	κτιῶνος πέμπτης	fifth indiction
5	μηνὸς Μαρτίου κε´	on 25 March,
	τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τοῦ μακα-	in the second year of the pontificate
	ριωτάτου κυρίου ἡμῶν κυρίου	of our most blessed lord
	Καλλίστου πάπα γᵒᵘ´ ἔτει βʷ´	Pope Callixtus III,
	ἀρχιερατεύοντος καὶ τοῦ πανα-	when also
10	γιωτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου	our all-holy bishop
	καὶ δεσπότου κυρίου Γρηγορίου, πατριάρχου	and lord Gregory, the Ecumenical Patriarch
	Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ	of Constantinople, was high priest,
	ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ	in the 'old' Rome[95]
	Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ συνδρομῆς	supported
15	καὶ ἐξόδου Ἡσαΐου ἱερο-	and funded by the priest-monk
	μονάχου καὶ πνευματικοῦ πατρὸς	and spiritual father, Isaiah
	τοῦ Κυπρίου.	of Cyprus.
	Τέλος.	[This is the] end [of the book].
	Ἰωάννης πρεσβύτερος ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης.	Priest Ioannes of Crete.

In the last line of the colophon, Rhosos mentions his name as well as his native country. Furthermore, in the previous lines, he indicates the name of the patron

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507v. Although this work is usually attributed to the Pythagorean philosopher Timaeus of Locri in the Greek manuscripts, it must be regarded as a forgery dating back to the first century BCE (see Baltes 2002, 574 for an overview on this topic).

93 The manuscript can be accessed through <http://beta.teuchos.uni-hamburg.de/TeuchosWebUI/manuscripts/tx-container-manuscripts#> (last checked 23/09/2015).

94 Literally 'was brought to the end'.

95 According to tradition, 'new Rome' is the name that Emperor Constantine the Great (c. 272–337 CE) gave the new capital of the Roman empire, Byzantium/Constantinople, in 330. Comparing it to the 'old Rome', Byzantines usually refer to their city as 'the New Rome of Constantinople'.

who sponsored the production of the manuscript, Bessarion's secretary, Isaiah of Cyprus (see lines 14–17), as well as the time and place where the manuscript was completed, that is, in Rome on 25 March 1457 (see lines 13–14 and 2–5). In lines 6–12, Rhosos embellishes the information about the time with further details by referring to the then heads of Latin and Greek Orthodox Christianity, Pope Callixtus III (1455–1458) and patriarch Gregory III, who was actually the patriarch of Constantinople from the summer of 1445 to 1451 as well as titular Latin patriarch of the same Church from 1452 until his death in 1459.[96]

From a palaeographical point of view, the colophon of the Viennese manuscript is rather impressive. It is written in red ink and spacious letters by the scribe under whose guidance the remaining scribes had worked, that is, Ioannes Rhosos of Crete. In line 3 it is also remarkable that the endings of the Greek letters used as numerals for the date are superscript. It is quite common to see this used from Renaissance times onwards.[97]

As far as the circulation of the Viennese manuscript *phil. gr.* 64 is concerned, an autographic note by scribe Ioannes Rhosos on leaf 8r clearly states that this codex was in the manuscript collection belonging to Isaiah of Cyprus:[98]

κτῆμα τοῦ Ἡσαΐου ἱερομονάχου καὶ πνευματικοῦ τοῦ Κυπρίου

Possession of the priest-monk and spiritual father, Isaiah of Cyprus.

Isaiah had given financial support for its production, as indicated in the colophon on leaf 448r. However, at a certain point in the course of its lifetime, *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 came into the possession of the Cretan scholar Marco Mamuna (after 1430–before 1528), as a further bookplate on the same leaf explicitly states:

βίβλος Μαμοῦνα ἦν, εὖτε τάδ' ἐγράφετο

This was a book belonging to Mamuna when this [bookplate] was written.[99]

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96 On the patriarch, Gregory III, see *PLP* 4591.

97 See Perria 2011: 187.

98 The note can be accessed through <http://beta.teuchos.uni-hamburg.de/TeuchosWebUI-/manuscripts/tx-container-manuscripts#> (last checked 23/09/2015).

99 On the fact that the Vienna manuscript was in Mamuna's library, see also Cataldi Palau 1991: 533–536. The same bookplate occurs in other Greek manuscripts owned by Marco Mamuna, for instance on leaf 6r in Burney MS 89 from the British Library in London (καὐτὸ Μαμοῦνα ἦν εὖτε τάδ' ἐγράφετο). However, this manuscript is not listed among Mamuna's codices by Cataldi Palau 1991: 574–575. Burney MS 89, a paper manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century

Thus, we are informed about the relocation of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 between the years 1457 and circa 1528 by two different paratexts written on the same page of the manuscript.

Along the edges of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64, a reader – probably Isaiah himself, who was the former possessor of the manuscript – had written nine exegetical notes on *Physics*. They are introduced by the formula ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἡμετέρου καθηγεμόνος ('from the dictation of our master, Theodorus') or similar. Now, we are aware of the fact that the Theodorus mentioned in this formula, that is, the Greek humanist Theodorus Gazes (1410?–1475), gave classes on Aristotle's *Physics* in Cardinal Bessarion's house in Rome around the mid-1460s.[100] So we can regard the nine notes in the Vienna manuscript as unequivocal evidence that *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 reflects the teaching practice of Theodorus during his classes. Besides the notes on *Physics* dictated by Theodorus, leaves 3r–7r of *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 also contain shorter texts providing general definitions of technical terms used by Aristotle such as 'cause', 'principle', 'substance' and 'accident'. Finally, many other comments and glosses are disseminated through the manuscript, particularly on the edges of leaves 9r–84v containing *Physics*. Some of these comments and glosses can also be found on the margins of *Marcianus gr.* 205. In this manuscript, they were added by Bessarion. One can therefore confidently assume that some of the commentaries in *Vindobonensis phil. gr.* 64 and *Marcianus gr.* 205 are the product of the scholarly/teaching environment around Gazes.

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containing the poem *Alexandra* by the tragedian Lycophron (fourth century BCE) as well as the scholia written by the Byzantine scholars Ioannes or Isaac Tzetzes in course of the twelfth century, is now available online at <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Burney_MS _89>. On the *vexata quaestio* about the authorship of Tzetzes' commentary on *Alexandra,* see Hunger 1978: 62–63.

100 See Bernardinello 1976: 19 and Martinelli Tempesta 2013: 144. On the activity of Gazes as a philosopher and teacher, see Monfasani 2002.

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Stéphane Ancel

Travelling Books: Changes of Ownership and Location in Ethiopian Manuscript Culture

1 Introduction

The study of the regional features of Ethiopian manuscripts cannot be undertaken on the basis of their present distribution in churches and monasteries. As in many manuscript cultures, manuscripts belonging to the same collection were not produced altogether at once, were not necessarily used by the same individual(s) or institution(s), and were not always preserved in the same place. On the other hand, many manuscripts bear signs of unique individual histories; they went through a long and complicated series of owners, often corresponding to a number of relocations. Similarly, the use that was made of manuscripts – in other words, their function – may have changed while they travelled from place to place, variously fulfilling the needs of different individuals and institutions.

In this respect, the compilation of a detailed description of each manuscript is a desideratum strongly felt in the field of Ethiopian manuscript studies. This is an essential step towards a meaningful and systematic description of regional codicological and palaeographical features. This desideratum was reinforced by the results of the six seasons of field research carried out by the team involved in the Ethio-SPaRe project in eastern Tǝgray (or Tigray in English standard spelling; Fig. 1), Ethiopia between 2010 and 2012, during which it was possible to digitise collections of parchment manuscripts preserved in about a hundred churches and monasteries.[1] This article investigates materials collected by the Ethio-SPaRe project.

1 For more information about the Ethio-SPaRe project and for a description of the results of its six missions (2010–2012), see Nosnitsin 2013.

The signs of the individual history of a manuscript often correspond to paratexts such as ownership marks and marginal annotations. These can provide valuable information on the provenance and 'wanderings' of manuscripts. Often, a single manuscript travelled a long way before reaching the place where it was eventually recorded by the Ethio-SPaRe project. Its features and content can be linked to a different region from the one in which it was found and thus reflect the characteristics of a different context.

Fig. 1: Map of Tigray.

2 Evidence of institutional ownership found in Ethiopian manuscripts

All manuscripts digitised in Təgray by the Ethio-SPaRe project are currently preserved in libraries of churches and monasteries in the region. The vast majority of them are not privately owned. Since parchment manuscripts were expensive and complex objects to produce, Ethiopian laymen usually did not own books

until the establishment of printing houses during the twentieth century. A possible exception was constituted by members of the aristocracy: priests and monks were permitted to have some manuscripts in order to study and teach. They did not own them, though, as the manuscripts actually belonged to their institutions (churches or monasteries). Members of the ecclesiastical community could read and use manuscripts without being the official owners. Commissioned by an individual or an institution, manuscripts entered the library of a church just after their production. Once incorporated into the library, they became the inalienable property of that particular church.

Upon entering the institution's library collection, manuscripts could receive a mark designating the fact that they were from that moment onwards property of the institution. Ownership rights were embodied in a paratext, in some cases written at the end of the text and in other cases written on the margins of a folio or on the protective folios of the manuscript. For instance, manuscript AKM-009, dated to the seventeenth century and containing a copy of the missal, is currently owned by the church of Anbäsät Kidanä Məḥrät, located near a town called Faṣiy.[2] A note written in Gəʿəz on folio 116rb clearly states the ownership right of the church over the manuscript (Fig. 2):

> ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዘአንበሰት፡ ዘአቡነ፡ ሊባኖስ፡ ዘሰ‹ረ›ቃ፡ ወዘተአገ�$ለ$፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለ‹ይ›ኩን፡ በቃለ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡

> This book is [the property of the church] of Anbäsät of our father, Libanos. Anyone who steals it or takes it by violence shall be excommunicated by the word of Peter and Paul.

Many manuscripts contain such paratexts. For example, the church of Koholo Yoḥannəs Däbrä Betel owns a manuscript, namely KY-064, a missal dated to the nineteenth century, on the protective folio (115v) of which the ownership right is also clearly claimed:

> ዝቅዳሴ፡ ዘደብረ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ መጥምቅ፡ እንተ፡ ይእቲ፡ ደብረ፡ ቤቴል፡ ኮኮሎ፡ ዮሐንስ፡ መጥምቅ፡ ዘሰረቆ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩን፡

> This missal is [the property] of Däbrä Yoḥannəs Mäṭməq, which is Däbrä Betel Koholo [here Kʷäkʷälo] Yoḥannəs Mäṭməq. Anyone who steals it or erases it shall be excommunicated.

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2 The Ethio-SPaRe project used acronyms to identify churches. Each church is associated with a specific acronym which is then used to identify manuscripts coming from its collection. Here, AKM is used to designate manuscripts preserved in the library of the church of Anbäsät Kidanä Məḥrät. For more information concerning churches mentioned, see Nosnitsin 2013.
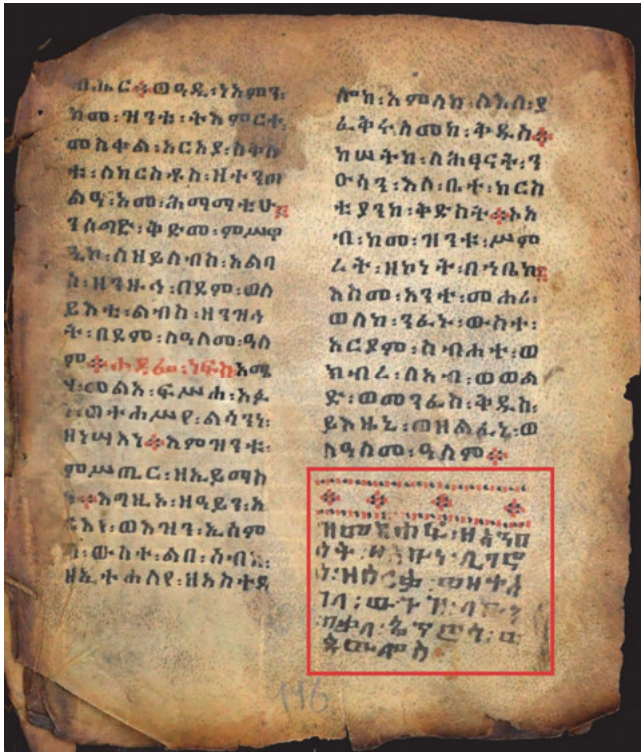
Fig. 2: AKM-009, fol. 116r.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, the use of seals has been a common practice for claiming ownership rights on manuscripts.[3] The seal of the monastery of May Anbäsa Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät, for instance, is clearly visible on folio 157v of manuscript MAKM-075, which contains a copy of the Four Gospels and has been dated to the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 3).

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3 On the use of seals in Ethiopia, see Tornay / Sohier 2007.
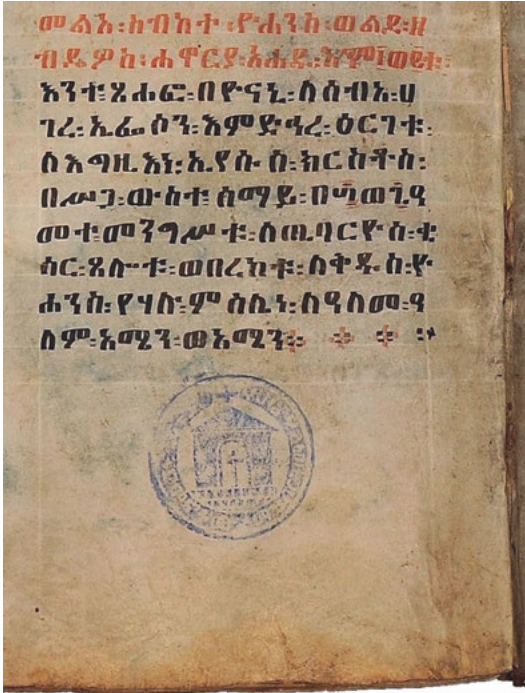
Fig. 3: MAKM-075, fol. 157vb.

More elaborate paratexts could also establish the ownership right of an institution over a manuscript by explaining that it was bought by an individual, usually a priest, on behalf of the institution. Dated to the nineteenth century and containing the book of the funeral rite (*mäṣḥafä gənzät*), manuscript AQG-009, preserved in the library of the church of ʿAddi Qolqwal Giyorgis, reads as follows on fol. 130rb:

> ዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘተጽሕፈ፡ በዘመነ፡ ደጃዝማች [sic]፡ ሱባጋድስ፡ ዘተሣየጦ፡ ቄስ፡ ገበዝ፡ ክፍለ፡
> ጊዮርጊስ፡ በንዋየ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ወስሙ፡ ሀገርሂ፡ አድ፡ ቄልቋል፡ ወስዩመ፡ ሀገርሂ፡ ዘሱ፡ ሐለቃ፡
> ክፍለ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወለዝንቱ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘሰረቆ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ፡ ወዘተአገሎ፡ በሥልጣነ፡
> ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ውጉዝ፡ ለይኩን።

This book, which was written at the time of Governor (*däǧǧazmač*) Säbägadis [here Sub-agadəs], was bought by the sacristan Kəflä Giyorgis with the church's money; and the name of the village is Add Qʷälqʷal. The chief of the village, Kəflä Giyorgis Wäldä Śəllase, is also the head of the church. Anyone who steals this book or erases it or takes it away shall be excommunicated by the authority of Peter and Paul.

Later, in the middle of the twentieth century, paratexts recording purchases were also signed with fingerprints by the parties involved, as on folio 127r of manuscript MY-010[4] (Fig. 4).
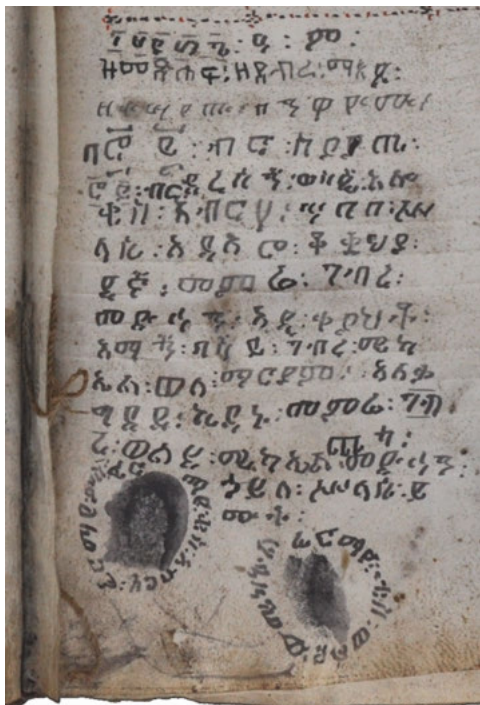
Fig.4: MY-010, fol. 127ra.

The most common way of establishing the ownership right of an institution over a manuscript seems to have been that of writing a 'donation note', i.e. a paratext that explains who donated the manuscript and in which circumstances. In fact, one should note that out of 708 manuscripts already described by the Ethio-SPaRe project, 261 (36.8%) have at least one type of ownership note and 197 (27.8%) have a donation note. Manuscript MY-002, written at the time of King

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[4] *Book of the Funeral Rite* (*mäṣḥafä gənzät*), late nineteenth century, from the collection of the church of Däbrä Maʿṣo Qəddus Yoḥannəs.

Dawit (1382–1412) and containing a copy of the homiliary, presents an old and elaborate example of a donation note on folio 147v, for instance (Fig. 5):[5]

በአኮቴተ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ዘወሀብኩ: ዛቲ: መጽሐፍ: አነ: ዓቃቤ: ሰዐት: ተሰብከ: መድኃን: ለደብረ: ማዕጾ: ለዮሐንስ: ዘወሀብኩ: አፈወርቅ: ወጳው<ሎ>ስ: ወማ<ዕ>ጠንት: ወወሱተይ። ሶበ: ተለ<ቃ>ሕኩ: ግምዛሁ: ለዮሐንስ: ፉሎተ: ብእሲትየ: ዘፈደይኩ: አነ: ተሰብኩ: መድኃን: ነሥ<ዕ>የ: እ<ን>ዘ: ዐቃቤ: ሰዓት: ወሥዕምሃ: አቡሁ: ሀሎ: እግዚአብሔር: ወበዓልቴቱኄ: አስምዑ: ወንጉሥኄ: ዳዊት: ወልደ: ሴፋርዓድ: ወመኮንንኄ: አሮኒምስ: ወማእከለ: በሕርኄ: ዘአማኑኤል: ዘዬዱ: ወዘተአገለ: ዘኔጠ: ወዘ: ተ<ሣ>የጠ: ዘለቀሐ: ወዘተለቀሐ: ለዛቲ: መጽሐፍ: ውጉዝ: ይኩን: እመሂ: ቀሲስ: ወእመሂ: ሥዩም: ወእመሂ: ዘኮነ: ከዊኖ: በአፈ: ዐሠርቱ: ወኃምስቱ: ነቢያት: ወበአፈ: ዓሠርቱ: ወክልኤቱ: ሐዋርያት: ወበአፈ: ሰብዓ: ወክልኤቱ: አርድእት: ወበአፈ: ሠለስቱ: ምእት: ዓሠርቱ: ወሰማንቱ: ርቱዓነ: ሃይማኖት: በአፈ: አብ: ወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ወበአፉሀ: ለእግዚእትነ: ማርያም: ውጉዝ: ለይኩን: ወለአለም: በዘሐከከ: ውጉዝ: ይኩን: ለአለም: ዓለም: አሜን።

In praise of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The one who donated this book is me, ʿaqabe säʿat,[6] Täsäbkä Mädḫän. [I gave it] to Däbrä Maʿṣo, to Yoḥannǝs. What I donated is Chrysostom and Paul and a censer and wäsutäy (?). When I borrowed the textile of Yoḥannǝs, I paid [it (?)] back with fulot (?) from my wife, having taken [it], while I, Täsäbkä Mädḫän, am the ʿaqabe säʿat and also the head, whose father is Hallo Ǝgziʾabǝḥer and whose wife is Asmǝʿu, and the king is Dawit, son of Sefarʿad, and the prince [of that region] is Aronim, and the governor of that province (maʾkäl baḥr) is Zä-Amanuʾel. Whoever plunders and robs, sells and buys, or lends and borrows this book shall be excommunicated, be he a priest, a chief, or anyone else, by the mouth of the fifteen prophets, and by the mouth of the twelve apostles, and by the mouth of the seventy-two disciples, and by the mouth of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox [fathers], by the mouth of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by the mouth of our Lady Mary, he shall be excommunicated. And if anyone scrapes [this book clean], he shall be excommunicated forever. Amen.[7]

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5 For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Nosnitsin-Bulakh 2014: 552–555.

6 Literally "keeper of the hours", ʿaqabe säʿat is the title of the person in charge of the king's schedule.

7 The Ethiopic text of this note appears in footnote 9 in Nosnitsin-Bulakh 2014: 555, albeit without a translation.
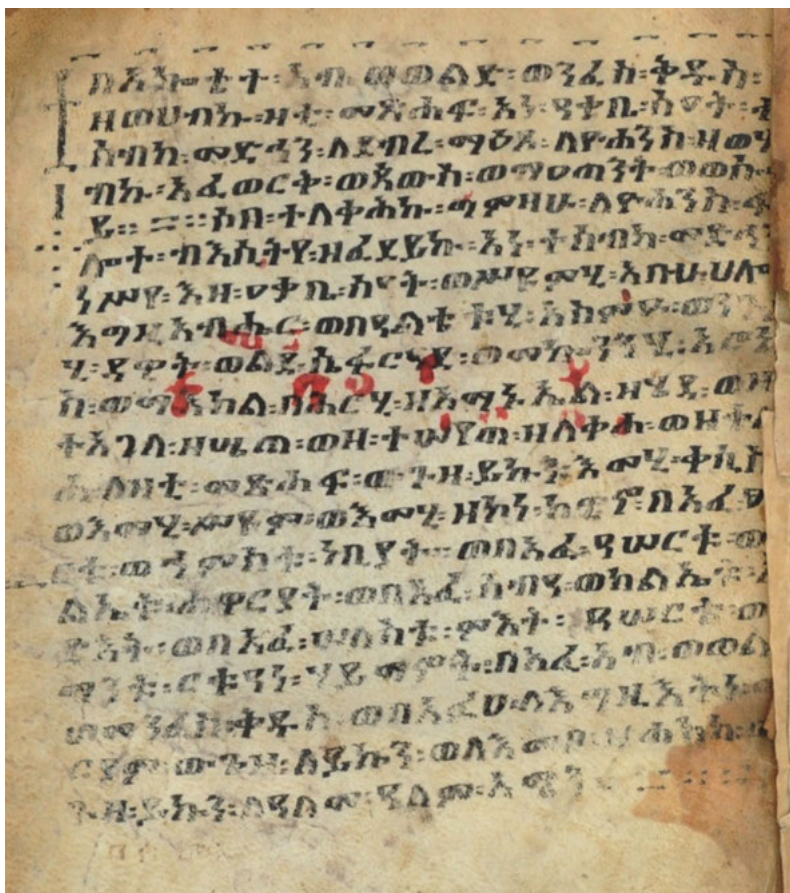
Fig. 5: MY-002, fol. 147v.

This donation note provides the name of the donor, Täsäbkä Mädḫǝn, who was also the commissioner of the work, the name of the church that received the manuscript, Däbrä Maʿṣo Qǝddus Yoḥannǝs, and a reference to the current king at the time, Dawit, and to other officials – details that have enabled us to date the donation. This naming practice was carried out over the following centuries, right up to the first half of the twentieth century. An interesting example is provided by manuscript AMQ-001, which contains a copy of the Four Gospels and is preserved in the church of Qirqos in Addigrat. Its donation note, written on fol. 222vb and 225ra, reads as follows:

ዛቲ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ዘደጅ፡ አዝማች፡ ስባ፡ ጋዲስ፡ ዘወሀበ፡ ለቂርቆስ፡ አድ፡ ግራት፡ ተሣይጦ፡ በንዋዩ፡ ዘሰረቆ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ፡ በሥልጣነ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ውጉዝ፡ ለይኩን፡ ለውእቱ፡ ቂርቆስ፡ ውእቱ፡ ሐነጸ፡ ወአልአሎ፡ ወአሥአሎ፡ ወአክበሮ፡ ወሠርገዎ፡ በከሎ፡ ንዋየ፡ ዘቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ ከመ፡ ይርከብ፡ አስበ፡ ህየንተ፡ <u>ᎎ</u>ዸምኸዕቢተ፡ በመንግሥተ፡ ሰማያት፡ እምነ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መፍቀሬ፡ ምሕረተ፡ አበውየ፡ ወአኃውየ፡ ካህናት፡ ዘዛቲ፡ ቤተ፡ ክርስቲያን፡ እለ፡ ጸለይክሙ፡ ወቆም፡ ከመ፡ ኢትርስዑኒ፡ አቡነ፡ ዘበሰማያት፡ ከመ፡ ይዕቆ [fol. 225ra] በኔ፡ እምኵሎ፡ መከራ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወነፍስ፡ ሊተ፡ ለወልድክሙ፡ ወእኁክሙ፡ ዘመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ስባ፡ ጋዲስ፡፡

This is the book which Governor (*däǧǧ'azmač*) Säbägädis [here Səba Gadis] donated to [the church of] Qirqos Addigrat, having bought it with his own money. Anyone who steals it or erases it shall be excommunicated by the authority of Peter and Paul. It was he who built this [church dedicated to] Qirqos and erected it, and he had it painted and he honoured it, and he adorned it with all the church vessels in order to receive his reward, not just once, but a thousand times over in the Kingdom of Heaven, from God who loves mercy. Oh, my fathers and my brothers, priests of this church who prayed and stood up, do not forget [to say] a paternoster for me so that He may protect me from every plague of the flesh and soul, for me, your son and brother, Zä-Mänfäs Qəddus Səba Gadis.

This manuscript was commissioned by the ruler of the region, *däǧǧazmač* Säbägädis (c. 1785–1831), at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was immediately donated to the church of Qirqos upon its completion.

Despite the four or so centuries separating the dates of their production, MY-002 and AMQ-001 have numerous similarities. Each manuscript was donated to an institution by the same person who commissioned its production, without any intermediary steps. In theory, once donated to an institution, a manuscript became the inalienable property of that particular church or monastery and could not be taken away from it or destroyed by an outsider. Each ownership note taken into consideration here ends with a threat about potential excommunication. The phrase used was a standard one: 'Anyone who steals, erases, destroys or takes away this book shall be excommunicated by the authority of Peter and Paul'. As exemplified by MY-002 and AMQ-001, this kind of wording is found in donation notes dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. In these cases, it should be understood that paratexts not only record the history of the manuscripts in which they are found, but also regulate their legal status in terms of ownership. Once donated, a manuscript could accommodate other paratexts as well. The margins and the protective folios of manuscript AMQ-001, for example, are covered in notes, as on fols. 226v–227r (Fig. 6). All of these marginal thoughts concern the parish life of Qirqos Church and deal with contracts, rent or oaths made by the parishioners.
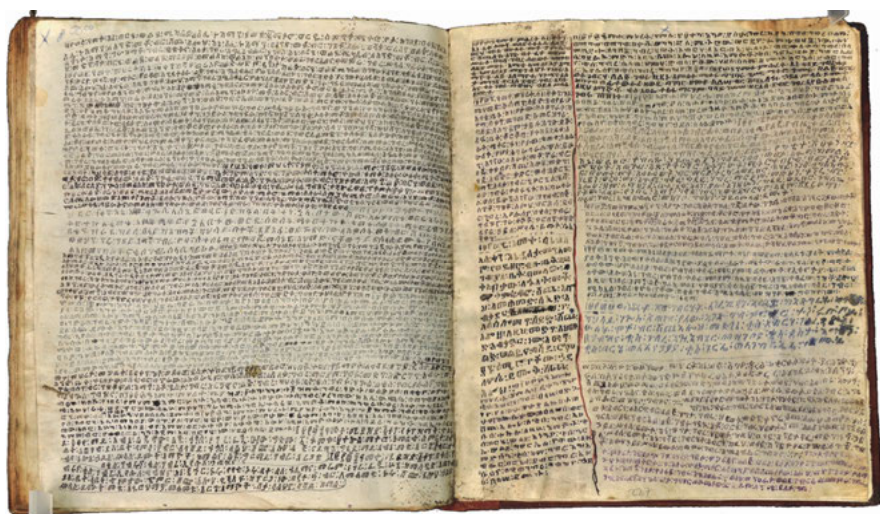
Fig. 6: AMQ-001, fols. 226v-227r.

3 Evidence of private ownership

Although private libraries in Ethiopia were rare up until the twentieth century, manuscripts could certainly be in the possession of individuals. However, the period of time during which a manuscript could have been considered in private possession was usually extremely short. Currently preserved in an institutional collection, many manuscripts provide evidence of the ownership right of individuals over them and even evidence of a donation made by these people. As in the case of institutional ownership, personal ownership can be identified thanks to short paratexts written in the margins of the folio or on the protective leaves of the manuscript, usually penned in a different hand than the one that wrote the main text(s) of the manuscript.

The simplest type of ownership evidence in a manuscript usually consists of a single sentence written on the margin of a folio. For example, in manuscript MMA-008 from the library of the church of Mäʿago Däbrä Mädḥanit Amanuʾel, dated to the eighteenth century and containing the missal, a sentence was written in a second hand in the bottom margin of folio 121v (Fig. 7):

ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዘአቡነ፡ ወልደ፡ ስምዖን።

This book is [the property] of our father, Wäldä Səmʿon.
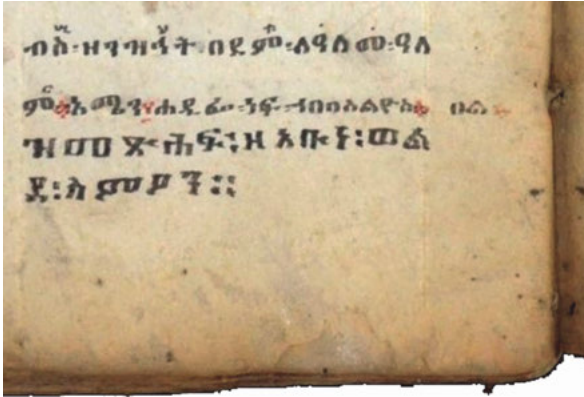
Fig. 7: MMA-008, fol. 121vb.

We can see the same type of sentence in manuscript QMB-005 from the library of the church of Bäläsa Qəddus Mikaʾel, dated to the nineteenth century and containing the Vita of Cyrus (*gädlä Kiros*) on folio 37rb, accompanied by the excommunication formula:

ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዘደ<ጃ>ዝት፡ ጓንጉል፡ ማሩ፡ ወስመ፡ ጥምቀቱ፡ ገብረ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ዘሠረቆ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩን።

This book is [the property] of Governor (*däǧǧazmač*) Gʷangʷəl Maru, whose baptismal name is Gäbrä Giyorgis. Anyone who steals or erases it shall be excommunicated.

Paratexts of this kind can also be more elaborate, as in manuscript GKM-022 from the library of the church of Mäḵodʿä Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät, dated to the seventeenth century and containing a copy of the missal. On folio 60v, a second hand wrote the following in red ink:

ዝመጽሐፍ፡ ዝፈ<ታ>ውራሪ፡ አባይ፡ ወብእሲቱ፡ ወለተ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ወም<ስ>ለ፡ አቡሁ፡ ገብረ፡ እግዚአብሔ<ር>፡ ወምስለ፡ እሙ፡ ወለተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወምስለ፡ ደቂቀ፡ ወልደ፡ ሥላሴ፡ ወለተ፡ ዓቢየ፡ እግዚአ፡ ወለተ፡ ተክለ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ከመ፡ ይኩኖሙ፡ መድኃኒተ፡ ነፍሶሙ፡ ለዓለም፡ ዓለም፡ አአሜን [sic]።

This book is [the property] of Prince (*fitawrari*) Abbay, and his wife is Wälättä Mikaʾel, with his father Gäbrä Ǝgziʾabəḥe[r], and with his mother Wälättä Śəllase, and with his children Wäldä Śəllase, Wälättä ʿAbiyä Ǝgziʾ, Wälättä Täklä Haymanot. May it be the salvation of their souls for them, forever and ever. Amen.

The mention of the names of the owner's relatives here should come as no sur-prise. This was a frequent practice in Ethiopian manuscripts because it permitted the reader to identify the owner and his social status in the local community pre-cisely. It also enabled the owner to involve members of his family in the donation.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, seals have been used by certain in-dividuals, usually members of the aristocracy, with the intention of stating their right of ownership of a manuscript. For instance, folio 1r of manuscript NSM-002[8] is stamped with the seal of Prince Səbḥat (c. 1844–1914), the governor of the re-gion of Təgray. More often, the right to ownership of a manuscript was claimed through a supplication written inside the text, as in the case of the commissioner (and the scribe) of the sixteenth-century manuscript QSM-002[9] on fol. 87ra–rb:

ለአጽሐፊሃ፡ ከፍለ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ወጸሐፊሃ፡ ትንሣኤ፡ መድኃን፡

For the one who commissioned it, Kəflä Iyäsus, and for the one who wrote it, Tənśa'e Mädḫən.

This practice was kept up until quite recently, as it is witnessed by the nineteenth-century manuscript DDM-007.[10] The name of the donor, Wälättä Mädḫən, is pre-sented and rubricated here in supplications on fol. 30vb (Fig. 8).
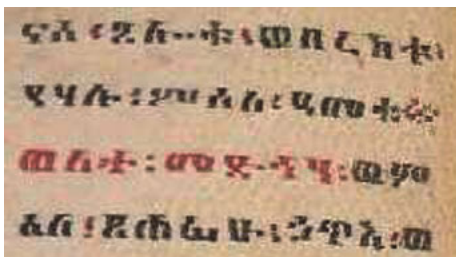
Fig. 8: DDM-007, fol. 30vb.

In several cases, such as that of GKM-022 mentioned above, the individuals named in the paratexts are not explicitly identified as owners, commissioners or

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8 *Book of the Rite of the Holy Week* (*mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat*), late nineteenth century, from the library of the church of Nəḥbi Qəddus Mika'el.
9 *Book of the Rite of the Holy Week* (*mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat*), from the library of the church of Qärsäbär Mika'el.
10 *Vita of Cyrus* (*gädlä Kiros*), from the library of the church of Dändera Däbrä Məḥrät Mika'el.

donors of the manuscript. However, since commissioning and donating a manuscript was an act of devotion, an individual mentioned in the supplication cannot be anyone other than the commissioner or donor. It is reasonable to think that the individual mentioned in such a paratext was the owner of the manuscript and, thus, the one who donated it to the institution.

4 Manuscripts' travels revealed by the destruction of ownership marks

Theoretically, once donated to an institution, manuscripts should not have been moved since they were the inalienable property of the church in question. However, this was not always the case, and excommunication formulas can be regarded as indirect evidence of the fact that many manuscripts did actually get moved to different places several times.

A clue that this happened is provided by donation notes that do not indicate the name of the church where the manuscript is currently located, but a totally different one. The fifteenth-century manuscript GMS-002 is one such example: this is preserved in the library of the church of Siʿet Qəddəst Maryam and contains a copy of the Four Gospels. On fol. 63vb its donation note reads (Fig. 9):

ዘቲ፡ ወንጌል፡ ዘወሀበ፡ ዘአማኑኤል፡ ለዘጋቡ፡ ማርያም፡ በእንተ፡ መድኅኒተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ብእሲቱ፡ ወበእንተ፡ ደቂቁ፡

This Gospel was donated by Zä-Amanuʾel to [the church of] Zä-Gabu Maryam for the salvation of his soul and for his wife and children.
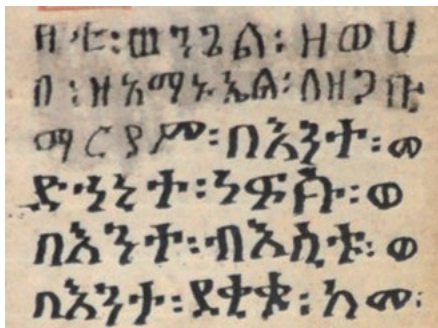
Fig. 9: GMS-002, fol. 63vb.

In this donation note, one can clearly see that the name of the church was corrected by a second hand and replaced by the name of the church of Zä-Gabu Maryam. However, even this second name does not correspond to the church where the manuscript is found today; it is evident that this manuscript has known at least three different locations.

In other cases, the donation note has been destroyed. In certain manuscripts, the part of the folio on which the donation note had been written was cut off later, as in manuscript KY-004,[11] fol. 1v (Fig. 10). The end of the note is still legible:

ዘሠረቆ፡ ወዘፈሐቆ፡ በስልጣነ፡ ጴጥሮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩን [sic]፡ ከመ፡ አርዮስ፡ ወመቅዶንዮስ፡ ወሳባልዮስ፡ ወጳውሎስ፡ ሣምሳጢ፡ ውጉዘ፡ ለይኩን [sic]፡ ዓሜን።

Anyone who steals or erases it shall be excommunicated by the authority of Peter and Paul, like Arius, Macedonius, Sabellius and Paul of Samosata have been excommunicated. Amen.
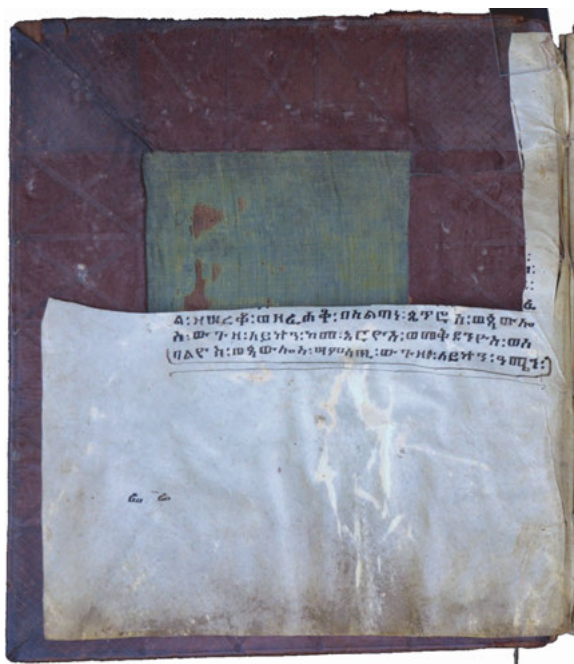
Fig. 10: KY-004, fol. 1v.

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11 *Four Gospels* (*arbaʿtu wängel*), eighteenth century, from the manuscript collection of the church of Koholo Yoḥannəs Däbrä Betel.

Ironically, it seems that the person who cut off the donation note wanted to preserve the excommunication formula. In other manuscripts, the donation note has simply been erased and then replaced by a new one, as in the case of manuscript QDGM-003,[12] fol. 148ra. A second hand erased the first donation note, writing the new one not in its place, but on the lines that followed (Fig. 11).
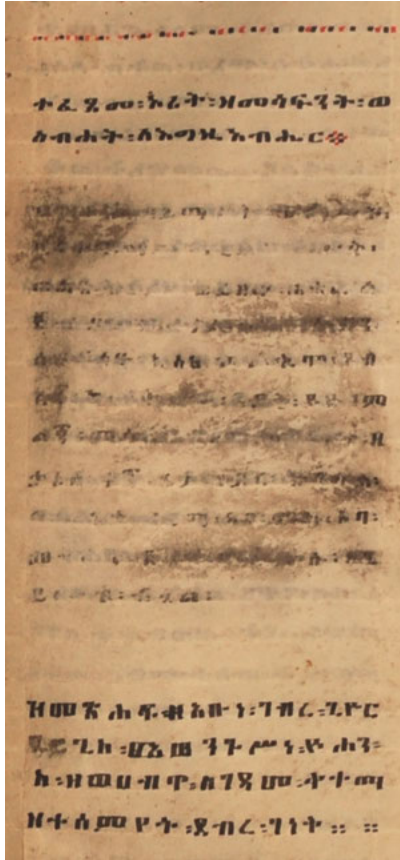
Fig. 11: QDGM-003, fol. 148ra.

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12 *Octateuch* (*orit*), seventeenth century, from the library of the monastery of Qäqäma Qǝddǝst Maryam.

The most common case of replacing ownership marks is that in which the names written in the supplication formulas were erased and new ones were written over them. A particularly relevant manuscript in this respect is FBM-017[13] from the library of the church of Fäqada Maryam. The name originally written in the supplication formulas was Wäldä Yoḥannǝs. However, a second hand erased it and replaced it with another one, Wäldä Tadewos. Both names are visible on fol. 9ra (Fig. 12) – the first one was written in red and the second one in black. On the other hand, one can see that the name Wäldä Tadewos was also erased and replaced on fol. 63ra; a third hand possibly wrote the name Wäldä Yodahe interlineally (Fig. 13). This case is difficult to analyse. In fact, we can imagine that the manuscript had three different owners before being donated to the church of Fäqada Maryam (Diagram 1). The manuscript may have been inherited. However, the private possession of manuscripts was something of a rarity in Ethiopia, so one should perhaps wonder whether the manuscript may have been donated to three different churches successively instead (Diagram 2). It is also possible that – for unknown reasons – this manuscript was moved from one church collection to another several times.
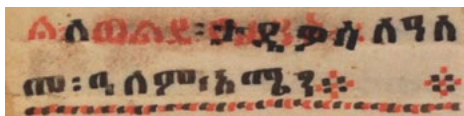
Fig. 12: FBM-017, fol. 9ra.
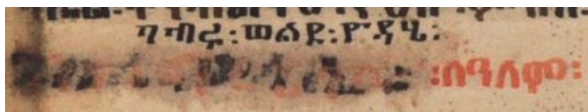
Fig. 13: FBM-017, fol. 63ra.
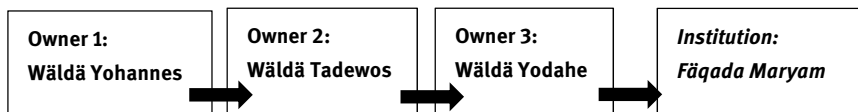
Diagram 1: FBM-017 first hypothetic ownership chain.

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13 *Homiliary for the feast of St Michael* (*dǝrsanä Mikaʾel*), seventeenth century.
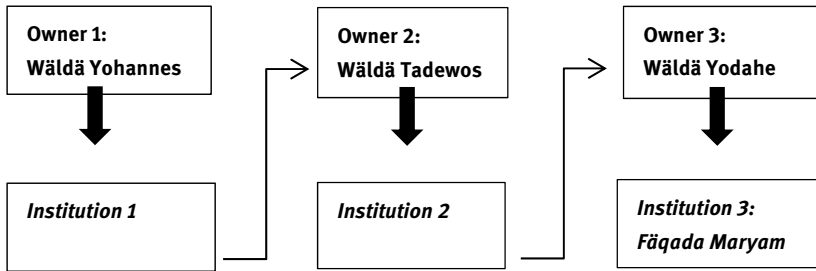
Diagram 2: FBM-017 second hypothetic ownership chain.

The destruction of ownership and donation marks corresponds to a change in ownership, yet such a change questions the inalienable character of the institutional ownership of manuscripts in Ethiopia. However, it may also possibly refer to another event, i.e. that in some cases the transfer of a manuscript from one library to another was deliberate. Manuscript GKM-006[14] provides an explanation for a transfer of this kind. This manuscript was donated by a monastery, Gunda Gunde, which gave it to another one, Maḵodä Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät, which is explained in the donation note on fol. 144rc:

ዝግብረ፡ ሕማማት፡ ዘደብረ፡ ገነት፡ ዘወሀብዎ፡ ማነበረ፡ ጉንጉ<ን>ዴ፡

This *Gəbrä ḥəmamat* is [the property] of [the monastery of Mäḵodʿä] Däbrä Gännät and was donated by the monastery of Gunda Gunde [here Gʷängʷä<n>de].

Exceptional events could also be the reason for such a transfer, however. The case of the library of the church of Mədrä Ruba Səllase is particularly interesting. This library contains several manuscripts originating from three other churches. Out of 46 manuscripts, seven came from Libanos of Mästəḥ,[15] three from Däbrä Mika'el Ǝnba Ḥarisay[16] and four from Aba'əko Maryam.[17] Luckily enough, evidence of these transfers was not destroyed by the local clergy. In manuscript MR-

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14 *Book of the Rite of the Holy Week* (*mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat*), beginning of the twentieth century, from the manuscript collection of the church of Mäḵodʿä Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät.
15 See manuscripts MR-009, MR-010, MR-023, MR-026, MR-037, MR-039 and MR-041.
16 See manuscripts MR-014b, MR-033 and MR-040.
17 See manuscripts MR-007, MR-012, MR-024 and MR-032.

026, for example,[18] the donation note (on fol. 177rb) mentions the church of Libanos of Mäsṭäḥ. In manuscript MR-040,[19] the colophon (on fol. 36v) states that the church of Däbrä Mikaʾel Ǝnba Ḥarisay received the manusript, and a note (on fol. 38va) mentioning Abaʾǝko Maryam is found in manuscript MR-012.[20] Paratexts were probably not destroyed by the local clergy because the transfer had been authorised by clergymen from Mäsṭäḥ, Ǝnba Ḥarisay and Abaʾǝko. In fact, these three churches were in the neighbourhood of the church, but ceased their activity after a while. At a certain moment, the clergy of Mǝdrä Ruba Sǝllase was asked to accommodate their collection. It is thus possible to reconstruct the ownership chain of the manuscript in Mǝdrä Ruba Sǝllase (Diagram 3).
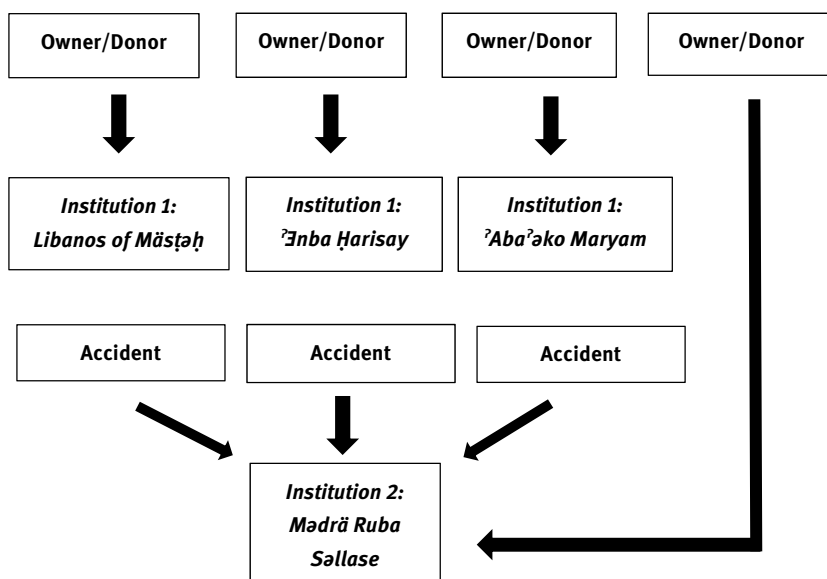
Diagram 3: Hypothetic ownership chain for Mǝdrä Ruba Sǝllase manuscripts.

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18 *Four Gospels* (*arbaʿtu wängel*), first half of the nineteenth century.
19 Book of the Christening (mäṣḥafä krǝstǝnna), second half of the nineteenth century.
20 *Homily on the observance of Sunday*, ascribed to Jaqob of Serug (*dǝrsanä sänbätä krǝstiyan*), nineteenth century.

5 The fate of Mäqdäla's manuscripts

The fate of Mäqdäla's manuscripts is a well-known chapter in the field of Ethiopian studies. Rita Pankhurst investigated the history of these manuscripts.[21] King Tewodros II (1855–68) aimed to create a large royal library in his fortress at Mäqdäla. For that purpose, he looted the churches of the town of Gondär, taking a large number of manuscripts and sending them to Mäqdäla. The manuscripts were preserved in the church of the fortress dedicated to the Saviour of the World, Mädḫane ʿAläm. During the same period, a diplomatic incident occurred between Ethiopia and Great Britain. Tewodros tried to establish an alliance with Britain in 1862, but he was unhappy about the British policy towards him. In the end, he decided to arrest the British consul and some other Europeans present in Ethiopia and hold them hostage. Britain reacted by sending an expedition to Ethiopia in 1867 in order to liberate the European hostages. Led by Lord Napier, the expedition was able to reach Mäqdäla fortress in 1868, travelling through north-eastern Təgray and Wällo. Tewodros's army was defeated at Mäqdäla, and the Ethiopian monarch consequently committed suicide.

After the battle, the place was looted and numerous parchment manuscripts became part of the booty. The precise number of manuscripts that were located in Mäqdäla fortress when the Napier expedition captured it is unclear. Since 1973 and the study conducted by Rita Pankhurst, however, it has been estimated at about 1,000.[22] Members of the expedition kept some of the manuscripts 'for the purpose of scientific examination'.[23] One can now find them in various European libraries. According to Rita Pankhurst's estimate, those were 404 manuscripts altogether.[24] Another part of the Mäqdäla collection of manuscripts was left in Ethiopia by the British expedition. Scant information is available about these documents. In their record of the expedition published in 1870, Trevenen Holland and Henry Hozier reported that the manuscripts were carried by the British expedition

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21 See Pankhurst 1973.

22 Rita Pankhurst estimated that between 989 and 1,075 manuscripts must have been present in Mäqdäla fortress and proposed that 1,007 manuscripts were the most likely amount. See Pankhurst 1973: 40. In 1990, she estimated that Mäqdäla library probably had some 1,300 volumes, because, in addition to her first estimate, 'witnesses have testified to the manuscripts strewn over the hillsides on and near the fortress after the battle'. See Pankhurst 1990: 228. Even today, the literature still reports about 1,000 manuscripts. See Pankhurst 2007: 764b.

23 Holland / Hozier 1870: 396.

24 This is the most probable estimate proposed by Rita Pankhurst. However, she carefully established a range of 387 to 473 manuscripts located outside Ethiopia. See Pankhurst 1973: 40.

'as far as Chelikot [Čäläqot Səllase in Ǝndärta], and there about 600 were deliv-
ered to the priests'.[25] Rita Pankhurst tried to find information in Ethiopia in 1970
concerning these manuscripts and went to the church of Čäläqot. She was only
able to identify three manuscripts that may have been in the Mäqdäla library.
Also, clergymen from that church told her that manuscripts from Mäqdäla library
were most likely to be found in churches around Mäqdälä founded by King
Yoḥannəs IV (1872–89).[26] Unfortunately, Rita Pankhurst did not have the chance
to check these other church collections, nor did she get any further information.

No evidence about these manuscripts was revealed until further field re-
search was conducted on the Ethio-SPaRe project. Nineteen of the manuscripts
digitised by the project could be clearly identified as documents that belonged to
the Mäqdäla library.[27] These manuscripts were found in the libraries of six
churches: Qäqäma Qəddəst Maryam (QDGM) and Tägoga Däbrä Nazret (TNY) in
Dägʿa Tämben district; Koholo Yoḥannəs Däbrä Betel (KY) in Ǝndärta district,
Agulaʿ Getesemani Kidanä Məḥrät (AGKM) in Kələttä ʾAwləʿalo district, and
Gwaḥgot Iyäsus (GBI) and Čähat Mädḫane ʿAläm (MAC) in Ganta Afäšum district
(Fig. 14).

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25 Holland / Hozier 1870: 396.
26 Pankhurst 1973: 23.
27 All nineteen of these manuscripts are very large and finely produced: the smallest one, the
'Spiritual Elders' (TNY-031) found in Tägoga, is 22 cm high and 19.3 cm wide, and the biggest,
the 'Synaxarion' (TNY-034) found in the same place, is 47.5 cm high and 38 cm wide. They all
contain more than 140 folios: 142 folios for the smallest (a 'Faith of the Fathers' found in Tägoga,
TNY-006) and 235 folios for the biggest (a 'Collection of Hymns' found in Agulaʿ, AGKM-017). Ten
copies of biblical books represent the main part of these manuscripts: four copies of the 'Four
Gospels' (TNY-002, AGKM-008, GBI-001, MAC-003), two 'Octateuch' (AGKM-003, QDGM-003), a
manuscript composed of the books of Enoch, Job, the Proverbs and Kings (TNY-008), one copy
of the 'Pauline Epistles' (TNY-010), one of the 'Apostolic Epistles' (KY-061) and one of the 'Proph-
ets' (TNY-013). The hagiographical works are also present with three copies of the 'Synaxarion'
(TNY-034, TNY-035, GBI-008), like the Christian literacy works with two copies of the 'Collection
of Hymns' (AGKM-011, AGKM-017) and a copy of the 'Story of Mary' (TNY-019). The copy of a
theological work, 'The Faith of the Fathers' (TNY-006), a copy of a lectionary, 'The Book of the
Rite of the Holy Week' (GBI-002), and one from monastic literature, 'The Spiritual Elder' (TNY-
031), complete the corpus. They are not illuminated. The characteristics of these manuscripts
have been briefly described in a short article; see Ancel / Nosnitsin 2014.
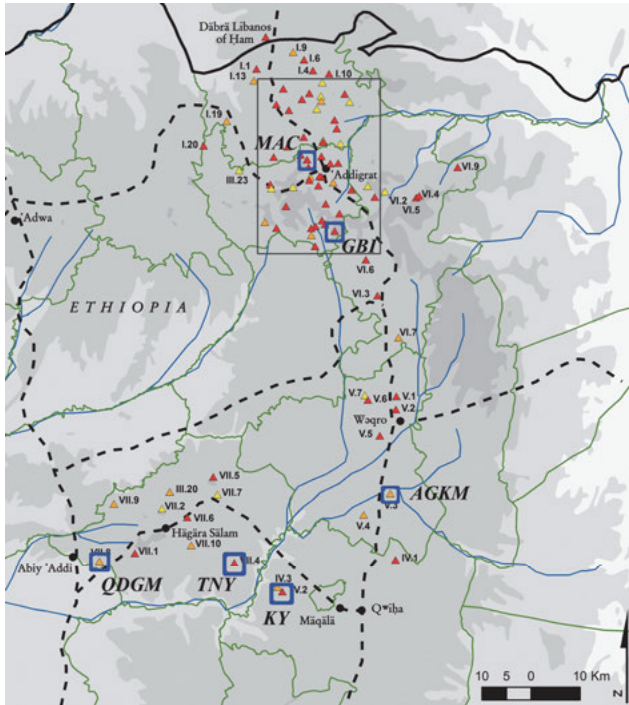
Fig. 14: Monasteries where Mäqdäla manuscripts have been preserved, based on Nosnitsin 2013, © Luisa Sernicola, University of Naples, "L'Orientale".

The manuscripts that were in Mäqdäla library have been identified thanks to three different types of evidence written on their folios. Holland and Hozier reported that the manuscripts from Mäqdäla library 'were carefully examined by M. Münzinger [sic!]', the acting British and French consul since 1864, who accompanied the British expedition.[28] In addition, the authors noted that the title of each manuscript was 'written in each volume'.[29] The marks of Munzinger's examination can be seen in eleven of the nineteen manuscripts recently re-discovered. These marks consist of a number written by a European hand in black ink on the protective folios. For example, one can see the number *820* written on the first folio of the seventeenth-century manuscript of the *Arägawi Mänfäsawi* ('The Spiritual Elder') found in the collection of the monastery of Tägoga Däbrä Nazret (TNY-031). Only three of these

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28 The name M. Münzinger in the quotation is wrong. It should be Werner Munzinger.
29 Holland / Hozier 1870: 397.

eleven manuscripts present the title of the text, written in English or French by the same hand, in addition to the number. For example, in the copy of the Four Gospels found in Tägoga Däbrä Nazret (TNY-002), one can read the word *Evangiles* and the number *841* on the first folio (Fig. 15).
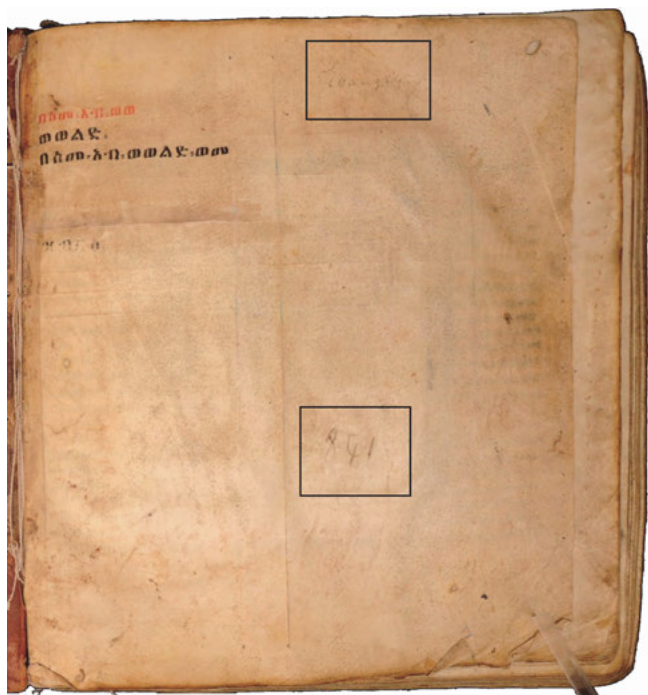
Fig. 15: TNY-002, fol. 1r.

The second type of evidence is the ownership note in Gəʿəz always written in the upper margin of the first folio of the text. This note mentions the title of the text and that it belongs to Mädḫane ʿAläm Church, which is the name of the church erected by Tewodros II in Mäqdäla fortress. This is the case in the copy of the *Haymanotä abäw* ('Faith of the Fathers') found in Tägoga (TNY-006), on fol. 3r (Fig. 16):

ሃይማኖተ፡ አበው፡ ዘቅዱስ፡ መድኃኔ፡ ዓለም።

Faith of the Fathers of [the church of] Qəddus Mädḫane ʿAläm.

Fig. 16: TNY-006, fol. 3r.

Fifteen of the nineteen manuscripts contain this type of ownership note. However, it is often partly erased: in some manuscripts, the name of the church is erased, whereas in others the beginning of the note is missing. Sometimes, the name of the church has been erased and replaced, as in the case of manuscript KY-061[30] (on fol. 4r) (Fig. 17). Evidence of this kind enables us to easily identify manuscripts that were in Mäqdäla library and is comparable to the alterations that we can find in many manuscripts now kept by the British Library.[31]

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30 *Acts of the Apostles* (*gəbrä ḥawaryat*), second half of the eighteenth century, from the library of the church of Koholo Yoḥannəs Däbrä Betel.
31 See, for example, manuscripts Or. 481, Or. 627, Or. 691 and Or. 794.
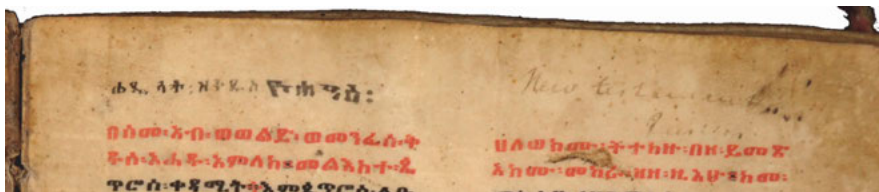
Fig. 17: KY-061, fol. 4r.

The monasteries in Qäqäma, Tägoga and Agulaʿ, the construction of which was granted by King Yoḥannəs IV, were identified by Rita Pankhurst as possible owners of such manuscripts.[32] The investigation undertaken by the Ethio-SPaRe project confirmed this hypothesis, but also brought to light the scattering of Mäqdäla manuscripts all over the region in north-eastern Təgray. In fact, although most of the identified manuscripts (fifteen of them) were found at sites in the vicinity of Mäqdäla (and in the vicinity of Čäläqot Śəllase as well), four others were located in Ganta Afäšum district in the vicinity of Addigrat, a region quite a way north. This situation supports the idea that manuscripts gathered in Čäläqot Śəllase were donated to different churches in Təgray soon after being deposited there. It also questions the way in which the British expedition redistributed Mäqdäla manuscripts. If the gathering of a large part of the manuscripts in Čäläqot cannot be contested, the presence of Mäqdäla manuscripts in churches located all along the road leading north supports the idea that British officers may have distributed them at local churches on their way back to Zula, the town from where the British expedition began.[33]

Unfortunately, the preliminary study of these manuscripts has not revealed any clear information concerning the donation process which occurred after their removal from Mäqdäla. Only three manuscripts actually contain a donation note. The first one, the 'Four Gospels' from Čähat Mädḫane ʿAläm (MAC-003), was donated by a certain Wäldä Arägawi during the reign of Səbḥat, ruler of the region of ʿAgamä between 1875 and 1914 (see fol. 1r). A more relevant note is contained in the second manuscript, the 'Octateuch' found in Qäqäma Qəddəst Maryam (QDGM-003), which was donated by King Yoḥannəs IV and his close companion and first abbot of the monastery, Gäbrä Giyorgis, as is stated in the donation note

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32 Pankhurst 1973: 23 (footnote 51).

33 Rita Pankhurst does not support this hypothesis even though Stanislaw Chojnacki previously pointed out the contradictions among the available sources and doubted that all the manuscripts were kept in the church of Čäläqot. See Pankhurst 1973: 21–22; Chojnaski 1968: 35.

on fol. 3v. The last one, the 'Pauline Epistles' found in Tägoga (TNY-010), gives a list of the items that King Yoḥannəs IV donated to the monastery on fol. 147v. This list includes eighteen manuscripts, five of which can be identified as Mäqdäla manuscripts. The role of King Yoḥannəs IV is highlighted in the last two examples. One wonders if King Yoḥannəs IV received these books directly, as suggested by J.M. Flad,[34] or if he seized the collection from Čäläqot along with the members of his court and distributed the manuscripts among different churches. The preliminary study of manuscripts rediscovered in north-eastern Təgray does not cast any light on the actual events, unfortunately. Even so, one can still propose a tentative diagram summarising the ownership chain of the Mäqdäla manuscripts (see Diagram 4).

Owner/Donor

↓

Institution 1: in Gondär

↓ Looting

King Tewodros II

↓

Institution 2: Mäqdäla   Institution 4:
Mädḥane Aläm   Churches in Təgray

↓ Looting   ? ↑

Institution 3a: ← **British troop** → **King Yoḥannəs IV**
in Great Britain

↓   ? ↑

Institution 3b:
Čäläqot Səllase
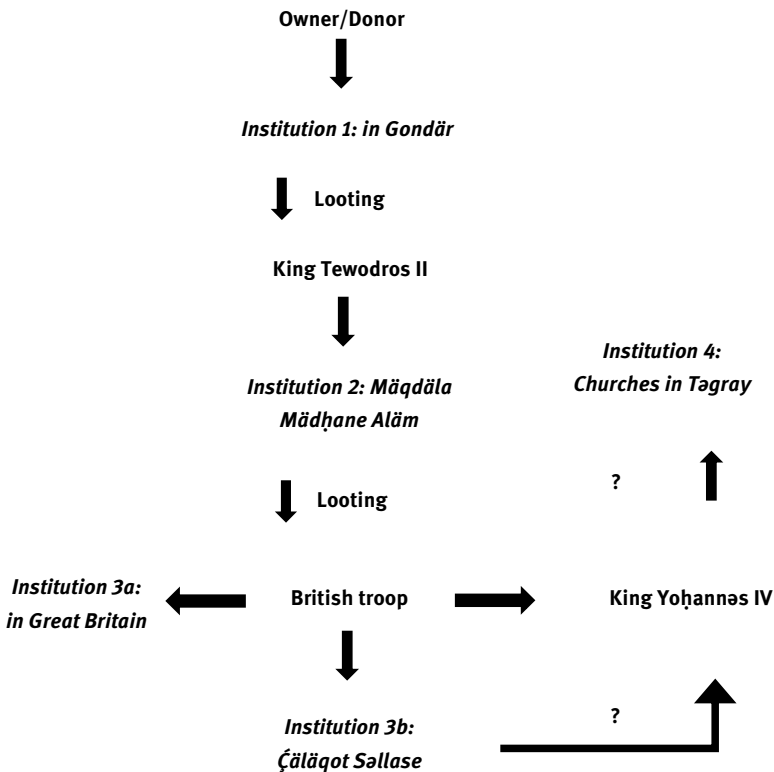
Diagram 4: Ownership chain of the Mäqdäla manuscripts.

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34 Quoted in Pankhurst 1973: 22.

Fig. 18: GBI-002, fol. 2r.

The clergy of a church accommodating such a manuscript behaved in two different ways. In one, the marginal notes were erased by them, as we see in manuscript QDGM-003, fol. 30v or GBI-002, fol. 140r (Fig. 19). When the manuscript was moved to a new place quite a distance from its original location (at least from Mäqdäla to Təgray in the case of QDGM-003 and GBI-002), the marginal notes it contained sometimes lost their significance. In fact, they concerned another church at another time and thus were of no use to the local clergy. At the end of the nineteenth century in Təgray, who cared about a donation of textiles to an unknown church in Gondär at the time of King Dəməṭros? After a transfer, the marginal notes made in a manuscript lost their meaning. And if marginal notes are erased, the manuscript loses its 'secondary function' as a register. However, we saw above that in some cases the marginal notes have not been erased. This does not mean that the manuscript kept its function as a register in the new church, however. In fact, marginal notes relating to the new church were not added in the case of the Mäqdäla manuscript; instead of that, the manuscript re-acquired its original function, i.e. that of being used for the liturgy. It appears the Mäqdäla manuscripts were precious, high-quality documents that clergymen at other local churches would no doubt have been extremely pleased to receive. The local clergy accommodated such manuscripts not because of their marginalia, but because of their main texts and the function these had for the liturgy.
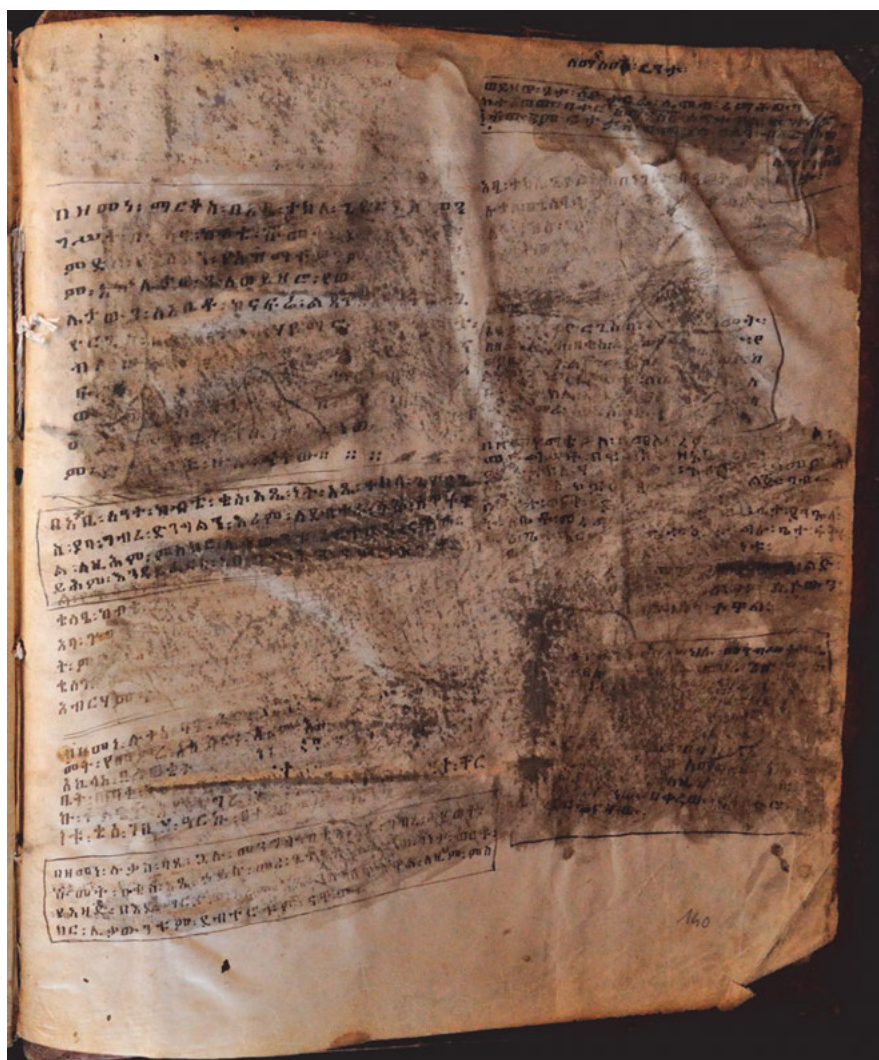
Fig. 19: GBI-002, fol. 140r.

The transfer of manuscripts from place to place has a clear impact on the study of regional codicological features of Ethiopian manuscripts. Without a close study of the provenance of manuscripts, the result of such a study would be completely misleading. Furthermore, the investigation of the provenance of manu-

scripts touches upon issues concerning the political history of Ethiopia. Manuscript RQM-003, a copy of the *Synaxarion* found in the monastery of Romanat Qəddus Mikaʾel near Mäqdälä (Ǝndärta district) and dated to the eighteenth century, provides copious marginal notes, as on fols. 1v–2r (Fig. 20). Dare we suggest that the presence of marginal notes that do not fit in *a priori* with the local context is evidence of a manuscript transfer? This question is actually crucial for the study of Ethiopian political history. The protective folios of RQM-003 are full of historical notes concerning the court of kings in Gondär like King Śahlu. Romanat is located a long way from Gondär and far from the supposed area of political control of the Gondarian kings. The issue at stake is that of understanding if the clergy of Romanat used to record events from Gondär or if this manuscript actually came from elsewhere. The question is of prime importance and its answer will tell us if Romanat, and thus north-eastern Təgray, was under the direct political influence of Gondarian kings between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.
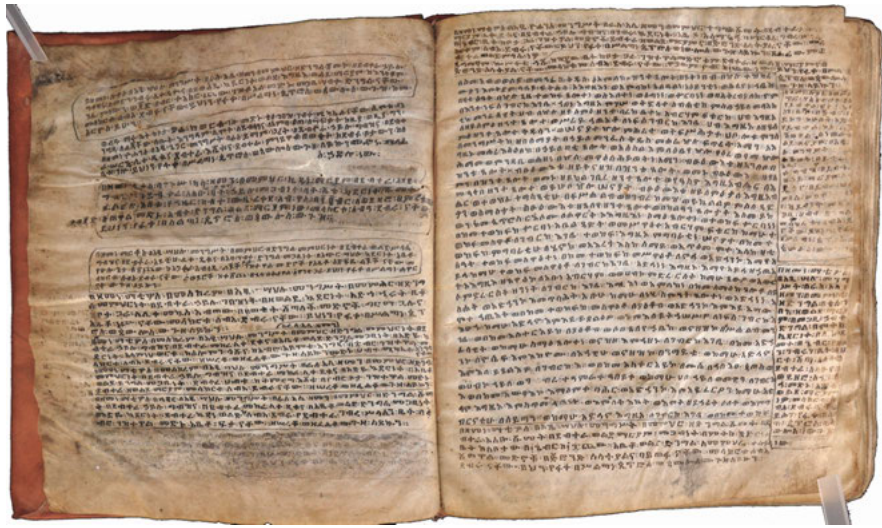
Fig. 20: RQM-002, fol. 1v-2r.

Manuscripts

MS 1: AKM-009, *mäṣḥafä qəddase* (Missal), 117 fols. (seventeenth cent.), church of Anbäsät Kidanä Məḥrät, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 2: KY-064, *mäṣḥafä qəddase* (Missal), 117 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Däbrä Betel Koholo, Ǝndärta *wäräda*, South Təgray.

MS 3: MAKM-075, *arbaʿtu wängel* (Four Gospels), 159 fols. (nineteenth cent.), monastery of May Anbäsa Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät, Ǝndärta *wäräda*, South Təgray.

MS 4: AQG-009, *mäṣḥafä gənzät* (Book of the funeral rite), 134 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of ʿAddi Qolqwal Giyorgis, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 5: MY-010, *mäṣḥafä gənzät* (Book of the Funeral Rite), 129 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Däbrä Maʿṣo Qəddus Yoḥannəs, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 6: MY-002, *dərsanat*, (Homiliary), 149 fols. (1382–1412 CE), church of Däbrä Maʿṣo Qəddus Yoḥannəs, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 7: AMQ-001, *arbaʿtu wängel* (Four Gospels), 229 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Qirqos Qəddus Addigrat, Addigrat, East Təgray.

MS 8: MMA-008, *mäṣḥafä qəddase* (Missal), 123 fols. (eighteenth cent.), church of Mäʿago Däbrä Mädḥanit Amanuʾel, Kələttä ʾAwlaʿlo *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 9: QMB-005, *gädlä Kiros* (Vita of Cyrus), 38 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Bäläsa Qəddus Mikaʾel, Kələttä ʾAwlaʿlo *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 10: GKM-022, *mäṣḥafä qəddase* (Missal), 145 fols. (seventeenth cent.), monastery of Mäḵodʿä Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät, Ganta Afäšum *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 11: NSM-002, *mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat* (Book of the Rite of the Holy Week), 180 fols. (nineteenth cent.), monastery of Nəḥbi Qəddus Mikaʾel, Ganta Afäšum *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 12: QSM-002, *mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat* (Book of the Rite of the Holy Week), 197 fols. (16ᵗʰ cent.), church of Qärsäbär Mikaʾel, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 13: DDM-007, *gädlä Kiros* (Vita of Cyrus), 38 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Dändera Däbrä Məḥrät Mikaʾel, Ganta Afäšum *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 14: GMS-002, *arbaʿtu wängel* (Four Gospels), 200 fols. (fifteenth cent.), church of Siʿet Qəddəst Maryam, Ganta Afäšum *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 15: KY-004, *arbaʿtu wängel* (Four Gospels), 214 fols. (eighteenth cent.), church of Koholo Yoḥannəs Däbrä Betel, Ǝndärta *wäräda*, South Təgray.

MS 16: QDGM-003, *orit* (Octateuch), 152 fols. (seventeenth cent.), monastery of Qäqäma Däbrä Gännät Qəddəst, Dägʿa Tämben *wäräda*, Central Təgray.

MS 17: FBM-017, *dərsanä Mikaʾel* (Homiliary for the feast of St Michael), 103 fols. (seventeenth cent.), church of Fäqada Maryam, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 18: GKM-006, *mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat* (Book of the Rite of the Holy Week), 220 fols. (twentieth cent.), monastery of Mäḵodʿä Däbrä Gännät Kidanä Məḥrät, Ganta Afäšum *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 19: MR-026, *arbaʿtu wängel* (Four Gospels), 177 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Mədrä Ruba Səllase, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 20: MR-040, *mäṣḥafä krəstənna* (Book of the Christening), 37 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Mədrä Ruba Səllase, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 21: MR-012, *dərsanä sänbätä krəstiyan* (Homily on the observance of Sunday, ascribed to Jaqob of Serug), 39 fols. (nineteenth cent.), church of Mədrä Ruba Səllase, Gulo Mäkäda *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 22: TNY-031, *arägawi Mänfäsawi* (The Spiritual Elder), 145 fols. (seventeenth cent.), monastery of Tägoga Däbrä Nazret, Däg'a Tämben *wäräda*, Central Təgray.

MS 23: TNY-002, *arba'tu wängel* (Four Gospels), 176 fols. (eighteenth cent.), monastery of Tägoga Däbrä Nazret, Däg'a Tämben *wäräda*, Central Təgray.

MS 24: TNY-006, *haymanotä abäw* (Faith of the Fathers), 142 fols. (seventeenth cent.), monastery of Tägoga Däbrä Nazret, Däg'a Tämben *wäräda*, Central Təgray.

MS 25: KY-061, *gəbrä ḥawaryat* (Acts of the Apostles), 152 fols (eighteenth cent.), church of Koholo Yoḥannəs Däbrä Betel, Ɂndärta *wäräda*, South Təgray.

MS 26: MAC-003, *arba'tu wängel* (Four Gospels), 174 fols. (seventeenth cent.), church of Mädḥane 'Aläm Ćäḥat, Ganta Afäšum *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 27: TNY-010, (Pauline Epistles), 148 fols. (eighteenth cent.), monastery of Tägoga Däbrä Nazret, Däg'a Tämben *wäräda*, Central Təgray.

MS 28: AGKM-017, (Collection of hymns), 235 fols. (eighteenth cent.), church of Agula' Getesemani Kidanä Məḥrät, Kələttä Ɂawla'lo *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 29: GBI-002, *mäṣḥafä gəbrä ḥəmamat* (Book of the Rite of the Holy Week), 140 fols. (eighteenth cent.), church of Gwaḥgot Iyäsus, Ganta Afäšum *wäräda*, East Təgray.

MS 30: RQM-003, *sənkəssar* (Synaxarion), 169 fols. (eighteenth cent.), monastery of Romanat Qəddus Mikaɂel, Ɂndärta *wäräda*, South Təgray.

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Index of languages and scripts

Index of personal names

Index of place names

General index

"Gréco-lombards" manuscripts 252, 267

ba (postface, colophon) postface: 132f., 133
fn7, 139, 140, 142 fig3, 143 fig4, 144,
147, 246 fn51; colophon: 171, 171 fn34,
172, 172 fig3
Byzantine Empire 205, 210 fn40, 214, 233,
233 fn16
Byzantine year 210, 216, 225f., 259

cangshuyin (book collector's seal) 162,
182, 183
Chongzhen reign-period 134f.
Cūḷasakaraja 39, 39 fn7, 41ff.

Donglin 131ff., 134 fn 11 + 13, 140, 140 fn26,
143, 145, 150 fn48, 154, 157
Donglin Academy 131, 131 fn1, 134, 140, 140
fn26
Donglin Faction 131, 131 fn1, 132 fn1, 143,
157

Era of Princes (*zämänä mäsafent* 1769–1855)
294

Great Xia dynasty (1362–1371) 165, 165 fn13
guange ti [*taige ti*] (academic script) 151

Han dynasty (202BCE–220CE) 144

Indiction 194, 207, 216, 225ff., 227 fn8,
228, 248f., 250, 252, 254, 257, 260,
262, 267
intaglio-seal (*baiwen*) 169, 169 fn29, 174,
179

Jakhanke 13, 13 fn26, 20, 28, 28 fn48, 29,
32
Jātaka 40, 40 fn10, 42, 42 fn14, 44, 57
Jovian year 67, 67 fn20, 68, 68 fn23, 75,
76ff., 84ff., 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101,
103, 105ff., 115ff., 119, 121ff.

Kangxi Dictionary 144

Kollam year 64 fn9, 65, 65 fn 11 + 12 + 13 +
14, 66 fn17, 67f., 76ff., 85f., 88, 90, 92,
94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108,
109ff.

Lunar day (*tithi*) 39, 64, 69, 74 , 76 + fn47,
78

Ming dynasty (1368–1644) 140, 151, 158,
166, 166 fn14
Mulberry paper (Sa paper) 37, 37 fig1, 38
fig2, 41, 51f., 53, 56, 57

Ottoman Empire 185, 201, 203, 219

pingque [*taitou* (shift head)] 151, 151 fn49,
155

Qin dynasty (221–207BCE) 144
Qing dynasty (1644–1911) 132 fn5, 134 fn 13
+ 14, 135 fn14, 138, 144, 144 fn37, 145,
151, 164, 169, 170f.

relief-seal (*zhuwen*) 169, 169 fn29
Republic of China (1912–1949) 169, 183

seal script (*zhuanshu*) 162
sexagenary cycle: see Jovian year 64, 67,
67 fn20, 74
Siku quanshu 146, 151, 152 fig9, 156, 167
Song dynasty (960–1276) 138, 142 fn35,
151, 151 fn51, 171
Songti (Song style) 151

taboo characters (*bihuizi*) 133, 144, 144
fn37, 1456, 151
taitou (shift head) 145 fn40, 147, 150, 151,
158
Theravada Buddhism 35, 42, 42 fn14
Tianqi (reign-period) 134, 147
Tyrrhenian manuscripts 251 fn67

xu (preface) 133, 166 fn18