

DE GRUYTER

# THE SYNTAX OF COLOPHONS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ACROSS  
POTHI MANUSCRIPTS

*Edited by Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti*

STUDIES IN  
MANUSCRIPT CULTURES

DE  
G

## **The Syntax of Colophons**

# **Studies in Manuscript Cultures**



Edited by

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

## **Volume 27**

# The Syntax of Colophons



A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts

Edited by  
Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti

DE GRUYTER

The publication of this volume was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 ‚Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures‘ – project no. 390893796.

ISBN 978-3-11-079523-3

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-079527-1

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-079532-5

ISSN 2365-9696

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110795271>



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>.

**Library of Congress Control Number: 2022948391**

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2022 with the author(s), editing © 2022 Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston. This book is published open access at [www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com).

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

# Contents

Giovanni Ciotti, Nalini Balbir

**Introduction — 1**

## Part I: South Asia

### North India

Stefan Baums

**The Earliest Colophons in the Buddhist Northwest — 15**

Camillo Formigatti

**Colophons in Fourteenth-Century Nepalese Manuscripts: Materials for the Study of the Nepalese Renaissance (I) — 43**

Nalini Balbir

**On the Syntax of Colophons in Jain Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts from Western India — 119**

### South India

Giovanni Ciotti

**Scribe, Owner, or Both? Some Ambiguities in the Interpretations of Personal Names in Colophons from Tamil Nadu — 151**

Marco Franceschini

**A Modular Framework for the Analysis of the Dates Found in Manuscripts Written in the Tamil and TAMILIAN Grantha Scripts — 171**



## Part II: Southeast Asia

### Mainland

Javier Schnake

**Khom/Mül Script Manuscripts from Central Thailand and Cambodia: Colophons with a Variable Geometry? — 211**

Volker Grabowsky

**The Grammar and Function of Colophons in Lao Manuscripts: The Case of the Vat Maha That Collection, Luang Prabang — 229**

Peera Panarut

**The Structure, Functions, and Tradition of Siamese Royal Scribal Colophons — 261**

### Maritime

Dick van der Meij

**Colophons in Palm-Leaf Manuscripts from Bali and Lombok (Indonesia) — 283**

## Part III: Central Asia

Dorji Wangchuk

**The Syntax of Tibetan Colophons: An Overview — 325**

Georges-Jean Pinault

**Colophons in Tocharian Manuscripts — 347**

Yukiyo Kasai

**Central Asian and Iranian Influence in Old Uyghur Buddhist Manuscripts: Book Forms and Donor Colophons — 373**

### Indexes

Index of Titles — 399

General Index — 401



Giovanni Ciotti, Nalini Balbir  
**Introduction**

## **An eccentric approach to colophons**

This volume programmatically sits at the centre of a number of blatant contradictions. First, it studies colophons in a number of written cultures of South, South-East and Central Asia that hardly seem to have a word for ‘colophon’. Even when some of these cultures have coined terms that could be translated as such, it is immediately clear that none of them fully overlaps with the term as we inherit it from the European traditions.<sup>1</sup> Finally, both considerations must be pondered against the fact that there is no actual agreement on the scholarly use of the term ‘colophon’, which is not consistently differentiated from other terms, such as ‘post-colophon’, ‘sub-colophon’, ‘subscription’, ‘explicit’, ‘(final) rubric’, ‘ex libris’, etc.<sup>2</sup> It is probably worth reflecting upon the fact that among the causes of what looks like a terminological pandemonium is the material realisation of all these paratexts, which in each manuscript tradition and sub-tradition find specific locations in which they are written within the manuscripts, as well as different *mises en page*, graphic characteristics, etc.

Nevertheless, this volume pushes forward and studies colophons as they emerge from the investigation of manuscripts produced in South, South-East and Central Asia. But how can an indigenous point of view be offered if we operate from a pre-concept – vague as it may be – of what a colophon is? Albeit this could very well remain an irreconcilable methodological conundrum, we propose to sever the proverbial Gordian knot with a Derridean sword. Instead of centring our investigation and the structuring of our data around an unattainable definition of

---

1 Cf. von Hinüber 2017, 47–48; Balbir, Formigatti, and Wangchuk in this volume. Furthermore, von Hinüber 2017 and Baums in this volume also offer a brief history of the first attestations of colophons found in manuscripts hailing from South Asia and draw insightful connections to colophons found in inscriptions.

2 On how some of these terms should be used in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew and Islamic codicology, see Agati 2009, 288–293 and Reynhout 2006, 20–25. More specifically, the term ‘post-colophon’ seems to have been introduced in Indological literature by Pratapaditya Pal in his 1978’s *The arts of Nepal II.: Painting* (a fact noted by Dominik Wujastyk in a blog post from 2012 [<https://cikitsa.blogspot.com/2012/01/colophons-names-of-text-portions-in.html>], accessed on 30 May 2022).

colophon, we move eccentrically and work around a new centre, in particular that of a specific manuscript form, namely the pothi.<sup>3</sup>

## Comparative pothi manuscript studies

Inspired by what COMSt (‘Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies’) has accomplished for the study of the codex in the eastern Mediterranean cultures and beyond,<sup>4</sup> this volume intends to be a step into the direction of a more comprehensive and coordinated approach to the study of pothi manuscripts with contributions from all the written cultures of South, South-East and Central Asia that have historically made use of this book form. Despite the availability of numerous studies of colophons in single manuscripts as well as small and large collections,<sup>5</sup> unfortunately it is rare for scholars engaged in the study of manuscripts hailing from the above-mentioned areas to find a common platform to present their materials in a way conducive to drawing a bigger picture, a picture that can help us observe similarities and differences, continuities and innovations in the manuscript cultures of the Indic world.<sup>6</sup> In a way, colophons are our expedient of choice here to set the stage for a more ambitious codicological enterprise.

Before embarking on such an enterprise, we need to dwell a little longer on terminology and spare a few words regarding the terms ‘Indic’ and ‘pothi’.

## Indic manuscripts

Unsurprisingly, there is no consensus on the geographical and cultural scope of the term ‘Indic’, even if we simply stick to the study of manuscripts. Just to give a couple of examples, Helmut Krasser used it to indicate North Indian manuscripts

---

<sup>3</sup> See Derrida 1967, 409–428.

<sup>4</sup> See Bausi et al. 2015.

<sup>5</sup> For a pertinent bibliography, we refer the reader to the references provided in the contributions of this volume, where one can virtually find all the relevant literature on the topic mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> There are of course notable exceptions, such as Berkwitz, Schober and Brown 2009, Harrison and Hartmann 2014, and Balbir and Szuppe 2014. However, none of them readily shares the same scope of the present volume, the former two being exclusively focused on Buddhist manuscript cultures, and the latter exceeding the scope of what we refer to by Indic manuscripts (see below).

in opposition to Tibetan manuscripts,<sup>7</sup> whereas in a recent volume in this very series the same term is pragmatically used in a way that includes both manuscripts and woodblock prints from both India and Tibet.<sup>8</sup>

Here we go decisively farther and use the term to indicate a broad geographical area that includes South, South-East and Central Asia, despite the high variety of languages, scripts and traditions that characterises their manuscript cultures and, thus, differentiate them from one another. It is nevertheless possible – we maintain – to define a common ground on the basis of the clear historical and cultural connections within which they emerged and thrived and that finds its roots in the Indian subcontinent, hence our terminological choice. Such commonalities range from the extended trade networks – both on land and sea – that linked with one another the sub-regions of the areas in question to the spread of various forms of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism together with their liturgical, iconographic and literary cultures. In this respect, the roles played by Sanskrit and Pali are of paramount importance as far as the broad and complex cultural phenomena of the Sanskrit and Pali cosmopolises are concerned.<sup>9</sup> The pothi form adds to this list of commonalities and offers therefore a particularly apt point of reference to pursue our comparative agenda.

It goes without saying that the limits of this supposed Indic sphere are not only fuzzy but also porous, with endless connections with other cultural domains, both geo-cultural (Iran/Persia, China)<sup>10</sup> and religious (Islam, Sikhism, Christianity),<sup>11</sup> throughout all the regions taken into consideration here.

## Pothi manuscripts

A pothi is a stack of folios – prominently palm-leaves, paper sheets and birch-bark sheets, but many more materials have been also used – crafted in an oblong rectangular shape of different lengths and flipped upward (the writing on the versos would be upside down if the folios were to be flipped sideward). These folios can be placed between two wooden plates and bound by means of threads that run through the hole(s) pierced on their surfaces, as is the case for example for pothis made of palm-leaf and birch-bark. Alternatively, folios can be unbound

---

<sup>7</sup> Krasser 2014, 301.

<sup>8</sup> See Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2017.

<sup>9</sup> See Pollock 2006 and Fräsch 2017, respectively.

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, Baums and Kasai in this volume.

<sup>11</sup> Concerning Islam, see for example van der Meij in this volume.

and the whole stack can be wrapped with a cloth, placed between two wooden plates, or inserted in a paper sleeve, as is typical of pothis made of paper, the surface of which has no holes for inserting threads.

It should be noted that the term ‘pothi’ is chosen for convenience’s sake, for it is widely understood by scholars of different fields as referring to the manuscript form just described. Naturally, each language of the cultural areas here under consideration has words meaning ‘pothi’ that are either loanwords eventually going back to Sanskrit *pustaka/pustikā* – from which, for example, North Indian languages derive *pothī* and Tibetan ultimately *pod* – or specific words, such as *lontar* (‘palm’) in Javanese, that are taken from the indigenous lexicon. In other languages, both kinds of words can coexist, such as in Tamil, where one has both *puttakam* (< Sanskrit *pustakam*) and *ēṭu* (‘leaf’).

Despite the fact that it can be confidently argued that in areas such as Tibet, South India, mainland South-East Asia, and Bali, the pothi has been – to say the least – the most widespread manuscript form until modern times and has been one of the most prominent forms in North India and Central Asia,<sup>12</sup> a scholarly approach or narrative that encompasses these regions and their pothis seems largely lacking.<sup>13</sup>

As in the case of the term Indic, here too we should acknowledge the porosity of the boundaries between manuscript forms and production technologies, without imposing an artificial and probably useless compartmentalisation. For example, scrolls from North-West India and leporellos from South-East Asia are essential in understanding the history of Indic manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Tibet introduced – following Chinese usage – large-scale woodblock printing during the second millennium and saw the production of a vast number of prints that imitated the main characteristics, in particular the oblong format, of pothis.<sup>15</sup> This is to say that, despite having historically been the predominant manuscript form, pothis alone cannot tell the whole story in isolation and other forms also partake in the writing traditions that we encounter in South, South-East and Central Asia, and which we investigate here through the exploration of their colophons.

---

<sup>12</sup> For the marked Buddhist orientation of the pothi form in Central Asia, see for example Pinault in this volume.

<sup>13</sup> For a recent attempt, see Ciotti 2021.

<sup>14</sup> See Baums and Panarut in this volume, respectively.

<sup>15</sup> About the interrelation between manuscript and woodblock prints in pothi forms, see Ciotti 2021, 879–880 and the relevant bibliography quoted there.

## The syntax of colophons

Recent studies on colophons<sup>16</sup> and on paratexts in general<sup>17</sup> have shown that colophons can be investigated as sources for tracing the personal engagements of scribes with the culture they belong to, as texts that are part of the broader literary culture of the tradition in question and as examples of informal linguistic and graphic forms that may have no other attestations and whose interpretation presents many challenges,<sup>18</sup> etc. However, a desideratum that remains almost unfulfilled, at least regarding the Indic world, is that of a typological and quantitative approach to the study of colophons – granted one of the most obvious obstacles in achieving this goal is simply the limited number of scholars engaging with the topic!<sup>19</sup> Of particular relevance in this respect therefore is the overt engagement with quantitative codicology exemplified by several of the contributors to this volume, who have had the chance over the years to build up sizable corpora of colophons and engage in producing their editions, many of which are presented here either for the first time or in revised versions.<sup>20</sup> Thus extrapolating patterns or even clusters of patterns of characterising features and, in the long run, comparing them to one another would certainly help us gain a much more complete understanding of the broad and long history of writing in South, South-East and Central Asia.

What we are therefore interested in this volume are the constituent components of colophons (dates, personal names, place names, scribal maxims, invocations, etc.) and their actual position within the manuscripts (after the main text, at the beginning of the manuscript, in a specific folio used with the sole purpose to host the colophon, etc.). In this respect, we use the term ‘syntax’ in a

---

**16** See, for example, Bahl and Hanß 2022 in general, and Cabezón 2001 for Tibet in particular.

**17** See, for example, Ciotti and Lin 2016 in general, and Wilden and Anandakichenin 2020 for South Asia in particular.

**18** For attempts at dealing with linguistic challenges, see also Franceschini, Ciotti, Schnake and van der Meij in this volume.

**19** See, for example, von Hinüber 2017, 57, who writes in reference to Buddhist manuscripts: ‘In spite of a wealth of material available so far comparatively little research has been conducted on colophons. [...] Therefore, this interesting, important and very promising, but scattered material still awaits closer investigation’. There are of course laudable exceptions and, once again, we refer the reader to the lists of references in the contributions to this volume.

**20** See, in particular, Formigatti, Balbir, Franceschini, Ciotti, Grabowsky, van der Meij, and Kasai in this volume. Among them, Formigatti and Balbir also offer brief, yet interesting methodological remarks on the perks and pitfalls of quantitative codicology. For a recent assessment of quantitative codicology in general, see Maniaci 2021, 1–32.

broad sense: an internal, at times merely grammatical order of the components of the colophons, as well as some sort of codicological order that places these paratexts in particular locations within the manuscripts. On the other hand, the absence of a strict syntax is also of interest, perhaps due to the difficulty in detecting patterns caused by the idiosyncratic nature of the scribes' activity,<sup>21</sup> the prevalence of prosodic constraints over the order of the components when colophons are in metrical form,<sup>22</sup> or the obvious challenges of providing an overview for an entire manuscript culture that spans centuries.<sup>23</sup>

The main focus of this volume is on statements composed by scribes about dates, places and individuals involved in the production and use of the manuscripts. However, as above, here too the boundaries we set for our analyses cannot be but porous. For example, scribes can sometimes also be the owners of the manuscripts in which they wrote, hence ownership statements are also taken into consideration here.<sup>24</sup> At other times the distinction between the author of the text contained in a manuscript and its scribe is not neatly cut, perhaps because the scribe is also the author or simply because of the authorial impact that all scribes exert on the texts that they are copying.<sup>25</sup> Hence, text colophons, chapter colophons, author colophons, translator colophons, etc. are also investigated.<sup>26</sup>

## Contributions

The contributions in this volume have been arranged geographically. Given the variety of manuscript cultures they engage with, they are in fact representative enough to provide a comprehensive – though of course not exhaustive – overview of the colophonic practices of the Indic world.

We begin with South Asia, and in particular North India, with the contribution by Stefan Baums on the three earliest colophons found in birch-bark Gāndhārī scrolls, including a new reading of the colophon found in the so-called 'Khotan Dharmapada' and an assessment of the original position of the one in the so-called 'Gāndhārī Prajñāpāramitā'. Although not in pothi form, these scrolls

---

<sup>21</sup> See, for instance, Schnake and van der Meij in this volume.

<sup>22</sup> See, for instance, Franceschini and van der Meij in this volume.

<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, Wangchuk in this volume.

<sup>24</sup> See Ciotti in this volume.

<sup>25</sup> On the broad concept of 'copying manuscripts', cf. Brita et al. 2020. For a case of differences between scribal colophons and authorial colophons, see Formigatti in this volume.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, Pinault and Wangchuk in this volume.

are the oldest extant manuscripts hailing from South Asia and are essential to set the scene in which pothis and their colophons will play the major part. Linking these three colophons with scribal traditions both contemporary (Achaemenid documents in Aramaic, and Buddhist inscriptions) and following (Gāndhārī Niya documents, Bactrian documents, and finally the Gilgit pothis),<sup>27</sup> Baums traces the expansion of the number of elements ‘from a simple indication of scribe, commissioner and witnesses to much more elaborate colophons that also include text titles and long lists of intended beneficiaries’, thus integrating Buddhist donative practices.

We then move to Nepal and the detailed article by Camillo A. Formigatti, which begins with an insightful discussion about the ambiguities that accompany the term ‘colophon’ (the term ‘final rubric’ is preferred, instead) and the Sanskrit terms that can to a certain extent be considered its equivalents. He then offers us a typological classification (‘through the lenses of quantitative codicology’) that identifies fifteen components in a large corpus of colophons from 121 manuscripts kept in Nepal and dated between 1320 and 1395 CE. Formigatti also provides an edition for each colophon.

The first section of this volume ends with Nalini Balbir’s contributions on Jain manuscript culture in Western India – surely one of the most prolific in the whole Indic world. Balbir introduces us to the colophons of this particular manuscript culture through a broad overview based on years of research in the field, interspersed with a number of telling examples. She also observes that the history of colophons is intertwined with that of the writing support, as a clear difference emerges between those found in palm-leaf pothis against paper pothis, a difference that corresponds to unmarked versus marked layouts. Balbir also discusses matters of linguistics, in particular the choice of the language and its register to compose colophons, their grammatical correctness (compared to what is usually perceived to be the standard), etc. Furthermore, the mention of individuals sponsoring the copying of the manuscript in question is thoroughly analysed, since it is of major importance in the Jain context. Note that similar analyses are also offered in the other articles of this volume for the relevant manuscript cultures, not only of course Buddhist, but also Hindu.

Shifting to South India we have two complementary articles that elucidate aspects of colophons found in manuscripts hailing from Tamil Nadu and containing texts both in Tamil and Sanskrit. These are the contributions by Marco Franceschini and Giovanni Ciotti, who over the past years have been building a

---

<sup>27</sup> Oskar von Hinüber has published on colophons in Gilgit manuscripts for years (see the relevant bibliography in von Hinüber 2017).

corpus of 910 scribal colophons, lending/borrowing statements, and ownership statements from 438 palm-leaf manuscripts. In this volume, Marco Franceschini offers an exemplary study on dates by analysing 518 dates, extrapolating their sub-modules, such as year, month, lunar calendrical elements, etc. and the patterns of the sequences in which these sub-modules are displayed. Sub-modules are here understood to be the combination of the ‘value’ of a calendrical element (name or numerical amount) and, when present, one or more of its ‘markers’, i.e. a symbol, word, or else, that identify the kind of calendrical element in question. The emerging patterns allow us to clear up the meaning of potentially ambiguous elements, as well as profile the manuscripts, divide them into significant groups, and potentially link them to their geographical origin and scribal background. Furthermore, Giovanni Ciotti ruminates on the way in which personal names occur in colophons written in Tamil. Their syntax can be ambiguous enough to prevent the immediate interpretation of the role played by the people named, in particular whether they refer to scribes, owners, or individuals playing both roles at the same time. This study, based on a corpus of 193 manuscripts, shows that the combination of philological, palaeographical and codicological observations can lead to a convincing disambiguation, but that at the same time methodological limitations are still to be overcome.

Approaching South-East Asia, we have three contributions that cover different manuscript traditions from the mainland regions. The first is a contribution by Javier Schnake on colophons found in a corpus of 373 manuscripts containing Pali texts written in Khom and Mül scripts. These are datable between the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century and all hail from Central and Southern Thailand as well as Cambodia. After having described salient features of the colophons, such as their location within the manuscripts, their components and linguistic characteristics, Schnake maintains that it is not possible to extrapolate a regular syntax of such paratexts (versus, it is argued, colophons in comparable Burmese and Sinhalese manuscripts) and that what emerges is rather a ‘variable geometry’, which reflects practical concerns instead of readymade patterns.

Moving on to Laos, Volker Grabowsky offers us the most detailed survey of colophons found in Lao palm-leaf manuscripts to date, all of which are selected from the 1,220 manuscripts held at the repository of the Vat Maha That monastery in Luang Prabang, the old royal capital. Granted there is a marked similarity in the way the elements in colophons from Lao, Northern Thai (Lan Na), and Tai Lü manuscripts appear, Grabowsky is able to show the peculiar character of the corpus under investigation by means of an insightful quantitative analysis of the names of the scribes and, in particular, the sponsors mentioned in the colophons.

This opens a window on the whereabouts and social background of these individuals, that interestingly comprise a relatively high percentage of women and members of the royal family.

With Peera Panarut's contribution we enter the Siamese royal court to investigate manuscripts produced by royal scribes. While both palm-leaf pothis and *khoi*-paper leporellos have been produced in this particular setting, Panarut focuses on the latter. This choice does bring us outside of the domain of pothis manuscripts, but encourages us to think of the two forms as coexisting and complementing each other. In general, we should keep in mind that in virtually no culture pothis represented the only type of written artefact, perhaps simply due to the copresence of inscriptions on rock or metal, or the acquaintance with other forms.<sup>28</sup> In the case of the Siamese royal court, the difference in form does correspond to a division of labour, as religious texts are reserved for palm-leaf pothis, whereas secular and literary texts are written on *khoi*-paper leporellos. Furthermore, colophons in leporellos show specific features, such as a rather consistent internal structure that includes date, names or titles of the royal scribes, editors and proof-readers, the absence of informal, rustic statements, such as imprecations against the misuse of manuscripts (versus monastic manuscripts produced in the larger Siamese manuscript culture), and the use of the royal language register.

Dick van der Meij then brings us to Maritime South-East Asia with a study based on pothis from the islands of Bali and Lombok (Indonesia), focusing on their dates in particular. These manuscripts contain either Hindu or Islamic texts and are for the large majority produced in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The syntax of their colophons – understood as the internal order of its components – is difficult to establish, in particular as far as manuscripts from Bali and the Balinese community in Lombok are concerned. Their length is in fact unpredictable ranging from a few words to rather complex statements. On the other hand, the position of the colophons within the manuscripts seems to be quite regular. They are exclusively at the end of the texts in manuscripts from Bali and the Balinese community in Lombok, but can often be both at the beginning as well

---

**28** Rolls/scrolls are rather ubiquitous in written cultures, but one can also think of the bewildering variety of coexisting manuscript forms in Dunhuang (see Galambos 2020), the almost inextricable symbiosis between codex and Islam, which has of course reached almost all corners of South, South-East and Central Asia since centuries, or the concomitant availability of materials that would permit the production of leporellos, as in the case in point, but also in Central Asia, Nepal, and Maritime South-East Asia (concerning the latter, see for example van der Putten and Zollo 2020).

as at the end of manuscripts with Islamic content from the Sasak community in Lombok.

Finally, we reach Central Asia and its vast array of languages, cultures, and written artefacts. Dorji Wangchuk provides us with a comprehensive overview of colophons in Tibetan manuscripts and woodblock prints, the latter – as mentioned above – maintaining the pothi form and, at least in part, its scribal features. Wangchuk details the complexities of identifying a Tibetan counterpart for the term ‘colophon’ and very informatively investigates the various types of (para)texts that can be subsumed under such a label, namely author colophons, translator colophons, editor colophons, printing colophons, scribal colophons, treasure/revelation colophons, etc. Wangchuk also attempts to outline the essential features of the colophons in question, albeit conscious of the limitations set by the large number of types of colophons taken into consideration, their diachronic variation, and the remarkable number of exceptions.

Moving further north into the Tarim Basin, Georges-Jean Pinault offers us the first thorough study of Tocharian colophons found in pothis. Due to the damages suffered by manuscripts, only ‘sub-colophons’ have been preserved, i.e. colophons appended to the end of text chapters. In this respect, Pinault’s contribution shows that an *a priori* distinction author/scribal colophon or text/chapter colophon can be misleading: names of donors are sometimes recorded in the sub-colophons, too, thus indicating that manuscript- rather than text-related information can be found not only at the end of the manuscript itself, but can also be interspersed between the sections of the text(s) it contains. Furthermore, Pinault shows how certain metrical colophons link to their oral performance, as the names of the metres are also given.

The volume ends with Yukiyo Kasai’s contribution on Old Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts, which have been copied in manuscripts of various forms probably beginning with the codex of Manichean influence and transitioning to concertina and pothi forms as the conversion to Buddhism and the closer connection with Tocharian and Chinese cultures took place. In this respect, Old Uyghur manuscripts bring us to one of the outer limits of the pothi sphere, right at its above-mentioned porous boundaries. Here colophons and their components have been strongly – but by no means passively – influenced by the Chinese Buddhist culture, with the Indic component having already gone through several layers of processing.

Many more pertinent manuscript cultures could be included in this volume. However, we are confident that the richness of case studies we are able to present will not only prove adequate to permit the reader to obtain a detailed overview on the state of the art of the research on colophons from South, South-East and

Central Asia, but also incite efforts to enlarge the pool of pertinent examples and thus extend and deepen our understanding of manuscript cultures that have made use of pothis, aiming at breaching the divide that often affects some of the scholarly traditions devoted to their study.

### Acknowledgments

This volume stems from the workshop entitled ‘The Syntax of South, Southeast and Central Asian Colophons: A First Step Towards a Comparative and Historical Study of Manuscripts in the Pothis Format’ that was held at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) in Hamburg on 11–13 October 2018, and which was sponsored by the ERC project ‘NETamil’ (for this we thank Eva Wilden), the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris), and the CSMC. We are grateful to Martin Delhey for his input on both the workshop and this volume. Our thanks also go to the editors of the series ‘Studies in Manuscript Cultures’ for including this volume in their collection, Caroline Macé for her inexhaustible editorial stamina, James Rumball for his attentive language proofreading, and Laurence Tuerlinckx for her careful typesetting.

## References

- Agati, Maria Luisa (2009), *Il libro manoscritto da oriente a occidente: Per una codicologica comparata*, Rome: ‘L’Erma’ di Bretschneider.
- Bahl, Christopher D. and Stefan Hanß (eds) (2022), *Scribal Practice and the Global Cultures of Colophons, 1400–1800* (New Transculturalisms, 1400–1800), Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Balbir, Nalini and Maria Szuppe (eds) (2014), *Lecteurs et copistes dans les traditions manuscrites iraniennes, indiennes et centrasiatiques / Scribes and readers in Iranian, Indian and Central Asian manuscript traditions = Eurasian Studies*, 12/1–2.
- Bausi, Alessandro et al. (eds) (2015), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, Hamburg: Tredition.
- Berkwitz, Stephen C., Juliane Schober and Claudia Brown (eds) (2009), *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art*, London: Routledge.
- Brita, Antonella, Giovanni Ciotti, Florinda De Simini, and Amneris Roselli (eds) (2020), *Copying Manuscripts: Textual and Material Craftsmanship* (Series Minor, 93), Naples: UniorPress.
- Cabezón, José Ignacio (2001), ‘Authorship and Literary Production in Classical Buddhist Tibet’, in Guy Newland (ed.), *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 233–263.
- Ciotti, Giovanni (2021), ‘Notes for an Ontological Approach within Manuscript Studies: Object Oriented Ontology and the Pothis Manuscript Culture’, in Jörg B. Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Arts: Objects, Methods, and Concepts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 25), Berlin: De Gruyter, 865–888.

- Ciotti, Giovanni and Hang Lin (eds) (2016), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 7), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Derrida, Jacques (1967), *L'écriture et la différence* (Collection Points 100), Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Frasch, Tilman (2017), 'A Pāli Cosmopolis? Sri Lanka and the Theravāda Buddhist Ecumene, c. 500–1500', in Zoltán Biedermann and Alan Strathern (eds), *Sri Lanka at the Crossroads of History*, 66–76, London: UCL Press (<<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1qnw8bs.8>>, accessed on 30 May 2022).
- Galambos, Imre (2020), *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture: End of the First Millennium* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 22), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Harrison, Paul and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds) (2014), *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research: Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field. Stanford, June 15–19 2009* (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, 80; Denkschriften – Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 460), Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Krasser, Helmut (2014) 'Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in Vienna. A Sino-Austrian Co-operation Project, with Methodological Remarks on Śāstric "Urtext"', in Harrison and Hartmann (eds) 2014, 301–313.
- Maniaci, Marilena (2021), 'Statistical Codicology. Principles, Directions, Perspectives', in Marilena Maniaci (ed.), *Trends in Statistical Codicology* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 19), Berlin: De Gruyter, 1–32.
- Pollock, Sheldon I. (2006), *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India*, Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press.
- Reynhout, Lucien (2006), *Formules latines de colophons*, I: *Texte* (Bibliologia, 25A), Turnhout: Brepols.
- van der Putten, Jan and Roberta Zollo (eds) (2020), *Die Macht der Schrift: Die Manuskriptkultur der Toba-Batak aus Nord-Sumatra / The Power of Writing: The Manuscript Culture of the Toba Batak from North Sumatra* [Exhibition Catalogue at Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK), Hamburg, 7 May – 14 June 2020 and at the Indonesian Consulate General at Hamburg, 7–24 March 2020] = *manuscript cultures*, 14.
- Vergiani, Vincenzo, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Alessio Formigatti (eds) (2017), *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages: Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 17), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2017), 'On the Early History of Indic Buddhist Colophons', *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture*, 27/1: 45–72.
- Wilden, Eva and Suganya Anandakichenin (2020), *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts* (Indian and Tibetan Studies, 10), Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.



---

Part I: **South Asia**

**North India**



Stefan Baums

# The Earliest Colophons in the Buddhist Northwest

**Abstract:** The oldest known colophons in South Asia are preserved in the rock edicts of Aśoka in the northwestern script Kharoṣṭhī. The production of epigraphic colophons continues in the northwest throughout the period of use of the Kharoṣṭhī script and Gāndhārī language, and from the first century CE onwards also becomes visible in the manuscript record of this region. The present article discusses in detail the reading and interpretation of the three preserved Gāndhārī manuscript colophons. It proposes a new reading for the Khotan Dharmapada colophon revealing the true name of its scribe, and suggests a new physical understanding of the Gāndhārī Prajñāpāramitā scroll bringing the placement of its colophon in line with that of the Dharmapada colophon at the top of the recto of both scrolls. The article concludes by showing how the early Gāndhārī practice of colophons is continued in the administrative documents of the Krorayina kingdom as well as in the Buddhist manuscripts from Gilgit, and it places it in a wider historical arc from the Aramaic colophons of the fifth century BCE to the Bactrian colophons of the sixth century CE.

## 1 Introduction

Five years ago, Oskar von Hinüber published an overview of early colophons in Sanskrit manuscripts, from the northwest of the Indian subcontinent in particular.<sup>1</sup> He traced the prehistory of these colophons back to the Buddhist canonical literature transmitted in Pali and early Brāhmī epigraphical sources. The purpose of the present article is complementary to von Hinüber's, in as much as it focuses on the very earliest written documents of the northwest, manuscripts and inscriptions, in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. After describing the colophons and related phenomena observable in this corpus, it will sketch the development of this genre in the transition from Gāndhārī to Sanskrit and point out some historical continuities.

---

<sup>1</sup> Von Hinüber 2017, 45–72.

Colophons are usually defined – and here understood – as scribal notes attached to a manuscript copy of a text (*pustakapraśasti* in the terms of Jinavijayamuni),<sup>2</sup> as opposed to explicits: information about a text that forms a more integral part of the text itself (Jinavijayamuni’s *granthapraśasti* – in Sanskrit often signalled by the word *samāpta-*), such as information about the author or a chapter listing. Colophons are thus more loosely attached to a text than explicits (though it is still possible, in certain cases, for a colophon to be copied from one manuscript exemplar to another). At the same time ‘true colophons belong to the written tradition’,<sup>3</sup> in contrast to such paratextual features as *uddānas* (summary keyword sections), which therefore also remain outside the scope of the present article.

In view of the Aramaic antecedents of other aspects of Gandhāran scribal culture,<sup>4</sup> it is reasonable to assume that the practice of colophons was also inspired by this model. The Aramaic documents that we have are of an administrative nature (which was most probably also the case regarding the earliest Gāndhārī documents),<sup>5</sup> and in their colophons typically give information about the scribe that prepared the document, the person for whose benefit it was prepared, and possible witnesses to any legal act that the document records or constitutes. An example is provided by Porten,<sup>6</sup> where the colophon proper occurs at the bottom of the recto of a marriage contract (ll. 14–15):<sup>7</sup>

Nathan son of Ananiah wrote this document. And the witnesses herein: witness Nathan son of Gaddul; Menahem son of Zaccur; Gemariah son of Maḥseiah.

In the Aramaic documents, this is echoed by a shorter so-called endorsement at the bottom of the verso (which would have been visible on the outside of the document when folded up; l. 17):

Document of ma[rriage which Anani wrote for Ta]mut

<sup>2</sup> Von Hinüber 2017, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Von Hinüber 2017, 49.

<sup>4</sup> Baums 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Baums 2014, 218–219.

<sup>6</sup> Porten 1979, 83.

<sup>7</sup> For further examples of Aramaic colophons from Bactria, see Naveh and Shaked 2012, Folmer 2017.

## 2 Inscriptions

In the Indian cultural sphere, too, the earliest colophons are scribal signatures, which we find added to the Aśokan inscriptions at Brahmagiri, Jatinga-Ramesvara and Siddapura.<sup>8</sup>

capaḍena likhite li[pi]kareṇa (Brahmagiri, CKI 29)

+ + ḍena [likhita]ṃ + [pika]reṇa (Jatinga-Ramesvara, CKI 30)

capa + + + + + + + + ṇa (Siddapura, CKI 31)

Written by Capaḍa the scribe.

It is remarkable that in all three of these inscriptions, the name of the scribe (not necessarily the same person as the engraver) and the verb of action are written in Brāhmī script like the bodies of these inscriptions, but the term *lipikareṇa* ‘scribe’ in Kharoṣṭhī script. This would seem to indicate that the profession of scribe (which moreover is expressed using the Iranian loanword *lipi* ‘script’) was at this time in the mid-third century BCE still firmly associated with the northwest. It may also indicate that the particular scribe Capaḍa hailed from those parts, and was evidently proficient therefore both in the Kharoṣṭhī script of his homeland and the Brāhmī script used by Aśoka in India. By employing Brāhmī for his name (as opposed to his professional designation), he ensures communication of it to the intended local audience. All in all, the scribe reveals a certain professional pride.<sup>9</sup>

This pride is subverted, and the form of the colophon usurped, by the voice of Aśoka himself at the end of the fourteenth Rock Edict (= the end of the set of Rock Edicts) which reads (using the Shahbazgarhi version, CKI 14):<sup>10</sup>

so siya va atra ki ce asamataṃ likhitaṃ deśaṃ va saṃkhay[a] karaṇa va aloceṭi dipikarasa  
va aparadhena

But it may be that something here is written incompletely, either on account of the place [Bloch: omitting a part], or not liking the motive, or through a fault of the scribe.

In the post-Aśokan period, we have four epigraphic examples of colophons from first- and second-century-CE Gandhāra in Gāndhārī language. Gāndhārī was the literary language (or rather range of increasingly Sanskritized dialects) of the

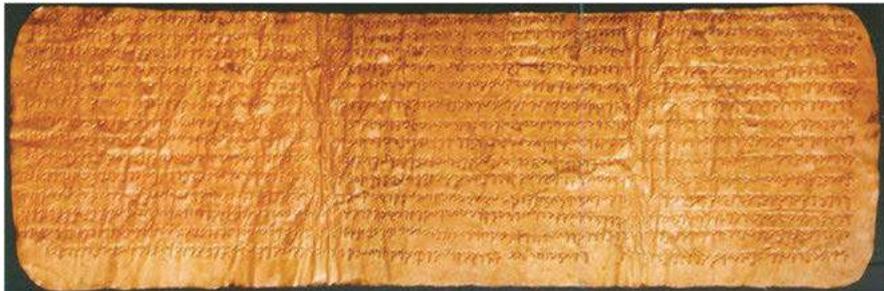
<sup>8</sup> Hultzsch 1925, 175–180. – Here and in the following, + indicates a lost akṣara, ? an illegible akṣara, (\*) reconstructed text, and [ ] unclear text.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Settar 2004 for a detailed consideration of Capaḍa as the earliest artisan from ancient India that we know by name.

<sup>10</sup> Hultzsch 1925, 70–71; Bloch 1950, 134.

region around Peshawar in Pakistan (Gandhāra proper) and a larger area including northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan (often called Greater Gandhāra) from at least the first century BCE onwards (maybe from as early as the third century BCE), as well as, by cultural export, enclaves on the Silk Roads from the third century CE.<sup>11</sup>

These four epigraphic colophons belong to a more narrowly Buddhist context than the Aśokan inscriptions, that of relic-donation records. The most elaborate of these is the colophon at the end of the inscription on a gold leaf interred in a stūpa by the Oḍi king Senavarma (CKI 249; Fig. 1):<sup>12</sup>



**Fig. 1:** The relic inscription of Senavarma, king of the Oḍi (CKI 249; Baums 2012, 228). Object lost.

likhita ya śarirapraīṭhavaṇiṃ Saṃghamitreṇa Laliaputreṇa aṇakaeṇa karavita ya Ṣaḍiṇa Sacakaputreṇa meriakheṇa ukede ya Baṭasareṇa Preaputreṇa tirat(\*e)ṇa vaṣaye catudaśaye 10 4 iśparasa Seṇavarmasa varśasahasā parayamaṇasa Śrāvaṇata masasa divase aṭhame 4 4 iō ca suṇe solite Valiṇa Makaḍakaputreṇa ga[ṃ]hapatiṇa

The (inscription) about the establishment of the relic was written by Saṃghamitra, son of Lalia, the *anankaios*, and (it) was manufactured by Ṣaḍia, son of Sacaka, the meridarch, and (it) *ukede* by Baṭasara, son of Preaputra, the *tirata*. In the fourteenth – 14<sup>th</sup> – year of the lord Seṇavarma, lasting a thousand years, on the eighth – 8<sup>th</sup> – day of the month Śrāvaṇa. And this gold was weighed by Valia, son of Makaḍaka, the treasurer.<sup>13</sup>

This colophon enumerates all the different roles involved in the production of the inscribed gold leaf, starting as usual with the scribe (Saṃghamitra), then apparently naming the producer of the golden support (Ṣaḍia), followed pre-

<sup>11</sup> Fussman 1989, Salomon 2001, Baums and Glass 2002–.

<sup>12</sup> Baums 2012, 227–233; also discussed in von Hinüber 2017, 49–50.

<sup>13</sup> This translation (rather than the conventional ‘householder’) for *gṛhapati* follows the arguments in von Hinüber 2017, 49 and 60.

sumably by the engraver (Baṭasara).<sup>14</sup> The date (on a ritually significant day, hence presumably that of the relic installation rather than that of the production of the object) is set off by a space, in turn followed (without space) by the specification of one further role to have been expected before the date, which therefore may well have been added to the text as an afterthought: the gold leaf was, probably, weighed (*solite* for *tolite*?) by the treasurer Valia. Of particular interest is Saṃghamitra, who bears a monastic name, but simultaneously holds the Hellenistic title ‘anankaïos’, corresponding roughly to the Indian *amātya* ‘minister, privy counsellor’. Clearly, Saṃghamitra was a person of some standing in the royal administration (unless we are to assume that he merely coordinated the production of the relic inscription on behalf of the king) as well as being a monastic. This dual role is also common among the scribes at Niya (see below).

The second, shorter epigraphic colophon forms part of a roughly contemporary relic inscription of similarly elaborate and literary type, namely that of Helagupta:<sup>15</sup>

io ca citravide budhamitraputreṇa vasuṇa sarvabudhaṇa puyae sarvasatvaṇa hidasuhadae

And this has been fashioned by Vasua, son of Buddhmitra, in honor of all buddhas, for the state of well-being and pleasure of all beings.

It occurs without physical separation at the very end of the inscription, which is inscribed on a set of five linked copper plates. The precise meaning of the word *citravide* in context – in particular whether it refers to the scribe or the engraver – is uncertain. Of particular interest in the colophon is how the producer of the inscription appears to express that the act itself was done in honour of all buddhas and for all beings, so that merit clearly accrued from it.

Also from the Apraca dynasty, the western neighbours of the Oḍis and fellow supporters of Buddhism in the mountain ranges of northern Gandhāra, there exists an example of a scribal colophon on the so-called Shinkot casket (CKI 176).<sup>16</sup> This relic container bears an older inscription mentioning the name Menander, though with unclear significance and some doubts about its authenticity, and a clearly genuine younger dedication inscription of the Apraca king Vijajamitra. At the end of the second inscription this simple statement has been attached:

<sup>14</sup> On the somewhat unclear word *ukede* see now von Hinüber 2017, 60.

<sup>15</sup> Falk 2014, Salomon 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Baums 2012, 202–220.

viśpilena aṅaṃkayeṇa likhite

Written by Viśpila, the anankaios.

As with the Senavarma inscription, the scribe (or coordinator of the production of the inscription?) here holds the title of ‘anankaios’.

The fourth epigraphic scribal colophon comes from the Kurram valley and is attached to the end of a relic inscription (CKI 153) on a miniature stūpa that cites the complete Buddhist canonical formula of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*):<sup>17</sup>

aya ca praticasaṃmupate likhida mahiphatiena sarvasatvana puyae

And this Dependent Arising has been written by Mahiphatia in honor of all beings.

The way that the word *praticasaṃmupate* is used here with reference to the inscribed text parallels the introduction of text titles in manuscript colophons (see below).

In addition to these four, there is another notable inscription that could be considered a physically detached ‘producer’s colophon’ (CKI 151):<sup>18</sup>

gomaṇasa karavakasa

Of Gomana the producer.

This is inscribed on a silver disk deposited alongside a bronze relic container bearing a separate inscription (CKI 150) specifying the donor of the relic.<sup>19</sup>

### 3 Gāndhārī manuscript colophons

The exploration will now commence of the three earliest known Indian manuscript colophons, all in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script. Treated sheets of birch bark were the usual writing material of early Gandhāran manuscript scribes, either used singly or joined into long vertical scrolls.<sup>20</sup>

Almost all currently known Gāndhārī manuscripts (approximately 150 substantial scrolls) have been discovered or brought to scholarly attention since the

<sup>17</sup> Baums 2012, 241–242.

<sup>18</sup> Baums 2012, 249–250.

<sup>19</sup> Baums 2012, 249.

<sup>20</sup> Refer to Baums 2014 for a detailed discussion of early Gandhāran manuscript culture.

1990s, and the large majority of them remain unpublished. Nonetheless, the fact that only so few colophons among those manuscripts studied have been preserved seems significant, and is probably due to the place of attachment of colophons at the very beginning of the recto or end of the verso of a scroll, making the colophon easy to consult when the scroll was folded, in the usual fashion, from the bottom of the recto upwards so that the recto faced inwards. The vicissitudes of the centuries have, in the case of most scrolls, led to the loss of precisely these outer layers of birch bark that would have borne a colophon.<sup>21</sup>

### 3.1 Khotan Dharmapada

The first of the three known Gāndhārī colophons is located at the top of the recto of the Khotan Dharmapada scroll. This manuscript is unusual in several respects. It was discovered in 1892, long before the wealth of recent Gāndhārī manuscript finds, and near the city of Khotan on the southern Silk Road – well outside the core area of the language. At almost five metres it is also unusually long for a Gāndhārī manuscript.<sup>22</sup> The first verse in this version of the Dharmapada is preceded by the line in question, separated by a larger than usual vertical space and written in slightly larger letters, though apparently by the same scribe as that of the text itself. A significant amount of birch bark was left empty above the colophon at the very top of the scroll, but as neither of the two available facsimiles reproduces the entirety of this space, its exact height cannot be ascertained. In any case, it is reasonable to assume that the purpose of this empty space, which would have constituted the outermost layers of the folded-up scroll, was to prevent damage to the beginning of the text, and it is this very practice to which the survival of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon may be owed. Incomplete as it is, the reproduction of the top of the scroll in Brough 1962 shows that at least two strips were left empty, indicating that the colophon would not actually have been visible on the outside of the completely folded-up scroll but would have required partial unfolding to consult.

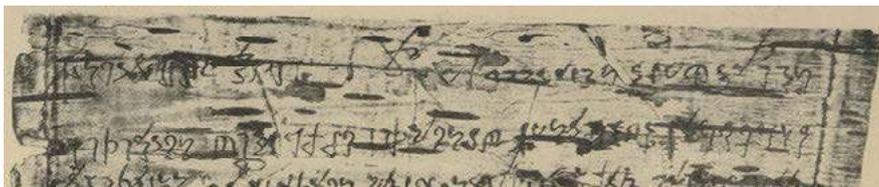
The portion of the manuscript in question is preserved in St. Petersburg, and in his first comment on it, which contained a facsimile of the top of the manuscript

---

<sup>21</sup> See von Hinüber 2017, 50 on the comparable loss of colophon-bearing first or last folios of pothi manuscripts.

<sup>22</sup> Baums 2014, 186.

including the colophon line (Fig. 2), Sergeï Ol'denburg" confessed he had been unable to decipher it:<sup>23</sup>



**Fig. 2:** The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada (CKM 77) as reproduced in Ol'denburg" 1897. Object in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (shelfmark SI-3328/2).

При теперешнемъ состоянїи рукописи, когда не всѣ отрывки могли еще быть вклеены въ надлежащихъ мѣстахъ и рукопись еще не достаточно расправлена, отъ первой строки читаются только отдѣльные слоги.

In the present condition of the manuscript, when not all fragments could yet be pasted into the proper places and the manuscript is not yet sufficiently straightened out, from the first line only individual syllables can be read.

This is true: especially in the middle of the line, one fragment containing the upper part of some *akṣaras* (graphic syllables) and another fragment containing their lower half are pushed together in such a way that much of the writing is obscured. But at least the first two words of the line can be confidently deciphered already in Ol'denburg"'s plates. They read *budhavarmaṣa ṣamaṇaṣa* 'of the monk Buddhavarma', and as such clearly do not form part of the Brāhmaṇavarga that follows.

The first serious attempt at reading the first line of the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript, still based on the facsimile that Ol'denburg" published, was made by Sten Konow, who perceived in it a 'writer's remark':<sup>24</sup>

budhavarma[sa] ṣamaṇa[sa] b[u]dhaṇadi[sa 20 20] 10 likh[i]da × ... leṇ[a] × ṣoṇalodida  
araña

Konow correctly read *budhavarmasa ṣamaṇasa*, initially adding a second name *budhaṇadisa* to it. He interpreted the following three signs, the lower halves of

<sup>23</sup> Ol'denburg" 1897, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Konow 1943, 8.

which are obscured, as the numeral 20 20 10, i.e., 50, and upon further consideration separated the *sa* from *budhaṇadi* to go with the numeral as an abbreviation for *saṃbatsara* ‘year’ and to form a date in the Kuṣāṇa era (which would have made the manuscript almost exactly contemporary with the paleographically similar Wardak Vase, CKI 159).<sup>25</sup> This in turn prompted him to reinterpret *budhaṇadi* as Skt. *buddhanāndi* ‘felicitation of the Buddha’, with reference either to a Buddhavarga (which due to Ol’denburg’s facsimile that cut off all indication of the empty space above this line he hypothesized to have preceded),<sup>26</sup> or to the final stanza of the following Brāhmaṇavarga. It is now known that the first interpretation is contextually impossible, and the second seems far-fetched. Even if that was not the case, however, the position of the date in a non-initial position would still be counter to the usual epigraphical practice (but note the date in the Senavarma inscription above). Concluding what he took to be the first sentence, Konow read *likhida* ‘written’. The following partially obscured *akṣara* he took to be a large punctuation sign, followed by an indeterminate number of obscured *akṣaras* (approximately three), then possibly the word *leṇa* ‘cave’ with reference to the Goṣṛṅga cave in which the manuscript was allegedly discovered,<sup>27</sup> followed by another large punctuation mark. The line concludes, in Konow’s reading, with the two words *śoṇalodida araṇa*, which he understood as ‘crimson-red grove’ and took to be the name of a monastery.<sup>28</sup> Overall, Konow’s tentative interpretation of this colophon, unlikely as it is in many details, would yield a formulaic structure SCRIBE (gen.) – OBJECT – DATE – PLACE.

Only two years after Konow, H. W. Bailey provided another reading of the colophon as part of his reedition of the parts of the Khotan Dharmapada for which at that time images were available:<sup>29</sup>

budhavarmaṣa ṣamaṇaṣa budhaṇadi sa 20 20 10 ... varma p. ñ. ... dhi ... araṇa<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Baums 2012, 243–244.

<sup>26</sup> The Pali Dhammapada does contain a Buddhavagga which, however, as no. 14 does not immediately precede the Brāhmaṇavagga (no. 26).

<sup>27</sup> This word is not otherwise attested in Gāndhārī. It was formerly read in the reliquary inscription of Indravarma (CKI 242; Baums 2012, 207–208) – which in any case was not known to Konow – in the compound *muryakaliṇa* – that is now taken to mean ‘of Mauryan times’.

<sup>28</sup> The word Skt. *śoṇa* ‘crimson’ is not otherwise attested in Gāndhārī, and *lohida* is consistently spelled thus (never with medial *d* as in Avestan *roidita* adduced by Konow).

<sup>29</sup> Bailey 1945, 497.

<sup>30</sup> For easier comparison, Bailey’s transcription conventions have been adapted to those of the other material cited in this article.

He does not refer to Konow's reading, and considering wartime vicissitudes it is certainly possible that Konow's article had not yet reached him. It is all the more surprising, then, how much his attempt does agree with Konow's, in particular in the unusual identification *budhaṇadi* = *budhanāndī* and the interpretation of the following *akṣaras* as a date. Bailey does not provide any commentary or translation, but in his glossary sanskritizes the words of this line as follows: *buddha-varma, śramaṇa, ?buddha-nāndī, arāṇya*.

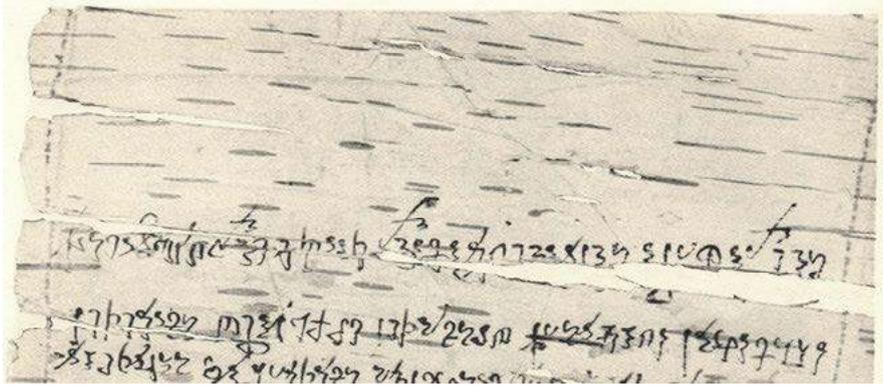


Fig. 3: The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada as reproduced in Brough 1962.

A major advance in the interpretation of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon was made by John Brough in his comprehensive edition of the manuscript.<sup>31</sup>

budhavarmasa śamaṇasa  
 budhaṇadisardhavayarisa  
 ida dharmapadasa postaka  
 dharmuyāṇe likhida arāṇi

Brough had been able to procure new and clearer photographs of the St. Petersburg portion of the scroll, including the colophon line (Fig. 3), that allowed him to discard Konow's problematic suggestions of the term *nāndī* and a date. Instead, he read the compound *budhaṇadisardhavayarisa* 'student of Budhaṇadi (Skt. Buddhānandin)' (with reference to Budhavarma). The spelling is unusual (*sardhaviharisa* would have been expected), but Brough argues convincingly<sup>32</sup> for

<sup>31</sup> Brough 1962, 119.

<sup>32</sup> Brough 1962, 177–178.

a spelling pronunciation on the basis of a development [vifia:ri:zə] > [veja:ri:zə]. Next he was able to complete the previously obscured middle part of the line as *ida dharmapadasa postaka* ‘this book of the Dharmapada’, i.e., a reference to the physical manuscript. The apparent use of *dharmapada* as a straightforward text title in this early period is notable.<sup>33</sup> The theoretical possibility that *dharmapada* here is a mere appellative is made unlikely by the even clearer parallel use of *prañaparamida* as a text title in the next colophon to be discussed. In the final part, Brough was not only able to discern a locative ending *-i* in *arañi*, but also the verb *likhida* (wrongly read earlier in the line by Konow), and finally suggested a reading *dharmuyaṇe* (Skt. *dharmodyāne*) ‘in the Dharma grove’ as an indication of the place where the writing took place, suggesting it may have been the name of a monastery.

In discussing the role of Budhavarma,<sup>34</sup> Brough rejected the possibility that he might have been the traditional author of this version of the Dharmapada (as Dharmatrāta was alleged to have been for the Udānavarga), suggesting instead that Budhavarma (whose name is given in the genitive) was the owner of the scroll.<sup>35</sup> Significantly, this interpretation leaves the scribe – arguably the central role in the composition of colophons – unnamed.

Brough entertained the possibility that the colophon was intended to be metrical, possibly in a ‘mixture of Vaitāliya and Aupacchandāsika [meters; SB]’, but with ‘a fair degree of license’.<sup>36</sup> In view of the other Gāndhārī colophons now known, combined with related epigraphical formulas, there appears little need, however, to consider a metrical interpretation, quite apart from the fact that in contrast to the verses of the body of the text, no *pāda* (verse quarter) spacing is apparent in the colophon line.

Bhāgacandra Jaina accepted Brough’s reading wholesale and translated the colophon into Hindi as यह धर्मपद पुस्तक बुद्धनन्दि के शिष्य श्रमण बुद्धवर्मन द्वारा अरण्य में स्थित धर्मोद्यान में लिखी गई (‘This Dharmapada book has been written by the monk Buddhavarman, pupil of Buddhanandi, in the Dharma Grove located inside the forest’).<sup>37</sup> He thus places the ‘Dharma grove’, apparently likewise taken as the name of a monastery, inside a forest.

<sup>33</sup> See Balbir 1993 on the history of text titles in early Indian heterodox movements.

<sup>34</sup> Brough 1962, 41.

<sup>35</sup> On ownership inscriptions on Gandhāran monastic utensils, see Falk 2006.

<sup>36</sup> Brough 1962, 178.

<sup>37</sup> Jaina 1990, ६५; cf. also १११.

Like Jaina, Richard Salomon accepted Brough's reading of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon in all details,<sup>38</sup> translating it into English as 'This manuscript of the Dharmapada, belonging to the monk Buddhavarman, pupil of Buddhanandin, has been written in the Dharmodyāna forest', in contrast to Jaina taking 'Dharma Grove' to be the name of a forest. Acknowledging the problem of the missing indication of a scribe, Salomon further suggests (contradicting his own translation) that Buddhavarman should be taken as the scribe rather than the Khotan Dharmapada manuscript's owner, with the genitive rather than the instrumental indicating the agent of the sentence (a possible, though evidently ambiguous, procedure in the Gāndhārī language).

In 2014, the present author introduced a novel reading and interpretation of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon,<sup>39</sup> solving the problem of the apparent absence of a scribal indication:

Budhavarṃasa śamaṇasa Budhaṇadisa[r]dhavayariṣa ida Dharmapadaṣa postaka Dharmāśraṇeṇa likhida araṇī

This book of the Dharmapada (= belonging to) the monk Buddhavarṃa, student of Buddhanandin, has been written by Dharmāśraṇa in the monastery.

This new reading was prompted by the observation that the fragments near the end of the line, where Brough read *dharmuyane*, do not align correctly in the photographs reproduced in his plates. Adjusting their alignment (Figs 4 and 5), it became apparent that Brough's reading *dharmuyane* is incorrect. What Brough had read as the *u* loop on *mu* and the right leg of *ya* turned out to be the *akṣara śra*, his left leg of *ya* combines with the vertical line above to yield *ve* (the horizontal top of the base letter being obscured by the overlapping fragments), and Brough's *ne* is simply *ṇa*. The result is the new reading *dharmāśraṇeṇa*, i.e., the name Dharmāśraṇa in the instrumental case.<sup>40</sup> This, then, is an unambiguous indication of the grammatical agent of *likhida* and thus the scribe of the manuscript, showing that (contrary to Salomon's suggestion) Buddhavarṃa was,

<sup>38</sup> Salomon 1999, 41.

<sup>39</sup> Baums 2014, 204. This had also been briefly summarized, on the basis of the present author's presentation of his discovery at the 2014 conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, in Strauch 2014a, 811–813 (= Strauch 2014b, 478–481).

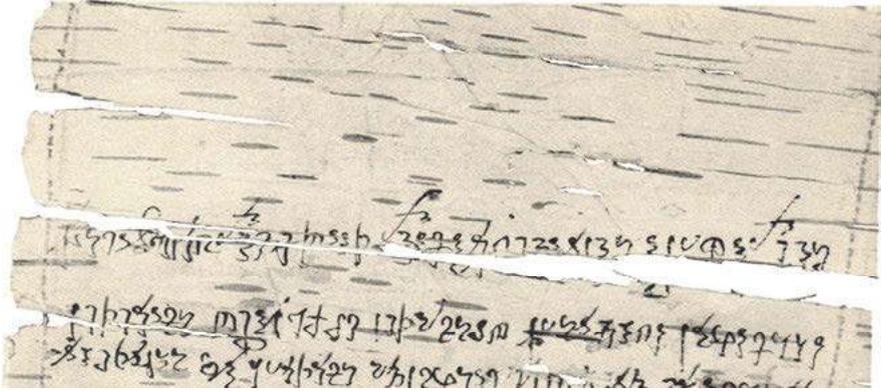
<sup>40</sup> Quite a few compound names with the second element *-śraṇa* are attested in Gāndhārī manuscripts and inscriptions: Ariaśraṇa, Iṃdraśraṇa (see below), Dharmāśraṇa, Budhaśraṇa, Mahaśraṇa and Saṃghaśraṇa. It is possible that this naming pattern was a calque on Greek names ending in  $\eta$  -κλής. See also Baums 2018b for other syncretistic Greek-Indian naming patterns in early Gandhāra.

in fact, the owner or commissioner (not the scribe) of the manuscript. The semantic development of *araṇya* from ‘wilderness’ to ‘wilderness monastery’ to ‘monastery in general’ is well attested in Gāndhārī inscriptions.

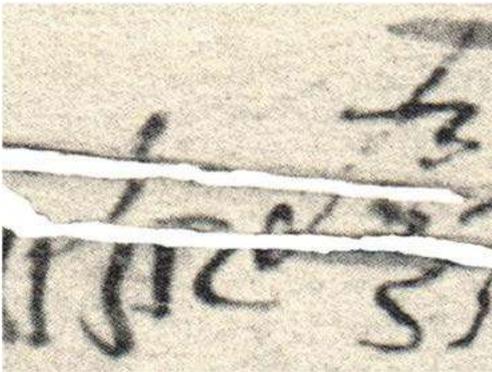
Most recently, Harry Falk proposed yet another interpretation of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon.<sup>41</sup> He does so in the context of discussing the obscure word (or sequence of akṣaras) *rayakaiūaku* in the business document CKM 430, suggesting that (in violation of the known phonetic rules of Gāndhārī) it goes back to OIA *rājakaguptaka-* (which would at best have yielded *rayakaiūtaku*). As a parallel he adduces the word *dharmamuya-* in the inscriptions CKI 219 and 1081, apparently the name of a Buddhist school, equating it phonetically with OIA *dharmaguptaka* (where the original editors of these inscriptions had suggested a less direct connection). This *dharmamuya-*, in turn, reminded him of the word *dharmuyane* as read in the Khotan Dharmapada by Brough (which Falk incorrectly cites as *dharmamuya-*). In place of this word, then, he reads *dharmadraśaṇe*, and translates *dharmadraśaṇe likhita araṇi* as ‘was written in the monastery to show the *dharmā*’. He does not explain how exactly he arrived at this reading, but apparently he took Brough’s plate at face value, not realizing that the two fragments bearing the word in question have to be adjusted, as explained above. Falk then appears to have taken the right half of *śra* as *dra*, the left half of *śra* in combination with the stem of *ve* as *śa*, and the vowel mātṛā of *ve* in combination with *ṇa* as *ṇe*, which requires assuming not-quite-right shapes for the three akṣaras in question. Syntactically, his proposal suffers from the same absence of an indication of a scribe as Brough’s interpretation, and from taking the locative as indicating a purpose, when a dative would have been the more natural case for this. Finally, the word OIA *darśana* is attested in five verses (175, 231, 243, 257 and 273) of the Khotan Dharmapada proper, where it is spelled *daśaṇa* or *darśaṇa*, but never *draśaṇa*, and of course it means ‘seeing’ rather than ‘showing’. Even leaving aside the first issue of not adjusting the fragments before attempting a reading, Falk’s proposal thus has a host of problems stacked against it. This is all the more puzzling as he was already aware of the present author’s interpretation (as presented in 2014). It is hoped that the more complete explanation of its basis and rationale provided above will put to rest any future reader’s doubts once and for all.

---

<sup>41</sup> Falk 2021, 13.



**Fig. 4:** The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada Image based on Brough 1962 with fragments moved into their proper position. Object in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (shelfmark SI-3328/2).



**Fig. 5:** The colophon of the Khotan Dharmapada. Detail of Fig. 4. Object in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (shelfmark SI-3328/2).

### 3.2 *Prajñāpāramitā*

The second preserved Gāndhāri manuscript colophon belongs to a first-century-CE fragmentary *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript. The first published reading and translation by Harry Falk are:<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Falk 2011, 23.

paḍhamage postage prañāparamidae budhamitra ///  
 idraśavasa sadhaviharisa imena ca kuśalamūlena (sic) sarvasatvaṇa matrapitra ...

In this first book of the *prajñāpāramitā* (of?) Buddhāmītra (and NN?), the co-student of Indraśravas.

By this root of bliss (may there be well-being?) for all people (and?) for mother and father (...).

This was modified by Falk and Seishi Karashima one year later as follows:<sup>43</sup>

paḍhamage postage prañāparamidae budha[mitra] ///  
 idraśavasa sadhaviharisa imeṇa ca kuśalamuleṇa sarvasatvamatrapi[trap]u[yae] ///

This is the first book of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, (of) Buddhāmītra (...), the room-companion of Indraśrava. And may it be, through this root of bliss, (...) for the veneration all [sic] living beings, for mother and father.

Before discussing the text of the colophon, it is necessary to solve some conundrums regarding the construction of this scroll and the position of the colophon in it. The scroll contained chapters one to five of an early version of the *Prajñāpāramitā* textually close to the Sanskrit *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, of which only chapter one and chapter five have been preserved.

According to Falk and Karashima, when the scroll was opened up in 2005, the strips into which it broke were placed into five glass frames numbered 1 to 5.<sup>44</sup> Photographs were taken documenting the process, but are unpublished. In their absence, the procedure can, however, still be deduced from the order in which the strips were assigned to the different frames. If the eighteen strips diagrammed in Falk and Karashima's figure 4 are numbered 1 to 18 in their textual order looking at the recto of the scroll, the following pattern emerges: strips 1, 2 → frame 3; strips 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13 → frame 5; strips 15, 17+18 (on this see below) → frame 1; strips 16, 14, 12, 10 → frame 4; strips 8, 6, 4 → frame 2. The regular intervals of two, first following the odd-numbered fragments, then the even-numbered ones, suggest that the person opening the scroll did not (except possibly twice in the beginning of the procedure) turn over the flattened scroll on the working surface, but instead removed layer after layer from the top, first working his way into the centre of the scroll (strip 17+18), then continuing on until all strips had been separated. The same procedure was also followed by conservators at the British Library when they opened up scroll 18 of the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscript collection.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Falk and Karashima 2012, 25.

<sup>44</sup> Falk and Karashima 2012, 20, 22.

<sup>45</sup> Baums 2009, 62–67.

Falk's impression was that the writing surface of the scroll was produced by pasting together two different sheets of birch bark, which would make this the only known Gāndhārī manuscript manufactured in this way. That this was not, however, the case, and that the *Prajñāpāramitā* scroll's writing material in fact consisted of a single layer of birch bark can be seen in three places where knot-holes are visible in corresponding places on the recto and verso of the scroll: strip 5B4 = 5A4 (left), strip 5B5 = 5A3 (right) and strip 4B2 = 4A5 (middle). The empty areas on the top of the recto and the top of the verso have alternative explanations as either areas originally left empty or as places where the surface of the bark (which naturally consists of several thin sub-layers) delaminated at some point between the use of the scroll and its unrolling. For the third, small empty area on the front side of strip 1A2 (= no. 17 above) and the back side of the smaller fragment 1A5 (= no. 18 above), the simplest explanation is that here, too, delamination is to blame, and that fragment 1A5 should be restored to its proper position on the surface of the recto of strip 1A2. Once all this is accounted for, the result is a scroll with the thickness of a single natural layer of birch bark (itself consisting of several natural sub-layers), with the top of the recto left empty,<sup>46</sup> and the text running all the way down the recto and then the verso of the scroll, with chapter five terminating right at what would have been the physical end of the verso.

This brings us to the colophon and the question of its position in the scroll. In his first preliminary description, Falk wrote that the 'verso is inscribed too for about 60 % [this number presumably excludes the three delaminated strips at the top of the verso] and shows the text end together with a colophon', and spoke of 'the last lines of the text, with its colophon'.<sup>47</sup> This is modified in his later publication with Karashima, which speaks of a 'separate strip of birch bark bearing a colophon' and provides the following detailed description:<sup>48</sup>

The upper left part [of segment 3A8, the bottommost fragment on the verso; SB] was covered by the colophon sheet with a considerable amount of overlap. As the colophon sheet is so thin, it was possible to scan the fragment with light from above which showed the hidden text. The letters from one part of the colophon sheet are still visible behind and between the text letters.

---

<sup>46</sup> As was the case with Ol'denburg's 1897 and Brough's 1962 editions of the Khotan Dharmapada, Falk and Karashima 2012, 2013 unfortunately do not illustrate this empty area at the top of the recto of the scroll.

<sup>47</sup> Falk 2011, 20, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Falk and Karashima 2012, 19, 22, 25.

and again:

Partly covered by a thin layer of a shred of segment 3A8 at the end of chapter 5, a small sheet of bark was found without a physical connection to the segments of the main text.

Regrettably, Falk and Karashima did not publish a photograph of the colophon fragment in situ attached to fragment 3A8, but from their descriptions in combination with their illustrations,<sup>49</sup> it may be deduced that the colophon fragment had roughly the same size and outline as fragment 3A8, and was stuck to it in such a way that the text of the colophon faced the text on the recto of fragment 3A8, but was upside down in relation to it. Two possible explanations may be proposed (if we are not to assume an entirely random attachment of a loose colophon fragment of unknown origin at this spot). Either the colophon did indeed follow the last line of chapter 5, as Falk suggests, and ended up stuck to fragment 3A8 in the described fashion because it was folded over onto it independently of the overall folding up of the scroll that would have proceeded from the bottom of the recto = top of the verso. Or the colophon preceded the beginning of chapter 1, just as it did in the Khotan Dharmapada scroll, with some empty space left above it. It would then have ended up stuck to fragment 3A8 as described if – for the sake of deposit – the scroll was folded up from the bottom of the recto = top of the verso, but with the recto rather than the verso irregularly facing outwards.<sup>50</sup> In such a configuration, the verso of fragment 3A8 would in fact have come to be positioned immediately opposite (but upside down) a strip bearing the colophon above the beginning of chapter 1, with two further empty strips preserved above it.<sup>51</sup> This second possibility is supported by the above description of the colophon fragment as very thin, which would readily be explained by the fact that it is not an independent fragment of full thickness, but only the delaminated surface of the recto corresponding to what Falk and Karashima have called 5A6.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Figure 3 in Falk and Karashima 2012 and Figure 2 in Falk and Karashima 2013.

<sup>50</sup> See Salomon 1999, 50–51, for a description of British Library fragment 21 folded up in the same inside-out way. The unpublished photographs of the opening of the *Prajñāpāramitā* scroll should allow a determination whether it was, in fact, folded up with the recto facing the outside.

<sup>51</sup> This is the case whether one accepts the proposed combination of fragments 1A2 (no. 17) and 1A5 (no. 18) into a single strip or not, as the reader can verify with a model paper scroll and a pen.

<sup>52</sup> Once again, it is regrettable that Falk and Karashima did not illustrate the empty reverse of the colophon fragment, since this might have helped determine whether it is the original inner side of a delaminated layer.

Returning to the text of the colophon, based on the published images, the present author would read:<sup>53</sup>

paḍhamage postage prañāparamidaē budh[amit]r[a](\*sa) + + + + + + + +  
idraśavasa sadhaviharisa imeṇa ca kuśālamul[e]ṇa sarvasatva ? ? ? ?

This agrees in all essential details with the two variant readings given by the original editors, except for the end of the second line, which even with the tracing provided in the edition seems not quite clear enough to confidently see in it an expression of honour for mother and father. As the left margin is preserved in the second line and its position is clear in the first line, the number of missing or unclear *akṣaras* can be determined with some certainty.

In their grammatical interpretation of the first two words, the original editors vacillated between the locative and the direct case. As it appears unlikely that the missing portion at the end of the first line could have contained anything but epithets of Buddhāmītra in the genitive case, however, there is nothing to justify a locative case, and a direct case in *-e* thus seems most likely. We may then translate:

The first book of the Perfection of Understanding of Buddhāmītra + + + + + + + +  
the student of Indraśrava. By this root of merit, all beings + + + +

As we have seen in the case of the Khotan Dharmapada colophon, the genitive is likely to mark the owner of the manuscript rather than its scribe. Falk and Karashima note that – in contrast to the Khotan Dharmapada – the colophon appears to be written in a different hand than the body text of the manuscript, and that the body text uses a ‘more traditional way of forming the letters’.<sup>54</sup> This raises the interesting possibility that Buddhāmītra did not in fact commission the manuscript before it was written, but that the colophon referring to him is a secondary addition.<sup>55</sup>

The formulaic structure of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript would then be OBJECT – OWNER – DEDICATION, introducing a new last element apparently dedicating the merit of its production – not inappropriately for this text – to all beings.

<sup>53</sup> In Falk 2011 and Falk and Karashima 2012.

<sup>54</sup> Falk and Karashima 2012, 24 and 25.

<sup>55</sup> Similar to the names of some of the donors in the later Gilgit manuscripts; cf. Schopen 2009, 201–203.

### 3.3 British Library fragment 3B

This brings us to the third and last of the three currently known Gāndhārī manuscript colophons, on fragment 3B of the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. It was first described by Salomon, who read and translated as follows:<sup>56</sup>

/// [p]. ///  
 /// [tv].a idi ṇavodaśa °  
 /// [mi] postaga gaṣa[e] pacaviśadi 20 4 1 saghaśravasa ṣamaṇasa

Thus [ends number] nineteen.<sup>57</sup>  
 [...] book; twenty-five (25) verses; of the monk Saṅghaśrava.

Salomon noted that the lines on this side are written in the same hand as the multi-scroll verse commentary on British Library scrolls 7, 9, 13 (first text) and 18,<sup>58</sup> and thus may somehow be related to this verse commentary. The other side of the colophon fragment contains four lines of unrelated and unidentified text in a different hand. Salomon considers *tv.a idi* to be the end of the preceding text proper, *idi navodaśa* a concluding phrase on that text, and the next line the colophon proper. In support of this we note that the last line, though written in the same hand, is set off by a larger than normal vertical space and written in larger letters. Salomon thinks it is likely that *mi* is either the locative singular ending or the enclitic pronoun ‘of me’, and is troubled by the ending *-e* on what appears to be a direct-case form *gaṣae*. He interprets the name Saṅghaśrava in the genitive as an indication of the scribe but, as we have seen, the other two preserved Gāndhārī colophons and in particular that of the Khotan Dharmapada in its new reading make it more likely that the genitive refers to the owner of the manuscript.

A revised text of this colophon – calculating the approximate number of missing *akṣaras* – was provided by Stefan Baums:<sup>59</sup>

+++++++ /// ? ? ? /// ++++++  
 ++++++ /// [t]. a i di ṇavodaśa \*  
 ++++++ /// .[e] postag. gasa[e] pacaviśadi 20 4 1 saghaśravasa ṣamaṇasa

<sup>56</sup> Salomon 1999, 40–42.

<sup>57</sup> Or: ‘Thus [ends] the nineteenth’.

<sup>58</sup> Edited in Baums 2009.

<sup>59</sup> Baums 2009, 609.

We see that substantial amounts of text are missing in the beginnings of lines. The complex punctuation mark following *ṇavodaśa* is the one that the same scribe uses throughout the verse commentary to mark ends of sections.

One year later, Timothy Lenz provided his own transliteration of the fragment that he had prepared independently:<sup>60</sup>

```
/// ? [p]. ? ///
/// [tv]. a idi ṇavodaśa ° 10 ///
/// [mi] postaga gasae pacaviśati 20 4 1 saghaśravasa śamanasa ///
```

and translated

[2r] ... nineteen. 10 [3r] ... book; twenty-five verses; of the monk Saṅghaśrava.

He thus follows the reading of Salomon, but with an interpretation of the complex punctuation mark after *ṇavodaśa* as a simple punctuation mark followed by the numeral 10. This does not, however, account for all four small circles forming this mark, and in any case one would rather have expected 10 4 4 1 if the numeral were to be repeated in number signs, as the numeral in the following line is. It is also clear that the end of the line containing the end of the preceding text is completely preserved, and likely that so is the end of the colophon line.

Finally, Baums revised his earlier reading of the last two lines as follows:<sup>61</sup>

```
+++++++ /// [t]. a i di ṇavodaśa *
+++++++ /// [ge] postag(*e) gasa[e] pacaviśadi 20 4 1 saghaśravasa śamaṇasa
```

In light of *paḍhamage postage* in the *Prajñāpāramitā* colophon, and considering that the verse commentary is a multi-volume text, it is now likely that *ge* in the present colophon is also the last syllable of an ordinal number, maybe 'first', but possibly also 'second' or 'third'. In light of this, the ending *-e* can also be reconstructed in *postag(\*e)*. Even though this is phonetically the same as in the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, here it is syntactically not only possible, but indeed most appropriate to interpret it as a locative ending. The ending *-ae* in *gasae* that puzzled Salomon is the younger direct-case plural ending of the feminine also known from other dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan; here then, as in the case of the *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, the colophon appears to represent a less formal or younger form of language. It can be translated thus:

<sup>60</sup> Lenz 2010, 154.

<sup>61</sup> Baums 2014, 203.

+++++nineteen.

+++++ in the ++ th volume, twenty-five – 25 – verses. Of the monk Saṃghaśrava.

Like for the other two manuscript colophons, it is necessary to address the question of the original position of this colophon on its scroll. In contrast to the Khotan *Dharmapada* and *Prajñāpāramitā* colophons, it does not appear to have been positioned at the top of the recto of its scroll: this is clear from the fact that at least two lines preceded it. At the same time, however, it also did not occur at the very end of the verso of its scroll: the row of small holes running vertically through what was the middle of the fragment are the remnant of a reinforcing stitching that in the scrolls of this scribe's verse commentary is applied to the areas of overlap of separate birch-bark sheets forming a long scroll, and the piece of bark jutting out at the bottom left of the fragment gives the impression of being the very top of the otherwise detached next sheet, glued under the one bearing the colophon.

Two possible explanations present themselves: Either the side of this fragment with the colophon is the very bottom of the inscribed part of the verso of the scroll,<sup>62</sup> followed by a certain amount of bark (evidently at least one sheet) that had been left empty in the absence of more text to put down. This would, however, make the verse commentary not the primary text of this scroll, whereas it is the primary text on all the scrolls that clearly belong to this scribe's verse commentary (and is in fact followed by a secondary text in another hand on British Library scroll 13). Alternatively, one could consider the possibility that this is the recto of the scroll, with the line ending in *ṇavodaśa* concluding a text, and the colophon line either referring back to this text, or pointing forwards (as the other two known Gāndhārī colophons do) to a following text that would have started after a vertical gap and is entirely lost.<sup>63</sup> The discrepancy of numbers (nineteen versus twenty-five) makes it difficult to consider both lines as references to the same text, while it would seem strange to have a larger vertical gap between a colophon and a following text to which it belongs than between the colophon and an unrelated text that precedes it.

<sup>62</sup> This is the second of the two possibilities entertained by Salomon 1999, 40 (who refers to what I call the bottom of the verso as the 'top of the verso').

<sup>63</sup> The first of the two possibilities of Salomon 1999, 40, that 'the colophon could have been written at the end of a text at the bottom of the recto', seems less likely. There are examples of Gāndhārī scrolls (such as British Library scroll 1) whose text ended some distance before the end of the recto, but in all such cases where a secondary text was later added, it followed immediately after the end of the primary text, not with the gap that would have been left here.

While the question of the exact position of this colophon on its scroll thus remains, for the present, unanswerable, what is clear is that here we have to do with a different pattern than in the case of the Khotan Dharmapada and *Prajñāpāramitā* scrolls, and that consequently also in the case of Gāndhārī colophons not yet discovered, more than one physical possibility must be entertained.

### 3.4 Niya

An apparently direct continuation of the Aramaic legal colophons specifying scribe, commissioning person and witnesses resurfaces after six hundred years in the Gāndhārī administrative documents on wood slabs and leather sheets found at Niya, a western border town of the ancient Krorayina kingdom on the southern Silk Road.<sup>64</sup> Scribes are here called *divira* and occupied a respected position in society serving the royal administration; some of them were Buddhist monks or held additional administrative positions.<sup>65</sup> The following example, from a document settling a property dispute in the second half of the third century CE (CKI 889), is typical of legal colophons at Niya:<sup>66</sup>

tatra sakṣi azate jaṃna apsu Mutreya sakṣi Rutreya sakṣi tarmena Calmasa sakṣi śramaṃna Budharakṣiya sakṣi eṣa lihitaga mahi tivira Sunaṃtaṣa Mutreya ari Kuṃiṇeyaṣa ca ajeṣaṃnae ṣarvadeśaṃmi pramana

The witnesses to this are free-born people: the *apsu* Mutre is witness, Rutre is witness, the *tarmena* Calmasa is witness, the monk Budharakṣi is witness. This document of me, the scribe Sunaṃta, at the request of Mutre and *ari* Kuṃiṇe is an authority in all places.

These colophons are not physically set off from the rest of the document. Textually, they do tend to occur near its end, though sometimes an additional formula specifying legal punishments, or the like, still follows them. The evidence from Niya almost certainly presupposes similar colophons in this type of document from Gandhāra itself that were written on perishable writing supports.

<sup>64</sup> See Atwood 1991 for an overview.

<sup>65</sup> See Agrawala 1966–1968, and Atwood 1991, 176 on the career of the scribe Ramṣotsa.

<sup>66</sup> Baums 2018a.

## 4 Outlook and conclusions

The focus of this article has been on the earlier tradition of colophons in the Indian northwest, partly because of the significant manuscript discoveries recently made from this period, but no less because the later colophons from the Gilgit finds have received exemplary and exhaustive treatments already in the hands of Oskar von Hinüber.<sup>67</sup> To give just one typical example of a Gilgit scribal colophon, that of the *Ajitasenavyākaraṇa* will serve:<sup>68</sup>

devadharmoyam Bālosimhena sārđham bhāryā Jijađiena sārđham mātāpitrau paramaduṣka<rakar>trau sārđham Kṣiṇiena Akhalođiena Diśođa Jija Maṃgali + + + + Utrapharna Gavidođi Vađuri Khuśođi Khuśogođena sārđham sarvasatve sarva[prāṇi]bhir. yad atra puṇya tad bha[va]tu [sarv]vasatvānāmm [anut]t[arajñānavāpnuyā. tathā] sārđham paramakalyāṇamitra Sthirabandhuena. likhidam idaṃ pustakaṃ dharmabhāṇaka Narendradattena

This is the donation of Bālosimha, together with (his) wife Jijađia, together with (his) parents who do a highly difficult thing, together with Kṣiṇia, Akhalođia, Diśođa, Jija, Maṃgali + + + + Utrapharna, Gavidođi, Vađuri, Khuśođi (and) Khuśogođa, together with all beings, all who live. The merit that is here shall be for the acquisition of highest knowledge by all beings. Also together with the highest spiritual friend Sthirabandhu. This book has been written by the reciter of the dharma Narendradatta.

The secular colophon type first seen in the Aramaic documents and then in Niya lives on into a third manuscript culture, namely that of the Bactrian documents of the latter half of the first millennium. The type is illustrated well by a colophon added, at the bottom of the leather folio, to a receipt for wine and grain from the year 579 CE:<sup>69</sup>

This signed document has been [written] by me, Tet, and by me, Piy, for you, Muzd, concerning the grain and wine.

This historical survey has traced the transformations scribal colophons underwent in the Indian northwest, from their antecedents in the Achaemenid administrative tradition using Aramaic language and script, through their adoption for Buddhist purposes in inscriptions as well as in manuscripts in Gāndhāri lan-

<sup>67</sup> Von Hinüber 1980, 2004, 2014. – Two additional colophons from Sanskrit manuscript finds in the northwest are that of the Kuśāṇa-period Vinaya manuscript from Bairam Ali (von Hinüber 2017, 50–53) and that of a sixth–seventh-century Itivṛttaka manuscript from Bamiyan (Demoto 2016).

<sup>68</sup> Von Hinüber 1980, 63–64 no. VI; 2004, 78–80 no. 39B.

<sup>69</sup> Sims-Williams 2012, 56; cf. Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018, 83.

guage and Kharoṣṭhī script, their continued use for administrative purposes in the Gāndhārī documents from Niya, their adoption in the emerging Sanskrit manuscript tradition of the northwest, and finally the survival of their administrative use in the Bactrian documents.<sup>70</sup>

In the literary examples, a gradual expansion of the formula of colophons is seen, from a simple indication of scribe, commissioner and witnesses to much more elaborate colophons that also include text titles and long lists of intended beneficiaries. This last element is incorporated from contemporary Buddhist donative inscriptions, with their notion of the transference of the merit accrued by a donation to other parties, and occupies the ready-made slot in the formula originally occupied by the witnesses of secular documents. In the terminology of Schiegg 2016 (based on Searle 1979), this addition introduced an expressive/assertive function to the text type of colophon that previously had been entirely declarative (if we consider the specification of punishments in legal documents to be situated outside the colophon proper).

## Abbreviations

CKI	Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, see Baums and Glass 2002–.
CKM	Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts, see Baums and Glass 2002–.

## References

- Agrawala, R. C. (1966–1968), ‘Scribes in Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan’,  
भारती: *Bulletin of the College of Indology*, 10–11: 123–124.
- Atwood, Christopher (1991), ‘Life in Third–Fourth Century Cadh’ota: A survey of Information Gathered from the Prakrit Documents Found North of Minfeng (Niyā)’, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 35: 161–199.
- Bailey, H. W. (1945), ‘The Khotan Dharmapada’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 11: 488–512.

---

**70** A hint at one possible (though not entirely conclusive) mechanism of the continuity from the Gāndhārī into the Sanskrit manuscript phase is provided by the name of the aunt of the first-century CE Apraca ruler Indravarma, Bhagadattā, and the ‘Bhagadatta line’ (*bhagadattavaṇśa*, *bhagadattaanvaya*) from which the sixth-to-eighth-century CE Palola kings of Gilgit claimed to be descended (von Hinüber 2004, 85–99; Baums 2012, 207). This hypothesis is now strengthened by the discovery of a Gāndhārī document on silk mentioning an unnamed Palola king (CKM 430; Falk 2021, 10–15).

- Balbir, Nalini (1993), 'Titres et canons dans l'hétérodoxie indienne', in Michel Tardieu (ed.), *La formation des canons scripturaires* (Patrimoines, religions du livre), Paris: Cerf, 47–59.
- Baums, Stefan (2009), *A Gāndhārī Commentary on Early Buddhist Verses: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 7, 9, 13 and 18*, PhD Dissertation, University of Washington.
- Baums, Stefan (2012), 'Catalog and Revised Texts and Translations of Gandharan Reliquary Inscriptions', in David Jongeward, Elizabeth Errington, Richard Salomon and Stefan Baums (eds), *Gandharan Buddhist Reliquaries* (Gandharan Studies, 1), Seattle: Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project, 200–251.
- Baums, Stefan (2014), 'Gandhāran Scrolls: Rediscovering an Ancient Manuscript Type', in Jörg B. Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (eds), *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 1), Berlin: De Gruyter, 183–225.
- Baums, Stefan (2018a), 'A New Gāndhārī Document from Niya', in Lutz Edzard, Jens W. Borgland and Ute Hüsken (eds), *Reading Slowly: A Festschrift for Jens E. Braarvig*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 59–70.
- Baums, Stefan (2018b), 'Greek or Indian? The Questions of Menander and Onomastic Patterns in Early Gandhāra', in Himanshu Prabha Ray (ed.), *Buddhism and Gandhara: An Archaeology of Museum Collections* (Archaeology and Religion in South Asia), Abingdon: Routledge, 33–46.
- Baums, Stefan and Andrew Glass (2002–), *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts*, <<https://gandhari.org/catalog>> (accessed on 10 January 2022).
- Bloch, Jules (1950), *Les inscriptions d'Asoka traduites et commentées* (Collection Émile Senart, 8), Paris: Belles Lettres.
- Brough, John (1962), *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London Oriental Series, 7), London: Oxford University Press.
- Demoto, Mitsuyo (2016), 'Fragments of the Itivṛttaka', in Jens Braarvig (ed.), *Buddhist Manuscripts* (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, 4), Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 183–266.
- Falk, Harry (2006), 'Three Inscribed Buddhist Monastic Utensils from Gandhāra', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 156: 393–412.
- Falk, Harry (2011), 'The "Split" Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Texts', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkuyōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 14: 13–23.
- Falk, Harry (2014), 'The First-Century Copper-Plates of Helagupta from Gandhāra Hailing Maitreya', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkuyōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 17: 3–26.
- Falk, Harry (2021), 'Two Fragmentary Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkuyōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 24: 7–16.
- Falk, Harry and Seishi Karashima (2012), 'A First-Century Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Gandhāra – Parivarta 1 (Texts from the Split Collection 1)', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkuyōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 15: 19–61.
- Falk, Harry and Seishi Karashima (2013), 'A First-Century Prajñāpāramitā Manuscript from Gandhāra – Parivarta 5 (Texts from the Split Collection, 2)', 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 *Sōka daigaku kokusai bukkuyōgaku kōtō kenkyūjo nenpō*, 16: 97–169.
- Folmer, Margaretha (2017), 'Bactria and Egypt: Administration as Mirrored in the Aramaic Sources', in Bruno Jacobs, Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Matthew W. Stolper (eds), *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich: Imperiale Muster und Strukturen: Akten des 6. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema »Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und alt-orientalischer Überlieferungen« aus Anlass der 80-Jahr-Feier der Entdeckung des Fes-*

- tungsarchivs von Persepolis, Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 14.–17. Mai 2013*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 413–445.
- Fussman, Gérard (1989), ‘Gāndhārī écrite, gāndhārī parlée’, in Colette Caillat (ed.), *Dialectes dans les littératures indo-aryennes* (Publications de l’Institut de civilisation indienne, série in-8<sup>o</sup>, 55), Paris: Institut de civilisation indienne, 433–501.
- Fussman, Gérard (2004), ‘Dans quel type de bâtiment furent trouvés les manuscrits de Gilgit?’, *Journal asiatique*, 292: 101–150.
- Hultzsch, E. (1925), *Inscriptions of Asoka* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, 1), Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Konow, Sten (1943), ‘The Oldenburg Folio of the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada’, *Acta Orientalia*, 19: 7–20.
- Lenz, Timothy (2010), *Gandhāran Avadānas: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 1–3 and 21 and Supplementary Fragments A–C* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts, 6), Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Naveh, Joseph, and Shaul Shaked (2012), *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria from the Khalili Collection*, London: The Khalili Family Trust.
- Ol’denburg”, S. F. (Ольденбургъ, С. Ф.) (1897), *Предварительная замятка о буддйской рукописи, написанной письменами kharoṣṭhī Predvaritel'nāia zamētko o buddīskoī rukopisi, napisannoī pis'menamī kharoṣṭhī*, Saint Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoī Akademii Nauk Tipografiia Imperatorskoī Akademii Nauk.
- Porten, Bezael (1979), ‘Aramaic Papyri & Parchments: A New Look’, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 42: 74–104.
- Salomon, Richard (1999), *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Salomon, Richard (2001), ‘“Gāndhārī Hybrid Sanskrit”: New Sources for the Study of the Sanskritization of Buddhist Literature’, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 44: 241–252.
- Salomon, Richard (2020), ‘The Copper Plates of Helaguṭa’, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 63: 3–69.
- Schiegg, Markus (2016), ‘Scribes’ Voices: The Relevance and Types of Early Medieval Colophons’, *Studia neophilologica*, 88: 129–147.
- Schopen, Gregory (2009), ‘On the Absence of Urtexts and Otiose Ācāryas: Buildings, Books, and Lay Buddhist Ritual at Gilgit’, in Gérard Colas and Gerdi Gerschheimer (eds), *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique* (Études thématiques, 23), Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 189–219.
- Searle, John R. (1979), *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Settar, S. (2004), ‘Footprints of Artisans in History: Some Reflections on Early Artisans of India’, in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress: 64th Session, Mysore 2003*, Patna: Indian History Congress, 1–43.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas (2012), *Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan, I: Legal and Economic Documents*, revised edn, London: The Nour Foundation.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas and François de Blois (2018), *Studies in the Chronology of the Bactrian Documents from Northern Afghanistan* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 505. Band / Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik, 83), Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Strauch, Ingo (2014a), ‘Looking into Water-Pots and over a Buddhist Scribe’s Shoulder – On the Definition and the Use of Manuscripts in Early Buddhism’, *Asiatische Studien*, 68: 797–830.

- Strauch, Ingo (2014b), 'Looking into Water-Pots and over a Buddhist Scribe's Shoulder: On the Deposition and the Use of Manuscripts in Early Buddhism', *Eurasian Studies*, 12: 463–498.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (1980), 'Die Kolophone der Gilgit-Handschriften', *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 5/6: 48–82.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2004), *Die Palola Šāhis: ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber: Materialien zur Geschichte von Gilgit und Chilas* (Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, Reports and Studies, 5.), Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2014), 'The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research', in Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds), *From Birch-Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research: Papers Presented at the Conference 'Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field,' Stanford, June 15–19 2009* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 460 / Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, 80), Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 79–135.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2017), 'On the Early History of Indic Buddhist Colophons', *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture*, 27: 45–72.



Camillo Formigatti

# Colophons in Fourteenth-Century Nepalese Manuscripts: Materials for the Study of the Nepalese Renaissance (I)

**Abstract:** The present study examines colophons in fourteenth-century Nepalese manuscripts. More precisely, it focuses on manuscripts written between 1320 and 1395 CE as part of an ongoing research about the cultural history of Nepal in this pivotal century, particularly its second half. The first part of the article is devoted to a discussion of the Sanskrit terminology for colophon and an explanation of how to distinguish colophons from other paratextual material in manuscripts. The second part provides general remarks on the syntax of Nepalese colophons including a detailed analysis of sixteen elements occurring in the colophons. The third part consists of diplomatic editions of colophons from the corpus considered for this study. The article concludes with short preliminary conclusions based on the material examined.

## 1 Introduction

Colophons of South Asian manuscripts have become a specific object of research only in relatively recent times, despite the fact that early on, scholars recognized their importance for the reconstruction of South Asian history (particularly, cultural history).<sup>1</sup>

Important studies were dedicated to colophons of Jain manuscripts, among which the multi-volume work *Jainapustakaprasastisaṅgraha* edited by Muni Jinavijaya stands out as an invaluable research tool.<sup>2</sup> However, few scholars devoted their efforts specifically to the study of colophons of other South Asian

---

<sup>1</sup> Among others, K. V. Sarma 1992 and S. R. Sarma 2006; more recent studies on specific aspects of colophons of South Asian manuscripts are found in von Hinüber 2017, Ciotti and Franceschini 2016. Together with inscriptions, colophons are a fundamental source for the reconstruction of Nepalese history, see for instance Bendall 1883, i–xvi; Regmi 1965; Petech 1984; and, more recently, Formigatti 2016 and Vergiani 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Jinavijaya 1943; on colophons of Jain manuscripts see also Tripāṭhi 1975; Balbir 2014; Balbir 2017, 64–75; and Balbir the present volume, with other references.

manuscript traditions and no collection comparable in scope to Jinavijaya's is available as a source for further research.<sup>3</sup>

The present study examines colophons in fourteenth-century Nepalese manuscripts. More precisely, it focuses on manuscripts written between 1320 and 1395 CE as part of ongoing research on the cultural history of Nepal in this pivotal century – particularly its second half, during which the country experienced a devastating invasion at the hand of Sultān Shams ud-dīn in 1349 and a dynastic change marking also major changes in the cultural landscape.<sup>4</sup> The term Nepal is used here to denote the historical *Nepālamaṇḍala*, a political and cultural area roughly corresponding to today's Kathmandu valley. Four kings ruled during the period considered (Jayārimalla, Jayarājadeva, Jayārjunadeva, and Jayasthiti-malla) and apparently the great majority of dated manuscripts from this century is concentrated during their reign. However, since there is no consensus among Indologists as to what exactly manuscript colophons are, I will first try and explain what I include in this category and how I identify them in manuscripts.

## How to identify a colophon

At the outset, it might be useful to broaden our view and examine how other traditions of manuscript studies define colophons. Let us take as starting point two authoritative definitions, provided respectively by Denis Muzerelle's *Vocabulaire codicologique* and Maria Luisa Agati's *Il libro manoscritto da Oriente a Occidente*:

[Muzerelle] Colophon. Final formula in which the scribe mentions the place or the date of the copy, or both.<sup>5</sup>

[Agati] The colophon (κολοφών: end point, finishing) is a final formula by which the copyist discharges themselves from the completed work, writing their own name (subscription) and

---

3 As already noted by von Hinüber: 'In India, for instance, only in the Jain manuscript tradition there seems to have been some awareness of colophons documented by collections of colophons from Jain manuscripts and, moreover, in an attempt to create a terminology. [...] The considerations by Jinavijayamuni deserve special attention, because before this quite recent, seventy years old definition, not much thought, if any, was given to colophons in premodern India' (von Hinüber 2017, 47–48).

4 Petech 1984, 124–125; Formigatti 2016.

5 'Formule finale dans laquelle le scribe mentionne le lieu ou la date de la copie, ou l'un et l'autre' (Muzerelle 1985, 136, no. 435.03).

eventually adding the donor's name as well, the place and date of copying [...] The colophon should not be confused with the author's subscription at the end of their work.<sup>6</sup>

In his *Vocabulaire*, Muzerelle deals almost exclusively with manuscripts belonging to what may be termed the Western tradition. Agati's definition may prove more useful to the purposes here as it includes manuscripts pertaining to some Oriental traditions.<sup>7</sup> With these considerations in mind the question to be asked is what actually is a colophon in South Asian manuscripts. The answer may appear simple, but here the issue of the object's classification is intertwined with that of its definition. In a systematic attempt to find a definition for colophon in South Asian manuscripts, Oskar von Hinüber chooses as a starting point H. Spilling's definition from the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (mentioning Muzerelle's in a footnote).<sup>8</sup> The German scholar then refers to Jinavijaya's *Jainapustaka-praśastisaṅgraha*, pointing out that

Jinavijayamuni coins two new terms by splitting the generic term *praśasti* into *granthapraśasti* 'colophon of the text' in which the author mentions his ancestors, his patrons or his sectarian affiliation within Jainism and communicates the title of his work and *pustakapraśasti* 'colophon of the book', which is composed by the scribe. The *granthapraśasti* (explicit) thus is an integral part of a literary work, while the *pustakapraśasti* (colophon) varies from manuscript to manuscript.

Another Sanskrit term analogous to *granthapraśasti* is *granthālaṅkāra*, already attested in sixteenth century manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> The terminology developed by Jinavijayamuni is extremely useful and the distinction between *granthapraśasti*

---

6 'Il colofone (κολοφών: punto di arrivo, compimento) è una formula finale con la quale il copista si congeda dal lavoro svolto, scrivendo il proprio nome (sottoscrizione) ed eventualmente aggiungendo anche quello del committente, il luogo e la data di trascrizione. [...] Il colofone non va confuso con la sottoscrizione dell'autore alla fine della sua opera. [...] ' (Agati 2009, 288).

7 More precisely, her study includes Hebrew, Islamic, Coptic, Ethiopian, Armenian, Georgian, Slavic, and Syriac manuscripts.

8 'Place and date of copying, scribe, painter, corrector, initiator or other persons may be mentioned in a colophon. Moreover, it may also contain personal remarks. Aside from these, individual entries, formulas or recurring wordings are often used either in prose or in verse form. The scribe may use them to express his various wishes, thank god, ask the reader to pray for him, communicate his relief at terminating his task, excuse himself for his mistakes, demand a fee, threatens those who steal the book etc.' (von Hinüber 2017, 47).

9 '[T]he convention of designating the concluding portion of a book as *alaṅkāra* or *granthālaṅkāra* may have come into vogue in the sixteenth century. This portion consisted of one or more verses, or an entire section, containing the author's genealogy (*vaṃśakīrtana*) and occasionally also praise or eulogy of the work' (S. R. Sarma 2006, 276).

and *pustakaprasāsti* can also be applied, in part, to manuscripts belonging to other traditions. Despite the existence of such analytic terminology, Indologists usually employ the Sanskrit term *puṣpikā* in the sense of colophon, albeit without giving any particular thought to its origin and purport. On the other hand, a closer look at its origin and meaning as provided by dictionaries reveals such equivalence to be groundless. In his 1832 dictionary, Horace Hayman Wilson provides only two meanings for the term *puṣpikā*: '(1) The tartar of the teeth. (2) The mucus of the glans penis, or urethra' (Wilson, s.v.). On the other hand, the PW does not provide any entry for *puṣpikā* and, as to be expected, neither Monier-Williams' 1872 dictionary (MW1).<sup>10</sup> These two meanings are found again in Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya's Sanskrit lexicon *Vācaspatyabṛhatsaṃskṛtābhīdhāna* (1873), however alongside a third meaning:

*Puṣpikā* [...] 1 *dantamale hārā°* | 2 *liṅgamale hema°* | *granthādhyāyasamāptau tatpratipādyakathane granthāṃśabhede yathā 'iti mahābhārata śatasāhasrayāṃ saṃhitāyām ityādi'*

*Puṣpikā* [...] 1. In the meaning of impurity of the teeth [i.e. tartar of the teeth]. 2. In the meaning of impurity of the penis [i.e. mucus of the glans penis, or urethra]. [3.] In the meaning of the conclusion of a work or chapter, in order to explain its content, in order to tell apart the sections of the work, for instance 'in the *Mahābhārata*, in the Collection in One Hundred Thousand Stanzas etc.'

It is noteworthy that Bhaṭṭācārya provides a reference to other lexica (Puruṣottamadeva's *Hārāvalī* and Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*) only for the first two meanings. Is this a sign that the third definition is Bhaṭṭācārya's own coinage? Precisely these three meanings occur also in the *Śabdakalpadruma* (1886):

*Puṣpikā* [...] *dantamalam* | *iti hārāvalī* | 195 || *liṅgamalam* | *iti hemacandraḥ* | 3 | 298 || *adhyāyānte tatpratipāditoktiḥ*

We find them again in later dictionaries, such as the 1899 edition of Monier-Williams (MW2) and Apte's dictionary, but notably not in the pw. Interestingly, in both MW2 and Apte the third meaning is clearly an English paraphrase of the last Sanskrit definition found in the *Śabdakalpadruma*: 'the last words of a chapter (which state the subject treated therein)<sup>11</sup>'. In MW2, the source for the

<sup>10</sup> On the relationship between these two dictionaries see Steiner 2020. Similarly, other earlier dictionaries do not provide any entry for *puṣpikā*, e.g. Bopp 1867 and Burnouf and Leupol 1865.

<sup>11</sup> Without brackets in Apte, where we find even the same example provided in the *Śabdakalpadruma* ('*iti śrīmahābhārata śatasāhasrayāṃ saṃhitāyāṃ vanaparvaṇi* &c. ...

third meaning is simply indicated as ‘L.[exica]’, without further specification. It appears the question of the origin of the third meaning remains unanswered. One extremely plausible explanation is that the author of the *Vācaspatya* coined the term *puṣpikā* associating the end titles of manuscripts with the stylized floral decorations often found at the end of chapters or works in manuscripts.<sup>12</sup> In short, among all dictionaries published before the *Vācaspatya* and the *Śabdakalpadruma*, a lemma for *puṣpikā* is found only in Wilson – and just with the two meanings ‘tartar of the teeth’ and ‘mucus of the glans penis, or urethra’. In this respect, of particular interest is the lack of a lemma for *puṣpikā* in MW1 and its addition in MW2, where the source for the third meaning is an unidentified lexicon – most probably the *Śabdakalpadruma* itself, as already seen. Taking this fact into consideration, it is not too far-fetched to assume that the third meaning adopted by later dictionaries was derived from the definition found in the two Sanskrit lexica. From this point onwards, it is but a small step for the term *puṣpikā* to gain the definitive semantic shift towards the meaning ‘colophon’. Notable examples of the use of the term colophon in the meaning given for *puṣpikā* are found in Chandrabhāl Tripāṭhī’s catalogue of the Jaina manuscripts in Strasbourg<sup>13</sup> and in Murthy’s glossary of Sanskrit terminology for manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> I believe it is safe to assume that precisely the definition of *puṣpikā* found in the *Vācaspatya* and the *Śabdakalpadruma* is at the origin of the Indologists’ well-established practice to call the end titles of chapters or works ‘colophon’, even if it creates several terminological problems.<sup>15</sup> An example of the consequence of this practice is contained for instance in Tripāṭhī’s catalogue, in which the author has to define the actual colophon as ‘scribal remark’, a misleading term for non-Indologists, who consider what Tripāṭhī calls scribal remark – a colophon.<sup>16</sup> In

---

*amukodhyāyaḥ*’); incidentally, this meaning is provided also in the *Śabdasāgara* (‘The concluding words of a chapter’) (Bhaṭṭācāryya 1900).

**12** On these symbols in early palm-leaf manuscripts up to the end of the thirteenth century, see Bhattarai 2019, Chap. 3.

**13** In a footnote, Tripāṭhī even quotes MW2 as authority for this usage (Tripāṭhī 1975, 41, n. 14); moreover, in the same passage he mentions the formula *iti śrī* used in Gujarat in a similar sense.

**14** ‘*Colophon*: the tail piece of a codex or a section thereof, recording the ending of a section, part or the whole work itself as well as the name and other details of the author; it may also include the date. [...] *Puṣpikā*: colophon’ (Murthy 1996, 191, 202; cf. also 107).

**15** ‘Colophons are generally called *puṣpikā* in Sanskrit, though this word is not attested in any early source. By convenience, *puṣpikā* refers to the last line of the work, usually in prose, that commences with *iti*’ (S. R. Sarma 2006, 271).

**16** Apparently, codicologists of Greek manuscripts prefer the term ‘subscription’ or the Greek term ‘σημείωμα (of the copyist)’, which corresponds more closely to ‘(scribal) remark’ (Agati

fact, the ‘Indological colophon’ is just a title that happens to be at the end of a chapter or work, rather than at the beginning. Accordingly, in other manuscript traditions such titles are defined ‘heading’ or ‘ascription’, irrespective of whether they occur at the beginning or end of a text.<sup>17</sup> Fostering further confusion, Tripāṭhi’s scribal remark is called ‘post-colophon’ in other Indological works, titles at the end of a work are called ‘colophon’, and titles at the end of chapters are called ‘sub-colophons’.<sup>18</sup> Finally, I would like to point out the usage of the one-size fits-all Sanskrit term *antavākya* to denote without any further distinction the end of a text, its end titles, as well as its colophon.<sup>19</sup>

For the purpose of avoiding such terminological confusion and for the sake of compatibility with other scholarly traditions, in the Sanskrit Manuscript Project at the Cambridge University Library it was decided to adopt the terminology employed in the Text Encoding Initiative guidelines (TEI). Even though largely based on the terminology developed within the field of Western manuscript studies, it can also be successfully applied to South Asian material with some minor adaptations. In reading the chapter on manuscript description in the TEI guidelines, it is immediately apparent that most of the categories and definitions proposed are perfectly apt in describing both the textual as well as physical aspects of South Asian manuscripts. For instance, the element <finalRubric> is defined in the TEI guidelines as that part of a text containing ‘the string of words that denotes the end of a text division, often with an assertion as to its author and title, usually set off from the text itself by red ink, by a different

---

2009, 288). On the other hand, it should be noted that the reverse does not apply – in other words, these scholars do not apply the term colophon to end titles of manuscripts.

**17** ‘Intitulé. Formule contenant le nom de l’auteur, le titre, ou une désignation quelconque du texte, placée en tête ou à la fin de celui-ci’ [‘Heading. Formula containing the name of the author, the title, or any definition of the text, placed at its beginning or end’] (Muzerelle 1985, 131, no. 432.04).

**18** In the recent volume by B. Bhattarai, yet another different term is introduced, ‘(sub-)chapter colophon’ (Bhattarai 2019, 75). Even more confusing is the author’s note about the very term *puṣpikā*, where in the body of the text we learn that this term was used ‘at least from the 19th c. onward, to signify ‘colophon’, i.e. a short text providing information about the subject of a whole text or of one of its sections’ (Bhattarai 2019, ibidem); however, in a footnote to this passage, after providing a reference to Apte’s definition, he adds another definition, which contradicts the previous one: ‘Further, Das 2007, 37 understands the term “*puṣpikā*” as follows: “Most Orissan palm-leaf manuscripts have a *pushpika* (colophon) at the end, giving the name of the scribe and the date of copying ...”’ (Bhattarai 2019, 75, n. 130).

**19** Shastri 1905, passim.

size or type of script, or by some other such visual device'.<sup>20</sup> Does this definition not describe precisely what Indologists usually call colophon? Is there a cogent reason not to adopt the term 'final rubric' instead of colophon? We chose to employ this definition because it enabled us to avoid the use of other terms (such as 'scribal remark', 'author's colophon', 'subcolophon', and the like) for the actual colophon of manuscripts, i.e. the 'statement providing information regarding the date, place, agency, or reason for production of the manuscript'.<sup>21</sup>

After this rather long clarification of our understanding and definition of what colophons are, criteria for their identification in manuscripts are yet to be established. Once again, the experience gathered in the Cambridge cataloguing project proves extremely helpful. Applying the following rule of the thumb in the catalogue entries: every textual part that does not occur in a fixed and regular form in the great majority of manuscript witnesses of a given work is considered a paratext. This rule is obviously very loose and not always easy to apply, but on the whole, proved useful in allowing the identification of a set of paratexts occurring in almost all manuscripts. According to their paratextual nature, colophons are unstable and change in content, form and quantity from manuscript to manuscript. As already seen, this criterion is present in Jinavijayamuni's distinction between *granthaprasāsti*, which is considered an integral part of a work, and *pustakaprasāsti*, which varies from manuscript to manuscript. Obviously, there are cases in which it is difficult to apply this rule – if not impossible.

## 2 Colophon structures

In order to establish a typological classification, I will attempt a study of colophons through the lenses of quantitative codicology. The origin of this approach to manuscript studies might date back to the 1970s, but three seminal essays published in 1980 by two Italian scholars, Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato, may be considered its manifesto.<sup>22</sup> It is clear already from the definition itself that rather

---

<sup>20</sup> TEI P5: *Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange*, Version 4.2.1 last updated on 1st March 2021, Revision 654a5c551: <<http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/P5/>> (accessed on 4 March 2021), 315.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>22</sup> Bozzolo and Ornato 1980; on the history of quantitative codicology see Ornato 1991 and Maniaci 2002, 22–24; the latter includes very useful references to other contributions on the topic.

than focusing on one particular manuscript that stands out for its uniqueness (whether it is an important textual witness or a fine piece of art), this approach tries to build representative samples by examining a fairly large number of manuscripts. Various phases in this type of enquiry can be distinguished, but the nature of the present contribution does not allow their in-depth discussion. Therefore, for simplicity's sake Agati's insightful description of this method is preferred:<sup>23</sup>

- 1 Sample choice: from a population of manuscripts, a representative sample is chosen. In this phase, it is of course very important to choose according to criteria able to guarantee the reliability of the sample.
- 2 Operative phase: extracting from the sample coherent information according to an unambiguous and standardized description protocol.
- 3 Interpretation of the data: the correct application of the protocol in phase two is of course fundamental for the interpretation to be valid.

For the present study, the sample of manuscripts was chosen randomly. More precisely, I carefully perused the NGMCP catalogues narrowing down the search to all manuscripts dated between 1320 CE and 1395 CE that could be found. Similarly, I have included all manuscripts dated within the same time period included in the Cambridge University Digital Library. Moreover, I have examined the catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts published in the VOHD series, to no avail. It goes without saying that I have also profited from Petech's *Medieval History of Nepal*.<sup>24</sup> Although the sample presented here does not strive to be fully comprehensive, among the total number of Nepalese manuscripts dated to this period, the catalogues and publications perused include such a conspicuous amount of manuscripts that the number of manuscripts examined in this study approaches their totality. A possible objection to the validity of this criterion is that manuscripts datable to this century and containing a colophon without a

---

**23** Agati 2009, 38: '[1] Dalla popolazione, impossibile da passare a setaccio per intero, si trae un campione, un *corpus* di manoscritti. Questa operazione ha già implicita un primo problema, che riguarda l'*attendibilità* del campione (più che la sua *consistenza*, come essi [i.e. Bozzolo and Ornato] dicono) che, secondo le regole della statistica, deve rigorosamente essere rappresentativo, e quindi attenersi al principio della casualità e dell'indipendenza. [2] Si passa dunque alla fase operativa, che comincia con l'estrarre dal campione "l'informazione coerente" che esso contiene, e cioè il sistema di interrelazioni insito negli individui del *corpus* e nelle variabili analizzate. [...] [3] L'*interpretazione* costituisce il momento-chiave di tutta la procedura, ma prima di arrivarvi è importante che i dati raccolti siano ben definiti per conseguire risultati finali affidabili (in senso statistico, nel senso cioè che deformazioni sporadiche di manoscritti singoli non apportano conseguenze disastrose)' (figures and text in square brackets added by me).

**24** Petech 1984.

date are excluded from the sample. Although this objection is valid at a theoretical level, it is not at a practical one. Unlike Western manuscripts, the state of the art in the field of palaeography of South Asian scripts, with very few exceptions, does not allow the dating of a manuscript to a century with any certainty, let alone a decade.<sup>25</sup> It is possible to identify general palaeographical trends across centuries in Nepalese manuscripts, but without any certainty on dating accuracy, the inclusion of palaeographically dated manuscripts containing undated colophons would most likely skew the study's results.

**Table 1:** Sample figures

Total dated manuscripts traced	121
Manuscripts examined in catalogues	85
Manuscripts directly examined	49

As shown in Table 1, it was possible to examine eighty-five manuscripts, around seventy percent of the total number of 121 manuscripts traced. Among the examined manuscripts, thirty-six manuscripts were examined only in catalogue descriptions (42.4%), while forty-nine manuscripts were directly examined in the form of digital reproductions (57.6%). In the following subsections, as well as in Sections 3 and 4, the other two phases of the quantitative codicological analysis described above will be carried out.

## General remarks on the syntax of Nepalese colophons

The description protocol was developed while editing the colophons presented in Section 3 and revised after the completion of their edition. The individuation of distinct elements occurring in the colophons was conducted according to four functional categories: chronology, space, agency, other functions. It is possible to distinguish sixteen elements as listed in Table 2. Since the manuscripts included in the sample are all dated, the only continually present element is obviously the date. Two manuscripts (§ 3.3.18 and § 3.4.24) have two colophons. Moreover, in one manuscript (§ 3.1.1) the date is provided twice, therefore the total number of dates in Tables 2 and 3 is higher than the number of manuscripts

<sup>25</sup> On the relationship between manuscripts dated but not subscribed and manuscripts subscribed but not dated in the Western manuscript tradition, see Ornato 2003.

considered in the respective category. Similarly, the *āśīrvāda* ('blessing') often occurs more than once in a colophon, thus accounting for the number of occurrences exceeding the total number of colophons examined.

**Table 2:** Elements in all manuscripts examined (85)

Element	Occurrences		Initial position		Final position	
Date	86	101%	27	31.8%	1	1.2%
Concluding formula	40	47%	1	1.2%	4	4.7%
Place	41	48.2%	–		1	1.2%
King	58	68.2%	2	2.4%	3	3.5%
Scribe	60	70.6%	–		9	10.6%
Owner	12	14.1%	–		3	3.5%
Commissioner	15	17.6%	–		–	
Donor	11	12.90%	–		–	
<i>Deyadharmo</i> formula	7	8.2%	–		–	
Reason	23	27%	–		1	1.2%
Scribal stanzas	58	68.2%	11	12.9%	17	20%
Authorial stanzas	5	5.9%	4	4.7%	–	
Final Rubric	4	4.7%	1	1.2%	–	
<i>Āśīrvāda</i>	104	122.3%	30	35.3%	44	51.8%
<i>Namaskāra</i>	7	8.2%	1	1.2%	2	2.4%
<i>Ye dharmā</i> formula	8	9.4%	8	100%	–	

**Table 3:** Elements in manuscripts directly examined (49)

Element	Occurrences		Initial position		Final position	
Date	50	102%	15	30.6%	–	
Concluding formula	17	34.7%	–		1	2%
Place	21	42.6%	–		–	
King	37	75.5%	–		1	2%
Scribe	38	77.6%	–		4	8.2%
Owner	7	14.2%	–		1	2%
Commissioner	8	16,3%	–		–	

Table 3 (continued)

Element	Occurrences		Initial position		Final position	
Donor	8	16.3%	–		–	
<i>Deyadharmo</i> formula	6	12.2%	–		–	
Reason	13	26.5%	–		1	2%
Scribal stanzas	37	75.5%	8	16.3%	8	16.4%
Authorial stanzas	4	8.2%	3	6.1%	–	
Final Rubric	4	8.2%	1	2%	–	
<i>Āśīrvāda</i>	64	130.6%	16	32.7%	32	65.4%
<i>Namaskāra</i>	5	10.2%	–		1	2%
<i>Ye dharmā</i> formula	6	12.2%	7	14.3%	–	

The following subsections are devoted only to the description of the salient features of each element. An evaluation of the syntax of colophons is provided in Section 4.

## 2.1 Date

Dates are provided in three different calendars: Nepāla°, Lakṣmaṇa°, and Śākasaṃvat. As to be expected, the standard era is the Nepālasaṃvat, the other two occur very rarely. The Lakṣmaṇa era is found in five manuscripts, while the Śāka era in only one manuscript. As evident from the data presented in Table 3, the date occurs in the first position only in one third of the manuscripts examined directly, and never in the last position. The most comprehensive pattern for dates includes the following elements, invariably in the order in which they are listed: year, month, lunar fortnight, *tithi*, lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*), constellation or asterism (*yoga, lagna*), weekday. Apparently, dates in the Lakṣmaṇa era follow a simpler pattern without lunar mansion and asterism. In the manuscripts examined directly, the first four elements are invariably grouped together. Double *daṇḍas* separate this group from the following elements, as well as each other element from the following. Unfortunately, excerpts in catalogues almost invariably do not reproduce the actual manuscript punctuation, therefore these observations can be positively confirmed only for forty-nine manuscripts.

## 2.2 Concluding formula

The presence of this type of formula as a self-standing element may not be evident at first glance. However, a closer analysis of the structure of the colophons clearly reveals its existence, allowing us to recognise its specific function. The definition ‘concluding formula’ describes a series of different terms and short phrases used to denote the completion of the copied text. As delineated in Table 4, it is possible to identify three typologies of concluding formulas:<sup>26</sup>

- 1 *Likhita* formula: a form of the past participle passive *likhita* (or its causative) occurs alone, in combination with a pronoun, in the nominative singular neuter (scil. *pustakam*) followed by *iti*, in combination with the word *pustaka*, or in the full form *likhitam idam pustakam*.
- 2 *Samāpta* / *saṃpūrṇa* formula: similarly, a form of the past participle passive *samāpta* or *saṃpūrṇa* occurs alone, in combination with a pronoun, in the full form *pustakam idaṃ samāptam* followed by *iti*.
- 3 Combined formula (including other formulas): combinations of the two previous formulas occur more rarely, but are attested in several manuscripts.

At the present stage of research it is not clear whether these formulas have different meanings based on their structure. According to the data summarized in Table 5, they occur mostly after the date and the king, i.e. two elements which provide temporal coordinates,<sup>27</sup> therefore their primary function is clearly to mark the completion of the copying act. They also, perhaps, delimit the main text copied from paratexts added by the scribe. Their occurrence is never linked to the mention of the scribe, which is achieved by means of another element. In other words, a concluding formula can occur in the same colophon in which the scribe is mentioned, but more often it occurs alone – in fact, it is one of the few elements present in a minimal colophon (see Table 7 below).

<sup>26</sup> In this classification I disregard all erroneous forms such as for instance *liṣita* for *likhita*.

<sup>27</sup> In fact, in one case the concluding formula is even repeated after both the date and the king (§ 3.1.4, NGMPP A 49-1).

**Table 4:** Typologies of concluding formulas

<b>likhita formulas</b>	
<i>likhitam</i> (3.1.4, 3.2.1, 3.4.1, *3.4.29 and *3.4.30 in scribal stanzas, *3.4.35)	<i>likhitam iti</i> (3.2.1)
<i>liṣītaṃ</i> (*3.4.26)	<i>likhitam iti ḥ</i> (3.3.25)
<i>likhyāpitaṃ</i> (3.4.8)	<i>likṣitim iti ḥ</i> (*3.4.25)
<i>likhiteyaṃ</i> (3.4.7)	<i>likhita (!) pustakaṃ</i> (3.1.8)
	<i>likhitam idam pustakaṃ</i> (*3.2.4, 3.3.20, *3.4.23)
	<i>likhityedaṃ pustakaṃ</i> (3.3.2)
<i>likhitam idam [-6-]</i> (*3.1.7, 3.2.10, *3.3.18, 3.4.5)	<i>likhitaṃ idam saddharmapustakaṃ</i> (3.3.24)
	<i>likhitam idam pustakaṃ iti</i> (3.2.12)
<b>samāpta / saṃpūrṇa formulas</b>	<b>Combined and other formulas</b>
<i>samāptam iti</i> (3.2.2; *3.2.3, 3.2.6, 3.2.8, *3.3.13, *3.4.17)	<i>likhitam idam pustakaṃ samāptam</i> (3.2.8)
<i>samāptam idam</i> (3.3.19, 3.3.21)	<i>[likhasaṃpūrṇa]</i> (*3.1.2)
<i>pustakaṃ idam samāptam iti</i> (*3.1.1)	<i>likhita saṃpūrṇam iti</i> (*3.4.27)
<i>pustakaṃ idam samāpteti</i> (3.4.19)	
<i>saṃpūrṇam idam hi śāstraṃ</i> (*3.4.11)	<i>saṃpūrṇam kṛtaṃ</i> (3.3.6)
	<i>pustakasiddhim idam</i> (3.2.14)
	<i>lekhyaniyaṃ samāpteti ḥ</i> (3.3.9)

**Table 5:** Concluding formula occurrences according to position

After date	25
After king	7
After commissioner	3
After reason	2
After place	1
After <i>āśīrvāda</i>	1
Initial position	1

## 2.3 Place

Mention of places is less common than expected, as only roughly half of the colophons of all examined manuscripts contain indications of the place of copying (Table 2; a similar percentage is found also in colophons of manuscripts examined directly, see Table 3). The details provided vary and may include the city, the district (*ṭolaka*, *tolaka*, *ṭolka*), the monastery (*vihāra*), mentioned singularly or together. Occasionally, more places are mentioned, such as the place of copying of the text, the place of residence of the scribe, as well as that of the donor(s) – the latter is mentioned more often in manuscripts of Buddhist texts.

## 2.4 King

The structure of this element is invariably [royal titles] + [name of the king in genitive singular or plural, or as a compound member] + *vijayarājye*. The reigning king is mentioned in 68% of the colophons of all manuscripts considered (Table 2) and in the case of manuscripts examined directly in 75% of the colophons (Table 3). This slight discrepancy in the percentage might possibly derive from the fact that catalogue entries do not always provide all elements of a colophon. Notably, mention of the king rarely occurs in the initial<sup>28</sup> or final position of a colophon, but it occurs in minimal colophons (Table 7).

## 2.5 Scribe

The scribe is mentioned in 70% of the colophons of all manuscripts considered (Table 2) and 77% in the case of manuscripts examined directly (Table 3). This slight discrepancy in the percentage might be explained with the same consideration advanced for the mention of the king. As to be expected, another common feature between these two elements is the occurrence in the final position – although more often – and in minimal colophons. More details about this element are provided in section 4.

---

<sup>28</sup> However, never in the initial position in colophons of manuscripts directly examined.

## 2.6 Owner

Only a total of eleven colophons mention the manuscript owner, never in the initial position and only occasionally in the final position. In terms of percentage, no discrepancy exists between colophons of manuscripts described in catalogues and directly examined manuscripts.

Almost all owners mentioned were ministers and noblemen (*bhāroka*),<sup>29</sup> and interestingly, in the majority of cases also the scribe of the manuscript: Ajarāmadeva, *mahattaka* (§ 3.1.3), Jayaśīhamallavarman, *mahāpātra* (§ 3.2.6, 3.2.9, 3.3.6, 3.3.21, 3.3.23), Jayasiḥmarāma (§ 3.3.4, as Jaḡasiḥabhāroka), Jayaśiḡharāma, *mahāmātya* (§ 3.4.21), Saja, *bhāroka* and *mahāpātra* (§ 3.3.26), Jayatavarman / Jayatabrahma, *amātya* (§ 3.4.3, 3.4.5).<sup>30</sup> The only exception is a manuscript of a *jyotiṣa* text, the *Sārasaṅgraha* (§ 3.4.25), the owner of which apparently was an astrologer by the name of Gajarāja. Such caution is due to the language register of the colophon, which is more vernacular than Sanskrit and does not allow unequivocal recognition of Gajarāja's role as the scribe of the manuscript, its owner, or possibly both. It is not far-fetched to interpret the expression *daivajñagajarājanāmano yaṃ likṣiti tasya pustakaḥ* as corresponding to \**daivajñagajarājanāmnāyaṃ* [scil. *pustakaḥ*] *likhita iti tasya pustakaḥ*, 'this [book] was written by the astrologer named Gajarāja; [it is] his book'. Moreover, all other astrologers mentioned in colophons of the other manuscripts examined were scribes, thus it is also highly likely that Gajarāja wrote this manuscript for his own personal use.

## 2.7 Commissioner

It is difficult to make a clear distinction between this element and the donor element – and to a certain extent also with the owner element. The reason for commissioning a manuscript can vary and the various formulations to express it are dealt with in detail in § 2.10. However, if we consider the agents involved in the production, use, and distribution of a manuscript mentioned in colophons, it seems useful to distinguish between manuscripts produced to be read and manuscripts produced as religious gifts. In the first case, a manuscript might have been commissioned to a scribe by an individual for their own use

<sup>29</sup> The title *bhāro*/*bhāroka* was very common and apparently was associated to the third and fourth *varṇa*, but more commonly to *vaiśyas* (Kölver and Sakya 1985, 91).

<sup>30</sup> The identification of these ministers is discussed in Section 3.

(Skt. *svārthahetunā*) or also for the use of others (Skt. *svārthaparārthahetunā*). In the second case, the commissioning of a manuscript aims at accumulating religious merits, thus the donor is mentioned explicitly (Skt. *dānapati*) instead of simply as the person at whose bequest (Skt. *abhilāṣena*, *ājñayā*, *vidhānena*) the manuscript was written. Only around 16–17% of the colophons bear the name of the person who commissioned the writing of the manuscript (Tables 2 and 3). Of a total of fourteen colophons, eight mention ministers of various ranks: Tejānanda, *amātya* (§ 3.3.2), Jayatavarman, *amātya* (§ 3.4.3; commissioner and owner; possibly also § 3.4.35 as Jayatabhāro), Jayatejabhara, *pradhānāṅgapātra* (§ 3.4.23), Jayabrahma, *amātya* (§ 3.4.15), Jayasimharāma (§ 3.4.29, 3.4.30; maybe also § 3.4.18 as °*sihamalla*). The remaining six colophons each mention one individual: Śrīviṣṭidāsa, *vipra* (§ 3.2.8), Jayapatisomaśarmman, *vipra* (§ 3.2.14), Manmathapati, *śaivācārya* (§ 3.2.5), Devendrāśrama, *paramahaṃsaparivrājakācārya* (§ 3.2.12), Vīrasimha (§ 3.4.9), and Jogarāma (§ 3.4.33) – if the latter is the same as the scribe of § 3.3.9, then he was an astrologer (Skt. *daivajña*).

## 2.8 Donor

As defined above, an individual is considered the donor of a manuscript if explicitly mentioned as such in the colophon and/or if the manuscript was produced as a religious gift. The percentage of colophons falling into this category is 12.9% for all manuscripts examined and 16.3% for manuscripts directly examined. As in the other cases described above, this discrepancy might derive from the fact that catalogue entries do not always provide all elements of a colophon.<sup>31</sup> Eight out of eleven occurrences are in manuscripts of Buddhist texts, in particular three manuscripts of the *Pañcarakṣā* (§ 3.3.15, 3.4.17, 3.4.24), two of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (§ 3.4.27, 3.4.36), two of the *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra* (§ 3.3.16, 3.3.17), and one manuscript of the *Vasudhārādhāraṇī* (§ 3.3.24). Apparently, the two manuscripts of the *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra* were donated by the same individual, a *sthavira* named Tejacandra, who commissioned the copying of both to the scribe Tumaśrī, who also wrote the *Pañcarakṣā* donated by the *bhāroka* named Nātha (§ 3.3.15).<sup>32</sup> The other two *Pañcarakṣā* manuscripts were donated by a certain Nāyakaḍhoṣṇanaka and Malendrajajaka, the latter titled

<sup>31</sup> Indeed, the analysis of colophons of later manuscripts belonging to the so-called *navadharmā* corpus of Buddhist texts confirms the fact that, in the majority of cases, the donor is explicitly mentioned in colophons of this type of manuscripts.

<sup>32</sup> More details about Tumaśrī as a scribe are provided in Section 4.

*śākyaputraparasaugata* in the colophon. The two *Kāraṇḍavyūha* manuscripts were donated by Vyadhojasarāmaka – the first part of the name however is barely legible – and the *bhāroka* Abhayamāla respectively. Finally, the *Vasudhārādhāraṇī* manuscript was donated by the *bhāroka* Rājakanakakārajota. It is worth noting that in two manuscripts (*Pañcarakṣā*, § 3.4.24; *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, § 3.4.27) the scribe is not mentioned.

The other three manuscripts bearing the name of the donor contain respectively two Hindu Tantric texts, the *Tripurāpaddhati* (§ 3.3.3) and the *Jayottaratantra* (§ 3.4.8), and the *Hitopadeśa* (§ 3.4.13).<sup>33</sup> The colophons of these three manuscripts are considerably simpler in their structure than the colophons of the Buddhist manuscripts in which a donor is mentioned. The donor of the *Tripurāpaddhati* manuscript is a nobleman (*ṭhakkura*) named Śurapatipadmarāma, and the donor of the *Jayottaratantra* manuscript, a Brahman named Jasadeva; the *Hitopadeśa* manuscript was commissioned by Ratnabhāra, a goldsmith. No reason for the donation is mentioned in the latter manuscript, but reasons are given for the other two manuscripts – Jasadeva commissioned the *Jayottaratantra* for his own pleasure and that of others (Skt. *svarāthaparārthahetukāmārthaṃ*)<sup>34</sup> and Śurapatipadmarāma for the use in his daily worship (Skt. *nityapūjanārthena*).

## 2.9 *Deyadharmo* formula

Among all manuscripts examined, this element occurs only in Buddhist manuscripts.<sup>35</sup> In particular, it occurs in one manuscript of the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* (§ 3.3.1), two manuscripts of the *Pañcarakṣā* (§ 3.3.15 and 3.4.24), two manuscripts of the *Mahāmeghasūtra* (§ 3.3.16 and 3.3.17), one manuscript of the *Vasudhārādhāraṇī* (§ 3.3.24), and one manuscript of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* (§ 3.4.27). In its oldest forms, parts of this formula with several variations in the wording occur already in Aśokan inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> Oskar von Hinüber describes its structure as it occurs in early Buddhist inscriptions and manuscript colophons as follows:

<sup>33</sup> On the *Tripurāpaddhati* see Lidke 2006, 37; on the *Jayottaratantra* see Acharya 2015.

<sup>34</sup> Read *svārtha*<sup>o</sup> instead of *svarārtha*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> A brief discussion of the origin as well as of the meaning of the Pāli *deyadhamma* / Skt. *deyadharmo* is provided in von Hinüber 2004, 178–179. The notes presented here about this colophon element are provisional. The author of this article is preparing a detailed study of colophons of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts, which will include a more comprehensive analysis of the history and function of the *deyadharmo* formula in this typology of manuscripts.

<sup>36</sup> See Bhattacharya 1987.

*Siddham* sign / *svasti* / date / *deyadharmo yaṃ* / religious or lay title / name of the donor / *tathā sārđham* / name of the co-donors with title or definition of kinship with the main donor / *yad atra puṇyaṃ...* / *kalyāṇamitra* / scribe.<sup>37</sup>

According to the German scholar, inscriptions with the simplest structure of the formula consist of two (*deyadharmo yaṃ* / name of the donor) or four parts (*deyadharmo yaṃ* / religious or lay title / name of the donor / *tathā sārđham* / name of the co-donors).<sup>38</sup> However, the full structure of the formula as provided above also includes parts that correspond to elements which are classified separately in the present article (*svasti*, a type of *āśīrvāda*, and the date) or not included in the colophons (the *siddham* sign). The occurrences in the colophons examined allow us to describe its structure as follows:

*deyadharmo 'yaṃ* / religious or lay title / dwelling place of the donor / name of the donor / *yad atra puṇyaṃ...*

After the orthography is normalised and scribal errors are corrected, the most common form found in our manuscripts recites as follows:

*yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavtv ācāryopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvaṅgamaṃ kṛtvā sakala-sattvarāśer / °parirāśer anuttarajñānaphalaṃ prāptam iti*

What[ever] religious merit is [contained] here, this should arise [from this donation]; keeping in the foreground the *ācāryas*, the *upādhyāyas*, and the parents, the reward of supreme insight is attained for the sake of all categories of beings.

Only in the *Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya* manuscript the formula deviates from this structure, beginning with the term *dānapati* instead of *deyadharmo 'yaṃ*. Moreover, the *yad atra puṇyaṃ* part of the formula also differs at the end, reading (with normalised orthography) *sakalasattvarāśer anuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodhiṃ prāpnuvantu*, which might tentatively be interpreted as '[the aforementioned donors] may attain perfect enlightenment for the sake of all supreme categories of beings [i.e. humankind]'.<sup>39</sup> Other manuscripts in the NGMCP descriptive

<sup>37</sup> 'Siddham- Zeichen svasti Datum deyadharmo yaṃ religiöser oder weltlicher Titel, Eigenname des Stifters, tathā sārđham Namen der Mitstifter mit Titel oder Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung, yad atra puṇyaṃ ..., Kalyāṇamitra, Schreiber' (von Hinüber 2004, 177).

<sup>38</sup> 'Die einfachste Form der Formel steht beispielweise auf der Bronze Nr. XV: *deyadharmo yaṃ śrī āddāyas tathā sārđham* ... 'Dies ist die religiöse Stiftung der Āddā zusammen mit ...' oder auf einer Bronze aus Ladakh: # *deyadharmo yaṃ upāsaka devaka. rgya gliñ* 'Dies ist die religiöse Stiftung des Upāsaka Devaka. Land Indien' (von Hinüber 2004, 179–180).

<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, a better understanding of this final clause is difficult, since the preceding part of the colophon is damaged.

catalogue in which a similar variant of the formula occurs are a *Pañcarakṣā* (NGMPP A 47-5) and a *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (NGMPP H 45-6) manuscript. The first is a palm-leaf manuscript written in NS 609 (1489 CE) by the *vajrācārya* Rūparāja, while the latter is a paper manuscript written either in NS 754 (1634 CE) or in NS 852 (1732 CE) by the *vajrācārya* Devendrapramukhana.<sup>40</sup> Although the colophon of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* manuscript is damaged, it seems that in both manuscripts the final part of the formula reads – in a normalised orthography – *anuttarajñānaphalaṃ prāpnuvantu*, i.e. a mixture of the two variants. The peculiar syntax of this formula, in whatever form, evidently created doubts in some scribes, who occasionally tried to adjust it by creating hypercorrected forms, as in the colophon of the *Vasudhārādharmaṇi* manuscript (§ 3.3.24), where in order to have a logical subject for the past participle passive *prāptam*, the instrumental singular masculine *sakalasattvarāśena* is created from an hypothetical *\*rāśa* and used instead of the correct *sakalasattvarāśiṇā* from *rāśi*, apparently the only form attested in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHSD, s.v. *rāśi*).

Finally, it should be mentioned that a variant of the formula beginning with *devadharmo 'yam* is attested already in inscriptions from the seventh–eighth century CE.<sup>41</sup> This variant continues to be used sporadically also in later Nepalese manuscripts, both Buddhist as well as *vaiṣṇava*, such as a manuscript of the *Nārāyaṇastava* (NGMPP C 6-8(3)), the *Samputodbhavasarvatantranidāna-kalparāja* (NGMPP A 138-3), and the *Viṣṇudharma* (NGMPP A 1080-3).

## 2.10 Reason

In around a fourth of the colophons considered the reason for writing the manuscript is provided, without any relevant discrepancy in terms of percentage between manuscripts described in catalogues and manuscripts directly examined. This element is strictly related to the commissioner and donor element, and consequently it is at times difficult to clearly distinguish between the three elements. The mention of a commissioner or a donor in a colophon might also be interpreted as the mention of the reason, therefore in assessing this element we

<sup>40</sup> The date in the colophon is provided in *bhūtasāṅkhyā*, a system that attributes numerical values to words. In the NGMCP description of NGMPP H 45-6 the equivalence is explained as ‘the year “mandarudrānanagiri” = 852? (manda → yama → 2; rudrānana → Śiva’s faces → 5; giri = 8)’; however, the word *giri* may also stand for the number seven and in fact on the last folio there is a note written by a different hand in the bottom providing the equivalence *ne. sam. 754*, thus rendering a colophon assessment of the date difficult.

<sup>41</sup> See von Hinüber 2004, 181–183.

must bear in mind that it overlaps with the other two to a great degree. Nevertheless, it is still possible to recognise recurring and distinctive formulae. The most common terms used to denote the reason are *ājñā*, *abhilāṣa*, *artha*, the former two in the instrumental and the latter either in the instrumental or the accusative, usually as the last member of a compound or preceded by a genitive of the person for whom the manuscript was written. Other common formulae are *svārthahetunā*, *parārthahetunā*, and *svārthaparārthahetunā*, in varying degrees of correctness. More peculiar formulae were also used, such as *vikhyātakīrtteḥ*, ‘for the celebrated (?) fame’ of the *śaivācārya* Manmathapati, occurring in a manuscript of the *Vāmakeśvarīmataviṣamapadaṭṭippaṇī* (§ 3.2.5), or *atyantabhaktiyuktena*, ‘for the sake of perpetual devotion’ to the Brahmin Śrīviṣṭidāsa, occurring in a manuscript of the *Bṛhājātaka* (§ 3.2.8). In the case of Buddhist manuscripts, the reason for their writing is always the acquisition of religious merit, as expressed by the *yad atra puṇyaṃ* formula explained above.

## 2.11 Scribal stanzas

Among all manuscripts examined, at least two-thirds contain scribal stanzas, whereas the percentage is slightly higher in the case of manuscripts directly examined. In the colophons examined, it is possible to recognise two types of scribal stanzas. The first type are anonymous stanzas occurring in many Sanskrit manuscripts from across South Asia and from different periods. The second type are stanzas composed by the scribe and/or author (when the two coincide) of a manuscript only for the purpose of adding information on the production, purpose, and, at times, circulation of a specific manuscript. As the latter require a more detailed analysis in terms of their relevance for Nepalese cultural history, they are to be analysed in more detail in a separate contribution.

In a useful study, K. V. Sarma collected several stanzas added by scribes at the end of South Asian manuscripts (K. V. Sarma 1992). In the manuscripts examined for the present study, it is possible to individuate twelve different anonymous scribal stanzas. Some of these stanzas are attested with slight variations, yet they might be considered part of a sort of cluster or group of stanzas with the same purport. By far the most common is what might be called the *yathādr̥ṣṭaṃ tathā likhitam* stanza, which occurs in twenty-four colophons.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See § 3.1.1, *Mahīrāvaṇavadhanātaka*; § 3.1.2, *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*; § 3.1.4, *Devapratīṣṭhāvidhāna*; § 3.2.5, *Vāmakeśvarīmataviṣamapadaṭṭippaṇī*; § 3.2.6 and 3.3.20, *Abdaprabodha*; § 3.2.13, *Upākarmasnānasandhyātarpaṇavidhi*; § 3.3.4, *Meghadūta*; § 3.3.7, *Haramekhalā*; § 3.3.9 and

In fact, this expression does not always occur as a fully-fledged stanza, at times it is used simply as a formula or in the form of a *pratīka* (for instance, in § 3.1.2; § 3.1.4). Two variants of this stanza are presented in Sarma's article:

*pustake likhitam yādṛk tādṛṣam likhitam mayā |*  
*tathāpi yo me vyatyāso lekhane kriyatām kṣamā ||*

*yādṛṣam pustake dṛṣtam tādṛṣam likhitam mayā |*  
*abaddham vā subaddham vā mama doṣo na vidyate ||*

The first variant does not occur in any manuscript examined, while the second is found in a *Vāmakeśvarīmataviṣamapadaṭīppaṇī* manuscript (§ 3.2.5). On the other hand, other variants occur in the colophons in Section 4 below, sometimes also as half-stanza only. These variants are presented here in a corrected form and with normalised orthography:

- *na cāham śāstrakarttā ca na ca śabdārthacintakaḥ |*  
*yādṛṣam sthitam ādarśe tādṛṣam likhitam mayā ||* (§ 3.1.1)
- *yady akṣaram paribhraṣtam duḥkhena naiva kārayet<sup>43</sup> |*  
*yādṛṣam sthitam ādṛṣe tādṛṣam likhitam mayā ||* (§ 3.2.6, 3.3.13, and 3.3.18)
- *yathā dṛṣtam tathā likhitam lekhako nāsti doṣam ||* (§ 3.2.13, 3.3.4, 3.3.9,  
3.3.10, 3.3.20, 3.3.26, 3.3.27, 3.4.35)
- *yadi śuddham aśuddham vā lekhako nāsti doṣakaḥ ||* (§ 3.3.7, 3.4.23, and 3.4.31)
- *yathā kathañcil likhitam mayaitad bālena śāstram guṇinaḥ kṣamadhvam ||*  
*(§ 3.3.16 and 3.3.17)*
- *yādṛk samsthitam ādarśe tādṛṣam likhitam mayā |*  
*yadi śuddham aśuddham vā mama doṣo na dīyate ||* (§ 3.3.19)
- *yathādṛṣadarśaṇena likhitam | lekhakasya doṣo na dhāryate |* (§ 3.4.15)
- *yādṛśasthitam ādṛṣam likhitam mayā |*  
*yadi śuddham aśuddham vā mama doṣo na dīyate ||* (§ 3.4.36)

In fact, half-stanzas are the minimal elements, which can be recombined with each other to create several variant stanzas. However, the gist is always the same,

---

3.4.35, *Nāgarakasarvasva*; § 3.3.10, *Sugrīvaśāstra*; § 3.3.13, *Hitopadeśa*; § 3.3.16 and 3.3.17, *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra*; § 3.3.18, *Mudrārākṣasa* and *Kuśopadeśanītisāra*; § 3.3.19, *Mahā-saṅgrāmaratnakaraṇḍaka*; § 3.3.26 and 3.3.27, *Amarakośa*; § 3.4.13, *Hitopadeśa*; § 3.4.15, *Hariścandravadānopākhyāna*; § 3.4.23, *Mahālakṣmīvratamāhātmya*; § 3.4.31, *Gaṇeśastava*; § 3.4.36, *Kāraṇḍavyūha*.

**43** In § 3.2.6, the text reads *mama doṣo (!) na kārayet* instead of *duḥkhena naiva kārayet*.

namely that the scribe copied the text as it was written in the antigraph (Skt. *ādarśa* or *ādṛśa*) and no error in the apograph should be attributed to the scribe.

Another stanza which occurs quite often advises the users to take care of the manuscript and save it from possible sources of damage:<sup>44</sup>

*tailād rakṣed jalād rakṣet śīthilabandhanāt |*  
*mūrkhahaste na dātavyam evaṃ vadati pustakam ||*

‘One should protect [me] from oil, protect [me] from water, from a loose binding, I should not be given in the hands of a stupid/inexperienced person’, says the book.

A similar stanza occurs also in a manuscript of the *Mahīrāvaṇavadhanāṭaka* (§ 3.1.1):

*bālamūrkhavidēśasthavāritailāgñitaskarāt |*  
*rakṣitavyā yathāśakti pustikā svastikāriṇī ||*

[This] booklet which creates prosperity should be protected with all efforts from inexperienced and stupid persons, water [coming] from other places, oil, fire, and thieves.

Although the wording is completely different, this stanza conveys the same message of protecting the manuscript at all costs from a series of possible damages.

The next anonymous scribal stanza occurring in the manuscripts examined is the common lamentation of the scribes about their working conditions:<sup>45</sup>

*bhagnaprṣṭikaṭigriṅvaḥ stabdhadrṣṭir adhomukhaḥ |*  
*duḥkhena likhitam śāstram putravat pratipālayet ||*

My ribs, hips, and neck are shattered, my sight is dim, my face leans downwards.  
This treatise was written with difficulty, one should protect it as if it were one’s own child.

K. V. Sarma presents a slightly different version in his article in which the second *pada* recites *kaṣṭhena likhitam grantham yatnataḥ paripālayet*.<sup>46</sup> However, this variant of the stanza occurs in all colophons examined in the present study.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The Sanskrit text is from K. V. Sarma 1992, 37; the translation is mine.

<sup>45</sup> Only in a *Mahālakṣmīratamāhātmya* manuscript (§ 3.4.23) a small variant is present, *kaṣṭhena* instead of *duḥkhena* in the third *pada*, otherwise in all other manuscripts the wording is always the same, disregarding trivial errors.

<sup>46</sup> K. V. Sarma 1992, 31.

<sup>47</sup> See § 3.1.1, *Mahīrāvaṇavadhanāṭaka*; § 3.2.3, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*; § 3.2.6, *Abdaprabodha*; § 3.3.9, *Nāgarasarvasva*; § 3.3.13, *Hitopadeśa*; § 3.3.16 and 3.3.17, *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra*; § 3.3.18, *Mudrārākṣasa* and *Kuśopadeśanītisāra*; § 3.3.19, *Mahāsaṅgrāmaratnakaraṇḍaka*; § 3.3.21, *Hariścandropākhyāna*; § 3.3.25, *Amarakośanepālabhāṣāṭippaṇi*; § 3.4.23, *Mahālakṣmīratamāhātmya*.

The third stanza which occurs more frequently is yet again a warning to protect the manuscript from possible sources of damage:<sup>48</sup>

*udakānalacaurebhyo mūṣakebhyas tathaiva ca |  
rakṣitavyaṃ prayatnena mayā kaṣṭhena likhitaṃ ||*

I have written it with difficulty! It should be protected with all effort from water, fire, thieves as well as mice.

The proverbial character of this stanza becomes even more evident from the fact that in one colophon it is quoted in the abbreviated form *udakānalam ityādi rakṣitavyaṃ* (§ 3.3.20).

Particularly noteworthy is a stanza which occurs in two Buddhist manuscripts (§ 3.3.1, *Amoghapāśahrdaya*; § 3.4.17, *Pañcarakṣā*):<sup>49</sup>

*anena puṇyena tu sarvadarśitām  
avāpya nirjitya ca doṣavidviṣaḥ |  
jarārujāmṛtyumahormisaṃkulāt  
samuddhareyaṃ bhavasāgarāj jagat ||*

By this merit may I lift the world out of the ocean of existence, which is full of great waves, such as old age, disease (*ruja*, cf. *aruja*?), and death, after having become omniscient (that is, a Buddha) and having defeated the enemies, which are the hatred (or: the wrongdoing and hatred?).

Several other less common scribal stanzas are also found, sometimes occurring only in a single manuscript. Needless to say, a colophon often contains more than one scribal stanza.

## 2.12 Authorial stanzas

In the present study, stanzas are defined as authorial when they were composed by the author of the work – or works – contained in a manuscript and when the said author was also the scribe of the manuscript, in other words if the stanzas occur in an autograph manuscript. Accordingly, they are extremely rare and

<sup>48</sup> See § 3.2.3, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*; § 3.2.6, 3.2.9, and 3.3.20, *Abdaprabodha*; § 3.3.8, (*Bhū*)*Padagahana*; § 3.3.9, *Nāgarasarvasva*; § 3.3.10, *Sugrīvaśāstra*; § 3.3.21, *Harīścandropākhyāna*; § 3.3.26, *Amarakośa*.

<sup>49</sup> This stanza occurs also in the colophon of CUL MS Add.1683, a Nepalese manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* written in 1039 CE, described in von Hinüber 2017, 58. The text and translation provided here are from von Hinüber's article, with a small correction to adjust for the variant reading *jarārujāmṛtyu*<sup>o</sup> in the third *pada* instead of *jarārujāmitra*<sup>o</sup> found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* manuscript.

occur only in five colophons (§ 3.2.5, *Vāmakeśvarīmataviṣamapadaṭṭippanī*; § 3.2.11 and 3.3.23, *Rāmāṅkanāṭṭikā*; § 3.4.3, (*Mānavadharmasāstra*) *Nāradasaṃhitā*; § 3.4.16, *Amarakośavivṛti*). This type of stanzas provide invaluable information about the occasion and process of the composition of the work and are extremely important for the reconstruction of cultural history.<sup>50</sup> They contain, in metrical form, information such as date, place, name of the reigning king, name of the owner or commissioner, and the reason for the composition of the work, which in other colophons is provided by other elements. In four cases, this type of information is repeated in prose after the authorial stanzas, from which it is separated by means of an *āśīrvāda*. Such repetition could lead one to consider authorial stanzas to be an integral part of the work and not a part of the colophon. Nevertheless, as they provide information usually included in the colophon, they may also be considered a part of it. They are an excellent example of the difficulties encountered in the attempt of formalizing the description of colophons.

### 2.13 Final rubric

In four manuscripts the final rubric is repeated within the colophon. The rare occurrence of this element does not allow to draw any particular conclusion on its function or the reason for the repetition.

### 2.14 *Āśīrvāda*

This element is by far the most common in all colophons. In the dictionaries, the term *āśīrvāda* is generically defined as ‘benediction’ (Monier-Williams), ‘Segenswunsch’ (pw). Strictly speaking, any benedictory term or expression could be considered an *āśīrvāda*. In Sanskrit manuals on the compositions of letters like the *Lekhapaddhati-Lekhapañcāśikā*, the term *āśīrvāda* is defined as *svasti* and is invariably employed as a benedictory word at the beginning of all model letters.<sup>51</sup> In the present study, only specific terms and expressions are considered as *āśīrvāda*, among which the most common are *śreyo ’stu*, *svasti*, and *śubham astu* – including under the latter any variation of it, such as *śubham astu sarvajagatām*, *śubham bhavatu* and so on. In particular, *śreyo ’stu* and *svasti* almost invariably occur either at the beginning of a colophon or in the middle,

<sup>50</sup> On this topic, see for instance Formigatti 2016.

<sup>51</sup> Strauch 2002, 170, 371–372, 445.

while *śubham astu* usually occurs at the end of the colophon. If occurring in the middle of a colophon, *śreyo 'stu* and *svasti* fulfil the function of dividing different parts of the colophon, representing a sort of boundary – quite often they are followed by the date. The *āśīrvāda* form *śreyo 'stu* is particularly widespread in Nepalese manuscripts as compared to manuscripts from other areas of South Asia and is not limited to literary manuscripts, it occurs also at the beginning of documents of sales and mortgages.<sup>52</sup>

## 2.15 *Namaskāra*

This element simply consists of the formula *oṃ namaḥ* followed by the name of the deity – or deities – in the dative case. Although usually found at the beginning of manuscripts, the *namaskāra* occurs also in some colophons in various positions, not only at the beginning or at the end. As in the case of the final rubric, its rare occurrence does not allow any conclusion to be drawn as to the rationale for its presence or absence.

## 2.16 *Ye dharmā*

Unsurprisingly, this element occurs only in Buddhist manuscripts. The so-called *ye dharmā* formula is a stanza occurring in the Pali canon, ‘in several independent *sūtras*, including those of the Mahāyāna, and at least one Tantra’, in inscriptions, and often at the beginning of colophon of Buddhist manuscripts, and it is ‘interpreted as a summary of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*)’.<sup>53</sup> In a recent and detailed article, Peter Skilling comments on the definitions of the stanza provided by different scholars.<sup>54</sup> In the present article, the somehow neutral term ‘formula’ is used to stress precisely the formulaic function this stanza fulfils in the context of colophons of Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts. This stanza is attested in several different recensions, however the purport of the stanza is always the same. The recension attested in the Nepalese manuscripts examined in this study runs as follows:

<sup>52</sup> Kölver and Salya 1985, passim.

<sup>53</sup> Skilling 2011, 8–79.

<sup>54</sup> Skilling 2021, 78.

*ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat teṣāñ ca yo nirodha evamvādi mahāśramaṇaḥ* ||<sup>55</sup>

'The states arisen from a cause / Their cause the Tathāgata proclaims / As well as their cessation: / This is the teaching of the Great Ascetic'.<sup>56</sup>

This stanza occurs invariably at the beginning of the colophon and is always followed by the *deyadharmo 'yam* formula, when the latter occurs in the colophon. In the manuscripts in which the *deyadharmo 'yam* formula is lacking, it is followed by the *āśīrvāda* (§ 3.4.10 and 3.4.17, *Pañcarakṣā*; § 3.4.36, *Kāraṇḍavyūha*). The *ye dharmā* is seemingly ubiquitous in Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts from the eleventh to the nineteenth century, and together with a form of *āśīrvāda* is often the only element occurring after the final rubric of the work.

### 3 Diplomatic edition of colophons

Manuscripts directly examined are marked with an asterisk before the shelfmark (for instance, \*NGMPP B 15-46 (NAK 5/7491) *Cāṇakyanīti*, \*CUL MS Add.1409 *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā*). The following table provides a short reference to the conventions employed for the transcription of excerpts from the manuscripts directly examined. The aim of the transcription is to provide a *diplomatic transcription*, i.e. every error in the original is faithfully reproduced (*yathā dṛṣṭam tathā likhitam*). A *sic* symbol (!) follows a word or passage which for some reason is considered to be either incorrect or unusual.

Symbols in the transcriptions reproduced from the NGMCP descriptive catalogue have not been adapted to the present conventions, instead they have been retained. The reason for this choice is that apparently the excerpts provided in different entries do not always follow the NGMCP transcription conventions and consequently it would have been extremely difficult to adapt them consistently in all excerpts presented below. Moreover, the NGMCP webpage explaining the editorial conventions is seemingly not available anymore.

<sup>55</sup> I have decided to retain the orthography occurring in most manuscripts for the sake of comparison; on the importance of the linguistic variants of this stanza, see Skilling 2021, 79–80.

<sup>56</sup> Skilling 2021, *ibidem*.

**Table 6:** Conventions employed for the transcription

ᳵ	Treatise-initial symbol ( <i>siddhi</i> )
◎	String hole
*	<i>Puṣpikā</i> symbol
	Line-filler
,	Word and <i>sandhi</i> divider
sa[-1-]pteti, [.rī]	Physically damaged character(s); if these are no longer readable, digits indicate the missing number of <i>akṣaras</i> , while each dot indicates a single missing element of an <i>akṣara</i> , for instance part of a ligature.
[ja]gad	Character(s) difficult to read.
[ ] [-4-]	Characters or words deleted (expuncted or erased) by the scribe (including later deletions; numbers and dots as above).
\ta/thā, ra\ā/jāya	Insertion by the scribe (interlinear or marginal; if used to add a vowel replacing the inherent short a, the latter is retained in the transcription).
[-4-] \rājādhira/ja	Correction: deletion of text and addition by the scribe.

As an aid for further research, at the beginning of each section I provide a list of dated manuscripts which I was able to trace without the possibility of examining their colophons.

### 3.1 Manuscripts from Jayārimalla's period (1320–1344)

- A 54-26 Pretayajñeṣṭi (NS 451, c. 1331; uncatalogued)
- A 56-21 Devimāhātmya (NS 462, c. 1342; however, if Grünendahl's concordance is correct, this is just an undated fragment according to Shastri (1905, liii and 68)
- A 48-3 (NAK 3/402) Vajrāvalī (Saṃvat 202, LS or NS? LS according to NGMCP, NS according to Shastri 1915, 20)

#### 3.1.1 \*NGMPP B 15-22 (NAK 3/362) Mahīrāvaṇavadhanāṭaka

Palm leaf, 32.5 × 5 cm, 27 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Shastri 1915, 25; Petech 1984, 111, no. 1.

Colophon elements: date (year), *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 457, Saturday, August 23rd, 1337 CE), concluding for , king, scribal stanzas, place (Hnolavihāra), scribe (Jayaśīhamallavarma?), reason, scriba  zas, *āśīrvāda*.

[26<sup>v</sup>2] saptapañcāśatādihikacaturaśata || śreyo stu || sa|<sup>o</sup>mvat 457 śrāvaṇakṛṣṇa-  
dvādaśyā(!) || puṣyanakṣatre || pariḥayoge || śaniścara || \* || [26<sup>v</sup>3] vāsare,  
pustakam idaṃ samāptam iti || \* || <sup>o</sup> paramabhāṭṭāraka, parameśvara |  
paramavaiṣṇavaparamadaivatādhideva | paramamāheśvara[26<sup>v</sup>4]raghukulatilaka |  
bhūpālaparaṃparā || \* || <sup>o</sup> pariṇamitamauliśiṣāprasūnasannūpita(!)pādāravinda |  
śrīpaśupatiidevatāvāra[26<sup>v</sup>5]labdhaprasādaikamahārādvirāja(!)saprakriyārājarā-  
jendraśrīśrījayārimalladevānām vijayarājye nepālamaṇḍale || \* || na cāhaṃ  
śāstrakartā ca [27<sup>v</sup>1] na ca śabdārthacintaka | yādṛśaṃ sthitam ādarśe tādṛśaṃ  
likhitam [ta] mayā || uttaravihāraḥkumbodbhavaśrīhṇolavihārapradhānāṅgama-  
hāpātraśrījayaśīhamalla[27<sup>v</sup>2]varmmanāḥ(!) satvārthahetunā likhitam || \* || <sup>o</sup>  
balamūrkhavidēśasthavāritailāgnitaskarāt | rakṣitavyām(!) yathāśakti pustikā  
svasti[27<sup>v</sup>3]kāriṇī || bhagnapṛṣṭikaṭigṛivastabdādṛ || \* || <sup>o</sup> ṣṭi adhomukha |  
duḥkhena likhitam śāstram putravat pratipālayet || \* || bhrāmyān gaṅgā  
[27<sup>v</sup>4]gabhīraprabalarayamilalolakallolamālāḥ śre<sup>o</sup>ṇīśān gāvaghātadvijapati-  
vilasatkoṭipṛṣṭyadyakūṭaḥ | nṛtyārambhapramodollasa[27<sup>v</sup>5]damalajaṭājūṭako-  
ṭīrasāli kāliśrīṅgārāceṣṭācyacakitavapuḥ pātu vaś candramauliḥ || \* || śubham  
astu sarvvajagatā || \* ||

2 °dvādaśyā] ms, NGMCP; °dvādaśyām Petech 5 °śiṣāprasūnasannūpita(!)pādāravinda] ms,  
NGMCP; °śiṣa paśupatiḥpādāravinda Petech 6 °mahārādvirāja°] om. Petech 7 °śrīśrījayāri-  
malladevānām vijayarājye] ms, NGMCP; °śrījayārimalladevanāmavijayarājye Petech 7–9 na  
cāhaṃ [...] mayā] om. Petech 9 °śrīhṇolavihāra°] ms, NGMCP; °śrīhṇolavihāre Petech  
10 °varmmanāḥ] ms, NGMCP; °varmmanāḥ Petech 11 balamūrkhavidēśa° [...] sarvvajagatā]  
om. Petech

### 3.1.2 \*NGMPP B 35-8 (NAK 3/686) Sārasvata(vyākaraṇa)

Palm leaf, 33.5 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 78 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Uncatalogued.  
Colophon elements: date (NS 457, c. 1337 CE), concluding formula, place (Kathmandu), scribal  
stanza, āśīrvāda.

[78<sup>v</sup>1] samvat 457 māghamase [kṛṣṇapakṣe] [-17-][78<sup>v</sup>2][[-13-][likhasampūrṇna] [-2-]  
[dīna]m iti || śrīyaṃgalakāṣṭhamāṇḍapaḥ mahānagare [-3-] gṛha[-9-] || [-3-]  
[78<sup>v</sup>3][[-1-][bhīmasāmana][[-5-]yaṃ || ya[thā likhitam i][[-1-]m]yidevapaṭṭananava-  
haraśrī[-9-]śrībhī[-12-][78<sup>v</sup>4][yarā][[-6-]jana][[-14-] <sup>o</sup> || sārasvatavyākaraṇam  
śubha(!) || \* ||

### 3.1.3 \*NGMPP B 15-46 (NAK 5/7491) Cāṇakyanīti

Palm leaf, 21 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 16 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: date (NS 458, c. 1338–1339 CE), scribe (Rūpeśvara?), owner (Ajarāmadeva, *mahattaka*).

[16°5] saṃvat 458 caitravadi 3 liti(!) vipraśrīrūpeśvarasya || mahattaka śrī ajarāmadevasya pustakaṃ ||

### 3.1.4 NGMPP A 49-1 (NAK 3/380) Devapraṭiṣṭhāvidhāna

Palm leaf, 31 × 6 cm, 1 string hole, 75 (60 +10) folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: *namaskāra*, date (NS 458, c. 1338–1339 CE), concluding formula, king, concluding formula, place (Mānīgalottara), scribe (Kumbhatīrtha, *dvija*), reason, scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[55°5–56°3] hṛdi vakśasi kaṭhe(!) ca koti(!) lakśmī sarasvatī | yasyā nānyarasāsakti(!) taṃ śrīlakśmīpati(!) namaḥ || samvat 458 caitraśuklatṭiyāṃ tithau kṛṭikanakśatre āyusmānyoge budhavāsare likhitam iti || śrīmatnepālabhuvanamaṇḍaleśvaraśrīśrījayārimallavijayarājye likhitam || śrīmatmānīgalotarakumbhatīrthadvijena likhitam idaṃ svārathaprārthaOhetunā || yathādṛṣṭa tathā likhitam iti || subham astu sarvvajagatāṃ ||

### 3.1.5 ASB 10723 Vināyakastavarāja

Palm leaf, ? × ? cm, ? folios, ? lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1917, 438, no. 3747), Petech (1984, 112, no. 2).

Colophon elements: date (NS 459, March 1st, 1339 CE), king, scribe (Viṣṇudāsa).

saṃvacchalānāṃ grahabāna tathā yuga phālgunatamapakṣe pañcamyāṃ tithau śrījayārimalladevasya vijayarājye | viṣṇudāsena likhitam |

### 3.1.6 NAK 1.1536.19 Saptaśatī

Palm leaf, ? × ? cm, ? folios, ? lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 112, no. 3). Colophon elements: date (NS 462, Thursday, October 11th, 1341 CE), king, place (Lembaṭīpaṭana).

samvat 462 kārṭtikaśuklapratipadyāyān tithau bṛhaspativāsare | rājā-  
dhirāḥaparameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāarakaraghuvamśāvātāraśrīrījayārimalladevasya  
vijayarājye | śrīlembaṭi-paṭane [...]

### 3.1.7 \*NGMPP B 34-6 (NAK 1/772) Sugatisopāna

Palm leaf, 30 × 4 cm, 90 folios, 6 lines, Maithili, complete. Described in Shastri (1905, 131–32).  
Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, concluding formula, place (Patan), scribe (Śrīmatīśarmma, *ṭhakkura*  
from Mithilā), date (LS 224, c. 1342 CE), scribal stanza.

śubham astu likhitam idaṃ [-6-] nepālarājyāvasthitaśrīlalitapattane  
ṭhakkuraśrīmatīśarmmaṇā likhitam | lasaṃ 224 āśvina vadi [-5-] | yatkarṃma  
kurvato nāma jugupsā maiti putraka | tatkartavyam aśaṅkena yan na gopyaṃ  
mahājanaiḥ ||

### 3.1.8 NGMPP A 30-4 (NAK 1/1078) Abdaprabodha

Palm leaf, 30 × 4.5 cm, 115 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in NGMCP.  
Colophon elements: date (LS 224, c. 1342 CE), concluding formula, scribe (Amṛtajivacandra,  
*daivajña*), *āśīrvāda*.

[113<sup>v</sup>1–6] samvatsare yugariturvedamāse (!) haimantaśitatṛtīyā (!) likhita (!)  
pustakaṃ devajñaśrīamṛtajivacandreṇa svahastena likhitam || śubha (!) ||

## 3.2 Manuscripts from Jayarājadeva's period (1347–1361)

- B 26-8 Guhyasiddhi (NS 466, c. 1346 CE; uncatalogued)
- ‘National Museum, New Delhi 51.212, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* aus dem Jahr NS 470 (1350 AD) im National Museum, New Delhi (51.212; vormals Tagore-Sammlung, Kolkata); 5,6 × 32,8 cm; mit Miniaturen. Einer der beiden Buchdeckel ist mit dem *Viśvāntarajātaka* illustriert und wird von den meisten Autoren früher als die Handschrift datiert. Der andere Buchdeckel passt nicht zum ersten und stammt vermutlich aus Indien’ (Melzer and Allinger 2012, 265)
- E 1713-10 Yuddhajayārṇava (NS 472, c. 1352 CE; uncatalogued)
- A 1154-8 Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha, Śrāddhavidhi (NS 474, c. 1354 CE; uncatalogued, cf. Shastri 105, lxvi)
- A 1158-11 (Śitalāstotra)(?) (NS 474, c. 1354 CE; uncatalogued)

- E 3073-3 Har(a)mekhalā (NS 475, c. 1355 CE; uncatalogued)
- C 4-24 Paścimaśāsanānityāhnikatilaka, Balimantra, Pūjāmantrāḥ (NS 476, c. 1356 CE; uncatalogued)
- A 1159-1 (Saptaśati)Prādhānikarahasya (NS 477, c. 1357 CE; uncatalogued)
- C 12-3 Kāraṇḍavyūha (NS 478, c. 1358 CE; uncatalogued)
- A 134-36 Tattvajñānasamsiddhi (NS 479, c. 1359 CE; uncatalogued)
- A 58-2 Kāṇvāyanaśrāddhavidhi (NS 480, c. 1360; uncatalogued)
- C 47-8 Bhadracaripraṇidhānarāja (NS 481, c. 1361 CE; uncatalogued)

### 3.2.1 NGMPP B 18-21 (NAK 5/822) Itihāsasamuccaya

Palm leaf, 28 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 17 folios, 5 lines, Maithili, complete. Described in NGMCP. Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (LS 217, c. 1347 CE), place (Bhaktagrāma), concluding formula.

[17<sup>4</sup>-5] śubham astu || la saṃ 217 bhādrabadi 2 somavāre || bhaktagrāmapattane likhitam || ||

### 3.2.2 NGMPP A 31-22 (NAK 3/394) Khaṇḍakhādyā

Palm leaf, 32.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 15 folios, 5–6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Shastri (1915, 87).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 470, c. 1350 CE), concluding formula, place (Patan, Hnolavihāra), scribe (Jayaśīhamallavarman).

[15<sup>3</sup>-6] śreyo 'stu || samvat 470 bhādrapadakṛṣṇadvitīyāparatṛtīyān tithau || uttarabhadrapararevatinaḥṣatre || gaṇḍayoge || śukravāsare || samāptam iti || likhata (!) hnolavihere (!) kuṭumbajamahāpātraśrījayaśīhamallavarmmaṇaiḥ svahastena likhitam ||

### 3.2.3 \*NGMPP B 20-22 (NAK 4/162) Bṛhatsaṃhitā

Palm leaf, 32 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 225 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: scribal stanzas, date (NS 471, c. 1351 CE), concluding formula, place (Mānigalaka, Hnolavihāra), scribe (Jayaśīhamallavarman, *mahāpātra*), reason, *āśīrvāda*.

[225<sup>3</sup>] bhagnapṛṣṭikaṭigṛivastabdhadṛṣṭi adhomukhaḥ duḥkhena likhitam śāstram putra © vat pratipālayet\_ || udakānalacaurebhyo mūśakasya tatheva ca |

rakṣitavyaṃ prayatnena mayā [225<sup>v</sup>4] kaṣṭhena likhitam || samvat 471  
 śrāvaṇaśuklacaturthī parapañcamyān ti| © thau || hastanakṣatre || sādhyayoge ||  
 bṛhaspativāsare samāptam iti || \* || likhiti [225<sup>v</sup>5] śrīmānīgalake uttaravihāre  
 hṇolavīhārakuṭumbajapradhānāṅgamahāpātraśrījayaśīhamallavarmaṇaiḥ  
 svārthaparārthahetunā svahastena likhitam iti || śubham astu sarvvajagatām ||

1 °stabdhadṛṣṭi [...] likhitam] om. NGMCP 6 °kuṭumbaja°°śrījayaśīhamalla°] ms; °kuṭusvaja°  
 °śrījayasīmhamalla° NGMCP

### 3.2.4 \*NGMPP A 1162-15 (NAK 1/1647) Upayogakrama

Palm leaf, 22.8 × 1.3 cm, 1 string hole, 23 folios, 6–9 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. BSP, vol. VI,  
 p. 9, no. 28, vol. VIII, p. 78, no. 108.

Colophon elements: date (NS 471, c. 1351 CE), concluding formula.

[23<sup>v</sup>7] samvat\_ 471 śrāvaṇakṛṣṇaikadaśyām bṛhaspatidīne likhitam idam pustakam ||

### 3.2.5 \*NGMPP A 43-4 (NAK 1/1559) Vāmakeśvarīmataviṣamapadaṭṭippanī

Palm leaf, 34 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 80 folios, 4 lines, Nāgarī, complete. Described in Petech  
 (1984, 123, no. 1), NGMCP.

Colophon elements: authorial stanzas mentioning king, commissioner (Manmathapati, *śaivā-  
 cārya*), and scribe (Nārāyaṇa, *kavi*), date (NS 474, c. 1353-1354 CE), scribal stanza, *namaskāra*,  
*āśīrvāda*.

[80<sup>r</sup>1] nirbādham parirakṣati kṣītitalakṣmāpālacūḍāma©ṇau vīraśrījayarāja-  
 devanṛpatau nepālabhūmaṇḍalaṃ | śaivācāryavarasya ma[80<sup>r</sup>2]nmathapate(!)  
 vikhyātakirtteḥ kṛte savyākhyāṃ ca catu © ḥṣatīṃ samalikhān nārāyaṇākhyāḥ  
 kavīḥ || saṃvat || 474 || yādṛśaṃ pu[80<sup>r</sup>3]stakaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ tādṛśaṃ likhitam mayā |  
 abaddham vā subaddham © vā mama doṣo na vidyate || om namas tripura-  
 suṃdaryaiḥ || śīvam astu || \* || \* || \* ||

1 kṣītitala°] ms; *kṣītitalaṃ* Petech; *kṣītitala* NGMCP 2 °bhūmaṇḍalaṃ] ms; *nepālasu-  
 maṇḍalaṃ* Petech 4 yādṛśaṃ [...] śīvam astu] om. Petech 5–6 tripurasuṃdaryai] ms;  
*tripurasuṃdaryaiḥ(!)* NGMCP

### 3.2.6 NGMPP A 30-2 (NAK 5/708) Abdaprabodha

Palm leaf, 31 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 90 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP. Colophon elements: scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 475, c. 1355 CE), concluding formula, *āśīrvāda*, place (Patan, Mānīgalottaravihāra, Hnolavihāra), scribe (Jayaśīhamallavarman), reason, owner (Jayaśīhamallavarman), scribal stanzas.

[79°4–80°5] udakānalacaurebhyo mūṣakebhya+++++tavyam prayatne (!) mayā kaṣṭena likhitam || bhagnapṛṣṭikaṭṭigrivastabdhadṛṣṭi (!) adhomukham | duḥkhena likhitam śāstram putravat pratipālayet || bālamūrkhavideśasthastaila(!) (fol. 80°1)[caurā]gnitaskarāt | rakṣitavyam yathāśaktiḥ (!) pustikāsvastikāraṇam || yady akṣara (!) paribhraṣṭam mama doṣo (!) na kārayet | yādṛṣam sthitam ādṛṣe tādṛṣam likhitam mayā || ❀ || [śubham astu] || samvat 475 kārttikakṛṣṇapañcamī-paraṣaṣṭhāmān (!) tithau || puṣyanakṣatre || brahmayoge || budhavāsare || śubhalagne samāptam iti || śubham astu sarvvajagatām || likhita (!) śrīlalitapattane śrīmānīgalottaravihāre śrīhnolavihāre kuṭumbajapradhānāṅgamahāpātraśrī-jayaśīha(!)mallavarmmaṇaiḥ svārthaparārthahetunā || bodhisatvamahāsatva-śrīśrīśrībugmāryāvalokeśvara!sannidhāne svahastena likhitam || pustakaṅ ca śrījayaśīhamallavarmmaṇasya (!) || ❀ || ❀ || ❀ || ❀ || digdāhasūryaparimaṅḍala-dhūmaketunirghātayaṣṭigrahasaṅkaṭabhūmikampaḥ | rātrīndracāpasitakākādine ca tārā durbhbhir(!)āṣṭamarakādi bhayaṅ karoti || akāle ca phalam ....(pla)kṣāṇam yadi jāyate | rājaputrasahaśrāṇam rudhir (!) ppāsyati medinī || ❀ || ○ || ○ || ○ || ○ || ❀ ||

### 3.2.7 ASC 3823 Cāndravyākaraṇa

Palm leaf, 31 × 4.5 cm, 41 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1917, v. 6, 115 no. 4411), Petech (1984, 123, no. 2).

Colophon elements: date (NS 476, Friday, February 12th, 1356), king, scribal stanzas, place (Yokhācchavihāra), scribe (?) (Kṣemendra).

saṃvat 476 phalgunaśukladaśamyam sukravāsare ādrānakṣatre rājādhirāja-parameśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayarājadevasya vijarāje | yathā kathañcil likhitam mayetat (!) bālena śāstram guṇinaḥ kṣamadhvam | ++++ saṃśodha-nīyam sudhībhiḥ samastaiḥ || śrīyokhācchavihāravajrācāryaśrīkṣemendrasya likhitam |

2 °jayarājadevasya vijarāje] Shastri; °jayarājadevījarāje Petech 2–4 yathā [...] samastaiḥ] om. Petech.

### 3.2.8 NGMPP C 4-15 (Kesar 49) Bṛhajātaka

Palm leaf, 33 × 5.3 cm, 49 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1905, 105), Petech (1984, 123, no. 3).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 476, Sunday, May 22nd, 1356 CE), concluding formula, king (Jayarājadeva), commissioner (Śrīviṣṭidāsa, *vīpra*), scribe (Jayabhadrā, *vajrācāryabhikṣu*).

śreyo 'stu samvat 476 jaiṣṭhaśuklasaptamāṃ ādityavāre likhitam idam pustakam samāptam rājaprameśvaraparamabhaṭṭarakaśrīśrījayarājadevasya vijayarājye kṛtir iyaṃ vipraśrīviṣṭidāsyā atyantabhaktiyuktena likhitam | lekhakaḥ vajrācāryabhikṣuśrījayabhadrasya likhitaḥ |

1 śreyo 'stu] om. Petech 2 rājaprameśvaraparamabhaṭṭaraka] om. Shastri

### 3.2.9 NGMPP A 1-1 (NAK 5/708) Abdaprabodha

Palm leaf, 30 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 80 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP. Colophon elements: scribal stanza, date (NS 479, c. 1359 CE), concluding formula, *āśīrvāda*, place (Patan, Mānīgalottaravihāra, Hnolavihāra), scribe (? (Jayaśīhamallavarman), reason, owner (Jayaśīhamallavarman).

[79<sup>v</sup>1] udakānalacorebhyo [...] samvat 479 kārttikakṛṣṇāpañcamiparaśaṭṭhāmāyān tithau || puṣyanakṣatre || brahmayoge || budhavāsare || śubhalagne samāptam iti || śubham astu sarvvajagatām || likhita śrīlalitapattane śrīmānīgalottaravihāre śrīhnolavihāre kuṭumbajapradhāngamahāpātraśrījayasīhamallavarmmaṇaiḥ svaparārthahetunā || bodhisatvamahāsatvaśrīśrīrībugmāryāvalokeśvarasannidhāne svahastena likhitam || pustakaṅ ca śrījayasīhamallavarmmaṇasya || ❀ ||

### 3.2.10 B 28-27 (NAK 3.361.5) Rudrayāmalatantra (Ṣaṣṭividyaṇḍī)

Palm leaf, 23 × 5, 1 string hole, 15 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 129).

Colophon elements: concluding formula, scribe (Viśveśvara), reason, king, date (NS 479, August 18th, 1359 CE), *āśīrvāda*.

[15<sup>v</sup>3–6] likhitam idam tapodhanaśrīviśveśvareṇa yuvarājaśrījayāryuṇa(!)-devasyārthena likhitam alpaganthakāreṇa vistarahaḥ(!) sam 479 śrāvaṇakṛṣṇa-daśamī śivam bhavatu ||

1 likhitam idaṃ Petech] *likhitam iti* NGMCP 1–2 yuvarājaśrījayāryuṇadevasyārthena] NGMCP; *yuvarājaśrījayārjunasyārthena* Petech 2. alpaganthakāreṇa vistaraha] om. Petech 3 śivaṃ bhavatu] om. Petech

### 3.2.11 \*CUL MS Add.1409 Rāmānkanāṭikā

Palm leaf, 33.5 × 4.6 cm, 1 string hole, 141 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete, 2 codicological units. Described in CUDL, Bendall (1883, 87-88).

Colophon elements: authorial stanzas mentioning king, author and scribe (Dharmagupta), *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 480, c. 1360 CE), author and scribe (Dharmagupta).

[140°2] vikhyāto jagatītale sa jayati śrīkaṇṭhapūjāparo nepālāvanipāla-  
maṇḍalaguruḥ śrīrāmadāsaḥ sudhīḥ | pāya[140°3]m pāyam atītavākyathapadām  
yasyāmālām bhāratīm mādyanty eva janā mahotpalarasotpūran dvirephā iva ||  
rākācandrakarābhīrāmayaśasas tasyāsti vidyānidhe[140°4]ḥ sūnūḥ śuddhagu-  
ṇaughaharṣitajanaḥ śrīdharmaguptaḥ kṛtī | pitrā putrakṛpāpareṇa nipuṇaṃ  
śāstrānvayaṃ śikṣita etām bhāvarasojjvalām sa kṛtavān rāmānkitān nāṭikām ||  
śre[140°5]yo’ stu | samvat 480 bhādraśuklaikadaśamyāṃ ravivāsare | tenaiva  
dharmmaguptena śrīmatā rāmadāsīnā | bālavāgīśvareṇeyaṃ likhitā rāmānka-  
nāṭikā || || śubham astu sarvvadā ||

### 3.2.12 NGMPP A 33-6 (NAK 4/145) Nyāyavārttikatātparyāṭikā

Palm leaf, 34.5 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 43 folios, 5 lines, Maithili, damaged. Described in NGMCP. Colophon elements: date (LS 242, c. 1360 CE), place (Somauligrāma), commissioner (Devendrāśrama, *parivrājākācārya*), concluding formula, *namaskāra*.

lasaṃ 242 āśvi ///(dra) somauligrāme paramahaṃsaparivrājākācāryaśrīmad-  
devendrāśramājñāyā kenāpi tadanugatena likhitam idaṃ pustakam iti || om  
namaḥ .āryadevāya śuddhajñānasvarūpiṇe |

### 3.2.13 NGMPP A 1156-12(1) (NAK 1/1473) Upākarmasnānasandhyātarpaṇavidhi

Palm leaf, 21.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 15 folios, 5–7 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Uncatalogued, cf. Shastri 105, lxvi-lxvii.

Colophon elements: date (NS 480, c. 1360 CE), scribe (Ananta), scribal stanza.



[15<sup>v</sup>3] samvat 480 śrāvaṇaśukladvītīyāyā(!) [15<sup>v</sup>4] tithau || idaṃ pustakaṃ śrī a\na\nta[-1-] li©[khi]taṃ || yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā likhitaṃ lekṣako nasti doṣa ||

### 3.2.14 NGMPP B 33-12 (NAK 3/3) Ratnakaraṇḍikā

Palm leaf, 32.5 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 211 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Shastri (1915, 68), Petech (1984, 123, no. 4).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 481, c. 1361 CE), concluding formula, commissioner (Jayapatisomaśarmman, *vipra*), reason, place (Patan, Māñīglaka), scribe (Anantarāma, *daivajña*), *āśīrvāda*, king.

śreyo stu śrīmat(!)nepālikasamvat 481 māghakṛṣṇāṣṭamyāṃ tithau || anurādhānakṣatre || śanīscaravāsare pustakasiddhim idam || śrīlalitā-purīnagaryāṃ śrīmāñīglake nairityadigasthaśrīthaṃbusthānādhipativipravam-śodbhavadvijavarottamaśrījayapatisomaśarmmanena sarvvasatyaupakārārthaṃ āyuskāmārthaṃ sarvvaduritopasāntyarthaṃ ratnakaraṇḍikā nāma mahāsmṛtisamuccaya likhāpitam || o || tasmin aiva (!) nagaryāṃ śrīmāñīglake dakṣiṇasthaśrītalīṅgeśvarasthānādhipāsina daivajña anantarāmanāmnena manasā vācā karmmaṇā trīsuddhena ratnakaraṇḍikā nāma mahāsmṛtisamuccaya likhitaṃ | śubham astu sarvvajagataṃ || rājāddhirājaparamē [[śva]]raparamabhaṭārika-śrīśrījayarājamala[devasya vijayarājyaṃ]

## 3.3 Manuscripts from Jayārjunadeva's period (1361–1382)

- B 23-30 Samayavihāra (part of NAK 3/364, which includes also the Svarodayadaśā; NS 482, c. 1362 CE; see BSP vol. I, p. 240, no. 524; no date in the Samayavihāra manuscript)
- B 37-57 Mṛtyuñjayotpātalakṣaṇa (NS 486, c. 1366 CE; uncatalogued)
- 'Indian Museum, Kolkata (At 72/101), Prajñāpāramitā-Text, 51 × 20,5 cm; datierbar in das Jahr 1367 im Indian Museum, Kolkata (At 72/101); auf dunkelblauem Papier, (Melzer and Allinger 2012, 265)
- C 13-2 Vasundhar(ā)dhāraṇī (NS 491, c. 1371 CE; uncatalogued)
- G 242-2 Vāgvatīstava (NS 492, c. 1372 CE; uncatalogued)
- B 30-9 Vaidyaka, Vicitrakautuka (NS 493, c. 1373 CE; uncatalogued)
- A 1158-18 (Saptaśatīmahādevī)Rudrakavaca (NS 495, c. 1375 CE; uncatalogued)
- A 932-8(2) Gītāmāhātmya (NS 496, c. 1376 CE; uncatalogued)
- A 932-8(3) Bhagavadgītā (NS 496, c. 1376 CE; uncatalogued)



- B 24-8 Bhīmarathadevarathasahasracandravidhi (NS 499, c. 1479 CE; uncatalogued)
- E 6-5 Amarakośa, Śiva(stotra) (NS 500, c. 1380 CE; uncatalogued)

### 3.3.1 \*NGMPP C 14-13 (Kesar 136) Amoghapāśahṛdaya

Palm leaf, 26.7 × 4.3, 1 string hole, 15 folios, 4 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 130, no. 1).

Colophon elements: date (NS 481 Sunday, May 2nd, 1361 CE), king, *deyadharmo* formula (partial), scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[15°2] samvat 481 vaiśāṣakṣṇadvādaśyā © n tithau | revatinakṣatre | ādityavāsare  
 || rājādhiraśīrī-jayārjjunadevasya vijayarāje(!) | dā ©  
 napatiśīrimaccaitravihāriṣṭhagrḥhādhivāsini?ntalakśmī[-1-] [kukapa] [-1-] ||  
 [15°4] ya mātāpitrpūrvvaṅgamaṅ kṛtvā sakalāsātvarāse © r anūttarāyā\h/  
 samyaksambodhiṃ prāpnuvāntu || anena puṇyena tu sa[rvvadaśiṃ tām] [-1-]  
 [15°5] pya nijasya vadāṣavidviṣa | jarārujāmṛtyumahormisaṃkulāt\_ samudvare  
 yaṃ bhavasāgarāj jagat\_ || śubham astu sarvvajagatām || \* ||

2-7 dānapati° [...] śubham astu sarvvajagatām] om. Petech

### 3.3.2 NGMPP B 20-13 (NAK 5/354) Sugrīvaśāstra(sāra?)

Palm leaf, 22.5 × 6, 1 string hole, 27 folios, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 130, no. 2).

Colophon elements: date (NS 481, Sunday, May 2nd, 1361 CE), king, place (Panaoti), reason, commissioner (Tejānanda, minister), concluding formula.

samvat 481 vaiśāṣakṣṇadvādaśyāṃ revatinakṣatre ādityavāsare | rājā-  
 dhirājaśīrī-jayārjjunadevasya vijayarāje(!) | puṇyamatīnagarādhivāsinatejā-  
 nandāmatyasyārthena likhityedaṃ pustakaṃ

### 3.3.3 \*NGMPP B 32-20 (NAK 1/1179) Tripurāpaddhati

Palm leaf, 26 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 19 folios, 4–5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Uncatalogued.

Colophon elements: date (NS 482, c. 1362 CE), scribe (Viśveśvara), reason, donor (Śurapati-padmarāma, *ṭhakkura*), scribal stanza.

[19°2] saṃ 482 māghakṣṇadvitīyā(!) budhadine likhitam idaṃ tapo[19°3] dhanaśrīviśveśvarena || ṭhakkuraśrīśura©patipadmarāmasya nitya-pūjanārthena, dharmmārthakāmamokṣā[19°4]rthena mantritāṃ || na deyaṃ śvaśi[jya]bhya-paraśi©khabhya kadācana | tasmāt sarvvaprayatnena rakṣaṇīyam [adovu]khyai

### 3.3.4 \*NGMPP A 24-14 (NAK 1/1076) Meghadūta

Palm leaf, 31 × 5.5, 1 string hole, 15 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 130, no. 3).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 484, Monday, October 23rd, 1363 CE), king, place (Palanchok), owner (Jayasiḥmarāma?), scribal stanza.

[16°5] śreyo 'stu || samvat 484 kārttikaśukla[16°1]pūrṇṇimāsyān tithau || bharaṇinakṣatram || vyatīpātayoge || somavāsare || śrīrājādhīrājaparameśvaraḥ śrīśrī-jayārjunadevasya vijayarāje(!) | śrīpalākhyacau(!)//rājyasthāne | jagasiḥabhārokasya pustakam itī || © yathā dṛṣṭam tathā likhitam lekhako nāsti dokhakaṃ(!) ||

2 °nakṣatram] ms, NGMCP; °nakṣatre Petech 3 vijayarāje] ms, NGMCP; vijayarāje Petech // śrīpalākhyacau(!) ms, NGMCP; śrīpalañcoka° Petech 4 jagasiḥabhārokasya] ms, NGMCP; jagasiḥabhārokasya Petech 4–5 yathā [...] dokhakaṃ(!) ms, NGMCP; om. Petech

### 3.3.5 \*NGMPP B 23-27 (NAK 5/329) Jñānakārikā

Palm leaf, 20 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 13 folios, 4 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP. Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, scribal stanzas, date (NS 484, c. 1364 CE), *āśīrvāda*.

[14°2] śubham astu sarvvajagatānām(!) maṅgalamahāśrī || \* || [14°3] bhīmasyāpi bhavet bhaṅga(!) munai©r api matibhramaḥ | yadi suddham a<<āta>>sudham vā lekhi(!) nā[14°4]sti doṣakaḥ || samvat vedanāgāyugāyutāni(!) śrāvana(!)-śuklanavamībhumivāsare śubha (!) ||

### 3.3.6 NGMPP C 102-37 (Kesar 49/2) Cāṅkayanīti

Palm leaf, 33 × 5.3 cm, 23 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1915, 105), Petech (1984, 130, no. 4).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 484, Monday, May 13th, 1364 CE), concluding formula, king, owner (? Jayaśīhamallavarman).

śreyo 'stu samvat 484 jeṣṭhaśukladvādaśyān tithau svatinakṣatre variyānayoge somavāsare saṃpūrṇaṃ kṛtaṃ | mahārājādhirājadaparameśvaraparama-bhaṭṭārakavirājamānaḥ anekaprakriyāśrīśrijayārjjunadevasya kalyāṇavijayarājye tadā mahāmahattakaśrijayaśīharāmasya varttamāne yadṛśaṃ pustakaṃ ||

1 śreyo 'stu samvat] Shastri; *samvatsara* Petech // svatinakṣatre variyānayoge] Petech; *svātinakṣatre variyānayoge* Shastri 3 °virājamānaḥ] Shastri; °*virājamāna*° Petech // anekaprakriyāśrīśrī°] Petech; *anekaprakriyaḥ śrīśrīśrī*° Shastri 4 jayaśīharāmasya] Petech; *jayaśivarāmasya* Shastri

### 3.3.7 NGMPP C 106-5 (Kesar 60) Haramekhalā

Palm leaf, 28.6 × 3.5 cm, 1 string hole, 80 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, scribal stanza, date (NS 484, c. 1364 CE), *āśīrvāda*.

[14<sup>1</sup>-4] śubham astu sarvvajagatānām(!) maṅgalamahāśrī|| ❁ || bhīmasyāpi bhavet bhaṅga(!) munair api matibhramaḥ | yadi suddham a<<āta>>sudham vā lekhi(!) nāsti doṣakaḥ || samvat vedanāgāyugāyutāni(!) śrāvana(!)śuklanavamī-bhūmivāsare śubha (!)||

### 3.3.8 \*NGMPP A 1161-12 (NAK 1/468) (Bhū)Padagahana

Palm leaf, 33.7 × 4.2 cm, 1 string hole, 13 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Vergiani (2017, 113).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 484, c. 1364 CE), king, place (Kathmandu), scribe (illegible), scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[13<sup>3</sup>] śreyo 'stu | samvat 484 kārttikaśuklaḥ porṇṇamā[syā ti]tho | bharini(!)-na[13r4][kṣa]tre | somavāsare || rājādhirājadaparameśvara(!)śrīśrijayārjj[u]© nadevasya vijayarāje(!) || śrīkāstamaṇḍapa[-2]-na [.o][.i][-1-][tā] | śrī va- [.icandraḡa][-1-][.i][-8-][13<sup>5</sup>][-7-]m idaṃ | udakānalacaurebhyo [muṣikebhyaś ca] [-2-]va ca | rakṣatavyaṃ [!] prayatnena mayā [kaṣṭeṇa] likhitam | [śubham astu sarvvajagatā(!)] ||

1 porṇṇamā[syā] *paurnṇamā[syām]* Vergiani 3-4 [.o][.i][-1-][tā] | śrī va[icandraḡa][-1-][.i][-8-] [-1-] *likhitā śrī [-13-]* Vergiani 4-5 [-7-]m idaṃ | udakānalacaurebhyo [muṣikebhyaś ca] [-2-]va ca [-7-] *idaṃ / [-22-]va ca* Vergiani 6 sarvvajagatā(!) *sarvvajagatām* Vergiani

### 3.3.9 NGMPP A 18-21 (NAK 5/441) Nāgara(ka)sarvasva

Palm leaf, 34 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 28 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 486, c. 1366 CE), concluding formula, commissioner (Asokabhāro, *suvarṇakāra*), scribe (Jogarāma, *daivajñā*), scribal stanzas.

[28<sup>v</sup>2] sarvve sa(tvv)āḥ sukhinaḥ santu lokesāt || ❁ || ritunā[28<sup>v</sup>3]gavedābde ca poṣyamāse kālāṣṭamī ca | svātisoma○samāyuktā lekhyaniyaṃ samāptetiḥ || śuvarṇnakāra asokabhārosyābhilākhena likhi[28<sup>v</sup>4]tim idaṃ || devajñajogarāmena likhitam || bhagnaḥ ○ pṛṣṭaḥ kaṭiḥ grīvā stabdaḥ dṛṣṭir adhomukhaṃ | kaṣṭena likhitam śāstraṃ putravat paripāla[28<sup>v</sup>5]yet || udakā'nalacaurebhyo muṣikebhyo tatheva ca | rakṣatavyaṃ praya[tvena] ++++++ || yathā dṛṣ[ṭa]s [tathā likhi]tam lekhako nāsti doṣaka[m] ||

### 3.3.10 \*NGMPP B 20-33 (NAK 5/345) Sugrīvaśāstra

Palm leaf, 29 × 5.5 cm, 1 string hole, 28 folios, 5–7 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 130, no. 5).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 488, Thursday, July 13th, 1368 CE), king, scribe, reason, scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*.

[28<sup>v</sup>4] śreyo 'stu samvat 488 āśāḍhakṛṣṇatrayoda[28<sup>v</sup>5]syāṃ ādrānakṣatra || hṛṣaṇayoge || bṛhaspati@vāsare || śrīśrīrājādhirājajayārjunadevasya vijayarāje || likhitim i[-2-]va[-1-]meda[28<sup>v</sup>6]nībrahmana || svārtham kāreṇa || yathā dṛṣṭam tathā likhitam le[kha]ko nāsti doṣa(!) || udakānaracaurebhyo mūkhakasya tathe[va ca | rakṣitavyaṃ] prayatnena mayā kaṣṭe[28<sup>v</sup>7]na likhi[-1-] || [śubha]m astu || [-7-] || ❁ || śubha ||

1 śreyo 'stu] om. Petech // ādrānakṣatra] ms; *ādrānakṣatre* Petech 2 hṛṣaṇayoge] ms; *harṣaṇayoge* Petech // śrīśrīrājādhirāja°] ms; *śrīrājādhirāja°* Petech 3–5 svārtham [...] śubha] om. Petech

### 3.3.11 NGMPP A 53-16 (NAK 5/410) Uṇādivṛtti

Palm leaf, 32.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 37 folios, 5–7 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: date (NS 489, c. 1369 CE), *āśīrvāda*.

samvatasarā (!) «..» vedanāgagraha || āṣāḍhaśuklapratīpadāḥ (!) mṛgaśiri-  
ṅakṣatra (!) | vṛddhiyoga | magalavāra (!) | leṣi(4)jaśu (!) || śubham astu ||

### 3.3.12 \*NGMPP A 32-6 (NAK 1/1692) Mudrārākṣasa

Palm leaf, 28.5 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 78 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in NGMCP, Shastri (1905, 88), BSP (vol. 3 p. 50, no. 105), Petech (1984, 130, no. 6). A note in the NGMCP description provides additional information: ‘There is a short description of this MS in BSP vol. 3 p. 50, no. 105. From this source the names of the ruling king and of the scribe have been added, as, the last fols. being fragmentary, this information is no longer to be had from the microfilm. The date of copying is, however, NS 491 (i.e. A.D. 1371, and not sam. 591 as the BSP has it), which is corroborated by the ruling time of king Jayārjunadeva (1361–1382)’.

Colophon elements: scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 491, Thursday, August 14th, 1371 CE), king, scribal stanzas, place (Patan, Māñīgalottara, Yokhāccha), scribe (Gomendracandra?), reason.

[77'5] audāryaṃ va|©casām apūrvvam aparā prauḍhiḥ prā/// [77'6] racanā  
caitaś camatkāriṇī | || \* || anyā keyam ambumbitārtha(!)ghaṭanā re[khā]-  
madhuspakṣi/// [77'1] bhoḥ || sauharddam suhṛdā ripau kuṭilatā bhṛtyasya  
bhaktir dṛḍhā sācivya (!) sacive [vidhe]r anuḡaṇan na /// [77'2] trīśaktiṣv api |  
kauṭilya(!)matau na ca prakāṭitam kiṃ vāstai©nādyā cchalāt || vaco 'rthānām  
citr[īn vipulanayamārgge kha]/// [77'3] lapitam ida (!) sādhyam avidi | ato  
rathyāvādaiḥ pra|©kaṭayata mā nāṭakam iti guṇeṣv eva prāyo vyabhicarati  
doṣaiḥ khalajana/// [77'4] śreyo 'stuḥ (!) || samvat 491 bhādrapada-  
śuklatṛtī|©yāyām tithau hastanakṣatre śubhayoge bṛhaspativāsare ||  
śrīmatpaśupa[ti]/// [77'5]nakamalaparāgapavītrīkṛtamaṇimukutaḥ sakala|©  
narendracakracūḍamaṇicaraṇacumbitaripukulasūdanaravikuladipaka/// [77'6]  
kandarppapadminināyakavirājamāna\h/ rāghabāndhayaparamopakāraṇa-  
samarthasakalaguṇādhivāsaṭoḍalamallavidhavidhavadāvalī/// [78'1]kṛtaḥ vīranā-  
rāyaṇetyādi || samastaprakriyāvīrājamāna | rājādhīrājaparameśva[ra]///  
[78'2]nām vijayarāje śrīnepālamaṇḍale || \* || © ādarśadoṣā mativi\bhra|mā///  
[78'3]bhiḥ yatnena saṃsodhya prasādaniyaṃ || \* || © bālamūrkhavidēśa-  
sthabā/// [78'4]sti kāriṇī || bhagnāpṛṣṭikaṭīgrīvāstabdhadṛṣṭir a©dhomukham |  
duḥkhe ++/// [78'5]re śrīmāñīgalottaramahāvīhāre śrīyokhācche vi©  
hārādhivāsi/// [78'6]rthahetunā svahastena likhitam || sa eva mahāvīhāre [śrī]

1–8 audāryaṃ [...] khalajana] om. Shastri, Petech 2 caitaś] ms; *caitañ* NGMCP // camatkāriṇī || ms; *camatkāriṇīḥ* NGMCP 6 citr[īn] ms; *citr[am]* NGMCP 14 rājādhīrājaparameśva[ra]/// ms, NGMCP; *rājādhīrājaparameśvaraparāmadhārmikāḥ śrīśrījayarāja*/// Shastri, Petech 15–18 ādarśadoṣā [...] duḥkhe ++/// om. Shastri, Petech 18 //re śrīmāñīgalotta-

ramahāvihāre] ms, NGMCP; *śrīlalitapure śrīmāṅgalottare mahāvihāre* Shastri, Petech 19 //rthahetunā] ms; //lekhikaratnāṅkuraśrīgomendracandrena satvopakārārthahetunā Shastri; om. Petech

### 3.3.13 \*CUL MS Add.2564 Hitopadeśa

Palm leaf, 32 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 83 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL, Petech (1984, 130, no. 8).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 493, c. 1373 CE), concluding formula, king, reason, place (Patan, Manigalottara), scribe (Luntarāja), scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*.

[82<sup>v</sup>5] śreyo 'stu || samvat 493 poṣabadiṭṭiyāyā(!) titho(!) | maghanakṣatre || āyuṣmānayoge || sanicaravāsare || sa[83<sup>r</sup>1]māptam iti || śrīmato ṇepālamaṅdale(!) mahārājādhirājaparameśvaraparamabhaṭṭāarakasamastaparakriyāvīrājamānaśrīś rī-jayārjunadevasya vijayarāje likhitam idam | parārthanā(!) || lali[83<sup>r</sup>2]tāpurī-manigalotarasothaṃnimayaṃtām adhivāsīḥ || luntarā@jena svahastena likhitam || kṣantavyaṃ guṇino sarvvalekhikaṃ mama mandatā | tasmāt śuddham asuddham vā śodhanīyaṃ ca [83<sup>r</sup>3] sajjanaiḥ || || bhagnapṛṣṭikaṭṭigrī-vastabdhadṛṣṭī adhomukhaṃ | dukhe@na(!) likhitam śāstram putravat pratipālayet || yady akṣara(!) paribhraṣṭaṃ duḥkhena neva kārayet | yādṛśaṃ sthitam ā[83<sup>r</sup>4]dṛśe (!) tādṛśaṃ likhitam mayā || [tyugha][1-]ṃ triguṭāntrilokamahitantryakṣantritatvān makantristhānaṃ trikulantriduḥkhasa-manantre vidyevedyantrikaṃ trivarṇṇyantripathantrīśaktijanakatre tasya [83<sup>r</sup>5] dantyuḥṣarantre rūpyantridasesvarantrīśubhadantripratyayaṃ tvān namo || śubham astu || sarvvajagatā

### 3.3.14 NGMPP B 29-22 (NAK 1/787) Sārasaṅgraha

Palm leaf, 29.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 103 folios, 4 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Gambier-Parry (1930, 46–47, no.49).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 494, 25 December 1373 CE).

| ○ || śreyo 'stu ḥ || samvat 494 poṣaśukla ekādaśyān tithau || ○ || ādityavāsare ||

### 3.3.15 \*NGMPP B 31-4 (NAK 3/360) Pañcarakṣā

Palm leaf, 29.5 × 4.5 cm, 2 string holes, 136 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Catalogued in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 130, no. 9), BSP (vol. VII, 2, 25, no. 44).

Colophon elements: *ye dharmā* formula, *deyadharmo* formula, donor (Nātha, *bhāroka*), *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 494, Monday, March 27th, 1374 CE), king, scribe (Tumaśrī), *namaskāra*.

[136<sup>5</sup>] ye dharmmā hetupra || © || bhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat teṣāñ ca yo ni|©rodhaḥ evamvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ || deyadharmmo | [136<sup>7</sup>] yaṃ pravaramahāyāyīnaparamopāsakaḥ || śrīśrīlālītāpure mahānagavare(!) śrī-kāraṇḍavīhārāliivi(!)gṛhādhivāsītaparasaugataḍānāpatīnāthabhārokasya [136<sup>1</sup>] yad atra puṇyan tad bhavātv ācāryopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvaṅgamaṃ kṛtvā sakalāsatvarāśena anuttaraphalaprāptam iti || śreyo ' stu || saṃvat 494 caitra śuklacatu[136<sup>2</sup>]rdaśyān tithau uttaraphālguṇīparahasta|©nakṣatre dhruvayoge somavāsare | rājādhīrājapa©rameśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayārjjuna|[136<sup>3</sup>] deva\śya/ vijayarājye vajrācāryaśrītumaśrīnāmanena(!) | svahastena likhitam idaṃ saddharmmam || © yathā kathañcil likhita(!) mayetad bālena śāstraṃ [136<sup>4</sup>] dhiṣaṇa(!) kṣamadhvaṃ | daśāñjalir me tad aśu|©dham(!) etat saṃśodhanīyaṃ guṇibhis samastaiḥ || © namo buddhāya || namo dharmāya || namaḥ saṃghā[136<sup>5</sup>]ya ||

1–3 ye dharmmā [...] || śrī- om. Petech 3 pravaramahāyāyīnaparamopāsakaḥ] ms; *pravaca mahāyāyīnaḥ paramopāsakaḥ* NGMCP 3 śrīśrīlālītāpure mahānagavare(!) ms; *śrīlālītāpure mahānagaravare* Petech; *śrīśrīlālītāpuramahānagaravare* NGMCP 4 °ādhivāsita°] ms, NGMCP; °ādhivāsitaḥ] Petech 5–6 tad bhavātv [...] śreyo 'stu] om. Petech 7 uttaraphālguṇī°] ms, NGMCP; *uttaraphālguṇī°* Petech 10–13 svahastena likhitam [...] saṃghāya] om. Petech 11 tad aśudham] ms; *bhava śuddham* NGMCP

### 3.3.16 \*CUL MS Add.1689 Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra

Palm leaf, 40 × 5 cm, 2 string holes, 25 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 130, no. 10).

Colophon elements: *ye dharmmā*, *deyadharmo* formula, donor (Tejacandra, *sthavira*), *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 494, Thursday, August 31, 1374 CE), king, scribe (Tumaśrī), scribal stanzas.

[22<sup>4</sup>] ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avada|©t teṣāñ ca yo nirodha evamvādī mahāśra || \* || maṇaḥ || deyadha|©rmmo yam pravaramahāyāyāyīnaparasaugataparamakārūṇika [22<sup>5</sup>] || \* || śrīśrīcitramahāvīhārīyaśākyabhikṣuśrītejacandrasthavira [yākusasya] yad atra puṇyan tad bhavātv ācāryayopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvaṅgamaṃ kṛtvā sakalāsatva [pari] rāśer anuttaraphalaprāptam iti || \* || [23<sup>1</sup>][*siddham*] śreyo ' stu | || śrīnepālikasamvat 494 bhādrapadaḥkṣṇanāvamyāṃ tithau ādranakṣatre bṛhaspativāsare | rājādhīrājapapameśvaraparabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayārjjunadevasya vijayarājye vajrācāryaśrītumaśrīnā[23<sup>2</sup>]e[[na]] likhitam idam mahā-

meghapustakaṃ || yathā kathañcil likhi@ta(!) mayaitad bālena śāstraṃ guṇina(!)  
 kṣamadhvaṃ | kṣamadhvaṃ | daśāñjalir [[metad a] \bhāva/śuddham eta@t  
 saṃśodhaniyaṃ guṇibhis samastaiḥ || [bha]gnaprṣṭikaṭigrīvas tadvatṭa[23'3]ṣṭi(!)  
 adomukhaṃ ||

1–3 ye dharmmā [...] pravaramahāyānāyayina° om. Petech 3 °parasaugata°] °para[ma]-  
 saugata° Petech 4–6 tad bhavatv [...] śreyo 'stu] om. Petech. 10–13 yathā kathañcil [...] adomukhaṃ] om. Petech

### 3.3.17 \*NGMPP C 4-7 (Kesar 41) Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra

Palm leaf, 30.2 × 4.8 cm, 2 string holes, 46 folios, 4–5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Uncatalogued. Colophon elements: ye dharmā formula, deyadharmo formula, donor (Tejacandra, *sthavira*), āśīrvāda, date (NS 494, c. 1374 CE), king, scribe (Tumaśrī), scribal stanzas.

[44'3] ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetu(!) te|@śā(!) tathāgato hy avadat teṣāñ ca  
 yo ni-rodha evavadi(!) mahāśra||mani(!) [43'4] deyadharmmo yaṃm  
 pravaramahāyānāyā-yinapara[śvau]gat\_(!)paramakārūṇika || śricitramahā-  
 vihāriyaśākyabhikṣu|[44'1][1-]te-jacaṃndrasthavirasya yad ata(!) pūnan(!) tad  
 bhavatv ācāryayopādhyāyaḥ [mātāpitṛ-pūrvvaṅgamañ] kṛtvā | sakalasaṭvā|  
 [44'2]rāśer anūttaraprāvaprā [[la] pta@m(!) iti || \* || śreyo 'stu śrā[-4-] samvat 494  
 bhā[44'3][drapadakṣṣṇa]navamyāyā(!) tithau @ || ādranaḥsatre || bṛhaspativāsare  
 || rājādhiraḥaparameśva[44'4][1-]parabhantārakā(!)||śrīśrījayā [va] @rjjana-  
 deva[sya](!) [vi]ljarājye, vajācāja(!)śrītumaśrī-nā[mna][1-][na][2-][45'1][khi]tam  
 idam mahāmeghapustakaḥ (!) || yathā kathañcil likhita(!) mayetad(!) [bālena]  
 [-10-][45'2][1-] saṃśodhaniya(!) @ guṇi[-2-]mastaḥ(!) || [-1-] [bhagna][1-4-]

### 3.3.18 \*CUL MS Add.2116 Mudrārākṣasa and Kuśopadeśanītisāra

Palm leaf, 31 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 80 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL, Petech (1984, 130, no. 11). This multi-text manuscript has two colophons, one for each text (the *Kuśopadeśanītisāra* begins on folio 81 recto and ends on the last folio).

First colophon elements: scribal stanzas, king, concluding formula, reason, place (Patan, Māñgalottara, Sothannima), scribe (Lutarāja), scribal stanzas, date (NS 496, Sunday, December 2nd, 1375 CE), āśīrvāda.

Second colophon elements: scribal stanza, scribe (Lutarāja), āśīrvāda.

[79'2] audāryaṃ vacasām apūrvvam aparā prauḍhiḥ prā@sādo 'samaḥ  
 khageṣapada-sanniveśaracanā caitaś cama || \* || tkāriṇi | anyā keyam

ambumbitārtha|[79°3]ghaṭanā | \* || rekhāmadhuspandini | sobhāgya(!)taśitaḥ ©  
 kim asya mukavekramo(?) 'gradevaprabhoḥ || sauharddam suhṛdām ripau  
 kuṭilatā bhṛtyasya bhaktir dṛḍhā, sācivyaḥ | [79°4] sacive vidhir anuḡaṇan na  
 bhur vviveko mahān | utkarṣo guṇaṣa©ḥkacārasakalo pāpatriśaktiṣv api |  
 kauṭilyasya matau na ca prakāṭitaḥ kiṃ vāsti nādyā cchalāt || vaco  
 'rthā|[79°5]nām citram vipulanayamārggasya ca gatir vidughatatsoraḥ pūlapitam  
 idaḥ sādhyam avidi | ato rathyāvādaiḥ prakāṭayata mā nāṭakam iti guṇeṣv eva  
 prāyo vyabharati doṣaiḥ khalajana|[80°1]ḥ | caturvvahnir vyabde gatavati  
 janā?1?diśaradiciraḥ rakṣa [du] ty urvvīnapagaguṭānidho śrīmatīśive |  
 munādyān kauṭilyapraguṇamatisoraprakāṭanaḥ vimayaḥ mudrārākṣam iti  
 satām adya | [80°2] likhitam || \* || ādarśadoṣā mativibhramāyā | © yady akṣaraḥ  
 mātram apīha hinam | yad vidyate tan suviśuddhadhibhiḥ yatnena saṃśodhya  
 prasādaniyaḥ | śrīmato ne|[80°3]pālamaṇḍa|| \* ||le mahārājādhirājaparama ©  
 śvaraparamabhāṭṭāraśrīśrījayārjunadevasya vijaya-  
 rājye likhita|[80°4]m idaḥ | svā|| \* ||rthaparārthahetunā ḥ lalitāpu ©  
 rīmānigalottarasothannimaḥ lutarājena svahastena likhitam || kṣatavyaguṇino  
 sarvvalekhikam ma|[80°5]ma mandatā | tasmāt\_ ?ku?ṣamamuṣam vā śodhaniyaḥ  
 ca sajjanaḥ || bhagnapṛṣṭhi(!)kaṭigrīva,stabdadṛṣṭi adhomukhaḥ | duḥkhena  
 likhitam śāstra(!) putratvat pratipālayet\_ || yady akṣara(!) paribhraṣṭam | [80°1]  
 duḥkhena neva kārayet\_ | yādṛṣam sthitam ādṛṣe tādṛṣam likhitam [mayā || śreyo  
 'stu || saṃvat 496 mārggaśiraśuklanavamyām | revatī nakṣatre | variyānayoge |  
 ādityavāsare li|[80°2]khitavai(!) śubheti || ||

[...]

[84°1] yādṛṣisthitena, tādṛṣam lutarājena likhitam || śubham astu ||

### 3.3.19 NGMPP A 16-12 (NAK 4/1750) Mahāsaṅgrāmaratnakaraṇḍaka

Palm leaf, 32 × 4 cm, 2 string holes, 242 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete, damaged. Catalogued in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 131, no. 12); see also NGMPP A 114-2 (NAK 4/128): 'This is a copy of the MS microfilmed under reel no. A 16/12-17/1 and retaken under A 1076/8 and B 13/27. The scribe has also copied the colophon of the exemplar'; Petech provides a partial transcription of this modern copy, not of the original manuscript.

Colophon elements: king, place (Patan, Mānigalaka), scribal stanzas, scribe (Rāmadatta), *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 496, Sunday, December 16th, 1375 CE), concluding formula, scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[242<sup>r-v</sup>] vīranārāyaṇetyādivirudāvalisamalaṃkṛtasamastaprakriyāvīrājamānaśrī-  
 śrīśrīmāneśvarīvaralabdhaprasādaika | mahārājādhirājaparamaśvaraparama-  
 bhāṭṭāraśrīśrījayārjunadevasya vijayarājye nepālamaṇḍale || lalitāpurīnāma-  
 dheyanaḡare | saptaphaṇālaṃkṛtamaṇināḡaśīromaṇididhitibhir udyotamāna |  
 śrīmānigalake | [fol. almost a line rubbed out] yathākathaṇcīl likhitam mayetat

bālena śāstraṅ guṇina kśamadhvaṃ | daśāñjalir meted aśuddham etat saṃśo-  
dhanīyaṃ guṇibhiḥ samastaiḥ || bālamūrkhavidēśasthacoratailāgnitaskarāt |  
rakṣitavyam prayatnena pustikā muktikāraṇam || yādṛksaṃsthitam ādarśe  
tādṛśaṃ likhitam mayā | yadi śuddham aśudham vā mama doṣo na dīyate || yady  
akṣaraparibhraṣṭaṃ mātrāhīna tathaiva ca | śodhaṇīyaṃ sudhīloka kṣantavyaṃ  
śodhane janaiḥ || bhagnapṛṣṭakaṭiḡrivastabdadrṣṭim adhomukhaṃ | duḥkhena  
likhitam śāstraṃ putravat pratipālayet || sa eva nagare śrīcitramhārādhivāsina  
satvārthahetunā rāmadattena svahastena likhitam iti || śreyo 'stu samvat 496  
mārggaśira kṛṣṇa aṣṭamyāyān tithau || hastanakṣatre || śobhanayoge ||  
ādītyāvāsare || samāptam idaṃ || umayā sahito rudra śāṅkara saha viṣṇunā |  
tāṅkāraśūlapānis tu rakṣantu śiva sarvvadā || śubham astu sarvvajagatāṃ ||

### 3.3.20 NGMPP A 31-9 (NAK 1/1692) Abdaprabodha

Palm leaf, 32.5 × 5 cm, 77 folios, 5–6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 131–32, no. 13).

Colophon elements: date (§S 1297, Friday, February 22nd, 1376 CE), concluding formula, king, scribal stanzas.

[75'3–4] śākai (!) samvat 1297 phālgunaśuklaḥ || dvitīyāyāṃ revātinakṣatre  
śukradiOne śubhalagne li || ❀ || khitam idaṃ pustakaṃ || ❀ || rājye  
śrīśrījayārjunadevasya || yathādrṣṭan tathā likhitam || udakānalam ityādi  
rakṣitavyaṃ || prāglabha(!)hīnasya narasya vidyāḥ śāstraṅ (!) gatā kāpuruṣasya  
haste | andhasya kiṃ hastagatasthito pi nivṛttayantevam (!) iha pradīpaḥ ||

1 śākai] NGMCP; *śāke* Petech 3–5 yathādrṣṭan [...] pradīpaḥ] om. Petech

### 3.3.21 NGMPP A 17-10 (NAK 3/362) Hariścandropākhyāna

Palm leaf, 33 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 24 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Shastri (1915, 28–9).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 496, c. 1376 CE), concluding formula, scribal stanza, place, reason, scribe (Jayasīhamalla), scribal stanzas, owner (Jayasīhamalla), *āśīrvāda*, scribal stanzas.

[23'4–24'5] śreyo 'stu || samvat 496 māgha(2)kṛṣṇapañcamyān tithau ||  
svātinakṣatre || dhruvayoge || somavāsaradine samāptam idaṃ || ❀ ||  
ādarśadoṣān matibhir vvimāyā (?) yady akṣaraṃ mā(3)tram apīha hīnaṃ | yad

vidyate tan suviśuddhadhībhiḥ yatnena saṃśodhya prasādanīyaḥ || likṣita śrīnepāladeśe śrīśrīśrīpaśupatipaṭanād da(4)kṣiṇasyān diśi || śrīvāghamatyāyān dakṣinākūle || śrīlalitapure śrīmānigalottraravīhāre śrīhṇolavīhāraḥ kuṭumbodbhavapradhānāṅgamahāpā(5)traśrījayasīhamallavarmaṇena satvārthahetunā [s]vahastena likṣitaṃ || bālamūrṣavideśasthatailacaurāgnitaskarāt | rakṣitavyaṃ yathāśaktiḥ pustakā svastikāraṇaṃ [23<sup>v</sup>1] || bhagnapṛṣṭakataḥ grīva stabdadṛṣṭi adhomukhaṃ | duḥkhena likṣitaṃ śāstram putravat pratipālayet || udakānalacaurebhyo mūśakasya tatheva ca | rakṣitavyaṃ prayatnena mayā kaṣṭhena li(2)kṣitaṃ || haroharihariścandrahanūmānahūtāsanaḥ | hakārādi smared yena hānis tasya na vidyate || karṇṇokapaca si[[vī]mān (?) saṃjīvo jīmūtavāhana | hariśca(3)ndrasamo rājā na bhūto na bhaviṣyati || devo varṣatu kāle naśasya sampattir astu ca | sthito bhavatu lokānāṃ rājā bhavatu dhārmikaḥ || pustakam idaṃ ca śrī(4)jayasīhamallavarmaṇasya || śubham astu sarvvajagatāṃ || ❀ || [23<sup>v</sup>1–23<sup>v</sup>4] gaṅgādvāre kuśāvartte veluke nīlaparvvate | snātvā kanakhaletīrthe punaḥ jarmmo na (5) vidyate || [2] ṣaṣṭhivarṣasahaśrāṇi bhāgīrathyāvāgāhane | sakṛd godāvarī snātvā śimhasthe ca bṛhaspati || re cittakhedam upayāsi kim ākulatvaṃ ramyeṣu vastuṣu manoha[24<sup>v</sup>1]ratān gateṣu | puṇyaṃ kuruṣu yadi teṣu tavāsti vāṃcchā puṇyam vinā na hi bhavanti samīhitārthā || yad bhāvitas bhavati nityam ayatnato pi yatnena cāpi mahatā na bhavaty abhāvi | (2) evamvidhā tava samīhitajīvaloke kiṃ śokam asya puruṣa[[sya] vicakṣaṇasya || sugandhaṃ ketakīpuspaṅ kaṭakaiḥ pariveṣṭitaṃ | yathā puspaṅ tathā rājā durjjanaiḥ parive(3)ṣṭitaṃ || [3] dharmmaḥ prāg eva cintyaṃ sacivagatimatīḥ bhāvanīy(ā) sadaiva jñeyo lokānurāgo varacaranayanaiḥ maṅḍalam vikṣanīyaṃ | pracchādyo rāgaroṣo sphuṭa(4)kalukharuṣā yojanīya ca kāle ātmā yatnena rakṣo raṇaśiraśi punaḥ so pi nāvekṣanīyaḥ || [4] lakṣmikostubhapārijātaturago dravyo hi candrāmṛto tṛ(5)ptin neva tathāpi manthanavidho devāsuraṇām aho | tāvan manthita eva dugdhajaladho yāvad viṣaṅ(no nth)itaṃ sarvveṣāṃ atilabdaldubdamanasā manthārathaṃ jāyate ||

1 samvat 496] NGMCP; samvat 495 Shastri 2 somavāsaraḍine] NGMCP; somavāsare dine Shastri 3–4 ādarśadoṣān [...] prasādanīyaḥ] om. Shastri 4 likṣita] NGMCP; likhita Shastri 5–6 śrīvāghama-tyāyān dakṣinākūle] NGMCP; śrīvāghamatyāyāḥ dakṣinākūle Shastri 6–31 śrīhṇolavīhāra° manthārathaṃ jāyate] om. Shastri

### 3.3.22 \*NGMPP C 6-22(3) (Kesar 88) Udāttarāghavanāṭaka

Palm leaf, 29.3 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 31 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in Dezső (2005).

Colophon elements: date (NS 497, November–December 1376 CE), scribe (Munīndrabhadra), *āśīrvāda*.

[49<sup>v</sup>2] nepālikābde muninandavede mārgaśite [-2-]maśe tithau ca | saṃlikhyate rāghavaṃśaja[-1-][49<sup>v</sup>3] munīndrabhadreṇa ca[-4-] | śubham astu sa[rvva][[-3-] © || \*

### 3.3.23 \*NGMPP C 6-9 (Kesar 73) Rāmānkanāṭikā

Palm leaf, 32.4 × 5 cm, 2 string holes, 147 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: authorial stanzas, scribal stanzas, king, owner (Jayasīhamallavarṃma), *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 496, c. 1375 CE), place (Yokhacchavihāra), scribe (Dukujaka, *vajrācārya*), *āśīrvāda*, scribal stanza.

[146<sup>v</sup>4] vikhyāto jagatītale sa jayati |© śrīkaṇṭhapūjāparo nepā || \* || lāvani-pāla©maṇḍalaguruḥ śrīrāmadāsaḥ sudhīḥ | pāyam pā|[146<sup>v</sup>5]yam atītavākyaṭhapadī yasyāmalām bhāratī(!) [read bhāratim] mādyanty eva janā mahotpalarasotpūran dvirephā iva || rākācandrakarābhīrāmayaśasas tasyāsti vidyānidheḥ sūnūḥ śuddha|[147<sup>v</sup>1]guṇaughaharṣitajanaḥ śrīrdharmmaguptaḥ kṛtī | pitrāputrakṛpāpareṇa nipuṇaṃ śāstrānvayaṃ śikṣita etām bhavara-sojvalām sa kṛtavān rāmānkitān nāṭikāṃ || nikhīlanarapālamau[147<sup>v</sup>2]-limānikyanidhṛṣṭasamastabhūpālaparaṃ©parānamitaśikhāprasūnaḥ sannūpi-tapādārvvinda | a©nekavidaś ca vanitājanakāminīmanamohana[147<sup>v</sup>3]-madanāsundaramālatīmadhukarasakalagu|©ṇanidhāna, vividhavidyāvīlāsa, vīra-nārāyaṇetyādi©virudāvalīsamalaṅkṛtaḥ samastaprakriyāvi[147<sup>v</sup>4]rājamāna-śrīśrīśrīmāneśvarīvaralabdha|©praśād ekaḥ | mahārājādhīrājaparameśvarapa-ramabha©ṭṭārakaḥ śrīśrījayarjunadevasya vijayarāje [147<sup>v</sup>5] śrīnepālamaṇḍale || śrīlalitāpurīnāmanagaraḥ sarpabhūśālaṅkṛtaśrīmaṇināgaśīromaṇidīdhitībhīr uddyotamāna | śrī māṇigalake | śrī ubharavihāre | śrī hnaula|[147<sup>v</sup>1]vihāre kuṭumbodbhavamahāpātraśrījayasīhamallavarṃmaṇasya pustakam idaṃ || bālamūrkhavideśasthaḥ vāritailāgnis taskarāt\_ | rakṣitavyaṃ yathāśaktiḥ pustikā svastikā|[147<sup>v</sup>2]raṇam\_ || bhagnaprṣṭhakaṭigrīvaḥ tac ca drṣṭim a|©dhomukhaḥ | duḥkhena likhitaṃ śāstraṃ putravat pratipā|©layet || yathākathañcil likhita(!) maye(!)tat\_ bā|[147<sup>v</sup>3]lena śāstraṃ guṇina(!) kṣamaśvaṃ | daśāṅgulir mme tac chuddham etat saṃśodhaniyaṃ guṇibhis samastaiḥ || © || śreyo stu || saṃvat 496 mārgaśire kṛṣṇa | [147<sup>v</sup>4] aṣṭamyān tithau || hastanakṣatre || śobhana|©yoge || ādityavāsare || śrīyokṣaccheṃ-vihārālā|©cchavaṣṭho vajrācāryaśrīdukujakena likhita|©m idaṃ svahastena

svaparārthahetunā || śubham astu sarvvajāgatāḥ || \* || umayā sahito rudra |  
śaṅkara saha viṣṇunā || tāṅkāraśūlapāṇis tu rakṣantu śiva sarvvadā ||

1 vikhyāto] ms; *vikhyātā* NGMCP 3–4 mādyanty eva janā mahotpalarasotpūran dvirephā iva] ms; *māddyantyeva jano mahotpalaraso bhapūrandvirepho iva* NGMCP 4 rākācandrakarābhīrāmayaśasas] ms; *rākā candrakarā nirāma yaśas* NGMCP 6–7 etām bhavarasojjalām sa] ms; *tretāsauvarasāṅkalāṅ ca* NGMCP 8 °mānikyanidhṛṣṭasamastabhūpālaparamparānamitaśikhāprasūnaḥ] ms; °mānidhṛṣṭasamastabhūpālapararonamitaśikhāpramṇaḥ NGMCP 14 śrīlālītāpurināmanagaraḥ] ms; *śrīlālītūrī-nāmanagare* NGMCP 15 hñaulavihāre] ms; *śrīthaulavihāre* NGMCP 16 °jayasihamalla°] ms; °*jayasiṃhamalla*° NGMCP 18 bhagnapīṣṭha°] ms; *bhagneṣṭaṣṭha*° NGMCP 20 likhita(!) maye(!)tat] ms; *likhitam apatat* NGMCP 23–24 °śrīyokṣaccheṃvihāra°] ms; °*śrīyā..cchaṃ vihāra*° NGMCP

### 3.3.24 ASC 10757 Vasudhārānāmadhārāṇīparisūtra

Palm leaf, 56 × 5 cm, 14 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in Shastri (1917, 45, no. 45), Petech (1984, 132, no. 14).

Colophon elements: *ye dharmā* formula, *deyadharmo* formula, donor (Rājakanakakārajota, *bhāroka*), king, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 499, Wednesday, March 30th, 1379 CE), concluding formula, place (Patan, Yokhyavihāra), scribe (Śāntamati), *āśīrvāda*.

ye dharmmāḥ [...] deyadharmmo 'yaṃ pravaramahāyāyinaḥ paramopāsaka(!) śrīśrīlālītadrumāyāṃ śrīmāṅgalottaramahāvihāre vaṃgāracchaṃ adhivāsitarājakanakakārajotabhārokasya yad atra puṇyaṃ tad bhavativ ācāryyopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvaṅgamaṃ kṛtvā sakalāsattvarāśena anuttaraphalaprāptam iti | rājādhīrājaparameśvaraparamabhāṭṭārakaśrīśrījayārjjunadevasya vijayarājye | śreyo 'stu | saṃvat 499 caitrasukladvādaśīparatrayodaśyāṃ pūrvvaphālguṇīpare uttaraphālguṇīnakṣatre vṛṣṭiyogapare dhruvayoge budhavāre likhitaṃ idaṃ saddharmapustakam | śrīyokhyasthaṃvahāralācchhāvaṇṭa vajrācāryyaśrīśāntamatinā likhitam | śubham astu ||

1 ye dharmmāḥ [...] paramopāsaka(!) om. Petech 3 °jotabhārokasya] em.; °*jotātārokasya* Shastri, Petech /yad atra [...] iti] om. Petech 7 vṛṣṭiyogapare] Shastri; *vṛddhiyogapare* Petech 8 saddharmapustakam] Shastri; *pustakam* Petech // śrīyokhyasthaṃvahāra°] Shastri; *śrīyokhyasthānabāhāra* Petech

### 3.3.25 B 14-11 (NAK 4/590) Amarakośanepālabhāṣāṭṭippanī

Palm leaf, 34 × 5 cm, folios 78, lines 6–7, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 132, no.15) Descriptive Catalogue published in Purna Ratna Vajracharya, 1969: Bṛhatsūcīpatram IX (Kathmandu: National Archives, VS 2026), pp. 10-11, date mistaken as NS 401; Text published by Kashinath Tamot, 1983: Putrapautrādibodhini: Amarakośayā Nepālbhāṣā ṭīkā, NS 501 (Kathmandu: Pāsāmūnā, NS 1103); Colophon (pp. 2-3) and its facsimile (p. 33) published in Mahes Raj Pant, 2006: 'Saṃsāradevikō Pratimāsthāpanā garī rākhieko tāmrapatra', Pūrṇimā 122 (VS 2063 Aswin): 1-61.

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 494, c. 1374), king, concluding formula, place (Patan, Sātīglasthāna), scribe (Jasarāja, *vaidya*), reason, scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*, scribal stanzas.

[77<sup>v</sup>6] nepālabhāṣā . [||] ❁ || śreyo 'stu samvat 501 bhādrapada-  
 śukladvādasyāyāṃ(!) || dhaneṣṭhanakṣatre ādītavāsare || o || [78<sup>r</sup>1]  
 rājādhirājaparameśvaraparamabhāṭārikāḥ | śrīśrījayārju[nadeva]sya vijayarāje (!)  
 likhitam itiḥ (!) | śrīsātīglasthānādhivāśinaḥ cāvihāra vyedya  
 śrījasarājanā(2)mnena (!) likhitam | svapadārthahetunāḥ (!) svapustakopaḥ (!) ||  
 +O(nabo)rebhyo mukhikebhas tathaiva ca | rakṣatavyaṃ prajannena (!) mayā  
 kaṣṭhena likhitam || śiddhir astu kriyā(3)rambhe vṛddhir astu dhanāyukhe (!) |  
 puṣṭir astu sarīreṣu ..O.r astu gṛhe mamaḥ (!) || yādṛsaṃ pustakaṃ dṛṣṭvā  
 tādṛsaṃ likhyate mayā | yadi suddham aśuddham vā mama (doṣo) (4) na dīyateḥ  
 (!) || ❁ || bhagnaprṣṭika[ṭīgrīvā] ..O..dṛṣṭir adhomuṣaṃ (!) | dukhena mayā  
 likhitam putravat pratipālayet || ❁ || [śubham stu ||] (5) (kud)akṣaram pa|| ❁  
 ||ri(bhṛta)ṣṭamātrābhīna+O(der) bhavetḥ (!) | (kṣatu)ma rahasi budhe-  
 ndramūrṣabhāvena lekhikāḥ || O || śubha..++ (6) om śrutvā śrutvā viśadaviśadā  
 (tiṣṭha)niyā praṇītā nepālo (bhata)matimatāṃ suṣṭhu gamyābhīramyā | svalpā yā  
 sābhimatamatibhiḥ sābhikā- - - - | (baddhā ra)..// - - - - -bhiḥ ||

1 nepālabhāṣā [...] śreyo 'stu] om. Petech // 501] NGMCP; 401 [sic for 501] Petech 2 °śukladvādasyāyāṃ(!) NGMCP; °śukladvādasyāṃ Petech 4 itiḥ(!) NGMCP; iti Petech // śrīsātīglasthānādhivāśinaḥ] NGMCP; śrīmānīglasthānādhivāśinaḥ Petech // vyedya śrījasarājanāmnena(!) NGMCP; *vaidyaśrījasarājanāmnena* Petech 5-15 svapadārthahetunāḥ [...] bhiḥ] om. Petech

### 3.3.26 \*CUL MS Add.1685 Amarakośa

Palm leaf, 34.1 × 4.7 cm, folios 65, lines 5–6, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL.

Colophon elements: date (NS 500, c. 1380 CE), scribal stanzas, place (Patan, Yampivihāra), scribe (Rāmadatta), reason, owner (Saja, *bhāroka* and *mahāpātra*), *āśīrvāda*.

[64<sup>v</sup>6] samvat 500 māgha śukla trayodaśyān tithau || śukravāsare || yathā dṛṣṭam tathā likhitam lekha[ko nāsti doṣayat\_ | udakānalacaure][65<sup>v</sup>1][bhyo mūṣikabhyo tatheva ca | [-4-] prayatnena pustakā svastikārakam] || \* || lekhaka,śrīya[m]piṃvihāri(!) rāmadattena parārthe hetunā likhitam idaṃ śāstram || śrī va[thanikṣamahāpātra]śrī saja[bhā][65<sup>v</sup>2]rokasya pustaka || \* || śubheti || \* || \* || || || || \* || \* || \* || \* || \* || \* || °taśu || \* || \* || \* ||

### 3.3.27 \*CUL MS Add.1488 Amarakośa

Palm leaf, 23.5 × 4.2 cm, folios 128, lines 5, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL, Petech (1984, 132, no.15).

Colophon elements: scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 502, Monday, February 3rd, 1382 CE), place (Patan), reason, commissioner, scribe (Jasacandra, *vajrācārya*), scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[127<sup>v</sup>2] śvarggapaṭālabhūmīś ca puraśailaḥ vanauśadhī siṃhamānuṣyabrahmaś ca kṣītri[127<sup>v</sup>3]yavaiśyasūdrayauḥ | viśeṣanighnaśaṃkīṅṇanānārthā avyayārthaś ca liṅgasaṅgrahasampūrṇa sarvvasāstreṣu loca[127<sup>v</sup>4]naiḥ || eṣa kavīndrasirasā kusumāyamāna śrīmān\_ jayaty amara ekaśito[paḍipā | indindiraḥ vrajabhinoma [128<sup>v</sup>1]karandabinduḥ saṃdohadodhadanadaḥ sudhayodhayanti || \* || śreyo 'stu śrīmatnepālikasamvatsare | samvat 500 mā[128<sup>v</sup>2]rggaśuklaśrīpañcamyām tithau revatī-nakṣatre © sādhyā\*yoge, somavāsare śrīmat\_lalitāpurinivāsita[-1-][128<sup>v</sup>3] [-5-] sitaḥ | pradhānāṅgama[hā]pātra© śrī [-5-] tyaguṇama[kṣī]tā mahādaśisapa[ku]siṃhamahāpātra[128<sup>v</sup>4]śrīraghusiṃhadevānām adhyāyanārthaṃ puṣṭa©kam amarasīṃhalikhāpitaḥ | vajrācāryaśrījasacandreṇa likhitam iti || [128<sup>v</sup>4] yathā dṛṣṭam tathā likhitam lekhiko nāsti doṣaḥ || śubham astu sarvvajagatā || || \* || \* || \* ||

1–6 śvarggapaṭālabhūmīś ca śreyo 'stu] om. Petech 8–10 śrīmat\_lalitāpuri° [...] °śrīraghusiṃhadevānām] ms; *śrīmatlalitāpurinivāsitamahāpātracampusiṃhadevānām* Petech 11 amarasīṃhalikhāpitaḥ] ms; *amarasīṃhena likhāpitaḥ* Petech

## 3.4 Manuscripts from Jayasthitimalla's period (1373–1395)

- A 17-11 Mahālakṣmīvratakathā (NS 502, c. 1382 CE; uncatalogued)
- B 26-12 Jñānadīpavimarṣiṇī (NS 503, c. 1383 CE; uncatalogued)
- C 3-14 Kubjikāmatalaghuṭtippanī (NS 505, c. 1385 CE; uncatalogued)
- C 3-15 Kubjikāprayoga, (Pūjāhomavidhi), Māṃsāhuti, (Tāntrikapūjavidhi), (Sarovhadrayantra) (NS 505, c. 1385 CE; uncatalogued)

- E 882-5 Bṛhajjātaka (NS 508, c. 1388 CE; uncatalogued)
- C 14-14(1) Kevalīpraśnaśāstra (NS 509, c. 1389 CE; uncatalogued)
- C 55-3(2) Mantradevamata (NS 510, c. 1390 CE; uncatalogued)
- C 11-6 Kriyāsamuccaya (NS 511, c. 1391 CE; uncatalogued)
- B 29-3(1) Jayākṣarasamhitā (NS 515, c. 1395 CE; not dated according to Shastri 1905, lxxxvii)
- A 1158-7 Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, (Ś)anaiścarastava, Mṛtyuñjayastava (NS 515, c. 1395 CE; uncatalogued, cf. Shastri 1905, lvii)

### 3.4.1 NAK 1/1624.4 Yuddhajayārṇava

Palm leaf, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1905, 81, no. 1634 cha), Petech (1984, 137, no.1); text transcribed from Petech.

Colophon elements: date (NS 493, Sunday, June 26th, 1373 CE), king, concluding formula. ‘The second and third figures of x x the year are illegible and H. P. Shastri’s date of 426 is absurd. Having applied the necessary tests, we find that only the year 493 fits all the elements of the date, which is verified for Sunday, June 26th, 1373, between 20 h. 45 m. and 24 h’ (Petech 1984, 137).

samvat pta (=4) [-2-] [ā]ṣāḍhaśuklasaptamyān tithau hastanaḥṣatre śivayoge  
ādityavāre | śrīśrījayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarāje likhitam ||

---

1 samvat pta (=4) [-2-] samvat 426 Shastri // [ā]ṣāḍha° [...] ādityavāre] om. Shastri

### 3.4.2 NGMPP B 4-6 (NAK 5/866) Kaliyugasamghātaka

Palm leaf, 22 × 4, 12 folios, 4 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Acharya (2009, 103).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 501, November, 1380 CE), *āśīrvāda*.

[11°3–4] śreyo stu || samvat 501 mārggaśīrakṣṇapratipadyā dine, śubhaḥ ||

### 3.4.3 NGMPP A 1160-6 (NAK 1/1231) (Mānavadharmāśāstra)Nāradasaṃhitā

Palm leaf, 11 + 183 folios, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP (probably a retake of A 1160-5, uncatalogued), Shastri (1905, 43, no. 1230 cha), Petech (1984, 137–38, no. 3).

Colophon elements: authorial stanzas mentioning king, author, scribe, and commissioner, *āśīrvāda*, da  s Thursday, February 9th, 1380), king, place (Bhaktapur), owner (Jayatavarman, *amātya*), scribe  Luntabhadra, *sākyabhikṣuvajracārya*), *āśīrvāda*, scribal stanza.

[142<sup>v</sup>4–144<sup>r</sup>2] nepāle sthitirājamallanṛpatir bhūpālacūḍāmaṇis tasyāmātyavaro  
 'rthi kalpavi(3)ṭapī sannitīvarānidhiḥ | tasyārtha(!) maṇikābhidhena kṛtinā  
 nepālavācā kṛtā ṭikā nyāyavikāśinī suviditā brahmoktadharmasmṛteḥ || dhimāś  
 candanavarmasūnur amalaprajñāprabhāvasphu[[ra]]n nītisparddhitarokanāyaka-  
 gurur mantrīndracūḍāmaṇiḥ | jiyāt sarvvaguṇāśrayāmalayaśā mantraprabhā-  
 [143<sup>v</sup>1]bhāsvarā, mantrī śrījayataḥ kṛpārdhdhahṛdayaḥ sarvvārthikalpadrumaḥ ||  
 śrīnepālikavatsare khakhaśare pakṣe śite phālguṇe māse cāgnitithau  
 girāpratidina (2) bhaktāpurīpaṭṭane | rāye śrīsthitirājamallanṛpate rājalla○  
 devīpateḥ śrīmannyāyavikāśinī suviditā sampūrttināgādi yaṃ || || (3) likhitā  
 luṃtabhadreṇa vajrācāryeṇa dhimatā | mantrīndrajayata○Syārthe spaṣṭeyam  
 nyāyaṭṭippinī || svasti śrīnepālikasamvatsare 500 phā(4)lgunaśuklatṛṭṭiyāyām  
 guruvāsare śrīśrījayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarāye bhaktapure  
 amātyajayatavarmaṇaḥ puṣṭakam idam alekhi śrī(144r1)kirttipuṇya-  
 mahāvihārādhivāsīnā sākyabhikṣuvajracāryaśrīluntabhadreneti || || śubham  
 astu sarvvajagatām || śrīmān amātyajayato ripumaṃ(2)trimantraprau-  
 ḍhābudaprasaravisphuraṇoruvāyuh | svasvā○mikāryaparipālanavāyusūnu  
 poyāt prajāḥ nijasutān iva sarvvadeva || o ||

1–6 tasyāmātyavaro [...] sarvvārthikalpadrumaḥ] om. Petech 2 sannitīvarānidhiḥ] NGMCP; *sannitīvarāṇi nidhiḥ* Shastri // tasyārtha] NGMCP; *tasyārtham* Shastri 3 nyāyavikāśinī] NGMCP; *nyāyavikāśinī* Shastri // dhimāś] NGMCP; *dhimāś* Shastri 4 °roka-nāyaka°] NGMCP; °*nākanāyaka*° Shastri 5 °guṇāśrayāmalayaśā] NGMCP; °*guṇāśrayo 'malayaśā* Shastri 6 °bhāsvarā] NGMCP; °*bhāsvaro* Shastri // kṛpārdhdha°] NGMCP; *kṛpārdra*° Shastri 8 girāpratidina] *śūrapatidīne* Petech om. Shastri 9 śrīmannyāyavikāśinī [...] likhitā] om. Petech // sampūrttināgādi yaṃ] NGMCP; *sampūrttim āgād iyam* Shastri 10 luṃtabhadreṇa] NGMCP, Petech; *luna(lunda)bhadreṇa* Shastri 10–11 °ārthe spaṣṭeyam [...] svasti] om. Petech 11 nyāyaṭṭippinī] NGMCP; *nyāyaṭṭippaṇi* Shastri 13–15 alekhi [...] sarvvajagatām] om. Petech 14 śrīluntabhadre°] NGMCP; *śrīlunda(lūna)bhadre*° Shastri 15–16 °prauḍhābudaprasaravisphuraṇoruvāyuh] NGMCP, Petech; °*prauḍhāmbuda-prasara-visphuraṇaīkavāyuh* Shastri 16–17 °sūnu poyāt prajāḥ nijasutān iva sarvvadeva] NGMCP; °*sūnu pāyāt prajāni nijasutānīva sarvvadevaḥ* Petech; °*sūnuḥ pāyāt prajā nijasutān iva sarvvadeva* Shastri

### 3.4.4 \*NGMPP B 32-8 (NAK 5/539) Guhyakālīnirvāṇapūjā

Palm leaf, 22 × 4.5 cm, 37 folios, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 138, no. 4). Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS Thursday, February 9th, 1380), scribe (Jagatarāma, *śaivācārya*), King.



[37'1] śreyo stu, saṃvat 501 vaiśākhakṛṣṇaṣaṣṭamyām, somavā[37'2]re, śrībhavabhūteśvarakutuvaja(!)śrīkramaśivā © cārya, jagatarāmena lekhitam | śrīśrī\jaya/sthitirā[37'3]jamaladevasya vijayarājamm(!) iti || \* ||

1 somavāre] ms; *somavāsare* Petech 2 śrībhavabhūteśvarakutuvajaśrīkramaśivācāryajagatarāmena] ms; *śrībhavabhūteśvarakutumbaja[...]*jagatarāmena Petech 3 śrīśrījayasthitirā-jamaladevasya vijayarājamm] ms; *śrīśrīsthitimalladevasya vijayarājam* Petech

### 3.4.5 \*NGMPP B 16-11 (NAK 5/833) Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana

Palm leaf, 22.5 × 3.5 cm, 48 folios, 4 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 140, no. 20). Petech provides the date as November 30th, 1388; however, his calculation is based on a misreading of the year as NS 509 instead of NS 501.

Colophon elements: date (NS 501, c. 1381 CE), concluding formula, place (Kathmandu), owner (Jayatabrahma), scribe (Luntabhadra), king, *āśīrvāda*.

[48'2] sa 501 poṣaśuklapatipadyāyām(!) [48'3] likhitam idam śrīkāṣṭhamaṇḍape © śrīkīrttipuṇyamahāvihāraśrīluntabhadrena(!) | amātyaśrī[48'4]jayatabrahmasya puṣṭakam(!) || \* || śrīśrījayasthitimalladevasya viyarāje(!) || \* || śubham astu ||

1 sa 501] ms; saṃ 501 NGMCP; sa 509 Petech // poṣaśuklapatipadyāyām] ms, NGMCP; *pauṣaśuklapratipadyāyām* Petech // śrīkāṣṭhamaṇḍape] ms, NGMCP; *śrīkāṣṭhamaṇḍapa*<sup>o</sup> Petech 2 °mahāvihāra°] ms; NGMCP; °mahāvihāre Petech // °śrījayatabrahmasya puṣṭakam] ms; °śrījayabrahmasya puṣṭakam NGMCP; °śrījayatabrahmasya puṣṭakam Petech 3 śrīśrī-jayasthitimalladevasya viyarāje] ms; *śrīśrījayasthitimallasya viyarāje* NGMCP; *śrīśrījayasthi-timalladevasya viyarāje* Petech

### 3.4.6 \*NGMPP C 6-22(2) (Kesar 88) Sundarasena

Palm leaf, 29.3 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 11 folios, 5–7 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in Dezső (2005).

Colophon elements: date (NS 503, November–December 1382 CE), scribe (Munīndrabhadra), *āśīrvāda*.

[13'1] nepālikābde śikhibindubāṇe sāhamārgaśīte [caitrarya] | saṃlikhyate sundarasenaśipam munīndrabhadreṇa ca[-14-]ja[13'2] gatām iti || \* || śubha ||



### 3.4.7 Jñānadīpavimarśinī

Palm leaf, 113 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. In private possession in Nepal. Described in Yogīdevīnātha (1953); Petech (1984, 138, no. 5); transcribed from Yogīdevīnātha (1953, 85). Colophon elements: scribal stanzas, scribe (Maṇika), *āśīrvāda*, date (NS Tuesday, September 8th, 1383 CE), concluding formula, king, place (Bhaktapur).

nepālavatsare yāte tryadhike śatapañcake | bhādrāmāse śite pakṣe dvādaśyāṃ  
kujaghāsare || paddhatis tripurādevyā jñānadīpavimarśinī || lekhasaṃpūrṇam  
āpannā pañcavargaphalaprādā || mahopādhyāyaputrāya dvijarājāya dhimate |  
likhitā maṇikeneyam tripurāpādasevitā || svasti śrīmannepālikasamvatsare 503  
bhādraśukladaśyāṃ tithau aṅgāravāsare śravaṇanakṣatre sa [ʻrvaʼ]-  
saṃpattikāmārthaṃ likhiteyaṃ || śrījayasthitimalladevasya rājarājasya  
dhimataḥ [...] bhaktapurarājye likhitam

---

1–4 nepālavatsare yāte [...] tripurāpādasevitā svasti] Yogīdevīnātha; om. Petech 4–  
5 śrīmannepālikasamvatsare 503 bhādraśukladaśyāṃ tithau aṅgāravāsare śravaṇanakṣatre]  
Yogīdevīnātha; *samvat 503 bhādraśukla 12 aṅgāravāsare śravaṇanakṣatre* Petech 5–6 sa  
[ʻrvaʼ]saṃpattikāmārthaṃ likhiteyaṃ] Yogīdevīnātha, om. Petech 6–7 śrījayasthitimalla-  
devasya [...] likhitam] Petech; om. Yogīdevīnātha

### 3.4.8 NGMPP A 1306-24(1) (NAK 4/82) Jayottaratantra

Palm leaf, 31 × 4.3 cm, 1 string hole, 30 + 22 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 503, c. 1383 CE), concluding formula, donor (Jasadeva, *dvija*), reason, place (Tālīnkeśvarasthāna), scribe (Abhaya, *daivajña*), *āśīrvāda*.

[30ʹ3–5] śreyo ʻstu || samvat 503 kārttikaśukla || pratipadyān tithau ghaṭi 37  
svātinakṣatre || || prītiyoge || buddhavāsare || tadā dine likhyāpitaṃ || dānapate ||  
śrīthambuvakanimmaṃvāstavyadvijavarottamaśrījasadevasya svarārthaparārtha-  
hetukāmārthaṃ dattaṃ || likhita śrītālīnkeśvarasthāne śrī ujhānacchyaṃ  
daivajña abhayena likhitam idaṃ || śubham astu ||

### 3.4.9 \*NGMPP B 13-39 (NAK 1/1645) Saptamīvratakathā

Palm leaf, 32 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 10 folios, 4–5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP. Colophon elements: scribal stanza, scribe (Maṇika), date (NS 503, c. 1383 CE), commissioner (Virasiṃha), *āśīrvāda*.

[10<sup>v1</sup>] kīṭaliḍhākṣarāṃ pustīm lipidoṣād durakṣar[ah] | [10<sup>v2</sup>] asaṃpūrṇṇā samālokya maṇikākhyena pūrītā || vahniśūnyaśa ©re yāte, nepālābdi vidhīyate | aśunyās ca śite pakṣe, tithau kāma bhṛgudine || vīrasimhāvidhā[10<sup>v3</sup>]nena likhitañ ca suśraddhayā | saptamīvratarājeṣaṃ dvijāya saṃ © prabodhitam || śubham astu || \* ||

### 3.4.10 \*CUL MS Add.1395 Pañcarakṣā

Palm leaf, 34 × 5 cm, 125 folios, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL, Bendall (Bendall 1883, 84), Petech (1984, 138, no. 6).

Colophon elements: *ye dharmā* formula, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 505 Saturday, October 22nd, 1384), king, scribe (Mumareṇḍavaṇḍaṇa, *vajrācārya*), *āśīrvāda*.

[123<sup>v3</sup>] ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetus teṣān tathāgato hy avadat\_ | teṣāñ ca yo nirodha e[123<sup>v4</sup>]vaṃvādī mahāsravaṇaḥ || \* || [-1-] śreyo 'stu || samvat\_ 505 kārtika śukla aṣṭhamyāṃ tithau sanimvaravāsare | śrīśrījayasthitirāja-malladevasya vijayarāje li[khitam] [123<sup>v5</sup>] va[jrā]cāryamumareṇḍavaṇḍaṇa | śubham astu sarvajagatām ||

1–2 hetuprabhavā [...] mahāsravaṇaḥ] ms; om. Bendall, Petech (*ye dharmā* [...] śreyo 'stu')  
3 sanimvaravāsare] ms, Bendall; *saniścaravāsare* Petech 4 va[jrā]cārya° [...] sarvajagatām]  
ms; om. Bendall, Petech

### 3.4.11 \*NGMPP B 13-4 (NAK 1/1645) Mahālakṣmīmāhātmya

Palm leaf, 31.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 32 folios, 5–6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 138, no. 7).

Colophon elements: date (NS 505, Thursday, July 20th, 1385 CE), concluding formula, king, scribe (Vīrādisiṃha), *āśīrvāda*.

[32<sup>v4</sup>] samvatsare bhūtakhapañcaseṣe, māse site śrāvaṇa © jīvavāre | pū[\rvvā/]diṣāḍhe [\ṛkṣa/][[-1-]] kāmatithau, diṇṣu (!) saṃpūrṇṇam idaṃ hi śāstraṃ || yasmin ṛpeśasthitirājamalla[32<sup>v5</sup>]ḥ samastasāmantaḥbhavaṃ bhunakti, | tasmin samālikhya v[[i]]rādisiṃ © ho mahādīlakṣmīm vatarājam īsaṃ (!) || śubha || ||

4 tasmin [...] śubha] om. Petech

### 3.4.12 \*Wellcome ε 50 Pañcarakṣā

Palm leaf, 36 × 5 cm, 153 folios, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in Wujastyk (1985, 4, no. 9). Colophon elements: date (NS 505, c. 1384 or 1385 CE), king, scribe (Amarendracandra).

saṃvat 505 śravaṇaśuklaḥ [...] samvat mārgaśiraśuklapratipadyāṃ tithau || [...] śrījatisthi(!)rājamallaḥ devasya .i likhitam idam vajrācāryya (!) amarendracandrena(!) ||

2–3 śrījatisthirājamallaḥ [...] amarendracandrena] om. Wujastyk

### 3.4.13 \*NGMPP A 20-19 (NAK 5/867) Hitopadeśa

Palm leaf, 32.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 119 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 138, no. 8).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 505, Thursday, September 28th, 1385 CE), king, donor (Ratnabhāra, *suvarṇākāra*), scribe (Tejacandra), scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[119°2] śreyo stu || samvat 105 aśunikṛṣṇanavamyāṃ tithau || \* || puṣyanakṣatre || [119°3] śivayoge || bṛhaspativāsare || rājādhirājaśrīśrījuva © rājajayathittimallasya vijayarāje || dānapatti(!)śrīhaṭṭiglasthāna[suvarṇākāratha][119°4] nabhāro tasya manovācchāsiddhir astu || hitopadeśapu! © stakam idam || śrī-tavavahārabhikṣuśrīvajācārya(!)śrītejacandrasya yathā[dr̥ṣṭa tathā [likṣi][119°5] [taṃ || śubhas astu sarvvajagatāṃ ||]

1 śreyo stu] om. Petech // samvat 105] ms; 505 NGMCP; samvat 505 Petech 3 dānapatti(!)-śrīhaṭṭiglasthānasuvarṇākārathanabhāro tasya] ms, NGMCP; dānapatiśrīhaṭṭiglasthāne suvarṇākārataratnabhārokasya Petech 5 °vajācārya°] ms; °vajrācārya° NGMCP

### 3.4.14 \*NGMPP B 31-40 (NAK 1/1584) Tripurasundarīpūjāpaddhati

Palm leaf, 23 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 21 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 138, no. 9).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 506, October 8th, 1385 CE or NS 516, c. 1396 CE), king, place (Suvilacchaṭolaka), scribe (Jantarāma), *āśīrvāda*.

[20°1] śreyo 'stu samvat\_ sukrasaunya[[\vaktre/]] \kātīkakṛṣṇa/pañcammyāṃ tithau [20°2] jeṣṭhanakṣatre svāra[[\guru/]]vāsare | © śrībhaktapurīnivā\si/naḥ

śrījayasthitirājamallasya [20'3] vijaye suvilacchaṭolaka © sthajanarāmena(!)  
likhitam i\ti/ || subhaṃ(!) bhavatu sarvvasattvānām ||

1 sukrasaunyavakre] ms; *sukrasauryavaktra*<sup>o</sup> NGMCP; *śukraśaunyavakre* Petech  
2 jeṣṭhanakṣatre svara<sup>o</sup>] ms; *jeṣṭhanakṣatre svara*<sup>o</sup> NGMCP; *jaiṣṭhanakṣatre sūra*<sup>o</sup> Petech  
3 śrījayasthitirājamallasya vijaye suvilacchaṭolakastha<sup>o</sup>] ms, NGMCP; *śrījayasthitirājamalla-*  
*devasya vijaya(!) yubilacchetolakastha*<sup>o</sup> Petech

### 3.4.15 \*NGMPP C 6-4 (Kesar 67) Hariścandrāvādānopākhyāna

Palm leaf, 32.2 × 4.6 cm, 1 string hole, 25 folios, 4–5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 138, no. 10).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, king, commissioner (Jayabrahma, *amātya*), reason, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 506, Sunday, January 7th, 1386 CE), scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[25'3] svasti śrīśrījayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarāje [25'4] || tasyā(!) amātyaḥ  
kvāccheṃṭolke dhivāśī(!) śrījayabrahmaṇasya mahā © bhilāṣa || \* ||  
pūraṇārtheṇa likhitam iti ḥ || śreyo 'stu ḥ samvat\_ raśā[25'5]bhrabānayutā |  
māghamāśā(!) śuklapakṣe saptamyām tithau ādityavāsare || yathādṛṣadarśaṇena  
likhitam | lekhakasya doṣo na dhāryate | maṃgalamahāśrī ||

1 svasti] om. Petech 1–3 tasyā amātyaḥ kvāccheṃṭolke dhivāśī śrījayabrahmaṇasya  
mahābhilāṣapūraṇārtheṇa] ms, NGMCP; *tasyāamātyaḥ kvācchetolke 'dhivāśī śrījayata-*  
*brahmaṇasya mahābhilāṣapuruṣārtheṇa* Petech 4 yathādṛṣadarśaṇena [...] maṃgalamahāśrī]  
om. Petech

### 3.4.16 \*CUL MS Add.1698 Amarakośavivṛti

Palm leaf, 32.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 159 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL, Bendall (1883, 187–88), Petech (1984, 139, no. 11), Formigatti (2022).

Colophon elements: explicit (authorial stanzas), final rubric, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 506, Wednesday, March 28th, 1386 CE), king, author and scribe (Māṇikyā).

[161'4] śrīśrījayasthitīśasya malladeva@sya bhūpateḥ | amātya śrījayad-  
brahmā,svāmi-kāryaparāyaṇaḥ || sa svaputrāya vidhiva,d imāṃ [161'5] ṭīkām  
acīkarat\_ | śrīmatpātrakulānām yo, viśiṣṭo maṇḍanocitaḥ || māṇikyam iva  
māṇikyanāmā paṇḍita\sat-tama/h || kṛteśā(!) 'marakośasya, tena nepālabhāṣayā  
|| vivṛ[161'1]tir nāma liṅgānām ṭippanī bālabodhini || ṣaṭtuttare pañcaśate gate

'bde, nepālike māsi ca caitrasamjñe | kṛṣṇe ca pakṣe madanābhidhāyām tithau śaśāṅkātmajavāsare ca [161°2] || śrījayasthitibhūpale, nepālārāṣṭrasāstari | śrīmadbhakta@pure deṣe grathitvā likhitā tadā || imām vijñāya loko 'yaṃ, turṅgam astu mahākaviḥ | ṣaḍbhāṣasāga[161°3]rasyāpi, pārīṇaḥ śaṣtrakovidāḥ || prajāḥ sukham avāpnu@vantu, viprā devān yajantu ca | daṇḍanītyā nṛpāḥ yāntu, kāle vaṣantu(!) toyadāḥ || iti māṅikyavira[161°4]cito 'marakoṣasya naipālabhāṣā-ṭippanī samāpteyaṃ || © || svasti śrīmannepālikasamvatsare 506 caitrakṛṣṇa-trayodaśyām, budhavāsare rājādhirājaparamē[161°5]śvaraparamabhātṭāraka-śrīśrīpaśupaticaraṇāravindasevitaśrīmāneśvarīvaralabdhapratāpaśrīśrījayasthiti-rājamalladevasya vijayarājye māṅikyena grathitvā likhiteyaṃ ||

1-5 sa svaputrāya [...] bālabodhini] om. Petech 4 kṛṣṇā] ms; *kṛtaiṣā* Bendall 5 ṣaṭtutare] ms; *ṣaṭtare* Bendall, Petech 6 kṛṣṇe ca pakṣe] ms; *kṛṣṇapakṣe* Bendall, Petech 8 likhitā] ms; *likhitam* Bendall, Petech 8–12 imām [...] svasti] om. Bendall (*imām [...] toyadāḥ*), Petech 12 506] ms, Petech; 509 Bendall 15 māṅikyena grathitvā likhiteyaṃ] om. Petech

### 3.4.17 \*NGMPP A 47-11 (NAK 3/382) Pañcarakṣā

Palm leaf, 55.5 × 5 cm, 2 string hole, 91 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Shastri (1915, 78–9), Petech (1984, 139, no. 12).

Colophon elements: *ye dharmā* formula, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 507, Wednesday, October 24th, 1386 CE), king, donor (Nāyakaḍhoṣṇanaka), reason, concluding formula, scribe (Amarendracandra), scribal stanza, *āśīrvāda*.

[91°2] ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy ama[91°3]t(!) teṣāms(!) ta(!) yo nirodha evamvādī mahāśramana || \* || śreyo 'stu ||| © samvat 507 kārttikaśuklapratipadyāyās tithau | buddhavāsare | vaiśākhanakṣatre | śobhanayo| © ge | śrīnepālamanḍālā(!)dvirājyaśrījayasthiti-rājamallaḥ devasya| [91°4] vijasya vijayarājyasmaye | haṭhakhāchyaṃ vikraṇicchyaṃ gṛhanāmadhe| © yaḥ | dānapate nāyakaḍhoṣṇanakasya | tasya bhāryā jyantanalakṣmikasya | sarvvasampatihetunā © rthaṃ śrīpañcarakṣāpustakaṃ samāptam iti | likhitam idaṃ vajārya(!) a[91°5]marendracandreṇa || anena puṇena(!) tu sarvvadarśitām avāpyya nirjitya ya toṣavidyuṣajarāyujā(!) | mṛtyumahormmivasakulā samuddhareyam bhavasāgarā(!) jagat || śubham astu sarvvajagatāḥ ||

4 śrīnepālamanḍālā(!)dvirājyaśrījayasthiti-rājamallaḥ] ms; *śrīnepālamanḍālāddhirājyā(!) śrījagatsthiti-rājamallaḥ* NGMCP 5 vijayarājyasmaye] ms; *vijarājyasmaye* NGMCP; *vijayarājye* Shastri; *vijayarāje* Petech // gṛhanāmadheyaḥ] ms; *gṛhanāmadheyam* NGMCP; *gṛhanāmakhyanayaḥ* Shastri 5–10 gṛhanāmadheyaḥ [...] sarvvajagatām] om. Petech 9–

10 toṣavidyūṣajarāyūja [...] sarvvajagatāḥ] ms; *ṭpatoṣavidyūṣatjarāyūja | mṛtyumahormmiva-saṅkulamḷā saṃmuddhareyam bhavasāgarā jagat || śubham astu sarvvajagatām* NGMCP

### 3.4.18 ASB 8065 Caṇḍakauśika

Palm leaf, 32 × 4 cm, 55 folios, 4 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1934, 252–253, no. 5316), Petech (Petech 1984, 139, no. 13).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 507, Saturday, November 24th, 1386 CE), king, scribal stanzas, commissioner (°sihamalla, maybe Jayasiṃha), scribe (Amara°, maybe Amarendra-candra), *āśīrvāda*.

śreyo 'stu saṃvat 507 mārgaśiraśukladvitiyāyām tithau śaniscaravāsare vijayarājye śrījayasthitirājamalladevasya | kīrttipratāpārccitasimhamūrtti-samārccitapādanakho 'pi yasyā | seyaṃ vibhāti vibudhā janānām | śrīyābhavan saraṇa sihamalla (?) | likhitam idam vajrācāryya amara [...] śubham astu sarvvajagatā |

1 śreyo 'stu] om. Petech 2–5 kīrttipratāpārccita° [...] sarvvajagatā] om. Petech

### 3.4.19 NAK 1/1078.17 Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṅgraha

Palm leaf. Described in Petech (1984, 139, no. 14).

Colophon elements: date (NS 507, February 1st, 1387 CE), concluding formula, place (Bhaktapur), king.

samvat 507 māghaśuklatriyodaśyām(!) pustakam idaṃ samāpteti | adya śrībhaktapurīnagare śrīkupvaṃsthāyāt śivagalasthāne thitimukhe vidyāpīṭha [...] || śrīśrījayathitimaladevasya(!) vijayarājena(!) ||

### 3.4.20 NGMPP C 3-2 (Kesar 21) Mahālakṣmīvratamāhātmya

Palm leaf, 30 × 4.3 cm, 1 string hole, 42 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 139, no. 15).

Colophon elements: king, date (NS 507, Wednesday, September 18th, 1387 CE), reason, *āśīrvāda*.

[43<sup>4</sup>–<sup>v</sup>1] rājāśrīsthitirājamallanṛpatau rājādhirāje pi sa .. bde saptakhakāmabāṇasahite mayā .i(ken)i(r).. .. [43<sup>v</sup>] (śukle r-ā)śvini pañcamītithiyute candrātmajevāsare vyākhyānaṃ likhitam trivarggaphaladaṃ śraddhāvatām śṛṇvatām || śubham astu sarvvasatvāḥ (sa) .i .. ...

1–2 sa .. bde saptakhakāmabāṇasahite mayā .i(ken)i(r).. ... (śukle r-ā)śvini pañcamīthiyute candrātmajevāsare] NGMCP; *sann abde saptakhakāmavāsasahite nepālike nirgate śukla cāśvini pañcamīthi yate candrātmajavāsare* Petech 3–4 trivarggaphaladaṃ śradhdhāvataṃ śṛṇvatāṃ || śubham astu sarvasatvāḥ (sa) .i . . . . .] om. Petech

### 3.4.21 \*NGMPP B 28-2 (NAK 1/1075) Vāmakeśvaratantra

Palm leaf, 30.5 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 34 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 139–40, no. 17).

Colophon elements: date (NS 508, Wednesday, January 1st 1388 CE), king, scribe (?), king, owner (Jayaśigharāma, *mahāmātya*), scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*.

[30°2] ne © pālasamvat\_ vasuvyomabāne(!) sapauśakṣṇatithisaptamī ca | samāptalekhakṛtahastaṛ[30°3]kṣe śukarmayoge budhavāsaraṇ ca || nīṭisthiti| © dharmmadayāsthitiṇ ca dānasthityāgaguṇas tathaiva | kīrttisthiti-sarvvavinodam etat\_ | [30°4] dhairyasthitiśrījayathittirāma(!) || jayathiti(!)rā| © ma tava kīrtticandraprasannarūpakusumāyudhasya | mā pūryate sau yadi kalpavṛkṣavirājate [30°5] śrījayathittirāma || ādityavarmanā yena likhitemiya(!) pustake | gokarṇṇe satadākoṭhe sādhuṇcittena likṣate || śrīśrībhoṃṭarājyā-dhirājaśrī[31°1] śrīmat\_ paśupatibhaṭṭarakasthāpanācārya-śrīmat\_ kānteśvarī-parica\_ raṇaparivaralabdhaprasādāt\_(!) śrīśrīmaddindreśvaraprasāda(!)yatana-nirmānyakapāka[31°2]rakulavaṃśabibhrājiteṣu śrīgopinārāyane| © tyādi | sakalaviradāvalīsamalaṃkṛtasamastaprakriyāvīrājamānaparameśvara || [31°3] mahāmātyaśrījayaśigharāmasya vijayina(!) || © paryakṣaraparibhraṣṭamā-trāhīnaḥ ca jahavet\_ | yathādarśe likhāś caivam asmaddoṣana dīya|[31°4]te || catuśatibhidhāne tu nāmnā pustaka tathā | tri| \*\*\*\*vidhaṃ tripūrādevyau pṛyānacakrakrimādiṣu || || śubham astu || sarvvajagatāṃ ||

1 vasuvyomabāne] ms; *vasūvyomabāṇe* Petech 2 °lekha°] ms; °lekhi° Petech // budhavāsaraṇ ca || nīṭisthiti°] ms; *budhavāsare ca || nīṭisthiti°* Petech 3 kīrttisthiti°] ms; *kīrttisthiti°* Petech 5 kīrtticandraprasannarūpakusumāyudhasya] ms; *kīrtticandraprasannarūpakṣasumāyudhasya* Petech // mā pūryate sau] *māpūryatesan* Petech 6–7 ādityavarmanā yena likhitemiya pustake | gokarṇṇe sata-dākoṭhe sādhuṇcittena likṣate] ms; *ādityavarmanā likhite miya pustake | gokarṇṇasatadākoṭe sādhuṇcittena likṣate* Petech 7 °bhoṃṭa°] ms; °bhoṭa° Petech 9 °parivaralabdhaprasādāt\_] ms; °paribalalabdhaprasādāt Petech 9–10 śrīśrīmaddindreśvaraprasādāyatana-nirmānyakapākarakula°] ms; *śrīśrīmahīndreśvaraprasādāyatana-nirmānyakapākaraḡhukula°* Petech 12 °śrījayaśigharāmasya vijayina] ms; °śrījayaśigharāmasya vijayinaḥ Petech 12–15 paryakṣara° [...] sarvvajagatāṃ] om. Petech



### 3.4.22 \*NGMPP B 18-16 (NAK 4/52) Itihāsasamuccaya

Palm leaf, 31.1 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 147 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 140, no. 18). In the NGMCP, the colophon is not transcribed, however the date and reigning king are mentioned. The language of the colophon is incorrect, the characters are often damaged and some were retraced, making interpretation difficult.

Colophon elements: scribal stanzas, date (NS 508, Tuesday, March 10th, 1388 CE), king, scribe, scribal stanzas (?).

[147<sup>2</sup>] satsadutnena samṛddhinirmitamahatproktuṅgasadmāvaliṃ [-1-]ccha[-1-]  
|yī[147<sup>3</sup>]n nagariṅ ca yāṃ pratidinaṃ mandādarō vāsavaḥ | [so][-1-] ©  
[li]napatāḱikā sumanasāṃ nāthāyudhe vopamā seyam śrībḥaktā[\puli ṣi-1-  
yana]/[147<sup>4</sup>][\yyarmmayuvanā]/bhau || aṣṭādhike tathā pañca[sate ne] ©  
[pālahā]yane | caitre śukladvitīyām aśvinpṛkṣye kuje 'hani || [\dine  
śaittekambha]/ [147<sup>5</sup>] bhūtasvadhānispanḍite ttanā | śrījayasthitirā[jena ra] ©  
kṣite rājyam uttamaṃ | bhūdevānvayajātena likhito 'yaṃ samāsa[\taḥ/ ||  
ṛbhupra;]/[147<sup>6</sup>]pati[rā]jyena cetihāsasauccayaḥ || rājās tu dharmasamyakṣaḥ  
prajāḥ sa.tunirāmayāḥ | thirāsasya vati bhū[-14-] ||

---

1–2 satsadutnena [...] vāsavaḥ | [so][-1-] om. Petech 3 [li]napatāḱikā ms; *linaparākitā* Petech  
5 aśvinpṛkṣye kuje 'hani ms; *aśvinpṛkṣye kuge hani* Petech 7 likhito 'yaṃ samāsataḥ ms;  
*likhitam* Petech 8–9 ṛbhuprapatirājyena [...] vati bhū[-14-] om. Petech

### 3.4.23 \*NGMPP C 77-2(1) (Kesar 559) Mahālakṣmīvratamāhātmya

Palm leaf, 16.2 × 3.7 cm, 1 string hole, 67 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Petech (1984, 140, no. 21).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 509, Thursday, May 20th, 1389 CE), reason, concluding formula, commissioner (Jayatejabhara?), king, place (Patan, Mānīgla, Śrīdakṣiṇavihāra), scribe (Tejabhāra), reason, scribal stanzas, *āśīrvāda*, *namaskāra*, *āśīrvāda*.

[45<sup>1</sup>] śreyo 'stu ḥ || samvat 509 vaiśaṣakṣṇanavamyāṃ pradaśamyāṃ  
ti[45<sup>2</sup>]thau utta(!)bha || \* || dranakṣatre || āyusmānayoge || bṛhaspativārāre(!) ||  
śrīvatamahāla[45<sup>3</sup>]kṣmīvā[-1-]napustakasvārthahetu © nā svahastena likhitam  
idaṃ pustakaṃ || śrīrājādhi[45<sup>4</sup>]rājaparameśvaraparamabhaṭārika ©  
śrīśrījayasthiti-rājamalladevasya rājyavijayarā[45<sup>5</sup>]je likhitam iti || likhita(!) śrī-  
mānīglake śrīdakṣiṇavihāre śrīyothovihārapradhānāṅga[45<sup>6</sup>]pātraśrījayate-  
jabhara | na[-1-] [sva]the parārthahetunā likhitam idan pustakaṃ || yadi  
suddham(!) asu[45<sup>1</sup>]ddham vā mama doṣo na diyate yathā śāstra(!) tathā lekhitō  
nāsti doṣaka || bhagnapṛ[45<sup>2</sup>]ṣṭhakaṭigrīvo tabdadiṣṭir adhomukha | kaṣṭena

likhitam śāstram putravat\_ pratipālayet\_ || [45<sup>v</sup>3] śubham astu sarvvakālam ||  
 śrīvataṃ \* hālakṣmī namaḥ || vatamahālakṣmīvādhyānapusta[45<sup>v</sup>4]keti || \* ||  
 \* || \* || \* || śubha || \* ||

1 śreyo 'stu ḥ] om. Petech // vaiśaṣa° ms; vaiśāgha° Petech 2 uttabhadra° ms;  
 uttarabhadra° Petech // bṛhaspativārāre] ms; bṛhaspativāsare Petech 3–4 śrīvata-  
 mahālakṣmī° [...] pustakam] om. Petech 5 °vijayarāje] °vijayarāje Petech // likhita(!) om.  
 Petech 6 śrīyothovihāra° [...] śubha] om. Petech

### 3.4.24 \*CUL MS Add.1701.1 Pañcarakṣā

Palm leaf, 34 × 5 cm, 2 string holes, 154 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL, Bendall (1883, 190–91), Petech (1984, 140, no. 22). The part of the colophon with the date (śrīyo(!) stu [...] śubhaḥ) was added by a second hand, therefore it might not refer to the date of writing. Nevertheless, it is a plausible date for the manuscript ('The date and name of the reigning king are written in a different, but apparently contemporary, hand' Bendall 1883, 190). First colophon elements: *ye dharmā* formula, *deyadharmo* formula, donor (Malendrajajaka, śākyaputra-*parasaugata*), place (Patan, Mānigalaka, Śrīvatsavihāra).

Second colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 509, Friday, June 4th, 1389 CE), king, *āśīrvāda*.

[154<sup>r</sup>3] ye dharmā hetuprabhāvā hetun teṣān tathā ◎ gato hy avadat teṣān ca yo  
 nirodha eva(!)vādī; [154<sup>r</sup>4] mahāśramaṇaḥ | deyadharmo yaṃ pravaramahā ◎  
 yānayāyina śrīlalitakramāyā śrīmāṇigala ◎ ke śrīvachchavihārādhivāta-  
 śākyaputra-para[154<sup>r</sup>5]saugatasamghaśrīmalendrajajakasya yad atra puṇyaṃ  
 tad\_ bhavattv ācārya-padhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvaṅgamaṃ kṛtvā sakalāsavarāśern (!)  
 anuttarajñānaphala prāptam iti || [154<sup>r</sup>6] śrīyo(!) stu ḥ samvat 509  
 jyaiṣṭhaśukladaśāmyāyā tithau śukravāsare rājādhīrāśrīrījayasthītirājamasya(!)  
 vijayarāje śubham ||

1–3 ye dharmā [...] °yāyina] om. Bendall (*hetuprabhāvā* [...] °yāyina), Petech 3 śrīmāṇigalake  
 śrī-vachchavihārādhivāta° ms; śrīmāṇigalake śrīvachchavihārādhivāṃta° Bendall, śrīmāṇigalake  
 śrīvachchavihārādhivāṃta° Petech 4 °śrīmalendrajajakasya] ms; °śrīmalekṣajajakasya Bendall,  
 Petech 4–6 yad atra [...] śrīyo stu ḥ] om. Bendall (*tad\_* [...] *anuttara*°), Petech  
 7 jyaiṣṭhaśukladaśāmyāyā] ms, Bendall; jyaiṣṭhaśukladaśāmyāyāṃ Petech 8 vijayarāje] ms,  
 Bendall; vijayarāje Petech



### 3.4.25 \*CUL MS Add.1663 Sārasaṅgraha and Sārāvalī

Palm leaf, 34 × 5 cm, 2 string holes, 154 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in CUDL, Petech (1984, 140–41, no. 26).

Colophon elements: date (uncertain, probably NS 511, c. 1390 CE), concluding formula, owner (Gajarāja, *daivajña*), king, *āśīrvāda* (?).

[75°2] mārgaśiramāse 'śitanavamī ◎ jyeṣṭhajīvañ ca | śukramayoge dva indrendusarā likṣitim iti ḥ || \* || [75°3] daivajñagajarājanāmano yaṃ likṣiti tasya pustakaḥ || rājādvi ◎ rājaparameśvarapraṃmabhaṭārikanepālesvaraśrīśrī-jayasthitirājamaladevasya vijaya-rāje | bhava[-1-]

1 jyeṣṭhajīvañ] ms; *yješṭhajīvañ* Petech 2 indrendusarā] ms; *indvendusarā* Petech 4 bhava[-1-]] om. Petech

### 3.4.26 \*NGMPP A 49-25 (NAK 1/135) Aghorapūjā

Palm leaf, 22.5 × 5 cm, 1 string hole, 4 folios, 5–6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, incomplete. Described in Petech (1984, 141, no. 26).

Colophon elements: final rubric, place (Patan), scribe (Anantateja) date (NS 511, August 9th, 1391 CE), king, concluding formula, *āśīrvāda*.

[11°4] iti tantradeghuripūjā; [11°5] | navadaṃ darśaṭaṃ | śrīlalitakramānāgala; ◎ utaracchāne | śrīmohalanihnabrahmapūre śrīnantatejena liṣitā | sa[11°6]mvat 511 śrāvaṇaśukladasamyāṃ śrīśrīparamabhaṭārikaprāmeśvaraśrīśrījayasthitirāja-vijayo liṣitaṃ || \* || śubham astu ||

1–2 iti tantradeghuripūjā [...] śrīnantatejena liṣitā] om. Petech 3 °dasamyāṃ] ms; °*daśamyāṃ* Petech 4 °vijayo liṣitaṃ] ms; °*vijayā likhitaṃ* Petech 4 śubham astu] ms; om. Petech

### 3.4.27 \*NGMPP C 1-5 (Kesar 5) Kāraṇḍavyūha

Palm leaf, 33 × 5 cm, 2 string holes, 66 folios, 6 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 141, no. 27).

Colophon elements: *ye dharmā* formula, *deyadharmo* formula, place (Patan, Māṅgalottaramahāvihāra), donor (Vyadhojasarāmaka), king, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 511, Saturday, August 19th, 1391 CE), concluding formula, *āśīrvāda*.

[66<sup>v</sup>3] ye dharmā, hetuprabhavā hetus teṣān tathā ◎ gato hy avadat teṣāñ ca yo nirodha evamvādī mahāśrama[66<sup>v</sup>4]ṇaḥ | deyadharmo yaṃ pravaramahāyānayāyīnāpara| ◎ mopāśikaḥ śrīśrīlālitabryumāyā śrīmāṇigalotta ◎ ramahāvihāre | śrīpantivihāralivistaḥ [vyadho]||[66<sup>v</sup>5]jasarāmakasya yad atra puṇya tad bhavatu ācāryopā| ◎ dhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvaṅgama kṛtvā sakalāsatvarāśenar anu ◎ ttarajñānaphalaprāptam iti || rājādhirājaparameśva-[66<sup>v</sup>6]raparamabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayasthitimalladevasya vijayarājye || śreyo 'stu samvat 511 śrāvaṇamāse kṛṣṇapañcamyāṃ caitranakṣatre dhruvayoge śāniścaravāsare likhita sampūrṇam iti śubhaṃ ||

1–3 ye dharmā [...] °paramopāśikaḥ] om. Petech 3 śrīśrīlālitabryumāyā] ms; *śrīśrīlālitavyūmāyā* NGMCP; *śrīśrīlālitabrumāyā* Petech 4–6 vyadhojasarāmakasya [...] °prāptam iti] om. Petech 4–5 vyadhojasarāmakasya yad atra puṇya tad bhavatu] ms; *ya jararāmakasya yad adra?puṇya tajrav* NGMCP 8 śrāvaṇamāse] ms, NGMCP; *śrāvaṇamāsa*° Petech

### 3.4.28 Pañcarakṣā

Palm leaf. In private possession in Nepal. Described in Petech (1984, 141, no. 28). Colophon elements: date (NS 512, Wednesday, April 3rd, 1392 CE), king, place (Blunvihāra?), scribe (Bodhibadra).

samvat 512 caitraśukladaśamyāṃ tithau maghanakṣatre śūlayoge jīnavāsare sampūrṇadine | rājādhirājaparameśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaśrījayasthitirājamalladevasya vijayarājye nepālamaṇḍale śrīblunvihārāvasthitavidhividhyāgamābhavaśrīman bodhibadrena likhitam iti ||

### 3.4.29 \*NGMPP A 28-6 (NAK 1/1693) Mahābhārata, Śalyaparvan

Palm leaf, 59 × 4.5 cm, 2 string holes, 52 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 142, no. 30).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, *namaskāra*, final rubric, *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 513, Tuesday, November 12th, 1392 CE), scribal stanzas including king, concluding formula, commissioner (Jayasīṃharāma), scribe (Manikarāja, *vajrācārya*).

[55<sup>v</sup>2] iti śubhaṃ | maṃgalamahāśrī | oṃ namo gaṇapataye namaḥ | asyānu gadāparva bha[55<sup>v</sup>3]vati || || oṃ svasti || trayodaśādihike paṃcaśate nepālavatsare, kārttike kṛṣṇapakṣe ca, dvādaśyāṃ ◎ kujavāre || śrījayasthitimallasya paṭṭaba|| ||ddhasya bhūbhujah | rājye nepāladeśe smin\_ likhi|©taṃ śa|| ||lyaparvakam || nepālābhūmaṇḍalarakṣaṇāya, dharāvātīrṇṇo madhu-

keṭanāriḥ | [55<sup>4</sup>] aśeṣasāmantaśiromaṇiśrī, r mahīpatīndro jayasimharāmaḥ || sa puṇyakīrttiḥ sukṛtaika©simḍhur anekarāmasya kulakaratnaṃ | idaṃ mahābhāratam etad evaṃ, vyalilikhat svargaphalapradaṃ ca || śrīma|© nmanikarājena vajrācāryeṇa dhimatā | likhitaṃ śalyaparvvākhyamahābhāratam uttamaṃ ||

1–2 iti śubhaṃ [...] bhavati] ms; om. Petech 2 om svasti] ms; *samvanti* Petech 2–3 trayodaśādhike pañcaśate nepālavatsare kārttike] ms NGMCP; *trayodaśādhikapañcaśate nepālavatsare kārttika°* Petech 4 paṭṭabaddhasya] ms, NGMCP; *paṭṭavaddharmya°* Petech 4 nepāladeśe] ms, Petech; *naipāladeśe* NGMCP 5–6 nepāla° *°tirṇṇo madhukeṭanāriḥ]* ms; *naipāla° °tirṇṇo madhukeṭabhāriḥ* NGMCP; *nepāla° °tirṇṇau madhuke ṭhanāriḥ* Petech 6 *°śiromaṇiśrīr]* ms, NGMCP; *°śiromaṇiśrī°* Petech 7 anekarāmasya kulakaratnaṃ] ms; anaikarāmasya kulekaratnaṃ NGMCP; *anekarāmasya kulakaratnaḥ* Petech 9–10 śalyaparvvākhyamahābhāratam uttamaṃ] om. Petech

### 3.4.30 \*NGMPP A 28-7 (NAK 1/1697) Mahābhārata, Śalyaparvan

Palm leaf, 59 × 5 cm, 2 string holes, 66 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 142, no. 31).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 513, June 30th, 1393), king, concluding formula, scribal stanzas including king and commissioner (Jayasimharāma).

[66<sup>4</sup>] om svasti || trayodaśādhike pañcaśate, nepālavatsare, āśādhakṣṇa-khaṣṭhimi śrījayasthitirā©jamaladevasya paṭṭabaddhasya bhūbhujah | rājye nepāladeśe smin\_ likhitaṃ gadā || [66<sup>5</sup>] parvaṇikaṃ || napāla(!)bhūmaṇḍalarakṣaṇāya, dharāvati || || rṇṇo madhukeṭa[nā]ri ḥ | © aśeṣasāmantaśiromaṇiśrīmahīpatīndro jayasimharāmaḥ || sa puṇyakīrttiḥ sukṛtaikasimḍhur anekarāmasya kulakaratnaṃ | idaṃ mahābhāratam etad evaṃ, vyalilikhat svargaphalapradaṃ ca ||

1 om svasti] om. Petech // nepālavatsare] ms, Petech; *naipālavatsare* NGMCP 2 *°khaṣṭhimi]* ms, NGMCP; *°khaṣṭhyamī* Petech // paṭṭabaddhasya] ms, NGMCP; *paṭṭavaddharmya°* Petech 3 nepāladeśe] ms, Petech; *naipāladeśe* NGMCP 3 napāla°] ms; *nepāla°* Petech; *naipāla°* NGMCP 4 *°tirṇṇo madhukeṭanāriḥ]* ms; *°tirṇṇo madhukeṭabhāriḥ* NGMCP; *°tirṇṇau madhuke ṭhavāriḥ* Petech 6 anekarāmasya kulakaratnaṃ] ms; *anaikarāmasya kulekaratnaṃ* NGMCP; *anekarāmasya kulakarabhe* Petech 6–7 vyalilikhat svargaphalapradaṃ ca] ms, NGMCP; *vyālikhañ ca* Petech



### 3.4.31 NGMPP A 57-24 (NAK 3/363) Gaṇeśastava

Palm leaf, 30 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 13 folios, 4–5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1915, 40), NGMCP.

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 513, c. 1393 CE), *āśīrvāda*, scribal stanza.

[13°4–14°3] śrīyo(!) 'stu || samvat 513 bhādrapadaśuklamaṅgalacaturthī-prapañcamyāṃ sātithau || citranakṣetre(!) || śuddhiyoge || maṅgaladine || || śubha[m astu sa]rvvajagatām | jadi suddhamm aśudham vā || mama doṣo na dīyate || śubha || ❖ namaḥ śi[vā]ya ||

1–2 °caturthīprapañcamyāṃ sātithau] °caturthī prapañcamyāṃyā(!) tithau NGMCP  
2 citranakṣetre] NGMCP; *citranakṣatre* Shastri 3 jadi suddhamm aśudham] NGMCP; *yadi  
śuddham aśuddham* Shastri

### 3.4.32 \*NGMPP C 2-6 (Kesar 14) Padarohaṇa

Palm leaf, 33.5 × 4.8 cm, 1 string hole, 99 folios, 5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Vergiani (2017, 99–100).

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (NS 513, c. 1393 CE), king, place (Kathmandu), *āśīrvāda*.

[98°5] śreyo 'stu nepālo 'bdo tridaśapañcagate | māghakṣṇa[-1-]dakhāyāṃ tithau [-1-][99°1][re] || [rā]jādhirājaparamabhaṭṭarakapameśvaraśrīśrījaya[sthitirāja]-maladevasya vijayarāje [!] | śrīśrīḥ suvarṇṇapanārīḥ na[garyāṃ] samavasthitapātra[śrī][-1-].[i][-2-].[..i][-2-][kha][-7-][99°2][-1-][ti][-1-][sa]mantasarvvadāḥ || \* || \* || [siddham] svasti vaḥ kuruṭtām buddhaḥ svasti devaḥ sarottukāḥ svasti sarvvāṇi bhūtāni sarvvakālaṃ dīśantu vaḥ || buddhapūṇyānu[99°3]

1–2 māghakṣṇa[-1-]dakhāyāṃ tithau [-1-][re] ms; *māghakṣṇa dasāyāṃ tithau[vāre]* Vergiani 2–3 °jaya[sthitirāja]maladevasya] ms; °jaya[sthitī]ma[l]adevasya Vergiani 3 śrīśrīḥ suvarṇṇapanārīḥ] ms; *śrīśrīsuvarṇṇapanārīḥ* Vergiani [-1-].[i][-2-].[..i][-2-][kha][-7-][99°2][-1-][ti][-1-][sa]mantasarvvadāḥ]] ms; om. Vergiani

### 3.4.33 \*NGMPP A 40-19 (NAK 1/1692) Guhyasiddhi

Palm leaf, 31.5 × 4 cm, 1 string hole, 59 folios, 4 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in NGMCP, Petech (1984, 142, no. 32).

Colophon elements: date (NS 514, Saturday, July 4th, 1394), place (Bhaktagrāma), king, scribe (Bhogeśvarakuṭumbaja), commissioner (Jogarāma), final rubric, *āśīrvāda*.

[58<sup>v3</sup>] samvat 514 durākhāḍhamā\se/ śuklapaṣe, pañca[58<sup>v4</sup>]mīya, khaṣṭyāyā tithau \urttaphalguni nakhetre/ pariḡhajoge, śaṅnyaścaravāsare, kraṭarāsthate śaviṭṭ, śiharāśipra, kanyarāsakṣe caṃdramaśi ḥ || [59<sup>v1</sup>] śrīśrī bhaktagrāme, śrīśrījayathitirāṅjamaladevasya vijayarājo, śrībhogeśvarakuṭumbajakramācār-jyaṣitā [[bhāju] jo[59<sup>v2</sup>]garāmabhyāsa, || śrīśrī guhyaśiddhisāṅstra śamāpta ḥ || \* || śravajagatra śukhī bhavantuḥ śubhaḥ [[stu ḥ] m astu ḥ srarvadā ḥ ||]

1 durākhāḍhamāse] ms; *durāṣāḍhamāse* NGMCP; *durākhāḍhamāsa*<sup>o</sup> Petech 2 urttaphalguni nakhetre] ms; *uttaraphalguni nakṣatre* Petech; om. NGMCP 2 pariḡhajoge, śanyaścaravāsare kraṭarāsthate] ms, NGMCP (*kraṭrāsthate*); *pariughajoge śanaiścaravāsare kraḍharāśi gate* Petech 3 śiharāśipra, kanyarāsakṣe caṃdramaśi ḥ] ms, NGMCP; *śimharāśi prakanyarāśi gate candramāśi* Petech 4 °jayathitirājamaladevasya vijayarājo] ms, NGMCP; °*jayathitirājamaladevasya vijayarāje* Petech 4–6 śrībhogeśvara<sup>o</sup> [...] srarvadā ḥ] om. Petech 5 jogarāmabhyāsa] ms; *jogarāmabhāsa* NGMCP; *anekarāmasya kulakarabhe* Petech 6 śubhaḥ] ms; *śabhaḥ* NGMCP

### 3.4.34 \*NGMPP B 18-5 (NAK 1/408) Kirātārjunīya

Palm leaf, 30 × 4.5 cm, 85 folios, 5 lines, Maithili, complete. Described in NGMCP.

Colophon elements: *āśīrvāda*, date (LS 275, c. 1394 CE), scribe (Dhanapati), place (Ālagrāma), *namaskāra*, scribal stanza.

[85<sup>v3</sup>] śubham astu || śrīyām adhvāsam aṅstu tuṃm(!) iti || \* || la saṃ 275 vaiśākha vadi saptamyām budhe śrīdhanapatinā deṣu ālagrāme li[83<sup>v4</sup>]khitam adaḥ(!) pustakam iti || namo bhavate vāsudevāya || [[namo] bhavānīpataye || nāsau na kāmyo na cared asamyag rughūnnamābhinnabarhinokaḥ || vācyāḥ padyam ||]

### 3.4.35 \*NGMPP A 18-17 (NAK 1/1694) Nāgara(ka)sarvasva

Palm leaf, 30 × 4.5 cm, 1 string hole, 13 folios, 4–5 lines, Nepālākṣarā, complete. Described in Shastri (1905, 109–110), NGMCP.

Colophon elements: scribal stanza, date (NS 514, c. 1394 CE?), commissioner (Jayatabhāro), concluding formula, scribe (Nirbbuddhidatarāma? This part of the colophon is a palimpsest), *āśīrvāda*.



sequence of only two or three elements. Only six elements occur in minimal colophons in the manuscripts examined: date, *āśīrvāda*, king, concluding formula, scribe, and scribal stanza. More complex colophons might contain even up to ten different elements.

**Table 7:** Minimal colophon

Type of colophon	Manuscripts
<b>Two elements</b>	
Date, concluding formula	§ 3.2.4 (NGMPP A 1162-15 <i>Upayogakrama</i> )
Date, <i>āśīrvāda</i>	§ 3.3.11 (NGMPP A 53-16 <i>Uṇādivṛtti</i> )
<i>āśīrvāda</i> , date	§ 3.3.14 (NGMPP B 29-22 <i>Sārasaṅgraha</i> )
<b>Three elements</b>	
Date, scribe, <i>āśīrvāda</i>	§ 3.4.6 (NGMPP C 6-22(2) <i>Sundarasena</i> ) § 3.3.22 (NGMPP C 6-22(3) <i>Udāttarāghavanāṭaka</i> )
<i>āśīrvāda</i> , date, <i>āśīrvāda</i>	§ 3.4.2 (NGMPP B 4-6 <i>Kaliyugasamghātaka</i> )
Date, king, scribe	§ 3.1.5 (ASB 10723 <i>Vināyakastavarāja</i> )
Date, king, concluding formula	§ 3.4.1 (NAK 1/1624.4 <i>Yuddhajayārṇava</i> )
Date, scribe, scribal stanza	§ 3.2.13 (NGMPP A 1156-12(1) <i>Upākarmasnānasandhyātaraṇavidhī</i> )

Colophons of Buddhist manuscripts written as devotional gifts have a particularly rich and consistent structure. In this respect, it is noteworthy that two manuscripts of the same work, the *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra* (§ 3.3.16 and 3.3.17), were apparently written by the same scribe, a certain Tumaśrī, who also wrote a manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* (§ 3.3.15). Apparently, all three manuscripts were written in the same year (1374 CE), however the ductus of the *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra* manuscript described in § 3.3.17 is strikingly different to that found in the other two manuscripts. In explaining this discrepancy, two hypotheses may be forwarded: the *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra* with the different ductus was copied by another scribe, who included the colophon of the antigraph in his copy. Alternatively, this manuscript was indeed written by Tumaśrī, but with a different ductus. In other words, why do we always have to assume a scribe wrote with just one writing style? After all, both the paleographical as well as the codicological aspects of this manuscript could be assigned to the fourteenth century and if we had not had the other *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra* manuscript to compare it with, it may just as well be

assumed that its colophon had been written by Tumaśrī. The phenomena of digraphy and polygraphy in South Asian manuscripts have not yet been studied, at least to my knowledge, while the phenomenon of copying colophons alongside the text is well attested.<sup>57</sup> Systematic studies of colophons help in tracing manuscripts written by specific scribes and might enable further paleographical studies of digraphy or polygraphy in South Asian manuscripts.

A major difference between authorial and scribal colophons is language correctness. In the case of authorial colophons, the language used is invariably correct Sanskrit, while in scribal colophons the language oscillates between extremely different degrees of correct usage. In the second *Mahāmeghamahāyānasūtra* manuscript mentioned above (§ 3.3.17), for instance, the Sanskrit is incorrect compared to the other manuscript, a clue that might make us lean in favour of the hypothesis that a different scribe not only copied the whole work, but also Tumaśrī's colophon. Needless to say, it is possible to gauge the correctness of the language used in colophons only if the transcriptions do not contain silent emendations, but previous scholars almost always silently corrected and normalised the language of colophons, as becomes clear from the apparatuses of the diplomatic transcriptions provided in Section 3. Interestingly, there are virtually no occurrences of dual colophons in Sanskrit and Newari, as is often the case in manuscripts written in later centuries. More striking in this respect is their absence even in the case of colophons in manuscripts of Sanskrit/Newari bilingual works such as Māṇikyā's Newari commentaries on the *Nāradaśaṃhitā* and the *Amarakośa* (§ 3.4.3 and 3.4.16).<sup>58</sup> This observation tallies with the fact that these manuscripts transmit the first attested works of Newari literature, which were composed in the first place for a limited readership well versed in Sanskrit.

---

<sup>57</sup> On this topic in Western manuscript studies, see Ceccherini 2010; De Robertis 2013; and Azzetta and Ceccherini 2015.

<sup>58</sup> The authorial colophon of the latter manuscript is edited and translated in Formigatti 2022.

## Abbreviations

### Eras

LS	Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat
NS	Nepāla Saṃvat
ŚS	Śāka Saṃvat

### Institutions and online catalogues

ASC	Asiatic Society, Calcutta
CUDL	Cambridge University Digital Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
NGMCP	Nepalese-German Manuscripts Cataloguing Project

### Printed catalogues and other publications

BSP	<i>Rāshṭriya-Pustakālaya. Nepālarājakīya-Vīrapustakālayasthahastalikhita-pustakānām Bṛhatsūcīpatram</i> , Kathmandu: Vīrapustakālaya, 1960–.
VOHD	<i>Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland</i> , 1961–.

### Dictionaries

Apte	Vaman Shivaram Apte, <i>The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> , Pune: Arya Vijaya Press, 1965.
MW1	Monier Monier-Williams, <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1872.
MW2	Monier Monier-Williams, Ernst Leumann and Carl Cappeller, <i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> , Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.
PW	Otto von Böhtlingk and Rudolf von Roth, <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch</i> , St Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1855.
pw	Otto von Böhtlingk, <i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung</i> , St Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1879.
Wilson	H. H. Wilson, <i>A Dictionary in Sanskrit and English</i> , 2nd edn, Calcutta: Education Press, 1832.

## References

- Acharya, Diwakar (2009), 'Kaliyugasamghātaka: An Ode to the Dark Age', *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, 13: 103–128.
- Acharya, Diwakar (2015), *Early Tantric Vaiṣṇavism: Three Newly Discovered Works of the Pañcarātra: the Svāyambhuvapañcarātra, Devāmṛtapañcarātra and Aṣṭādaśavidhāna: Critically Edited from their 11th- and 12th-Century Nepalese Palm-leaf Manuscripts with an Introduction and Notes* (Collection Indologie, 129), Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichéry.
- Agati, Maria Luisa (2009), *Il libro manoscritto da Oriente a Occidente: per una codicologia comparata* (Nuova Studia archaeologica, 166), Rome: 'Erma' di Bretschneider.
- Azzetta, Luca and Irene Ceccherini (2015), 'Filippo Ceffi volgarizzatore e copista nella Firenze del Trecento', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 56: 99–158.
- Balbir, Nalini (2014), 'Réseaux religieux et familiaux dans les colophons des manuscrits jaina de l'Inde occidentale', in Nalini Balbir and Maria Szuppe (eds), *Lecteurs et copistes dans les traditions manuscrites iraniennes, indiennes et centrasiatiques – Scribes and Readers in Iranian, Indian and Central Asian Manuscript Traditions = Eurasian Studies*, 12: 217–256.
- Balbir, Nalini (2017), 'The Cambridge Jain Manuscripts: Provenances, Highlights, Colophons', in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti (eds) 2017, 47–76.
- Bendall, Cecil (1883), *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palæography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bhaṭṭācāryya, Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara (1900), *Śabda-Sāgara, or, A Comprehensive Sanskrit-English Lexicon: Chiefly Based on Professor Horace Hayman Wilson's Sanskrit-English Dictionary and Compiled from Various Recent Authorities for the Use of Schools and Colleges*, Calcutta: Calcutta Press.
- Bhattacharya, G. (1987), 'Dāna-Deyadharmā: Donations in Early Buddhist Records (in Brahmī)', in *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986* (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst Berlin, 8), Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 39–61.
- Bhattarai, Bidur (2019), *Dividing Texts: Conventions of Visual Text-Organisation in Nepalese and North Indian Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 10), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Bopp, Franz (1867), *Glossarium comparativum linguae sanscritae: in quo omnes sanscritae radices et vocabula usitatissima explicantur et cum vocabulis graecis, latinis, germanicis, lituanicis, slavicis, celticis*, 3rd edn, Berlin: Libraria Dümmleriana (Harrwitz et Gossman).
- Bozzolo, Carla and Ezio Ornato (1980), *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Age: trois essais de codicologie quantitative* (Équipe de recherche sur l'humanisme français des XIVe et XVe siècles. Textes et études, 2), Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique.
- Burnouf, Émile and L. Leupol (1865), *Dictionnaire classique sanscrit-français: où sont coordonnés, révisés et complétés les travaux de Wilson, Bopp, Westergaard, Johnson, etc. Et contenant le dēvanāgarī, sa transcription européenne, l'interprétation, les racines et de nombreux rapprochements philologiques*, Nancy: Chez l'auteur.

- Ceccherini, Irene (2010), 'La cultura grafica di Andrea Lancia', *Rivista di studi danteschi*, 102: 351–367.
- Ciotti, Giovanni and Marco Franceschini (2016), 'Certain Times in Uncertain Places: A Study on Scribal Colophons of Manuscripts Written in Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts', in Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (eds), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 7), Berlin: De Gruyter, 59–130.
- De Robertis, Teresa (2013), 'Una mano tante scritte. Problemi di metodo nell'identificazione degli autografi', in Nataša Golob (ed.), *Medieval Autograph Manuscripts: Proceedings of the XVIIth colloquium of the Comité International de Paléographie Latine held in Ljubljana, 7–10 September 2010* (Bibliologia, 36), Turnhout: Brepols, 17–38.
- Dezső, Csaba (2005), 'Sundarasena: Critical Edition of a Sanskrit Play Preserved in a Fourteenth-Century Nepalese Manuscript', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 45: 173–186.
- Formigatti, Camillo A. (2016), 'Towards a Cultural History of Nepal, 14th–17th Century. A Nepalese Renaissance?', in Elena de Rossi Filibeck et al. (eds), *Studies in Honour of Luciano Petech: A Commemoration Volume 1914–2014 = Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Nuova Serie, 89, Supplemento*, 1: 51–66.
- Formigatti, Camillo A. (2022), 'A Gateway to the Six Languages: Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.1698', in Michael Clarke and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh (eds), *Medieval Multilingual Manuscripts: Case Studies from Ireland to Japan* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 24), Berlin: De Gruyter, 183–197.
- Gambier-Parry, T. R. (1930), *A Catalogue of Photographs of Sanskrit MSS. Purchased for the Administrators of the Max Müller Memorial Fund*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Jinavijaya, Muni (1943), *Purātanasamayalikhita Jainapustakaprasāstisaṅgraha: Pāṭaṇa, Stambhatīrtha, Jesalamera ādi vividhasthāna saṃrakṣita Jaina jñānabhaṇḍāropalabdha purātana pustakastha praśasti evaṃ puṣpikālekha samuccaya. Prathamāvṛtti. Jaina pustaka praśasti saṅgraha: a collection of praśastis and colophons of ancient manuscripts preserved in the Jain bhandaras at Patan, Cambay, Jaisalmer, and other places*, Bombay: Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavana.
- Kölver, Bernhard and Hemaraj Sakya (1985), *Documents from the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra, Pāṭan (Nepalica)*, Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag.
- Lidke, Jeffrey S. (2006), 'Devī's Dance: The Interweaving of Politics, Mysticism, and Culture in Kathmandu Valley', *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, 10/1: 35–57.
- Maniaci, Marilena (2002), *Archeologia del manoscritto: metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente* (Libri di Viella, 34), Rome: Viella.
- Melzer, Gudrun and Eva Allinger (2012), 'Die nepalesische Palmblatthandschrift der Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā aus dem Jahr NS 268 (1148 AD), Teil II\*', *Berliner Indologische Studien*, 20: 249–276.
- Murthy, R. S. Shivaganesha (1996), *Introduction to Manuscriptology*, Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Muzerelle, Denis (1985), *Vocabulaire codicologique. Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits* (Rubricae, 1), Paris: CEMI.
- Ornato, Ezio (1991), 'La codicologie quantitative: outil privilégié de l'histoire du livre médiéval', *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 18: 375–402.
- Ornato, Ezio (2003), 'Libri e colofoni: qualche considerazione', *Gazette du livre médiéval*, 42/1: 24–35.



- Petech, Luciano (1984), *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482)*, 2nd, thoroughly revised edn (Serie Orientale Roma, 54), Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
- Regmi, D. R. (1965), *Medieval Nepal*, 1st edn, 4 vols, Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay.
- Sarma, K. Venkateswara (1992), 'Scribes in Indian Tradition', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 56: 31–46.
- Sarma, Sreeramula Rajeswar (2006), 'Granthāṅkārā', *Brahmavidyā: Adyar Library Bulletin*, 68–70: 271–278.
- Shastri, Hara Prasad (1905), *A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf & Selected Paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta: Printed by the Baptist Mission Press.
- Shastri, Hara Prasad (1915), *A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf & Selected Paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta: Printed by the Baptist Mission Press.
- Shastri, Hara Prasad (1917), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I: *Buddhist Manuscripts* (Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), Calcutta.
- Shastri, Hara Prasad (1934), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII: *Kāvya Manuscripts* (Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal), Calcutta.
- Skilling, Peter (2021), 'Buddhist Sealings and the Ye Dharmā Stanza', in *Precious Treasures from the Diamond Throne: Finds from the Site of the Buddha's Enlightenment*, London: The British Museum Press, 76–86.
- Steiner, Roland (2020), 'Woher hat er das? Zum Charakter des Sanskrit-English Dictionary von Monier-Williams', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 170/1: 107–118.
- Strauch, Ingo (2002), *Die Lekhapaddhati-Lekhapāñcāśikā: Briefe und Urkunden im mittelalterlichen Gujarat: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Glossar (Sanskrit-Deutsch-Englisch)* (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, 16), Berlin: Reimer.
- Tripāṭhī, Chandrabhāl (1975), *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts at Strasbourg* (Indologia Berolinensis, 4), Leiden: Brill.
- Vergiani, Vincenzo (2017), 'A Tentative History of the Sanskrit Grammatical Traditions in Nepal through the Manuscript Collections', in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti (eds) 2017, 77–130.
- Vergiani, Vincenzo, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Alessio Formigatti (eds) (2017), *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages. Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 14), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2004), *Die Palola Śāhis* (Antiquities of Northern Pakistan: Reports and Studies, 5), Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2017), 'On the Early History of Indic Buddhist Colophons', *International Association for Buddhist Thought and Culture*, 27/1: 45–72.
- Wujastyk, Dominik (1985), *A Handlist of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*, London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.
- Yogidevinātha (1953), 'Jñādīpavimarśinī', *Samskṛta Sandeśa*, 1 (10–12): 84–85.



Nalini Balbir

# On the Syntax of Colophons in Jain Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts from Western India

**Abstract:** Based on the colophons found in Jain manuscripts consulted directly during cataloguing-work or in published collections of colophons, the present paper discusses the structure, language, contents, and purpose of this variety of paratexts. They provide rich material for the study of the development of scribal culture from palm-leaf to paper manuscripts. In particular, colophons are a space where Jain actors (laypeople and monastics) display their social and religious presence.

## 1 Introduction

The Jain teachings were transmitted orally for a very long time and at the beginning of the Common Era an important split occurred which led to the formation of two distinct groups: the Śvetāmbaras ('white-clad') and the Digambaras ('sky-clad'). Although they have a lot in common, each had its own literary culture, for they recognize the authority of distinct scriptures. The focus of this paper will be the colophons of Śvetāmbara manuscript culture as appeared in Western India, a large area understood to include what is known as Rajasthan and Gujarat today; Digambara manuscript culture emanating from North India has been the subject of recent investigations.<sup>1</sup> Texts that appear quite late on bear a keen emphasis that oral transmission of the teachings was insufficient and risked incurring more losses than had already been suffered.<sup>2</sup> This scenario took place in the fifth century CE when the Śvetāmbara scriptures were written down during the final collective recitation (*vācanā*) held in Valabhī in Gujarat. Then occasional observations made by various authors around the eleventh century show that manuscripts were available to them. They discuss their variants, their unreliability and point to the fact that some of the manuscripts had been damaged or eaten away by insects. From that time, the production of manuscripts has been an

---

1 Detige 2018.

2 See Balbir 2009.

uninterrupted practice among the Śvetāmbara Jains in the regions considered here. What is called in short ‘Jain manuscripts’ forms an extremely large amount of material. The manuscripts have been preserved in numerous temple-libraries in India and since the last decades of the nineteenth century are also contained in European and American libraries when a search for them was carried out quite systematically. Clearly the manuscripts are valuable for the texts they transmit. However, the manuscripts produced by the Śvetāmbara Jains are also of great interest for their colophons, although not all manuscripts contain them. All manuscripts considered here are in the pothi form. Another manuscript form, known as *guṭakā* or notebook, which has its own specificities, has also been used among Jains particularly in Rajasthan.<sup>3</sup>

Auto-designations of ‘manuscripts’ are found in the colophons of Jain manuscripts. They are mostly *pustaka-* (neuter) or *pustikā* (feminine), the ancestors of Neo-Indian *pothī*, or phonetic variations of the term *prati* (*parati*) ‘copy’, and in rare cases *hastākṣarāṇi* ‘graphemes [drawn] by hand’.<sup>4</sup> But no term is systematically used to designate the colophons in the manuscripts themselves. When there is one, it is *praśasti* ‘praise’.<sup>5</sup> In practice, however, this word is used with a restrictive meaning, introducing series of Sanskrit verses containing information and praise of the lay donor and the monk as a recipient. Modern Indian terminology differentiates between *granthapraśasti* ‘colophon of the work’ written by the author and *lekhakapraśasti* ‘colophon by the scribe’.<sup>6</sup> There are cases in which both were written by the same person: these are autograph manuscripts such as the *Setrujauddhāra*, a Gujarati narrative poem on the Jain pilgrimage place Śatrunjaya, composed in 1670 vs<sup>7</sup> / 1613 CE by a certain Saṃghavī Ṛṣabhadāsa Sāngana in Trambāvati who, in the same place, copied a manuscript of his own work twenty-seven years later.<sup>8</sup> Here, however, the concern is only with the copyists’ statements for which the word colophon is used as a synonym of the term ‘scribal remark’ employed by Tripāṭhī in his *Catalogue of the Strasbourg Jaina manuscripts*, an introduction that is seminal for the field.<sup>9</sup> In Indian publications, another designation for colophons is *puṣpikā*.

3 See Detige 2018.

4 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2064 (Schubring 1944, no. 250), manuscript dated 1945 vs / 1888 CE. References to manuscripts are as follows: city, shelfmark, catalogue (author, date, catalogue entry number).

5 The use of the *praśasti* is discussed in Tripāṭhī 1975, 41–45.

6 Jinavijaya 1943 repeated by von Hinüber 2017.

7 Indigenous dating systems are discussed below in section 4.

8 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2025 (Schubring 1944, no. 677).

9 Tripāṭhī 1975.

Different types of sources are available to the investigator: manuscripts directly seen, manuscript catalogues where the colophons have been provided in full,<sup>10</sup> but also special printed collections of Jain manuscript colophons issued within Jain contexts. The existence of such collections is clear evidence that colophons are a large-scale and striking phenomenon in this specific culture. Differentiating between the two material supports that have been used for manuscripts produced among Śvetāmbara Jains of Western India, Shah's (1937) collection is divided into two sections: one on the colophons of 163 palm-leaf manuscripts (the main centres of production and collection of which were Patan and Cambay in Gujarat and Jaisalmer in Rajasthan) and another one on 1276 colophons of paper manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, Jinavijaya's (1943) collection covers only palm-leaf manuscripts with a total of 111 + 433 entries.<sup>12</sup> Both Shah and Jinavijaya proceed in the same way, supplying the following information for each item: title of the work copied, name of the temple-library where the manuscript is kept and the text of the colophon. Their books are provided with various indices, Shah provides a list of dated manuscripts in chronological order. The oldest colophon both researchers record is dated 927 vs / 870 CE: *Paryuṣaṇā graṃthāgraṃ 1216 saṃvat 927 varṣe Āṣāḍha sudi 11budhe*.<sup>13</sup> '(It was) the Kalpasūtra. Extent: 1216. In the year 927 of the Vikrama era, Wednesday, the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha'. The early date is quite odd. Jinavijaya considered it suspicious and added a question-mark. The youngest palm-leaf manuscript in Shah's collection is dated 1498 vs / 1441 CE. The use of palm-leaf came to an end in the mid-fifteenth century to be superseded by paper. The use of paper, however, had already begun in the late twelfth century. The oldest dated paper manuscript examined by Shah is dated 1236 vs / 1179 CE.

Discussing the grammar of colophons can be done on the basis of a single collection. This method – we maintain – is not easy to apply to the Jain manuscripts as they have been widely dispersed in libraries all over India but also beyond India. Hence the present discussion will be based on material from all the sources mentioned above and cover a wide chronological range. It does not resort

---

**10** E.g., Berlin: Weber 1886–1892 and Schubring 1944; British Library: Balbir et al. 2006; Cambridge: Digital University Library website (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/>); Udine: Balbir 2019. The colophons of Jain manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France have not been included here as the investigation of this collection is still in progress (Nalini Balbir and Jérôme Petit) and its results will be published in another context.

**11** Unless otherwise specified all references given here from Shah 1937 are to the manuscript number of the second section on paper manuscripts.

**12** Used in Balbir 2014 and Chojnacki 2018.

**13** Shah 1937, section I, no. 6 = Jinavijaya 1943, 149, § 399.

to statistics as in order to be meaningful, statistics would have to be based on a unitary corpus. Here the purpose is actually to underline and understand the salient features of the colophons in a large corpus on the basis of representative instances to attempt some preliminary conclusions on the history of colophons, e.g. do clear differences appear between early and later colophons? Do differences arise caused by the use of palm-leaf as opposed to paper - and vice-versa?

## 2 Visual markers and general structure

Palm-leaf manuscripts render a visual continuity between the text copied and the colophon.<sup>14</sup> Mostly there is no space or other visual marker between the two. But in paper manuscripts the colophon often forms an entity that is marked as distinct from what precedes. The most common means used to achieve this is red ink, to contrast sharply with the ordinary default black. Red is also the usual emphaser for other paratexts such as the initial homage formulas or verse numbers and punctuation (*daṇḍas*).<sup>15</sup> The colophon is usually of the same hand and in the same script as the text copied. However, some cases exist in which the colophon is written by the same hand yet in a cursive script.

The basic components of a colophon in its fullest form are: title of the work that has been copied preceded by *iti* and followed, or not, by *samāptam* or *pūrṇam* ‘ended, completed’ – extent of the work (*granthāgra*)<sup>16</sup> – date – place<sup>17</sup> – copyist’s name – donor – recipient – benedictory phrases – scribal maxims. But all possible variations of this pattern are available, with combinations, expansions or elements not mentioned. This paper is not a treatise on colophons, and therefore does not discuss each and every component of this format, which, basically, is no different to colophons in Indian manuscripts outside the Jain milieu.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., London, British Library, Or. 1385 (Balbir et al. 2006, no. 158–159), and Cambay collection palm-leaf manuscript dated 1184 vs / 1127 CE (Punyavijaya 1961, 25).

<sup>15</sup> E.g., London, British Library, Or. 13524 (Balbir et al. 2006, no. 747).

<sup>16</sup> *granthāgra*, *granthaparimāna* or the like: number of *akṣaras* per line, number of lines per page. Product multiplied by number of pages and divided by 32: see Balbir 2017, 49.

<sup>17</sup> Mentions of place-names in our colophons are not systematic. When present, they refer to the name of the village or the town, whether high centres of Jain culture in Rajasthan and Gujarat, or small places often difficult to identify. The name of the specific area or building may be added, e.g. Udine, FP4476 (Balbir 2019, no. 229): *śrīUdepura dharmasālā madhyai*. The seemingly abstract formula ‘with the favour of/thanks (*°prasādāt*) to the Jina X’ in fact means that the copy was done at the temple, or at one temple, dedicated to this Jina found in the locality.

Instead, the focus is on features worthy of note and more conspicuous in this particular tradition.

In addition, a post-colophon unit, mostly written by a later hand or one different to the rest, may follow often containing information on the ownership, re-appropriation or inclusion of the manuscript into a collection (see below).

### 3 Language of the colophons

The legacy of Jain manuscripts contains a large variety of texts and the Jain tradition has never been associated with one specific language to the exclusion of others, at least since the point at which manuscripts became available. This has had some effect on the language used in the colophons. During the palm-leaf manuscript phase, the following classes of works are represented: canonical works in Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit, early verse and prose commentaries on these works in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, all kinds of literary compositions in Prakrit (stories, didactic literature, hymns of praise), Sanskrit commentaries on all types of works and Sanskrit literary compositions. During the paper manuscript phase all these categories continued to be represented, despite a decrease regarding early Prakrit commentaries, to which the immense production of vernacular commentaries in Old Gujarati is added as well as creative writing in this language, resulting in an extremely broad range of works.

In palm-leaf manuscripts, isolated instances exist in which the language of the colophons is Prakrit for a Prakrit work. A manuscript containing the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, a Jain canonical work in Ardhamāgadhī, ends with two Māhārāṣṭrī verses saying:

*Maṃḍaliya-samāvāsiya-lekhaka-Sohiya-nāmeṇa*  
*suhī-sajjaṇ'ikka-vallabha-ṭhakkura-Kesava-su-putteṇa 1*  
*saṃvat bāra-chattisai [1236] Māghamāsa-sukila-pakkhammi*  
*tīyāe sukka-vārāe phuḍaṃ lihiyā vara-putthiyā esā 2*

This excellent manuscript was copied in a very clear manner on the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha (November–December) in the year 1236 vs / 1179 CE by the son of the chief Kesava, who is so affectionate to good people and friends, the copyist/scribe named Sohiya, resident of Maṃḍali.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Cambay, Punyavijaya 1961, 102, no. 77 = Jinavijaya 1943 § 101 (with slight variations in vs. 1a which is metrically problematic).

In another case, however, a Prakrit verse provides the date of copy and the information is repeated in a short Sanskrit sentence:

*ekkārasasu saesum̐ chāsī(e) samahiesu varisāṇam̐  
Magasira-paṃcami-some lihiyam̐ iṇam̐ Parigahapamāṇam̐ [...]  
saṃvat 1186 [1129 CE] Mārgasira vadi 5 some likhitam̐ iti.<sup>19</sup>*

It was copied in 1186 on the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Mārgasiras, a Monday.

Aside from such limited cases, the language of colophons in palm-leaf manuscripts is predominantly Sanskrit, whether prose or verse. Detailed verse-colophons, which are extremely informative about the actors involved in the process of manuscript production as we will see, are conspicuous at this stage. During the paper phase, they do not disappear but tend to decrease and seem to be predominantly found in manuscripts of the early stage, i.e. late fourteenth/fifteenth century. They form *kāvya*-like pieces with occasionally rare vocabulary and a tendency to use uncommon verbal forms. Otherwise, the prose form which was already spread in the palm-leaf manuscript phase tends to become the rule.

In the vast majority of paper manuscripts, from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, the language of the prose colophons is overwhelmingly intended to be Sanskrit (it may be often grammatically incorrect), independent of the language of the text copied (Prakrit, Sanskrit, Gujarati, Rajasthani, etc.). Post-colophon paratexts are usually written in the vernacular, very often from another later hand, focusing especially on ownership, a kind of information that is not systematically given. Two examples of such post-colophons are: *Vorā-Rupāḍekarajī nu pustaka che*<sup>20</sup> (This is the manuscript of Vorā Rupāḍekara), *prati ṛṣi Dhannā ṛṣiNaṃdā kī bhaṃḍāra mukī chai* (written in black ink and smaller script)<sup>21</sup> (The monk Dhannā deposited the manuscript in the library of monk Nandā), and *śrī Thāra. Hirajī ni bhaṃḍāra rakṣaṇika sā. Rāghavajī lekhaka bha. Jivarāja, Khaṃbhāyati nā bhaṃḍāra nī prati cha*<sup>22</sup> (Mr. Rāghava is the keeper of the collection of Mr. Hira, the copyist is Jivarāja; this is a manuscript of the Cambay collection).

The language of the colophon *stricto sensu* in paper manuscripts is Sanskrit containing some peculiarities. Dozens feature unexpected spellings of words very common in colophons such as *saṃvat*,<sup>23</sup> *samāpta* or *sampūrṇa* written as *samāta*

<sup>19</sup> Patan, Dalal 1937 p. 392 = Jinavijaya 1943 § 30.

<sup>20</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 885 (Weber 1886, no. 1748).

<sup>21</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1000 (Weber 1888, no. 1824).

<sup>22</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 771 (Weber 1888, no. 2020).

<sup>23</sup> Tripāthī 1975, 28.

(hybrid Prakrit Sanskrit) or *saṃpuraṇa*, *saṃpūna*, *liṣattaṃ*, *laṣyāpita* ‘commissioned to be written’,<sup>24</sup> *tata-putra* for *tat-putra* ‘his son’, *madhe* for *madhye* ‘in, at’, or variant spellings of the names of days and months.<sup>25</sup> The nasalization of vowels in endings or within the words is also a well attested phenomenon, e.g. *gacchem*.<sup>26</sup> The Sanskrit of the colophons is subject to vernacular influence from the scribe’s first language: instead of *X varṣe* ‘in the year X’, the phrase *saṃ 1932 nā varṣa*<sup>27</sup> uses a Gujarati counterpart with the genitive postposition ‘in the year of 1932 vs / 1875 CE’ but, in Schubring 1944, no. 136, continues with Sanskrit for the place name (*madhye*), and the usual phrase *likhitam grantham* with the instrumental of the scribe’s name. On the other hand, *saṃvat 1945 kā varṣe*<sup>28</sup> [1888 CE] is the corresponding Hindi version. A step further is the use of the word *miti*, with variants in the length of the *i*. This word, based on the Skt. locative *mite* ‘measured’ is commonly used in Jain paper manuscripts colophons and inscriptions as an indeclinable noun meaning ‘date’ (like the Nepali word)<sup>29</sup> or even ‘year’. It can be employed alone or followed by the month, fortnight, and day. Phrases such as *saṃvat 1782* [1725 CE] *rā varṣe miti*,<sup>30</sup> *saṃvat 1941 / 1884 CE rā miti*<sup>31</sup> or *saṃvat 1950* [1893 CE] *rā miti*,<sup>32</sup> show the Rajasthani substratum of the scribe’s language through the genitive postposition. These are instances of how a colophon’s (and inscription’s) technical language is being shaped, parallel to the ordinary usage. This can lead to occasional coinage of a special vocabulary. One such word is the Skt. locative *karmavāṭyāṃ* used in some colophons of paper manuscripts from the fifteenth century onwards at the place where *tithau* would occur within the structural module devoted to expressing the date.<sup>33</sup> Listed wrongly among place names in some catalogues, it is not a ghost word, but was recorded in Hemacandra’s synonymic lexicon in the twelfth century, the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (II.61), among words referring to time vocabulary and may

24 For instance, Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1011 (Weber 1888, no. 1846).

25 Chart for both in Tripāṭhi 1975, 384.

26 E.g., Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2086 (Schubring 1944, no. 167).

27 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1807 (Schubring 1944, no. 136); Berlin, Ms.or.8° 524 (Schubring 1944, no. 339).

28 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2064 (Schubring 1944, no. 250).

29 Strasbourg, Wickersheimer 4469 (Tripāṭhi 1975, no. 151 p. 387) and Wickersheimer 4493 (no. 155 p. 388).

30 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2000 (Schubring 1944, no. 175).

31 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2466 (Schubring 1944, no. 713).

32 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2380 (Schubring 1944, no. 27).

33 Balbir 2011 is fully devoted to this word. The content is only briefly summarized here.

understood as ‘civil day’, parallel to *karmamāsa* and *karmasaṃvatsara* and equivalent to *karmadivasa* attested in astronomical treatises in particular.

In addition, cases of hybridity through the borrowing of vernacular forms have been well attested in the colophons: in the phrase *pastāliṣa* (= *pistāliṣa*) *āgamasūtravṛttipustakaṃ kāritaṃ*<sup>34</sup> (‘this manuscript of 45 sūtras and commentaries was commissioned’), the number is the Hindi or Gujarati word and not the Sanskrit one. One can thus discuss as to what extent *vācanārthaṃ* should be differentiated from *paṭhanārthaṃ*. Should the first one mean ‘for recitation’ in a loud voice and the second one ‘for reading’? In my opinion, two parameters have to be taken into account to understand this: the identity of the recipient of the manuscript and the specificity of the Sanskrit used in colophons. If the recipient is a Jain monk, *vācanārthaṃ* could perhaps refer to public recitation, during the sermons which punctuate Jain daily religious life. There is, however, no way to prove this. The hypothesis would be less likely if the recipient were a lay person. On the other hand, *vācanā* in these contexts could also be a transposition of the Gujarati verb *vāṃcavum* ‘to read’, so both verbal stems would mean the same. When both terms appear together, *paṭhanārthaṃ vācanārthaṃ*,<sup>35</sup> they could refer to two different actions but, understood against the background of the general phraseology, they could well be equivalent.

The syntax of the Jain colophons – viewed in its linguistic aspects – is another feature worthy of note. To some extent the Sanskrit sentence is deconstructed. In a sentence like *gaṇiHitasamudra Oghaniryuktisiddhānta saṃpūrṇa lilekhayāṃ cakre*<sup>36</sup> (‘Gaṇi Hitasamudra wrote the complete canonical work Oghaniryukti’), the use of the periphrastic perfect contrasts with the absence of any nominal ending. In short formulas such as *liṣataṃ mahātmā Mānasimgha*,<sup>37</sup> ‘copied by mahātmā Mānasimgha’ or *liṣataṃ Pāṇḍe Dāsū*,<sup>38</sup> which are rather frequent, juxtaposition becomes the rule, even though here the absence of ending occurs in an otherwise ordinary Sanskrit syntax. The absence of ending is no hindrance when the statement is simple and straightforward. But a structure of this kind can also apply in an expanded way to situations involving several actors of different status, as in the following instance where juxtaposition prevails: *saṃvat 1806* [1749 CE] *varṣye Caitra sudi 1 dinem vāra bhaume sakalabhaṭṭāraka*

34 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1905 (Schubring 1944, no. 35).

35 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2274 (Schubring 1944, no. 186).

36 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1067 (Weber 1888, no. 1923).

37 Strasbourg, Wickersheimer 4510 (Tripāthī 1975, no. 68): *saṃvat 1794 Poṣa-māse śubhe śuklapakṣe tithyau pūrṇimāyāṃ sūryavāsare liṣataṃ mahātmā Mānasimgha Āmbāvati-nagara-madhye*.

38 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 989 (Weber 1892, no. 1960).

*purim̐dara-bhaṭṭāraka śrī108 śrīśrīVijayaprabhasūrīśvara tatsīṣya paṃḍitaśrīHemavijayagaṇi tatsīṣya paṃḍitaśrīGangavijayagaṇi tatsīṣya paṃ. Gajavijayagaṇi tatsīṣya Harṣajī vā. śrīBeṃnātaṭṭeṃ śrīŚāntināthaprasādāt śrīVidhipakṣagaccheṃ śrāvaka sā. Rūpā sūta Rājasī liṣāvītaṃ.*<sup>39</sup> Casual endings are present in expressions of circumstance: locative for date, copying place (*Beṃnātaṭṭeṃ*), sectarian affiliation (*Vidhipakṣagaccheṃ*, i.e. the Śvetāmbara religious order also known as Añcalagaccha), ablative for the indication of the favouring Jina (*Śāntināthaprasādāt*) under whose auspices the copying has been undertaken, amounting, in practice, to designating the temple dedicated to him in the locality previously named. But the commissioner, the layman Rājasī, is just named, and his location in the family ('son of') is not expressed through any grammatical link. This absence of any grammatical marker is even more conspicuous when naming and locating the monk involved: his name, Harṣajī vācaka, comes at the end of a genealogical string. His precise role in the manuscript production is not grammatically expressed, but it is easily understood from the modular structure of colophons: the layman is the commissioner, the monk is the instigator. So having the latter's name followed by *°upadeśāt* as may be done to refer to the instigating monk (see examples above) becomes unnecessary. This example is representative of the general situation in colophons. Such phenomena testify to a language in a transitional phase, but they are also in tune with the modular structure of colophons and their regular formal pattern. In extreme cases of hybridity, the balance Sanskrit / vernacular is in favour of the latter: *bāi Dhanakuyara ne ātama arthe laṣyo che Surata-baṃdare śrīŚāntinātha-prasādāt, saṃvat 192x nā Vesāṣa vada 11 dīne muni-Vidyāvīje lapīkṛtaṃ Navapurā-madhye Loḍiposāla ne upāsare comāso (ra)hā tāre laṣī che,*<sup>40</sup> 'he copied for Mrs. Dh., for her own sake, copied in Surat, with Śāntinātha's favour, on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the dark fortnight of V. in the year 192x by monk Vidyāvījaya. He wrote (the ms., i.e. *prati*) in the area Navapurā while he was staying in the monastic hall L. for the rainy season'. Here Sanskrit is present only through traces. On the other hand, the repetition of the verb 'copy' in three different forms makes the wording rather awkward, if not confusing.

<sup>39</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2073 (Schubring 1944, no. 287).

<sup>40</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2511 (Schubring 1944, no. 420).

## 4 Dates, Jain religious calendar, historical data

The first type of information expected in a colophon is the date. But this was apparently not an indispensable element in the eyes of the scribes, as there are several instances of detailed colophons featuring no date. The year is always expressed in reference to the Vikrama era, whether this point of reference is explicit or not, so that *saṃvat* means Vikrama saṃvat (– 56/57 = date according to CE). Optionally, the current year of the Śāka era can be given as well (+ 77/78 = date according to CE). The number is given either as digits or expressed in words through chronograms (*bhūtasamkhyas*). Both appearing together in the same manuscript is quite uncommon. One example is the Berlin manuscript in which the year as well as further information, copyist's name and place of copy, is expressed first in a verse and then repeated in a prose sentence:

*śrīŚāṃtināthasya mudā caritraṃ  
lipikṛtaṃ Labdhisudhāṃśunā hi  
suRohitāse vararāgayuktaṃ  
gaja-ṛttu-śaileṃdu-mite hi vatsare 1  
likhitaś cāyaṃ sakala-vibudha-gaṇa-tridaśa-surapati-samāna-paṃḍita-  
śrī21śrījītacāṃdragāṇi-śiṣya-muniLabdhicāṃdreṇa Rohitāsanagare paṃ-  
śrī5śrīRūpakamalajī-pārśve saṃvat 1768 varṣe Kārttika sudi 3 dine.<sup>41</sup>*

The date is expressed in words in the verse and repeated in digits in the prose part: *indu* 'moon' = 1, *śaila* 'mountain' = 7, *ṛtu* 'season' = 6, *gaja* 'elephant' (associated with the directions) = 8, i.e. 1768 / 1711 CE.

Although chronograms are more frequent in verse than in prose colophons, they are by no means restricted to verses. In the fullest form, the year is followed by the name of the month, description of the fortnight (dark / bright), the serial number of the lunar day (*tithi*) and the day of the week: *saṃvat 1227 varṣe Mārgasira sudi 11 śanau*<sup>42</sup> 'In the year 1227 vs / 1170 CE, in the month M. (= November–December) on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the bright half, a Saturday' in a palm-leaf manuscript is the prevalent format attested without interruption throughout, in paper manuscripts as well. The fortnight is indicated by the indeclinable abbreviations *sudi* (for *śuddha* or *śukla-dine/divase*) and *vadi* (for *bahula-dine/divase*). All possible synonyms are used for the names of the months and of the days, e.g. *ravi-vāre* or *āditya-vāre* for Sun-day, etc.<sup>43</sup> References to astrological conjunctions are

<sup>41</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1954 (Schubring 1944, no. 204, *Śāntināthacaritra* in Gujarati by Jñānasāgara).

<sup>42</sup> Jinavijaya § 91 p. 110.

<sup>43</sup> See the chart in Tripāṭhī 1975, 384.

also found occasionally, as well as information on the time of the day.<sup>44</sup> Less common are the colophons indicating the time that was necessary for the completion of the work copied: *saṃvat 1643 ... Bhādrapada vadi 5 dine ārābhya saṃvat 1644 Phāguna śudi 13 dine ... saṃpūrṇā* ‘started on the fifth day of the dark half of Bhādrapada in 1643 vs / 1786 CE and completed on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the bright half of Phāguna in 1644 vs / 1787 CE, thus about 5 months for this 187 folio manuscript.<sup>45</sup> When additional information relating to time is occasionally found it is more context-specific. A monk copyist would then say his copying work was done in the month of Śrāvaṇa (= July–August) when stationed at the locality for the rainy-season:<sup>46</sup> *granthāgraṃ 9500 ślokaṃānena yathā. likhitaṃ śrī-Vikāneramadhye saṃvat 1888 varṣe śāke 1753 pravarttamāne Śrāvaṇamāse śuklapakṣe pūrṇimā 15 tithau, kujavāsare, caturmāsikṛtaḥ*<sup>47</sup> ‘Size in ślokas 9500. Copied in Bikaner in 1888 of the Vikrama era / 1831 CE, 1753 of the current Śāka era, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, on the full moon day, a Tuesday,<sup>48</sup> he was spending the rainy-season’. Such mentions are rather frequent.<sup>49</sup> For Jain monks, this period of four months (from July to November) is a special one as it is the only time of the year when monastic regulations recommend they stay in the same place rather than go on with their wandering life. It is a period of more leisure both for intellectual work and interaction with lay followers resident in the area. It is almost a standard of reference in time-counting. Thus it is not surprising to see another copyist monk declaring the completion of his task coincided with his sixteenth rainy season, that is to say his sixteenth year of religious life: *saṃvat 1816 varṣe Śrāvaṇa sudi 10 dinem śukravāsareṃ laṣitaṃ sakalapaṃḍitapūjya ṛṣi śrī5Velajijī vidyamāṃna cīraṃjivī tatśiṣya muṃni Devacandreṇa lipikṛtaṃ śrīMāṃḍavībindare comāso solamo kīdhāṃ chatāṃ*<sup>50</sup> ‘Copied in the year 1816 vs / 1759 CE, on the tenth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, a Friday, by the monk Devacandra, pupil of the venerable pandits among all, Velajī, who was then active – may he have a long life – in Māṃḍavībindara, when he was spending his sixteenth rainy-season’.

<sup>44</sup> See respectively Strasbourg, Wickersheimer 4387 (Tripāṭhi 1975, no. 58 p. 386) and Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2422 (Schubring 1944, no. 926: *prathamaprahare saṃpūrṇam*).

<sup>45</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1341 (Weber 1888, no. 1905: manuscript of the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* and *dīpikā*).

<sup>46</sup> See also the examples given in the Section on language.

<sup>47</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 722 (Weber 1888, no. 1853).

<sup>48</sup> *Kuja* ‘born from the earth’ = Mars.

<sup>49</sup> Shah 1937, no. 609 dated 1655 vs / 1598 CE: *X caturmāsakasthiteṇa śrīNāṇānagare*; Shah 1937, no. 621, no. 708; *caturmāsam kṛtvā*, no. 1193.

<sup>50</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2383 (Schubring 1944, no. 1072).

When the completion day corresponds to a Jain festival, this may be taken note of in the colophon. Two circumstances are noteworthy. One is the Akṣayaṭṭiyā festival which takes place on the third day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha (April–May) and has been a date in the Jain religious calendar since the tenth century having been connected with the first proper gift of food offered by Prince Śreyāṃsa to the first Jina Rṣabha. One example is: *saṃvat 1492 varṣe* [1435 CE] *Vaiśākhe ikṣuṭṭiyāyāṃ alekhi* (colophon of the mūla); *saṃvat 1492 varṣe Vaiśākhe śuklapakṣe Akṣayaṭṭiyāyāṃ likhitā Sādhuvīraṅgaṇinā likhitā-tmapaṭhanārthaṃ* (colophon of the commentary).<sup>51</sup> *ikṣuṭṭiyāyāṃ*, if the reading is correct, would be a substitute for the expected *Akṣayaṭṭiyāyāṃ*, and refers to the gift associated with this holy day, namely sugar-cane (*ikṣu*). Another one is: *iti śrīKṣetrasamāsaprakaraṇaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ || saṃvat 1644 varṣe* [1584 CE] *Vaiśāṣa sudi Akṣaṭṭiyādīne gurau vāre śrīPattane lipīkṛtaiṣā paratiḥ || Ichall śubhaṃ bhavatu leṣakavācakayoḥ*.<sup>52</sup> The second sacred date often taken note of in colophons is the festival of knowledge (*jñānapaṃcamī*) closely connected with manuscript restoration, copy and diffusion. In the following instance, the colophon records the fact that the manuscript copied had been presented by a pious layman to a monk at the conclusion of this festival: (...) *vā. Cāritrasimha-gaṇivarāṇāṃ (...)* *suśrāvaka Co. Māidāsena śrīJñānapaṃcamy-udyāpane idaṃ śrīĀcārāṅgavṛttipustakaṃ pratilābhitaṃ* ‘The good layman Māidāsa got this manuscript of the *Ācārāṅga* commentary presented to the excellent head-monk Cāritrasimha on the occasion of the completion of Knowledge Fifth’.<sup>53</sup> Occasionally other significant dates of the Jain religious calendar, such as Dipāvālī or Maunaikādaśī are also mentioned.<sup>54</sup> Completion of a fast is another special occasion for celebration which may be marked by commissioning a manuscript to be offered to the religious teacher. Thus in 1570 vs / 1513 CE a whole family offered a manuscript of the *Upāsakadaśāṅga* for the completion of a fourteen days fast.<sup>55</sup>

New trends in Jain religious life are both evidenced and supported by manuscript colophons. At the end of an Oxford manuscript of the *Mahānīśithasūtra*

51 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2615 (Schubring 1944, no. 780).

52 Udine, FP4450 (Balbir 2019, no. 62: *Laghukṣetrasamāsa*); see also Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2414 (Schubring 1944, no. 1089: *Baiśāṣamāsasubhaśuklapakṣe tithau 3 aṣaṭṭī. 3 liṣaṭaṃ*); Shah 1937, no. 307, no. 326, no. 798.

53 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1694 (Schubring 1944, no. 3: second hand colophon). Other examples: Shah 1937, no. 42 (1504 vs / 1447 CE), no. 63 (*paṃcamyudyāpanaṃ kurvatā*, 1511 vs / 1454 CE), no. 617 (dated 1656 vs / 1599 CE).

54 See respectively Shah 1937, no. 413 *Kārttika vadi Dipālikādīne*; no. 801 *Mauna ekādaśadīne* (1710 vs / 1653 CE).

55 Shah 1937, no. 265 (*caturdaśī udyāpane*).

copied in 1834 vs / 1777 CE it becomes evident that it was a collective undertaking, commissioned by a group of laywomen residing in Surat following the instigation of the monk Uttamavijayaḡaṇi: *paṃcacatvāriṃśad-āgama-tapodyāpana-nimittam idaṃ sūtraṃ śrīSūratibaṃḡira-vāstaya-śrāvika-samudāyair likhāpitaṃ paṃ. ŚrīUttamavijayaḡaṇi-upadeśāt* “For the completion of the Forty-five Āgama-fast a group of Jain laywomen residing in Surat got this sacred text copied, following the instigation of the monk Uttamavijayaḡaṇi”.<sup>56</sup> It was copied to conclude the fast called ‘45 Āgamas’. This must be understood in a wider religious context. From the seventeenth century onwards, the number of canonical scriptures recognized as authoritative became an issue for two opposing Śvetāmbaras groups: the so-called image-worshippers (Mūrtipūjakas) who admitted 45 works, and those against image-worship (the Sthānakavāsins) who admitted only 32 works, considering the remaining 13 as not genuine. Special fasts and ceremonies developed around the worship of the 45 canonical scriptures admitted by the image-worshippers and were promoted by leading monastic figures of the group. These rituals are a way of publicly asserting their sectarian identity. Uttamavijayaḡaṇi, the instigator of the manuscript’s copying, is a teacher and author known from other sources to have played a significant role in promoting such ritualized worships. The text in this manuscript is a work whose authority has been disputed among Śvetāmbaras and admitted as canonical only in the list of the image-worshippers. This gives even more significance to the monk’s gesture in encouraging this copy and make it the focus of a worship.

The outside world presents itself in the mention of contemporary political leaders, usually medieval sultans, the Moghol emperors (*pātasāhi*) with the recurring compound *X-vijayarāḡje* ‘during the victorious reign of X’ e.g. *pātasāhasrīMahamadavijayarāḡje*,<sup>57</sup> *Alāvaddina*,<sup>58</sup> *pātasāhi Akabara*,<sup>59</sup> *pātasāhi śrīJāhāṃḡira*<sup>60</sup> or regional kings such as *Kumbhakarāṇa*.<sup>61</sup> However, briefly they occur, they are a means for positive acknowledgement of the support, or at least benevolence of these figures.

<sup>56</sup> *Mahāniśitha* manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library.

<sup>57</sup> E.g., Shah 1937, no. 2 (dated 1313 vs / 1256 CE).

<sup>58</sup> E.g., Shah 1937, no. 35 (dated 1502 vs / 1445 CE).

<sup>59</sup> E.g., Shah 1937, no. 550 (1645 vs / 1588 CE), no. 553 (1646 vs / 1589 CE).

<sup>60</sup> E.g., Shah 1937, no. 689 (1605 vs / 1548 CE).

<sup>61</sup> E.g., Shah 1937, no. 83 (dated 1515 vs / 1458 CE).

## 5 Prosopography of the actors

Jain manuscript colophons provide copious material for a prosopographic study of the actors involved in the manuscript commissioning, copying and usages, for their wealth in anthroponyms. This chapter could have been enormous but significant results would require a complete, if not exhaustive, database. Here only a few salient features will be described, to be completed with material from the paper's other sections. Basic syntactic patterns involve a two-person formula: the copyist (instrumental case) and the recipient (genitive case, 'for the reading of', 'for the good of'). Copyists are very often mendicants or laypeople (see here *pas-sim*) but there are also numerous examples of persons who are non-Jain professional scribes indicated by their names or caste-identification: *leṣaka Kanhā, kāyastha Māthura Sudarśanena, Josī Jagannātha, Joṣī Pitāmbara, Joṣī Ṣopā, Josī Poyā, Paṇḍayā Śaṃkar*.<sup>62</sup> All the works these persons copied are central works of the Jain tradition.

In a three-person formula the commissioner's name is also included. A frequent variant of this pattern includes the spiritual teacher's name who acted as instigator (the genitive, often followed by *°upadeśāt*) followed by the name of the copyist (instrumental), in these instances, usually a monk. The number of names is easily increased in complex colophons which, in their maximal form, include spiritual genealogies on the one hand and genealogies of Jain lay followers' families on the other (see below). In such extensive patterns the names are often listed in juxtaposition, with minimal information on how the persons relate to each other, sometimes at the cost of clarity. Mendicants within the Jain community can be located through their sectarian affiliation indicated by the name of their monastic order, their *gaccha* in Śvetāmbara contexts. Ideally it is possible to cross-check the data either with other manuscript colophons or via inscriptions, completed and supported by material found in detailed compilations of monastic order history such as the invaluable works by Vinayasagar (2005, for all that relates to the Kharataragaccha), Pārśva (1968, for the Añcalagaccha), etc., to delineate the figure and activities of given mendicants more precisely. But the colophons are intended primarily for internal use and the *gaccha* name is frequently absent. In such cases religious titles may enable a more precise location: e.g. *ṛṣi* in Śvetāmbara environments plausibly points to Sthānakavāsins in monastic

---

<sup>62</sup> See respectively Shah 1937, no. 106; no. 705 (1671 vs / 1614 CE; Māthura is the name of one subcaste of the Kāyasthas, who are well-known for their role as professional scribes); no. 638 (1659 vs / 1602 CE); no. 229 (1557 vs / 1500 CE); no. 203 (1550 vs / 1493 CE); no. 232 (1557 vs / 1500 CE); no. 282 (1572 vs / 1515 CE).

orders.<sup>63</sup> The importance of name-patterns has been emphasised and explored at length by P. Flügel (2018). The corresponding procedure for locating Jain lay followers would be to indicate their place of residence (*°vāstavaya*) but what is found seems to refer to the person's geographic origin rather than their residence at the time the name is recorded in a colophon. Location in society is indicated via caste affiliation (*jñāti*, *jāti*). Recurrences of a given caste affiliation and a given monastic affiliation in different manuscript colophons (or inscriptions) show privileged relationships between lay families and mendicants. Ties of a different kind emerge when the mendicant was actually a member of the indicated family in his pre-monastic life.

To assess the presence of women in manuscript production through the examination of colophons correctly, requires the compilation of statistics to avoid exaggerations or minimisations. The first step has been approached here based on the material available in Shah's collection of paper manuscript colophons (part 2 in 1937). The index of *ācāryas* and other male mendicants' names occupy 23 two-column pages, whereas just one two-column page suffices in listing the *sādhvīs'* names. Nuns feature as readers of manuscripts copied by their male colleagues or professional scribes in just 17 from a total of 1276 colophons.<sup>64</sup> The following case is remarkable because it records a nun as instigator in the copying process and a laywoman as reader: *sakalasādhvimukhyapravarapradhāna sādhvī śrīMāñikyāśrīvacanāt samastāśrāvīkāmukhya śrīKalyāṇabāī vācanakṛte*.<sup>65</sup> Here the nun's name is accompanied by praising epithets, which is extremely rare, as usually there is no more than *sādhvī* (or *āryā*). From 109 versified palm-leaf manuscript colophons (*praśastis*) collected in Jinavijaya (1943) only one records a nun as head of a group (*gaṇinī*) and instigator of copying a manuscript intended for a monk locating the nun within a monastic group of male colleagues.<sup>66</sup> Only three colophons in Shah 1937 show nuns as copyists. A simple format example is *sādhvī Dayāsundarījī celī Prabhāvatī likhitaṃ* 'Copied by P., disciple of the nun D.'<sup>67</sup> A Berlin manuscript colophon records a nun as copyist, giving her monastic lineage, and stating that she copied both the *Gotamapṛcchā*,

<sup>63</sup> E.g. Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 674 (Weber 1888, no. 1835); Ms.or.fol. 817 (Weber 1888, no. 1856); British Library, Or. 7621(D) (Balbir et al. 2006, no. 261) and I.O.San. 1564e (no. 274: Āvaśyaka formulas specific to two different Lonkāgacchas).

<sup>64</sup> Shah 1937, nos 95, 106, 362, 437, 477, 520, 673, 695, 697, 703, 705, 854, 859, 990, 992, 1029, 1263.

<sup>65</sup> Shah 1937, no. 896 (dated 1717 VS / 1660 CE).

<sup>66</sup> Jinavijaya 1943, no. 25 (1292 VS / 1235 CE). See Balbir 2014, 241 for more details.

<sup>67</sup> Shah 1937, no. 709. The two other examples are nos 143 and 223.

a Prakrit work and its Gujarati commentary for her own reading.<sup>68</sup> A colophon in the Udine manuscript collection states that the nun Gulāvoji (probably a Sthānakavāsīn nun given the title *mahāsati*) copied the *Dasagīta*, a vernacular rendering of the *Daśavaikālikasūtra* by Jaitasī for her disciple to read.<sup>69</sup> Although the authors of Jain works were predominantly monks, or to a lesser degree male lay followers, isolated instances of nuns in this role. They emerge as more colophons are unearthed. Thus, a Jayalabdhī *gaṇinī* appears as redactor of a commentary on Devendrasūri's *Śataka*, a Karma work.<sup>70</sup> Her title indicates she was the head of a group of nuns. Thus proofs of nuns' literacy and their interest in the transmission of knowledge do exist but appear not to be prevalent. On the other hand, female Jain lay followers (*śrāvikā*) are prominent in the role of manuscript recipients as readers. Their names are often accompanied with praising epithets stating their pious personality with the frequent phrase *suśrāvikā puṇya-prabhāvikā*,<sup>71</sup> and more rarely with expanded variants such as *suśrāvikā puṇyaprabhāvikā dvādaśavratadhārikā jinājñāpratipālikā*<sup>72</sup> 'holder of the twelve vows, follower of the Jinās' command'.<sup>73</sup> Some enhance their qualities by comparing them with paradigmatic laywomen contemporary with Mahāvīra: *Sulasā-Revatī-samāna śrāvikā Rūpāvahūnāmni paṭhanakṛte*.<sup>74</sup> Of 109 *praśastis* collected by Jinavijaya (1943), 36 show laywomen as commissioners. They largely feature in this role within their male lineage, as wives of X or sons of Y. Colophons often imply a four stage process: 1) a laywoman's direct interaction with a mendicant; 2) mendicant's incentive to get a manuscript copied; 3) wish conveyed by the laywomen to her husband (and other male representatives of the family); 4) commissioning via the husband's finances.<sup>75</sup> Rather isolated cases occur, such as a certain Ālhū who, as commissioner in 1454 vs / 1397 CE of a palm-leaf manuscript containing five canonical works and their commentaries, is placed at the centre of the family genealogy.<sup>76</sup>

68 Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1076 (Weber 1892, no. 1931).

69 Udine, FP4380 (Balbir 2019, no. 32).

70 Udine, FP4409 (Balbir 2019, no. 82).

71 Shah 1937, no. 1105; see also no. 1132; Udine, FP4338 (Balbir 2019, no. 78), etc.

72 Shah 1937, no. 1106 (1771 vs / 1714 CE).

73 See also Shah 1937, no. 800 (1710 vs / 1653 CE): *suśrāvikā dvādaśavratadhāriṇī bāi Nāmṇā paṭhanārtham*; Udine, FP4373 (Balbir 2019, no. 183): *śrāvikā puṇyaprabhāvikā dvādaśavratadhārikā*.

74 Shah 1937, no. 1022 (1758 vs / 1701 CE).

75 See Balbir 2014, 241 and following for examples and details.

76 See Balbir 2014, 247 (Patan, Dalal 1937, no. 395, p. 240).

Examples of lay female scribes, however, are much rarer. Kapadia notes: ‘Very rarely have *śrāvīkās* written Jaina manuscripts. One Rūpade wrote a manuscript of the *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā* of Malayagiri’.<sup>77</sup> A lady named Jāu whose lineage is recorded in the colophon of the manuscript she copied in 1487 vs / 1430 CE is another example.<sup>78</sup> The following is an instance of manuscript copying and destination taking place between ladies. It is addressed to a Sthānakavāsin nun named Jīujī *mahāsati* to celebrate her thirty two years of religious life, emphasising her perfect conduct, the various fasts she observed, including fasting unto death; the climax of a pious mendicant life. The author of this Rajasthani poem composed in 1760 CE is one of the nun’s female lay disciples.<sup>79</sup>

Occasionally, one comes across colophons staging actors from the colonial period, emphasizing interaction between Indians and Europeans. Thus a group of manuscripts of Jain works in Old Gujarati kept in the Cambridge University Library, all copied in 1822 CE / 1879 vs in Palanpur (North Gujarat), may be considered commissioned by or copied for Lieutenant Colonel Miles, the resident agent interested in the Jain community of the place, whose name is mentioned in one manuscript as *Mahila sāhiba* and as *kapatāṃna mehajara Mehala* in another. These documents served as the basis of parts of the author’s essay ‘On the Jainas of Gujerat and Marwar’ (1833).<sup>80</sup> Italian Indologist Luigi Pio Tessitori (1887–1919) based in Rajasthan, gathered manuscripts from the region but also obtained texts copied specially for him by his own employees, the details of which have been given in his published and unpublished papers. Among them is Bālārāma who comes to life in the verses he composed as the colophon of a manuscript he copied in 1914 CE / 1971 vs), giving the date in the form of a chronogram and the name of his father.<sup>81</sup>

## 6 Ownership and circulation information

How manuscripts were used and handled once copied often comes to light through the post-colophon additions of a later hand. The main colophon, for instance, gives the original copying date, whereas the post-colophon explains how the same manuscript came into the possession of others. A significant example is the

<sup>77</sup> Kapadia 1938, 25.

<sup>78</sup> London, British Library, Or. 2111 (Balbir et al. 2006, no. 670), or Cambridge, University Library, MS Add.1781, also analysed in Balbir 2014, 243.

<sup>79</sup> Udine, FP4365 (Balbir 2019, no. 339).

<sup>80</sup> See Balbir  71–75 for the full demonstration.

<sup>81</sup> Udine, FP4428 (Balbir 2019, no. 335).

*Pañcasamgrahavṛtti* manuscript now kept in Berlin.<sup>82</sup> The main colophon has a simple structure, providing the expected basic information: *saṃvat 1555 varṣe Jyeṣṭha vadi 4 bhaume śrīAṇahillapurapattane pustikā likhitā* ‘The manuscript was copied in 1555 vs / 1498 CE on the fourth day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha (May-June), a Tuesday, in Patan’. A second hand records the title of this manuscript, stating it has been copied (*likhitam*) by members of a family, named and precisely located in their clan and lineage, on the second day of Āṣāḍha (June-July), a Monday, and donated to the monk Kṣāntimandira Upādhyāya, disciple of Merusundara Upādhyāya. This situation suggests that the first hand is that of the copyist, while the second is that of the commissioners. Even if *likhita* is used in both cases, it should be understood as a causative in the second occurrence. The copyist did his work, after which those who commissioned it left their mark. The story does not end there, for a third hand writing in elaborate Sanskrit, explains that in 1649 vs / 1592 CE, almost hundred years later, king Rāyasimha (of Bikaner), transferred (*vihāritam*) the manuscript to śrī(Jina)candrasūri, the then leader of the Kharataragaccha honoured by Akbar, and to his colleague Jinasimhasūri, for ‘increasing knowledge’ (*jñānavṛddhyartham*), after which they deposited the manuscript in the Bikaner library (*Vikramanagare bhāṇḍāgare sthāpitam*). The joint activity of the king and monks is confirmed by other sources<sup>83</sup> and was one of the main origins for the development of the Bikaner manuscript collection. Among the motivations of those having manuscripts copied is expanding a library (see below section 9).

The post-colophon space may be used by hands other than those of the manuscript scribe in recording how these transferable objects change hands via the buying and selling of them. According to its main colophon, a Berlin manuscript of the *Anuyogadvāra* commentary was copied in 1631 vs / 1574 CE. Two hundred years later the post-colophon addition records: *saṃvat 1832 varṣe [1775 CE] Kārttike śudi 2 gurau bha. śrīPuṇyasāgarasūribhiḥ bhaṭṭa-Vijayarāma-pārśvāt ru 5 mulyena gṛhīteyaṃ pratiḥ*<sup>84</sup> ‘This manuscript has been acquired by the monk Puṇyasāgara from Vijayarāma at the price of 5 rupees’. Similarly, the Sanskrit colophon of another item states that it was copied in 1646 vs / 1589 CE. Then a further, second hand states in Gujarati how two hundred and forty-one years later a pontiff took the same item for six rupees from another monk and gave it to a lady in Baroda.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 2453 (Schubring 1944, no. 770).

<sup>83</sup> Vinayasagar 2005, 229.

<sup>84</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1063 (Weber 1888, no. 1899).

<sup>85</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1028 (Weber 1892, no. 1939): *bha-śrīŚāntisāgarasūrisvarajūṃ paṃ. D(a)yāvijaya-ga. haste parata 2 lidhī che ru. 6 Naḡade āpīne śrīVaḡodṛāmadhye saṃvat 1887 nā vaṣe bijā Vaisāṣa suda 14 divaseṃ śreyastu*. Not everything is clear in this sentence.

In all these cases, it is worthwhile noting that monks were involved in the financial transactions, mediated, most likely, by lay members of the community. A third hand in a Strasbourg manuscript states that '[the Manuscript] has been sold to Pt. Gūlābahaṃsa by Pt. Narottamavijaya', while a fourth person states 'it is the property of the revered monk' referring either to himself or a contemporary monk.<sup>86</sup>

A Jain library is therefore something that can be described as extremely mobile. Manuscripts are kept in boxes and cupboards. When they do have a reference number, and this is far from systematic, it features as paratext, after the text and colophon or on a separate page. It is for internal use, for instance *dā*. (for Gujarati *dābo*) 2 *parati* 27 'box 2 manuscript 27',<sup>87</sup> with no mention of the original place to which the manuscript belonged. Yet, reading the colophons enables a reconnecting with the *membra disjecta* which are today either in India or in Europe, where they were brought in the last decades of the nineteenth century when systematic searches for manuscripts were carried out. An example of a colophon in a Śvetāmbara canonical scripture dated 1694 vs / 1637 CE states that the copying of the manuscript was a part of a broader project undertaken by a Jain layman named Jayakaraṇa, a resident of Cambay, to commission or collect all the 45 scriptures that comprised the Śvetāmbara canon. Nowadays it is common to refer to this canon as an entity, but there is, in fact, no single manuscript available that would contain all the books together. Witnesses to Jayakaraṇa's project emerged slowly and partly by chance. Seven have been traced so far: one in Cambay, one in Surat, one in Ahmedabad, two in Berlin and two in Cambridge. All the colophons contain the same information about the commissioner and his family, noting the same year, and the serial number of the scripture copied within the list of 45. They underline the cohesion of the project. Four pieces have been traced from another similar project created by Pāsavīra in 1721 vs / 1664 CE: Gujarat, Rajasthan, Berlin and Leipzig each contain one. Of those described in recent years are the Jain manuscript collections at Cambridge and Leipzig.<sup>88</sup> One is yet to find evidence of the earlier project created in 1665 vs / 1608 CE by Udayasiṃha, save its mention in the manuscript now kept in Berlin. Similarly, colophons form the thread linking the collection of manuscripts made by Sahasakiraṇa, a prominent seventeenth-century layman and his sons. Thirty-two items have been traced so far in various libraries. They were either manuscripts he specially commissioned

<sup>86</sup> Strasbourg, Wickersheimer 4536 (Tripāṭhī 1975, no. 226): *paṃ. Gūlābahaṃsajī ne paṃ. Narottamavijaye vecā thī āpi che sahi*, translated p. 388 followed by *muniji-ni parata che*.

<sup>87</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Mahānīśithasūtra* fol. 142<sup>v</sup>; see Tripāṭhī 1975, 45–46 n. 24 and Balbir 2017, 70

<sup>88</sup> See respectively Balbir 2006, 334, Cambridge University Digital Library and Krause 2013.

or existing manuscripts he acquired (*gr̥h̥ita*). They comprise a scholarly collection containing only Prakrit and Sanskrit texts –in spite of it being commonplace at that time, they feature no vernacular. In other instances, reading colophons in manuscripts geographically distant from one another enables one to follow a scribe and observe how he specialized in copying particular works. As is the case with Mantri Vācaka of Patan, whose name is identified in the colophons of eleven manuscripts of the *Kalpasūtra*, produced during the fifteenth century over a forty-year period.

Colophons often bear visual signs of manipulations testifying a change of hands and the desire to erase traces of previous ownership. The *Jambūdāvīpa-prajñapti* manuscript kept at the Bodleian Library (SK. 109, fol. 116<sup>v</sup>) is one among many. The size of the manuscript (*granthāgraṃ śloka* 4154) is followed on line 2 by the concluding sentence (*evaṃ saṃkhyā Jambūdāvīpaprajñaptikā samāpta:*) and the common scribal maxim (*yādṛśaṃ pustake dṛṣṭaṃ // tādṛśaṃ laṣitaṃ mayā / yadi śuddhaṃ aśuddhaṃ vā // mama doṣo na dīyate:*) on line 3 and by benedictory phrases with auspicious signs on line 4. Line 5, written in red ink, continues with the date and mention of the Śvetāmbara sub-sect involved in the process of commissioning and copying (*saṃvat 1652 [1595 CE] varṣe Vaiṣāṣa śudi 5 dīne / śrīBṛhatKharataragache*), whereas the last third of the line and the first third of line 6, originally written in black, have been covered with a layer of black, so only the first two *aḥṣaras* are legible as *dravya*. The remaining part of this line and all of lines 7 to 11, originally written in red, remain visible but covered by a layer of yellow pigment making them illegible. What remains legible is only on line 12: *rtha: / ciraṃ nandatu: // śubhaṃ bhavatu: // kalyāṇaṃ bhūyāt // śubhaṃ bhavatu: // śrīr astu: // cha: //* ‘May the manuscript rejoice for a long time! May there be wellbeing! May there be good! May there be wellbeing! May there be prosperity’. The lines deliberately deleted certainly contained names of individuals involved in the manuscript production as instigators, commissioners or recipients. Such acts are not uncommon, suggesting competition and rivalry between monastic groups or local communities. The colophon is thus a means to manifest the issue of appropriation or sectarian competition in the public space.

One important concern of philological investigation is to determine the genealogy of manuscripts available for a given work: what was the source a copyist used for his task? In quite exceptional cases the colophon is the channel through which explicit information about this is provided: Buddhivimala, the copyist of a *Panca-mīmāhātmya* in 1651 vs / 1594 CE in Jaisalmer states that he wrote ‘from a palm leaf manuscript (*tāḍapatrīyapustakāt*) which had been copied in 1009 vs’ [sic; = 952 CE].<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Shah 1937, no. 582.

The Jains are renowned for their contribution to the preservation and dissemination of pan-Indian literary heritage and knowledge in various disciplines expressed in works by non-Jain authors. The colophon is the channel through which it is confirmed that works of this category circulated among Śvetāmbara Jains and were integrated in their scholarship and intellectual training. This holds true primarily for Sanskrit classics. The following colophon is found at the end of a *Gītagovinda* kept at the British Library: *vācanācārya-śrīSukhanidhānagaṇi-gajendrāṇi-śiṣya-paṇi°Sakalakīrtti lipikṛto granthaḥ || saṃvat 1671 varṣe 11 Poha vadi 3 dine śukravāre śrīJinasimhasūri-vijaya-rājye || bhadram*<sup>90</sup> ‘Work copied by Pandit Sakalakīrti, pupil of the chief monk Sukhanidhāna in 1671 vs / 1614 CE, on Friday, the third day of the bright fortnight of month Poṣa, when Jinasimhasūri was the ruling pontiff’. Here, more than once, the sectarian affiliation of the monks is not mentioned, but, crossed with the dates, probable identification with Jinasimhasūri, the sixty-second pontiff of the Kharataragaccha, is possible.<sup>91</sup> Another comparable instance is the following colophon in which the Śvetāmbara teacher Bhāvaratnasūri, providing his spiritual lineage (*gaccha*-name not given), states he copied the *Raghuvamśa* (commentary) for his own sake.<sup>92</sup> Pan-Indian handbooks relating to śāstric disciplines are another such area. The following colophon ends a British Library manuscript of Bhāskarācārya’s *Līlāvati*, a famous mathematical treatise: *saṃvat 1697 varṣe Śāke 1563 [1640 CE] pravarttamāne mādā-māṅgalya-prada-Caitra-māse asita-pakṣe aṣṭamī śubhatīthau budha-vāsare || sandhyāyām || śrīVidhipakṣa-gacche || pūjya-bhaṭṭāraka-śrī5śrīKalyāṇasāgara-sūriśvara-vijaya-rājye śrīmadGajanagare vācanācārya-śrī5Vivekaśeṣara-gaṇinām śiṣya paṇi° śrīśrīśrīBhāvaśeṣara-gaṇinām likhitam | śrīḥ || tat-śiṣya mu° Bhuvanaśeṣara paṭhina kṛte || śrīCandraprabhu-pāda-praśādāt || ciram ||*. The copyist is an eminent monk of the Añcalagaccha, one of the Śvetāmbara monastic orders associated with the Kutch area of Gujarat. He features among prominent monks working around Kalyāṇasāgarasūri, the then pontiff of the order. He is known to have composed at least one Gujarati narrative poem and to have copied several manuscripts, among which two for the reading of the disciple Bhuvanaśekharaṇi mentioned there. His spiritual lineage given there is confirmed by the information he provides at the end of the poem he authored. Bhuvanaśekharaṇi, Bhāvaśekharaṇi and Kalyāṇasāgarasūri appear together in another manuscript dated 1709 vs / 1652 CE copied for a different

<sup>90</sup> London, British Library Or. 2145 D (Balbir et al. 2006, no. 1314).

<sup>91</sup> His dates are: born 1615 vs / 1558 CE, ācārya 1649 vs / 1592 CE, sūri 1670 vs / 1613 CE, died 1674 vs / 1617 CE.

<sup>92</sup> Shah 1937, no. 1045 (1761 vs / 1704 CE).

person. Such colophons justify the label ‘Jain manuscript’ given to this kind of manuscripts. They tend to suggest a readership consisting of learned monks that had a prominent role within their groups, which does not necessarily imply that they did not come into the hands of the common man.

## 7 Motivations for the act of copying as expressed in the colophons

In the paper manuscripts considered here, motivations for commissioning a copy are generally expressed rather briefly. Of the most frequent is the wish to transmit knowledge at an individual level – through stereotyped compounds such as *paṭhanārthaṃ* with mention of the reader. Reading (mentally or publicly, see above) is the main concern, but there are colophons of illustrated manuscripts where viewing is added explicitly. Such mentions, however, are exceptional. A case in point is the British Library *Śālibhadrapāī* by Matisāra copied in Jaisalmer in 1783 vs / 1726 CE. In addition to the name of the copyist (Pandit Devakuśala) the colophon specifies that the manuscript ‘was illustrated by Pandit Kanakakīrti, a monk. The reason for its being copied was for the sake of increasing knowledge, to be seen (and) read by the Muṅkaurapālāsa family, remarkable for the excellence of their judgment.’<sup>93</sup> Another important motivation for having a manuscript copied is to increase or build a collection. Jinabhadrasūri, a fifteenth-century monastic leader of the Kharataragaccha, was renowned for establishing libraries in various places and played a prominent role in this development. Dhāraṇaka, one of his main lay followers, established a library in Cambay and in Jaisalmer (Balbir 2014, 237). Manuscript colophons show how he got manuscripts copied for them to be deposited in libraries: a copy of the *Nandisūtra* commentary was thus commissioned by a Jain family, copied by Tri. Vināyaka, a non-Jain scribe, for his library.<sup>94</sup> Another manuscript, of a *Vīṣeṣāvaśyakabhāṣyavṛtti*, was commissioned for his collection in Patan.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> London, British Library, Or. 13524 (Balbir et al. 2006, no. 747): *paṇḍita Devakuśalena likhitā pratir iyam | paṇḍo Kanakakīrti-muninā ca citritāṃ | vivekātireka-nipuṇa-Muṅkaurapālāsa-parivāra-pāṭhanāya darśanāya jñāna-vṛddhy-arthaṃ likhāpitā*:|| See also Balbir 2015, 217–219.

<sup>94</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1821 (Schubring 1944, no. 94), dated 1503 vs / 1446 CE. Instances of minimal wordings are: *Jesalamerau Kharataragacche śrīJinabhadrasūribhiḥ pustikeyaṃ likhāpitam* (Shah 1937, no. 31, dated 1501 vs / 1444 CE).

<sup>95</sup> Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 1322 (Weber 1888, no. 1915), dated 1490 vs / 1433 CE. This seems to have aroused some doubt in Weber’s mind. ‘Hiernach scheint die Handschrift einer auf Jinabhadra

Mentions of the following kind (clearly valuable when attempting to trace the life of a manuscript in terms of place, time and persons involved) throw light on the constitution of monastic collections via the gathering of individual manuscript items: *idaṃ pustakaṃ śrīTapāgacchīya-śrīśrīVijayadevasūri-bhāṃḍāre muktaṃ* ‘This manuscript was deposited in the collection of Vijayadevasūri, the leader of the Tapāgaccha’.<sup>96</sup> Although information on costs and expenses is lacking, colophons or post-colophons often state that individuals used their own personal finances to obtain a manuscript for a library. Indicated by stray references such as *jñānadravyeṇa prati bhāṃḍāre mukta*<sup>97</sup> or ... *sā. Rāyamallaputra sā. Rāyakaraṇa Sahasrakiraṇābhīyāṃ vasaśreyase śrīKālakācāryakathā svīyadravyavyayena bhāṃḍāgārāthaṃ gṛhīte* ‘Rāyakaraṇa and Sahasrakiraṇa, the two sons of Rāyamalla, acquired this [manuscript of the] Kālakācārya story with their own money for a library’. But colophons also reveal that families forming real manuscript collectors invested money to acquire manuscripts.

Frequent mention of other motivations occurs, as with the desire to commemorate a deceased relative articulated by expressions such as ‘for the welfare of X’ (*X-śreyase*, *X-puṇyārtham*), one’s own benefit, less frequently, the benefit of others, or more generally the aspiration to remove knowledge-obscuring karmas and reach Liberation.<sup>98</sup>

The overall brevity of wording through stereotyped formulas in paper manuscript colophons contrasts sharply compared with palm-leaf manuscripts in which Sanskrit verse-*praśastis* construct a somewhat dramatic staging telling of the necessity to transmit teaching through manuscripts as if it was a new or recent phenomenon requiring justification or explanation, rather than the routine fact it became later.<sup>99</sup> In recurring scenarios a Jain layman or laywoman (*śrāvaka* or *śrāvikā*) and their family members has heard the teaching of a monk. The act of listening presents itself as the starting point of the decision to commission a copy or acquire a manuscript. A teacher, for instance who convinced the Dedākā family to acquire an *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* manuscript in 1352 vs / 1295 CE did so

---

selbst zurückgehenden Bibliotheksstiftung (*bhāṃḍāgāra*) zu entstammen; sie ist stark mit Moschus durchduftet’.

**96** *Mahānīśītha* manuscript at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

**97** Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 814 (Weber 1888, no. 1801).

**98** E.g., Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 658 (Weber 1888, no. 1788), ms. of the fifth book of the Śvetāmbara canon, dated 1555 vs / 1488 CE): *idaṃ Bhagavatyaṃgaṃ svajñānāvāraṇīkarmmacchide likhitam*; Shah 1937 no. 758 *jñānāvāraṇakarmakṣayārtham*; no. 762 *karmakṣayārtham likhāpitaṃ*; no. 1028 *svajñānāvāraṇakarmakṣayanimittaṃ*. This kind of motivation seems to be even more frequent in manuscripts produced among Digambara circles.

**99** The following is partly a summary of the investigation detailed in Balbir 2014.

by praising the canonical tradition, the practice of the gift, especially the gift of knowledge, materialized by having manuscripts copied, finally declaring that any layperson having the Jain canon copied according to his means and possibilities will only reap benefits. In some cases, the colophons evidence a kind of emergency tone pervading the scenario: feeling that his life is coming to an end, a rich Jain calls his son, urging him to organize pilgrimages and invest in Jain images, but also to get manuscripts copied. No matter the number of details given, a similar line of reasoning is pursued in all these colophons: Jain teaching is the only refuge against rebirth. It cannot be approached without knowledge: 'In our times, it is said, knowledge has to be mediated through manuscripts. Therefore pious people perform a meaningful activity when they spend money in order to get manuscripts copied'. The need to possess manuscripts was justified by reference to the decline of the time. Such considerations are echoed by the treatises Jain monks composed during the period, the intention being to provide laypeople with a framework for pious behaviour and propagating the faith (*prabhāvanā*). A typical image used to this end was that of 'sowing in seven fields' (*saptakṣetryām VAP*-), meaning spending wealth for one of seven recommended actions. One of which being manuscript production and preservation which appears of significant concern during this first phase corresponding to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Hence in the palm-leaf manuscript phase, the colophon may be described as a discourse for the promotion of writing and manuscript production. During this period manuscript recipients are predominantly monks. The connection between lay Jains and monks in the process of knowledge transmission takes on a circular character: the monk preaches – the lay person commissions a manuscript – the monk uses this manuscript for reading or preaching (*vyākhyānārtham*). In paper manuscript colophons, the stated relation between commissioning a manuscript out of concern for using one's own money in a proper, pious way continues at least occasionally e.g. *tatputra dharmāsiromaṇi sāha śrīRāghava punyārthe saptakṣetrī dhanavitarāṇārthe śrīVimalanāthacaritraṃ lekhitaṃ* 'the V. was commissioned for the benefit of their son R. and in order to assign wealth to the seven fields'.<sup>100</sup>

The absence of a given element in colophons pertaining to a particular manuscript culture may also be significant. In Buddhist manuscripts a wishing formula is frequently found in which the copyist hopes to gain merit and become an Arhat in the presence of the future Buddha Metteyya. Statements of a similar kind and intention are totally lacking in our corpus. General blessing phrases for the scribe and the reader (e.g. *śubhaṃ lekhakapāṭhakayoḥ*, ubiquitous), the Jain

---

<sup>100</sup> Shah 1937, no. 125 (1524 vs / 1467 CE).

community (e.g. *śrīḥ syāt saṃghasya*)<sup>101</sup> or Jain teaching (e.g., *śrīJinadharmāś ciraṃ naṃdatāt*) occur.<sup>102</sup> In addition, the copyist's personal involvement in the act of writing or the future of his work may be conveyed by what has been labelled as 'scribal maxims' appearing as either one or as a set representing standardized patterns.<sup>103</sup> The copyist may ask here for the reader's indulgence, underline the difficulty of his task, how it implies physical strain, wish a long life for the manuscript or appeal to its recipients to take care of it for it to be protected from all dangers.

## 8 The colophon as a space for expressing individual or group presence

The promotion of teaching is crucial. But the promotion of the commissioner, the lay person, and the monk instigator is equally important. The copyist himself, however, is not presented as a major player in this process. Indeed, as was attempted to demonstrate elsewhere (Balbir 2014), many colophons, particularly the verse-*praśastis*, provide a space designed to construct an elaborate genealogical discourse, often divided in two parts, underlining the vital link between the lay and the monastic components. One purpose of this part is to display the commissioner's prestige not only as an individual but one of a lineage whose behaviour is exemplary in terms of pious activity. These genealogies are all the more prestigious should they extend over a large number of generations and include a dense group around the individual that is the colophon's main focus and the grammatical agent of a long sentence that progressively unfolds. The radiance of piety diffuses beyond the individual and propagates to the entire group. Such a technique results in a fabulous number of proper names. Joint family genealogies may occupy up to thirty verses. One such example:<sup>104</sup> in a versified colophon of an illustrated *Kalpasūtra* manuscript written in golden ink, a prestigious object in itself, dated 1524 vs / 1467 CE, a total of fifty-six names was listed covering seven generations, including second marriages and offspring thereof. The ladies'

**101** Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 658 (Weber 1888, no. 1788) or Ms.or.fol. 1068 (no.1925); *śubhaṃ bhavatu caturvidhaśrīśramaṇasaṃghāya*, Shah 1937, no. 17 (1449 vs / 1392 CE).

**102** Berlin, Ms.or.fol. 671(F) (Weber 1888, no. 1803); Ms.or.fol. 1095 (no. 1935): *śrījinapravacaṇaṃ ciraṃ jayatu*.

**103** Kapadia 1938, 26–27, Tripāṭhī 1975, 48.

**104** See Balbir 2014; see also recently Chanchani 2021.

names are accompanied by laudatory epithets praising their religiosity. Certain names are then singled out of men who distinguished themselves by specific pious activity such as the organization of pilgrimages, community celebrations, sponsoring of community buildings. This is a means for indicating illustrious families and declare that commissioning the manuscript is but one manifestation of religious dedication among many others. In fact, when data from manuscript colophons are crossed with material from inscriptions, the presence of such families as a part of an elite society becomes even more evident. Some of the names found in the colophon recur in contemporary epigraphs in genealogies, not always extensive, but sufficient to guarantee the identification. It can be seen that relatives of the sixth generation sponsor the production and installation of a Jain image, and in a later inscription the younger members of the family follow their elders' path. This is not an isolated instance. Others also underline the continuous presence of large families in all areas of religious activity underlined in the manuscript colophon even if they are not connected to the commissioning of the manuscript. The following here is a case in point:<sup>105</sup>

*saṃvat 1525 varṣe Māghasudī 15 Śukravāre. śrīśrīśrīTapāgacchanāyaka Surasumḍarasūra śi. paṃ. Mahisamudra li., Āṃbālikhitaṃ.  
Prāgvāṭaḥ śrīPattananagare vyavahārihārikoḥiraḥ.  
Sāṃgākhyah samajani jinasādhujanopāsanāvyasani.  
rākāniśākarakāraḥRākābhidhāḥ sutas tasya.  
tatsahacārī ca Pūrīr dūrikṛtaduṣṭadoṣatatiḥ.  
tattanayāḥ sadvinayās catvāraḥ śobhitānvayāḥ sadayāḥ.  
Varasiṃgha-śrīNarasimgha-Karmaṇās caiva Naradevaḥ.  
śrīpatisevyakalāvatpripriyāḥ śrīyāḍhyāś ca satatam astāghāḥ  
paritaḥ pāvitaḥgotrās catvāras te mahodadhayaḥ,  
śrīSiddhācala-Raivatārbudagiri-śrīfirapalli-mahā-  
yātrā-saṃghapatir bhavan bahumahaiḥ saṃghān sukhaṃ kārayan  
śrīsamyaktvasajāyāśilakalanāmukhyair mahair darśana-  
prodyanmodakalambhanaiś ca vipulaṃ vismāpayan viṣṭapaṃ.  
Karmādevipriyaḥ kāntakriyaḥ puṇyamahodayaḥ,  
Karmaṇaḥ Śarmaṇas<sup>106</sup> teṣu lekhyan śrīJnāgamaṃ.  
śrīSurasumḍaragaṇādhīpasūri-śiṣyaśrīRatnamaṇḍanagurupravaropadeśāt  
tattvākṣasomaśaradi 1525 śrutalekhanāya vyagro vyalilikhad imāṃ pratim Āgamasya.*

This *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* manuscript was copied in 1525 vs / 1468 CE, as indicated in the short prose sentence at the beginning of the colophon and repeated via a chronogram in the last of the verses following. It was done at the instigation

**105** Text given in Bhojak 1977, 20 and 44.

**106** Proposed correction. The text as quoted in the Indian edition has *Śarmaṇe*.

of Ratnamaṇḍana a pupil of the then leader of the Tapāgaccha monastic order, Surasundarasūri. So much for the monastic component. The copyist's name is recorded only in the initial portion. Clarity is lacking as two names (Mahīsamudra and Āmbā) are mentioned. They could refer to two different persons, the first, designated *paṃḍita*, the copyist of the text, and the second the one who wrote the verse-*praśasti*. This part, which occupies much more space than the rest, is devoted to the praise of the lay family, a business family from Patan, who acted as commissioner. The main sponsor is Karmaṇa, but his entire kinship is present through genealogical relations, as he represents the third generation after his grandfather (Sāṃga) and father and mother (Rāka and Pūri). He is the third of four brothers also named (1. Varasiṃgha, 2. Narasiṃgha, 4. Naradeva). All names are accompanied by positive epithets showing their bearers as pious men and a tradition of piety going back far in time: the adjective *jināsādhujanopāsānāvya-sanī* 'obsessed by the adoration of Jain monks' subtly enriches the stock of otherwise quite common epithets via the positive use of *vyasanin*, that is usually understood negatively. Normally, in such eulogies, the main commissioner's wife (Karmādevī) is also named and described positively; she joins in the process. Karmaṇa's position within the Jain community, his religiosity and social prestige are emphasised through his community action as group-leader (*saṅghapati*) and the organisation of pilgrimages to renowned Jain holy places in Gujarat and Rajasthan (see list above). This prestigious title implies high expenditure. The penultimate verse underlines how Karmaṇa frequently invested money in religious celebrations thus distinguishing himself as an eminent member of the community engaged in multiple religious actions, of which commissioning the present manuscript is just one. Another similar case, albeit slightly more modest, is indicated by two twin prose colophons in manuscripts dated 1532 vs / 1475 CE featuring the same Kharataragaccha monastic leaders and the same pious lay family. The main commissioner is credited with innumerable meritorious acts such as the installation of statues in Jain temples, participating in monastic promotion ceremonies and building halt-places for pilgrimages. He spent large amounts of money, earned due to his own strength. He is 'the good layman Maṇḍana', whose part in commissioning manuscripts is conveyed by the epithet *sakalasiddhāntena* applied to him and his care for enriching a manuscript collection in Mandu (Madhya Pradesh), the mention *Maṇḍapadurge citkoṣe* found at the beginning of the two colophons.<sup>107</sup>

107 *śrījinaprāsādapratimā-ācāryapadapraṭiṣṭhā-śrīrthayātrāsatrāgarādy-aganya-punya-paramparā-pavitri-kriyamāṇa svajanmanā nijasvabhujārjītamukaladravyavyūha-vyaya lekhitā sakalasiddhāntena suśrāvaka saṃ. śrīMaṇḍanena*, Shah 1937, no. 150 (Darśanaśuddhiprakaraṇa) and no. 152

In the absence of precise information relating to financial or economic matters in our colophons, terms such as *saṅghapati* (applied for instance to our Maṇḍana), *mantrin* or similar are the signs that help deduce the financial status of the families and their proximity to those of local political power. A computerized database containing all the material present in both the colophons and inscriptions would help investigations of this kind taking place on a far larger scale, with the potential to produce really meaningful statistics. The occasional representation in painting or sculpture of prominent donors belonging to such families or, even of famous religious teachers showing special concern for the diffusion of manuscript culture, can be viewed as a consequence of this displaying process, manifested, in the first place, through manuscript colophons.

## 9 Concluding remarks

The format of Jain manuscript colophons is of course extremely diverse: from a simple date to long verse compositions. Sanskrit is the prevailing language. Whereas the palm-leaf manuscripts use it in its classical form, the paper manuscripts show a strong tendency to vernacularization, which increases from the eighteenth century on, parallel to the expansion of the pattern in prose format. But the level of language and style is also dependent on the identity of the copyist and/or the prestige attached to a given manuscript copy. The colophon often serves as a free space in which the protagonists involved in the production of the object as either sponsors or instigators express their own presence within the group (monastic or lay) to which they belong.

---

(Sāmācāri of the Kharataragaccha). The text given in Shah has some variations of reading in the two colophons and has been amended here. Other instances of laymen's multidirectional pious activities mentioned in colophons are Shah 1937, no. 275 or no. 418 (1615 vs / 1558 CE).

## References

- Balbir, Nalini (2006), 'Sur les traces de deux bibliothèques familiales au Gujarat (XV<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)', in Henri Chambert-Loir and Bruno Dagens (eds), *Anamorphoses. Hommage à Jacques Dumarçay*, Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 325–352.
- Balbir, Nalini (2009), 'Les lecteurs jaina śvetāmbara face à leur canon', in Gérard Colas and Gerdi Gerschheimer (eds), *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique* (Études thématiques, 23), Paris: EFEU, 43–62.
- Balbir, Nalini (2011), 'Calendar terminology. A note on Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and Sanskrit *karmavāṭī*: *Anusandhān* (Ahmedabad)', *Kalikālasarvajña śrīHemacandrācārya viśeṣāṅka*, 54/2: 167–199.
- Balbir, Nalini (2014), 'Réseaux religieux et familiaux dans les colophons des manuscrits jaina de l'Inde occidentale', in Nalini Balbir and Maria Szuppe, *Lecteurs et copistes dans les traditions manuscrites iraniennes, indiennes et centrasiatiques – Scribes and Readers in Iranian, Indian and Central Asian Manuscript Traditions = Eurasian Studies*, 12: 217–256.
- Balbir, Nalini (2015), 'Narratives, visuals, performances. Manuscripts of Jain stories in vernaculars', in Julia A. B. Hegewald (ed.), *Jaina painting and manuscript culture: In memory of Paolo Pianarosa* (Studies in Asian Art and Culture, 3), Berlin: EB Publishers, 215–242.
- Balbir, Nalini (2017), 'The Cambridge Jain Manuscripts: Provenances, Highlights, Colophons', in Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo, Camillo Alessio Formigatti (eds), *Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages. Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 14), Berlin: De Gruyter, 47–76.
- Balbir, Nalini (2019), *Tessitori Collection. I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Civica 'Vincenzo Joppi' di Udine*, Udine: Società Indologica 'Luigi Pio Tessitori'.
- Balbir, Nalini, Kanubhai V. Sheth, Kalpana K. Sheth and C. B. Tripāṭhī (2006), *Catalogue of the Jaina manuscripts of the British Library*, London: The British Library/The Institute of Jainology, 3 vols. and one CD.
- Bhojak, Amritlal Mohanlal (1977), *Gujarati introduction to Dasaveyāliyasuttam*, Uttarajhayaṅgām and Āvasṣayasuttam, Bombay: Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalay.
- Chanchedani, Jahnabi Barooah (2021), 'History from the Margins: Literary Culture and Manuscript Production in Western India in the Vernacular Millennium', *Manuscript Studies: A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*, 6/2: 197–222.
- Chojnacki, Christine (2018), 'The Dynamics of Manuscript Copying: A Study of Jinavijaya's Collection of Colophons', in Christine Chojnacki and Basile Leclère (eds), *The Gift of Knowledge. Patterns of Patronage in Jainism. Essays in Honour of Prof. Hampa Nagarajaiah's Promotion of Jain Studies*, Bangalore: Sapna Book House, 211–249.
- Dalal, C.D. (1937), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, ed. by Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi (Gaekwads Oriental Series, 76), Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- Detige, Tillo (2018), '*Satpātrāya samarpitaṃ*: Manuscript Copies and Early Modern Digambara *saṅghas*', in Christine Chojnacki and Basile Leclère (eds), *The Gift of Knowledge. Patterns of Patronage in Jainism. Essays in Honour of Prof. Hampa Nagarajaiah's Promotion of Jain Studies*, Bangalore: Sapna Book House, 274–372.
- Flügel, Peter (2018), 'Jaina-Prosopography, I: Sociology of Jaina Names', in Nalini Balbir and Peter Flügel (eds), *Jaina Studies*, Delhi: DK Publishers: 187–267.

- Jinavijaya, Muni (1943), *Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Saṃgraha (A Collection of Praśastis and Colophons of Ancient Manuscripts Preserved in the Jain Bhandaras at Patan, Cambay, Jaisalmer and Other Places)* (Singhi Jain Series, 18), Bombay: Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan.
- Kapadia, Hiralal Rasikdas (1935–1954), *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Mss. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. 16 (Parts I–V): *Jaina Literature and Philosophy*, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Kapadia, Hiralal Rasikdas (1938), 'The Jaina Manuscripts', *The Journal of the University of Bombay*, 7/2: 1–30.
- Krause, Anett (2013), *Die Jaina-Handschriften sowie weitere indische Handschriften in den Sprachen Avadhī, Bengali, Braj, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Prakrit, Sanskrit und die tibetischen Handschriften und Blockdrucke der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig* (Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, N.F., 4), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Pārśva (1968), *Aṃcalagaccha Digdarśan*, Mumbai: Shri Mulund Ancalgacch Jain Samaj.
- Punyavijaya, Muni (1961), *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Śāntinātha Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay*, Part I (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 135), Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- Schubring, Walther (1944), *Die Jaina-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Shah, Amritlal Maganlal (1937), *Praśastisaṃgraha*, Ahmedabad: Jain Pradarshan Samiti.
- Tripāthī, Chandrabhal Bh. (1975), *Catalogue of the Jaina Manuscripts at Strasbourg* (Indologia Berolinensis, 4), Leiden: Brill.
- Vinayasagar, Mahopadhyay (2005), *Kharataragaccha kā Bṛhad Itihās*, Jaipur: Prakrit Bharati Academy.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2017), 'On the Early History of Indic Buddhist Colophons', *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 27/1: 47–72.
- Weber, Albrecht (1888–1892), *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, II/2–3, Berlin: A. Asher.



Part I: **South Asia**

**South India**



Giovanni Ciotti

# Scribe, Owner, or Both? Some Ambiguities in the Interpretations of Personal Names in Colophons from Tamil Nadu

**Abstract:** The study of the linguistic style and register of Tamil used in colophons found in manuscripts hailing from Tamil Nadu and containing Sanskrit, Tamil and Manipravalam texts brings us to the fringes of what is the conventional use of the language. Many idiosyncrasies and systematic variations from what is today accepted as standard are met and force us to reconsider linguistic assumptions. This article focuses on personal names, their syntactic position in the colophons, and the ensuing ambiguity concerning their interpretation. Often one cannot in fact immediately decide whether they refer to scribes, owners, or individuals who played both roles.

## 1 Introduction

The present article stems from the ongoing research that Marco Franceschini and I are conducting on a selection of paratexts, in particular colophons and lending/borrowing statements, found in palm-leaf manuscripts from the cultural area known today as Tamil Nadu.<sup>1</sup> While our collaborative study (slowly but steadily) moves towards a first comprehensive study on the interpretation of such material, I would like here to discuss a particularly thorny issue that concerns personal names as they are found in colophons.<sup>2</sup>

Personal names occur sometimes in colophons, but their interpretation is not always straightforward. Several cases emerge in which it is difficult to establish whether these names refer to scribes, owners, or individuals who played both roles at the same time.

---

**1** See Ciotti and Franceschini 2016 and Franceschini in this volume. One may prefer the term ‘paracontent’ to that of ‘paratext’, see Ciotti et al. 2018.

**2** With the term ‘colophon’ we intend here (a) ‘scribal colophons’, i.e. statements that indicate the beginning or the conclusion of the scribal activity (the former kind not discussed in this article), and (b) ‘ownership colophons’, i.e. statements that indicate the owner of a given manuscript. In our research, Franceschini and I also investigate lending/borrowing statements, which are however only mentioned *en passant* in this article (see example (30)).

There are two main ambiguous occurrences of personal names. One concerns the Tamil syntactic string composed of the three modules [*personal name*] + [*title*] (or [*manuscript*]) + [*copying statement*].<sup>3</sup> While the string [*personal name*] + [*title*] (or [*manuscript*]) can be safely understood to indicate a possessive relationship by means of an unmarked genitive to be attributed to the module [*personal name*], as is the norm in Tamil with names (e.g. *celvaṅ puttakam* would mean ‘the manuscript of Celvaṅ’), what happens when such a string is followed by the module [*copying statement*] is not obvious. Does the module [*personal name*] work as the agent of the verb (e.g. ‘Celvaṅ copied the manuscript’) or should we still read it as an ownership statement (e.g. ‘the manuscript of Celvaṅ was copied’)?

A second interpretative issue is constituted by stray personal names, i.e. names that are written in isolation and are not part of colophons, whether these are written by the same hand that copied the text(s) found in the manuscript in question or by a different hand. To whom do these names refer?

In order to tackle these interpretative issues, we will first have a look at how names of scribes and owners are most commonly expressed (§§ 2 and 3), including cases in which scribes are also owners (§ 4). Once these more easily interpretable cases are established, we will focus on the ambiguous cases just mentioned above (§ 5) and try to ascertain to whom they refer by combining codicological, palaeographical, and philological observations. We will not shy away, though, from acknowledging when our methods fail to reach a fully satisfactory solution of the problem at hand.

Before moving further, we should note that the considerations found in this article are based on part of the repository of paratexts that Marco Franceschini and I have collected, in particular on a selection of the manuscripts belonging to the collection of the IFP (Institut Français de Pondichéry / French Institute of

---

**3** Here we use the term ‘module’ to indicate what corresponds approximately to a broad syntactic and semantic unit within a given sentence. In particular, in this article we will encounter the following modules: (a) [*personal name*], which can include not just the name of an individual, but also his ancestry and place of residence/origin; (b) [*title*], which simply indicates the title of a given text and is usually the object of the sentence; (c) [*manuscript*], which stands for any word meaning ‘manuscript’, such as *pustakam*, *grandham* (sic!), *ētu*, etc. and is also usually the object of the sentence; (d) [*copying statement*], which indicates a number of possible verbal syntagms meaning that the act of copying is completed; and (e) [*date*], which indicates the moment in time when the copying of a given manuscript was started or, far more often, concluded and contains a complex array of sub-modules, such as year, month, day, constellation (see Franceschini in this volume). Furthermore, we use the term ‘string’ to indicate any sequence of two or more of such modules.

Pondicherry), recognised by UNESCO as a ‘Memory of the World’ Collection in 2005.<sup>4</sup> More specifically, we will deal with 193 manuscripts and 510 paratexts.

## 2 Scribes and copying

Among the personal names that can be found in colophons, those of scribes are definitely the great majority. Names of owners and other people involved in the production and use of manuscripts are in fact, unfortunately, much rarer.

As a consequence, scribes’ names are also the main source of information we have to reconstruct the social settings of our manuscript culture. In fact, though not that common, scribes’ names also come together with titles (e.g. *guru*, *periyampi*, etc.) as well as additional information concerning the place of origin or residence of the scribes, their male relatives, *gotras*, religious affiliations, etc. Just to give one example, the colophon of a copy of the *Śucīndrasthalamāhātmya* (dated 30 Dec. 1880) reads:

(1) RE05920

... **ejuśākhāddhyān śrīvatsagotrotbhave satyāṣaḍasūtraḥ** cucīndiram nārāyaṇar putran senāpati likhitam<sup>5</sup>

Senāpati, reciter of the Yajurveda, born in the Śrīvatsa gotra, [belonging to the tradition] of the Satyāṣaḍasūtra (read Satyāṣaḍhasūtra), son of Nārāyaṇar of Cucīndiram, copied [this manuscript].

This example also showcases one particularly characterising feature of the paratexts we are dealing with, namely the blending of Sanskrit and Tamil features, both graphic (various combinations of Tamilian Grantha and Tamil scripts) and grammatical (phonetic, morphological and syntactic).

<sup>4</sup> Note that all manuscripts belonging to the IFP collection have a registration number that begins with RE.

<sup>5</sup> Hereafter only the relevant parts of colophons are quoted, the omitted parts being replaced by ellipses. Tamilian Grantha script is represented in bold, whereas Tamil script is in normal characters. A number of brackets of different shapes are used to indicate that the original reading has issues and has been restored: ( ) for symbols, [ ] for scribal elisions, \ / and / \ for scribal insertions, [[a→]]b for scribal emendations, < > for scribal omissions corrected by the editors, [ ] for damages of the support and their editorial evaluation. † † (*cruces desperationis*) are used when reading and/or interpretation have failed. A few philological observations are included in round brackets in the translations, when needed. All translations are mine, though always discussed with Marco Franceschini.

When it comes to the way of conveying that a particular person is the scribe of a given manuscript, we find a restricted variety of expressions, most of which indicate that the act of copying is completed.<sup>6</sup>

As for Sanskrit, the most common sentences we encounter are ended by forms of the verbal root *likh-*.<sup>7</sup> Particularly popular are its past participle, i.e. *likhitam*, used with the name of the scribe mostly in the instrumental (2) and above all the compound *svahastalikhitaṃ*, which is mostly used either in a longer compound (3) or in predication with the name of the scribe mostly in the genitive case (4).<sup>8</sup>

(2) RE38376

... veṅkaṭa(rāma)**dikṣitena likhitaṃ** ...

Veṅkaṭarāma Dikṣita copied.

(3) RE10871

... **vedāraṇyavāsisellapaṭṭārakakumāraṇapatipaṭṭārakasvahastalikhitaṃ**

[The manuscript] copied by the hand of Gaṇapatipaṭṭāraka son of Śellapaṭṭāraka residing in Vedāraṇya.

(4) RE15533<sup>9</sup>

**parameśvaraguroḥ svahasthalikhitaṃ**

Parameśvaraguru copied with his own hand (lit. [the manuscript] copied by the hand of Parameśvaraguru).

Both *likhitam* and *svahastalikhitaṃ* can also be found in Tamil colophons, but are used as some sort of finite forms, hence in a way that is equivalent to Tamil *eḷutiṇatu* (past third person neuter of the verb ‘to copy’<sup>10</sup>). In this respect, we have for example (5) RE15554α **jñā[na]śivan likhitaṃ** ..., ‘Jñānaśivan copied’, and (6) RE05574 ... **gopālakṛṣṇan svahastalikhitaṃ**, ‘Gopālakṛṣṇan copied with his own hand’, but not **\*jñānaśivanāl** *likhitaṃ* or **\*gopālakṛṣṇanāl**

<sup>6</sup> This is no place to list the rarer formulas that express the conclusion of copying and include the name of the scribe.

<sup>7</sup> Note that the verbs *likh-* and even *vīlikh-* mean ‘to copy’; an example of the latter is found in RE30866 **gaṃgāthareṇa guruṇā vy<ā>lekhyāṃgirasābdake** (‘having been copied (*vyālekhyā*) by guru Gaṃgāthara’). The verbs *rac-* and *vīrac-* mean ‘to compose, to author’.

<sup>8</sup> Finite forms are rarer and found mostly in colophons in metrical form.

<sup>9</sup> Greek letters are added after manuscript numbers when the manuscript contains more than one paratext. They are added progressively from the beginning of the manuscript in the order paratexts have been met by Franceschini and me. For example, in the current case, RE15533y indicates the third paratext in RE15533.

<sup>10</sup> Like the verb *likh-* in Sanskrit, in this context the Tamil verb *eḷutu-* means ‘to copy’.

**svahastalikhitaṃ**, i.e. with the personal name in the instrumental case.<sup>11</sup> Alternatively, one could interpret such strings as made of a personal name with an unmarked genitive, which as we mentioned in the introduction is the norm in Tamil, followed by a verbal noun. Such an interpretation could also imply that the combination of genitive + **svahastalikhitaṃ** in Sanskrit (as in (4)) in fact underlies a Tamil syntactic construction. This would mean that the previous two examples could be translated as something like ‘the copying of Jñānaśivan’ and ‘the copying of Gopālakṛṣṇan with his own hand’.<sup>12</sup>

Alternatively, forms of the Tamil verbal root *eḷutu-* are also often used. We may encounter both finite forms (7) and past participles (past *peyareccams* to use a partly Tamil indigenous terminology), followed for instance by a word meaning ‘manuscript’ (8).

(7) RE200478

... **nirvacanacandrikai** - **yeḷuti**[n]eṅ ...

... I copied the Nirvacanacandrikai ...

(8) RE50420

... inta **pustakam** - āṅṅākuṭṭikuṛakkaḷ (read °kuṛu° for °kuṛa°?) **kaniṣṭaṅ svāmiṇātaṅ** kayyāl yeḷutiṅa **pustakam** ...

... This manuscript is the manuscript that was copied by the hand of Svāmiṇātaṅ youngest son (*kaniṣṭaṅ*) of the teacher (*kuṛu*, i.e. guru) Āṅṅākuṭṭi ...

Finally, we find concluding formulas containing (9) the noun *eḷuttu* (‘[written] character’) or (10) a compound thereof, namely *kaiyeḷuttu* (‘[written] character [drawn] by hand’).

(9) RE201038

... **tyākaviṇotatenṇavan brahmādi**†raṭṭyaṅ **eḷuttu** ...

The writing of Tyākaviṇotatenṇavan Brahmādirayaṅ (?).

<sup>11</sup> The spelling of *svahastalikhitaṃ* is most unstable. Just to give some examples, it can be spelled as **su**hastalikhitaṃ (RE04090β), **svay**astalikhitaṃ (RE10734α), **sak**astalikhitaṃ (RE15447γ), **sv**astilikhitaṃ (RE19988), **sost**alikhitaṃ (RE25314β) and **cuv**ahastalikhitaṃ (RE26402).

<sup>12</sup> Note that we do also have cases of [*name*] + [*copying statement*], where the latter is just the word *eḷutiṅatu* (and its spelling variants). For example, RE45807 icalimaṭai kopālakṛṣṇaṅ eḷutiṅatu (‘Kopālakṛṣṇaṅ from Icalimaṭai copied’ or ‘the copying of Kopālakṛṣṇaṅ from Icalimaṭai’). The syntactic ambivalence of verbal nouns in Tamil as finite forms and verbal nouns will be discussed further in § 5.1.

(10) RE47681

... teyvanāyakaṅ kaiye|uttu

The handwriting of Teyvanāyakam.

### 3 Owners and ownership

The ownership of a manuscript can be expressed in two ways: (a) by the scribe of the manuscript who writes down the name of the person for whom the manuscript is intended (§ 3.1), or (b) by the owner himself, who writes somewhere in the manuscript his own name (§ 3.2).

#### 3.1 Ownership stated by the scribe

Sometimes scribes record the name of the recipient of the manuscript, who is thus identified as its intended owner, i.e. the first person who possessed the artefact once it was completed. Although it cannot be said with certainty, we assume that the owner is also the sponsor, i.e. the person who paid for the work of the scribe.

The most common Sanskrit ways to indicate the owner are the genitive of the personal name followed by a word meaning ‘manuscript’ (11) or the genitive of the personal name followed by the title of the work in question (12).

(11) RE39684

... śrīmatgoḷakīmaṭhanivāsakāśyapānvayasya pañcākṣaraśivācāryyasya vaidyanāthasya pautrasya viśvanātheśvarasya putrasya vaidyanāthasya grandham iti jñeyam ...

It should be known that this is the manuscript of Vaidyanātha, son of Viśvanātheśvara, grandson of Vaidyanātha, [who was] of the lineage of Kāśyapa resident of the illustrious Goḷakī maṭha [and] teacher of the Pañcākṣaraśiva.

(12) RE43875β

nārāyaṇasya - vedaṃ tṛtiyāṣṭakam

The third Aṣṭakam of the Veda of Nārāyaṇa.

The same expressions are also used in Tamil, where the genitive is usually left unmarked (13).

(13) RE04080α

rāmasvāmi ayyan pustakam

The manuscript of Rāmasvāmi Ayyan.

The combination of a personal name followed by a compound made of the title of the work in question and a word meaning ‘manuscript’ is also not uncommon (14).

(14) RE10793β

cupparāyaṅ **punṅyāhavācanapostakaṃ**

The *Punṅyāhavācanam* manuscript of Cupparāyaṅ.

A further, slightly more articulated formula is made of the dative of the personal name of the recipient of the manuscript (i.e. the owner) followed by a copying formula (15, 16).

(15) RE15398

... tirunelveli mel maṭam tirupparaṅkuṅṅam ātiṅaṅ cuvāmikku muṭitta perumar piḷḷai makaṅ piccapilḷai eḷuṭi mukitta kūrmapiṅṅam yinām

The *Kūrmapiṅṅam* (read *Kūrmapurāṅam*), which was fully copied by Piccapilḷai son of Perumar Piḷḷai, who completed [it] for the master of the Maṭam Tirupparaṅkuṅṅam Ātiṅam in Tirunelveli, [was given as a] gift (*y-inām*).

(16) RE22704

veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi kuruṅātayyaṅ yeḷutiṅatu pālayaṅkoṭṭai piṅṅanda paṭṭaravarkaḷukku

Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi (?) Kuruṅātayyaṅ copied [this manuscript] for Mr. Paṭṭar, who was born in Pālayaṅkoṭṭai.

## 3.2 Ownership stated by the owner

At other times, the owner himself writes what we could call an ownership statement. This means the hand that wrote such a statement differs from that of the scribe(s), who wrote the text(s) in the manuscript. Contrary to the previous case (§ 3.1), one cannot assume by default here that the owner was also the sponsor who paid for the production of the manuscript. Although this may at times be so, it may also be the case that the owner recorded his name on the manuscript after having bought it from a previous owner. In such cases, the statement is often left uninked.

### 3.2.1 Explicit ownership statement

A first case is represented by the string [*personal name*] + [*title*] (and/or [*manuscript*]), which we interpret as an ownership statement, because as mentioned above, Tamil syntax does not generally use the genitive case to mark ownership

when the owner is a person. A further – probably rather obvious – feature of this kind of statement is that it is not part of the scribal colophon, but can be added, for example, on a leaf at the beginning (17) or on an inserted folio (18).

(17) RE49434α

**nārāyaṇasāmi**[v(?)]**āddhyār** e[ā]m/ kāṇṭam patapustakam

The manuscript with the *pada* text of the seventh chapter of Nārāyaṇasāmi vāddhyār.

(18) RE49434γ

**veṃkaṭeśvaran** e[lu] **kāṇḍam padapustakam**

The manuscript of the *pada* text of the seventh chapter of Veṃkaṭeśvaran.

Proof of the fact that our syntactic interpretation is correct arises from the following colophon (19), where the ownership is stated by the string [*personal name*] + [*title*] and is followed by the further string [*personal name*] + [*scribal statement*], clear evidence that the first name occurring cannot be that of the scribe.

(19) RE19979γ

tirumeṇiṇātapattar **rudratrīśatai** (*line change*) aḷakiyasundaram **svahastalikhitam**

The *Rudratrīśatai* of Tirumeṇiṇātapattar. Aḷakiyasundaram copied with his own hand.

Another example (20) reads the same information in the opposite order with the string [*personal name*] + [*scribal statement*] followed by the string [*personal name*] + [*manuscript*].

(20) RE10717β

**radrakṣināmasmamasaram** **śittiraimāsam** \᳚ 6 ᳚/ **śuklapakṣam pañccha**[[ā]]**mi somavāram** ye[uti] mukuñcutu **meyiyū** cuppurāya[[ṇ→]]**svahastilikhitam** | yīsvarakuru(kal) **postakam**

In the year called Radrakṣi, month of Śittirai, sixth day, bright fortnight, fifth [lunar day], Monday, it was fully copied. Cuppurāyaṇ from Meyiyū copied with his own hand. The manuscript of Yīsvarakurukaḷ.

### 3.2.2 Stray names written by a ‘different’ hand

Another way in which a secondary owner can record his ownership of the manuscript is simply by adding his own name somewhere on the manuscript (21, 22), or even on a slip of paper glued onto the manuscript (23). As a consequence, such a stray name will then be palaeographically distinct from the hand(s) of the scribe(s).

(21) RE33907α

**nārayaṇan** (the name is actually written on the blank verso of the folio on whose recto a section of text ends)

(22) RE43875α

**jānakirāma śarmā** (different hand on the guard leaf that is in fact an inserted folio that clearly does not belong to the original bundle)

(23) RE12615

**sēṅāpatikaṅ pāṭikaḷ** (written on slips of paper pasted on the leaves)

A caveat is in place here, as one cannot completely exclude that the owner may have recorded the name of the scribe on the manuscript. However, one wonders to what extent this may be likely, particularly if no further specification is given, such as adding a few words to the tune of ‘this was copied by ...’. A case in point is manuscript RE43820, where this is exactly what happens (24).

(24) RE43820

**yajñasubrahmaṇyasya likhitam** (*line change*) **jānakirāma śarmā** ||

The writing of Yajñasubrahmaṇya. Jānakirāma Śarmā.

Here the hand of the colophon seems to differ from the one that copied the text. We can thus assume that Jānakirāma Śarmā was the owner, who wrote down his name on the cover of the bundle, as well as indicating the name of the scribe.

## 4 Scribes as well as owners

It may also be the case that a person made a copy for himself, meaning he would be both scribe and owner of the manuscript. It seems that there is no standard way to express such a situation and what follows is a collection of cases encountered thus far, both in Sanskrit and Tamil (25 to 30).

(25) RE12621β

**vemkaṭakṛṣṇalikhitam svārtthe**[This] was copied by Vemkaṭakṛṣṇa for himself (*svārtthe*).

(26) RE08256δ

yenakku yeḷutik koṅṭeṅ

I copied [this manuscript] for myself.

(27) RE53247α

**śrī-aṅṅāṅṅoḷapurānīvāsīno veṅkaṭarāyaguro svahastalikhitaṃ | pustakaṃ tasyaiva**

The writing by his own hand of Veṅkaṭarāyaguru inhabitant of the town of śrī-aṅṅāṅṅoḷa (?). The manuscript is indeed his.

(28) RE55827γ

**svāmimalairāmu svahastalikhitaṃ | २ svāmimalairāmu postakaṃ |**

Svāmimalairāmu copied with his own hand. The manuscript of Svāmimalairāmu.

(29) RE19028β

**[date] yeḷuti muhiñcitu | २ subraṃhmaṇyan pustakaṃ | svahastalikhitaṃ |**

[date] it was fully copied. The manuscript of Subraṃhmaṇyan, copied with his own hand.

(30) RE55825

... **ṭṭīyakāṇḍaṃ** yeḷiti mukañcutu | २ marutvakuṭi **sundaravāṭiyār svahastalikhitaṃ |**  
 २ **yeḷuttavan kuḍuppadu | kuḍāvīṭṭāl** dayavu **paṅṅi sundavāddhyār vaṃśa-**  
**sthālyeḍa**(ttil) kuḍuppatu |

... the third chapter was fully copied. Sundaravāṭiyār of Marutvakuṭi copied with his own hand. He who takes it, will return it. If one does not return it, he will be kind and return it to the members (?) of the family of Sundavāddhyār.<sup>13</sup>

At other junctures, the fact that a scribe is also the owner of the manuscript in question can be ascertained when other paratexts within the same manuscript help make the fact clear (31). Each paratext gives only the information that the person is the scribe or the owner. Combined, these tell us that the person played both roles.

(31) RE20052

RE20052α - *Cintyāgama: Jīṃoddhāravidhi***svāmināthapaṭṭar pustakaṃ | २ ||**

The manuscript of Svāmināthapaṭṭar.

RE20052β - *Sūkṣmaśāstra: Adhvanyāsavidhi and Śaḍadhvalakṣaṇa***ayyāpaṭṭar kumāran svāmināthabhaṭṭar postakaṃ | २**

The manuscript of Svāmināthabhaṭṭar son of Ayyāpaṭṭar.

<sup>13</sup> In *vaṃśasthālyeḍa*(ttil) the combination of suffixes *-āḷ-yeḍattu-il* is the Brahmin Tamil version of standard Tamil *-kaḷ-iṭattu-il*. The compound *vaṃśa-stha-* is tentatively understood to mean ‘family member’ (given in the Brahmin Tamil plural *vaṃśasthāḷ*).

RE20052γ - *Navarātriniṇṇayavidhi*  
**svāmināthapaṭṭar | navarātripūjā** | ௨

The *Navarātripūjā* of Svāmināthapaṭṭar.

RE20052δ - *Āśaucādividhi*  
**svāmināthabhaṭṭar svahastalakhitam** | | ௨ ||

Svāmināthabhaṭṭar copied (*lakhitam*, emend into *likhitam*) with his own hand.

A sub-case of this typology occurs when one of the paratexts is just a stray name (32). The person behind that name being both the scribe and the owner of the manuscript is of course made clear by information contained in the other paratexts (colophons and ownership statements), in so far as the hand that wrote them all is identical.

(32) RE15536

RE15536α - *Vināyakalpa*  
**lokanādhana**

RE15536β - ?  
**bṛhaśreṇipuranivāsaśrīdakṣiṇāmūrttigurusūnulokanāthan svahastalikhitam sampūrṇam**

Lokanāthan son of the teacher Śrīdakṣiṇāmūrtti inhabitant of Bṛhaśreṇipura copied with his own hand. It is completed.

RE15536γ - *Sarasvatīpūjākalpa*  
**śrīmatlokanāthan pustakam sampūrṇam**

The manuscript of the illustrious Lokanāthan is completed.

RE15536δ - *Gaurīpūjā*  
**śrīmatlokanāadhan gaurīpūjai samaptaḥ**

The illustrious Lokanāadhan. The *Gaurīpūjai* is completed.

RE15536ε - *Anantavratapūjā*  
 periñceri **lok[[ā]]nāadhan grandham**

The manuscript of Lokanāadhan of Periñceri.

## 5 Scribes or owners?

As mentioned in the introduction we have encountered two main kinds of occurrences of personal names the interpretation of which is ambiguous. The observa-

tions made so far will help us direct our understanding of them, though they may not always lead us to a satisfactory clarification.

## 5.1 A syntactic conundrum

Another very frequent way of concluding a Tamil colophon is constructed with the gerund (*ceytu vinaiyeccam*) of the root *eḷutu-*, namely *eḷuti*, followed by a finite form of the verbal roots *muki-* or *muṭi-* (both meaning ‘to finish, to complete’). Hence, the standard expression would be *eḷuti mukintatu* or *eḷuti muṭintatu*, although variant spellings are quite numerous.<sup>14</sup> What matters here the most is that this expression seems to be in large part reserved for the syntactic string [*date*] + [*copying statement*], which would translate as ‘in date so and so, [this manuscript] was fully copied’ or, rather, ‘in date so and so, the completion of writing [occurred]’, since the third person singular neuter of a verb is basically a verbal noun.<sup>15</sup>

There are however syntactically more complex cases in which the same construction has in the middle two more modules, namely [*personal name*] and [*title*] (or [*manuscript*]); for example in RE10775 (33.i).

(33.i) RE10775

**krodhināmasaṃvatsaraṃ kārtt[ika]māsaṃ** = 22(D1) **śuppu sahasranāma** yeḷuti mukiñcatu

If we apply the principle that seems to have emerged from our previous examples according to which the construction [*personal name*] + [*title*] (or [*manuscript*]) indicates ownership, then we would need to translate as follows:

In the year called Krodhi, month of Kārttika, 22nd day, the *Sahasranāmam* of Śuppu was fully copied.

One can easily gather more similar cases (34.i, 35.i).

<sup>14</sup> The spelling of both *eḷuti mukintatu* or *eḷuti muṭintatu* is rather unstable. Just to give a few examples, the former can be also spelled as *eḷuti mukintitu* (RE04209α), *eḷuti mukiñcutu* (RE05915), *yeḷiti mukhiñcutu* (RE10689), *yeḷuti mukuñcutu* (RE10717β), *yeḷuti mukiñcatu* (RE10775) and **yeṣuti muhintatu** (RE10906α, written in Tamilian Grantha script!), the latter as *yeḷuti muṭiñcatu* (RE04090β) and *eḷuti muṭittatu* (RE10882α).

<sup>15</sup> Note that the third person singular neuter can be used for animate agents, too. See the example (16), which has already been discussed above in § 3.1.

(34.i) RE325728

ceya (YJ1c) āṭi m<sup>o</sup> 32 (D2) aruvatterai comecuvarakurukkaḷ āruṇam upaṇiṣat eḷuti muhuṇ[catu]

In the Jovian year Ceya, month of Āṭi, 32nd day, the *Āruṇam Upaṇiṣat* of Aruvatterai Comecuvarakuru was fully copied.

(35.i) RE47712ε - *Koṅkaṇar Kaṭaikkāṇṭam* - 25 Dec. 1822

ayyar kaṭaikkāṇ[ṭam ye]ḷuti mukintitu ௭ 998 (YK1a) mārkāḷi (M2) 12 (D1) yeḷuti mukintatu

The *Kaṭaikkāṇṭam* of Ayyar was fully copied. Kollam year 998, month of Mārkaḷi, 12th day – it was fully copied.

However, one could understand the syntax of these sentences in a completely different way with the module [*personal name*] indicating the name of the scribe, rather than that of the owner. In other words, [*personal name*] would be the agent of the action expressed in the module [*copying statement*] and one should not interpret it as an unmarked genitive, which would instead put it in a relationship with the module [*title*] (or [*manuscript*]). Such an interpretation is possible given the syntactic scope of the Tamil third person singular neuter of finite verbal forms, which as mentioned earlier, can be a verbal noun, as understood in the string [*date*] + [*copying formula* (eḷuti muki-)] or a finite verbal form, as we are alternatively arguing here for the string [*personal name*] + ... + [*copying formula* (eḷuti muki-)]. Hence, one could provide for all the examples just seen above (33.i, 34.i and 35.i) an alternative translation (33.ii, 34.ii and 35.ii) in which the module [*personal name*] indicates the agent of the module [*copying formula* (eḷuti muki-)].

(33.ii) RE10775

In the year called Krodhi, month of Kārttika, 22nd day, Śuppu fully copied the *Sahasranāmam*.

(34.ii) RE325728

In the Jovian year Ceya, month of Āṭi, 32nd day, Aruvatterai Comecuvarakuru fully copied the *Āruṇam Upaṇiṣat*.

(35.ii) RE47712ε

Ayyar fully copied the *Kaṭaikkāṇṭam*. Kollam year 998, month of Mārkaḷi, 12th day – it was fully copied.<sup>16</sup>

**16** The same double interpretation was offered above in § 2 for the string [*personal name*] + [*copying formula* (*likhitam* / *svahastalikhitam*)]. For similar observations on Tamil syntax, see Chevillard 2021, 22.

This latter interpretation seems to be supported by at least one notable case in the corpus here under consideration. In manuscript RE43643δ after the string [*personal name*] + [*title*] + [*copying formula (eḷuti muṭintatu)*], we find another string that reveals the recipient of the manuscript (36).

(36) RE43643δ - *Āśaucadīpikā* with Tamil meaning - 26 Feb. 1837

**dhunmukhivaruṣam** mācimāca m° 17 teti nāyittikkiḷamai **saṣṭi viśākanekṣittirattil** paḷaṇiyil tūrunācci ammaṇ caṇṇitāṇattil **daṇḍāyutapāṇisamipattil** comaraṇacampeṭṭaiyil irukkum cāmiṇāta ayyaṇ kumāraṇ **bālasvāmi** ayyaṇ ācaucaviti eḷuti muṭintatu muṛṛum civacitamparattukku eḷutiṇa eṭu

In the year Dhunmukhi, month of Māci, 17th day, Sunday, sixth [lunar day], constellation of Viśāka, Bālasvāmi Ayyaṇ son of Cāmiṇāta Ayyaṇ who is in Comaraṇacampeṭṭai in the presence of (\**samipattil*) Daṇḍāyutapāṇi in the divine presence of (*caṇṇitāṇattil*) Tūrunācci Ammaṇ at Paḷaṇi fully copied the *Ācaucaviti*. The manuscript was copied for Civacitamparam.

Here we are explicitly told that the name of the scribe, namely Bālasvāmi Ayyaṇ, and that of the recipient/owner, namely Civacitamparam, are different. Therefore, the syntactic string [*date*] + [*personal name*] + [*title*] + [*copying formula (eḷuti muṭintatu)*] clearly does not express ownership.

Unfortunately, for the time being we are not able to detect a rule – if one exists at all – that allows us to decide how to interpret the string [*personal name*] + [*title*] (or [*manuscript*]) when the available information is not as straightforward as in the case of RE43643δ (36). Increasingly extensive scrutiny of the paratextual material and the integration of further palaeographical and codicological data will hopefully help us solve in future some of these unclear cases.

## 5.2 Stray names written by the ‘same’ hand

We now return to the issue of stray names. We have already seen above (§ 3.2.2) that if the hand that wrote the stray name is different to the one that wrote the (main) text(s) of the manuscript, it can be assumed the floating name refers to the owner. We have also noticed (§ 4) that sometimes, by cross-checking various paratexts within the same manuscript, a stray name written by the same hand that wrote the text(s) can be attributed to a scribe who was also the owner of the manuscript in question. However, there are more ambiguous cases, where it is difficult to decide on the role of the person behind the stray name.

Sometimes, we meet stray names that on palaeographical and codicological bases can be assumed to refer to the scribe and not the owner of the manuscript, though the latter option cannot be completely excluded. For example, both (37) RE10829α and (38) RE10845 read *satyajñāni* at the very end of the text (Figs 1 and

2). This seems to be a personal name and, since it is written by the same hand that copied the text in the manuscript, it also seems plausible that it is the signature of the scribe rather than the name of the owner/sponsor.

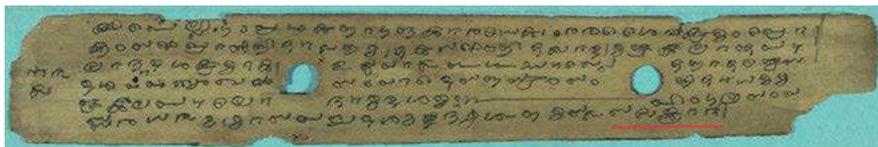


Fig. 1: RE10829α [134'6]

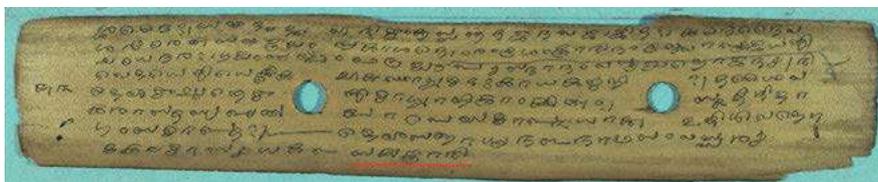


Fig. 2: RE10845 [63'8]

Similarly, in the case of (39) RE33907β the personal name **tirumalanampi** that appears at the end of the manuscript is written by the same hand that copied the text of the manuscript (Fig. 3), hence it seems to refer to the scribe rather than the owner/sponsor.



Fig. 3: RE33907β [104'5]

However, even if one considers these observations convincing, the question remains as to why these people did not add a [copying statement] such as *svahastalikhitam*, given that there was enough available space on the leaf to do so?

To the contrary, however, at other times the absence of the module [copying statement] can be justified, as for example in the case of (40) RE11032. Here, RE11032β (Fig. 4) contains just a stray name, whereas RE11032α, RE11032γ and RE11032δ tell us that the same person was the scribe of the manuscript. It is then possible to assume that RE11032β simply indicates the person in question was just

the scribe and not the original owner of the manuscript. However, does this provide enough evidence to make such a claim? Both palaeographical and codicological considerations can help corroborate our assumption here. On the one hand, the hand that wrote the stray name in RE11032 $\beta$  is the same that copied the text of the manuscript, on the other, the name is seen to be written at the very end of the last line of the folio. This seems to suggest that there was not enough space to add the word *svahastalikhitam*, which was however already used before in the manuscript where space was available (i.e. RE11032 $\alpha$ , Fig. 5).

(40) RE11032

RE11032 $\alpha$

neṭuṅkāṭu **vasantarājagurukkaḷ prathamaputran sundareśvaran svahastalikhitam**

Sundareśvaran first son of Vasantarājaguru of Neṭuṅkāṭu copied with his own hand.

RE11032 $\beta$

sundareśvaran

Sundareśvaran.

RE11032 $\gamma$

neṭuṅkāṭu vasantarājagurukkaḷ prathamaputran sundareśvaran svahastalikhitam

Sundareśvaran first son of Vasantarājaguru of Neṭuṅkāṭu copied with his own hand.

RE11032 $\delta$

sundaram svahastalikhitam

Sundareśvaran copied with his own hand.

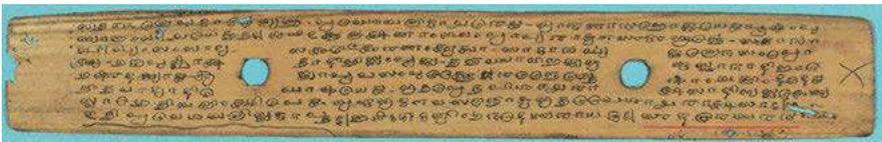


Fig. 4: RE11032 $\beta$  [237'8]



Fig. 5: RE11032 $\alpha$  [138'4]

The same observation seems not to reflect a mere coincidence, as it also works in another case, namely that of manuscript (41) RE43394. Here too, RE43394α (Fig. 6) contains just a stray name written at the end of the last line of the page, with no space for further additions such as a [copying statement], contrary to the statements in RE43394β (Fig. 7) and RE43394γ.

(41) RE43394

RE43394α

**kośappaṭṭu candraśekharagurukkaḷ**

RE43394β

**kośappaṭṭu bādūrusubbarāyagurukkaḷ kumāran candraśekharagurukkaḷ svahastalikhitam**

Candraśekharaguru son of Bādūrusubbarāyaguru of Kośappaṭṭu copied with his own hand.

RE43394γ

**kośappaṭṭu subbarāyagurukkaḷ kumāran candraśekharagurukkaḷ svahastalikhitam**  
 ௨ yiva (Y)1a) perattāṣi m° 27 (D1) somavāram rātripaṅca[190v4]maṇikki  
**reṇukāmaṇḍapapūjai yeḷudi āccudu**

Candraśekharaguru son of Subbarāyaguru of Kośappaṭṭu copied with his own hand. Jovian year of Yiva [= Yuva?], month of Perattāṣi, 27th day, Monday, at the fifth hour of the night, the *Reṇukāmaṇḍapapūjai* was copied.

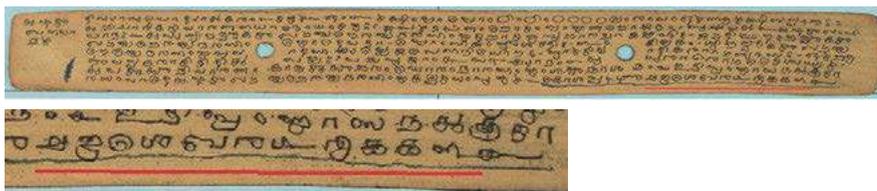


Fig. 6: RE43394α [161°8] and detail

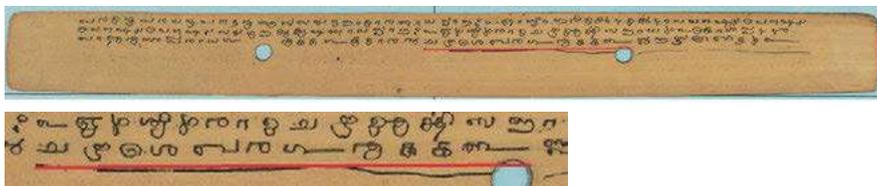


Fig. 7: RE43394β [163°2] and detail

## 6 Conclusion

All the cases discussed so far do not exhaust the virtually endless intricacies that can emerge when interpreting colophons. What we have intended to show here are the clear cases and those that can at least be analysed and categorised, though at times they may remain ambiguous. A minimal list of further complications would include: physical damages that impair the reading; uncertainties in understanding (in particular from digital reproductions of manuscripts) if certain characters are inked and thus reconstructing the sequence in which they have been inscribed on the leaf; and the fragmentary information from different manuscripts about the same person, whose role – or roles – remains unclear.

Aside from the cases where the information is given overtly, one must recur to philological, palaeographical and codicological means to make sense of the content of the colophons. Please note that our intent should not be concerned with only baffling cases, but also provide an explicit justification for our interpretation of the role of personal names in colophons based on actual evidence and not just intuitive appreciation of these short texts.

It remains that the above-mentioned means are not always sufficient to solve the problems we may encounter and would benefit from the establishment of a far wealthier database. In this way we would be able to assess the history of each manuscript far better, which for the time being awaits reconnection to its individual past, severed as it is by a long history of inadequate archiving practices and limited cataloguing undertakings.<sup>17</sup>

### Acknowledgments

The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg. This article exists only thanks to the constant collaboration and exchange with Marco Franceschini. Many thanks also to Jean-Luc Chevillard for discussing details of the Tamil syntax with me and Eva Wilden for her remarks on an earlier version of this article. All mistakes are of course mine only.

---

<sup>17</sup> We would like to mention the praiseworthy quality of the hitherto published catalogues of the IFP collection. They are produced to a commendable high standard, a quality that demands time and resources to be achieved and which is probably the reason why they cover a minimal part of the collection. See Varadachari 1986, 1987, 1990, and Grimal and Ganesan 2002.

## References

- Chevillard, Jean-Luc (2021), 'From grammar to dictionary. The early challenge of lemmatizing Tamil verbal forms, through categories used for Latin and Portuguese', *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics*, 20/9: 1–34, <<https://doi.org/10.5334/jpl.269>>.
- Ciotti, Giovanni and Marco Franceschini (2016), 'Certain Times in Uncertain Places: A Study on Scribal Colophons of Manuscripts Written in Tamil and TAMILIAN Grantha Scripts', in Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (eds), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 7), Berlin: De Gruyter, 59–130.
- Ciotti, Giovanni, Michael Kohs, Eva Wilden, Hanna Wimmer and the TNT Working Group (2018), 'Definition of Paracontent', <[http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/papers\\_e.html](http://www.manuscript-cultures.uni-hamburg.de/papers_e.html)> (accessed on 14 December 2021).
- Grimal, François and T. Ganesan (eds) (2002), *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the French Institute of Pondicherry*, vol. IV: Mss. 376–475, Pondicherry: IFP-EFEO.
- Varadachari, V. (ed.) (1986), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits*, vol. I: Mss. 1–115, Pondicherry: IFP-EFEO.
- Varadachari, V. (ed.) (1987), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits*, vol. II: Mss. 116–275. Pondicherry: IFP-EFEO.
- Varadachari, V. (ed.) (1990), *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits*, vol. III: Mss. 276–375. Pondicherry: IFP-EFEO.



Marco Franceschini

# A Modular Framework for the Analysis of the Dates Found in Manuscripts Written in the Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts

**Abstract:** This article focuses on the analysis of the dates included in the scribal colophons found in manuscripts written in the Tamil and Tamilian Grantha scripts. In order to better investigate and understand different scribal patterns, a new approach has been adopted: the dates are conceived as modular entities, which can conveniently be segmented into smaller constituents, referred to as ‘submodules’. In turn, these submodules will be scrutinised from the point of view of their constituents and their mutual relationship.

## 1 Introduction

This article focuses on the analysis of the dates included in the scribal colophons found in manuscripts written in the Tamil and Tamilian Grantha scripts. The analysis made here will be based on data collected, thus far, by Giovanni Ciotti and this author, which is to provide the basis for a forthcoming, broader work on scribal colophons and lending/borrowing statements in palm leaf manuscripts hailing from the Tamil-speaking South of India.

In this article, the dates will be investigated from the point of view of their constituents and the relationships existing between them. For this purpose, a date will be conceived as a modular entity, which can conveniently be segmented into smaller constituents, referred to hereafter as ‘submodules’.<sup>1</sup> The submodules are basically made up of the ‘value’ of a calendrical element (its name or its numerical amount) and, more often than not, of one or more ‘markers’: a marker is a symbol, a word (or an abbreviation thereof) which clarifies what calendrical element the value refers to. A value may be accompanied by one or more markers or left unmarked; some elements, however, are regularly marked in the dates,

---

<sup>1</sup> In a broader perspective, colophons themselves can be understood as modular entities, made up of a string of component units (modules, in fact): in such a framework, the date is one of the several modules composing the colophons, together with the information concerning the owner(s) or the scribe, the title of the work and the copying statements, apology formulas, borrowing formulas, invocations etc. (see Ciotti in this volume).

some only sporadically. For example, in the date 1021 <symbol for Kollam year> *viśvāvasunāmasaṃvatsaraṃ arpacī* <symbol for month> 23 <symbol for day> *vyālakkeḷamai śuklapakṣattil saptamitiṭhi śravaṇanakṣattiram* (EO0076a)<sup>2</sup> are eight submodules: Kollam year, Jovian year, month, day, day of the week, fortnight (*pakṣa*), lunar day (*tithi*) and constellation. The values of the submodules are 1021, *viśvāvasu*, *arpaci*, 23, *vyāḷa*, *śukla*, *saptami* and *śravaṇa*, whereas their markers are <symbol for Kollam year>, *saṃvatsaraṃ*, <symbol for month>, <symbol for day>, *keḷamai*, *pakṣa*, *tithi* and *nakṣattiram*, respectively.<sup>3</sup> Elements such as *nāma* in *viśvāvasunāmasaṃvatsaraṃ* ('the year called Viśvāvasu'), which are not indispensable in the structure of the submodule, are called here 'expletives'; they are found usually – but not only – in metrical dates, where they are used to fill out the verses.

As said above, this article focuses on dates thought of as strings of submodules, and especially on the elements contained in the submodules and their relationships. Linguistic considerations, such as the distinction between the Tamil, Sanskrit or hybrid forms of the elements in the submodules, will be taken into account only occasionally, when felt convenient. Similarly, the different spellings in which one and the same calendrical element is attested in the database are given here without any pretence to exhaustiveness, sometimes limited to the most frequently occurring forms.

This article is organised in sections. The next section presents the reader with an overview of the database at large and, more specifically, with some overall figures concerning the dates occurring in it: their number and chronological distribution, their most frequently attested structures, the frequency and order of their submodules. The sections following are mostly devoted to the description of the submodules, namely those of the Kollam year, Jovian year, Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali and Christian years, solar month, lunar month, day, day of the week, *pakṣa*,

<sup>2</sup> The manuscripts quoted in this article are referred to by their accession number preceded by a siglum that indicates the library in which they are held: RE for Institut français de Pondichéry; EO for École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondicherry; VM for University Library, Leiden (van Manen collection); BN-INDIEN for Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; UVSL for U.V. Swāmināthaiyar Library, Chennai; MS-OR for Cambridge University Library; TORI for Oriental Research Institute & Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum; MORI for Oriental Research Institute, Mysore; GOML for Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Chennai; TAM for Tiruvāvaṭuṭurai Āṭiṇa Nūlakam; CNM for National Museum, Copenhagen; NLK for National Library, Kolkata.

<sup>3</sup> In the dates, the Kollam year, the Jovian year, the month and the day are often marked with different symbols and abbreviations: henceforth, these symbols and abbreviations will be represented in the transcriptions as <KY>, <JY>, <M> and <D> respectively. A collection of these symbols (although now in need of a supplement) can be seen in Ciotti and Franceschini 2016, 85–105.

tithi, nakṣatra, minor calendrical elements and *nālikais*. Most of these sections have been complemented with tables, collected in the Appendix, the purpose being to present the different attested structures of the submodules in a visually clear and direct arrangement. On the whole, these tables are, hopefully, self-explanatory; however, an explicative note has been prefixed to the first table of the series, i.e. that of the Kollam year.

## 2 Frequency and order of the calendrical elements

At present, the database collected by Giovanni Ciotti and this author includes 910 colophons and lending/borrowing statements, to be found in 438 manuscripts, held in 16 libraries (11 in India, five in Europe). The dates found in these colophons are 518. A good number of these dates (197, i.e. 38%) cannot be converted into a Gregorian calendar date, being based on a Jovian year, and thus recurring cyclically every 60 years, or due to them being incomplete or containing contradictory elements, thus wrong values. The diachronic distribution of the remaining 321 dates is extremely uneven: 19 (6%) date from the seventeenth century, 39 (12%) the eighteenth century, 248 (77%) the nineteenth century, with 15 (5%) dating from the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The number of calendrical elements recorded in the dates varies greatly: the frequency of occurrence of each single calendrical element in the dates in our corpus is shown in Table 1 (Appendix).<sup>4</sup> The eight elements underlined in the Table (from the Kollam year down to the nakṣatra) are those more frequently recorded in the dates; for this reason, their submodules will be analysed further below. Among these frequent occurring elements, the year, month and day are by far those most commonly present: all the dates contain at least one year (given in accordance with one of four different eras or with the so called Southern Jovian cycle), 99% contain at least one month (solar or lunar) and 87% contain the day. Given these premises, it comes as no surprise that the most common combination

---

<sup>4</sup> For the analysis of the frequency and order of the calendrical elements, only the (452) ‘complete and independent’ dates have been considered. This means that we have excluded all the dates in our corpus that are incomplete, either due to folio damage or because some of the calendrical elements (typically the year, sometimes also the month) have already been provided in a preceding date (in the same colophon or manuscript) and must be inferred from there. An example of the latter category is: 1040 <KY> āvaṇi <M> 5 <D> bālakāṇḍam ārambham piraṭṭāci <M> 6 <D> samāptam (RE20158), ‘The beginning [of the copying] of the Bālakāṇḍam on the Kollam year 1040, month of Āvaṇi, 5th day; completion on the month of Piraṭṭāci, 6th day’.

of elements in the dates is Jovian year + solar month + day (found in 84 dates, 19%), followed by Kollam year + solar month + day (79 dates, 17%); 29 dates contain Jovian year, month, day, day of the week; 18 dates contain both Kollam and Jovian years, month, day; 11 dates Kollam year, month, day, day of the week. As for the dates containing a large number of calendrical elements, 26 feature all eight of the most frequent calendrical elements (Kollam and Jovian years, solar month, day, day of the week, pakṣa, tithi, nakṣatra), 30 feature these eight elements with the exception of the Jovian year and 32 comprise these eight elements without the Kollam year.

In terms of their order, the calendrical elements and their submodules are usually arranged as shown in first column of Table 1, whereas the last column shows the number of ‘misplacements’, i.e. infringements regarding the ‘standard’ order, for each calendrical element. As can be seen, the day of the week alone counts for almost a half of the total misplacements (36 out of 76): largely due, in all likelihood, to the influence of the *pañcāṅgas*, the traditional Indian calendars used for determining the most auspicious time for celebrating rites and observances – as well as unfavourable periods when no ritual should be performed. As their name suggests, *pañcāṅgas* are based on five calendrical elements invariably arranged in this order: tithi, vāra (day of the week), nakṣatra, yoga and karaṇa. In all the dates where the day of the week is ‘misplaced’, it has been moved forward in the sequence of calendrical elements; more precisely, in 27 cases of 36 it has been placed after the tithi – the position it occupies in the *pañcāṅgas*.

Beginning with the following section the different submodules have been analysed, in accordance with the order shown in Table 1.

## 3 Analysis of the submodules

### 3.1 Kollam year

In the 518 dates collected in our database, the Kollam year has been recorded a total of 190 times and is accompanied by one or more markers in all occurrences but two. As a rule, the number of the year has been written in numerals (187 times out of 190). By far, the most common case is the number of the year being marked by a symbol for ‘Kollam year’ after it: this occurs in 176 of 190 cases (93%).<sup>5</sup> Six of

---

<sup>5</sup> This number includes five dates in which the Kollam year has been marked with a symbol normally used for marking the Jovian year, presumably by mistake.

these dates feature the letter *m* directly after the number of the year, possibly imparting an ordinal meaning to the number, and once an *m* is placed after the symbol for the year, probably as an abbreviation for *[kolla]m*.<sup>6</sup>

Two more markers have been used in combination with the Kollam year written in numerals, although far less frequently than the symbols: the word *kollam* and a small group of terms of unclear meaning. The word *kollam* has been used in eight dates and always immediately precedes the number of the year. The words (abbreviations?) *āmta*, *mta*, *mtu* occur in just four dates: they are always written directly after the number of the year, sometimes in combination with the word *kollam* preceding it. The meaning of *āmta*, *mta*, *mtu* is not clear: they possibly confer an ordinal meaning to the numbers or may tentatively be understood as abbreviations for the Tamil word *āṇṭu* (as *āmt*, *mt*, *mtu* respectively), which means ‘year; year of the Kollam era in Malabar’.<sup>7</sup>

In three dates the number of the Kollam year has been expressed in words, twice in Sanskrit and once as a Tamil ordinal number. In two of them, the number has been accompanied by a word for ‘year’ as a marker: the number recorded in the Sanskrit language is followed by the Sanskrit word *abda*, the number expressed in the Tamil language is preceded by the Tamil word *āṇḍu*.<sup>8</sup> Please note that these two are the only metrically arranged dates in which the Kollam year is stated.

Lastly, the number of the Kollam year is twice not accompanied by any marking element whatsoever: in one case it is written in numerals, in the other in Sanskrit words.

## 3.2 Jovian year

In our database, the Jovian year has been recorded 330 times. The Jovian year is always identified by its name. Two different markers are used to identify the Jovian year: a symbol standing for ‘Jovian year’ or a word for ‘year’ (San./Tam. *saṃvatsara/camvaccaram*, *varṣa/varuṣam*, *abda*, *abdaka*, *vatsara*, and their

<sup>6</sup> Compare the relatively numerous cases of an *m* appended to the symbols for Jovian year and for month, below, which can be interpreted as the last letter of the word *[varuṣa]m* and *[māsa/māca]m* respectively.

<sup>7</sup> TL, s.v. The latter assumption is supported by the fact that they invariably occupy the place that in other dates is filled by the symbol for Kollam year, which never appears together with them, or by the word *āṇḍu*.

<sup>8</sup> They are *abde pañcapañcasahasre vikramanāmasaṃvatsare [...]* (VM1.45β) and *āirattu pannireṇḍām āṇḍu [...]* (RE15447γ).

numerous variant spellings).<sup>9</sup> Most frequently, the flagging element appears to the right of the name of the year: this is always the case for symbols of the Jovian year and largely so with the words for ‘year’, the only exceptions being when some dates have been arranged metrically.

The name of the Jovian year has been marked by the following symbol for ‘Jovian year’ (once, erroneously, a symbol for ‘Kollam year’, RE37121) in 174 occurrences of 330 (53%), e.g. *vijaya* <JY> (RE08256δ). Additional elements occurring in these dates are the adverb *nāma*, inserted – in just one single date – between the name of the year and the symbol (*kuroti nāma* <JY>, RE04137), and the letter *m*, written after the symbol for Jovian year in ten dates (e.g. *tāruṇa* <JY>*m*, RE10831γ): it probably stands for the last letter of *varṣam/varuṣam*, the word represented by the preceding symbol. Interestingly, in three dates the pair ‘name of the year’ plus ‘symbol’ has been preceded by the progressive number of the year (written in numerals) in the Jovian sixty-year cycle, stated in similar (standardised?) expressions, roughly meaning: ‘the N<sup>o</sup> year in the cycle beginning with (Tam./San.) Pirapava/Prabhava’ (i.e. the name of the first year in the Jovian year cycle).<sup>10</sup>

The name of the Jovian year has been marked with a word for ‘year’ in 152 occurrences of 330 (46%). As above, the word for ‘year’ largely follows the name of the year, either compounded to it (e.g. *heviḷam̐bisaṃvatsara*, VM10.8a; *svabhānuvatsara*, VM10.5; *citrabhānuvarṣa*, VM9.4c; *nandanābde*, VM8.8c) or constructed as appositions (e.g. *vikīrama varuṣa*, BN-INDIEN 199; *kurodhi saṃvatsaraṃ*, RE55844α; *sarvadhāriṇy abde*, RE04127). On the other hand, the word for ‘year’ precedes the name of the year in seven dates, all of them metrically arranged.<sup>11</sup> In the dates marked by a word for ‘year’, the adverb *nāma* (‘by name’)

**9** A good many of them occur in the dates, e.g. *saṃvatsara*, *saṃvassaram*, *camvaccaṃ* and all the way to *smamasaraṃ*.

**10** The three expressions are: [...] *pirapavāti* <JY> *12 ākiya pīramāti* <JY> [...] (UVSL1), ‘the Jovian year Pīramāti, which is the 12th in the [cycle] beginning with Pīrapavam’; [...] *pirapavātikatāptta* <JY> *31 viḷampi* <JY> [...] (UVSL67ε), ‘the Jovian year Viḷampi, i.e. the 31st year that comes (°keta° for °gata°) in the [cycle] beginning with Pīrapavam’; [...] *pirapavātiketārtam 57 yitir cellānīṇṇa rattāṭca* <JY> [...] (GOML D465), ‘the Jovian year Rattāṭca, which occurs as [lit.: in] the 57th year of the cycle that begins with Pīrapavam’. In all the three dates the progressive number assigned to the Jovian year is one unit larger than expected, as if the number zero was assigned to the first year of the cycle. Lists of the names of the years in the southern Jovian sixty-year cycle are found in Rhenius 1836, 274–275; Pope 1867, 197; Sewell and Dikshit 1896, ii (Table I); Pillai 1922 (I.1), 189 etc.

**11** They are: *abde tāruṇanāmake* (EO0009b), *abde parābhava* (EO0014), *abde kilakanāmake* (EO0021), *abde bhavākhye* (EO0036α), *varṣe nāmnā virodhau* (EO0067β), *abde śrīplavanāmake* (EO0078γ), *asminn abde plavaṃge* (EO0143).

has often been inserted between the name of the Jovian year and the word for ‘year’ (e.g. *vikramanāmasaṅvatsare*, RE05920; *vilambināmābde*, EO0138). Please note that the only occurrence of *nāma* preceding the name of the Jovian year, as well as those of more unusual adverbs in place of *nāma* (such as *nāmaka*, three times, and *ākhyā*, one time), are found in metrical dates.

All the 26 dates composed in metre found in our database contain the name of the Jovian year: in 25 dates it is marked with a word for ‘year’, in one date it has been left unmarked. As to be expected, in these 26 versified dates the expressions used to record the Jovian year are slightly more elaborate than usual, e.g. *asminn abde plavaṅge* (‘in this year Plavaṅga’, EO0143), *abde śrīplavanāmake* (‘in the illustrious year called Plava’, EO0078y), *varṣe nāmnā virodhau* (‘in the year called Virodhi’, EO0067β), *abde bhavākhye* (‘in the year whose name is Bhava’, EO0036α). Moreover, three out of the five words for ‘year’ used as markers are found exclusively in metrically arranged dates: *abda* (16 occurrences), *abdaka* (once), and *vatsara* (three times).

In two cases, the Jovian year has been followed by a marker now lost or unintelligible. Finally, the name of the Jovian year has been recorded with no marker of any kind in only two dates, one of them metrically arranged.

### 3.3 Other years: Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali, Christian eras

In our dates, the year is sometimes recorded in accordance with three systems of annual reckoning other than the Kollam era and the Jovian sixty-year cycle: they are the Śaka or Śālivāhanaśaka era (recorded in 16 dates), the Kali era (occurring in 11 dates), and the Christian era (attested 12 times).

The Śaka year – or, as it is more often called in the colophons, the Śālivāhanaśaka year – is expressed in numerals in all its 16 occurrences and is always marked. In 11 dates, the number of the year is preceded by the compound-marker *śālivāhanaśaka/cālivākaṇacaka*, which is either immediately followed by a symbol for year or compounded with a word for ‘year’ (*abda*, *arttam*, *artam*, *attam*); in the latter case, a symbol for year is sometimes placed after the number of the year. In four dates, the number of the Śālivāhanaśaka year is preceded by the compound *śakābda* or *śakārttam*; in three of these dates, the number of the year is also followed by a symbol for year (in two cases) or the word *varuṣam* (one case). In one date only, the number of the year is simply followed by the word *āṅṭu* (‘year’) as its marker. It is worth noting that the invocation *svasti śrī*, often found before the year in inscriptions, precedes the Śālivāhanaśaka year in three dates: although this invocation does not occur elsewhere in our corpus – and, as

such, seems to have an exclusive association with the Śālivāhanaśaka year – it has not been considered a marker of this era.

The year is recorded in accordance with the Kali era in 11 dates. The number of the Kali year is expressed in numerals seven times, three times in words; in one date, a blank space has been left in its place. The Kali year is always marked: in 10 dates, the number of the year is preceded by the word *kali* or a compound including it as a marker (*kalyādi*, *kaliyukāti*, ‘since the beginning of the Kali age’; *kaliyuka*, ‘the Kaliyuga age’; *kaliyukārtam*, *kaliyukāptam*, ‘year in the Kaliyuga age’); in the remaining date, the compound *vatsaraparimitakalau*, (‘in the Kali era amounting to year [...]’) is appended to the number of the Kali year expressed in words. In nine dates out of 11 a second marker has been added, either in the form of a symbol for the Jovian year (placed before or after the number of the year) or in the form of a word for ‘year’ (*vatsara*, *varṣa*), placed after the Kali year.

The Christian year is expressed in numerals in all its 12 occurrences and is always marked. The most common marker is the symbol for the Jovian year: in six dates it is placed after the number of the Christian year, in two dates it is placed before it, preceded in turn by the word *in̄kilicu* (‘English [era]’). In two dates, the number of the Christian year is preceded by the expression *tēvacakārtam* (‘year of the epoch of god’) and followed by the Tamil syllabic vowel *i*, this latter is most likely to be understood as an abbreviation for *in̄kilicu*. In the remaining two dates, the number of the Christian year is followed by the Tamil word *āṅṅu* (‘year’) as its marker.

It should be noted that the years given according to the Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali and Christian eras are recorded in the dates together with at least one more year – usually the Jovian year, sometimes the Kollam year, on a few occasions both are featured; in only one case, a Christian year is given as the only year in a date (BN-INDIEN 333). It is not rare for the dates to record three different years (Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali, and Jovian or Śālivāhanaśaka, Kollam and Jovian) and in two dates four different years are mentioned (Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali, Christian and Jovian).

As shown in Table 1 (Appendix), as a rule the Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali and Christian years precede the Kollam and Jovian years. A noteworthy syntactical feature often found in these dates is the presence of a relative participle placed between the Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali and Christian year(s) on the one side, and the Kollam and/or the Jovian year(s) on the other. Such a relative participle (*itiṅ mel cellāniṅra*,<sup>12</sup> *mel/mer/melc cellāniṅra*, *cellāniṅra*, *cellum*, *itil nikalṅiṅra*, *ākiya*, all

<sup>12</sup> The word *itiṅ* is sometimes abbreviated to its last letter (*ṅ*), as in: *svastī śrī śālivāhanaśakābdam 748 ṅ melc cellāniṅra kollam 1002 <KY> vyaya <JY> tai <M>m [...]* (EO0033β),

for ‘which occurs in’; *sariyāna*, ‘which is equivalent to’) constructs a relative subordinate as in: *cakārttam 1630 <JY> mer cellāniṅṅa caṅucitti varuṣam āvaṅi mācam [...]* (BN-INDIEN 329), ‘The Jovian year Caṅucitti, which occurs in the Caka year 1630, the month of Āvaṅi’. This practice seems to be associated with the Śālivāhanaśaka year in particular, as this syntactical structure is found in 15 dates of the 16 in which the Śālivāhanaśaka year occurs in our corpus.<sup>13</sup> However, it is also attested in dates where only the Kali or the Christian year has been recorded (together with the Jovian year), although rarely – one and three times respectively.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.4 Solar month

In our database, the solar month has been recorded 485 times. The month is always identified by its name,<sup>15</sup> which can be given according to two distinct sets of names: one in Tamil and the other in Sanskrit. The Tamil names of the months are a great deal more common, being attested 422 times, seven of them in abbreviated form;<sup>16</sup> the Sanskrit names are used only 60 times;<sup>17</sup> in three dates the

---

‘*Svasti śrī*. The Kollam year 1002, which occurs in the year 748 of the Śālivāhanaśaka era, Jovian year Vyaya, month of Tai’; *cālivākaṅacakārttam 1701 ṅ mer cellāniṅṅa kollam 956 <KY> cāru <JY> cittirai <M> [...]* (TORIML6355), ‘The Kollam year 956, which occurs in the year 1701 of the Cālivākaṅa era, the Jovian year Cāruvari, the month of Cittirai’.

**13** E.g., *svasti śrī śālivāhanaśakābdaḥ 1733 itiṅ mel cellāniṅṅa sarvatāri <JY> painkuṅi <M>m [...]* (RE20078β), ‘*Svasti śrī*. The Jovian year Sarvatāri, which occurs in the year 1733 of the Śālivāhanaśaka era, the month of Painkuṅi’; *śakābdaḥ 1520m varuṣam ākiya parāpava <JY> kārttikai <M>m [...]* (RE20042), ‘In the Jovian year Parāpava, which is the year 1520 of the Śaka era, month of Kārttikai’; *śālivāhana śakābdaḥ 1787 <JY> sariyāna raktākṣināmasaṃvatsaraṅ tulāmāsaṅ [...]* (MORI-3633), ‘The year called Raktākṣi, which is equivalent to the year 1787 of the Śālivāhanaśaka age, the month of Tulā’.

**14** The relative participle occurring in all these four dates is *cellum*, which, conversely, is never found in the dates in which the Śālivāhanaśaka year is recorded. E.g.: *tēvacakārttam 1847 i cellum kilaka <JY> kārttikai <M> [...]* (MS-OR-BOX Y Box Y item 3α), ‘The Jovian year Kilaka, which occurs in the year of the epoch of god 1847 of the English era, month of Kārttikai’.

**15** In one date the name of the month is followed by the number (written in numerals) corresponding to its position in the list of the months (starting with Tam. Cittirai/San. Meṣa): *tai 10 <M>m* (RE20046), ‘the month Tai, number 10’.

**16** The abbreviated forms are: *mārkaḷ*<sup>o</sup> for *mārkaḷi* (EO0074y), *c*<sup>o</sup> and *citt*<sup>o</sup> for *cittirai* (RE04082β and EO0034y), *kārt*<sup>o</sup> (twice), *karti*<sup>o</sup> and *karṅ*<sup>o</sup> for *kārttikai* (EO0006α, EO0064β, RE47712β and RE47712y respectively).

**17** In one date the name of the solar month is given twice in a row, in the Sanskrit and in the Tamil languages: *taṅucuravi mārkaḷi <M>* (RE15398), ‘the month of Mārkaḷi [i.e.] month Taṅucu’. The compound *taṅucuravi* is a tamilized form for Sanskrit \**dhanū-ravi*, ‘the month Dhanus’.

month has been recorded with its English name, followed in the same date by its Tamil counterpart.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, in one colophon in which dates for both the start and end of writing have been recorded, the second occurrence of the name of the month (which is the same in the two dates) has been replaced with a symbol representing the Tamil word *merpaṭi*, ‘the aforesaid’.<sup>19</sup> In one date, the name of the month has been lost.

Basically, two markers are alternately used to flag the name of the month: a symbol for ‘month’ and a word for ‘month’ (*māsa*, *mācam*, *mātam*, *mati*, *mās*, *ravi*). Both markers are written after the name of the month, with the exception of a few cases occurring in metrically composed dates (see below). In over 75 percent, the name of the month has been marked with a symbol for ‘month’ (373 out of 485), in approximately 20 percent by a word meaning ‘month’ (92 out of 485); in one date the two markers appear together (*mācimāca* <M>, RE43643δ). In eleven cases the name of the month has not been marked in any way whatsoever; in four dates the (Tamil) name of the month has been preserved, but the marker is lost.

The symbols for month are far more frequently coupled with the Tamil names of the months (365 times of 422) than those of Sanskrit (only six of 60), and they are used as markers in all the three cases in which the month has been recorded in its English name. In 67 occurrences the symbol for month has been followed by the final part of the word that it represents: *m* (presumably for *māsam* or *mācam*, 64 times), *cam* (i.e. the final syllable of the word *mācam*, two times), *t°* (probably for *tam*, the final syllable of the word *mātam*, one time).

As for the words for ‘month’ used as markers, they occur in combination with both the Tamil and the Sanskrit names of the months, evenly split (45 and 46 times respectively). The marker-words attested in our dates are *māsa* (80 times, by far the most frequently attested), *ravi* (three times), *mācam* (four times), *mātam* (three times), *mati* and *mās* (one time each). The words *māsa* and *ravi* have been used to mark both Tamil and Sanskrit names of months, *mātam* and *mācam* occur only in combination with Tamil names, *mās* and *mati* with the Sanskrit name of a month.

As expected, the 17 solar month submodules which occur in metrical dates (all in the Sanskrit language) have sometimes specific features, such as: use of expletives (e.g. *meṣasaṃjñe ca māse*, ‘in the month called Meṣa’, VM10.18aβ), in-

<sup>18</sup> E.g. 1835 <JY> *mārci* <M> *ceya* <JY> *paṅkuṇi* <M> 9 [...] (CNM D1063), ‘Year 1835 [of the English era], month of Mārci [i.e. March], Jovian year Ceya, month of Paṅkuṇi, 9th day’.

<sup>19</sup> The date runs: 1043m <KY> *tai* <M> 8 <D> [...] <merpaṭi> <M> 1 <D> (RE47715β), ‘Year Kollam 1043, Tai month, 8th day [...] the above-mentioned month, the 1st day’.

verted syntax, with the marker preceding the calendrical element (e.g. *māse mithunasamjñike*, ‘in the month called Mithuna’, EO0138), use of uncommon forms of the name of the month and of the marker-word (as in *taulike māsi*, EO0143), use of quasi-standardized periphrastic expressions in absolute locative construction meaning ‘when the sun was in/entered/reached (name of the month)’, such as: *tulāṃ prāpte divākare* (EO0069α), ‘when the sun has entered the [month of] Tulā’.<sup>20</sup> The metrical requirements are very likely why in two metrical submodules the mere name of the month is mentioned, with no accompanying marker or specification whatsoever.

### 3.5 Lunar month

In our database, the lunar month has been recorded in 32 dates. The names of the lunar months, which are always recorded only in Sanskrit, have been marked by a name for ‘month’ in two-thirds of the dates (24 out of 32): *māsa* is used in 21 dates, *mās* in three (once preceded by the expletive *ca* in a metrical date). As usual, the marker-word can either be compounded to the name of the lunar month (e.g. *phālgunamāse*, EO0002a; *mārgaśīrṣamāsam*, EO0111b) or added to it as an apposition (e.g. *puṣye māsi*, ‘in the month of Puṣya’, VM2.28).

The name of the lunar month has been followed by a symbol for month on three occasions, in one of which the symbol has been followed in turn by the letter *m*, representing the last letter of the word *māsam* or *mācam* (see above, under ‘Solar month’). Remarkably, these three are the only mentions of a lunar month occurring in dates in prose: all the other dates in which the lunar month is mentioned, whether marked by a word for ‘month’ or not, are metrical.

The name of the lunar month has not been accompanied by any marker in five out of 32 occurrences (16%): this is a relatively high rate, especially when compared with that of the solar month (2,3%). All five occurrences, however, bear peculiar features that may well justify the absence of a marker identifying the name of the month as such (although, admittedly, in the same dates other calendrical elements have been ‘regularly’ marked by a specifying word): two dates are

<sup>20</sup> Such periphrastic expressions are attested in five dates, the other being: *dinakare meṣam gate*, ‘when the sun enters the [month of] Meṣa’, EO0078γ; *cāpaṃ yāte tv aḥaskare*, ‘when the sun has gone to the month Cāpa [i.e. Dhanus]’, RE30370; *gate bhānu kaṭakaṃ*, ‘when the sun had reached [the month] Ka[rka]ṭaka’, EO0009b; *kumbhe pūṣiṇi sthite*, ‘when the sun is in the [month] Kumbha’, RE04127.

metrical or quasi-metrical,<sup>21</sup> one date has been visually segmented into its elements by means of *daṇḍas* inserted between them,<sup>22</sup> two dates are made up of a single Sanskrit compound.<sup>23</sup>

### 3.6 Day of the solar month

In our corpus, the day of the solar month has been recorded 467 times, in a quite wide variety of ways; the marker, when present, always follows it, with just one exception. The number of the day can be given in numerals or in words, and in the latter case the number can be an ordinal (as is often the case) or a cardinal. The marker can be a symbol for ‘day’, a (Sanskrit or Tamil) word for ‘day’ (or an abbreviation) or, in a few cases, a combination of them.

In the large majority of cases (426 out of 467, 91%), the number of the day has been expressed in numerals. By far, the most common case is that of the number of the day expressed in numerals and marked by a symbol for ‘day’: alone, it makes for about four-fifths of the total number of cases, i.e. 370 out of 467, including one occurrence in which *ā*, possibly a Tamil ordinal tag,<sup>24</sup> has been put right after the numerals, and six more cases in which the number of the day or the marker is either now lost or illegible, but were most probably represented by numerals followed by a symbol for ‘day’. In four cases the numerals and symbol for ‘day’ have been followed by one more marker, i.e. the syllable *tī*<sup>25</sup> (presumably representing the last syllable of the Tamil word *tikati* or *tiyati*, ‘day’).<sup>26</sup> In 42 cases

21 E.g. *dhādvatsare mādhavākhye śukle tv ekādaśe dine* (RE08258α, *anuṣṭubh*), ‘In the year Dhād [sic!], in the month of Mādhava, in the bright [fortnight], on the 11th day’.

22 *nantaṇasaṃvasaram | āśvījam | baḥaḥatrayodaśīyīn aṅṅru | budhankīlamai nā!* (RE10924α), ‘The day of the year Nantaṇam, [month of] Āśvījam, on the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight, Wednesday’.

23 *durmmukhināmasaṃvatsaramāghaśuddhadaśamyām* (VM10.22β), ‘On the tenth [lunar day] in the bright fortnight of the [month of] Māgha of the year called Durmmukhi’; *hevilam-bisaṃvatsarapuṣyaśuddhapaurnāmyām* (VM10.8a), ‘At the full moon of the month of Puṣya of the year Hevilam̐bi’.

24 See Ciotti and Franceschini 2016, 71.

25 In one case, between the numerals and the syllable *tī* the scribe erroneously wrote a symbol for ‘month’ in place of a symbol for ‘day’.

26 If so, this practice would be parallel to that of writing the last letter(s) of the words replaced by the symbols for Kollam year, Jovian year and month (see above). The writing of the last letter or syllable of the word represented by a symbol is possibly connected to the practice of actually reading the symbolised word. The symbol replaces the word it represents, thus suspending the linear process of writing: the written last syllable or letter of the replaced word is a splice – so to say – which joins that suspension with the resumed linear process of writing.

the numerals expressing the day have been followed by a marker other than a symbol: a Tamil word for ‘day’ (*teti/tēti*, *ted(h)i*, *tikati*, *tiy(y)ati*: 15 times)<sup>27</sup> or an abbreviation for one of such Tamil words for ‘day’ – the Tamil consonant *t* with a curl on its right top (attested 27 times) or the syllable *ti* (for *tikati* or *tiyati*, see above in this section) attested only once, with the Tamil locative suffix appended to it (*tiyil*). Finally, in 19 cases the day represented in numerals has been left unmarked.

The number of the day has been recorded in words 39 times (8%); it is usually marked by a word for ‘day’ or an abbreviation thereof (32 times), but in four dates it has been marked by a symbol instead, and in three dates contains no marker. Most usually, the number has the form of an ordinal: this is always the case with the numbers expressed in Tamil (14), marked by a following Tamil word for ‘day’ (*teti*, *tēti*, *tedi*, *tikati*; eight times), by a symbol for ‘day’ (four times)<sup>28</sup> or unmarked (two times). The numbers expressed in Sanskrit are ordinals in 12 cases, cardinals in eight dates; in five cases, they either represent a cardinal or ordinal number (*ekādaśa*, *trayodaśa*, *saptadaśa*). The Sanskrit numbers have been marked by a Sanskrit word for ‘day’ following (*dina*, *divasa*, *vasara*, *ahan*; 23 times in all)<sup>29</sup> or left unmarked (one time).

The day has been mentioned in seven versified dates: the number of the day is expressed in Sanskrit in all of them, and the marker a Sanskrit word for ‘day’. Note that some unusual marker-words, such as *vasara*, *ahan*, *sudina*, occur only in these metrical dates.

### 3.7 Day of the week

The day of the week has been recorded 204 times in our database. The names of the days of the week are built from the name of a ‘planet’ (derived from that of a

<sup>27</sup> In six dates, the number of the day is followed by *ā/ām/m*, possibly Tamil ordinal tag (Ciotti and Franceschini 2016, 71), and marked with *tikati*, *tiy(y)ati*. The form *tiyyati* is the Malayalam counterpart of Tamil *tiyati*: it is attested only twice in one single colophon, both times preceded by ordinal tag *āṇ*, which also occurs only here.

<sup>28</sup> The four Tamil ordinals followed by a symbol for ‘day’ are all represented in unusual forms: in three occurrences, all from the same manuscript (UVSL67), they are abbreviated to the first syllable (*mu* for *mutal*, ‘first’); in the remaining case, *mutal* is represented by a specific symbol (BN-INDIEN 65).

<sup>29</sup> Among the four attested markers, *dina* is by far the most frequently attested: it occurs in 18 cases out of 23, once (in a metrical and highly corrupted date) in the form *sudina* placed before the ordinal number indicating the day (RE15543α).

deity) followed by a word for ‘day’; both the names of the planets and the words for ‘day’ can be expressed in Sanskrit and Tamil.<sup>30</sup> In most cases, the word for ‘day’ following the name of the planet, although being part of the name of day of the week itself, acts as the marker: in two cases, both in metrical dates, the word for ‘day’ actually precedes the name of the planet. In 15 occurrences, an additional marker, in the form of one more word for ‘day’ (*dina/tina, nāl*), has been added after the name of the day of the week.<sup>31</sup> In one case the marker has gone lost; in just four occurrences (2%) the name of the planet is given without any marking element.<sup>32</sup>

A few linguistic remarks are relevant here. The names of the planets are recorded in Tamil (68 times), in Sanskrit (71 times) or in hybrid forms (65 times) which stand in between those of the first two sets;<sup>33</sup> the three groups are split almost evenly. Similarly, the words for ‘day’ coupled with the names of the planets can be Tamil (*kiḷamai, vāram, teti*) or Sanskrit words (*vāra, vāsara, dina, divasa*). As a rule, the name of the planet and the word for ‘day’ attached to it are in the same language, but with some distinctions and exceptions. The Tamil and hybrid names for the planets are all combined with Tamil words for ‘day of the week’, namely *kiḷamai* and *vāram*,<sup>34</sup> but with a contrasting distribution: *kiḷamai* is largely combined with the Tamil names of the planets (59 times out of 73, 81%), and only in a minority of cases with the hybrid names of the planets (13 times out of 73,

30 E.g. San. *soma-vāra*, Tam. *tiṅkaḷ-kiḷamai*, ‘Mon-day, Mon-tag, lune-dī’; San. *guru-vāra*, Tam. *viyāḷa-kkiḷamai*, ‘Thurs-day, Donners-tag, giove-dī’.

31 E.g. *somavāradinaṃ* (RE19996β), ‘the day Sunday’; *stiravāraṅāḷ* (RE50420), ‘the day Saturday’; *nāyittikiṣamai dinaṃ* (RE10906α), ‘the day Sunday’.

32 By chance, all the four are names for the planet Mercury (*budha, buddhi, putan*).

33 Besides the ‘purely’ Sanskrit and ‘purely’ Tamil names of the planets – such as *soma/tiṅkaḷ* (Moon), *maṅgala/cevvāy* (Mars), *guru/viyāḷam* (Jupiter), *śukra/veḷḷi* (Venus), *ravi/ñāyiru* (Sun) – a group of hybrid forms is attested in the dates. These hybrid forms are actually adaptations of Sanskrit words to the Tamil writing conventions and/or to the Tamil phonetic system (e.g. *coma* for *soma*, ‘Moon’; *maṅkala* for *maṅgala*, ‘Mars’; *kuru* for *guru* ‘Jupiter’; *manta* for *manda*, ‘Saturn’; *cavumiya* for *saumya*, ‘Mercury’; *cukkira/cukkura* for *śukra*, ‘Venus’; *pāṇu* for *bhānu*, ‘Sun’). All of these forms are accepted in TL. A few more hybrid forms are attested in the dates, that are partial (‘halfway’) adaptations to the Tamil language (*pudhan* and *buda* for *budha*, ‘Mercury’; *stira* for *sthira*) and cases of hypercorrection (*sdhira* for *sthira*, ‘Saturn’). However, in the present article they are treated as a separate category (‘hybrid names of the planets’, ‘Hyb’ in the table): the reason for this is that the dissimilar frequency of occurrence of the words for ‘day’ coupled with the ‘purely Tamil’ and the ‘hybrid’ forms of the names of the planets strongly suggests that the scribes perceived – consciously or not – these two sets of names as linguistically unlike (see below).

34 In one date, the Tamil word *teti*, ‘day of the month’, is coupled with a Tamil name for a planet (RE19028β).

18%);<sup>35</sup> on the contrary, the word *vāram* has been coupled with the Tamil names of the planets only in 12% of the cases (seven out of 59), whereas it is used 88% of the times (52 out of 59) in combination with the hybrid names of the planets.<sup>36</sup> The Sanskrit names of the planets, have mostly been coupled with Sanskrit words for ‘day’ (*vāra*, *vāsara*, *dina*, *divasa*),<sup>37</sup> but have also been followed by the Tamil word *kiḷamai*, albeit in just one case.

The day of the week has been recorded in 16 metrical dates, entirely composed in Sanskrit. These dates features unusual marker-words (such as *divasa* and *vāraka*) and names for the planets not to be found elsewhere as well as unusual syntactic constructions and more elaborate expression, e.g. *vārake ca jīvākhyake saṃjñe* (VM10.18aβ), ‘on the day called Jīva [= Thursday]’.<sup>38</sup>

### 3.8 Pakṣa

The lunar fortnight (San. *pakṣa*, Tam. *paṭca*, ‘wing; half’) has been recorded in 78 dates. In all the dates but one (for which see at the end of this section), the value of this submodule is an adjective meaning ‘bright’, ‘white’, ‘former’ (referring to the waxing moon) or ‘dark’, ‘black’, ‘latter’ (regarding the waning moon);<sup>39</sup> the marker of the submodule, when specified, is a noun for ‘fortnight’ – always *pakṣa/paṭca/pakka*, except for a single *chada*. The adjectives attested in our corpus indicating the waxing fortnight are *śukla/cukkila* (‘bright’), *śveta* and *valakṣa* (‘white’), *śuddha* (‘clear, bright’), *pūrva* (‘former’); those indicating the waning fortnight are *kṣṇa/kuṣṇa* (‘black’), *bahala* (‘thick, dense; intense, deep (of a colour)’), *tāmisra* (‘dark’), *apara* and *amara* (‘latter’),<sup>40</sup> *valakṣetara* (‘the other than the white’, i.e. ‘the dark/black’), *amāva[ci]*, ‘new moon’.<sup>41</sup>

35 Cf. Tam. *putaṅkiḷamai* (RE10835γ) and Hyb. *pudhanṅkiḷamaiyum* (E00044a), both for ‘Wednesday’.

36 Cf. Tam. *ātivāramum* (BN-INDIEN 319) and Hyb. *pāṇuvāram* (RE20066), ‘Sunday’.

37 Among these four markers, *vāra* (occurring 40 times out of 65) and *vāsara* (18 occurrences) are by far the most commonly used.

38 Jīva is an epithet of Bṛhaspati, who is the regent of Jupiter, which, in turn, is the planet which identify Thursday.

39 In Southern India the lunar months are *amānta*, i.e. they end on the new moon tithi: thus, the waxing fortnight comes first and is sometimes called ‘former’ (*pūrva*), the waxing fortnight follows and is sometimes called ‘latter’ (*apara*, see below).

40 For *apara*, ‘latter’, see the preceding note. According to TL, Tam. *amara* derives from San. *apara* (see under the entry *amarapakkam*).

41 The compound *amāvapakkac*, attested once and referring to the dark fortnight, should be emended into *amāva[ci]pakkac*, ‘the fortnight of the new moon tithi (*amāvaci*)’. Still, it is rather

In 60 cases (out of 66, 91%) the specifying adjective and the noun for ‘fortnight’ have been joined in a compound<sup>42</sup> (*kṛṣṇapakṣattil*, ‘in the black (i.e. waning) fortnight’, EO0134aβ; *pūrvapaṭcattil*, ‘in the former (i.e. waxing) fortnight’, BN-INDIEN 340), sometimes including the *tithi* as the third member (e.g. *pūrvapakṣacaturddaśyām*, ‘in the 14th [tithi] of the former (i.e. waxing) fortnight’, RE05920; *kuṣṇapaṭcatiriyoteciyuṇi*, ‘in the 13th [tithi] of the black (i.e. waning) fortnight’, EO0034γ). On the other hand, in six cases the adjective and the noun are grammatically distinct units, each bearing its own ending (always the locative): in these cases (all occurring in versified dates in Sanskrit), the syntactic order of the two words is, of course, freer than usual (e.g. *pakṣe śvete ca*, ‘and in the white (i.e. waxing) fortnight’ VM10.18aβ; *pakṣe śukle*, ‘in the white (i.e. waxing) fortnight’, RE04127; *pakṣe vaḷakṣetare*, ‘in the other-than-the-white (i.e. waning) fortnight’, EO0009b).

In eight dates, the word for ‘fortnight’ (i.e. the marker) has been dispensed with, e.g.: *śukle* (RE08258α), ‘in the white [fortnight]’; °*śuddha*<sup>o</sup> (VM10.22β), ‘the bright [fortnight]’;<sup>43</sup> *bahalatrayodaśiyin* (RE10924α), ‘in the 13th tithi in the dense (i.e. dark) fortnight’; *śukladvitiyai* (RE05574), ‘the second [tithi] in the bright [fortnight]’.

In one date the fortnight is recorded with its proper name, i.e. *mākālayapakṣa* (San. *mahālayapakṣa*). The Mahālayapakṣa is the latter (waning) fortnight of the lunar month of Bhādrapada (or Bhādra): it is best known as Piṭṛpakṣa and, as its name indicates, is particularly devoted to the celebration of rites in honour of the ancestors. The manuscript in point (MS-OR-2369a) was completed on *mākālayapakṣa amāvāsai*, ‘The new moon tithi of the Mākālayapakṣa’, i.e. on the last tithi of the Mahālayapakṣa.

Lastly, in three dates all that has been recorded is a word for fortnight (*pakṣa*, twice, *pakkam*, once), without any complement of specification to tell us into

---

puzzling, since no similar compound is found in our database referring to the dark or the bright fortnight (\**pūrṇamāipakkac*, ‘the fortnight of the new moon’); possibly, it is an elliptical expression equivalent to (a hypothetical) San. compound *amāntapakṣa* or *amāvāsyāntapakṣa*, ‘the fortnight which ends on the new moon tithi’, along the lines of *amānta*, ‘[the lunar month] that ends on the new moon tithi’.

**42** Given the rudimentary grammar that often characterises our colophons, in some cases it is admittedly difficult to determine if the adjective and the noun are actually compounded or simply juxtaposed, especially when none of the two is marked by an ending, e.g. *cukkila paṭca?* (or *cukkila paṭca?*).

**43** This date is expressed as a single compound *durmmukhināmasaṃvatsaramāghaśuddha-daśamyām*, ‘On the tenth [tithi] in the bright fortnight of the [month of] Māgha of the year called Durmmukhi’.

which of the two *pakṣas* the date falls. These last three may simply be scribe's oversights, in which adding the specifying adjective to the word *pakṣa*<sup>44</sup> has been forgotten.

### 3.9 Tithi

A tithi, sometimes called the 'lunar day',<sup>45</sup> corresponds to one thirty of the lunation: thus there are fifteen tithis in both fortnights, the waxing and the waning. In our corpus, the tithi has been recorded 143 times. As a rule, tithis are named after their ordinal number, always recorded in words with only one *possible* exception;<sup>46</sup> however, some tithis have special names. The first tithi of both lunations can be called *pratipad* (also *pratipadā*, *pratipadī*), 'beginning': in our corpus, this name occurs only once<sup>47</sup> in a metrical date, whereas in nine dates the first tithi is indicated by the word 'first' (*prathamā*, *prathamai* etc.). Aside from which, in our corpus the full moon and the new moon tithis, which occur 18 times, have never been recorded by their ordinal number, but with words and compounds meaning 'full moon' and 'new moon'. The names for the full moon tithi attested in our corpus are *paurṇamāsī* and *paurṇamī* (also *paurṇamī*)<sup>48</sup> (San.), *paurṇamāvācai* (also °*māvāsai*) and *pavuraṇai*<sup>49</sup> (Tam.), plus the hybrid, creative (and sometimes incorrect) forms *pūrṇamāvāsya*, *paurṇamāvāsya*, *paurṇamāvāsyaī*, *paurṇamāsāsya* (for °*māvāsya*?), *pūrṇai*; the new moon tithi is called *amāvāsī* (San.), *amavāci* and *am(m)āvāsai* (Tam.). Aside from the first and last tithis of the two *pakṣas*, other tithis have special names. In our corpus only

---

44 One can also surmise that the scribes intentionally wrote only the word *pakṣa*, accounting one of the two *pakṣas* as the '*pakṣa* par excellence', which, as such, does not need any further specification. Unfortunately, the data presently at our disposal is far too scant to verify such hypothesis. In one date, the cross-reference with the other calendrical elements let us know for certain that the fortnight denoted by the word *pakkam* is the bright one; however, it is not possible to convert the remaining two dates into the Gregorian calendar and, consequently, it cannot be determined which of the two fortnights is referred to by the word *pakṣa* recorded in them.

45 In this article the expression 'lunar day' is never used and the word 'day' is used only to refer to the day of the solar month.

46 See the next section, 'On days and tithis', point B, note 54.

47 The colophon reads *śuklapratipadau tithau* (VM10.5), where °*pratipadau* is apparently the locative of a stem °*pratipadi*-.

48 The form *paurṇamī* (from San. *paurṇamī*) is attested in two versified dates entirely composed in Sanskrit (EO0078y, VM10.4) and one time in a date composed in a hybrid Tamil-Sanskrit language, with the former prevailing over the latter (EO0078y, second date).

49 In the colophon, erroneously, *pavuralai* (RE10900β).

one has been attested, i.e. the tithi called in Sanskrit *vijayādaśamī* ('the 10th [tithi, named] Victory'), recorded four times with its Tamil name *vicayatacamī* (also *-tecami*, *-ticaimi*): it is the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of Āśvina, and is considered especially propitious, as it follows and closes the Navarātra festival – which, in turn, follows the Piṭṭ- or Mahālaya-pakṣa (see above).

Regarding markers, tithis are the only calendrical elements left unmarked in the vast majority of the cases: 114 out of 143 (80%). In all remaining cases but one, tithis have been marked with the word *tithi* (also *titi*, *titi*), which usually follows the number or the name of the tithi. In one occurrence, the tithi has been marked with a word for 'day' (*dina*, in *ekādaśadine*, VM10.23), by contrast with the fact that words for 'day' are used to mark the day in all other occurrences.<sup>50</sup> As expected, the tithis bearing a special name (such as the new and full moon tithis) are generally left unmarked, no doubt because their very names imply that they are tithis, thus adding a marker could be deemed dispensable; nonetheless, in four cases the name of a tithi has been followed by the marker *tithi*.<sup>51</sup>

As usual, in metrical dates the submodule can contain expletives (such as *pañcamīpuṇyatithyāṃ*, 'in the meritorious fifth tithi', EO0143) or more elaborate expressions (e.g. *paurṇamisaṃjñike tithivare*, 'in the excellent tithi called *paurṇamī* (i.e. full moon)', EO0078γ).

At the inter-submodule level, tithis are strictly related to pakṣas. As mentioned above, most of the tithis have been named after their ordinal number in both fortnights: it is only through the specification of the pakṣa that two tithis bearing the same ordinal number can be distinguished. Thus, one would expect tithis to be regularly paired with the indication of the pakṣa; however, in 51 dates the ordinal number (or the name *pratipad*) identifying the tithi has not been

<sup>50</sup> On this point, see the paragraph 'Exceptions', at the end of the next section ('On days and tithis'). In two more dates, the tithi (represented in one case by the ordinal number *captamī* and in the other case by the name *pūrṇamāvāsya*, 'full moon') is followed by a word meaning 'day', namely by the Tamil word *tiṇa* in the locative case: *cukkīlapakṣacaptamītiṇattil* (RE09826) and *pūrṇamāvāsyaṭtiṇattil* (RE33916β). However, the form *tiṇattil* (as well as its hybrid counterpart *dinattil* and their various spellings), used alone or, more frequently, preceded by or compounded with other words (*cu-*, *śubha-/cupa-*, *kūṭiṇa/kūṭiya*, *perra/petta*, *ippaḍi paṭṭa*, *cērnta* and several others) is not a marker of the preceding calendrical element: it occurs exclusively at the end of a date functioning as an end-of-date flag (see below), and this holds true also in the two aforementioned cases.

<sup>51</sup> In addition to *śuklapratipadau tithau* (VM10.5), already mentioned a few notes above, see e.g. *cittirāpaurṇamī tithi* (EO0078β) and *cittirāpaurṇamī tithi* (EO0078γ), 'the tithi of the full moon of [the lunar month of] Cittirā'.

accompanied by the indication of the pakṣa. Conversely, and somewhat unexpectedly, in six (non-metrical) dates the name denoting the full moon and new moon tithi is pleonastically preceded by the word indicating the pakṣa: *śuklapaurṇamāsyām* (RE04137), *śuklapakṣe paurṇamāvāsyām* (RE15438), *puṣṭvapaṭcattup pūrṇaiyum* (TAM303), *°śuddhapaurṇamyām* (VM10.8a), *kṛṣṇapakṣam ammāvāsai* (RE15447γ), *mākālayapakṣa amāvāsai* (MS-OR-2369a).

As usual, the submodules recorded in versified dates contain unusual and ornate expressions, such as *paurṇamisaṃjñike tithivare* (EO0078γ), ‘the best of the tithis, branded full moon’.

### On days and tithis

Both the solar day and the tithi are expressed in numbers, thus it is sometimes unclear whether a number in a date represents the former or the latter. This section attempts to address this matter. Firstly three ‘objective criteria’ have been applied to enable to determine incontrovertibly (‘positively’) whether the numbers contained in a considerable amount of dates represent the day or the tithi; subsequently, using these cases as a statistical basis, consistencies concerning how the solar day and the tithi have been recorded in the dates in our database are sought out – in terms of their relative position, the form in which their respective numbers have been represented and the symbols and words used to mark them. Finally, these consistencies are put in the form of nine ‘rules’ and a quantitative account of the scope of their validity in the frame of our database is provided.

To begin with, numbers in the dates may often be unambiguously (‘positively’) identified as representing a day or a tithi on the basis of the following three objective criteria:

- 1) a number greater than 14 represents the solar day, 14 being the highest number used to record a tithi in our database (the 15th tithi is invariably recorded with a name for ‘full moon tithi’ or ‘new moon tithi’);
- 2) a number represents the day (or, conversely, the tithi) if all the calendrical elements in the date, combined together, correspond to a date in the Gregorian calendar (between 1550 and 1920 CE) only interpreting the number under investigation as representing the day (or, conversely, the tithi), whereas no corresponding date can be arrived at taking that number as representing the other value;
- 3) the calendrical value (day or tithi) represented by a number can be determined with certainty due to the fact that the very date has been repeated

twice (sometimes thrice!) in the same colophon or manuscript, with variations in the calendrical elements mentioned or in the way they have been recorded.

Through the application of criteria 1–3, a good number of numbers representing a solar day or a tithi can be identified;<sup>52</sup> based on these cases, the following nine statistical ‘rules’ can be deduced. These rules may be proven to be valid in a very large number of cases, but not in all; however, only three have been found ‘positively contradicted’, and this occurs in only two dates (see ‘Exceptions to rules A to I’, below).

- A) The submodule of the solar day precedes that of the tithi. Based on criteria 1–3, this has been proved in 109 out of the 113 dates in our database in which both the solar day and the tithi have been recorded; the remaining four cases are indeterminable according to criteria 1–3, but all can be proven on the basis of rule B, below (two of them on account of rule H also). Thus, no confusion between the solar day and the tithi is possible in the dates in which both of them have been recorded.
- B) A number given in numerals expresses the solar day. In our database, there are dozens of positive attestations of numbers given in numerals referring to the solar day,<sup>53</sup> and no one single positive attestation where it stands for the tithi.<sup>54</sup> Hence, confusion between the solar day and the tithi may arise only in dates where only one number has been recorded (according to rule A) and that number has been expressed in words (according to B).
- C) The symbols for ‘day’ always mark numbers representing the day of the solar month. The symbols for ‘day’ occur almost always after numbers given in numerals (359 times out of 365), which are themselves exclusively used to record the solar day (as stated in rule B, above); however, according to criteria 1–3 (and also rule F, below), the symbols for ‘solar day’ have undoubtedly

---

<sup>52</sup> The cases in which this is not possible will be called ‘indeterminable’.

<sup>53</sup> In our corpus, out of 422 occurrences of a number given in numerals representing the day or the tithi, 282 can be positively proved to indicate the day on the basis of just criterion 1.

<sup>54</sup> To be sure, in our database there is one *possible* attestation of the tithi recorded in numerals (RE10829β). However, we cannot call it a ‘positive’ evidence, since in that date, which is written on a guard leaf and is hardly legible, the tithi *seems* to be recorded with the Tamil digit ‘8’ (or perhaps ‘18’, which would bar it from representing the tithi). Moreover, the calendrical elements in the date (Jovian year, solar month, day of the month, day of the week, tithi (?), constellation) do not correspond to any date in the Gregorian calendar (in the range 1550–1920 CE), thus one of them must be wrong – with the suspicions mainly falling on the tithi.

- been used to mark the solar day also in the four occurrences where they follow a number given in words (always a Tamil ordinal, see rule F below).
- D) Words for ‘day’ (or abbreviations thereof, such as *t<sup>o</sup>* for *tikati* or *teti*) have been used to mark the solar day. According to rule B, this is true of all the 47 times in which these words have been used in combination with numbers expressed in numerals;<sup>55</sup> this also holds for those cases in which a word for ‘day’ has been used to mark numbers expressed in words, albeit with one exception. In our database, there are 33 such cases:<sup>56</sup> the number can be proved to represent the day in 29 cases (19 on the basis of criteria 1–3, 10 on the basis of rule E, below), three cases are indeterminable; in one case the number inconsistently stands for the tithi. This last one also breaks rule H, see the paragraph ‘Exceptions’, below.
- E) In a date made up of just the year, month and a number, the number represents the day, not the tithi. As shown above (see ‘Frequency and order of the calendrical elements’), this is the most common structure of the dates, occurring 211 times in total. In such dates, it is safe to say that the number following the year and the month represents the day in 119 cases on the basis of criterion 1 (the number is greater than 14) and in 78 more cases on the basis of the statistical rules B and C. Conversely, there is not one such date where the number represents the tithi on the basis of statistical rules G, H and I (see below).
- F) Numbers expressed in the Tamil language represent the solar day. There are 14 such numbers in our corpus, all in the form of ordinal numbers:<sup>57</sup> seven may be identified as days on the basis of criteria 1–3, six are days according to rule E; one can be interpreted either as the day or the tithi.
- G) The numbers (all expressed in words) marked with the word *tithi* (also *titi* and *tīti*) represent the tithi: at any rate this can be proven in 23 cases of 24 on the basis of criteria 1–3. In addition to these 24, the marker *tithi* has been used in four more dates to mark the name of a tithi (*paurnamī/paurṇami*, *pratipadi*).
- H) A number given in the form of a Sanskrit (or hybridised Sanskrit) ordinal number in the feminine gender (with or without a marker) represents a tithi. In our dates, of 114 Sanskrit (or hybridised Sanskrit) ordinal numbers in the feminine gender, 108 represent the tithi and six are indeterminable (on the basis of criteria 1–3); moreover, there is not a single positive attestation of a

---

55 In 39 out of these 49 cases, this is confirmed by the objective rules 1–3.

56 All of these numbers are in the masculine or neuter gender (see point H).

57 In some dates, *mutal* (‘first’) is abbreviated with the syllable *mu* (three times in the same manuscript: UVSL67α, UVSL67γ, UVSL67θ) or represented by a symbol (BN-INDIEN 65).

day recorded in such a form<sup>58</sup>. In addition, in our database there is not a single positive attestation of a tithi represented by a cardinal number: all the 112 numbers expressed in words which proved to represent a tithi through criteria 1–3 are Sanskrit (or hybridised Sanskrit) ordinal numbers. Among these, 108 (96%) are feminine ordinal numbers; for the remaining four cases, see below, at the end of this paragraph.

As for the feminine ordinal numbers representing the tithis, they are sometimes recorded in ‘proper’ Sanskrit, either in their stem form or declined in the nominative (e.g. *śrīśuklaprathamātithau*, *pañcamīpuṇyatithyāṃ*, *ṣaṣṭhī*, *daśamī*, *caturddaśītithau*)<sup>59</sup> or, more often, in the locative (e.g. *dvitīyā[yā]ṃ*, *caturtthiyāṃ tithau*, *pañcamyāṃ*, *daśamyāṃ*, *caturddaśyāṃ*).<sup>60</sup> However, in most cases these ordinal numbers have been adapted to Tamil phonetics/phonology, with the final Sanskrit *-ī-* shortened to *-i* (e.g. *caturtthi/caturrtti*, *pañcchami/pañcami*, *ṣaṣṭi/saṣṭi/caṣṭi*, *daśami/tacami/tecami/ticami*, *tīriyoteci/tiriyoteci/tīraiyyoteci*)<sup>61</sup> and the final Sanskrit *-ā-* changed into *-ai* (e.g. *prathamai tithi*, *dvitiyai/tvatiyai*, *ṭṛtīyai/tritikai/tīrtikai/tutikai*).<sup>62</sup> One may note that in Sanskrit compounds such as *śrīśuklaprathamātithau*, *pañcamīpuṇyatithyāṃ*, *caturddaśītithau*, the ordinal numbers inflected in the feminine are nouns<sup>63</sup> and, joining with the word *tithi*, form karmadhārayas of the type: ‘on the auspicious tithi which is the first in the bright [fortnight]’, ‘on the auspicious tithi which is the fifth’, ‘on that tithi which is the fourteenth’.<sup>64</sup> As mentioned above, of 112 ordinal numbers representing

**58** In our database, the numbers expressed in words which represent the day are recorded in the form of Sanskrit cardinals, Sanskrit ordinals, or Tamil ordinals. These Sanskrit cardinals and ordinals are all in the masculine or neuter genders and they are always accompanied by a word for day as their marker, e.g. *dvitiyadina/dvitiyadine* (RE10871/VM1.59a), *ṣaṣṭīdinam* (RE19980β), *saptamavāsare* (EO0014), *daśame [']hāni* (EO0009b), *ekādaśadivase* (EO0002a), *saptaviṃśati divase* (VM1.21).

**59** Respectively in EO0021, EO0143, MORI-3633, RE15535, EO0036a.

**60** Respectively in EO0067β, RE26402, VM10.18aβ, VM10.22β, EO0069a.

**61** Respectively in EO0076β/EFEO\_GUEST\_MSS\_001β, RE10717β/EO0069y, RE20103a/RE436438/UVSL1, VM4.1a/UVSL67η/TORIML2676/BN-INDIEN 973, BN-INDIEN 199/BN-INDIEN 322/BN-INDIEN 333.

**62** Respectively in EO0014, EO0408/RE25374, EO0039/EO0583a/NLK3241/BN-INDIEN 318.

**63** See also *paṅṣe śukle saptamīsamīyute* (RE04127), ‘in the bright fortnight joined with the seventh [tithi]’.

**64** In all likely, the feminine gender of these ordinal numbers is the result of their grammatical agreement with the name *tithi*. According to dictionaries, San. *tithi* can be both masculine or feminine, but in our dates we can assume that it is always used in the feminine: this can be evinced by the gender of the ordinal numbers that qualify them (e.g. *pañcamyāṃ tithau*, EO0143;

the tithi, four are not in the feminine gender. Three of them (*tritīyatithi*, found twice in the same colophon in RE33814β, and *tṛtīyatithi* in RE50361) are to be interpreted as karmadhāraya whose first member (the ordinal number) is an adjective. The remaining case, *ekādaśadine* (VM10.23), is an exception to the present rule (as the number is not in the feminine) and also to rule D (because the marker is a word for ‘day’): it will be dealt with separately under ‘Exceptions’, below.

- I) Numbers expressed in words in Sanskrit (or hybridised Sanskrit) and left unmarked represent the tithi. On the basis of criteria 1–3, out of 96 such numbers 87 can be positively proved to represent the tithi, nine cases are indeterminable. Rule I is almost of a corollary to rule H, as 95 unmarked numbers of 96 have been recorded in the form of feminine ordinals: however, only one remaining number, recorded in the form of a masculine or neuter ordinal number, probably stands for the day (see below).

**Exceptions to rules A to I.** As shown above, the validity of rules A to I can be demonstrated in most cases, but not in all. At the same time, they have been corroborated by the fact that only three of these nine rules are ‘positively infringed’ and, all the more, by the fact that it occurs in only two dates.

The one exception to rule I is represented by the date 925 <KY> *śuklavaraṣam pañca ānimāsi sudine* (VM1.59β), ‘on the auspicious day of the Kollam year 925, [Jovian] year Śukla, 5th [day?], month of Āni.’ In this date the number *pañca* probably represents the day, in line with rules E (the date is made up of just the year(s), the month and a number) and H (in our corpus positive tithis are never represented by a cardinal number); however, is contra to rule I, according to which a number expressed in Sanskrit words and left unmarked must represent the tithi. It should be noted that this date is syntactically bizarre, for the number of the day precedes the name of the month, which is odd as *sudine* has been attested to nowhere else in our corpus, neither as a marker nor an ‘end-of-date marker’ (see below).

Also rules H and D have been contravened only once and this occurs in the same date: *śubhakarṣṣaṃvatsare mārgaśiṛṣamāse kṛṣṇapakṣe ekādaśadine maṃgalavāsare svātīnakṣatre* (VM10.23). The submodule *ekādaśadine* is expected to represent the solar day according to both H (as the Sanskrit number, whether cardinal or ordinal, is not in the feminine) and D (as words for ‘day’, such

---

*prathamai tithi*, EO0014; *dvādaśi tithi* EO0009b), by the sporadic occurrence of the San. locative singular *tithyām* (*pañcamīpūnyatithyām*, EO0143) and, perhaps, also by that of the hybrid form *titi* (!) (*titi aṣṭami*, BN-INDIEN 351).

as *dina*, mark the day): however, if *ekādaśadine* is interpreted as representing the day, the calendrical elements in the date combined together do not correspond to any date in the Gregorian calendar between 1550 and 1920 CE. Conversely, if *ekādaśadine* is taken to express the tithi, all the calendrical elements in the date concur on 27 December 1842.

### 3.10 Nakṣatras

In our database, the nakṣatra, ‘constellation’, has been recorded 152 times. In this submodule, the values are always represented by the names of the constellations, which have been recorded in a somewhat wide spectrum of spellings, included between the Sanskrit and the Tamil forms of the names.<sup>65</sup> The markers are all synonymous words meaning ‘constellation’: *nakṣatra* is by far the most commonly found (113 occurrences, three-fourths of the total), but also *tāra*, *tāraka*, *ṛkṣa* and *bha* have been attested. A straight and forward line separates the former marker from the others: the attestations of *nakṣatra* in versified dates are extremely rare (two out of 113), whereas the other markers occur only in versified dates; moreover, the marker *nakṣatra* always follows the name of the nakṣatra, whereas the other markers sometimes precede the value they flag and are often accompanied by expletives of some sort, inserted for metrical reasons. The name of the constellation has been left unmarked in 28 occurrences (25%).

One interesting case is represented by a submodule in which both the nakṣatras occurring during that day have been recorded: *puraṭṭātiy ākay* [sic] *uttiraṭṭātiyum ākat* (RE47681), ‘when there is [the constellation] Puraṭṭāti and there is [the constellation] Uttiraṭṭāti’. On nearly all days two successive nakṣatras occur, but only one (as a rule the one which is current at sunrise) has been recorded in the date: it is not clear why in this single case the scribe decided to write both the nakṣatras of the day.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> E.g. *ārdṛā*, *ārudrā*, *ārudira*, *tinuvātirai*, name of the 6th nakṣatra (respectively attested in EO0583b, RE20103α, RE15447γ, RE25374).

<sup>66</sup> One can surmise that the scribe finished to copy the manuscript around the time in which one nakṣatra ended and the next one begun. In addition, note that the two nakṣatras bear the same name (Tam. *puraṭṭāti* and *uttiraṭṭāti*, San. *pūrvabhādrapada* and *uttarabhādrapada*) and, as such, they might be felt to form a pair.

### 3.11 Minor calendrical elements

Some minor calendrical elements have sometimes been recorded in the dates, usually placed after the major ones described thus far. The start, duration and end of these minor elements are not based on the (real or apparent) motion of heavenly bodies, but determined through purely mathematical computation: they are of no help for converting a date into the Gregorian calendar, but are of great importance for calculating auspicious and inauspicious points in time. At present, a proper statistical study on these elements is not possible, due to their low frequency in our dates: for the time being, the following remarks on them must suffice.

These elements are the yoga (which occurs in 11 dates), the karaṇa (recorded in seven dates), the lagna or lakṣaṇa (found in 20 dates), the velā (six occurrences), the muhūrta (two occurrences). As a rule, their submodules are made up of the specific name of the element (the ‘value’) followed by the name of its ‘class’ as the marker, e.g. *cittiṅāmayōkamum keṛacaivākaraṇamum tulālekkānamum rācataveḷaiyum nantaṅimukurtamuṅ* (UVSL1044), ‘the yoga called Citti, the karaṇa Keṛacaivā, the lakṣaṇa Tulā, silver time (? *rācata*-[ve][lai]), the muhūrta Nantaṅi’. The marker has been omitted only two times, in the same date (*mākēntiram [yoga] [...] vaṅicam [karaṇa]*, UVSL67η); in just one (metrical) date, the marker has been mentioned before the value, no doubt for prosodical reasons (*lagne kaṭaka iti*, VM10.18aβ). In the submodule of the yoga, the adverb *nāma* has often been inserted between the value and the marker, as in the above mentioned case (also in *atikeṅṭāmayogamum*, RE05574; *cupam nāmayokamun*, RE15398). Yogas and karaṇas are two of the five elements on which *pañcāṅgas* are based, together with the tithi, the day of the week and the nakṣatra (see above, ‘Frequency and order of the calendrical elements’): one might note that in the seven dates in which the karaṇa has been recorded, the other four calendrical elements have been recorded also, save for one date in which the day of the week is missing.

Occasionally, other temporal indication has also been recorded, such as the season (e.g. *śaraḍṛtau*, ‘in the autumn season’, RE15438; *varṣarṭuvil*, ‘in the rainy season’, VM4.2a), the course of the sun (e.g. *uttarāyaṇe*, ‘in the northern course of the sun’, EO0002a; *dakṣiṅāyaṇe*, ‘in the southern course of the sun’, VM1.32), the part of the day (e.g. *tivi*, ‘during the day’, UVSL1; *irāttiri*, ‘at night’, UVSL67γ; *utaiyattil*, ‘at sunrise’, EO0004; *ṅāḷk kālame* ‘early in the morning’, BN-INDIEN 309; *sāyaṅkālaṃ*, ‘in the evening’, RE50361), the name of the festivity of the day (*mahāśivaratri*, RE558530).

### 3.12 Nāḷikais

In our corpus, 19 dates include numbers representing the *nāḷikais* (Tam. also *nāḷi*, San. *ghaṭikā*): a *nāḷikai*, sometimes called the ‘Indian hour’, corresponds actually to one-sixtieth of a mean solar day, i.e. 24 minutes. In our dates, the *nāḷikais* have been recorded as integers, mostly represented in numerals, occasionally in words; in six dates the integer is followed by rational numbers (i.e. fractions, represented by special symbols in the Tamil script), whereas in two dates the first integer has been followed by one more integer. In all likelihood, both the fractions and the second integers represent the *viṇāṭis* (San. *pala*), the ‘Indian minutes’, which correspond to one-sixtieth of a *nāḷikai*, i.e. 24 seconds. Most of the times *nāḷikais* and *viṇāṭis* have been marked by the word *nāḷikai/nāḷi* (or a symbol for it), which usually precedes the numerical value, but in a few dates follows it; in two dates the word *maṇi*, ‘hour’ (probably denoting the ‘western hour’, corresponding to 1/24 of the mean solar day)<sup>67</sup> have been used as the marker instead; in five dates the numbers are left unmarked.

It is not fully clear to what time the *nāḷikais* refer: their meaning and role in the dates require further investigation, hopefully relying on a larger number of attestations. At present, it is to be supposed that in the dates in which *nāḷikais* have been recorded next to two or more calendrical elements such as tithi, nakṣatra, yoga, karaṇa, the values of the *nāḷikais* represent the time of expiration of the calendrical elements which precede them: in point of fact, these dates seem to reproduce part of the content of the *pañcāṅgas*, in which tithi, nakṣatra, yoga and karaṇa have been followed by their time of expiration on each day, expressed precisely in *nāḷikais* and *viṇāṭis*. This supposition has been corroborated by the fact that the deviation between the values of the *nāḷikais* recorded in these dates and the time of expiration of tithis and nakṣatras given in the tables in Pillai’s *Indian Ephemeris* is acceptable in most cases. However, this hypothesis does not hold for the dates in which the *nāḷikai* has been mentioned only once, as well as for those *nāḷikais* preceded by (and, thus, refer to) a calendrical element which has no time of expiration (e.g. *tivi*, *pakal*, *divā*, ‘day time’, *irāttiri*, ‘night’): in these cases, it is reasonable to surmise that instead of indicating the time of expiration of a calendrical element, the *nāḷikais* specify the precise time at which the

<sup>67</sup> According to TL, *maṇi* is a word of ‘modern usage’ (*Mod.*) meaning ‘Hour; 60 *nimiṣamuṇṇa nēram*’, i.e. ‘the time measured in 60 *nimiṣa*’. In turn, *nimiṣam* is defined as ‘minute, 1/60 hour; *miṇiṭṭu nēram*’, i.e. ‘time measured in minutes’: it seems reasonable, thus, to interpret the word *maṇi* as denoting the ‘western hour’, consisting of 60 ‘western’ minutes (*miṇiṭṭu* in TL, s.v.). The dates in which the word *maṇi* is used as the marker dates from 1838 (UVSL67γ) and 1875 (RE43394γ).

copying process came to an end. Although hard to prove, this hypothesis may be supported by a few dates in which this is precisely what the scribe appears to be telling us, e.g.: 1002 <KY> āṭi <M> 20 <D> *divā patinañcuṅālikaiyil sampūrṇam budavāram punarpūśam* (E00080aβ), ‘In the Kollam year 1002, month of Āṭi, 20 day, on the fifteenth ṅāḷikai in the daytime, it is completed. Wednesday, [constellation of] Punarpūśam’.

It is worth emphasising that all mentions of *nāḷikais* and *viṅāṭis* in our corpus occur in dates from the nineteenth century, with the obvious exception of those dates which cannot be converted into the Gregorian calendar. Hence, one is tempted to infer that the habit of recording *nāḷikais* and *viṅāṭis* in manuscript dates came into use in that century: this is clearly possible, but care must be taken in drawing this conclusion, for it may also be the statistical consequence of the clear prevalence of dates from the nineteenth century in our corpus, amounting to 77% of the total (see ‘Frequency and order of the calendrical elements’, above).

### 3.13 End-of-date formulas

Finally, the dates in our corpus have often been closed by a word or expression serving as an ‘end-of-date’ formula. Several of these formulaic expressions have been attested in our corpus, the most frequently occurring being: *śubhadinattil*, ‘in the auspicious day [...]’; *yinta śubhadinattil*, ‘in this auspicious day [...]’;<sup>68</sup> *śubhayogaśubhakaraṅattil*, ‘in the auspicious yoga and karaṇa [...]’; *peṛra śubhadinattil*, ‘in the auspicious day in which [...] join together’; *ākiya puṅṅiyatiṅattilē*, ‘on the auspicious day in which [...] occur’; *ippaḍi śubhadinattil*, ‘when on such an auspicious day [...]’; *kūṭiya cupadinattil*, ‘on the auspicious day when [...] come together’;<sup>69</sup> *kūṭiṅa śubhayogaśubhadinattil*, ‘in the auspicious day of the auspicious yoga in which [...] come together’.

However, there is not a corresponding ‘start-of-date’ formula at the beginning of the dates: as a rule, the dates in our corpus start with the submodule of

<sup>68</sup> E.g., 1021 <KY> *viśvāvasuvarṣam āvaṅi māsaṅ 3 <D> nāttikkelaṃai paurṇamāvāsai avuṭṭa naḱsattiram yinta śubhadinattil triṅśatpraśnottaraṅ eḷuti mukintatu* (E00003a), ‘In the Kollam year 1021, Jovian year Viśvāvasu, month of Āvaṅi, 3rd day, on Sunday, on the full moon [tithi], under the constellation of Avuṭṭa, on this auspicious day, the Triṅśatpraśnottaram was fully copied’.

<sup>69</sup> E.g., *kilaka <Y> appiya <M> 19 <D> viyāḷakkīlaimaiyum uttirāṭam naḱcettiramum kūṭiya cupatiṅattil yeḷuti niṅṛaintatu murriṅṛu* (UVSL892), ‘On the auspicious day when the Jovian year Kilaka, the month of Appiya, the 19th day, Thursday, the constellation of Uttirāṭam come together, it was fully copied and completed’.

one of the years. The formula *svasti śrī*, which occurs at the beginning of three dates, has been found exclusively in combination with the Śālivāhanaśaka year; therefore, it appears correct to interpret it as an element belonging to the Śālivāhanaśaka year submodule, and not as an opening formula pertaining to the entire date.

## 4 Conclusions

The purpose of the present article has been to present the reader with a review of the different scribal patterns found in the dates of our database. Hopefully, this study lays the groundwork for broader and more in-depth research to help better locate the manuscripts in time and space; in turn, this research will certainly gain even more statistical impact the moment it is cross-checked with similar statistics based on other modules of the colophons and borrowing/lending statements.

## Abbreviation

TL *Tamil lexicon in six volumes, published under the authority of the University of Madras, Madras: University of Madras, 1924–1936.*

## References

- Ciotti, Giovanni and Marco Franceschini (2016), ‘Certain Times in Uncertain Places: A Study on Scribal Colophons of Manuscripts Written in Tamil and Tamilian Grantha Scripts’, in Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (eds), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 7), Berlin: De Gruyter, 59–130.
- Pillai, L. D. Swamikannu (1922), *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799*, Vol. I, Part 1: *General principles and tables*, Madras: Government Press.
- Pope, George Uglow (1867), *A Tamil Hand-book, or full introduction to the common dialect of that language, on the plan of Ollendorf and Arnold, for the use of foreigners learning Tamil, and of Tamilians learning English*, 2nd edn [1st edn 1855], Madras: J. Higginbotham.
- Rhenius, C. T. E. (1836), *A Grammar of the Tamil Language*, Madras: Church Mission Press.
- Sewell, Robert and Śankara Bālakṛishṇa Dīkshīt (1896), *The Indian Calendar. With Tables for the Conversion of Hindu and Muhammadan into A.D. Dates, and Vice Versa*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

## Appendix: Tables

**Notes on the tables.** Table 1 gives all the calendrical elements listed in their ‘standard’ order; for each of them, the number of occurrences, frequency and number of misplacements with respect to the standard order is recorded.

The purpose of Tables 2 to 11 is to present the attested structures of the sub-modules, different for content and syntax, of all the main calendrical elements, in a hopefully visually effective format.

Each line in a table represents a different structure; similar structures have been grouped together through black horizontal lines.

The main columns contain the value(s) and the marker(s) recorded in the submodules. The last two columns to the right show the number of attestations for each single structure and for a group of similar structures. The number of occurrences of a structure is followed by the number of its metrical arrangements (if any),, e.g.: ‘3 (2 metr.)’ means ‘three occurrences of this structure are attested, two of them metrically arranged’. The column **Expl.** contains the ‘expletives’, which are mostly (but not exclusively) found in metrical dates as line filler; they have only occasionally been recorded in the tables.

**Content of the cells.** Letters or words in lower case represent actual letters or words found in the date (e.g. *abda*, *māsa*, *pratipadi*, *āṅṅtu*, *m*); words in lower case preceded by ≈ are actually attested in the dates in several different spellings (e.g. ≈*varṣa* includes the spellings *varṣa*, *varuṣam*, *varuḷam* etc.). Words in upper case represent categories, such as NUM (‘number’), NAME, SYMBOL (also SYMB), PLANET, FULL MOON (i.e. any attested expression standing for ‘full moon’), NEW MOON, PERIPHHRASIS (periphrastic expressions used in some metrical dates for recording the solar month; see the article), ??? (lost or illegible). Words in brackets indicate a characteristic of a category: in numerals (also in num.), in words, abbr. (‘in abbreviated form’), Tam. (‘in the Tamil language’), San. (‘in the Sanskrit language’), Hyb. (‘in a hybrid Tamil-Sanskrit language/spelling’), Eng. (‘in the English language’), metr. (‘metrically arranged submodule’). The symbol | placed between two elements stands for the disjunctive particle ‘or’: *dina* | *vasara* | *ahan* means ‘*dina* or *vasara* or *ahan*’.

**Table 1:** Calendrical elements listed in their ‘standard’ order, with their frequency and deviation from the standard order (‘misplacements’)

Calendrical element	Occurrences in complete dates	%	Misplacements
Śālivāhanaśaka year	16	3.5%	3
Kali year	11	2.4%	0
Christian year	12	2.7%	1
<u>Kollam year</u>	187	41%	5
<u>Jovian year</u>	327	72%	0
<i>(at least one year)</i>	<i>(452)</i>	<i>(100%)</i>	–
<u>Solar month</u>	416	92%	3
Lunar month	32	7.1%	0
<i>(at least one month)</i>	<i>(447)</i>	<i>(99%)</i>	–
<u>Day of the solar month</u>	392	87%	5
<u>Day of the week</u>	198	44%	36
<u>Pakṣa</u>	75	17%	8
<u>Tithi</u>	138	31%	10
<u>Nakṣatra</u>	149	33%	5
Yoga	11	2.4%	–
Karaṇa	7	1.5%	–
Lagna / Lakṣaṇa	20	4.4%	–
Velā	6	1.3%	–
Muhūrta	2	0.4%	–

**Table 2:** Kollam year

Marker	Value	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 190
	NUM(in numerals)	SYMB	169	
	NUM(in numerals) <i>m</i>	SYMB	6	
	NUM(in numerals)	SYMB <i>m</i>	1	176
<i>kollam</i>	NUM(in numerals)	SYMB	5	
<i>kollam</i>	NUM(in numerals)	<i>āmta   mtu</i>	2	
<i>kollam</i>	NUM(in numerals)		1	
	NUM(in numerals)	<i>āmta   mta</i>	2	10

**Table 2 (continued)**

Marker	Value	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 190
<i>abda</i>	NUM(in San. words)		1 (1 metr.)	
	NUM(in Tam. words)	<i>āṇḍu</i>	1 (1 metr.)	2
	NUM(in San. words)		1	
	NUM(in numerals)		1	2

**Table 3: Jovian year**

Value	Expl.	Value	Expl.	Marker	Occurrences	Tot. 330
NUM		NAME		SYMB	160	
		NAME		SYMB <i>m</i>	10	
		NAME	<i>nāma</i>	SYMB	1	
		NAME		SYMB	3	174
		NAME		<i>≈saṃvatsara</i>	13	
		NAME	<i>nāma</i>	<i>≈saṃvatsara</i>	62 (2 metr.)	
		NAME		<i>≈varṣa</i>	55	
		NAME	<i>nāma</i>	<i>varṣa</i>	1	
		NAME		<i>abda</i>	8 (8 metr.)	
		NAME		<i>abdaka</i>	1 (1 metr.)	
		NAME	<i>nāma</i>	<i>abda</i>	2 (2 metr.)	
		NAME		<i>vatsara</i>	2 (2 metr.)	
		NAME	<i>nāma</i>	<i>vatsara</i>	1 (1 metr.)	145
	<i>abda</i>		NAME			2 (2 metr.)
<i>abda</i>		NAME	<i>ākhyā</i>		1 (1 metr.)	
<i>abda</i>		NAME	<i>nāmaka</i>		3 (3 metr.)	
<i>varṣa</i>	<i>nāma</i>	NAME			1 (1 metr.)	7
		NAME		???	2 (2 metr.)	2
		NAME			2 (1 metr.)	2



Table 4: Śālivāhanaśaka, Kali and Christian years

Marker	Marker	Value	Marker	Occurr.	Total
<b>Śālivāhanaśaka year</b>					<b>Tot. 16</b>
<i>śālivāhanaśaka</i>	<i>abda</i>   <i>arttam</i>   <i>aṛta</i>	NUM(in num.)		4	
<i>śālivāhanaśaka</i>	SYMBOL	NUM(in num.)		3	
<i>śālivāhanaśaka</i>	<i>abda</i>   <i>arttam</i>   <i>attam</i>	NUM(in num.)	SYMBOL	4	11
<i>śaka</i>	<i>arttam</i>	NUM(in num.)	SYMBOL	2	
<i>śaka</i>	<i>abda</i>	NUM(in num.)	<i>varuṣam</i>	1	
<i>śaka</i>	<i>abda</i>	NUM(in num.)		1	4
		NUM(in num.)	<i>āṅṅtu</i>	1	1
<b>Kali year</b>					<b>Tot. 11</b>
<i>kali</i>		NUM(in num.)	SYMBOL	2	
<i>kali</i>		NUM(in words)	<i>vatsara</i>	1	3
<i>kalyādi</i>		NUM(in words)	<i>varṣa</i>	1 (1 metr.)	
<i>kaliyuka</i>	SYMBOL	NUM(in num.)		2	
<i>kaliyuka</i>		NUM(???)	SYMBOL	1	
<i>kaliyukāṛtam</i>		NUM(in num.)		1	
<i>kaliyukāptam</i>		NUM(in num.)	SYMBOL	1	
<i>kaliyukāti</i>	SYMBOL	NUM(in num.)		1	7
		NUM(in words)	<i>vatsara-</i> <i>parimitakalau</i>	1	1
<b>Christian year</b>					<b>Tot. 12</b>
		NUM(in num.)	SYMBOL	6	
		NUM(in num.)	<i>āṅṅtu</i>	2	8
<i>tēvacakāṛtam</i>		NUM(in num.)	<i>i</i>	2	
<i>iṅkilīcu</i>	SYMBOL	NUM(in num.)		2	4

Table 5: Solar month

Marker	Value	Value	Marker	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 485
	NAME(Tam.)		SYMB		290	
	NAME(Tam. abbr.)		SYMB		7	
	NAME(Tam.)		SYMB <i>m</i>		62	
	NAME(Tam.)		SYMB <i>cam</i>		2	
	NAME(Tam.)		SYMB <i>ṭ</i>		1	
	NAME(Tam.)	NUM	SYMB <i>m</i>		1	
	SYMB for <i>merpaṭi</i>		SYMB		1	
	NAME(Tam.)	NAME(San.)	SYMB		1	
	NAME(San.)		SYMB		4	
	NAME(San.)		SYMB <i>m</i>		1	
	NAME(Eng.)		SYMB		3	373
	NAME(San.)		<i>māsa</i>		40 (7 metr.)	
	NAME(San.)		<i>ravi</i>		2	
	NAME(San.)		<i>mās</i>		1 (1 metr.)	
	NAME(San.)		<i>matī</i>		1	
<i>māsa</i>	NAME(San.)				2 (2 metr.)	
	NAME(Tam.)		<i>māsa</i>		37	
	NAME(Tam.)		<i>māca</i>	SYMB	1	
	NAME(Tam.)		<i>ravi</i>		1	
	NAME(Tam.)		<i>mācam</i>		3	
	NAME(Tam.)		<i>mātam</i>		3	
	???		<i>māsa</i>		1	92
	NAME(San.)		PERIPHRAISIS		5 (5 metr.)	5
	NAME(Tam.)		???		4	4
	NAME(San.)				3 (2 metr.)	
	NAME(Tam.)				8	11

Table 6: Lunar month

Value	Marker(s)	Occurrences	Tot. 32
NAME	<i>māsa</i>	21 (3 metr.)	
NAME	<i>mās</i>	2 (1 metr.)	
NAME	<i>mās</i>	1 (1 metr.)	24
NAME	SYMB	2	
NAME	SYMB <i>m</i>	1	3
NAME		1 (1 metr.)	
NAME		4 (1 metr.)	5

Table 7: Day of the solar month

Marker	Value	Marker	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 467
	NUM(in numerals)	SYMBOL		355	
	NUM(in numerals) <i>ā</i>	SYMBOL		1	
	NUM(in numerals)	SYMBOL	<i>ti</i>	4	
	NUM(in words)(Tam. ordinal)	SYMBOL		4	
	???	SYMBOL		2	
	NUM(in numerals)	???		4	370
	NUM(in numerals)		<i>ṭ°</i>	27	
	NUM(in numerals)		<i>ti</i>	1	
	NUM(in numerals)		<i>teti</i>   <i>ted(h)i</i>   <i>tikati</i>   <i>tiyati</i>	9	
	NUM(in numerals) <i>ā</i>   <i>ām</i>   <i>m</i>		<i>tikati</i>   <i>tīy(y)ati</i>	6	
	NUM(in words)(Tam. ordinal)		<i>teti</i>   <i>tēti</i>   <i>tedi</i>   <i>tikati</i>	8	51
	NUM(in words)(San. ordinal)		<i>dina</i>   <i>vasara</i>   <i>ahan</i>	11 (2 metr.)	
<i>sudina</i>	NUM(in words)(San. ordinal)			1 (1 metr.)	
	NUM(in words)(San. cardinal)		<i>dina</i>   <i>divasa</i>	7 (1 metr.)	
	NUM(in words)(San. cardinal/ ordinal)		<i>dina</i>   <i>divasa</i>	5 (3 metr.)	24

Table 7 (continued)

Marker	Value	Marker	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 467
	NUM(in numerals)			19	
	NUM(in words)(Tam. ordinal)			2	
	NUM(in words)(San. cardinal)			1	22

Table 8: Day of the week

Marker	Value	Marker	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 204
	PLANET(San.)	<i>vāra</i>		35 (4 metr.)	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>vāra</i> (abbr.)		1	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>vāra</i>	<i>dina</i>   <i>tina</i>	4	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>vāra</i>	<i>nāḷ</i>	1	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>vāsara</i>		18 (6 metr.)	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>kiḷamai</i>		1	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>dina</i>		3 (2 metr.)	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>dina</i>		1 (1 metr.)	
	PLANET(San.)	<i>divasa</i>		1 (1 metr.)	65
<i>vāsara</i>	PLANET(San.)			1 (1 metr.)	
<i>vāraka</i>	PLANET(San.)			1 (1 metr.)	2
	PLANET(Hyb.)	<i>vāram</i>		46	
	PLANET(Hyb.)	<i>vāram</i>	<i>nāḷ</i>	6	
	PLANET(Hyb.)	<i>≈kiḷamai</i>		13	65
	PLANET(Tam.)	<i>≈kiḷamai</i>		55	
	PLANET(Tam.)	<i>≈kiḷamai</i>	<i>dina</i>	2	
	PLANET(Tam.)	<i>≈kiḷamai</i>	<i>nāḷ</i>	2	
	PLANET(Tam.)	<i>vāram</i>		7	
	PLANET(Tam. abbr.)	<i>teti</i>		1	67
	PLANET(San.)	???		1	1
	PLANET(San.)			3	
	PLANET(Tam.)			1	4

Table 9: Pakṣa

Marker	Value	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 78
	<i>śukla</i>	<i>pakṣa</i>	21 (4 metr.)	
	<i>śukla</i>	<i>chada</i>	1 (1 metr.)	
	<i>kṛṣṇa</i>   <i>kiṣṇa</i>   <i>kuṣṇa</i>	<i>≈pakṣa</i>	15 (1 metr.)	
	<i>pūrva</i>   <i>pūruva</i>   <i>pūruva</i>   <i>puruva</i>	<i>≈pakṣa</i>	13 (1 metr.)	
	<i>apara</i>	<i>pakṣa</i>	5	
	<i>cukkila</i>	<i>≈pakṣa</i>	4	
	<i>tāmisra</i>	<i>pakṣa</i>	1 (1 metr.)	
	<i>amāva</i>	<i>pakkam</i>	1	
	<i>amara</i>	<i>pakkam</i>	1	62
<i>pakṣa</i>	<i>śukla</i>   <i>śveta</i>   <i>valakṣa</i>   <i>valakṣetara</i>		4 (4 metr.)	4
	<i>mākāḷaya</i>	<i>pakṣa</i>	1	1
	<i>śukla</i>		5 (3 metr.)	
	<i>śuddha</i>		2	
	<i>bahala</i>		1	8
		<i>pakṣa</i>	3	3

Table 10: Tithi

Marker	Value	Marker	Occurr.	Tot. 143
	NUM(in words)	<i>tithi</i>   <i>titi</i>	22 (5 metr.)	
	FULL MOON	<i>tithi</i>	3 (1 metr.)	
	<i>pratipadi</i>	<i>tithi</i>	1 (1 metr.)	
<i>tithi</i>   <i>titi</i>	NUM(in words)		2 (1 metr.)	28
	NUM(in words)	<i>dina</i>	1	1
	NUM(in words)		94 (10 metr.)	94
	FULL MOON		10 (1 metr.)	
	NEW MOON		5	
	<i>vicayatācamī</i>   <i>°tecami</i>   <i>°ticaimi</i>		4	19
	NUM(in numerals)		1(?)	1(?)

Table 11: Nakṣatra

Marker	Value	Expl.	Marker	Expl.	Occurrences	Tot. 152
	NAME		<i>≈nakṣatra</i>		113 (2 metr.)	113
	NAME		<i>tāra</i>	<i>sahita</i>	1 (1 metr.)	
	NAME		<i>tāra</i>		1 (1 metr.)	
<i>tāra</i>	NAME	<i>āhvaya</i>			1 (1 metr.)	
<i>tāra</i>	NAME	<i>ākhyā</i>			1 (1 metr.)	4
	NAME	<i>āhvaya</i>	<i>tāraka</i>		2 (2 metr.)	
	NAME	<i>ākhyā</i>	<i>tāraka</i>		1 (1 metr.)	3
	NAME		<i>ṛkṣa</i>		3 (3 metr.)	3
<i>bha</i>	NAME				1 (1 metr.)	1
	NAME				27 (1 metr.)	
	NAME	<i>samanvita</i>			1 (1 metr.)	28





Part II: **Southeast Asia**

**Mainland**



Javier Schnake

# Khom/Mūl Script Manuscripts from Central Thailand and Cambodia: Colophons with a Variable Geometry?

**Abstract:** The sacred language of Pali is shared by the varying Buddhist traditions of South-East Asia and in this vast geographical area conveys a whole corpus of religious texts, recorded in differing scripts and copied on various kinds of manuscripts. The forms and features of these manuscripts vary according to local expertise as do their colophons, which differ in terms of structure and content. This paper deals with the colophons written in Khom/Mūl scripts, found in manuscripts from Central and Southern Thailand and Cambodia. Based on the data extracted from catalogue listings and the details of some pertinent manuscript collections, this article discusses aspects such as the colophons' location in the manuscripts, their nature, and linguistic characteristics. A 'syntax' of such colophons emerges that appears to contain a 'variable geometry', driven rather by practical concerns than premade patterns.

## 1 Introduction

Pali is the sacred language shared by the various Buddhist traditions of South-East Asia corresponding with modern Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. This trans-regional language is used to convey a whole corpus of religious texts over this vast geographical area, whether they be canonical scriptures, liturgical chants or public sermons. The texts have been copied on varying kinds of manuscripts and their forms and features vary according to local expertise. They have been recorded in varying scripts, the peculiarity of the Pali language being that it has no alphabet or syllabary of its own. Thus, each local tradition adapted its own syllabary to transcribe the language and its phonetic characteristics.

The colophons of Pali manuscripts differ widely in terms of structure and content, as has been demonstrated by German scholars such as Heinz Braun

concerning Burmese manuscripts<sup>1</sup> and Oskar von Hinüber<sup>2</sup> and Harald Hundius<sup>3</sup> with regard to the manuscripts of Northern Thailand. But, as far as is known, nothing has been formalized for colophons in the Khom/Mül scripts implemented in manuscripts produced in Central and Southern Thailand and Cambodia. This contribution attempts to organize pertinent information and outline the ‘syntax’ of these colophons and the salient features that characterize them.

## 2 Linguistic and graphic considerations

From the linguistic point of view, Khmer and Tai communities in Cambodia and Central Thailand used primarily Mül and Khom scripts for the writing of Buddhist texts. These two systems are very close, distinguished as they are by very few graphical variations. They also share a common historical background. The Mül script is limited to Cambodia and gave early rise to the Khom script in Siam, which in turn was introduced later in Cambodia due to the Siamese influence in the area.<sup>4</sup> However, though graphic differences exist between these two scripts, handwritten practices are not necessarily different. Siamese distinguished at least two sets of Khom characters, Khom bali (ขอมบาลี) and Khom thai (ขอมไทย),<sup>5</sup> and there is a clear division of labour between the two:<sup>6</sup> Pali texts are written in Khom bali, and Thai-language texts in Khom thai. The graphic difference between the two scripts lies in Khom thai incorporating numerous other characters and graphic practices making it appropriate for writing vernacular texts in Thai.

In Pali manuscripts copyists made use of these two scripts in different ways: the Pali texts have been written in Khom bali and some portions of the colophons as well, while Khom thai serves to mention peripheral information in Thai language in the colophons but also in other parts of the manuscripts as evidenced below. Thus, two languages and two different scripts can be found in the same artefacts.

---

1 Braun 2002.

2 Von Hinüber 1990.

3 Hundius 1990.

4 See Antelme 2007, 6–7.

5 The words ‘bali’ and ‘thai’ are the Thai phonetic for Pali and Thai.

6 See Skilling 2014, 349.

### 3 Methodology

Among the various available catalogues of Pali manuscripts, three are focused on here (one kept in Bangkok and the other two in Paris), containing descriptions of texts written in Khom/Mūl scripts. They were all compiled by Jacqueline Filliozat for the *École française d'Extrême Orient* (EFEO, Paris). They are:

1. *The Pāli Manuscript Collection Kept in the Vat Phra Jetuphon Vimol Mangklaram (Vat Po), The Oldest Royal Monastery of Bangkok.*<sup>7</sup> It presents the collection of Pali manuscripts located in the Wat Pho, one of the royal monasteries of Bangkok. The manuscripts were engraved in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, commissioned by royal order as evidenced both by the royal devices and written statements inside some of these pieces.
2. The second catalogue describes manuscripts belonging to the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* (BnF), namely the *Catalogue des manuscrits palis des collections françaises, fonds des bibliothèques publiques et privées.*<sup>8</sup> The collection was initiated during the seventeenth century, with the gift of Siamese manuscripts to the king of France, but a very large part of it has been made up with pieces collected later, during the nineteenth century. The manuscripts came from different locations, written in Burmese, Sinhalese, Mūl, and Khom scripts, and kept at the behest of many emissaries.
3. The *Catalogue des manuscrits en pali*<sup>9</sup> at the EFEO library in Paris, where an important collection of Pali manuscripts has been preserved, largely from Thailand and Cambodia, but also from Burma and Sri Lanka.<sup>10</sup> They were collected from different places during the first half of the twentieth century by members of the EFEO. The corpus contains copies dated from the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The advantage of these catalogues is that for each manuscript they reproduce and describe the following information: the beginning and end in exact detail, the different stages in the text – the end of chapters and the end of texts when different ones are put together – and all the kinds of information written on the different leaves in Pali as well as those in vernacular language. As a result it is possible to gain a close look at the colophons of a great number of pothis in terms of their form and content. Furthermore, with direct access to the French collections,

---

<sup>7</sup> Filliozat 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Filliozat 2003a.

<sup>9</sup> Filliozat 2003b.

<sup>10</sup> The history of the constitution of this collection is detailed in Filliozat 2000.

those of the BnF and the EFEO, it was possible to check the information reported in catalogues.

The extent of the corpus examined here is limited, amounting to 373 catalogue items, which consist of manuscripts featuring single texts, or various texts that are clearly recognizable in the catalogue-descriptions, adding up to a total of 665 texts. Left out of this study were manuscripts not written in Khom/Mūl scripts, *nissaya* texts featuring commentary-translation in Thai of Pali texts written in Khom, and texts in a fragmentary state or those not described by Filliozat. The 13 manuscripts dated to the seventeenth century offered by missionaries to the king of France were also set aside,<sup>11</sup> to maintain a uniform corpus of manuscripts dated between the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

This is, indeed, a late period, but it corresponds to the prevalent state of preservation of Pali manuscripts over time. The oldest dated manuscript preserved today is located in Northern Thailand and was copied in 1471,<sup>12</sup> and about one hundred fifty surviving in the area and Laos date from the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>13</sup> Manuscripts copied before the eighteenth centuries are very rare in Central Thailand due to historical events, and in Burma and Sri Lanka, a manuscript is considered old if it dates from the first half of the eighteenth century. The situation of Cambodia is more tragic: between 1970 and 1990, 98% of the existing manuscripts were totally destroyed, due to the nefarious effects of the Khmer Rouge regime (1975–1979) and two decades of war. The manuscripts that were saved are clearly limited to the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Two observations must be made regarding these catalogues and their underlying methodology. First, the Mūl script manuscripts described are in most cases Khom script manuscripts, although these Pali manuscripts may follow similar patterns. They were probably identified according to their place of provenance, Cambodia, by Filliozat, rather than on the basis of their graphic differences. Secondly, an important methodological problem must be underlined: the system adopted by Filliozat when dealing with vernacular-language colophons is problematic and quite imprecise. Thai words written in Khom are rendered into Roman characters following the transliteration system in force at the Pali Text Society for the phonemes of the Pali language. Thus, Thai words are very difficult to recognize and comprehend, especially since her method is not consistent, which would have required the adoption of a specific system of transcription of

---

11 See Lee-Fung-Kai 2009, 52.

12 See von Hinüber 1996, 35.

13 Trent Walker's personal communication.

14 See de Bernon 2004, 769.

Khom characters for the Thai language. For instance, the transliteration *paripura* misleads the reader when the word is in fact Thai *boribun*<sup>15</sup> (บริบูรณ์).<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, as this work relies on the catalogues compiled by Filliozat, we have kept and respected the indications as they appear, while identifying and treating items in this work for what they are (Thai words).

## 4 Physical description of the manuscripts

A variety of forms record these Buddhist texts that were most frequently inscribed with a stylus on palm leaves or *bai lan* (ใบลาน).<sup>17</sup> These long-format palm-leaf manuscripts are generally between 50 and 60 cm in length and around 5 cm in width, and are not specific to Pali texts, but also record a variety of texts in Khmer, Lanna, Lao and Thai, including religious sermons, moral instructions, and vernacular narrations.

The leaves are strung together with a cotton string through the holes of a pair of string-holes, making one fascicle or *phuk* (พูก) containing between 20 and 30 leaves (Fig. 1). Each bundle has a title page providing bibliographic details, the title and bundle number, often on both the front and the back leaves. There are some exceptions, but generally the distribution of the text into *phuk* is entirely physical, in as much as it does not correspond to chapters, sections, or natural text breaks.

The text is written on five lines per leaf, the letters are widely spaced and easy to read compared to Burmese and Sinhala script manuscripts, which regularly have ten or more lines per leaf. Each leaf bears a folio number centred in the left margin of the verso, the numbers are formed from the consonants of the Indic alphabet in combination with twelve vowels, (*ka k̄a ki k̄i ku k̄u ke kai ko kau kaṇ kaḥ*).

Palm-leaf manuscripts generally contain only one text, but compilations of various texts are very common to find, such as a text and its commentary, or a selection of different sermons assembled for liturgical purposes. If a text is too long to fit into one fascicle, then multiple fascicles, usually between two and ten,

<sup>15</sup> We follow here the official Royal Institute of Thailand Transcription System as summed up in Kanchanawan 2006.

<sup>16</sup> See more examples below ('5.4 Indication of the state of completeness', § 2).

<sup>17</sup> A more precise description of these manuscripts can be found in Schuyler 1908 and Skilling 2014, 349–351.

but they can be up to thirty, may be grouped together to form a single set, wrapped in a separate cloth called a *mat* (มัด) (Fig. 2).



Fig. 1: Paris, EFEO, Pali 50.

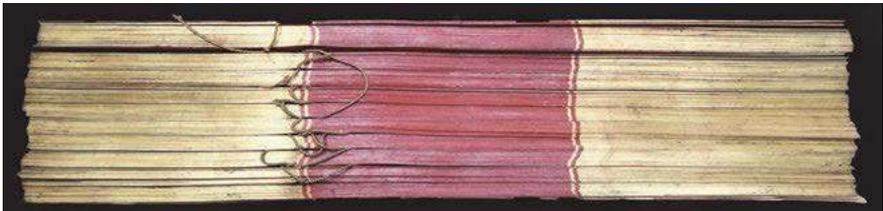


Fig. 2: Paris, EFEO, Pali 77.

## 5 The colophons

The corpus selected for this study forces one to break from the formal definition of a colophon, understood as a specific spatial location (the end of a text) combined with a specific contents (date, scribal maxims, etc.). As we will see, in the case of Mūl and Khom manuscripts the location of the information is not fixed and mandatory, and the set of information is equally heterogeneous.

Indeed, a little less than half of the entire corpus has no clearly delimited colophon, but the expected information is present. However this proportion decreases further if one takes into account multiple-text manuscripts, where the information is given at the end of texts. The proportion increases considerably if we consider that in certain manuscripts the expected information comes not at the end but on the first leaf of the manuscript along with the title. This is more commonly found in long multi-fascicle manuscripts, than in manuscripts containing short texts, which may consist of less than ten or twelve leaves. The information can also be inserted in other parts of the bundle, generally at the end of texts in case of multiple-text manuscripts.

The colophon, when it exists, follows the end of the composition generally marked by the Pali words *niṭṭhito -ā -aṃ*, meaning ‘finished’, or *samatto -ā -aṃ* for ‘completed’. From the spatial point of view the colophon is usually not clearly delimited and follows the end of text (Fig. 3), but it is not a definitive rule and possibilities exist to draw a larger margin indicating the end of the text where the relevant information is included (Fig. 4).

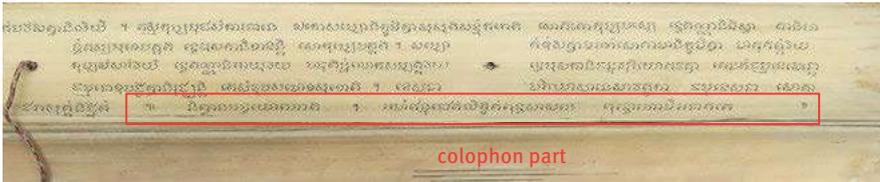


Fig. 3: Paris, EFEO, Pali 30.

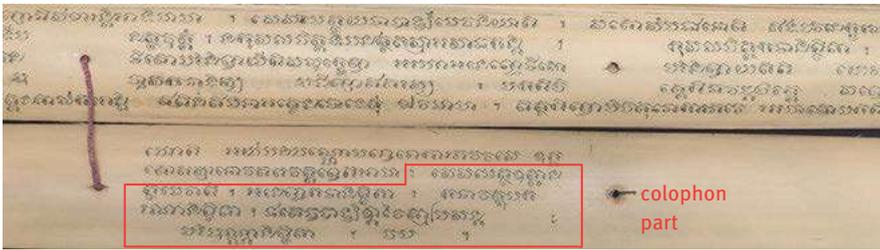


Fig. 4: Paris, EFEO, Pali 5.

Various items can be identified as part of the colophons and are present in one place or another.

### 5.1 Date

Only 33 of the pothis considered in this study bear dates and most are not written within the limits of the colophon but in other parts of the manuscript: 1. on the first leaf, 2. in one of the other bundles when there are many bundles, or 3. at the end of a chapter, not necessarily corresponding to the end of the bundle.

Dates are very often given in the simplest way, only providing the year of the end of copying, with no information about the month, day of the fortnight, or time of the day. For instance:

*bra buddhasakkarāja 2347* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 57).

In (the year) 2347 of the Buddhist Era.

To come across a full date composed in Pali is rare, but does occur. Here it is inscribed on the first leaf below the title (Fig. 5):

*buddhassa parinibbato aṭṭhapaññasādhike catusatadvesahassane byagghasaṃvacchare sijesena likkhāpitam idaṃ* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 28).

This [manuscript] was caused to be copied [i.e. was sponsored] by Sijesa [i.e. a Thai name] in the year of the tiger, 2458 years after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha.

Another kind of mention is related to an interval of time. This is the case for manuscripts copied in series, as in the Wat Pho collection in Bangkok. For instance, in one of these manuscripts (n° 4/137) a label explains in Thai language that ‘it has been copied under the reign of Rama V’.<sup>18</sup>

It is quite exceptional to find additional information as in the colophon of manuscript Paris, EFEO, Pali 77, where the expression of the date includes the term *bra vassā*, *vassā* being a Thai word of Pali origin serving as a grammatical classifier (i.e. words to count objects) for years in the Thai religious or royal context:

*bra buddhasakkarāja 2379 bra vassā | iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijācarānasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro puri[sadammasārathi].*

In 2379 of the Buddhist Era. Thus, the Blessed One is accomplished, fully enlightened, perfect in true knowledge and conduct, sublime, knower of the worlds, incomparable leader of persons to be tamed (...).

Given the representativeness of this information in the corpus it is fair to consider the notification of the date not as imperative information. Moreover, the way the elements referring to time are given, varies and does not conform to a single scheme.



Fig. 5: Paris, EFEO, Pali 28.

<sup>18</sup> Filliozat 2002, 14.

## 5.2 Name of the copyist

Mention of the scribe's name or the name of a specific sponsor appears not to be an information item of primary importance either. Very few manuscripts record them as here where a formula in mixed Pali-Thai (Thai in bold) clearly indicated a name:

*bra Visuddhimagga **phūk 36 cap paripuṇṇa**<sup>19</sup> Dhammābhisekācariyena poṭṭhakaṃ likkhitaṃ mayā* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 10).

**The holy** Visuddhimagga **(having) 36 bundles is completely finished.** The manuscript has been copied by me, master Dhammābhiseka.

It is difficult to give precise reasons for this quasi-absence of dates and names. One possible explanation is that Khom-script manuscripts were being produced on a mass scale during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of which were inscribed in one location over a long period of time for the purpose of completing large library projects as with the Wat Pho manuscripts' collection. Hence many manuscripts were the work of professional scribes and the necessity to indicate this information was superfluous as they would have been well known by all those in the monastery and were perhaps given record elsewhere in some sort of administrative documents. Furthermore, it is possible that the manuscripts were not intended for any kind of dissemination beyond the walls of the library.

## 5.3 Title

Pali titles are always indicated on the first leaf of the manuscript, but also appear in the colophon in about one fifth of the corpus. They are almost always preceded by the Thai adjective *phra* (พฺรหฺ), written with different spellings, meaning 'holy, august, sacred', and qualifying the high value of the text. Two modes of presentation are possible:

- Pali titles are given in an inflected form, here in the nominative case:

*bra Temiyajāṭakaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ* (Paris, BnF, Pali 153).

The holy Temiyajāṭaka is finished.

---

<sup>19</sup> We sincerely thank Trent Walker for giving us the key to understand all the Thai portions that follow.

- Or, more often, in the stem form of the nouns:

*bra Lokaneyya paripūraṇa* [sic] (Bangkok, Vat Phra Jetuphon 4/153).

The holy Lokaneyya is complete.

It is also very common to find orthographic mistakes in the title, due to various reasons, such as the influence of oral pronunciation, as well as titles being given in alternative or truncated forms. For example, *Saṅgini* is an alternative name for *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*:

*bra Saṅgini cap lee* (Paris, BnF, Pali 287).

The holy Saṅgini is finished.

These titles can circulate under these forms and be found as such in other Pali manuscript collections. The absence of standardization does not facilitate the electronic research of certain Pali titles.

Copyists can also name the text on the basis of its contents or nature. Some texts are identified by the number of *gāthās* or stanzas they contain, like this title to one chapter of the *Vessantara Jātaka* as mentioned on the first leaf:

*bra gāthā 36 bra gāthā* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 70).

The holy stanzas, [numbering] 36 holy stanzas.

It is likely that this kind of indication needs to be matched with what is read on the first leaf (*Chakhattiyapabbam*, i.e. a section of the *Vessantarajātaka*), and that copyists used such a type of denomination because it was certainly in common use and everybody knew to what it referred.

When titles are available, their position in the colophons varies greatly and does not seem to obey any specific rule. They can appear alone, as *bra Mahāpaṭṭhānapakaraṇamātikā* (Paris, BnF, Pali 263), ‘The holy matrix of the work that is the Mahāpaṭṭhāna’, but when included in a sentence they can be located:

- At the beginning of the sequence, e.g.

**Suttasaṅgaha** capp paripūṇṇe (Paris, EFEO, Pali 66).

**The Suttasaṅgaha** is finished and complete.

- At the end of the sequence, e.g.

cap donī lai | **80 bra gāthā** (BnF, Pali 204).

Here it is finished. **The 80 holy stanzas.**

- But they can also be inserted in the middle of the sequence, here between two scribal formulas:

*nibbānapaccayo hotu | cap bra Mahāpaṭṭhāna<sup>20</sup> te doni le | buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi dhammaṃ dutiyampi buddhaṃ tatiyampi buddhaṃ* (Paris, BnF, Pali 237).

(This copy) is a support (to attain) Nibbāna. There **the holy Mahāpaṭṭhāna** is finished. I take refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, (the Saṅgha), for a second time in the Buddha, for a third time in the Buddha (...).

## 5.4 Indication of the state of completeness

One of the frequently mentioned indications, which is probably of primary importance for copyists, is the state of completeness of the copy: it is generally described as being ‘complete’, ‘ended’, or both. Please note, in contradistinction to the other kind of information, this one is not restricted to the limit of the colophon. To this end, the scribes used a small lexicon of Pali and Thai words that can be combined freely and at various places in the colophon. A few terms can be identified:

1. In Pali ‘is finished’ and ‘is complete’ is expressed only by *niṭṭhito -ā -aṃ* and *paripuṇṇo -ā -aṃ* respectively, which may occur side by side like in Paris, EFEF, Pali 121 in addition to the title and the number of fascicles,

*Samkhyapakaraṇa phūk 2 paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā.*

The Saṅkhyapakaraṇa (having) 2 bundles **is complete and finished**.

2. In Thai the choice of words is larger but somewhat limited, including words of conjunction and adverb with various spellings, very often subject to orthographical distortions due to the misleading transliteration as previously stated. Identified and indicated here are the correct Thai terms,<sup>21</sup> some of their transliterations in catalogues (in small size and brackets), and their meanings:

*boribun* (บริบูรณ์) (*paripuraṇa, paripūraṇa, paripura*): ‘complete, entire’.

*laeo* (แล้ว) (*lve, leev*): ‘it’s over, that’s all’.

*lae* (แหละ): ‘that’s it’.

<sup>20</sup> Here it corresponds to the Pali *Mahāpaṭṭhāna*.

<sup>21</sup> Trent Walker gives many examples of this kind in the description of the Thai manuscripts he studied. See Walker 2018, no. 56/118/215, etc.

*thao ni* (เท่านี้) (*tei doni lei, tee doni lee*): ‘there is only this much’.

*lae* (และ) (*lae, lee, lai, lei, le*): ‘that’s it’.

*chop/chop laeo* (จบ/จบแล้ว) (*cap, capa, capp, camp*, etc.): ‘ended, completed’.

These statements about the completeness of the copied text can be found in the colophon:

- Only in Thai,

*cap Yamaka **tei doni lei** | nibbānapaccayo hotu | buddhaṃ dhammaṃ saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi* (Paris, BnF, Pali 247).

**There ends** the Yamaka. May (the copy of the text) be a support (to attain) Nibbāna. I take refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha.

- Only in Pali,

*bra Dhātukathā **niṭṭhitā paripuṇā*** (Paris, EFEO, Pali 121).

The holy Dhātukathā is finished and complete.

- But it can also be a combination of Pali words (in bold) and Thai words, where the Thai portion can repeat the Pali information, a rather common phenomenon in this corpus of manuscripts:

***paripuṇṇā doni lee niṭṭhitaṃ*** (Paris, BnF, Pali 375).

That’s it, it is complete and finished.

or

*bra **Yamakapakarāṇakathā niṭṭhitā camp bra Yamaka doni*** (Paris, BnF, Pali 271).

The exposition of the holy work [named] **Yamaka is finished**. Thus the **Yamaka** is finished.

## 5.5 Other elements

Other elements appearing less frequently in colophons provide us with valuable information. Although rare in our corpus, two of these can be found regularly in manuscripts. The first being the physical description of the manuscript, in particular the total number of its bundles or *phuks*, e.g.:

*Samkhyapakaṛaṇa **phūk 2 paripuṇṇā niṭṭhitā*** (Paris, EFEO, Pali 121).

The Samkhyapakaṛaṇa [**having**] **2 bundles** is complete and finished.

The other element also found informs on the nature of the script used for the copy, as in the following example, where the scribe indicated the title followed by the specific script he used, namely the Cambodian script/letter (*aksara* for Sanskrit *akṣara*):

*Buddhānuparivatta kambujjaksaranvāta*<sup>22</sup> *cap paripuṇṇo* | *tena buddho homi anāgate*  
(Bangkok, Wat Phra Jetuphon 4/118).

The Buddhānuparivatta [written] in **Cambodian script** is finished and complete. Because of that (i.e. the copy) I will be a Buddha in the future.

## 5.6 Formulas

Finally, approximately a quarter of the corpus studied contains scribal maxims. In the Buddhist context the making of manuscripts and the writing of texts was closely connected to the ideology of benefits and blessings, the copyists expressing their aspiration for merit and dedication in usually quite short formulas. These aspirations are normally located in the colophon, whereas the other information, may be found elsewhere in the manuscript aside from on the first leaf, thus indicating quite clearly the end of a significant part or the whole.

Their presence and location within colophons is also variable:

- Alone without any other component:

*nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 28).

Nibbāna is the ultimate bliss!

- At the beginning, in the following example indicated before the title:

*buddho bhavissāmi anāgate* | *bra samantabhaddakā* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 84).

**In the future I will be enlightened!** (This is) the holy Samantabhaddakā.

- Or at the end of the sequence:

*bra Uṇhissavijaya cap paripuṇṇa doni* | *nibbānapaccayo hoti* (Bangkok, Wat Phra Jetuphon 4/147).

Thus the holy Uṇhissavijaya is finished and complete. **(This copy) is a support (to attain) Nibbāna!**

---

<sup>22</sup> The sense of *nvāta* is unclear. The proximity in Khom script of *nvāta* and *chvāt* (likely an old word meaning ‘to write’) could explain this word, however this is still hypothetical.

This last example allows us to specify that short statements expressing the wish to attain Nibbāna are the most common and widely shared with the other Buddhist traditions.<sup>23</sup> Other formulas relating to the Buddhist scholarly milieu are also manipulated in various ways, such as the classical formula to take the three-fold refuge (*tisaraṇa*) or extracts of protective texts (*parittas*). All these elements suggest the constitution of stock formulas that circulated in South-East Asia in one way or another. Other kinds of formulas, few in number, are particularly interesting because they make a direct correlation between the act of copying and soteriological goals. They are usually marked by the verb *likkhito -aṃ* ‘has been copied’, such as:

*buddhasāsane Ammaraḱaṭabuddho mayā likkhito nibbānapaccayo hotu* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 122).

May the Amaraḱaṭabuddha, which has been copied by me in the dispensation of the Buddha, be a support [to attain] Nibbāna!<sup>24</sup>

This kind of phrase is probably composed by the copyists, but finds its conceptual origin in late Pali literature, as in the example of the following stanza:

*akkharaṃ ekam ekañ ca buddharūpaṃ samaṃ siyā  
tasmā pari<sup>25</sup> paṇḍito poso likkheyya piṭakattayaṃ* (Paris, EFEO, Pali 83).

Every letter should be like a statue of the Buddha,  
Therefore only a wise man should write the Tipiṭaka (i.e. the Pali Canon).

Although it appears rarely in our corpus, this stanza is of interest for two reasons: first, it is a quotation from a Siamese Pali text written in the fourteenth century, the *Saddhammasaṅgaha*,<sup>26</sup> which is one of the most ancient literary witnesses of the high value ascribed to the act of writing the Tipiṭaka, and metonymically the Pali texts, giving to the script itself a sacred character. It is of some use to note the continuous transmission of this stanza through centuries. Secondly, these verses are typical of Burmese colophons,<sup>27</sup> and circulated more sporadically in

<sup>23</sup> The most common is *nibbānapaccayo hotu*, but it is known under many variants such as *nibbānapaccayo hotu te* / *nibbānapaccayo hotu anāgate kāle* / *nibbānapaccayo homi anāgate* / *nibbānapaccayo hotu puripunno sukkhaṃ balaṃ* / etc.

<sup>24</sup> The Amaraḱaṭabuddha corresponds to the *Amarakaṭabuddharūpanidāna* composed by Ariyavaṃsa (sixteenth century, Laos), relating the peregrinations of the Emerald Buddha from its elaboration to its arrival in Luang Prabang/Laos (critical edition in progress by Schnake).

<sup>25</sup> It should be *hi*. The confusion is easy to occur in Khom script for *hi* and *pari*.

<sup>26</sup> Nedimāle Saddhānanda, 1890, 65.

<sup>27</sup> Braun 2002, 150–151.

Sinhalese manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> Its presence in various Pali traditions bears further evidence of the circulation of some conceptually oriented scribal formulas.

Another note concerning these formulas and their circulation is based on an example taken from a Wat Pho manuscript which ends *siddhir astu subham astu kalyāṇam astu* (Bangkok, Vat Phra Jetuphon, 6/ta.8). This kind of maxim, with its variants, is not common to Thai manuscripts but common to Pali Sinhalese colophons.<sup>29</sup> This kind of ‘signature’ of a specific tradition also exists in the Burmese field, the letters *pu di ā* very often punctuating Burmese colophons.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, please note, as has always been the case during this overview, that these formulas are frequently subject to grammatical or syntactical faults and are sometimes truncated, suggesting that the copyist was quite frequently not an expert in Pali. Scribes probably had some form of external support at their disposal, perhaps a kind of lexicon in which formulas were recorded. It could be interesting to identify them in the different Pali manuscript traditions and attempt to organize these data.

## 6 Conclusion

In brief, the colophons of these three Pali manuscript catalogues are dry and succinct. They contain a deal of information presented, at first sight, in a confused manner that clearly sets them apart from the Burmese and the Sinhalese manuscripts, whose arrangements and presentations are more systematic.

The first observation notes how the different elements pertaining to colophons can be placed not just at the end of the manuscript, but elsewhere within it, to the extent by which it is argued, that the colophons are somehow ‘extended’ in their whereabouts. In considering the copyists’ point of view, it is essential not

---

**28** Somadasa 1996. See manuscripts WS. 9, WS. 52 and WS. 61 in the catalogue of the Wellcome Institute (WS. for Wellcome Sinhala).

**29** In Somadasa 1996 see for instance *siddhir astu* WS. 9, WS. 16, WS. 17, etc. *siddhir astu subham astu* WS. 138, WS. 166, WS. 251, etc. In Filliozat 2003a see *siddhir astu* (Paris, BnF, Pali 5, 20, and 507, etc.), *siddhir astu subham astu* (Paris, BnF, Pali 367), *siddhir astu subham astu arogyam astu* (Paris, BnF, Pali 497), *siddhir astu subham astu* (Paris, BnF, Pali 17, 496, and 505).

**30** Braun 2002, 151–152. They are abbreviations of Pali words: *pu* is for *pubbenivāsānussati* (‘knowing one’s past abodes’), *di* is for *dibbacakkhu* (‘the divine eye’), and *ā* stands for *āsavakkhaya* (‘destruction of the taints’). This formula is more than a simple convention. It encapsulates or embodies the described qualities, a system that is widespread in Thai culture and practices (see Schnake 2018), but not used on a large scale in manuscripts.

to specify and find elements of information in one location, but simply to find them, wherever they are.

Indications of names of places, scribes, and dates are rare. This clearly demonstrates how scribes during this period (from the eighteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century) did not focus on circumstantial or contextual information concerning the act of copying itself. The practical or pragmatic aspect appears to have been their main concern. Indicated in their copies is a set of information that is sometimes redundant referring essentially to the nature of the copied text and the final result of the copy process, to which religious aspirations are often added. These categories of information are summed up here:

1. The title of the Pali text;
2. The state of completeness of the copy (complete, ended);
3. The wishes of the copyist that are formulated in stanzas/formulas.
4. The date, name, number of bundles, script used, etc.

However, these data have some peculiarities. Firstly, the ‘extended’ colophons are not homogeneous in terms of the quantity of information provided, meaning that all these elements are rarely present in a single manuscript. In that sense, colophons present a variable geometry, giving the impression of not having a systematic pattern of information. Secondly the scribes composed phrases or sequences mixing Thai and Pali words with two close but distinct scripts, assembling the whole information in an order that is not fixed. The grammatical and orthographic rules governing Pali and Thai languages are very often set in the background giving rise to a distinctive syntax, which an observer may consider wrong, but is perfectly understandable by the environment of scribes. At that time they shared a kind of neo-language, and created a most original and puzzling colophon, in its spatial and linguistic aspects, mainly turned towards practical preoccupations.

## References

Antelme, Michel (2007), *Inventaire provisoire des caractères et divers signes des écritures khmères pré-modernes et modernes employés pour la notation du khmer, du siamois, des dialectes thaïs méridionaux, du sanskrit et du pâli*, Projet ‘corpus des inscriptions khmères’ (CIK), available on: <[http://www.aefek.fr/wa\\_files/antelme\\_bis.pdf](http://www.aefek.fr/wa_files/antelme_bis.pdf)> (accessed on 30 March 2022).

Braun, Heinz (2002), ‘The Colophons of Burmese Manuscripts’, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 27: 147



- de Bernon, Olivier (2004), 'La bibliothèque de Vatt Phum Thmei dans la province de Kompong Cham', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année-Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 148/2: 769–786.
- Filliozat, Jacqueline (2000), 'Pour mémoire d'un patrimoine sacré', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 2: 445–471.
- Filliozat, Jacqueline (2002), *The Pāli Manuscript Collection Kept in the Vat Phra Jetuphon Vimol Mangklaram (Vat Po), The Oldest Royal Monastery of Bangkok*, unpublished catalogue consulted *in situ* at the Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris.
- Filliozat, Jacqueline (2003a), *Catalogue des manuscrits pālis des collections françaises, fonds des bibliothèques publiques et privées*, unpublished catalogue consulted *in situ* at the Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris.
- Filliozat, Jacqueline (2003b), *Catalogue des manuscrits en pāli*, unpublished catalogue consulted *in situ* at the Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient in Paris.
- Hundius, Harald (1990), 'The Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand', *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 14: 1–173.
- Kanchanawan, Nitaya (2006), 'Romanization, Transliteration, and Transcription for the Globalization of the Thai Language', *The Journal of the Royal Institute of Thailand*, 31/3: 832–840.
- Lee-Fung-Kaï, Jacqueline (2009), *Les manuscrits pālis dans leur environnement et le cas particulier de leur gestion dans les bibliothèques françaises*, Diplôme de conservateur de bibliothèque, École Nationale Supérieure des Sciences de l'Information et des Bibliothèques (ENSSIB).
- Nedimāle Saddhānanda (1890), 'Saddhama-samgaho', *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 4: 21–90.
- Schnake, Javier (2018), 'Letters and Numbers: Protective aspects in the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*', in Claudio Cicuzza (ed.), *Katā me rakkhā, katā me parittā, Protecting the protective texts and manuscripts* (Materials for the Study of the Tripiṭaka, 14), Bangkok and Lumbini: Fragile Palm Leaves Foundation, Lumbini International Research Institute, 157–195.
- Schuyler, Montgomery Jr. (1908), 'Notes on the making of palm-leaf manuscripts in Siam', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 29: 281–283.
- Skilling, Peter (2014), 'Reflections on the Pāli Literature of Siam', in Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds), *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research. Papers Presented at the Conference Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field, Stanford, June 15–19 2009*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 347–366.
- Somadasa, K. D. (1996), *Catalogue of the Sinhalese Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*, London: Bookcraft.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (1990), 'On Some Colophons of Old Lanna Pāli Manuscripts', *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Thai Studies*, 4: 56–79.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (1996), 'Chips from Buddhist Workshops', *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 22: 35–58.
- Walker, Trent (2018), *Unfolding Buddhism: Communal Scripts, Localized Translations, and the Work of Dying in Cambodian Chanted Leporellos*, Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Buddhist Studies in the Graduate Division of the University of California, Berkeley.





Volker Grabowsky

# The Grammar and Function of Colophons in Lao Manuscripts: The Case of the Vat Maha That Collection, Luang Prabang

**Abstract:** This article discusses the structure, grammar, and function of colophons in Lao palm-leaf manuscripts containing Buddhist texts. The manuscripts which form the corpus of this study have been selected from the monastic repository of Vat Maha That, one of the largest monasteries in the old royal capital of Luang Prabang. The colophons are almost exclusively written in the Lao vernacular with rather short, standardized Pali phrases at the end. The main emphasis is on the role of scribes and of sponsors in the making of manuscripts. The vast majority of Lao manuscripts are elaborately dated according to the Lao lunar calendar. In the case of manuscripts from Luang Prabang the relatively high number of female sponsors and the presence of royalty among principal lay initiators is a most striking feature.

## 1 Introduction

Luang Prabang has maintained its fame and status as a centre of Lao Buddhism to the present day. The ancient and quite exceptional manuscript culture of Laos has survived colonial rule, war, and modernization in a globalized world. Unlike many parts of the world, manuscript production did not cease during the twentieth century in Laos, where traditional methods of writing have been preserved by monks and lay scribes up to the present. The first documentary evidence of the Dhamma (*Tham*) script in the Lao Kingdom of Lan Sang is a monolingual Pali palm-leaf manuscript, dated 1520/1521, kept at the Provincial Museum in Luang Prabang (formerly the Royal Palace). This sacred script is an extraordinary example of Lao written culture. Originating in the late fourteenth century, in the neighbouring northern Thai kingdom of Lan Na – probably as a derivative of the ancient Mon alphabet of Hariphunchai – it made its way south through the Mekong River basin. As the name indicates, the script was used for the writing of the Buddhist scriptures and other religious texts.

Vat Maha That Rasabòvòravihan or Vat Maha That, the ‘Monastery of the Great Stupa’ well known for its ‘Great Stupa’ or ‘Pha Maha That’, i.e. the Great Stupa built at the same time as the temple hall (*sim*) in 1548. However, many

locals call the monastery simply Vat That ('Monastery of the Stupa') or, even more notably, Vat That Nòi ('Monastery of the Small Stupa'), as later on larger stupas were erected at other monasteries in Luang Prabang, e.g. Vat Siang Thòng. Vat Maha That is located on a lower slope on Fa Ngum Road in the centre of the former royal capital and the centre of Lao Buddhism. The district of the town attached to the monastery is known as Ban Vat That. In the past, Vat Maha That was the main monastery of a group of monasteries situated in the lower (southern) part of Luang Prabang, the so-called *khana tai* ('southern group'). Its location is also called *than müang* (the base of the city). In 2017, when research was first carried out, the monastery of Vat Maha That counted a total of three monks and twelve novices under the supervision of the abbot, Venerable Pha Vandī Vannatharo. The monastery is the focal point of the most important and impressive Lao New Year festival, which is held every year in mid-April.<sup>1</sup>

The monastery was founded by King Say Setthathirat in 1548 and has been renovated and restored many times since then. During the twentieth century, Vat Maha That was regarded as the temple of the viceroy, the lord of the front palace (*Vang Na*), and his family. Thus, it was a monastery under royal patronage. At present, many buildings in this monastery have been registered by UNESCO as part of the architectural heritage of Luang Prabang. Such constructions include, aside from the great stupa itself, the temple hall (*sim*) and the three monks' abodes (*kuti*) in the lower part of the temple compound. As a result, the structures and building materials have been well preserved. As with every monastery in Buddhist Luang Prabang, Vat Maha That is an important intersection between the monastic community of monks and novices (the Sangha) and the community of lay people in the surrounding town who support the Sangha with the necessities of life. The monastery is the centre of numerous community activities, such as religious rituals and festivals, social events, and lessons.

In early 2018, the Buddhist Archives<sup>2</sup> requested permission from the monastery to bring the whole corpus of manuscripts to our Buddhist Archives at Sala

---

<sup>1</sup> For more information on the Lao New Year festival, see Nginn 1959; Berger 2000 (no page number); and Kislenko 2009, 147–150.

<sup>2</sup> The Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang was formed in 2015 out of the Buddhist Archives of Photography. See <<https://www.wmf.org/project/buddhist-archive-photography>>. The core of the Buddhist Archives is a collection of more than 35,000 historical photographs (prints and negatives), which have been discovered in Luang Prabang monasteries, dating from c. 1880 up to our own days. Coming from nineteen distinct monastery collections (with Pha Khamchan's collection comprising half of the whole corpus) this unique photographic 'view from inside' documents various aspects of monastic life, pilgrimage, rituals, and social life in Luang Prabang

Thammavihan in Vat Suvannakhili, where with modest financial support from the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), University of Hamburg, the preservation and digitisation of the manuscripts was begun, continuing till the end of August 2018. The constraints of time resulted in concluding the inventory and digitisation of just one-third of the whole corpus by 31 August 2018. The preservation and digitisation project was continued with financial support from the Digital Repository of the Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA) from September 2018 to June 2019. During the entire duration of the project, a total of 3,467 documents either written by hand or typed in various scripts were registered, mainly in Tham Lao, Old Lao, modern Lao, and Thai. The 1,541 manuscripts written in Tham Lao and Old Lao scripts were selected for digitisation. At present, all original manuscripts are kept at the monastic library in Vat Maha That, whereas the digital images of the digitised manuscripts are present in different institutes and displayed on the DREAMSEA website.<sup>3</sup>

## 2 The manuscript collection of Vat Maha That

Lao village communities as well as town districts usually have a *vat* (ວັດ) as its cultural and spiritual centre. The *vat* is a Buddhist temple-monastery which is not only where the Sangha (the community of monks and novices) live and meditate, but is also a place for laypeople to come together for festival celebrations, take part in religious rituals, seek spiritual experiences and the advice of highly respected monks in more worldly matters. The *vat* is a place where the Sangha and the laity come together to participate in mutually rewarding and meritorious activities. Aside from that, the *vat* is an educational centre, offering the teaching of the Dhamma, fundamental truths revealed by the Buddha, as well as secular sciences.<sup>4</sup> In other words, it is a repository of traditional knowledge. It is at the very core of every Lao village community. While a *vat* determines the identity of a community, the members of that community have the obligation to maintain the *vat*.

---

and beyond. An overview of the photographs and their listing is available at <<https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP326/search>>. All websites mentioned in this article were accessed on 2 May 2022.

<sup>3</sup> <<https://www.hmmcloud.org/dreamsea/manuscripts.php?country=&tags=&city=&author=&library=&language=&projnum=0011&writingSupport=&title=&script=&searchType=1>>. For a list of the archival material used in this article see the Appendix below.

<sup>4</sup> The Lao temple-monastery (*vat*) as a social space and the interaction between Sangha and laity in the Lao context are discussed in Hayashi 2003, 101–111. See also Holt 2009 and Bounleuth 2016.

The idea of a *vat* is still present in the mindset of the lay community, even when a village has no *vat*. This is evident from the requirement of the monks' presence in the performance of ritual ceremonies. In this case, it is necessary to invite monks from the *vat* of a neighbouring village. A religious ritual without the presence of monks and novices is barely imaginable. The mere presence of the Sangha members adds a sacred meaning to non-religious ceremonies, such as a housewarming party, the inauguration of a hospital, or a wedding.<sup>5</sup>

Lao manuscripts were mostly inscribed with a stylus on cut and cured, rectangular palm-leaf sheets of varying length. Each sheet had two holes; a cotton string strung through the left hole, enabling the binding together of several palm-leaf sheets as one fascicle (*phuk*). Recent research estimates that more than ninety percent of Lao manuscripts are 'palm-leaf books' (*nangsü bai lan*). According to traditional Buddhist beliefs manuscripts were never to be treated disrespectfully, or kept in a demeaning place, whether written carefully or not. The manuscripts' texts, especially ritual texts, were not to have any insertions or other writing added to them. Any person breaking this rule would lose the respect of devout Buddhists.

The length of the text determined the number of leaves in a given palm-leaf fascicle. However, a literary text can also occupy several fascicles, which are then fastened together. Such a bundle is called a *sum* (ຊຸມ). A quite widespread method for protecting manuscript fascicles bound together by cord was the insertion of at least one, at times two or three, blank folios at the beginning and the end. Sometimes one of these blank folios, usually the front cover folio, bore the text title and the fascicle's number (when texts ran over more than one fascicle). Two wooden boards were often added to the bundle for protection. The bundle would then usually be wrapped in a piece of cloth and bound with cotton string. A wrapped bundle of manuscripts is called a *mat* (ມັດ). A *mat* consisted of either a single bundle comprising a single text or multiple bundles featuring several fascicles and texts.

## 2.1 Variety of genres and themes

The manuscripts discovered and documented at the monastery of Vat Maha That are all written on palm-leaf, with the exception of less than a dozen paper manu-

---

<sup>5</sup> This 'Buddhization' of formerly non-Buddhist rites and rituals is best reflected in *Anisong* texts. For a detailed analysis of *Anisong* manuscripts in a Lao cultural environment, based on the Pha Khamchan Virachitto's personal collection, see Bounleuth 2015a.

scripts. The vast majority of these palm-leaf manuscripts contain one single text running over one palm-leaf fascicle, although others contain more than one, and some even up to ten fascicles. However, many of the multi-fascicle manuscripts are not complete, with one or more missing fascicles. Several manuscripts comprising a single fascicle may have originally been part of a larger multi-fascicle manuscript, the other fascicles being lost. Some manuscripts are complete and in good physical condition while others are lightly or severely damaged with parts of the text missing.

In the 1990s, the Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme (PLMP) divided 86,000 texts written on 368,000 fascicles – approximately 12,337 texts are currently available for online research – into twenty categories.<sup>6</sup> The last two categories (‘miscellaneous’ *lai muat* and ‘undetermined’ *bò dai cat muat*) are noteworthy as they illustrate a feature peculiar to Lao (and other Southeast Asian) manuscript cultures, i.e. some manuscripts, palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, contain various texts. Whereas Pha Khamchan Virachitto’s personal collection of manuscripts kept in his living quarters contained a high percentage of such multiple-text manuscripts, among the mulberry paper folding books, they are rare in the Vat Xiang Thong collection. Several secular or non-religious texts do not appear in any of the manuscripts from this collection, e.g. customary law texts, philological and astrological treatises, and the wide field of secular literature, aside from a few folk tales (*nithan* นิทาน นิทาน). Texts related to white magic (*sainyasat* ไสยยะสาด ไสยศาสตร์) and rites and rituals (*phithikam* พิธีกรรม พิธีกรรม) are as rare as medical treatises (*tamla ya* ตำลายา ตำรายา). The collection contains several dozen chronicles; almost all of which can be classified as ‘Buddhist chronicles’ (*tamnan phutthasatsana* ตำนานพุทธศาสนาสะขาน ตำนานพุทธศาสนา).

A significant number of manuscript-fascicles (414) contain texts from the Pali canon and may be classified as categories of Vinaya, Suttanta or Abhidhamma. Of almost equal importance are the popular Jātaka stories, dealing with Buddha’s previous lives, comprising one-fourth of the Vat Maha That corpus’ manuscripts. Aside from the Jātaka tales (398 manuscript-fascicles), *Anisong* (Pali: *ānisaṃsa*) texts (300 manuscript-fascicles) are featured most prominently in the Vat Siang Thong collection of manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> *Anisong* texts are generally known under the

<sup>6</sup> See <<http://www.laomanuscripts.net>>.

<sup>7</sup> As Arthid Sheravanichkul (2009 and 2010) has shown in his seminal study of gift-giving in the Thai and Lao world, the kind of gifts recommended in *Anisong* texts pertain to (a) giving alms to the Sangha (food and medicine, robes and cloth, ritual offerings such as flowers and lamps, sponsoring the construction of temple buildings, copying of religious texts); (b) producing objects of worship (images, stupas); (c) constructing public works (bridges, roads, hospitals, schools) and (d) giving gifts in ceremonies or festivals (celebrating a new house, funerals, the

terms *Salông* or *Sông* in Lao. These popular texts, inscribed on palm-leaf, mulberry paper and other kinds of paper, are used for performing sermons or preaching. These short homiletic texts, which rarely contain more than twenty folios, concern the rewards of merit or literally the ‘advantage’ which a believer may expect to receive from performing a particular religious deed.

**Table 1:** Distribution of texts of the Vat Maha That collection according to genres

Genre	ໝວດ	ຫມວດ	No. of fasc.	% of total
General Buddhism	ທຳມະຫິວໄປ	ຮຣຣມະທຳໄປ	---	---
Vinaya rules	ພະວິໄນ	ພຣະວິນັຍ	97	6.3
Suttanta doctrine	ພະສູດ	ພຣະສູຕຣ	289	18.8
Abhidhamma doctrine	ພະອະພິທຳ	ພຣະອະພິຣຣມ	28	1.8
Buddhist tales	ນິຍາຍທຳມະ	ນິຍາຍຮຣຣມະ	52	3.4
Jātaka tales	ຊາຕິກ	ຊາຕກ	398	25.8
Prayers	ປິດສູດມິນ	ບທສວຕມນຕ໌	80	5.2
Anisong (blessings)	ອານິສິງ	ອານິສັງສ໌	300	19.5
Rites and rituals	ພິທີກຳ	ພິຣິກຣຣມ	3	0.2
Monolingual Pali	ຄຳພິບາລີ	ຄັມກິຣ໌ບາລີ	47	3.0
Buddhist chronicles	ຕຳນານພຸດທະສາສະໜາ	ຕຳນານພຸທສາສນາ	99	6.4
Secular chronicles	ຕຳນານເມືອງ	ຕຳນານເມືອງ	25	1.6
Customary law	ກິດໝາຍ	ກຸງຮຸກຮຸນ	---	---
Didactics	ຄຳສອນ	ຄຳສອນ	61	4.0
Medical treatises	ຕຳລາຢາ	ຕຳລາຢາ	3	0.2
White Magic	ໄສຍະສາດ	ໄສຍສາສຕຣ໌	7	0.5
Folktales	ນິທານ	ນິທານ	---	---
(Secular) Literature	ວັນນະຄະດີ	ວຣຣຣນຄຕ໌	43	2.8
Proverbs	ຄຳສູພາສິດ	ຄຳສູກຳພິຕ	1	0.1
Astrology	ໃຫ້ລາສາດ	ໂຮຣາສາສຕຣ໌	5	0.3
Miscellaneous	ຫຼາຍໝວດ	ຫຼາຍຫມວດ	---	---
Unclassified	ບໍ່ຈັດໝວດໃຫ້	ບໍ່ຈັດຫມວດໃຫ້	---	---
<b>Total</b>	<b>ລວມທັງໝົດ</b>	<b>ຣາມທັງຫມົດ</b>	<b>1541</b>	<b>100</b>

Buddhist New Year, etc.). The manuscripts of Pha Khamchan Virachitto’s collections containing *Anisong* are analysed in Bounleuth 2015b and Bounleuth 2016, 130–136.

An unsurprisingly large number of Jātaka texts are written on palm-leaf manuscripts. This suggests that the Jātaka stories, on Buddha's previous lives, are not only well known to the Lao people of Luang Prabang, but are also very popular. Among the many Jātaka stories, the Vessantara Jātaka is the most popular. It tells the story of one of Buddha's lives immediately before he was born as Siddhattha Gotama. The story is about the compassionate Prince Vessantara, who gives away everything he owns, including his children, thereby displaying the virtue of perfect generosity or *dāna*. It is also known as the *Thet Mahasat* (Great Birth Sermon), familiar to Lao Buddhists by the name *Phavet* or *Phavetsandòn*. *Phavet* is also the name of a traditional festival, Bun Phavet, which is held sometime around the fourth lunar month of every year. The festival lasts two or three days, with the story of Prince Vessantara recited all day on the final day of the festivities. The story, composed in verse form and comprising thirteen chapters or *kan* (*kaṇḍa*), is chanted aloud by monks and novices with years of experience preaching all the chapters. The text combines Pali words and phrases with the respective Lao translation.<sup>8</sup> According to tradition, three of them – Himmaphan, Thanakhan, Kumman – are usually divided into two volumes. Due to this sub-division, the story of Prince Vessantara is composed and written on sixteen fascicles of palm leaves. However, many of the Jātaka manuscripts from the Vat Si Bun Hüang collection comprise only one of the thirteen *kan* and not the complete text.

## 2.2 The colophons

Colophons reveal extremely interesting information on the background of the manuscripts, its production, purpose, and usage. Colophons usually appear at the end of the manuscript, either directly following the main text from which it is separated by a blank line or by smaller-sized letters (as in the last example), or appearing on the recto side of an additional folio. In some cases, notably in more recent manuscripts, a colophon can also appear on a title folio, and its appearance within a fascicle (for example in multiple-text manuscripts) is not totally unusual. Hundius (1990) indicates in his definition, that the Tai-Lao manuscript tradition lacks a clear distinction between the writer or author of a manuscript and its copyist. Lao manuscripts usually use the terms *phu taem*, *phu khian*, or *phu litchana*<sup>9</sup> for denoting the scribe who would call himself *kha* ('servant [of the Buddha]'). Aside from which, a number of colophons also mention a *phu sang*,

<sup>8</sup> See Bounleuth 2016, 110.

<sup>9</sup> From Pali: *racanā*, 'composition, arrangement' (verb root *rac*, 'to arrange, prepare, compose').

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.

Some colophons of the corpus here are scribal colophons (119 manuscripts). The vast majority of manuscripts with colophons (815), however, express the wishes of their sponsors and donors; 555 manuscripts or 45 percent of the total, do not have colophons at all and are almost all undated. While rather few manuscripts have colophons that are exclusively scribal, many more record the names of both the scribe and the persons who sponsored the making of the manuscript and donated it to the Sangha. In general, the intentions for making the donation and the wishes expressed in the colophons pertain to the principal monastic or lay supporters and the religious faithful (*mūlasaddhā*)<sup>10</sup> who took the initiative in enabling the manuscript’s production.<sup>11</sup>

The three wishes that seem evenly distributed over all periods are that the writing of the manuscript will eventually lead to *nibbāna* – ‘the splendid city, the peak of *nibbāna*’ (*wiang kaeo an nying nilaphan*) – that it will lead to obtaining merit (*puñña*) or rewards of merit (*phala-ānisaṃsa*) either for the writer, the sponsor and donor, his family or other people, and that the copying of the manuscript and/or its sponsoring and donation to the Sangha will support (Lao: *khamసు*) the Teachings of Buddha (*sāsana*) to last for 5,000 years, counted from Buddha’s entering of the *parinibbāna*.<sup>12</sup> This basic purpose is grounded in the widespread belief among the Tai and Lao that the complete degeneration of the Buddha’s Teachings will be reached at the latest after 5,000 years. Whereas the intention of the sponsor and donor to extend the lifespan of Buddhism is expressed as a standard phrase in almost all the longer colophons, and even in most of the rather short ones, the wish to be reborn in the age of Buddha Metteyya (Ariya Metteyya) is reflected in a rather large number of colophons (altogether 17). This wish is expressed in different phrases. They are mostly written in the Lao vernacular (13 colophons), while four are in Pali. Some colophons just express the donor’s wish to be reborn in the age of Buddha Metteyya and to meet him in person and be ordained as a monk to become his disciple, as expressed in the following example:

---

<sup>10</sup> In Lao and Thai the term *mūlasaddhā* can indeed designate both the faith a person has in the Teaching of the Buddha, and the faithful believer as well. The meaning depends on the context in which *mūlasaddhā* is used.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 2013, XLVI–XLVIII.

<sup>12</sup> See Veidlinger 2006, 164–165.

May I reach the crystal city which is Nibbāna and may I be ordained at the residence (*samnak*) of Pha Ariya Metteyya (Maitreya), who will emerge in the world in the future. May this not be ignored.

ขอให้ผู้เข้าได้ถึงเวียงแก้วนิรพาน และได้บวชในสำนักพระแก้วองค์ชื่อว่าอริยมตไต๋ อันจักมาพวยหน้า ยา (อย่า) คลาด ยา (อย่า) คลา.<sup>13</sup>

Others add the wish that the donor will also get the chance to enter the path (*magga*) towards enlightenment as an *arahant* through the teachings of Buddha Metteyya. For instance:

May the power of this merit support the sponsor of this manuscript to meet Pha Metteyya (Maitreya) who will emerge in the world in the future. May the power of this merit destine me to attain enlightenment in the institution of Pha Ariya Metteyya. After having finished reading, may I, the sponsor, attain Nibbāna definitely.

ขออำนาจกุศลสวรรค์นี้จงนำเอาตัวผู้สร้างธำสรนี้ ให้ได้พบพระเมตเตย)องค์จักลงมาอุบัติในโลกพวยหน้า ขอเดชะกุศลจงดลบันดาลให้ผู้เข้าได้บรรลุ (บรรลุ) อมตธำ (ธรรม) ในสำนักพระสีอาน [อริยมตไตรย] แล้ว.<sup>14</sup>

*Ariya metteyya santike anāgate arahanta magga. Nibbānapaccayo hotu me niccaṃ dhuvaṃ*

[May I be] in the presence of Ariya Metteyya and achieve Arahantship in the future. May this be a condition for me to reach Nibbāna constantly and forever.

อริยมตเตยฺยสนฺติเก อนาคเต อรหตุตมคฺคณฺยา นิพฺพาน ปจฺจโย โหตุ เม นิจฺจํ ฐวฺ.<sup>15</sup>

*Anāgate metteyyo santike bhava pabbājetu daramānopi sattayo desetum anukampāya*

In the future (let me) exist in the presence of Metteyya who [comes] out of compassion to teach the suffering beings to ordain.

อนาคเต เมตเตยฺโย สนฺติเก ภเว ปพฺพาเขตฺ ทรมาโนปิ สตุตโย เทเสตฺถ อนุกมฺปาย.<sup>16</sup>

*Iminā kussala sadānena yatha yatha bhava jāto tikkhapañño visārado mādarido surūpo pāda saniyaṃ madhuseroyakiyalo kuttasabbasampattinaṃ arahantā arahanti maggañāṇaṃ ariyameṭṭhāya santike anāggate kāle niccaṃ dhuvaṃ.*

**13** BAD-22-1-0578, fol. 7<sup>r</sup>, a *kot set* year but no year of an era given. The original text here and passim written in Tham Lao (i.e. the Lao variant of the Dhamma script) has been transcribed into modern Thai script by largely preserving the orthography of the original. Thus readers familiar with modern Thai might better comprehend the English translations. This approach, though not without shortcomings, is considered more appropriate than transcribing the text into modern Lao (due to the script's limited number of consonant letters) or using a Tham Lao font.

**14** BAD-23-1-0629, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, dated 23 April 1963.

**15** BAD-22-1-1154, dated 29 March 1826.

**16** BAD-22-1-0282, dated 16 July 1766.

By means of this gift of merit, in whatever world I was born, [may I] possess sharp intelligence, be confident, not be poor, be beautiful, be lovely, possess a sweet voice, be an arahant, that is one who is worthy of possessing all mundane and supramundane attainments [and achieve] the knowledge of the paths [of liberation] in the presence of Ariya Metteyya [Buddha] in the future. [May my aspirations be realized] constantly and certainly.

อิมีนา กุสุสล สทาเนน ยถ ยถ ภเว ชาโต ติกุชปญโญ วิสารถิ มาทริโท สุรูปาทสนิย มธุเส  
โรยภิกยโลกุตต สัพพสมุปัตตินิ อรหันตา อรหันติ มคฺคญาณิ อริยมเตถยฺย สนฺติเก อนาคฺคเต  
กาลे นิจฺจ จูว.<sup>17</sup>

As mentioned above, colophons generally appear at the end of the main text, following either directly or separated by a blank line. In many cases, colophons, especially the lengthier ones, are written on a separate folio, sometimes in smaller letters, covering only the central parts of a folio. Colophons in manuscripts of religious content commissioned by sponsors to be donated to a monastery are highly formulaic as they follow a similar pattern characteristic of Buddhist colophons from Laos and other areas of the Dhamma script cultural domain, including Northern Thailand (Lan Na), the Tai Khün area of Chiang Tung and the Tai Lü speaking regions in southern Yunnan. Colophons usually provide information on the date when the manuscript was finished, the date when the scribe started writing, however, is rarely recorded. Thereafter, the scribe's name might follow, especially when the scribe is also the sponsor of the manuscript. However, in general the names of the leading monastic or lay supporters (*mūlasaddhā*) feature prominently in the second section of the colophon, sometimes mentioning the copied text. Thereafter the *mūlasaddhā*, often a lay couple representing their extended family, express the main objective of the manuscript donation, i.e., to ensure the Teachings of the Buddha (*phuttha-satsana*) last till the end of 5,000 years. In some instances, this objective is connected with the expectation that the manuscript's writing support, i.e. the palm leaves, might endure for that period too.<sup>18</sup>

Other colophons are relatively long and may even span more than one side of a palm leaf. Apart from the dating, the recording of the names of the scribe and principal sponsor, the mention of the motives and intentions for making the manuscript, the aspirations a scribe or sponsor/donor had for the good results of

<sup>17</sup> BAD-22-1-1082, dated 26 November 1838.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, the colophon of manuscript BAD-22-1-0465 stating: 'Hua Lung Na Nüa and his wife together with all children had the most ardent religious faith to sponsor the making [of this manuscript entitled] *Nithan Chanthaphanit* to support the Teachings of Gotama Buddha to last until the end of 5000 years and the end of these palm leaves.' (หัวlungนาเหนือ ฝัวเมียยลูกเต้า ชูคน ได้มีใจใส่สัทธาสร้างนิทานจันทะพานิดชูกนี้ ไว้กับสาสุสนาพระโคตมะเจ้า ตาบต่อเท้า ๕ พัน วสุสา หมดเช่น(สิ้น)ใบลาน).

the acquired merit, some of the longer colophons also contain some personal expression, including biographical details. The concluding Pali phrase is optional and, in most cases, rather short. The structure of such colophons is analysed in the following chart, discussing two examples which are from different periods and whose sponsors/donors came from different social backgrounds.

**Table 2:** Contents and structure of colophons

	<b>BAD-22-1-0616</b>	<b>BAD-22-1-0839</b>
Era	2491 BE	1220 CE
Lunar calendar		
Year	<i>poek chai</i> (Year of the Rat)	<i>poek sanga</i> (Year of the Horse)
Month	first lunar month	first lunar month
Fortnight	eighth waning day	fourth waning day
Day of the week	sixth day of the week (Friday)	sixth day of the week (Friday)
Zodiac day	<i>poek si</i>	<i>huang mao</i>
Corresponding to	Friday 24 December 1948 CE	Friday 24 December 1858 CE
Time	<i>nyam kham</i> (time of the late afternoon, 4.30–6.00 p.m.)	<i>nyam kông doek</i> (time of the late evening drum, 7.30–9.00 p.m.)
Initiator		
Scribe	Saen Kumphon (at Ban Phon Sai)	---
Sponsor/donor	Saen Kumphon (at Ban Phon Sai)	Thit (ex-monk) Kaeo Sao (i.e. Ms) Sopha I (i.e. Ms) Pheng and all their male and female servants had the religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript
Title	<i>Thamma Rattana Sut</i> (Sutta text)	<i>Lam Sut</i> (Sutta text)
Objective	May the merit derived from the making of the manuscript support my father, Chan Suk, my mother, Sao Nyathi, my sister, Sao Vandī, my uncles, Thit Thum, Chan Phio, Thit Cha, Sao Nyôt and all my relatives and friends. May all of them acknowledge this merit.	to support the Teachings of the Buddha to last until the end of 5000 years.

Table 2 (continued)

	BAD-22-1-0616	BAD-22-1-0839
Wish	As for myself, may I attain enlightenment and become one of the teachers of the world (i.e., the Buddha) in the future. Before attaining enlightenment and still moving in the <i>samsāra</i> (cycle of birth), for any of my rebirths, may I be purified physically, mentally and with regard to my speaking more than other human being. May I be saved from all kinds of diseases and dangers until I will have attained enlightenment as an omniscient person in the future.	May all of us reach the three states of happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal. May our wishes not be ignored. May all our wishes come true.
Concluding phrase (in Pali)	---	<i>Nibbāna paccayo hotu no niccaṃ dhuvam dhuvam</i> (May this be a condition for us to reach Nibbāna, constantly and certainly).

If a manuscript is dated, the place where the date shows up would almost always be the very beginning of the colophon. In general, the year when the scribe finished the inscribing of the text on palm-leaf would be the so-called ‘little era’ (*cunlasakkalat*, *chunlasakkarat* or *cuḷasakarāja*), first introduced in March 638 CE originating in Burma. In addition, dates in Tai-Lao historical records were also given with reference to the corresponding year of a sixty-year cycle. This sexagesimal cycle is known by almost all Tai speaking groups<sup>19</sup> and is composed of two repeating series of terms. The first series consists of ten names referring to the year numbers of the decade; the second series is composed of the twelve names of the animal cycle. The series of ten is repeated six times and the series of twelve five times. Thus, sixty different combinations are generated before the sexagesimal cycle restarts. The first year of the cycle, for example, is called *kat sai* by the Lao and can be rendered in English as ‘the year of the small snake, the first year of the decade.’ A crosschecking comparison of both dates – *cuḷasakarāja* year and the sexagesimal cycle year – allows us to disclose copyist and other errors in the historical records. Each lunar month comprises two fortnights. The first

<sup>19</sup> See Terwiel 1980.

fortnight is called *düan khün*, literally meaning ‘the rising moon’ or ‘the waxing moon’. It comprises 15 days. The second fortnight, comprising 14 or 15 days, is named *düang haem*, which means ‘the waning moon’. Days of the week are numbered, beginning with the word *van* and followed by ordered cardinal numbers. The first day of the week is Sunday and the last and seventh day is Saturday. *Van sam* – literally, ‘day three’ – refers to the third day of the week corresponding to Tuesday. This way of reckoning days is usually called the ‘Mon reckoning’ of the weekday. In addition, there is also a ‘Tai reckoning’ which divides the days into cycles of 60 days, following the same sexagesimal pattern similar to the one used for the reckoning of years.

Aside from a dual dating of years and days, colophons of Lao manuscripts very often record the time of the day (*nyam* ຍາມ ຍາມ) when the scribe finished the writing of his manuscript. It is not surprising that a scribe noted the moment when his arduous and often painstaking work of copying a long, sacred text came to an end with pride. Preferred times of the day for marking the end of the writing process were ‘the time of the morning drum’ (*nyam kông ngai* = 7.30–9.00 a.m.), ‘the time of the forenoon horn’ (*nyam thae kai thiang* = 9.00–10.30 a.m.), and ‘the time of the sunset drum’ (*nyam kông laeng* = 1.30–3.00 p.m.).

One of the most interesting colophons concerning the wishes and aspirations of a sponsor/donor is recorded in the relatively long colophon of manuscript BAD-22-1-0375, titled *Paet Mün*.<sup>20</sup> The principal initiator and the main sponsor of this manuscript was Pha Phui Thirachitta Maha Thera, the abbot of Vat Maha That, who dedicated it to his deceased parents, siblings, teachers, and old friends who had already passed away. Thus, the benefits derived from the meritorious donation should affect an improvement of their actual state in the otherworld and pave their way to ‘the realm of heaven’ (*sawan*). At the same time, the fruits of the merit should also help the donor, a high-ranking abbot, to achieve his ultimate goal: the successful attainment of Nibbāna. The manuscript is dated both according to the traditional style (see chapter above) and according to the international calendar: 26 April 1983. The manuscript comprises three palm-leaf fascicles, each of which contains colophons with identical wording (fascicle 1, fol. 17<sup>r-v</sup>; fascicle 2, fol. 16<sup>r-v</sup>; fascicle 3, fol. 15<sup>r-v</sup>). Its wording is quoted in full (Figs 1a and 1b).

<sup>20</sup> *Paet Mün* means literally ‘Eighty Thousand’ and is a short form of *Paet Mün Si Phan* (‘Eighty-four Thousand’) referring to the 84,000 Dhamma-Khanda (Dhamma Teachings), which is the traditional Theravāda description of the complete Tipitaka canon.



The relatively rigid structure of the Lao Buddhist colophon nevertheless leaves space for more personal expressions of the scribe who would add them either in a shorter colophon which is separated from the main (sponsors'/donors') colophon or as a final sentence being part of the main colophon. In the personal statements of scribes, we frequently find humble excuses for bad handwriting and misspellings, even by properly trained and experienced scribes. A striking example is the scribal colophon appearing at the end of the last of twenty fascicles of the manuscript entitled *Matthu Anulom* and dated 29 August 1923 (BAD-22-1-0012, fascicle 20, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>). The scribe, ex-monk Man, begs for leniency as follows: 'I am Thit (ex-monk) Man, the scribe. If any mistakes have been made, such as the omission of letters, the illegibility of my handwriting, and misspellings, I apologize to all Bhikkhu (monks), the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha.'<sup>23</sup> Occasionally the scribe would stress his lack of experience, being a novice both with regard to his monastic status and his being a beginner in the copying of texts.<sup>24</sup> Yet we even find the insufficient quality of the writing support, along with constraints of time as an excuse, such as in manuscript BAD-22-1-0647 (fol. 15<sup>r</sup>): 'My handwriting is not beautiful because the palm-leaves are not good, and I had to hurry in my writing. There are some mistakes, please consider.'<sup>25</sup> Reflecting a special sense of humour with sexual allusions is the colophon of a monk-scribe complaining about his unfulfilled desire to touch a widowed laywoman whose physical attractiveness might have been on his mind while he was writing (Fig. 2).



Fig. 2: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0887, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>, lines 3–4. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

ริจจนาแล้วยามเที่ยง ขอให้ผู้ข้า[มี]รูปผู้ดีผู้เพียงแต่ก็ข้าเห็น ชาตจีมาพายหน้า ขอให้ได้พบ  
องส์พัญญเจ้า ตัวบ่งงามอย่าได้หัวข้อยแต่ มือกระด้างไม่ได้คั้นนมสาวแม่วาง เขียนไว้คำ  
มูรสาสุสนา หนังสือวัดหนองเนื้อ อ้ายจันทรวัดหนอง เขียนเนื้อ จบเท่านั้นแล

The writing of this manuscript was finished at noon (between 10.30 a.m. and 12.00 p.m.).  
May I be born as a good and intelligent person in my next lives. May I meet the Enlightened

<sup>23</sup> ข้าพเจ้าที่ดมั่น เป็นผู้ริจจนา เขียนเนื้อ ตกก็ดี เหลือก็ดี บ่พอกก็ดี ตัว(หนังสือ)บ่ดีบ่งามก็ดี ใส่  
ตัวอักษรผิดก็ดี ข้าพเจ้าขออนุญาตนำพระภิกษุสงฆ์ ทั้งปวงกับพระพุทธเจ้า พระธรรมเจ้า  
พระสังฆเจ้า แด่ก็ข้าเทอญ.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, the colophons of manuscripts BAD-22-1-0176 and BAD-22-1-0596.

<sup>25</sup> เขียนบ่งงามเนื้อ ลานบ่ดี เขียนฟ้าเว้เต็มที บ่อนตกก็มี บ่อนเหลือก็ดี ค่อยพิจารณาเอาท่อน.

One. My handwriting is not so beautiful, do not laugh at me. My hand is rough because it has never touched the breast of the widow girl. The making of this manuscript is to support the Teachings of the Buddha. The manuscript belongs to Vat Nồng. Ai Chan from Vat Nồng is the scribe.

### 2.3 Scribes, sponsors and donors

This section presents in brief the results of a quantitative analysis of the colophons of the manuscripts in the Vat Maha That collection with regards to the information they provide on the persons who contributed to their production. These are, on the one hand, the scribes who inscribed the texts on the palm leaves, and on the other, the sponsors and donors who paid the remuneration or provided the palm leaves and other writing material. A number of more interesting colophons have been selected to illustrate the social and ethnic background of scribes and donors. Special emphasis is given to the role of the religious and secular elites (Supreme Patriarch respectively members of the royal family) as commissioners. The collaboration of scribes and sponsors/donors to ensure the making of the manuscripts and their later circulation as reflected in ownership statements is also illustrated.

As mentioned above, one tenth (119) of the colophons in the 1,220 manuscripts of the Vat Maha That corpus record the names of scribes, while the vast majority only state the writing was accomplished at a certain date, directly followed by the names of the leading and initiating monastic or lay supporters (*mūla-saddhā*) and their intentions for sponsoring the making of the manuscript. With one exception (BAD-22-1-1082) all scribal colophons explicitly mention the scribe's name, and in many cases his affiliation to a certain monastery (51), village or town quarter (11) as well. Three-fifths of the known scribes were members of the Sangha, either abbots or other monks, and in some cases also novices. Two-fifths of the scribes were laymen of whom four are called *achan* ('learned man'), often also called by its short form *chan*, while most of the other lay scribes were former monks (*thit* or *khanan*) or novices (*Siang*).

Though most scribes were monks and novices, with former monks and novices making up the rest, the vast majority of sponsors/donors were laypeople. Analysis here of the names of monasteries and home villages of scribes and sponsors/donors reveals two-thirds (64 of 96) of the 'leading monastic supporters' (i.e., monks and novices) to be based at Vat Maha That itself (which was anticipated), while the remaining 32 principal monastic supporters were from 19 different monasteries. One third (33) of the 99 manuscripts recording the home villages, town quarters or places of residence of the 'leading lay supporters'

were sponsored by people living in the town quarter of Ban Vat That, in the immediate neighbourhood of Vat Maha That. The only other place from which a substantial number of sponsors originated were Ban Hua Siang (10) and, surprisingly, the Royal Palace (9) where the King of Luang Prabang resided and the Front Palace, the residence of the viceroy. The relatively large number of royal sponsors will be discussed in a section below. The most prominent principal monastic supporter was the Supreme Patriarch (Saṅgharājā) of Luang Prabang called *Phutthapanya* (Buddhapaññā) who sponsored the making of a palm-leaf manuscript consisting of twelve fascicles, which survived as a complete set. The manuscript, entitled *Visaiyabanha* (Pali: Vijayapañhā) is the story of King Sivirat and his minister Sonsai making military preparations to fight against King Sivijaya of Pharanasi (modern Benares). A young novice (*chua*) named Mi was hired as a scribe. The karmic benefits derived from the production of this manuscript were asked to be transferred to the Supreme Patriarch's late elder brother, as is stated in the colophon, which is written in far smaller writing than the main text in the central part of the leaf (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Manuscript BAD-22-1-1160, fascicle 1, fol. 25<sup>r</sup>. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

จุลศักราช ๑๒๒๒ ตัว ปลิกตสัน เดือน ๖ ออก ๕ คำ วัน ๓ มื้อเป็กเส็ด ริงจนาแล้วยามเที่ยงวัน  
 หมายมีสังฆราชาพุทธปญา มีใจใสสทุธาสร้างวิเชยยบณหาไว้กับศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้า ตามต่อ  
 เท้า ๕๐๐๐ วสสา ทานไปหาพี่อ้ายชื่อว่าติดพรหมา อันสุรคุด (สวรรคต) จุตติไปสู่ปรโลกพาย  
 หน้านั้นขอให้ไปบังเกิดเป็นญาณแก้วญาณค่าน้ำพี่ของข้าให้ได้ถึงสุข ๓ ประการ มีนิรพาน  
 เป็นที่แลแล้วก็เทอญ นิจจ๋ ฐวี ฐวี จั้วมีเขียนเหลือผาหยา ขอให้ได้ตั้งคำมกค่าปรารถนาแด่  
 ข้าเทอน สาธุ สาธุ

In Culasakkarat (cs) 1222, a *kot san* year, on the fifth waxing day of the sixth [lunar] month, the third day of the week (Tuesday), a *poek set* day,<sup>26</sup> the writing of this manuscript was finished at noon (between 10.30 a.m. and 12.00 p.m.). Saṅgharājā Phutthapanya had the religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript entitled *Visaiyabanha* to support the Teachings of Gotama Buddha to last until the end of 5000 years and to dedicate the merit to my elder brother named Thit (ex-monk) Phomma who has already died and has gone to the other world. May the benefit of this merit be a crystal-golden vehicle to transfer my older brother to reach the three states of happiness with Nibbāna as the ultimate goal.

<sup>26</sup> 1222 Vaisakha 5 = Tuesday, 24 April 1860 which was indeed a *poek set* day. This and the following dates are calculated with the assistance of Lars Gislén's computer programme 'SEAsian Calendars' based on Eade's manuals (1989, 1995).

*Niccaṃ dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ* (continuously and forever). [I,] Chua (Novice) Mi, am the scribe writing beyond [my] wisdom. May my wishes and desires come true. *Sādhū sādhū* (Well done! Well done!).

In some rare cases there is evidence of the ethnic or professional background of sponsors, such as the colophon of manuscript BAD-22-1-0545, mentioning a Mae Thao (grandmother) Khün (แม่เต๋าซิ่น) from Ban Pa Phai village (บ้านป่าไฟ) who was most probably a Tai Khün immigrant from the Chiang Tung area in the eastern Shan State of Myanmar. Another manuscript (BAD-22-1-1020) was written by an unnamed Lao scribe at Vat Chòm Si in Luang Prabang in the Lao variant of the Dhamma script. The manuscript, comprising 57 folios, contains a bilingual text – *Sap Patimok* (Skt: Śabda/Pali: Sadda Pāṭimokkha, ‘Words of the Sangha Disciplinary Precepts’) – written in Pali and Lao in accordance with the Nissaya system in which a Pali word or phrases are directly followed by a translation into the vernacular. The contents start from the beginning of the Pāṭimokkha and run until the end of Pārājika, the Buddhist monastic code. In contrast to the general convention of the Lao manuscript culture of four lines written on each side of a palm leaf, this particular manuscript runs over six to eight lines. This is unusual even in Northern Thai and Tai Lü manuscript cultures (five lines per side is the norm). The colophon states (Fig. 4):



Fig. 4: Manuscript BAD-22-1-1020, fol. 57<sup>r</sup>. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

สักกราชได้ ๑๒๐๖ ตัว เติดยี่เพ็ง ในเมืองหลวง แม่นดิน ๔ เมืองอาลาวุกนครแล้วยามกองแลง  
แล ปลีกาบสีแล ข้าเฝือกในวัดจอมสิเมืองหลวงแล แม่นหนึ่งสี่หม่อมอินทวงสา เมืองอาลาวุก  
นครราชธานี สรีสุกพาวีภาตา มหานครหลวงแสนหัวฟ้า หอคำหลวงมิ่งเชียงรุ่งแล เจ้าไท  
ผู้ไดยิม ให้รักสชาติ เอามาส่งเทอน เจ้าจอมตนใดขออย่า (ข้อมูลขาดหาย)

In Culasakkarat (CS) 1206, on the full moon day of the second [lunar] month (according to the Lao calendar), in the capital city, in the fourth lunar month [according to the] Müang [Lü calendar] in the city of Alavakkanakhòn, the writing of this manuscript was finished at the time of the sunset drum (between 1.30 p.m. and 3.00 p.m.), in a *kap si* year.<sup>27</sup> I copied (*phiak*) [this manuscript] at Vat Chòm Si, in the city of Luang [Prabang] from a manuscript belonging to Mòm (monk) Inthavongsa from the city of Alavakkanakhòn Lasathani Sisuk

27 1206 Pausha 15 = Wednesday, 22 January 1845. In fact, it should be the third lunar month of the Lao calendar leading to the following correction of the date: 1206 Magha 15 = Friday, 21 February 1845.

Phaviphata Maha Nakhòn, Luang Saenvifa Hò Kham Luang Müang Siang Hung (the full name of Siang Hung or Chiang Rung, the capital of Sipsòng Panna).<sup>28</sup> Those who borrow [this manuscript] shall take good care of it and send it back. Any monk may not fail... [missing text].

The Lao scribe claims that he obtained the master-copy used for producing his own manuscript from a monk called Mòm Inthavongsa based at Chiang Rung, the capital of Sipsòng Panna, and most likely of Tai Lü ethnicity. It may be assumed the master-copy was almost certainly written in the Tai Lü variant of the Dhamma script, in Pali and the vernacular Tai Lü language. The date recorded in the colophon is clearly the date when the writing of the original Tai Lü manuscript was accomplished by Mòm Inthavongsa and does not represent the date when the unknown Lao scribe made his own copy. It seems that the Lao scribe copied the first half of the colophon directly from the colophon of the master-copy but amended the lunar month from the ‘fourth’ (according to the calendar of Chiang Rung and Chiang Tung) to the ‘second’, according to the Lao tradition. Here he made a slight mistake, as the Tai Lü calendar is only one month ahead of the Lao calendar and not two like the Lan Na calendar of Chiang Mai. Therefore, the date in the colophon should represent the third lunar month of the Lao calendar with 21 February 1845 as the day when the writing of the master-copy was accomplished. It is unclear, however, how the Lao scribe obtained the master-copy. It is most likely that a visiting monk from Sipsòng Panna – perhaps even the scribe himself – brought it to Luang Prabang, where he made his own ‘Lao version’ at his home monastery Vat Chòm Si, which is located at the foot of the sacred hill, Phu Si, in the centre of the town of Luang Prabang.

Two manuscripts record the High Commissioner of the Siamese crown as the principal lay supporter, either together with his Lao wife (BAD-22-1-0482, dated 6 January 1871) or alone (BAD-22-1-1205, dated 17 September 1891). The second manuscript is highly interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it was produced less than two years before the Pak Nam incident of July 1893 CE, when French ‘gunboat diplomacy’ enforced the Siamese cession of all territories situated on the left bank of the Mekong River to French Indochina. The kingdom of Luang Prabang ceased to be a Siamese vassal state under the supervision of a High Commissioner sent by the government in Bangkok and became a French protectorate. Secondly, the colophon reveals that the manuscript entitled *Sipsòng Tamnan* (‘Twelve Chronicles’) was copied from a printed book (*nangsü phim*) published by the Siamese king. Thus, the original text was translated from the Thai language and

---

<sup>28</sup> It appears the manuscript owner was a monk from Chiang Rung in Sipsòng Panna, most probably an ethnic Tai Lü.

script into Lao and written on palm-leaf in the Lao variant of the Dhamma script. Finally, the date when the writing of the manuscript was finished is given both in the traditional Lao style, based on the ‘Minor Era’ (*Chulasakkarat*) and the ‘Bangkok Era’ (*Rattanakosin Sakkarat*), which starts with the founding of Bangkok (1782) as Year 1. The colophon (on fol. 36<sup>r-v</sup>) reads (Fig. 5):



Fig. 5: Manuscript BAD-22-1-1205, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

มหาจักรราช ๑๒๕๓ ตัวปลีรวงเหมา เดิน ๑๐ ออกใหม่ ๙ คำ วัน ๖ ริงจนาแล้วยามเที่ยง วันที่ ๑๑ เดือนกัญายน รัตนโกสินธลสะก ๑๑๐ หมายถึงพระราชสิทธิ์ ท่านพระภัทสดานุหลัก(รักษ์) ข้าหลวงใหญ่ มีสิทธิ์ธรรมะ คำเลื่อมใสในวรพุทธศาสนาเป็นอันยิ่งจึงได้สั่งสิบสองตำนานไว้กับศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้า ๕๐๐๐ พระวสุสา นิพพาน ปจจโย โทดู โน นิจจํ สุวิ สุวี ปริมํ สุข หนังสือนักเจ้าเพียะ สีสุดธมม(ศรีสุทธิธรรม) ได้ชอบทานกับหนังสือพิมพ์ของพระบาทสมเด็จพระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัว ได้ขงสั่งแต่กรุงเทพพระมหานครสร้างขึ้นมานั้นโดยแล้วพรสงองค์ไม่มีสิทธิ์จะสั่ง จะเขียน จะพูด ขอให้ริงจนาตามพระคณานี้เถิด

In Culasakkarat (CS) 1253, a *huang mao* year, on the ninth waxing day of the tenth [lunar] month, the sixth day of the week (Friday),<sup>29</sup> the writing of this manuscript was finished at noon time (between 10.30 a.m. and 12.00 p.m.), on 11 September in [year] 110 of the Rattanakosin Era (1892 CE). Pha Phatsadanulak, the [Siamese] High Commissioner, had the most ardent religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript entitled *Sipsòng Tamnan* to support the Teachings of Gotama Buddha to last until the end of 5000 years. *Nibbānapaccayo hotu no niccam dhuvaṃ dhuvaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ.* (May this be a condition for us to reach Nibbāna, which is the greatest bliss, constantly and forever). I am Chao Phia Sisutthamma, who reviewed this manuscript and compared it with the typed manuscript which was published by His Majesty the King in Bangkok. A monk who is devout and wants to sponsor, copy or chant, please make a copy of this manuscript.

The principal lay supporters sponsoring the making of manuscripts were mostly couples and the name of the husband is mentioned first, followed by the wife's name. The couple included their children (*luk* ลูก), grandchildren (*lan* หลาน), great-grandchildren (*len* เหลน), or simply the ‘whole family’ (*phanthuvongsa* พันธุ์วงศ์), as beneficiaries of the merit resulting from the donation. Many colophons (99 manuscripts in total) mention a woman as the principal lay-supporter, either alone or together with her husband, whose name would be listed in second

29 1253 Bhadrapada 9 = Saturday, 12 September 1891.

position. These women are recognizable by their titles *sao* or *nang* for younger or middle-aged women, *pa* ('aunt') for elderly women, or simply *mae-òk*, which means 'laywoman'. One is tempted to speculate that in cases where a woman was the only leading lay supporter, she was either an unmarried woman or a widow; regarding the latter, children and other family members would explicitly be mentioned as beneficiaries. The colophon of manuscript BAD-22-1-0573 (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>) specifies the female donor's principal intention of merit transfer to her late husband as follows (Fig. 6):



Fig. 6: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0573, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

จุลลักราชาล่วงแล้วได้ ๒๔๘๒ พันสาปสิกัดหม้า เเดิน ๔ ออกใหม่ ๒ คำ วัน ๑ (วัน) ทิดลิจจนา  
แล้วบายโม่ ๑ หมายถึงเจ้ามุลลัสัทธาสาวิที บ้านนอกวัดหัวเชิงมีใจใส่สัทธาพร้อมกันกับทั้ง  
บุตรบุตรดา ญาติวงษาพี่น้องได้สร้างยังขับ(ศัพท)ไชยน้อยผูกนี้ไว้กับสาสนาพรโคตมเจ้า  
ตราบต่อเท่า ๕ พันพรวิสาสนี เด็กข้าเทิน ขอให้สรวรกุศลสรวรอันนี้ไปรอดไปถึงทิดครู  
ผู้เป็นสามีที่จืดตายไปสู่ปรโลกภายหน้า คันตกที่ร้ายแล้ว ชี้ให้ย้ายใส่ที่ดี คันเถิงที่ดีแล้ว ชี้ให้  
ดึกว่าเก่า ร้อยเท่าแลพันที คันนุรหามมีเมื่อพายลฺร ชี้ให้เอาตนเข้า (สู่เวียง) แก้ว คือว่ากลาว  
พ(ระ)อมุดตมทานิรพานันนั้เด็กข้าเทิน สุทฺธินั้ วัตเมทานั้ ปรมั สุขั สาธุ อนุโมทามิ (...)

In 2482 BE, a *kat mao* year, on the second waxing day of the fourth [lunar] month, the first day of the week, Sunday. The writing of this manuscript had been finished in the afternoon at 1.00 p.m. Sao (i.e. Ms) Thi from Ban Hua Xiang together with her children and all relatives had the religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript entitled *Sap Sai Nòi* to support the Teachings of Gotama Buddha to last until the end of 5,000 years. May this merit support Thit Khun, her husband who has already died to the other world. If he has been stuck in a place of suffering, please have him moved to a good place. If he has already been born in a good place, please let him enjoy happiness numerous times greater than previously. If he still has merit, may he enter the crystal city that is Nibbāna, definitely. *Sudinnaṃ vata me dānaṃ paraṃ sukhaṃ sādhu anumodāmi.* (This gift of mine has been properly offered. Nibbāna is the highest stage of happiness. Well done! We rejoice.)

Perhaps the most amazing discovery of the Vat Maha That collection is the relatively large number of royalty acting as sponsors and donors of manuscripts. A total of thirty-two manuscripts can securely identify the sponsors as members of the royal family. Three manuscripts alone have a 'royal mother' (*pha lasamada* or *pha lasasonani*) as the principal royal sponsor. The colophon of one of these manuscripts (BAD-22-1-0032, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>) records Sathu Thongsī, the 'mother' of King Sisavang Vong, the King of Lan Sang Hòm Khao (Kingdom of the Million Elephants and the White Parasol) as the royal sponsor who dedicated the 'fruits of

merit' (*phala-puñña*) derived from the donation to her own parents (in October 1906 CE). At least three further manuscripts were sponsored by incumbent kings. King Sisavang Vong (r. 1904–1959 CE) sponsored two on the same day in the early period of his reign. The two single-fascicle manuscripts (BAD-22-1-0195 and BAD-22-1-0196) are put together in one manuscript-bundle (*mat*), protected by two not beautifully embellished wooden covers (*mai pakap*). Containing short texts entitled *Palami* (Pāramī) and *Unhatsavisai* (Uṇhassa-vijaya) respectively, the two manuscripts have colophons with identical wording indicating that their writing was accomplished on the same day: Friday, 30 June 1911 CE (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0196, fol. 26'. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

สักราต ๑๒๗๓ ปสี(รวง)ได้ เติง ๘ ขึ้น ๘ ค่ำ พาวาได้วัน ๖ ริจจนาแล้วยามกองแลง หมายถึงอง สมเด็จพระเจ้าสีสว่าง(วงศ์) ได้มีใจใสสัทธาส้างสำปญาบารมีผูกนี้ ไปหาพ่เก่าแม่หลัง ขอให้ไป รอดไปเถิงจ่ายมพิบานเจ้านิเเทิน ขอให้ยู่สุกสำรานใจทุกค้ำเข้าวันคืน พรยาดธิโรคอาอย่า ได้มาผจนบ้งเบียด นิจจํ ฐูว์ ๆ อหํ อรหนโต โทมมิ อนาคเตกาเร (กาล)

In Culasakkarat 1273, a [*huang*] *khai* year, on the fourth waxing day of the eighth lunar month, the sixth day of the week (Friday),<sup>30</sup> the writing of this manuscript was finished at the time of the sunset drum (between 1.30 a.m. and 3.00 p.m.). His Majesty King Sisavang [Vong] had the religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript entitled *Panya Parami* to dedicate to *phò kao mae lang* (his previous parents). May this merit reach the guards of the hells. May I be happy in daytime and night-time. May I be prevented from all diseases constantly and certainly. *Niccaṃ dhuvam dhuvam aham arahanto homi anāgate kāle*. (Constantly and forever, may I become an arahant in the future.)

The most prolific royal sponsor of manuscripts was not a king of Luang Prabang but a viceroy (*uparat*). Viceroy Un Kham (r. 1872–1889 CE) commissioned the making of three manuscripts in the early years of his reign and his son and successor Bunkhong (r. 1890–1921) is listed as the sponsor of at least nine manuscripts between 1895 and 1918 CE, with four manuscripts donated on one day in November 1895 CE alone. Only the colophon of manuscript BAD-22-1-380 mentions his name ‘Bunkhong’ explicitly, while the others call him either *Chao Maha Sivit Wang Na* (‘Lord of the Great Life, [Head of the] Front Palace’) or by even more elaborate titles. Perhaps the most impressive joint sponsorship of Viceroy Bunkhong as

<sup>30</sup> 1273 Ashadha 4 = Friday, 30 June 1911.

principal royal initiator and his closest relatives is recorded in the colophon of a manuscript entitled *Munlanipphan* (Mūlanibbāna), ‘Foundations of Nibbāna’ (Fig. 8) :



Fig. 8: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0778, fol. 34'. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

จตุรศกราช ๑๒๗๒ ตัว ปลิกตเสียด เติน ๑๑ ขึ้นค่ำ ๑ วัน ๓ ริงจนามือกำเหมา ริงจนาแล้วยาม  
 แตรใกล้เที่ยงวัน หมายถึงอศุควรบสิทธิคมภิลเสฏฐานคคราอิงสารหอคำฝ่ายหน้า และมเหสี  
 และพระชวลลณี ทั้งราชบุตรดา ราชบุตรดี พระราชชวงสาณวง สมัคคีมีพระราชลัทธิอาเหลื่อมใส  
 ในพระพุทธศาสนาเป็นอันยิ่ง จึงได้สร้างมูลนิพพาน โขฎกศาสนาพระโคตมเจ้าเท่าปญ  
 จสหสุสา สุติน วัตตเมทาน์ นิพพาน ปจจโย โหตโน นิจจํ ฐวี

In Culasakkarat (CS) 1272, a *kot set* year, on the first waxing day of the eleventh [lunar] month, the third day of the week (Tuesday), a *ka mao* day,<sup>31</sup> the writing of this manuscript was finished at the time of the forenoon horn (between 9.00 and 10.30 a.m.). Akkavòrapasitthikhamphila Setthanakkhara Itsara Hò Kham Fai Na (king), together with the queen and his mother, princes, princesses, and all royal family members, had the most ardent religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript entitled *Munlanipphan* (Mūlanibbāna) to support the Teachings of Gotama Buddha to last until the end of 5000 years. *Sudinam vata me dānaṃ nibbānapaccayo hotu no niccaṃ dhuvaṃ.* (May this well donated gift be a condition for me to reach Nibbāna constantly and forever.)

Although manuscripts were usually commissioned by members of the same family, the Vat Maha That corpus also contains several cases of joint sponsorship by persons from different families. Manuscript BAD-22-1-0933, with the title *Lam Chüang* (a popular epic about a pre-historical Tai king in the Upper Mekong basin), comprises nine extant fascicles, each of which was commissioned by different main sponsors. Moreover, some colophons provide interesting insights into the shared responsibility of different sponsors. While several colophons stress the sponsor's efforts to procure the palm leaves for the scribe, one manuscript's (BAD-22-1-0904) colophon (fol. 66') stresses that the principal monastic initiators – two senior monks – gave money to the unnamed scribe while a former novice looked for the writing material (Fig. 9).

31 1272 Asvina 1 = Tuesday, 4 October 1910.

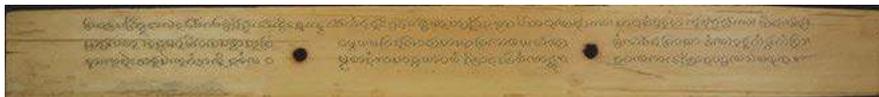


Fig. 9: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0904, fol. 66r. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

พระพุทธสักกราตได้ ๒๕๑๒ ตัว ปลีกัดเช้า เติ่น ๘ แรม ๑๕ ค่ำ วันจันรีจนาแลวยามบ่ายนึ่งโมง  
 หมายมีสารุใหญ่ผู้ย และสารุพอบุดตา เป็นผู้ออกขับ (ทรัพย์) และเขียนพันเป็นผู้ชอยออกไป  
 ลาน พ้อมกันมีใจใส่สัทธาสร้างพระธัมมยมก(ยามุก)ผู้กนี้ ไว้กับสาสนาพระโคตมเจ้า  
 ตราบต่อเท่า ๕ พันพระวัสสา ขอให้ได้ตั้งค้ำกัก ค้ำปรารธนาแห่งผู้เข้าทั้ง ๓ แต่ก้เข้าเกิน  
 อิทัม ธมฺมทาน อสาคุดยวาท นิพพาน สัชาต โหนตุ อนาคเต กาลे นิพพาน ปจฺจโย โหตุ โน

In the Buddhist Era (BE) 2512, a *kat hao* year, on the fifteenth waning day of the eighth [lunar] month, a Monday,<sup>32</sup> the writing of this manuscript was finished in the afternoon at 1.00 p.m. Sathu Nyai (great monk) Phui and Sathu Phò (elderly monk) Butda were the sponsors who donated money, and Siang (ex-novice) Phan looked for the palm leaves. They had the religious faith to sponsor the making of this manuscript entitled *Nyamuk* to support the Teachings of Gotama to last until the end of 5000 years. May all the wishes and desires of the three of us come true. *Idam me dhammadānaṃ āsavakkhayāvahaṃ nibbāna saṅkhātāṃ hotu anāgate kāle nibbānapaccayo hontu no* (May my donation of the Dhamma bring about the destruction of the cankers (*āsavaka-kilesa*) known as Nibbāna. May it be a condition for me to reach Nibbāna in the future.)

Though manuscripts kept in a monastic repository belonged to that monastery, they were frequently borrowed for various purposes, either to be studied and copied by monks from a neighbouring monastery who lacked a specific text or to be used in Buddhist rituals and ceremonies outside the monastery's compound. This explains why the scribes admonished all borrowers of manuscripts to return them to their original place, as expressed in the following rather short colophons: 'Those who borrow it, please give it back to Vat Sikoet monastery' ([ไผ]ยืมให้ส่งวัดสีเกิดเน้อ, BAD-22-1-0007, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>) and 'This manuscript belongs to Vat Pha Maha That Rasabòvòravihan. Those who have borrowed it have to return it to its original place.' (หนังสือวัดพระมหาธาตุราชบวรวิหาร ถ้าบุคคลผู้ใดยืมไปแล้วต้องให้เอามาส่งที่เดิม, BAD-22-1-0216, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>). An interesting case is manuscript BAD-22-1-0004, which contains two different texts sponsored by two couples. The two main sponsors' colophons (fols 51<sup>r</sup> and 52<sup>r</sup>) are preceded by a colophon of the manuscript's owner. One of the sponsors probably took it back later and kept it in his home (fol. 50<sup>v</sup>), and his colophon is preceded by a brief scribal colophon directly following the end of the second text (fol. 50<sup>r</sup>). These two colophons are quoted in full (Figs 10a and 10b).

<sup>32</sup> 1331 Pratomashada 30 = Monday, 14 July 1969.



Fig. 10a: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0004, fol. 50<sup>r</sup>. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

หมายมีธัมมปญาวัดธาตุ เป็นผู้ริจนา ขอส่วรบูรอนานิสงผละบูรนำฯ หลายๆ แต่พื้น มุรเก่าลง หลาย ก่ายได้ห้าใบเต็ม ส่วรของพื้นแล้ว ปตกบ่เหลือแล้ว

Thammapanya from Vat That is the scribe. May I share a large amount of merit with you. The old manuscript had lost much [text], [thus I] copied an additional five full leaves. Now [the manuscript] is fully completed.



Fig. 10b: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0004, fol. 50<sup>v</sup>. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

มธูอนุโลมรอม มี ๒ ผูกต่อกัน ของหัวป่าแสนใหม่ปู ร่อมแฉ (ขอยมม) กำแพงวัดธาตุเนื้อ โยคัจจรเข้าตนใดก็ดี คนครหัด ยิงชายฝูงไดยิมไปฟังแล้ว กิจประโยดให้ส่งเจ้าของเก่าแด่ ทอน สาธุฯ อนุโมทามิ ๓ ทีแล

*Matthu Anulom Hòm*, 2 fascicles are bound together. [This manuscript] belongs to Hua Pa Saen [and] Mai Pu, [their house is located] behind the corner of the wall [surrounding] Vat That. If any wandering monks, laymen or laywomen borrow [this manuscript] to recite it, they must return it to its original owner after having used it. Well done! Well done! I rejoice three times.

Occasionally ownership statements are found that help to identify the provenance of a manuscript which does not contain any paratextual information about the scribe and sponsor(s). The palm-leaf manuscript BAD-22-1-0482 (dated 6 January 1871), of which only the first fascicles (*phuk ton*) of the *Nitsai Chatuvik* has survived, is a case in point. A brief ownership statement appears on the verso side of folio 8v. It is written in modern Lao script with a blue ballpoint pen, and reads หนังสือสาธุจันทา วัดหัวเขียง, ‘The manuscript belongs to Monk Chantha from Vat Hua Siang’. This indicates that this fascicle – part of a larger codicological unit comprising several fascicles – originally belonged to Vat Hua Siang in the lower (southern) part of the town of Luang Prabang. Most of the ownership statements, however, confirm the manuscript belonged to Vat Maha That itself. In other cases, the ownership statement is written on a separate side of a leaf with a pink ballpoint pen. The following example is BAD-22-1-0152, a manuscript com-

missioned by abbot Chao Môm Bunthan on 31 December 1947. It is written both in Tham Lao script and in Roman characters (Fig. 11).

In Roman script:

Vat Phramahathat / Rasehabovoravihall (sic) / Luang-Prabang.

In Tham Lao script:

กิตตบุญญโณฏภิกขุ พระบุญทันธาธิกุล / วัดพระมหาธาตุราชบวรวิหาร / พระนครหลวงพระบาง

Thittapunya Bhikkhu Phra Bunthan Rathikun / Vat Phra Maha That Rasabòvòravihan / Phra Nakhòn Luang Phrabang

ได้สร้างนิยายกิมพาร้าไรไว้กับสาสนา / พระโคตมเจ้า เท้า ๕๐๐๐ / วสุธา นิพพาน ปจจุโย โหตุ เม

[He] sponsored the making of the *Niyai Phimpha Hamhai* [manuscript] to ensure that the Teachings of Buddha Gotama will last until [the end of] 5000 years. *Nibbānapaccayo hotu me* (May [this] be a condition for me [to reach] Nibbāna).

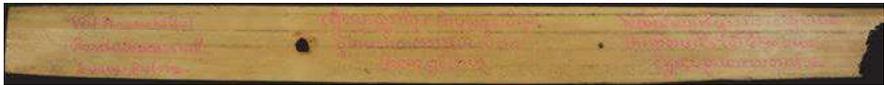


Fig. 11: Manuscript BAD-22-1-0152, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>. © Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang.

### 3 Conclusion

The corpus of digitised manuscripts kept at the monastic repository of Vat Maha That is the largest ever conducted in the city of Luang Prabang, thus far. The impressive collection of palm-leaf manuscripts was the work of senior intellectual monks who appreciated the ancient manuscript culture of Laos. Notably, Sathu Nyai Phui Thirachitta Maha Thela (1925–2005), who served as the abbot of Vat Maha That from 1967 until his death, contributed much to the building-up of the unique manuscript collection at his home monastery. He was a passionate scribe, sponsor, and collector of manuscripts.

The colophons found in these manuscripts reveal quite interesting features, though their structure and content differ little from those that are known from other Lao, Northern Thai (Lan Na) or Tai Lü manuscripts and bear religious texts. The vast majority of these manuscripts are dated, and the dates are recorded according to the Lao lunar calendar in a refined and elaborate way allowing, in most cases, a quite precise dating of the day (and even daytime) when the writing of the text was accomplished. The persons figuring most prominently in the colophons are not the scribes, whose names are only occasionally mentioned, but the

sponsors or donors who hired the scribes and provided the writing support. They are considered the real ‘makers’ of the manuscripts, and their intentions and wishes are expressed in the colophons. Though the main texts might be written in Pali or bilingual Pali-Lao, the colophons are almost exclusively written in the Lao (or in some cases also Tai Lü) vernacular with rather short, standardized Pali phrases at the end.

Scribes are, in almost all cases, either monks and novices or laymen once ordained in a monastery where they have learned to read and write texts written in the religious Dhamma (Tham) script. Sponsors and donors may also have had such a background but were usually normal laypeople. In the Lao context, at least in Luang Prabang, the relatively high percentage of women serving as principal lay supporters is astonishing as is the presence of royalty among the sponsors and donors of manuscripts. Moreover, a closer study of colophons will also help us sharpen our understanding of the cooperation between scribes and sponsors/donors as well as the involvement of different sponsors/donors in the making of a manuscript. Although in recent years many projects have been carried out to preserve, document, and digitise manuscripts in various parts of Theravada Buddhist South-East Asia, much remains to be done in identifying either physically or culturally endangered collections of manuscripts, both in monastic repositories and private collections. It is the author’s great hope that this article will help raise awareness and speed up research in the diverse manuscript cultures of the Thai and Lao world, that constitute a most precious heritage of the region’s people.

### **Acknowledgments**

I am grateful to Khamvone Boulyaphonh, Director of the Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang, for giving me the kind permission to publish the material under study. Thanks go also to Giovanni Ciotti, Silpsupa Jaengsawang, Sutteera Satayaphan, and an anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments and suggestions for improvement.

The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany’s Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 ‘Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures’, project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

## References

- Arthid Sheravanichkul (2009), *Than lae thanbarami: khwam samkhan thi mi tò kan rangsan vannakhadi thai phutthasatsana* ทานและทานบารมี: ความสำคัญที่มีต่อการรังสรรค์วรรณคดีไทยพุทธศาสนา [Dana and Danaparami: Significance in the Creation of Thai Buddhist Literature], PhD dissertation, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok.
- Arthid Sheravanichkul (2010), 'Narrative and Gift-giving in Thai Āṇisaṃsa Texts', in Peter Skilling and Justin McDaniel (eds), *Buddhist Narrative in Asia and Beyond: In Honour of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn on Her Fifty-Fifth Birth Anniversary*, Vol. 1, Bangkok: Institute of Thai Studies, 37–46.
- Berger, Hans Georg (2000), *Het Bun Dai Bun: Laos – Sacred Rituals of Luang Prabang*, London: Westzone.
- Bounleuth Sengsoulin (2015a), 'Buddhist Manuscript Culture in Laos on the Road to Modernity: Reflections on Anisong Manuscripts', in Grabowsky and Berger (eds) 2015, 249–265.
- Bounleuth Sengsoulin (2015b), 'The Manuscript Collection of Abbot Sathu Nyai Khamchan at the Monastery of Vat Saen Sukharam (Luang Prabang, Laos)', *manuscript cultures*, 8: 53–74.
- Bounleuth Sengsoulin (2016), *Buddhist Monks and their Search for Knowledge: an examination of the personal collection of manuscripts of Phra Khamchan Virachitto (1920–2007), Abbot of Vat Saen Sukharam, Luang Prabang*, PhD dissertation, Africa-Asia Institute, Universität Hamburg.
- Eade, John Christopher (1989), *Southeast Asian Ephemeris: Solar and Planetary Positions, A.D. 638–2000*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell Southeast Asia Program.
- Eade, John Christopher (1995), *The Calendrical Systems of Mainland Southeast Asia* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 3: Südostasien, 9), Leiden: Brill.
- Grabowsky, Volker and Hans Georg Berger (eds) (2015), *The Lao Sangha and Modernity: Research at the Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang, 2005–2015*, Luang Prabang: Anantha Publishing.
- Hayashi, Yukio (2003), *Practical Buddhism among the Thai-Lao: Religion in the Making of a Region*, Kyoto: Kyoto University Press.
- Holt, John Clifford (2009), *Spirits of the Place: Buddhism and Lao Religious Culture*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hundius, Harald (1990), 'The Colophons of Thirty Pāli Manuscripts from Northern Thailand', *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 14: 1–174.
- Kislenko, Arne (2009), *Culture and Customs of Laos*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Nginn, Pierre S. (1959), 'New Year Festival (Fifth Month Festival)', in René de Berval (ed.), *Kingdom of Laos*, Saigon: France-Asie, 268–271.
- Terwiel, Barend Jan (1980), 'Tai Peoples and the Computation of Time, a Comparative Perspective', *Journal of the Siam Society*, 66/2: 159–171.
- Veidlinger, Daniel M. (2006), *Spreading the Dhamma: Writing, Orality, and Textual Transmission in Buddhist Northern Thailand*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- von Hinüber, Oskar (2013), *Die Pali-Handschriften des Klosters Lai Hin bei Lampang in Nord-Thailand*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.



## Appendix: archival material

The first two digits of the code of the manuscripts kept at the Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang (BAD) refer to the monastic repository (22 = Vat Maha That), the third digit denotes the writing support (1 = palm-leaf), followed by the last four digits denoting the individual manuscript according to the order of digitisation. The first 470 manuscripts were digitised with the support of the University of Hamburg's Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures while the remaining manuscripts (from no. 0471 upwards) were digitised with the support of the Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA). Thus only these manuscripts do have a DREAMSEA code as well and are accessible through the DREAMSEA website (<<https://www.hmmcloud.org/dreamsea/index.php>>).

- **BAD-22-1-0004:** *Matthu Anulom* (Conforming to the daily routine of the Buddha); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 56 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1293 CS, a *huang mot* year (1931 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0007:** *Ubpāt* (Chanting for warding off calamities); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 27 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1223 CS, a *huang hao* year (1861 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0032:** *Matthu Anulom* (Conforming to the daily routine of the Buddha); palm-leaf manuscript; ten fascicles with a total of 279 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1268 CS, a *hwai sanga* year (1906 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0152:** *Ninyai Phimpha Hamhai* (The Story about Bimbā's lamentations); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 30 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 2490 BE, a *moeng khai* year (1947 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0176:** *Pannya Parami* (Paññā Pāramī); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 8 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; undated.
- **BAD-22-1-0195:** *Unhatsavisai* (Uṇhassavijaya) (Victory in suppressing the heat); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 11 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1273 CS, a *huang khai* year (1911 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0196:** *Pannya Parami* (Paññā Pāramī); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 6 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1273 CS, a *huang khai* year (1911 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0216:** *Mangkhala 38* (Part of the Discourse on Blessings); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 16 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 2465 BE, a *huang hao* year (1922 CE).

- **BAD-22-1-0282:** *Sap Mahavak* (Words of the Great Group – part of the Abhidhamma); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 48 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1128 CS, a *hwai set* year (1766 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0375:** *Paet Mūn* (Eighty Thousand); palm-leaf manuscript; three fascicles with a total of 50 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1345 CS / 2526 BE, a *ka khai* year (1983 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0414:** *Matsima Nikai* (Majjhima Nikāya), palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle (No. 14) of 26 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1205 CS, a *ka mao* year (1843 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0482 (DS0011\_00015):** *Chatuvik* (Title of a poem); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 10 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1231 CS (in fact: 1232), a *kot sanga* year (1870/1871 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0545(DS0011\_00088):** *Sông Khao Salak* (Benefits derived from offering food distributed by lottery tickets); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 8 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1308 CS / 2489 BE, a *hwai set* year (1946 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0573 (DS0011\_000116):** *Sap Sai Nòi* (Words of the small victory); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 11 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 2482 BE, a *kat mao* year (1939 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0578 (DS0011–00121):** *Sai Luang* (The Great Victory), palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 8 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; a *kat set* year (no further date given).
- **BAD-22-1-0596 (DS0011\_00139):** *Sap Phahung* (Sapta Bāhum – Words of eight verses about the Buddha’s auspicious victories); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 6 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 2492 BE, *kat pao* year (1949 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0616 (DS0011\_00159):** *Rattana Sutta* (Rattana Sutta – Discourse on the Triple Gems); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 13 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1310 CS or 2490 BE, *kat pao* year (1947 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0647 (DS0011\_00197):** *Tamnan Nithan Vat Pha Kaeo Viang Din Dòi Tao* (The Chronicle of the monastery of Vat Pha Kaeo Viang Din Dòi Tao); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 16 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1281 CS, a *poek chai* year (1919 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0778 (DS0011\_00344):** *Munlanipphan (Mūlanibbāna)* (Discourse on the way leading to Nibbāna); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 16 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1272 CS, a *kot set* year (1910 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0839 (DS0011\_00405):** *Ban Ton* (The beginning section); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 33 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1220 CS, *poek sanga* year (1858 CE).

- **BAD-22-1-0904 (DS0011\_00481):** *Yamuk* (Yamaka) (Book of Pairs); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 66 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 2512 BE, a *kat hao* year (1969 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-0933 (DS0011\_00531):** *Sapphahung* (Words of the Bāhuṃ Sutta or the Jaya Maṅgala Gāthā); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 8 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 2515 BE, a *tao chai* year (1972 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-1020 (DS0011\_00663):** *Sap Patimok* (*Sapta Pāṭimokkha*) (Words of the Basic Code of Monastic Discipline); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 57 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1206 CS, a *kap si* year (1844 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-1082 (DS0011\_00743-00759):** *Khutthakanikai* (*Khuddaka-Nikāya*) (Minor Collection); palm-leaf manuscript; 17 fascicles with a total of 139 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1200 CS, a *poek set* year (1838 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-1154 (DS0011\_00848):** *Sap Khatha Thammabot* (*Gāthā Dhammapada*) (Words about the Buddha's Path to Enlightenment); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 147 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1187 CS, a *hap hao* year (1825 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-1160 (DS0011\_00855-00865):** *Visaiya Banha* (Vijeyya's Problem); palm-leaf manuscript; 12 fascicles with a total of 148 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1222 CS, a *kot san* year (1860 CE).
- **BAD-22-1-1205 (DS0011\_00962):** *Bòk Tua Akkhara Hai Thük Nak Bao* (Telling the correct pronunciation of [consonant and vowel] letters); palm-leaf manuscript; one fascicle of 158 folios; language: Lao, Pali; script: Tham Lao; 1253 CS, a *huang mao* year (1892 CE).



Peera Panarut

# The Structure, Functions, and Tradition of Siamese Royal Scribal Colophons

**Abstract:** This paper focuses on colophons written by royal scribes in Siamese manuscripts from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century. These royal scribal colophons can reveal not only the manuscripts' origin in the royal palace, but also the roles of the royal scribes in the book production of the Siamese royal court, as the noble titles of the royal scribes are always recorded in the colophons. Even after the 1932 revolution, the modern royal scribes under the Secretariat of the Cabinet continued to produce official handwritten copies of the constitution and, in the tradition of the royal scribes of the past, ended their manuscripts with colophons.

## 1 Introduction

Colophons, though not often found in Siamese manuscripts, provide insight into different aspects of textual history and manuscript production, allowing us to locate manuscripts in place and time. The colophons in Siamese manuscripts attest a wide range of formal and informal language registers, both in prose and verse, and provide different types of information. For example, colophons in monastic manuscripts may record the date of production alongside the merit scribes and sponsors expected to gain. One scribe, for instance, mourns his tedious scribal task and pleads for remuneration.<sup>1</sup> In another manuscript, the owner curses anyone writing anything playful on the manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

Siamese writing can be traced back to the thirteenth century, when Tai-speaking people in the upper Chao Phraya River basin began to note down their own language by adapting the Old Khmer script, and possibly the Old Mon script, both of which had developed from the writing system of Southern India since the fifth century. Despite earlier traces of Siamese writing and manuscript culture, actual manuscript evidence has only survived from the later period of the Ayutthaya Kingdom, i.e. since the seventeenth century. The most common types of Siamese manuscripts are palm-leaf manuscripts and *khò*-paper leporello

---

1 National Library of Thailand, Chan Subsection, Bò Initial, Ms no. 28, recto p. 80.

2 Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, Siam 6, recto p. 2.

manuscripts. Palm-leaf manuscripts are largely used for religious texts (i.e. canonical Pali texts, commentaries, etc.), whereas the *khòì*-paper manuscripts, composed of a very long piece of paper folded together in the concertina or leporello fashion, are mainly used for secular texts, such as historical records, law, secular treatises, and poetry. The earliest Siamese palm-leaf manuscript ever found is dated to 1615, while the earliest *khòì*-paper manuscript dates to 1680.<sup>3</sup>

Colophons in Siamese manuscripts are found in various locations. For example, colophons in palm-leaf manuscripts can be found on the cover leaf, along with the title, but sometimes at the end on the last leaf of the fascicle (Thai *phuk*).<sup>4</sup> Correspondingly, colophons in *khòì*-paper manuscripts are written either at the beginning (the first folded page of the recto side) or at the end. However, in the case of multiple-text manuscripts the colophon can be located at the end of any of the works copied in the manuscript, thus not necessarily at the end of the manuscript. It is worth mentioning that even those colophons appearing at the beginning of the manuscript may have been written after the copying of the main text was completed, as in most cases they record the date in which the work was finished. Sometimes modern scholars differentiate these paratextual elements on the basis of their location in prefaces (at the beginning of the manuscript) and colophons (at the end of text or manuscript). However, to emphasize the colophon's function as the 'finishing touch', suggested by its etymology,<sup>5</sup> the term colophon will be applied here to those found both at the beginning and the end of a text.

This article focuses on the colophons of the Siamese royal manuscripts, which not only helps in identifying their origin and main function (for presentation to the King) but also reveals the practice of the royal scribes at the royal court taking part in royal manuscript production. As the Siamese royal manuscripts featured in this article largely contain secular texts for royal court circulation, our focus will be on the *khòì*-paper manuscripts.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2010, 24 and 38.

<sup>4</sup> In the context of Thai and Lao manuscripts, the term 'fascicle' is often used among modern scholars to refer to a unit of palm-leaf manuscript consisting of 24 leaves bound together, known in Thai and Lao as *phuk* (Boulyaphonh and Grabowsky 2017, 20; Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2010, 35). The term 'bundle' – *mat* in Thai and Lao – is reserved for a larger codicological unit consisting of multiple fascicles (Boulyaphonh and Grabowsky 2017, 20).

<sup>5</sup> Beal 2009, 80.

<sup>6</sup> The tradition of the royal palm-leaf manuscript has been briefly mentioned in Kongkaew Weeraprachak and Wirat Unnathornwarangkun 2003. According to this work by Kongkaew Weeraprachak and Wirat Unnathornwarangkun (2003, 19–24), the royal palm-leaf manuscripts of *Tipiṭaka* were marked by the royal seals of each reign, not by the royal scribal colophons. Note

## 2 Royal manuscripts and royal scribes

The tradition of the royal manuscripts must have existed in the Siamese Kingdom of Ayutthaya (1351–1767), but no direct evidence has survived. The earliest manuscripts containing royal scribal colophons can be attested from the Thonburi period (1767–1782) and the Bangkok period (since 1782). Though several manuscripts were produced within the royal court of Ayutthaya (i.e. the manuscripts of Luang Prasoet’s *Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya*, *Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Cao Prasat Thòng*, and *Nanthopanantha Sut Kham Luang*), none may be proven as manuscripts produced by royal scribes for presentation to the King and preserved as a part of the royal manuscript collections. To identify a royal manuscript, modern scholars employ the colophons of the royal scribes, in which the noble ranks and titles of the royal scribes are mentioned. Furthermore, royal scribal colophons always use the royal language register, indicating communication to a royal family member, or the King. The phrase royal scribes used to refer to themselves appears most often in the royal register as *kha phra phuttha cao*, literally meaning ‘slaves/servants to the Buddhist King’. This phrase was then considered one of the first personal pronouns in Thai royal language,<sup>7</sup> used by commoners to refer to themselves when speaking with the King and high-ranking members of the royal family. The ending phrase *khò decha* (literally ‘may [your] power [protect me]’), which can be roughly rendered into the English phrase ‘May it please Your Majesty’, is regularly used to end sentences addressed to the King. When use of these words and phrases in the royal language is attested along with the titles of the royal scribes of the royal palace, modern scholars accepted that manuscript to be a royal manuscript.<sup>8</sup>

Producing the so-called royal manuscripts is one of the main tasks of the royal scribes, along with other tasks largely concerning the court’s mainly bookwork such as the editing of legal texts, preserving the royal manuscript collections, writing the royal announcement, inscribing the golden plate (Thai *suphannabat*) for appointing the royal, noble and monastic titles,<sup>9</sup> and reading the royal announcement aloud in the royal ceremonies. Certainly from the Bangkok period and possibly since the founding of the capital, the office of the Royal

---

that the task of producing and editing religious manuscripts of the royal court belonged to the royal pandits of the Royal Pandits Department (Th. *krom ratcha bandit*), not to the royal scribes (Wales 1965, 100).

7 Hoonchamlong 1992, 195; Natthaporn Panpothong 2009, 67–68.

8 See Damrong Rajanubhab 1960, 163.

9 Wales 1965, 100.

Scribes Department (*krom phra alak*) was located in the Royal Manuscript Hall (*hò nangsü luang*), which housed the royal manuscript collections within the royal grand palace of Bangkok. Positions within the Royal Scribes Department can be determined from their noble titles. For example, the head of the department traditionally held the title Phra Si Phuripricha or abridgedly as Phra Alak ('Lord of Royal Scribes'), while the first deputy of the department was known as Khun Sara Prasoet and the second deputy as Khun Maha Sitthiwohan. A group of newly trained and registered royal scribes have no titles and historical records mention them by their personal names. The extant salary records now preserved at the National Library of Thailand indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Department of Royal Scribes employed more than one hundred scribal officers.<sup>10</sup> As their main tasks were the production and preservation of the administrative, legal, and historical manuscripts, the royal scribes formed, arguably, one of the most significant departments within the traditional Siamese royal court's administration.

Aside from their tasks of producing administrative and legal manuscripts, the royal scribal colophons reveal that royal scribes also took part in the literary production of the royal court, by making copies, proofreading, and sometimes editing and composing the texts. It is evidenced in the colophons that royal scribes made copies of literary manuscripts. Furthermore, some royal scribes proved themselves to be the scholars of the royal court being assigned by the King to edit texts transmitted from the Ayutthaya period and even newly composed literary texts in the Bangkok period. Regularly when the royal scribes finished copies, other royal scribes would be assigned to proofread the texts. Thus, the colophons of the royal manuscripts, usually at the beginning of the manuscripts, record the titles of the royal scribes responsible for producing the royal manuscripts in the proper language when communicating with the King.

In spite of there being no information available on the royal manuscript hall of Thonburi, a few manuscripts produced by the royal scribes of Thonburi have survived indicating scribal activities within the Thonburi royal court. For instance, King Taksin of Thonburi ordered illustrated manuscripts of Buddhist cosmology, or *Samut Phap Trai Phum*, to be produced by royal scribes and royal painters in 1776. In the specific size of an illustrated cosmology manuscript, these manuscripts are large and each page is full of colour illustrations featuring short,

---

<sup>10</sup> For example, National Library of Thailand, Cotmaihet Section, King Rama III's Reign, CS 1200, Ms no. 92 (dated 1838); King Rama III's Reign, CS 1203, Ms no. 87 (dated 1841); King Rama IV's Reign, CS 1220: Ms no. 202 (dated 1858).

explanatory texts.<sup>11</sup> Of several extant copies, the finest and most complete and very likely the original royal copy presented to the King, is the manuscript preserved at the Museum of Asian Arts in Berlin.<sup>12</sup> This manuscript contains a lengthy preface, recording the King's intention to have the text copied along with illustrations on the date equivalent to 24 September 1776 according to the King's order.<sup>13</sup> The production of the manuscript was supervised by the Supreme Patriarch to ensure it followed the Pali texts. The preface ends with the names of the royal painters and the royal scribes in the structure, which is usually found in later evidence, as follows:

หลวงเพชรกรรม ๑ ๑ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายนาม ๑ นายบุญญา ๑ นายเรือง ๑	๕ คนได้เขียนแผนพระไตรภูมิ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า นายเซต ๑ นายสน ๑ นายทองคำ ๑
---	--

อ่าลักษณะได้จารึกอักษรทูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวายฉลองพระเดชพระคุณ ฯ

We, Luang Phetchakam, Nai Nam, Nai Bunsu, and Nai Rüang, four of us have painted the illustrations of *Trai Phum* ('three worlds'). We, Nai Bun Can, Nai Chet, Nai Son, and Nai Thòng Kham, the royal scribes, have written to be presented to and serve the King.

The colophon in this illustrated manuscript dated in 1779 can be considered the earliest evidence on the tradition of the Siamese royal scribal colophons. Furthermore, six manuscripts of *Ramakian-The Royal Composition of King Taksin of Thonburi* (known in Thai as *Ramakian Phra Ratcha Niphon Somdet Phra Cao Krung Thonburi*) written with gold (five of them preserved at the National Library of Thailand and the other one at the State Library of Berlin) contain the prefaces of the royal scribes dated in 1780. In all the manuscripts, the colophons at the beginning (written in gold like the main text) mention the date of composition by King Taksin and the colophons at the end (written in yellow ink) provide the manuscript's date and the names of the royal scribes who copied and proofread.

The manuscript now kept at the State Library of Berlin contains the following colophon:<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2010, 3.

<sup>12</sup> Terwiel 2014, 50. Although several manuscript copies of *Samut Phap Trai Phum* (with relatively the same texts and illustrations) kept at the National Library of Thailand, due to significant reasons the illustrated manuscript in Berlin today is regarded as the original royal copy presented to King Taksin in 1776 rather than any other (see Terwiel 2014, 66).

<sup>13</sup> Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, II 650, verso pp. 1–2.

<sup>14</sup> Berlin, State Library of Berlin, Ms orient Fol 333, recto p. 1.

๑ วัน ๑ + ๖ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๓๒ ปีชวโรศก พระราชนิพนธ์ทรงแต่ขึ้นต้นแปดประหม ยัง ทราวม  
อยู่  
พอดี

On Sunday, the first day of the waxing moon of the sixth lunar month of CS 1132,<sup>15</sup> the Year of the Tiger, the second year of the decade [equivalent to Sunday, 14 April 1771]<sup>16</sup>, the King has composed this text which is still fresh and sufficiently fine.

While this colophon mentions the date of original composition in 1771 and King Taksin as the original author, the scribal colophon at the end of the manuscript<sup>17</sup> gives the date of copying as 1780 and mentions the royal scribes as the copyist and proofreaders, which reads as follows:

๑ วัน ๑ + ๑๒ ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๑๔๒ ปีชวดโทศก ๑๐-  
ขุนสรปรเส็ด

๑ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้านายเซตอลักษณ์ชุบเส้นทอง ทาน ๓ ครั้ง  
ขุนมหาสิท

On Sunday, the eighth day of the waning moon of the twelfth month of 1142 CS [equivalent to Sunday 19 November 1780], the Year of the Rat, the second year of the decade, I, Nai Chet the royal scribe, have copied this manuscript with gold strokes. We, Khun Sara Prasoet and Khun Maha Sit, have proofread it three times.

The other five manuscripts feature the prefaces and colophons in the same structure, although the royal scribes' names and the date vary.<sup>18</sup> As the royal scribes' noble titles are mentioned the colophons at the end of these manuscripts confirm they were produced at the Department of the Royal Scribes in King Taksin's royal court. Even those with no title such as Nai Chet,<sup>19</sup> the noun *alak* 'royal scribe' is attached to his name, indicating his status as a royal scribe, in the same manner found in the preface of the above mentioned illustrated cosmological manuscript.

The total number of manuscripts with royal scribal colophons is unclear, but is thought to be more than a hundred. A complete set of the *Three Seals Law* (Thai *Kotmai Tra Sam Duang*) contains 27 manuscripts with royal scribal colophons and at least three official sets of copies authorized by the three seals were produced by the royal scribes in the reign of King Rama I of Bangkok.<sup>20</sup> As a result of the

<sup>15</sup> About the siglum CS, see below.

<sup>16</sup> The equivalent date in the modern Gregorian calendrical system in this article has been calculated with the help of an astrological calendar available on myhora.com and Lars Gislén's computer programme based on Chris Eade's works (e.g. Eade 1995).

<sup>17</sup> Berlin, State Library of Berlin, Ms orient Fol 333, verso p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> See Boontuen Sriworapot 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Berlin, State Library of Berlin, Ms orient Fol 333, verso p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> See Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan 2017a–b.

restoration of Ayutthaya literature in the Bangkok period, at least 48 manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature were copied and edited by the royal scribes of Bangkok for presentation to the King from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century (see the list of manuscripts in the Appendix at the end of the article). Further to which, hundreds of manuscripts of Bangkok literary texts were produced for the King during these centuries but have never been systematically surveyed by modern scholars.

### 3 Structure and variation of royal scribal colophons

The common structure of royal manuscript colophons is the following: it begins with the date of copy according to the traditional lunar calendar and the year in the Lesser Era (Thai *cunla sakkarat*, abbreviated as CS here) along with the year in the twelve zodiac, the year order in the decade, followed by the names or titles of the royal scribes responsible for the copy and proofreading, before ending with the phrase *khò decha* ('May it please Your Majesty'). The royal language is always used, in giving this information. The royal scribes refer to themselves, for instance, as *kha phra phuttha cao*, literally 'slave/servant to the Buddhist King'.

In the calendrical information, the year in the Lesser Era (CS) was often given with the year in the twelve zodiacs and its order in the decade (according to the Lesser Era decade). For instance, the date in the preface of the earliest *Cindamani* manuscript reads:<sup>21</sup> '1144 CS the Year of the Tiger, the fourth year of the decade' (จุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีชวดจัตวาศก). Some calendrical information may be omitted. When the exact date in the lunar calendrical system has been provided, the cross sign <+> has been employed together with numerals, which would be located around the cross. The number written on the left-hand side of the cross signifies the day in the week (1–7), starting from Sunday (1) to Saturday (7). The numeral indicating the day in the lunar month would be placed either above or below the vertical line of the cross. The numeral above signifies the day in the waxing moon (1–15), while the one below signifies the waning day (also 1–15). The numeral on the right-hand side of the cross sign indicates the lunar month in the year (1–12).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> National Library of Thailand, Aksònsat Section, Ms no. 60, recto p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> For more details on the lunar month in the traditional calendrical system of Southeast Asia, see Eade 1995.

The example below comes from a royal copy of a bilingual Pali-Thai version of *Vessantara Jātaka* or *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Maha Rat* dated 1814,<sup>23</sup> containing the common information and structure as follows:

วัน ๑ + ๑๑	คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖	ปีจอน้อยศก	ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	ขุนพิทักษ์อักษรชูป
			ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร
			หลวงลิขิตรจนา	ทาน ขอดชะฯ

On Sunday, the fourth day of the waxing moon in the eleventh month of 1176 CS, the Year of the Dog, the sixth year of the decade, I, Khun Phithak Aksòn, have made a copy. We, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan and Luang Likhit Rotcana, have proofread. May it please Your Majesty. [Equivalent to Sunday 18 September 1814]



**Fig. 1:** The royal scribal colophon found in a manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IX Maha Rat* dated 1814 (National Library of Thailand, Rai Subsection, Ms no. 106, recto p. 2).

In some cases, when a royal scribe or scholar of the royal court took part in editing or (re-)writing a text, their names or titles are also mentioned in the royal scribes' prefaces. An example of such a preface mentioning a royal scribe as the editor is the manuscript of *Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XI Maha Rat*,<sup>24</sup> which reads:

วัน ๕ + ๑๐	คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๗๖	ปีจอน้อยศก	ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	หมื่นสิทธิอักษรชูป
			ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า	ขุนมหาสิทธิโวหาร
			ข้าราชการแต่ง	ทาน ๒ ครั้ง ขอดชะฯ
			ขุนหมื่นอาลักษณ์	

On Thursday, the tenth day of the waxing moon, in the ninth month, in 1176 CS [1814 CE], the Year of the Dog, the sixth year of the decade [most possibly equivalent to Wednesday 27 July 1814], I, Mūn Sitthi Aksòn, have made a copy. I, Khun Maha Sitthiwohan, did the

<sup>23</sup> National Library of Thailand, Rai Subsection, Ms no. 106, recto p. 2; see Fig. 1.

<sup>24</sup> National Library of Thailand, Rai Subsection, Ms no. 104, recto p. 2.

editing. Luang Likhit Rotcana and the other royal scribes holding the titles of *khun* and *mün* have proofread it twice. May it please Your Majesty.

In rare cases, the royal scribe may say he ‘composed’ (Thai *taeng*) the text, suggesting that the text is a new composition rather than copied from an earlier period text. As in the manuscript of *Kap Maha Chat: Chapter XI Maha Rat*,<sup>25</sup> where the colophon reads:

วัน ๑๐ + ๑๐ คำจุลศักราช ๑๑๔๔ ปีขาลจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้าพระอาลักษณ์แต่งทูลเกล้าฯ ถวาย  
 นายชำนาญอักษร | เขียนฯ  
 ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า |  
 หมื่นทิพไมตรี

On Sunday the eighth day of the waning moon of the tenth month 1144 CS [Sunday 29 September 1782], I, Phra Alak (‘Lord of the Royal Scribes’), have composed the text for the King. We, Nai Chamnan Aksòn and Mün Thip Maitri, have made copy.

Different processes of textual production from the terms used in the colophon may be identified here. In the first line of the above colophon, the Lord of the Royal Scribes or Phra Alak is stated as having composed (Thai *taeng*) the text for the King, whereas, as mentioned in the second line, two other royal scribes wrote the copy (*khian*). Although mention of the royal scribe as author is quite seldom, the royal scribes of Bangkok have clearly proven here that aside from any other book work, they have served the court as royal poets.

Despite the standardised structure of the royal scribal colophons, variations still appear, with some manuscripts omitting elements of the structure. At times the scribes’ names or titles are not mentioned but instead feature the first personal pronoun in the royal language, e.g., a manuscript of *Anirut Kham Chan*,<sup>26</sup> in which the preface reads: ‘I have responded to Your Majesty’s royal order [to make a copy of this manuscript]’, (ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า ขอรับพระราชทาน ฟ้าล่องธูลีป่าท). Or, for instance, several royal manuscripts omit the date of copy, but the titles of the copyist and proof reader are given, as in the sole example of the royal copy of *Süa Kho Kham Chan*.<sup>27</sup> In the latter, the status of the royal manuscripts is evident, although the date is not given. Despite these variations, the formality in the royal scribal paratexts is remarkable, there is no word play, no versification, and

<sup>25</sup> National Library of Thailand, Rai Subsection, Ms no. 204, recto p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> National Library of Thailand, Chan Subsection, Ò Initial, Ms no. 72, recto p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Volume I: National Library of Thailand, Chan Subsection, Sò Initial, Ms no. 91; Volume II: National Library of Thailand, Chan Subsection, Sò Initial, Ms no. 92.

apparently no merit aimed to gain, in contradistinction to paratexts found in manuscripts of other contexts.

The prefaces and colophons of the royal scribes featuring the structure and content mentioned above are found throughout the nineteenth century, the earliest evidence of which surfaces in the late eighteenth century. The latest date for a manuscript of Ayutthaya literature transmitted in the Bangkok royal court is of the early twentieth century. It is intriguing that the calendrical system has also been changed following royal orders on the new calendrical system from the late nineteenth century, namely, the Bangkok Era or *rattanakosin sok* (RS) regarding the numeral indicating the year of the reign. The following example taken from a manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*<sup>28</sup> (literally ‘*Oath of Allegiance on Water*’) is the latest example of a royal manuscript of Ayutthaya literature with the paratext of the royal scribe (dated 1901). The colophon at the beginning of this manuscript reads:

๑ คำโคลงห้าแข่งน้ำฝ้ายใน ฯ  
 ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนปฏิภานพิจิตร (เหรียญ)  
 จำลองทูลเกล้า ฯ ถวาย ๓๔  
 วันที่ ๑๘ กันยายน รัตนโกสินทรศก ๑๒๐  
 ควรมิควรรแล้วแต่จะทรงพระกรุณาโปรดเกล้า ฯ ขอเดชะ

The Oath on Water for the Inner Court.

I, Khun Patiphan Pichit (Rian), have made this copy for the King on 18 September 120 RS, the 34<sup>th</sup> year of the reign [equivalent to 1901]. May the matter rest upon your judgement. May it please Your Majesty.



**Fig. 2:** The royal scribal colophon found in a manuscript of *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* dated 1901 (National Library of Thailand, Khlong Subsection, Ms no. 175, recto p. 2).

<sup>28</sup> National Library of Thailand, Khlong Subsection, Ms no. 175, recto p. 2; see Fig. 2.

Aside from the royal scribal colophons found in the royal manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature, an illustrated treatise on the iconography of Hindu gods dated 1882 (now preserved in the Berlin, Museum for Asian Arts, II 652)<sup>29</sup> also contains royal scribal colophons. It suggests other royal manuscripts exist aside from those of literature covering secular treatises, such as the illustrated treatises on Hindu gods. The colophon at the beginning of this illustrated treatise from the Museum of Asiatic Arts in Berlin<sup>30</sup> reads:

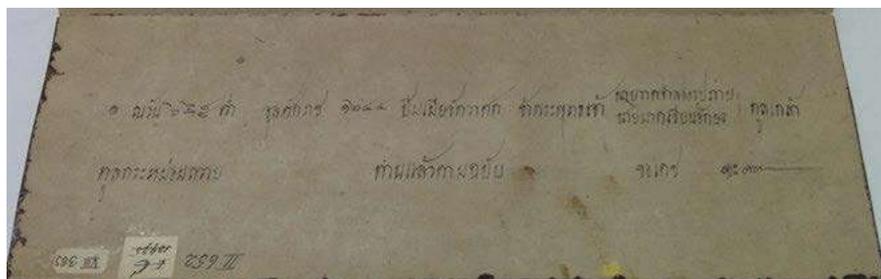
นายวาดจำลองรูปภาพ

ณ วัน ๖ ๕ ฎี ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๒๔๔ ปีมเมียจัตวาศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า

นายมากเขียนอักษร

ทูลเกล้าทูลกระหม่อมถวาย ทานแล้วตามฉบับ ขอเดชะ ฯ

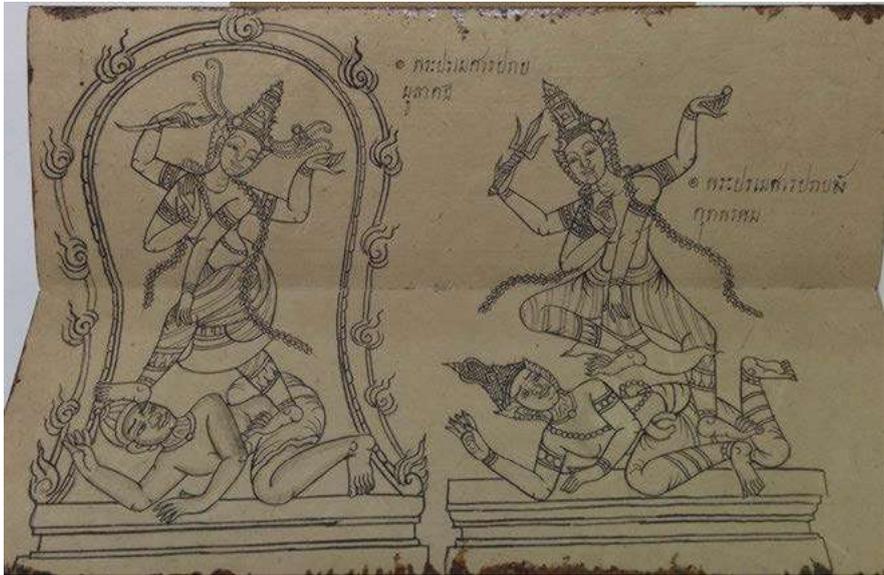
On Friday the sixth day of the waxing moon of the second eighth month, 1244 CS, the Year of the Horse, the fourth year of the decade [Friday 24 July 1882], We, Nai Wat, copied the illustrations, and Nai Mat, copied the writing, for the King. We have proofread against the exemplar. May it please Your Majesty.



**Fig. 3:** A royal scribal colophon found in an illustrated treatise on the iconography of Hindu gods dated 1882 now preserved in Berlin (Berlin, Museum for Asian Arts, II 652, recto p. 2). © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

<sup>29</sup> Cover title of the manuscript reads: Samut Isuan Pang Lae Witsanu Pang Kap Thewa Pang / สมุด อิศวรปางแลวิศณุปางกับเทวาปาง บริบูรณ์ ฯ (literally ‘Manuscript of Gestures of Shiva and Vishnu and other Gods’).

<sup>30</sup> Berlin, Museum for Asian Arts, II 652, recto p. 2.



**Fig. 4:** An example of the text in the royal manuscript of an illustrated treatise on the iconography of Hindu gods dated 1882 (Berlin, Museum for Asian Arts, II 652, recto pp. 5–6). © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst

According to its colophon, the illustration was by Nai Wat with the text written by Nai Mak, demonstrating the division of tasks between illustrators and scribes in Siamese royal court manuscript production. It is worth noting that not all the manuscripts featuring royal scribal colophons may have belonged solely to the Royal Grand Palace, but may also have been royal manuscripts pertaining to the Front Palace (Thai *wang na*), the viceroy's seat. The structure of the Front Palace royal manuscripts follows that of the Grand Palace, in terms of the use of first personal pronouns in royal language to the ending phrase *khò decha*;<sup>31</sup> but Front Palace royal scribes always maintain distinctive titles that differ to those of the Grand Palace. The Head of the Royal Scribes of the Grand Palace, for instance, was known as Phra Si Phuri Pricha, whereas the Front Palace scribe bore the title Luang Likhit Pricha (with the lesser rank of *luang*, one rank lower than *phra* in

<sup>31</sup> Note that the register used for the Grand Prince of the Front Palace is very close to the one used with the King, as the viceroy is normally the highest member of the royal family in the traditional feudal system of Siam, but only inferior to the King (see Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan 2007a).

the hierarchy of Siamese nobility)<sup>32</sup>. Aside from the limited group of Front Palace royal manuscripts, in this study, the majority of manuscripts featuring royal scribal colophons were produced in the Grand Palace for presentation to the King.

Notably, the royal scribal colophons appear to be the only group among the paratexts found in Siamese manuscripts that have a relatively standardized structure, content and function. The royal scribal colophons help not only identify the origin and ownership of the manuscripts, but also reveal the royal scribes' role in royal court manuscript production. Furthermore, the royal scribes' tradition, has long been practiced, as manuscripts featuring royal scribal paratexts date from the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth century.

## 4 Functions and continuation of royal scribal colophons

As royal scribal colophons largely record the date of copying, occasionally also editing and composing, along with the names or titles of the royal scribes who accomplished the tasks, it may be argued that the royal scribal colophons perform the documenting function.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, the royal scribal colophons featuring the register of the royal language alone, mark the King's ownership and their original collection in the Royal Manuscript Hall in the royal palace. Although not all the manuscripts of the Royal Manuscript Hall contain royal scribal colophons, such colophons alone mark the King's ownership, as the first page of the manuscript can easily be recognized by any member of the royal court. It has to be said that due to royal ownership, any royal manuscript from the hall was 'forbidden', but could be lent for copying with permission by the authority of the Royal Scribes Department.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the mentions on the titles and names of the royal scribes in the royal scribal colophons represent the royal scribes' responsibility for their tasks and culpability for any mistake. Conversely, these records could also have been a way for royal scribes to gain the King's recognition, resulting in the King's praise, reward, or promotion. Occasionally, however, it appears the royal scribes did not state their titles or names, despite expressing

---

<sup>32</sup> See Thamniap Nam Phak Thi Song 1968, 12.

<sup>33</sup> See the three main functions of paratexts: structuring, commenting, and documenting, in Ciotti and Lin 2016, vii.

<sup>34</sup> Thanet Aphornsuvan et al. 2006, 346.

their intention to present the manuscripts to the King in the register of the royal language.

The royal scribal colophons not only reaffirm the status of royal manuscripts, but also authorize the versions of the texts they contain to be royal versions, especially when royal scribes took part in editing them as traditional editors. These royal versions must have also been recognized by the Bangkok period scribes and scholars as containing more textual authority, as manuscripts exist that have been recorded as copied from the exemplar of the royal manuscripts.<sup>35</sup>

After the growth of printing technology in Siam in the late nineteenth century, the main task of the royal scribes was no longer manuscript production. Due to mass production of the prints, the number of the royal manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature in the late nineteenth century was restricted to the manuscripts used in actual ceremonies. These were two manuscripts, the *Maha Chat Kham Luang*<sup>36</sup> and *Ongkan Chaeng Nam*.<sup>37</sup> The traditional manuscript form for both texts was still required in the actual ceremonies even in the early twentieth century. Despite their restricted tasks in manuscript production, the royal scribes still performed the ceremonial function in the state and royal ceremonies, such as reading the royal announcement or inscribing the *suphannabat* for the royal appointment. After the 1932 revolution, the political transition of Siam from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, the Department of the Royal Scribes was transferred to the Secretariat of the Cabinet (Thai *krom lekhatikam khana ratthamontri*), the governmental office to which the royal scribes were then appointed.

To this day, there is still an office for the royal scribes within the Secretariat of the Cabinet (nowadays called *samnak lekhatikan khana ratthamontri*), known as the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations (*samnak alak lae khruang rattha itsariyaphòn*). The royal scribes under this office are still responsible for the cabinet's official documents. Handwriting is also practiced by the royal scribes, but only for important occasions. Within the office, as of 2019, a section still exists dubbed the *Likhit* Section (Thai *klum ngan likhit*, literally 'the handwriting section') consisting of ten officers for calligraphy in duty and an additional officer who preserves the royal seal (Thai *phanak ngan raksa phra rattha lancakon*). Occasions for which the royal scribes would be required to write documents by hand would be, for instance royal appointments (*suphannabat*),

---

35 National Library of Thailand, Aksònsat Section, Ms no. 62, verso p. 53.

36 National Library of Thailand, Rai Subsection, Ms no. 63, dated 1854; National Library of Thailand, Rai Subsection, Ms no. 34, dated 1889.

37 National Library of Thailand, Khlong Subsection, Ms no. 175, dated 1901.

traditional manuscript copies of the constitution and diplomatic charters. The King directly assigns handwriting tasks to the royal scribes, usually pertaining to a royal or state ceremony. Other than that, the royal scribes prepare typescript charters and documents, for royal decorations today.

Official manuscripts of the modern constitution of Thailand to this day are still produced by the modern-day royal scribe. Since the 1932 revolution, the constitution has always been portrayed on a greyish *khòì*-paper leporello manuscript, imitating the traditional form of the *Three Seals Law* manuscript (as exhibited in the Democracy Monument built in 1939 at the centre of Bangkok) and any other images or symbols of the constitution. Amendments to a new constitution incur the assignment of the modern royal scribes to make a copy of the constitutional text manuscript imitating the above-mentioned greyish *khòì*-paper leporello from, but manufactured using modern materials and procedures. The most recent royal ceremony of declaration of the constitution took place on 6 April 2019. Three copies of the constitution manuscripts were made and in a royal ceremony presented to the King, who signs each copy of the manuscripts at their beginning to donate ultimate authorization as the head of state.

Interestingly, modern royal scribes always record their names as copyists at the end of each manuscript, using the first pronoun in the royal language (Thai *kha phra phuttha cao*) and the ending phrase *khò decha* ('May it please Your Majesty'), in conformity to a tradition that may be traced back to royal manuscripts as far back as the eighteenth century. The royal scribes making the copies also state they proofread the copied text three times (Thai *than sam khrang*). The phrase 'three times' here is most likely in keeping with the practice of traditional royal scribes rather than signifying literal meaning, as royal scribes were always held to proofread the texts more than three times.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the modern royal scribe preserves the royal scribes' long tradition via the production of the manuscripts of the supreme law such as constitutions, the practice of the royal scribal hands and the practice of the colophons following those from the royal manuscripts, even though the role of the royal scribes having drastically changed from those of traditional manuscript culture.

---

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Suwannachai Nonthasen, a senior scribal officer of the *Likhit* Section within the Office of the Royal Scribes and Royal Decorations, the Secretariat of the Cabinet, on 17 April 2019.

## 5 Conclusion

Although the exact number of Siamese royal scribal colophons is still unclear, royal scribal colophons are found in more than one hundred manuscripts of Ayutthaya literature and the *Three Seals Law*. The royal manuscripts of the Bangkok literary texts and the secular treatises transmitted in the royal court in the form of *khò*-paper leporello manuscripts, however, require further investigation. In addition, the royal scribal colophons can be considered one of the most continuous paratextual traditions of a specific group of scribes, which have long been practiced in the Siamese royal court over centuries, and now adopted by today's scribes. Ending phrases such as *khò decha*, or 'May it please Your Majesty', still adorn the modern constitution manuscript.

Royal scribal colophons show that a paratextual tradition has existed alongside the textual tradition of Siamese manuscript culture. This article proposes, in particular, that the royal scribes of the Siamese royal court constructed their own colophon tradition, at least since the Thonburi period in the late eighteenth century, which continued being practiced by the Bangkok royal scribes even after the introduction of printing technology.

Thus far, modern scholars of Thai literature have only paid limited attention to the paratexts of Siamese manuscripts, but the folded pages of these royal manuscripts and their royal scribal colophons, either at their beginning or end, most definitely deserve attention. For their documenting function, these colophons call out for more detailed investigation, therefore providing more information regarding the place and time of manuscript production and textual transmission and enabling a greater understanding of these phenomena.

### Acknowledgments

The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

## Abbreviations

CM: DHC: NTIC      The Northern Thai Information Center, Digital Heritage Collection,  
Chiang Mai University Central Library, Chiang Mai, Thailand

NLT (National Library of Thailand, Bangkok):

ASS	Aksònsat ('orthography') Section
ChSs	Chan Subsection, Literature Section
KHKHLSs	Kap Hò Khlong Subsection, Literature Section
KHLSs	Khlong Subsection, Literature Section
LLSs	Lilit Subsection, Literature Section
RSs	Rai Subsection, Literature Section

## References

- Beal, Peter (2009), *A Dictionary of English Manuscript Terminology 1495–2000*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Boontuen Sriworapot บุญเตือน ศรีวรพจน์ (ed.) (2018), *Bot lakhòn rüang ramakian phra ratcha niphon somdet phra cao krung thonburi* บทละครเรื่องรามเกียรติ์ พระราชนิพนธ์สมเด็จพระเจ้ากรุงธนบุรี [The dramatic play of Ramakian – the royal composition of the King of Thonburi], Bangkok: Fine Arts Department.
- Boulyaphonh, Khamvone and Volker Grabowsky (2017), *A Lost Monastery Library Rediscovered: A Catalogue of Lao Manuscripts Kept in the Abbot's Abode (Kuti) of Vat Si Bun Hueang, Luang Prabang*, New York and Luang Prabang: Anantha Publishing.
- Ciotti, Giovanni and Hang Lin (2016), 'Preface', in Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (eds), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, Berlin: De Gruyter, vii–xii.
- Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince ดำรงราชานุภาพ, สมเด็จพระยา (1960), 'Rüang nangsü hò luang เรื่องหนังสือหอหลวง [On the manuscripts of the Royal Hall]', in *Nithan borankhadi* นิทานโบราณคดี [Collected tales of history and archaeology], Bangkok: Khasem Bannakit, 142–180.
- Eade, John Christopher (1995), *The Calendrical System of Mainland South-East Asia*, Leiden: Brill.
- Hoonchamlong, Yuphaphann (1992), 'Some observations on /phom/ and /dichan/: male and female first person pronouns in Thai', in C. J. Compton and J. F. Hartmann (eds), *Papers on Tai languages, Linguistics, and Literatures*, DeKalb, IL: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University, 186–204.
- Kongkaew Weeraprachak ก่องแก้ว วีระประจักษ์ (2010), *Kan tham samut thai lae kan triam bai lan* การทำสมุดไทยและการเตรียมใบลาน [The making of Thai leporello manuscripts and the preparation of palm leaves], Bangkok: National Library of Thailand, Fine Arts Department.
- Kongkaew Weeraprachak and Wirat Unnathornwarangkun ก่องแก้ว วีระประจักษ์ และวิรัตน์ อุณาพรวรารังกูร (2003), *Khamphi bai lan chabap luang samai rattanakosin* คัมภีร์ใบลานฉบับ

- หลวงสมัยรัตนโกสินทร์ [The royal palm leaf manuscripts of the Early Bangkok Period], Bangkok: National Library of Thailand, Fine Arts Department.
- Natthaporn Panpothong ณัฐพร พานโพธิ์ทอง (2009), 'Rachasap ราชาศัพท์ [Royal language]', in *Banthat than phasa thai lem 4: watthanatham kan chai phasa thai* บรรทัดฐานภาษาไทย เล่ม ๔ วัฒนธรรมการใช้ภาษาไทย [Standard of Thai language, vol. 4: Culture of Thai language], Bangkok: Ministry of Education, 55–82.
- Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน [Royal Institute] (2007a), *Kot mai tra sam duang chabap ratcha bandittaya sathan lem 1* กฎหมายตราสามดวง ฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน เล่ม ๑ [Royal Institute's Three Seals Law, vol. 1], Bangkok: Royal Institute.
- Ratcha Bandittaya Sathan ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน [Royal Institute] (2007b), *Kot mai tra sam duang chabap ratcha bandittaya sathan lem 2* กฎหมายตราสามดวง ฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน เล่ม ๒ [Royal Institute's Three Seals Law, vol. 2], Bangkok: Royal Institute.
- Terwiel, Barend Jan (2014), 'On the Trail of King Taksin's *Samutphāp Traiphūm*', *Journal of the Siam Society*, 102: 41–66.
- Thamniap Nam Phak Thi Song* ทำเนียบนาม ภาคที่ ๒ [The name directory of nobility, vol. 2] (1968), Bangkok: Thai Baep Rian Printing House.
- Thanet Aphornsuvan et al. (ธเนศ อภรณ์สุวรรณ และคณะ) (2006), *Sayam phimpakan: prawattisat kann phim nai prathet thai* สยามพิมพ์การ ประวัติศาสตร์การพิมพ์ในประเทศไทย [The printing of Siam: a history of printing in Thailand], Bangkok: Matichon.
- Wales, H. G. Quaritch (1965), *Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, New York: Paragon Book.

## Appendix: List of Royal Manuscripts of Ayutthaya Literature from the Bangkok Period

Texts	Manuscripts	Date
<b>Royal Manuscripts of King Rama I's Reign (1782–1809)</b>		
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter IV Wana Prawet</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 160	1783
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter VIII Kuman</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 199 (Vol. I)	1782
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 196 (Vol. II)	1782
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter IX Matsi</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 195	1782
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter X Sakka Bap</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 204	1782
<i>Kap Maha Chat: Chapter XI Maha Rat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 210	1782
<i>Cindamani</i>	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 60	1782
<i>Thawathotsamat</i>	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 228	1782

Texts	Manuscripts	Date
<b>Royal Manuscripts of King Rama II's Reign (1809–1824)</b>		
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phôn</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 35	1814
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 38	1817
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter IV Wana Prawet</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 56	1814
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VI Cunla Phon</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 65	1814
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VIII Kuman</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 93	1814
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 84	1817
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XI Maha Rat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 104 (Vol. II)	1814
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 106 (Vol. I)	1814
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XII Chò Kasat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 119	1818
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XIII Nakhôn Kan</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 125	1814
<i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2 (Vol. IV) <sup>39</sup>	1817
<i>Anirut Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 75	1817
<i>Collection of Phra Si Mahosot's Poems (or Prachum Kap Phra Si Mahosot)</i>	NLT: KHKHsSs: Ms no. 18	1816
<i>Collection of Old Elephant Treatises (or Prachum Kham Chan Klôm Chang Krung Kao)</i>	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 17	1817
<b>Royal Manuscripts of King Rama III's Reign (1824–1851)</b>		
<i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i>	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17069 (Vol. I)	1849
	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (1) (Vol. II)	1849
	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17177 (Vol. III)	1849
	CM: DHC: NTIC: 17070 (2) (Vol. IV)	1849
<i>Anirut Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 44 (Vol. I)	1847
	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 81 (Vol. II)	1847

<sup>39</sup> This royal copy of *Samutthakhot Kham Chan* contains four volumes of manuscripts, but the preface of the royal scribes appears only in the manuscript of the Volume IV (NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/2). However, the manuscript Volume I of the set of copy is identifiable to be the manuscript NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/3, while Volume II is NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 47/4, due to the material, scribal hands, and their structuring paratexts. The manuscript Volume III of this set is unfortunately unidentified.

Texts	Manuscripts	Date
<b>Royal Manuscripts After King Rama III's Reign (After 1851)</b>		
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter V Chuchok and Chapter VI Cunla Phon</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 63	1854
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter I Thotsa Phôn</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 34	1889
<i>Ongkan Chaeng Nam</i>	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 175	1901
<b>Undated Royal Manuscripts</b>		
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter VIII Kuman</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 91	–
<i>Lilit Phra Lô</i>	NLT: LLSs: Ms no. 140	–
<i>Samutthakhot Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 22 (Volume I)	–
	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 23 (Volume II)	–
	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 24 (Volume III)	–
	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 26 (Volume IV)	–
	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 31 (Prince Paramanuchit's Version)	–
<i>Cindamani (The Odd Content Version)</i>	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 6	–
<i>Cindamani</i>	NLT: ASS: Ms no. 22	–
<i>Collection of Didactic Poems (or Prachum Khlong Suphasit)</i>	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 202	–
<i>Süa Kho Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 91 (Volume I)	–
	NLT: ChSs: Sò: Ms no. 92 (Volume II)	–
<i>Anirut Kham Chan</i>	NLT: ChSs: Ò: Ms no. 72	–
<i>Sansoen Phra Kiat Phra Narai</i>	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 329	–
<i>Collection of Old Elephant Treatises</i>	NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 21	–
<b>Royal Manuscripts of the Front Palace</b>		
<i>Maha Chat Kham Luang: Chapter XI Maha Rat</i>	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 107 (Volume II)	1830
	NLT: RSs: Ms no. 108 (Volume I)	1830
<i>Collection of Ancient Poems by Phraya Trang (or Prachum Khlong Kawi Boran)</i>	NLT: KhISs: Ms no. 154	–
<i>Kap He Rüa</i>	NLT: KHKHISs: Ms no. 2	–

---

Part II: **Southeast Asia**

**Maritime**



Dick van der Meij

# Colophons in Palm-Leaf Manuscripts from Bali and Lombok (Indonesia)

**Abstract:** Many palm-leaf manuscripts produced in Bali and Lombok in Indonesia include a colophon. These colophons usually, but by no means always, contain the title of the text, the date of writing, the name of the scribe and various additional remarks on where and why the manuscript was written. These colophons are of a bewildering variety and no standards were followed in the information they contain. Some colophons are extremely short while others are very long and contain a wealth of information. Especially colophons in manuscripts written in recent years contain extensive colophons with information that used to be excluded from colophons in older manuscripts. Thus far, no attempt has been made to see if a specific syntax may be detected in these colophons. The present contribution attempts to address this by looking at, and illustrating, many colophons written in Javanese, Balinese, Old Javanese and Sasak. The conclusion is that these colophons do not abide to any strict syntactic or other rules albeit some preferences seem to have been followed.

## 1 Introduction

Indonesia has two major palm-leaf manuscript traditions in Bali and Lombok. Central and East Java, Sunda (West-Java) and Madura also used to have palm-leaf manuscript traditions but as evidenced by the number of available manuscripts, they appear to have been less vibrant than those of Bali and Lombok. South Sulawesi saw some palm-leaf manuscripts produced, but only in very small numbers and appearing to stem from a totally different tradition than any of the others as is elucidated in Fig. 2, displaying an example of a South Sulawesi manuscript that is actually 19 meters long.<sup>1</sup> At present, palm-leaf writing is being revived in

---

<sup>1</sup> See Kern 1939, 580–585; Witkam 2007a, 118. Most illustrations in this contribution are from manuscripts from the collection of Leiden University Libraries and indicated as UBL Cod.Or. plus the number. The footnotes indicate where more information in the catalogues may be found on the manuscripts discussed here. The transliterations and interpretations of the colophons are my own. Please note that no attempt has been made at standardizing the spelling used in the manuscripts.

the Indramayu region in West Java and in Bali where government programs are promoting the manufacture of palm-leaf material and the writing of palm-leaf manuscripts among young school children.<sup>2</sup> In Bali palm-leaf manuscripts are called '*lontar*' and this is now the general term used in Indonesia to refer to palm-leaf manuscripts. In this contribution the term *lontar* will be used for palm-leaf manuscripts regardless of their origins. A typical palm-leaf manuscript from Indonesia is portrayed in Fig. 1.<sup>3</sup> It is a manuscript from the late nineteenth century from the Balinese palace in Cakranagara in Lombok and contains Muslim religious poems.

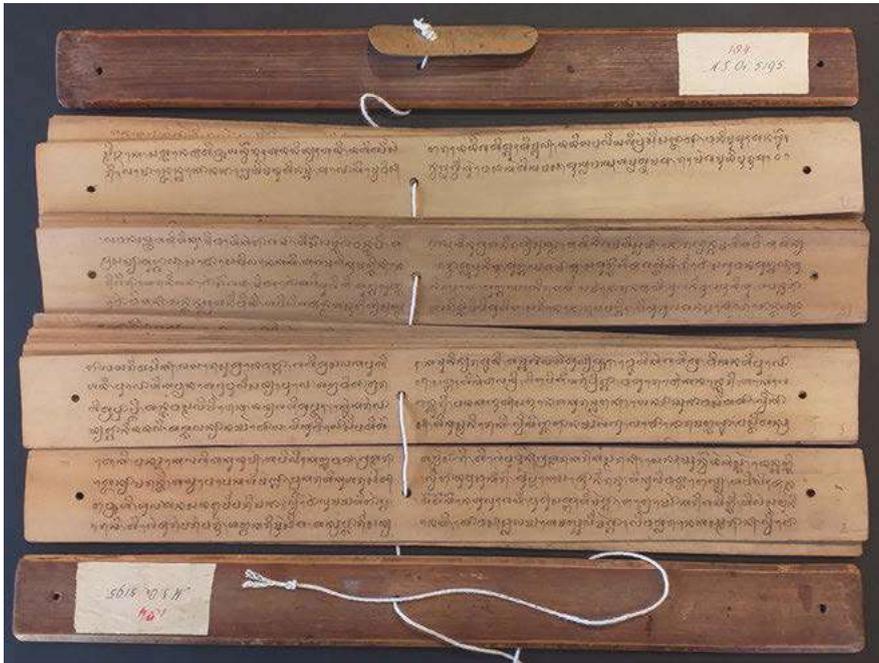


Fig. 1: Typical palm-leaf manuscript from Indonesia. UBL Cod.Or. 5195.

In the recent past, many commissioned palm-leaf manuscripts have been produced, particularly in the Karangasem region of East Bali. They were part of government programs to ensure the craft would not die out and to produce

<sup>2</sup> See also Fox 2018, 6 for more on the context of these school programs.

<sup>3</sup> Described in Pigeaud 1968, 284–285.

manuscripts for libraries in Bali but also other libraries such as that of Leiden University. As a result, large parts of the collections of the Udayana University and the Documentation Centre for Balinese Culture (Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali) in Denpasar consist of recently commissioned manuscripts dating from the 1970s up to well into the twenty-first century. The same may be said for later additions to Leiden University Libraries which also aided programs to help preserve palm-leaf manuscript production in Bali. Similar programs seem never to have been promoted in Lombok which is interesting and may stem from the fact that texts written on palm-leaf in Javanese script about Islam do not accord with modern ideas about Islam. As these modern manuscripts often contain colophons, they too will be referred to in this contribution.

Aside from the manuscripts in South Sulawesi using a form of Buginese script written in the Buginese language, all other traditions are inscribed in one form or another of Javanese script, usually slightly adapted to the phonological requirements of the language or due to cultural necessity as in Bali for Balinese and Old Javanese texts. The differences between the way the script is written in Bali and in Lombok was, and is, often insufficiently appreciated. Pigeaud's catalogue of the Javanese collections in Leiden University Libraries and other public collections in the Netherlands (1967–1980), for instance, states the script used in Lombok to be Balinese despite differences between the two scripts being immediately visible with each using characters and spelling conventions that the other does not.



**Fig. 2:** Buginese manuscript of the *I La Galigo* Epic. UBL Cod.Or. 5475.

Each tradition has its own form of colophons to be found in many manuscripts. However, manuscripts often feature no colophons at all although they originate from the same socio-cultural context or contain the same or a similar text to those featuring a colophon. It seems that manuscripts that contain texts of a particular content tend to have colophons while others do not. In Bali, manuscripts featuring important and highly esteemed literary texts in Old Javanese and Balinese often – but by no means always – end in a colophon whereas manuscripts on medicine and witchcraft and other texts for personal use, save for a few exceptions, do not. One such exception is a manuscript of the medicinal text *Usada Kacacar* ('Cures for Smallpox') Hs.or. 10605 (Collection Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) which ends in a colophon with the following dating: the writing was finished on the day Sunday Wage in the week Tambir on the first day of the tenth month, units 8, tens 1 in the Śaka year 1818 / 1896 CE.<sup>4</sup> It is unclear if this situation became distorted when the newly set-up commissioned *lontar* projects started. For instance, the *Usada* ('Book on Healing') manuscript made by I Nyoman Sukadana in 1979 and that of the *Usada Rare* ('Book on Children's Cures') made by I Ketut Sengod in 1996 and now both in the Documentation Centre for Balinese Culture contain a colophon but were made in a project context. Another exception is a manuscript containing expositions of offerings and mantras used to ward off epidemics in the collection of the Kajeng Family in Denpasar.<sup>5</sup> A similar situation seems to have existed in Lombok. Another preliminary observation for Bali and the Balinese community in West Lombok is that manuscripts made with high-quality palm-leaf material tend to end with a colophon whereas texts written on low-quality material do not. This is not the case in Islamic Lombok as manuscripts using the kind of high quality palm leaves used by the Balinese simply do not exist among the Sasak people on the island. However, despite their poor quality, many of these manuscripts contain a colophon at the beginning and/or at the end of the text. There is no way of telling whether the situation was different in the past due to the limited number of manuscripts dating back longer than those

---

<sup>4</sup> *paścat tinurun, akṣarā iki, ring, we, śa, wa, wara tambir, thithi, tang, 1 śaśih, 10, rah, 8, tēnggĕk tunggal, i saka, 1818* (Pudjiastuti and Hanstein 2016, 78). Note that the transcriptions of the original texts in this article do not use capitals as they are not used in the originals. Capitals are applied only when a colophon is quoted from a source in which they are used. The spelling of the colophons has been maintained as it was in the originals throughout meaning different spellings for the same words in different colophons will be encountered.

<sup>5</sup> *Panulak Grubug, Widhi Sastra Rogha Sanghara Bumi*. The manuscript was digitised by the Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA) programme and can be viewed on the DREAMSEA Database: <<https://www.hmmlcloud.org/dreamsea/detail.php?msid=1731>>.

collected by H.N. van der Tuuk and bestowed by him to Leiden University Library, now known as the ‘Legacy van der Tuuk 1896’.

An important question is, of course, why manuscripts contain colophons at all. One reason is, as informants in Bali told me, that scribes add colophons to their manuscripts to enable them to prove that a manuscript is theirs. They do this primarily to avoid it being appropriated by a person borrowing it from the individual who borrowed it from the owner. Manuscripts on medicine and witchcraft, as mentioned earlier – were not meant to be kept for a long time, or those that could easily be reproduced, did not require the addition of a colophon. It may also be that adding a colophon validates the manuscript’s quality, especially when the name of the producer is included. No detailed research has been done so far on this subject, thus what has been said thus far should be regarded as preliminary remarks and remains tentative. Further investigations may provide interesting conclusions on literacy and the socio-political role of written texts and manuscripts as physical objects, but such matters are beyond the scope of this contribution.

In the past, the Balinese in Bali and West Lombok shared more or less the same literary culture and adhered to one form or another of what is known as Balinese Hinduism. In the past, Lombok was occupied by the Balinese from Karangasem in East Bali and today a sizable group of around 340,000 Balinese mostly live in West Lombok.<sup>6</sup> Frequent contact, particularly between Karangasem and Lombok is maintained to this day. I was informed that the Balinese culture in Lombok is more traditional than that in Bali which could also have influenced the form of the colophons added by the Lombok Balinese to the texts in their manuscripts. This may only be established after a larger sample of colophons is made available but would certainly be interesting to follow up. Incidentally, it is clear that manuscripts crossed Lombok Strait as may be witnessed by the presence, among other Old Javanese poems, of a manuscript of the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama* written in Bali in 1740 CE<sup>7</sup> but preserved in the palace of the Balinese ruler of Lombok in Cakranagara from which it was taken after Dutch troops sacked the palace in 1894, after which it arrived in Leiden.<sup>8</sup> This manuscript was returned to Indonesia and is now part of the collection of the Indonesian National Library.<sup>9</sup>

Lombok is predominantly inhabited by the Sasak people who speak their own Sasak language. However, their literary products are often written in a form of East Javanese. The Sasak are Muslims and much of their literature is inspired

---

6 Harnish 2021, 6.

7 See Pigeaud 1960, 76; Damais 1958, 71.

8 For cultural relations between Bali and Lombok see Creese 1996 and the references she used.

9 NB 9. Behrend 1998, 296.

by Islam and East Javanese texts. A separate kind of local Islam called Islam Waktu Telu or Wetu Telu, that is a combination of Islam, indigenous and Balinese Hindu elements (differing from place to place) has strongly influenced the Sasak way of looking at the world and how they produce literary texts. Furthermore, Balinese and Sasak cultures of West Lombok in places such as Ampenan, Mataram and Cakranagara are not totally homogeneous indicating cultural exchange took place and most likely continues to this day. As a result the Balinese Brahmin, Ida Bagus Sangka from Sindu in Cakranagara in West Lombok was able to recite by heart a large part of the start of the Sasak Javanese *Puspakrama* story when I visited him in 1993 and he also owned a *lontar* manuscript of this text.<sup>10</sup>

The focus below will be on manuscripts from two traditions: Hindu Bali (as found in Bali and West Lombok), and Islamic Lombok, however, the manuscript traditions are not totally distinct from one another and some overlap is to be observed.<sup>11</sup> Differences and similarities will be outlined. Colophons from manuscripts from West Java, Java and Madura or South Sulawesi will not be discussed for the simple reason that palm-leaf manuscripts from these areas are too few in number to form any reliable conclusions. The focus will remain on those parts of the colophons that contain information about the time and place the manuscripts were written and by whom. Occasionally, but by no means always, other information found in the colophons will be discussed.

## 2 Previous research on colophons

Due to the limited number of scholars studying Indonesian manuscripts, including those of Bali and Lombok, it is no surprise that colophons have rarely been the subject of in-depth research. Moreover, as the traditional philologists' main concern is often 'the critical reconstruction of the archetypal text',<sup>12</sup> the intricacies of colophons and any information not directly related to the text have often been virtually ignored, sometimes even to this day. The material at hand nowadays largely consists of manuscripts collected during the Dutch colonial period and later that have found their way into public collections in the Netherlands

---

<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, while the text is in Javanese and manuscripts of this story abound in Lombok, the story is totally unknown in Java, or in Bali, for that matter. For an edition of this story see van der Meij 2002.

<sup>11</sup> See van der Meij 2022.

<sup>12</sup> Creese 1996, 150.

(especially Leiden), Indonesia, and elsewhere in the world. The background to most of this material has never been recorded aside for a few exceptions such as the Lombok Collection that was acquired for scholarly as well as political concerns.<sup>13</sup> The palm-leaf manuscripts available are usually not very old, mostly dating from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries with a few earlier exceptions. Nonetheless, some publications have emerged that are crucial in understanding at least part of the colophon material from the areas under discussion. Text editions are important sources that provide the colophons of the manuscripts the editors used. Unfortunately, these colophons often remained unexplained and untranslated, being usually very difficult to understand at all, let alone rendered into English. In his edition of the *Wanban Wideya*, Robson expresses this clearly: ‘Neither this nor the following colophons will be translated, because the obscurity of the language and the many dubious readings make such an attempt as good as useless. Even the division of the words is debatable.’<sup>14</sup> An important source of colophons is J. Brandes’s 4-volume catalogue (published in Dutch between 1901–1926) of the large collection of Balinese, Old Javanese, Sasak and Javanese manuscripts from Bali and Lombok that H.N. van der Tuuk bequeathed to Leiden University Library (Legacy van der Tuuk 1896).<sup>15</sup> The descriptions of these manuscripts include the incipits and explicits of the texts as they are in the manuscripts as well as the complete texts of the colophons, mostly in Javanese and Balinese script but, unfortunately, without translations. Brandes also had the colophons hand-copied on paper in Balinese script but never managed to publish them probably because of his untimely death in 1905 at the age of 48. The five thick volumes that are the result of this effort are now part of the manuscript collection of Leiden University Libraries with the shelf marks UBL Cod.Or. 8392 a–d and 8393.<sup>16</sup>

A wealth of colophons and their explanations is included in Louis Damais’s long article of 1958 ‘Études d’épigraphie Indonésienne V: Dates de manuscrits et documents divers de Java, Bali et Lombok’. It explores a huge number of manuscripts and their colophons, among them are those of Brandes’s *Beschrijving* mentioned in the previous paragraph. However he limits himself to the dating parts

---

<sup>13</sup> Creese 1996, 151.

<sup>14</sup> Robson 1971, 53 n. 130.

<sup>15</sup> During the production process of these books many typos were made in the Balinese script and it is advisable to check the colophons in these works with the actual manuscripts in the Leiden collection.

<sup>16</sup> Pigeaud 1968, 476.

of the colophons only. The meticulous dating he provided for the many manuscripts he researched is extremely useful.

Helen Creese's article in the journal *Archipel* of 1996, looks at colophons to reconstruct the dating of the authorship of Old Javanese epic poems written in Bali and Lombok in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the same volume, Raechelle Rubinstein perused the colophons in manuscripts produced by Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen from Intaran, Sanur, Southeast Bali. A Balinese ordained Brahmin priest he was highly productive, not only in copying but especially in composing texts. His private collection was the subject of Rubinstein's research and it is all the more valuable that it was carried out for since the priest's death, the collection's whereabouts are no longer clear. Her article highlights peculiarities the priest included in these colophons such as the conditions experienced during the making of the manuscripts such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. The priest turned many of his colophons into puzzles that took Rubinstein quite some time to solve. For instance, he played tricks with his own name and with the name of the place he came from. The same collection of manuscripts had been studied earlier by Balinese scholar Ida Bagus Gede Agastia who had first indicated the peculiarities Rubinstein was later to explain in more detail.<sup>17</sup> Worsley, Supomo, Hunter and Fletcher encountered similar plays on names in manuscripts of the Old Javanese poem, *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka*, used for their 2013 edition. Supomo found his manuscript K to be a copy I Gusti Nyoman Subali of Singaraja made of a manuscript written in Paśuprabhu that is an alternative name for the city of Singaraja in North Bali and the name of the scribe of the original was, *arya Wala Wiśeṣa* – a sanscritized form of the Balinese title Anak (= Wala) Agung (= Wiśeṣa) in turn referring to I Gusti Putu Jlantik of Buleleng who amassed a huge collection of manuscripts from Bali and Lombok and who himself was a prolific copyist of manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> Obviously, colophons often provide information that though completely unclear to us was clear as crystal to their makers. One of many such examples is manuscript H, Worsley et al. used in their edition. It was written in a hermitage called Wijawiḍuma the location of which was impossible to make out.<sup>19</sup> Many place names found in manuscripts remain a puzzle as they were not the common names usually given to places or the places themselves have changed their names over time.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Agastia 1994. See also van der Meij 2017, 389–390.

<sup>18</sup> Worsley et al. 2013, 33.

<sup>19</sup> Worsley et al. 2013, 33.

<sup>20</sup> See also van der Meij 2017, 441.

Geoffrey E. Marrison's *Catalogue of Javanese and Sasak Manuscripts* of 1999 proved a useful source for colophons in manuscripts from the Sasak of Lombok although not every manuscript is described to the same degree of detail meaning colophons were very likely skipped. Van der Meij discussed colophons in manuscripts from Java, Bali, and Lombok and offers examples of these colophons with corresponding illustrations in his book of 2017. Most colophons are, of course, still hidden in manuscripts and have yet to be explored. Most colophons discussed below were found in palm-leaf manuscripts but also in paper copies of palm-leaf manuscripts made by or for van der Tuuk in Bali during the nineteenth century.

For the dating of the manuscripts from Lombok, Ian Proudfoot's *Old Muslim Calendars of Southeast Asia* of 2006 is extremely helpful, as is the Takwim program he made which is available on the internet.<sup>21</sup>

Although the manuscript traditions of Bali and the Balinese part of Lombok on the one hand and those of the Sasak on the other differ, I will show below that in quite a few cases the colophons from the Balinese and Lombok traditions seem to converge and contain information derived from both traditions. These 'hybrid' colophons may offer information crucial to our understanding because we tend to make distinctions whereas in the original cultural surroundings where manuscripts were produced and used such distinctions may have been or indeed remain totally inappropriate or of little use. One manuscript that was written either in the Balinese community of West Lombok or by a Muslim who had studied and learned to write 'the Balinese way' – as can be seen from the form of the script and the use of long vowels, which the Sasaks do not use – is UBL Cod.Or. 3191 (see Fig. 3).<sup>22</sup> It contains the text *Nabi Paras* on the shaving of the Prophet Muhammad's hair and the auspicious poem *Kidung Rumēksa ing Wēngi* ('Song Guarding the Night') to ward off danger. It was written in Kutaraja in 1892 and once belonged to the Balinese Hindu King of Karangasem, Anak Agung Gde Ngurah, the ruler of Lombok at the end of the nineteenth century. It was intended apparently as a charm to ward off armed conflict. It failed, however, as the palace of Cakranagara in Lombok fell to the Dutch in 1894 and a large number of palm-leaf manuscripts were looted from the palace library some of which being burned as cooking firewood. What survived of the palace's collection went to Leiden in 1906, since then referred to as the 'Lombok Collection'. The manuscript illustrated in Fig. 3 was bought by the Library of Leiden University in 1895 from 'den fusilier Leestonner' who had taken it from Lombok. The text begins with 'Bismilahi rahmanirahim. I will start with praising and calling the name of Allah, the Com-

21 <<http://mcp.anu.edu.au/proudfoot/Takwim.html>> (accessed on 30 March 2020).

22 Pigeaud 1968, 111.

passionate and Generous on earth and who is loving and caring in the Afterlife and who is praised without end. There is no other Great King than Allah, the Ruler of the world.’<sup>23</sup> The beginning of this manuscript is much like the beginning of manuscripts produced by the Sasak and is interesting also because, even though the manuscript once belonged to a Hindu king in Lombok, it states that Allah is the Highest King. Such a statement does not occur in any other manuscript from the Sasak community that I have thus far come into contact with.



Fig. 3: *Nabi Paras/Kidung Rumĕksa ing Wĕngi*. UBL Cod.Or. 3191.

### 3 Colophons in manuscripts from Bali and the Balinese part of Lombok

#### 3.1 General remarks

The lengths of the colophons in manuscripts from Bali and the Balinese community in Lombok are entirely unpredictable. They may be extremely short – at times just one or a few words – or of very great length. A note on language must be made here. It is often hazardous to decide in what language a colophon in an Old Javanese text from Bali or the Balinese part of Lombok is written. They may be in Old Javanese or Balinese, but often use a mixture of these languages that is hard to disentangle because a large amount of the vocabulary is the same in both languages. In Bali this hybrid language is simply called ‘kawi’, a term specifically used for this highly literary language. Older palm-leaf manuscripts that contain important Old Javanese texts may even add Sanskrit to the colophon as in UBL Cod.Or. 5032 of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* of which the colophon at the end starts

<sup>23</sup> Juynboll 1911, 52; Pigeaud 1968, 111. The colophon reads: *amba amityāmūji, anēbut nāmaning alah, rahmān murāh duña rĕko, ikang asih ing aherāt, kang pinūji tan pgat, tanāna ratu lyan agung, ya alah ratu sa’alam*. (Javanese)

with *brāhmāṇḍa pārwwati. ityalikitaṃ śāstraṃ paraṃsamāptaṃ*.<sup>24</sup> Cases also exist where a manuscript of an Old Javanese text has a colophon entirely in Balinese or an Old Javanese colophon has been added to a text in a manuscript written entirely in Balinese.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the language of a colophon in a manuscript that contains a Javanese or Sasak text from Lombok may not be the language of the main text. Frequently a Sasak colophon has been added to a clearly Javanese text and a Javanese colophon to a Sasak text or the colophons contain elements from both languages, at times complemented with Malay. I have the impression that in manuscripts containing Old Javanese texts the information in the colophons that is more or less standard – title, dating, information about the scribe and his or her apology for the poor work done – is written in Old Javanese; information on ownership and the circumstances under which the manuscript was made is given in Balinese, instead. The sudden change to Balinese in a colophon may indicate the information in Balinese was added later by the same scribe who wrote the entire manuscript or by another person who obtained the manuscript later.<sup>26</sup> It should also be noted that the registers of the vocabularies used in the colophons differ and the words may be in low, middle or high Balinese or a literary register in Old Javanese.

The following is a dramatic example of information added to an existing colophon of a manuscript of the Old Javanese poem *Kakawin Rāmāwijaya*:

The original colophon reads:

The writing was finished on Wage, Radite (= Sunday), in the week of Landep, in the seventh month, units, 2, tens, 1, in the Śaka year 1812 (= 9 January 1890). Please forgive my terrible writing. The writer is Padanda Wadhahan Gelgel.

This was added later:

This *lontar* is now in the possession of Ida I Gusti Putu Jlantik, the itinerant *punggawa* (municipal local government administrator) in Singaraja who obtained it in Denpasar when he accompanied the Dutch troops when they attacked Badung (present-day Denpasar) because of which the palaces of Denpasar and Pamecutan were abandoned. On the day Wrēhaspati (= Thursday), Kaliwon, in the week Ukir, the first of the fourth month in the Śaka year 1828, in the Dutch year 20 September 1906.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> As spelled by Gonda in his edition (1932, 31). For Sanskrit see also below Fig. 8.

<sup>25</sup> For instance, UBL Cod.Or. 4130 of the Balinese *Gaguritan Basur: iti kawīśwara ngaran basūr samāptā* (Old Javanese) (Brandes 1901, 174 [no. 237]; Juynboll 1912, 103), ‘Thus is the text of the noble poet called Basur finished’.

<sup>26</sup> The languages in which they were written will be indicated in the colophons discussed below.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Wus sinurat ring dina, wa, ra, wara laṅḍēp, titi, pang, ping, 6, śaśi, ka, 7, rah, 2, tē, 1, i śaka 1812. antusakna wirūpaning akṣareki, olihing kadi girna, kang anurat padanda wadhahan gelgel.

This means that the manuscript was taken from the palace on the exact day of the *puputan* when the Kingdom of Badung succumbed to the Dutch forces that annihilated the entire royal family and their retainers. The ruler had decided to end the dynasty and when the king and his people left the palace, clad in resplendent royal attire, the Dutch soldiers simply shot them.

The punctuation found in colophons will not be addressed here aside from saying that the various elements of the colophons are usually clearly set apart by means of commas and dots (in the form of the original script). A note on spelling has also to be made. It is incorrect to assume that the spelling in palm-leaf manuscripts was standardized over time. This stands for Bali as well as Lombok. Long vowels may suddenly appear in a word written by a certain scribe while another scribe would never use a long vowel in the same word in the same position. The same scribe may also spell the same words differently. No detailed research on how the languages in manuscripts from Bali and Lombok have been spelt has ever been attempted.

Parts of Old Javanese colophons no longer referred to here are the elaborate marks that end them – as in the manuscript of the *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha* in Fig. 4 that has the following colophon ‘Kakawin Arjunawiwāha. The writing was finished on Wage, Saniscara (= Saturday) in the week Dukut on the fifteenth of the waning moon at four o’clock in the second month, units, 6, tens, 6, in 1600.’<sup>28</sup> The kind of signs that end this colophon were made in earlier periods but are not witnessed in modern colophons. However, more research is required based on a larger sample of colophons than was available for this contribution.

---

*sakadi mangkin lontar puniki kadruwe antuk i gusti putu jlanṭik, punggawa jawikuṭa ring singharaja. kakniyang ring denpasar, sadawĕg ida i gusti ngiring kumpni olanda, nglurug jagate, ring badung + duk ring dinā, wra, ka, wara ukir, titi, tang, 1, śaśih, ka, 4, i śaka, 1828. tawun walanda, 20 septembĕr 1906. + māwana kawon purine ring denpasar, mwah pamcutthan’.* Collection Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali. See van der Meij 2017, 388.

**28** *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha. kawusaning anurat, ring dinā, wa, sa, wara dukut, panuju krasnapakṣa, ping, 15, dawuh, 4, ṭiṭi, śaśih, karo, rah 6, tĕnggĕk 6, I, 1600.* (Old Javanese) *atur tityang ring sang amawos, yan wentĕn kirangipun uwuhin, yan lintang kirangin* (Balinese). The dating is followed in Balinese by: ‘I would like to say to the readers, when something is missing add to it, when there is too much leave it out’, an often found statement also in manuscripts from other areas in Indonesia in much the same wordings, among them the Sasak areas in Lombok but also Madura, West Java and Central and East Java. Note that a Balinese hour lasts 90 minutes rather than 60. Brandes 1901, 113 [no. 132]; Pigeaud 1968, 16. See also below for more about this manuscript.

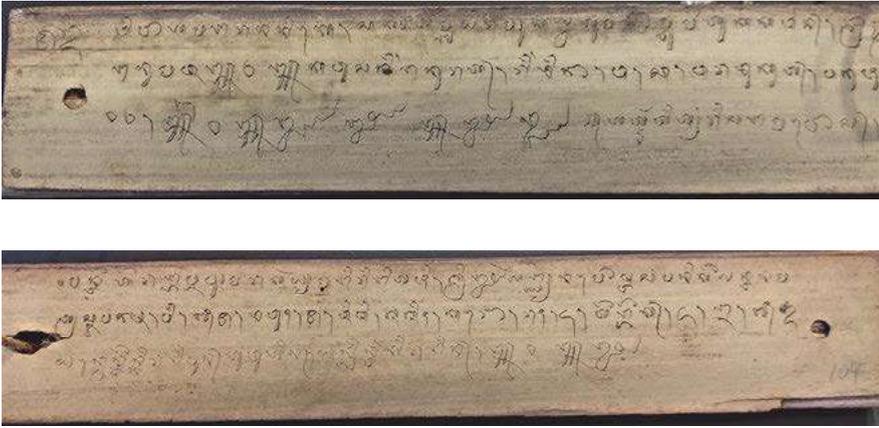


Fig. 4: *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha*. UBL Cod.Or. 3588.

A colophon may properly be defined as that distinct and separate part of a manuscript in which the scribe provides information about the manuscript itself, its producer, when and where it was made and for whom. This is not to say that colophons are limited to this information. Some scribes expand and include information about the circumstances in which the manuscript was made and may also have added more information about its usage and background and the scribe's apology for his or her inability to produce a manuscript of quality. Interestingly, the wordings used for these apologia are the same or similar in the manuscripts in Balinese and Javanese from Bali and from Lombok, and indeed further on in Java itself. The 'standard' expression is: *Yen kirang den wuwuhna, yen rangkung den longēna* ('when there is too little, add to it, when there is too much, reduce it'). The standard expression used to apologize for the way the letters were written is that they look like the scratchings of a bird (*lwir cinakar pēksi* [or *paksya*]<sup>29</sup> or *manuk*<sup>30</sup>), a rooster (*lwir cinakar sata*<sup>31</sup>), or a crab (*kadi lwir tampak ing rakatha*<sup>32</sup>) and rarely but at times of another animal, like

<sup>29</sup> As, for instance, in UBL Cod.Or. 3798 below.

<sup>30</sup> Javanese poem *Puspakrama*, private collection of the author.

<sup>31</sup> For instance in a manuscript of the *Sang Hyang Tatwajñana Sang Hyang Prayoga Sandhi* probably dated Śaka 1770 = 1848. UBL Cod.Or. 3930(3) (Brandes 1915, 65 [no. 982], Pigeaud 1968, 163).

<sup>32</sup> One example among many from the *Wrēhaspatitatwa*, UBL Cod.Or. 3930(1) (Brandes 1915, 355 [no. 1445]; Pigeaud 1968, 163).

a cat (*lwir cinakar kucing*) as in a manuscript of the Rengganis story.<sup>33</sup> A rather long statement of this kind reads ‘If you want to compare the letters here with something, well, they look like [the trail of] a crab, of a river crab walking on the beach at the ocean at night, so messy’.<sup>34</sup> Occasionally, a scribe is so unhappy with his work that he needs more animals to compare his writing with, as in the manuscript of the Javanese-Balinese poem Ahmad-Muhammad in which the scribe laments ‘but please excuse my ugly letters as they are no different than the scratchings of a chicken whose skin is itching because new feathers are growing and who is making a dust hole in front of the gate or of the marks of the steps of ducks that pass in the rice paddies’.<sup>35</sup> For Old Javanese texts, the expression used in apologising for the poor execution of the letters for things too many or too little is: (*pary*)*antusakna* (or *ampunana*)<sup>36</sup> *wirupaning aksara, mwang kurang lěwihña* where the apology for both defects is put into one expression divided merely by a comma. Sometimes the scribe’s expression is also the fear his mistakes have made him a laughing-stock.

Sometimes a colophon merely mentions it was written, for instance, on a particular day providing no other information and adding this was probably useful to the scribe/owner but, in essence, of little or any use to others as it offers little help in determining the time a manuscript was made or by whom. This kind of information may simply be a year or an incomplete date as in the case of the Old Javanese poem *Kakawin Hariwangśa* written by Gusti Ketut Merdu from Prasi in Karangasem in East Bali, probably in the early twentieth century (Fig. 5). Its colophon reads: ‘I started writing on Kaliwon, Radite (Sunday) in the week Pujut and I finished writing on Wage, Radite (Sunday) in the week Krulut’,<sup>37</sup> or how long it took to make the manuscript as in Fig. 6. The manuscript ends by stating ‘Written in 14 days’ after the colophon which states that the manuscript was written in

33 Private collection of the author.

34 *yan upamayang sastrane punika makadi tampaking rakata, makadi yuyu majalan pětěng di sisin samudra tapak, twara karwan napa*, in a manuscript of the Pan Brayut story, UBL Cod.Or. 3968(2) (Brandes 1903, 232 [no. 787], Pigeaud 1968, 173).

35 *nanging pariantusakma wirupeng aksara iki, lwir pendah kadi tampaking sata akipuring lěbuh, makamiwah tampak ing itik arecek ring sawah*. UBL Cod.Or. 4016 (Brandes 1901, 33 [no. 47]; Pigeaud 1968, 183).

36 This is rare and found, for instance, in a manuscript that contains the *Bhuwana Purāṇa, Krama Nagara* and the *Raṇa Yajña*, UBL Cod.Or. 3868(3) (Brandes 1915, 37 [no. 941], Pigeaud 1968, 149) dated Śaka 1734 / 1812 CE.

37 *mimiti nurat, ring dinā, ka, ra, wara pujut, puput nurat, ring dinā, wa, ra, krulut* (Javanese).

Śaka 1709 / 1787 CE.<sup>38</sup> In other cases, colophons limit themselves to information about the scribes and their places of residence such as: I finished writing. Ida Kompyang, residing in the residence east of the palace.<sup>39</sup>



Fig. 5: *Kakawin Hariwangśa* (Private collection of the author).

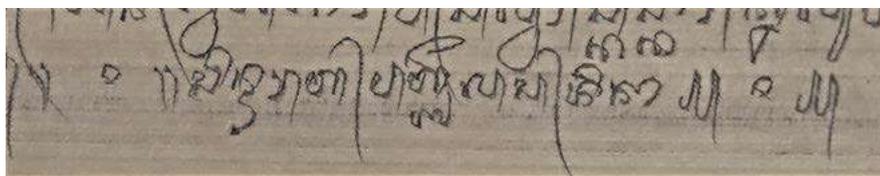


Fig. 6: Notes on fire-arms and magic in Javanese-Balinese mixed with Malay. UBL Cod.Or. 5149.

Fig. 7 presents an example of a very short colophon that only contains information on the year the manuscript was made by means of including the units (*rah*) and the tens (*těnggěk*) of the year and the complete Śaka year itself. It reads ‘Commemorative notes, units, 2, tens, 8 in the Śaka year 1782 / 1860 CE’.<sup>40</sup>

**38** Pigeaud 1968, 274. *sinūrat pat belas dinā* (Javanese). The colophon reads: *tlas <s>inurat ring bungaya, dina, pa, ta, ang, mdangsyā, panglong, ping, 3, śaśih, ka, 6, rah, 9, těnggěk, windu, i śaka 1709/* (Javanese and Balinese) the writing was finished in Bungaya on Paing, ta (?), Anggara (Tuesday), in the week of Medangsia, the third of the waning moon in the sixth month, units, 9, tens, 0, in Śaka 1709.

**39** Added to the Balinese *Kidung Bagus Umbara: tityang wusing nurat ida kompyang, apuryeng wetaning puri* (Balinese) UBL Cod.Or. 4110 (Brandes 1901, 159 [no. 200]; Juynboll 1912, 102).

**40** Pigeaud 1968, 297. The colophon reads: *Pangeling-eling, rah, 2, těnggěk, 8, i saka, 1782.* (Javanese).

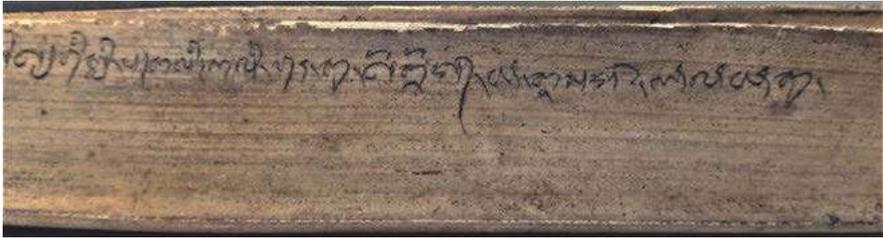


Fig. 7: Javanese-Balinese didactic poem on Islam. UBL Cod.Or. 5280.

### 3.2 Incomplete colophons

It has become clear from what has been said above that many colophons are incomplete and, sometimes, a frustrating presence in many manuscripts from Bali and Lombok. The dating sometimes starts very promisingly but is abandoned or parts are missing rendering the colophon unusable for dating. The following colophon, for instance, was added to the *Bhimaswarga* ‘The writing was finished on Tuesday, Kaliwon, in the week Prangbakat, on the fifteenth of the fourth month’.<sup>41</sup> It clearly omits any information about the year in which it was written.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, in the Old Javanese *Bhīṣma Parwa* ‘The writing was finished on Tuesday the fifteenth (month not stated), units 8, tens, 2 by Sang Made Katandan.’<sup>43</sup> The century is not mentioned but is probably the eighteenth century so the year would be Śaka 1728 / 1806 CE.<sup>44</sup>

Another example is the colophon in an old manuscript of the Old Javanese poem *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha* we have seen above, of which the exact date of copying is unknown. The indication 1600 in the colophon does not accord with the number 66 that would be the result of the *rah* and the *tēnggĕk*. The manuscript is part of the legacy van der Tuuk 1896 and although the exact century cannot be established it is probably from Śaka 1766 / 1844 CE. If we assume that it was written in Śaka 1666 it would be from 1744 CE which seems too old. Clearly there is a problem here because the idea that 1744 CE being too old is not based on any

<sup>41</sup> *duk puput tinurat, ring dina, ha, ka, wara prangbakat. titi, tanggal, ping, 15, wlas, 4, sasih, ka, 4* (Javanese).

<sup>42</sup> UBL Cod.Or. 4134 (Brandes 1901, 176 [no. 243]; Pigeaud 1968, 194). It was written before 1896 when the collection of Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk entered the collection.

<sup>43</sup> *puput sinurāt, ring dinā, a, ka, madhangsya, sasih, 8, tang, 15, rah 8, tĕ, 2. de sang madhe katanĕdan* (Javanese).

<sup>44</sup> UBL Cod.Or. 4139 (Brandes 1901, 184 [no. 254]; Pigeaud 1968, 194).

proof. This problem often arises because we do not know enough of the quality of palm-leaf material and how it changes over time in different climatic and social conditions. A similar problem comes up in a manuscript of the *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha* UBL Cod.Or. 4116, which was written in *rah 9 tēnggĕk 6* but states the Śaka year as being 1600 rather than the year 69 of which the century is unclear.<sup>45</sup> A more systematized investigation is required here as this happens frequently and such inconsistencies cannot be reduced simply to writing errors made by the scribes.

## 4 Colophon syntax

No research has been done on the syntax of the colophons found in palm-leaf manuscripts from Bali and Lombok, and what follows is a preliminary attempt of such research. It seems that colophons from Bali and the Balinese part of Lombok expand from containing the most basic to increasingly extensive information. The simplest ending of a manuscript is merely that it is finished: *Tĕlas* ('finished'), e.g. *Kidung Adiparwa*, UBL Cod.Or. 4006(d),<sup>46</sup> *Kakawin Anggabancana* UBL Cod.Or. 4050 and 4051,<sup>47</sup> or *tĕlas ing carita* ('the story has ended'), and *paścat*, or *puput* ('finished') (e.g. *Wraspatalpa* written by I Wayan Getas in 1985).<sup>48</sup> For the other information in colophons we will begin with dating, which is the most complicated.

### 4.1 Dating

The colophon in the manuscript shown in Fig. 8 is a more or less standard colophon of an Old Javanese text, in this instance from the Balinese community in West Lombok. The colophon reads 'Thus is the Śarāsamuscayā finished. It belongs to I Komang Pangsang from Mataram, Karang Truna. The writing was finished on Kaliwon Saniscara (= Saturday), in the week of Landep, the fourteenth

45 Brandes 1901, 168 [no. 213]; Pigeaud 1968, 193.

46 Brandes 1901, 9–10 [no. 11]; Pigeaud 1968, 182.

47 Brandes 1901, 94–95 [nos. 103 and 104]; Pigeaud 1968, 187.

48 Collection Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali, Denpasar.

of the tenth month, units, 7, tens, 5 in the Śaka year 1857 / 1935 CE.<sup>49</sup> It thus presents the date, month, and the Śaka year as well as the title of the text, its owner and where he lives.

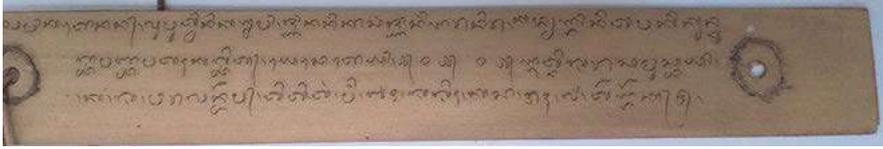


Fig. 8: *Śarāsamuscayā* (Private collection of the author).

Often the sequence of the dating is as follows: *dawĕg ring dina, ka, śa, wara landĕp, titi, thang, ping, 6, śaśih, ka, 10, rah, 8, tĕnggĕk, 6, i śaka, 1768*, or in English: on the day Kliwon, Saniscara (= Saturday), in the week of Landep, date number 6 in the month number 10, units 8, tens, 6, in the Śaka year 1768 (1846 CE) (*Kakawin Bharātayuddha*, UBL Cod.Or. 4116).<sup>50</sup> The introductory parts such as *wara* (week), *titi* (moment), *thang* (date), *ping* (number) and *ka* (prefix for ordinal numbers) are sometimes simply skipped and the names of the week and month follow immediately. The number of the month may be written out or indicated by a numeral. The units and tens, with few exceptions, are not written out but given in numeral form only. This basic dating information may be expanded with the day of the waxing moon (*śuklapakṣa*) or waning moon (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*) and the names of the days in the other weeks in the 10-week system.<sup>51</sup> In the example above, the Śaka year comes last, but cases exist in which the dating starts with the Śaka year and the dating sequence is totally reversed. The dating may be after the name of the text has been given at the start of the colophon, followed by other information and the apology of the scribe for his/her work and the reason the manuscript was made. However, the sequence may be reversed entirely with the information of the scribe written first followed by the dating. No statistical data on this is available at present. However, one thing is clear, the dating information is not disturbed by other information.

<sup>49</sup> *itti śarāsamuscayā, samaptā, druwen i komang pangsang ri mtaram karang truṇṇā, duk puput sinurat, dawĕg ri dina, ka, śa, wara landĕp, titi, tang, ping, 14, śaśih, ka, kasā, rah, 7, tĕnggĕk, 5, i śakā, 1857* (Old Javanese). Private collection of the author.

<sup>50</sup> Brandes 1901, 168 [no. 213]; Pigeaud 1968, 193.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix, Table 1.

Numbers are often furnished with numerals. However, a rare example of a colophon with none of the dating information given in numerals is the following:

Kidung Buwang Sakti. This kidung was finished on Saniscara (= Saturday) Kaliwon and now the week which is the week Dungulan. The name of the month is Kaulu (= eight month), on the eight, with tens, nine where the eleventh and twelfth months meet on the ninth of the waning moon. I started writing in Sraya and copied the *lontar* there. The person who owns the garden where I am writing is called Jro Ktut Subrata who lives here in Sraya. The owner of this *kidung* is called I Bojog who lives in Dukuh Tengah in Bugbug. The copyist lives in Dangin Telaga and is called I Yalot, also in Bugbug.<sup>52</sup>

The sequence of the information in colophons in manuscripts from Bali in Old Javanese may be as in the list and remarks on each item will be given below.

- 1 *Pascat, tēlas/tlas, puput* (finished), etc.
- 2 *Iti* (this is)
- 3 Title of the text
- 4 Nga (short for *ngaraña*, meaning: this is its name)
- 5 *Samāpta/parisamāpta* (finished)
- 6 Statement that the writing has ended such as *puput sinurat, puput kasurat, puput tinurat, tēlas sinurat* etc.
- 7 Name of the scribe introduced by expressions such as *sang apanlah, kasurat olih/antuk*
- 8 Day in *pancawara* (five-day week) and in the *saptawara* (seven-day week)
- 9 Name of the week *wara/wuku*
- 10 Name of the month and the date in that month
- 11 *Śuklapakṣa* (waxing moon) or *kṛṣṇapakṣa* (waning moon)
- 12 Indication of the day of the waxing or waning moon
- 13 *Rah* (units) and *tēnggĕk* (tens)
- 14 (I) Śaka (Śaka year)
- 15 Windu (year in the 8 year cycle)

<sup>52</sup> *Kidung Buwang Sakti*. UBL Cod.Or. 4167. *hus puput kidung puniki, ring dinā aniscara kaliwon, ukune mangkin, uku dungulan, śaśih kaulu araniipun, ping kutus tēnggĕk sangane, manmu desta sadā, panglong ping siyā. pangrin tityang mañurat magnah ring srayā mangalih lontar, sdhĕk tityang kapi sisip, ne nglah kĕbon iki, gnahin tityang mañurat, mapasengan jro ktut ſubratthā, ring sraya ikā, ne maduwe kidung ikā, mawasta i bojog, magnah ring dukuh tngah, samaring bugbug, ne mañurat, mawasta dangin tĕlagā, mawasta i yalot, sami ring bugbug* (Balinese). Brandes 1901, 210 [no. 294]; Juynboll 1912, 104.

## Remarks

- 1 *Paścat* (Old Javanese: ‘complete’, ‘finished’). This expression is not found regularly in the colophons consulted. The Balinese expressions *tēlas* (also spelled *tlas*) and *puput* (sometimes abbreviated to *pu*), seem to have been used more often. Examples at the very end of the text of the use of the word ‘*tēlas*’ may be seen in Figs 9 and 11 and of ‘*pu*’ in Fig. 10.



**Fig. 9:** *Tatwa Aji Janataka*. Collection Kajeng family, Banjar Alangkajeng, Denpasar, Bali, DREAMSEA DS\_0030\_00011\_048r.



**Fig. 10:** Sample caption *Yama Tatwa*. Collection Kajeng family, Banjar Alangkajeng, Denpasar, Bali, DREAMSEA DS\_0030\_00010\_103v.

- 2 *Iti* (Old Javanese: ‘thus’) is often encountered followed by the name of the text, sometimes followed by Old Javanese (*sang*)*kathā* = tale. The text in Fig. 11 ends in: Thus is the Dawuh Murтта as named, finished (*itthi dawuh murтта, nga, tlas*) (Old Javanese). No dating information provided.
- 3 Title of the text. Some texts are known under various titles and the title found in the colophon is not necessarily the title the text is known under in general in Bali or among scholars. In some cases the name of the text is given at the start but may differ from that found in the colophon. Many colophons end here.



**Fig. 11:** *Agēm-agēm*. Collection Kajeng family, Banjar Alangkajeng, Denpasar, Bali, DREAMSEA DS\_0030\_00007\_006v.

- 4 *Nga* (short for *ngaraña* = ‘its name is’) is sometimes added after the name and simply means that what precedes it is the name of the text. An example is illustrated in Fig. 11.
- 5 Old Javanese *samāpta/parisamāpta* is to state that the writing of the text has finished.
- 6 Various statements are used to tell that the scribe has finished writing. They include Balinese *puput sinurat*, *tēlas sinurat*, Old Javanese *purna linikita*, and Balinese and Old Javanese *tēlas linikita*, or a similar expression.
- 7 The name of the scribe may follow but this is by no means always the case.
- 8 Indication of the day. Usually a combination is given of the day in the five-day week (*pancawara*) and in the seven-day week (*saptawara*). I have the impression that this is the sequence most often found but the inverted sequence is also present. Occasionally the name of the day of the six-day week (*sadwara*) may also be included. The mentioning of the day is usually preceded by the Old Javanese/Balinese expressions ‘*we*’, ‘*ring we*’, ‘*dina*’, ‘*ring dina*’, ‘*dawĕg ring dina*’ or ‘*ring rahina*’ but this may be omitted. The day is mostly indicated by an abbreviation. Very rarely the names or abbreviations of the days of all the 10 weeks in Bali of 1, 2, etc. days are included in the dating of the manuscript. A rare example where this occurs is UBL Cod.Or. 4016 that contains the Islamic *Kidung Amad* and is part of the 1896 van der Tuuk Collection,<sup>53</sup> ‘The writing of this *Kidung Amad* was finished on the day *Wrĕhaspati* (= Thursday), *Kaliwon*, week *Ukir*, the eight of the first month, *rah*, 5, *tĕnggĕk* 1. *Lwang*, the day in the one-day week; *Pĕpĕt*, (the second day) of the two-day week; *Pasha*, (the second day) of the three-day week; *Mandala*, (the fourth day) of the four-day week; *Tungleh*, (the first day) of the six-day week; *Kaliwon*, (the fifth day) of the five-day week, *Wrĕhaspati* (Thursday), (the fifth day) of the seven-day week; *Uma*, (the eighth day) of the eight-day week; *Urangan*, (the sixth day) of the nine-day week; *Manuh*, (the sixth day) of the ten-day week.<sup>54</sup> For the names of the days in the ten weeks see Appendix, Table 1.
- 9 *Wara* or *wuku*. The name of the *wara* or *wuku* (one of the 30 weeks each with its own name) is usually put after the indication ‘*wara*’ or ‘*wuku*’ or their

<sup>53</sup> Brandes 1901, 33 [no. 47]; Pigeaud 1968, 183.

<sup>54</sup> *puput sinurat*, *kidung amad puniki duk ring dinā*, *wrĕ, ka, warā ukir, tang, ping, 8, śaśih ka, 1, rāh, 5, tĕnggĕk tunggāl. ekāwarāña, lwang, dwiwarāña, pĕpĕt, triwarāña, pasah, caturwarāña, mandalā, sadwarāña, tungleh, pancāwarāña, ka, saptāwarāña wrĕ, aṣṭawaraña, hu sanghāwarāña, urungān, daśawarāña, manuh* (Old Javanese, Balinese). Note that the sequence of the five and six-day weeks is reversed.

- abbreviations *wa* and *wu* but they may also be skipped as can be seen from UBL Cod.Or. 23.023 below. For the names of the *waras* see Appendix, Table 2.<sup>55</sup>
- 10 The date of the month is indicated by the expression *titi* ('moment'), *tang* ('date'), *ping* ('number'), followed by the number of the day in the month, followed by the word *śaśih* ('month'), the number of the month either written out or introduced by the prefix for ordinal numbers *ka*, followed by the month as a numeral. For the names of the months see Appendix, Table 3.
  - 11 The waxing moon is called *śuklapakṣa* and the waning moon *kṛṣṇapakṣa*. This may also be expressed in other positions in the colophon after the general dating has finished and sometimes abbreviated to *śukla* and *kṛṣṇa*. Another expression for *śuklapakṣa* is *pang<ě>long* (mostly abbreviated to *pang*)<sup>56</sup> meaning the 15 days before the full moon, followed by *ping* and the number of the day. *Kṛṣṇapakṣa* may also be expressed by *pananggal* (mostly abbreviated to *pa*), followed by '*ping*' followed by the number of the day.
  - 12 After the stage of the moon has been stated, the number of the day in this stage is mentioned. This may be done simply by the use of (often Sanskrit) numerals but can also be done by the wordings of these numbers such as *eka* (1), *dwi* (2), *tri* (3), etc. up to *pancadasi* (15).
  - 13 Units and tens. The two last digits of the Śaka year are indicated by *rah* (units) and *tēnggĕk* (tens). Interestingly, there is no similar indication for the hundreds and the thousands. The word *rah* is never abbreviated but the word *tēnggĕk* is sometimes abbreviated to *tē*<sup>57</sup> or *tēng*.<sup>58</sup>
  - 14 The Śaka year often follows the units and the tens but by no means always. The expression may be expanded to: *warsa śaka xxxx* or *xxxx śakawarsa*, *xxxx śakawarsa yusaning loka*,<sup>59</sup> *xxxx samangka<na> warsaning loka*,<sup>60</sup> *xxxx*

---

55 For more on *wuku/wara* see van der Meij 2019.

56 One instance of the use of the word '*panglong*' is UBL Cod.Or. 4126 of a Balinese translation of the *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha* (Brandes 1901, 172 [no. 231]) and UBL Cod.Or. 5149 as seen above.

57 As in the manuscript of the *Kakawin Rāmāwijaya* above.

58 For instance, UBL Cod.Or. 3975(1) *Gaguritan Bhimaswarga* (Brandes 1901, 176 [no. 241]; Pigeaud 1968, 174).

59 The last expression may be found, for instance, in DREAMSEA DS\_0030\_00041\_147v which is a digitised manuscript of the *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha Maarti* from the collection of the Kajeng family in Denpasar, which was finished on Śaka 1839 / 1916 CE and in a manuscript of the *Ramayana Kidung*, UBL Cod.Or. 4451, from Śaka 1706 / 1784 CE (Brandes 1915, 34 [no. 938]; Juynboll 1912, 131).

60 Balinese *Kidung Adiparwa*, UBL Cod.Or. 4008 (Brandes 1901, 14 [no. 18]; Juynboll 1912, 96).

*mangkana warṣa yuṣaning rat*,<sup>61</sup> or *warsaning bhumi*<sup>62</sup> stated after the number of the Śaka year. Almost invariably the word Śaka is preceded by *i* but not always as, for instance in UBL Cod.Or. 23.023 below. Sometimes the Śaka year and the combination of the *rah* and *tēnggĕk* do not match, or, as in the example from the *Wirāṭāpārwwa* below, the units exceed number 9 as it mentions the *rah* as being 11 which seems impossible. The Śaka year does not always follow and thus the century has to be guessed or can be concluded from other aspects of the manuscript or information related to it as the *rah* and *tēnggĕk* only apply to the last two digits of the year. Sometimes the year is not given in Balinese numerals but written out such as in the Balinese *Kidung Adiparwa* UBL Cod.Or. 3900(1) *siyu pitung atus sangang dasa kalih* (Śaka 1792)<sup>63</sup> but by a chronogram (*candra sangkala*) which usually, but by no means always, needs to be read backwards to find the right year.<sup>64</sup> This is, to mention just one example, the case in UBL Cod.Or. 3589 which was written in Śaka *sanga* (9) *paṇḍitēng* (7) *araṣa* (6) *tunggal* (1) and thus written in Śaka 1679 / 1757 CE.<sup>65</sup> The problem with *candra sangkala* is where to divide the words because that may lead to different interpretations. For example, the *Kakawin Pṛthuwijaya* was composed in the year with the *candra sangkala*: *sang aṣṭa guṇa paṇḍitēng jagat*. When this is read as *sang aṣṭa* (8) *guṇa* (3) *paṇḍitēng* (7) *jagat* (1) the year is Śaka 1738 / 1816 CE. However when it is read *sang* (9) *aṣṭaguṇa* (8) *paṇḍitēng* (7) *jagat* (1) the year is Śaka 1789 / 1867 CE.<sup>66</sup> The Śaka year is rarely indicated both by a *candra sangkala* and by the numerals of the year as in a manuscript of the Sanskrit and Old Javanese synonym dictionary *Kĕrta Basa*, UBL Cod.Or. 4260.<sup>67</sup> The colophon says that it was written in the year I Śaka *ṣad paṇḍawa nganggas wulan* plus the numerals 1561 / 1649 CE.

61 Balinese *Kidung Nālig*, UBL Cod.Or. 3638. Brandes 1903, 204 [no. 735], Juynboll 1912, 91.

62 For instance in a manuscript of the *Sarasāmuścaya*, UBL Cod.Or. 4470 (Brandes 1915, 72 [no. 992], Pigeaud 1968, 220) dated Śaka 1802 / 1880 CE. Note that in these examples the words *loka*, *rat* and *bhumi* all mean 'world' and stem from different registers in the Old Javanese language.

63 Brandes 1901, 14 [no. 17]; Juynboll 1912, 95-96.

64 Giovanni Ciotti kindly informed me that this is always the case in chronograms in India.

65 UBL Cod.Or. 4060, *Kidung Arjuna Pralabda*. The writing was finished on Wrehaspati (= Thursday) Legi, in the week of Sinta, the fifth of the waxing moon on the eight, tens 7 in the Śaka year 1679 / 1757 CE. *tlas <s>inurat. wrĕ, u, sintā. kṛṣṇā, 5, ti, 8. tĕ, 7. I saka, sanga* (9) *paṇḍita* (7) *araṣā* (6) *tunggal* (1) (Brandes 1901, 101 [no. 116]; Pigeaud 1968, 188).

66 Creese 1996, 146 n. 9.

67 Brandes 1903, 82 [no. 513]; Pigeaud 1986, 205.

- 15 In Bali and Java, moreover, the years are grouped in 4 cycles of 8 years called *windu* named 1. *Adi*, 2. *Kunthara*, 3. *Sangara* and 4. *Sancaya*. The individual names of the 8 years in a *windu* are derived from the names of the letters of the Arabic alphabet: 1. *Alip*, 2. *Ēhe*, 3. *Jimawal*, 4. *Je*, 5. *Dal*, 6. *Be*, 7. *Wawu*, 8. *Jimakir*. In manuscripts from Bali and the Balinese part of Lombok, the names of the *windus* are found, but not the names of the years within the *windus* which we do find in manuscripts from the Sasaks in Lombok.

The above ‘rule’ is not followed in many manuscripts, of course. There are manuscripts that start with the year and work back to the day. Other manuscripts such as UBL Cod.Or. 23.022 (*Kakawin Pratiloma*), feature the dating before stating the name of the text (see below for the colophon). UBL Cod.Or. 23.023 (Pigedeg) has information about the scribe and his location before giving the copying date in both the Śaka year and the Gregorian calendar:

Finished. Copy of a *rontal*<sup>68</sup> manuscript belonging to I Made Kawitra, Kubutambahan, Buleleng. Rewritten in this in *rontal* by me, I Wayan Gebyak, Kasempar Kangin, Pidpid, Kacamatan Abang, Kabupaten Karangasem. Finished on the day Redite (= Sunday), Pahing, (week) Sungsang, Śaka, 1914, Christian Era, 5, 7, 1992.<sup>69</sup>

## 4.2 Information in colophons not pertaining to dates

After the dating, much information may follow, for instance, that in the eyes of the scribe their writing is entirely substandard, and exhortations to the people willing to read the manuscript to leave things out when there is too much or to add when something is missing, and the circumstances under which or for what reason the manuscript was produced. At this point in time, it is impossible to describe the rule ordering this information.

An example of a manuscript from the Balinese community from Lombok where the colophon states the reason for which the manuscript was made is the following:

Thus is the Bhāratayuddha story, the apparent treachery of Bhiṣma, the defeat of Karṇa, the end of the Śalyawādarita. The copying was finished by I Gde Puji coinciding with the inauguration ceremony of and followed the next day by the Pujawali offering at Pura Sagara

<sup>68</sup> *Rontal* is an alternative name for a *lontar* manuscript.

<sup>69</sup> *tlas. turunan rontal druwen, i madhe kawitra, kubutambahan, buleleng. kasurat malih ring rontal puniki antuk titiyang i wayan gēbyak, kasēmpar kangin, pidpid, kacamatan abang, kabupaten karangasēm, puput ring rahina, rēdite, pahing, sungsang, śaka, 1914, masehi, 5, 7, 1992.*

in Ampenan, on the day Saniscara (= Saturday) Wage, in the week Kulantir on the fifteenth of the full moon in the month Jestha in the Śaka year 1891 / 1969 CE. The owner of this *lontar* manuscript is Dewa Komang Bles from the western rice paddies in the village of Jagaraga.<sup>70</sup>

### 4.3 Colophons added to colophons

The syntax of colophons in the manuscripts under discussion may be complicated by the fact that in some cases colophons are added to existing colophons or extra information is later added to the colophon at a much later date. One instance, among many from the collection of Ida I Gusti Putu Jlantik is the one below. The colophon states:

Kakawin Pratiloma. The writing was finished on Anggara (= Tuesday), Wage, week of Sinta, in the tenth month, on the second day, units 1, tens, 2, in the Śaka year 1821. Jlantik added to this: Thus is the Pratiloma, owned by Ida I Gusti Putu Jlantik of Singaraja.<sup>71</sup>

One may conclude that information was added by dint of the fact that it follows the elaborate punctuation marks which usually end rather than split a colophon.

That Ida I Gusti Putu Jlantik was not the only one to do this is attested by the following example,<sup>72</sup> this time from Ida I Gusti Putu Griya as can be seen in Fig. 12. Added to the manuscript was: Owned by Ida I Gusti Putu Griya, Punggawatirta in Singaraja, Sasak.<sup>73</sup> In 1895, the manuscript also entered the collection of Ida I Gusti Putu Jlantik so the ownership of this manuscript can be established quite accurately.

<sup>70</sup> *iti bhāratayudda sangkaṭa, bhīṣma droha niyata, karṇa parajaya, puput śālyawādacarita. tlas tinurūn ūlih i gde puji, tpēt ri kāla pamlaspas, maturūt raris sane benjang, pūjā wali pura sāgara ring ampēnan, ring rahinā, śa, wa, wara kulantir, titi, tang, 15, pūrṇmananing śaśih, jyeṣṭha, i śakā, 1891. pustaka rontal iki druwen dewa komang bles, ring carik kawuh, deśa jagarāga* (Old Javanese and Balinese). Private collection Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta. Van der Meij 2017, 386.

<sup>71</sup> UBL Cod.Or. 23.022 (Witkam 2007b, 8), *puput kasurāt, ring dinā, a, wa, wara sintā, śaśih, ka, 10, tang, ping, 2, rah, 1, tēng, 2, i śaka, 1821. iti pratiloma, druwen ida i gusti putu jlantik ring singaraja* (Old Javanese and Balinese).

<sup>72</sup> Witkam 2007b, 6. The colophon reads *druwen ida i gusti putu griya, punggawagama tirta, ring cakranagara sasak* (Balinese).

<sup>73</sup> *druwen ida i gusti putu griya, punggawagamatirta, ring cakranagara sasak.*

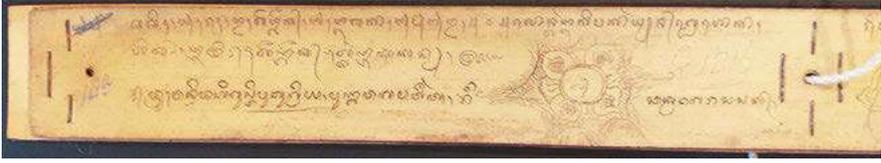


Fig. 12: *Kakawin Malawijayendriya*. UBL Cod.Or. 23.011.

Many colophons, especially in older manuscripts, end by invoking the goddess Saraswati, and gods Guru and Ganapati or others. Sometimes they seem to be integrated into the colophon but in other cases they are invoked in a special part of the manuscript at the end, as in Fig. 13 where the manuscript ends with: *Ong Saraswatyennamah, Ong Śri Guru / Ong Gmung Ganapataye namāh, / Byā namāh* (Sanskrit).<sup>74</sup>



Fig. 13: *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha*. UBL Cod.Or. 3580.

#### 4.4 Modern colophons in manuscripts from Bali

As said above, the writing of *lontar* manuscripts has been given a new impulse over recent years, among other reasons, due to the implementation of regional autonomy. At school young children learn how to write *lontar* and local and central government-run projects ensure the craft does not die out completely. At

<sup>74</sup> *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha*. Brandes 1901, 167 [no. 205]; Pigeaud 1968, 114.

present, palm leaves and writing utensils can be bought in book shops in Denpasar, the capital of the Province of Bali. Efforts to keep the craft alive were already made earlier in the 1980s when local libraries ordered texts to be put on *lontar* leaves to complement their collections in the firm conviction that proper texts should be preserved on the proper material asserted to be palm-leaf. Apparently, writing palm-leaf manuscripts was in this context not considered an act of devotion to the gods and this often meant that the quality of the writing and the execution of each letter deteriorated resulting in *lontars* being produced that would have never been accepted by people knowledgeable about proper *lontar* writing of the past. This trend also influenced the contents of the colophons added to the texts. The colophons in these modern manuscripts show elements of continuity and change. They contain the same wordings as in old colophons and also tend to provide similar information in similar diverse ways. However, they are often much longer and containing far more elaborate information about the locations where they were made than ever before. It seems that a notion of advertising has entered the minds of new producers. Four modern colophons in translation to which comments have been added are presented below. The first is from a manuscript of the *Tutur Bhamakrētih* written in 1990 CE as can be seen from example (a).

(a) Thus is the *Tutur Bhamakrētih*. The original was written in the Griya Pidada in Sidemen, Kabupaten Karangasem, Bali. The writing was finished on 6 August, in the global era. This *lontar* was written by I Wayan Samba from the Banjar Kubuanyar in the village of Kubutambahan in the sub district of Kubutambahan, second level administrative region, Buleleng, Singaraja. Post box 81972. The writing was finished on the day Śaniscara (= Saturday) Pon in the week Tambir on the fourteenth of the sixth month in the Śaka year 1912 / 1990 CE. The person who copied it was I Ketut Sengod from Banjar Murka in the village Aan in Pidpid, sub district Anyar in the Regency of Karangasem. The copying was finished on the day Śukra (= Friday) Pon in the week Prangbakat, the first day of the waning moon in the fifth month. Units 0 tens 3 in the Śaka year 1930 / 2008 CE. Excuse the work of one who is ignorant and deficient in letters.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> See also van der Meij 2017, 391–392, *tutur bhamakrētih samāpta. ina puniki puput kasurat ring griya piḍaḍa, sidēmēn, kabupaten karangasēm, bali. puput duk ring tanggal, 6, agustus, yusaning bhuwana. sane nulis lontar puniki i wayan sambha, saking banjar kubuañar, deśa kubutambahan, kacamatan kubutambahan, daerah tingkat, 2, buleleng, singaraja, kotak pos 81972. puput ring rahina, śa, pwa, wara tambir, śaśih, 6, ping, 14, i śaka, 1912. sane nēḍunin, i ktut sengod, saking banjar murka deśa an pidpid, kacamatan añar, kabupaten karangasēm. puput sinurat ring dina, śu, pwa, wara prangbakat, titi, pang, ping, 1, śaśih kalima, rah, 0, tēnggĕk, 3, i śaka warsa, 1930. nḡhing ksamakēna mudhālpa śastra* (Balinese, Old Javanese and Indonesian). Collection Parisada Hindu Indonesia, Denpasar, no. 4.

**Comments:** this extensive colophon not only mentions the scribe and the date on which the present manuscript was produced but also the manuscript it was copied from, which is quite a rarity. Information about the locations of the previous owner is provided and the present scribe's location is given in detail up to the ward (*banjar*) in which it was written, the village where it is located as well as the present-day Indonesian administrative units to which it belongs. Even the Post Box number of the first scribe was added. Modern manuscripts often mention the date in the Gregorian calendar which they introduce with the word *masehi* (Christian [era]) as in the example in Fig. 14, or *kalender* ('calendar') or *yusaning bhuwana* ('year in the world' i.e. 'global era'). The same is found in the colophon of the second manuscript dated 1994 CE.<sup>76</sup>



**Fig. 14:** *Kakawin Pārthakārma* (Private collection of the author).

(b) The colophon in Fig. 14 reads:

Thus is the Pārthakārma finished. The writing was done on Anggara (= Tuesday) Wage, month Gumbrag, in the third month of the Śaka year 1916, Christian era, 28 September 1994. It was written by I Wayan Edi Wistara from Banjar Ramyasaba in Jasri Kelod'.

**Comments:** Aside from the date in the Śaka calendar, the date in the Gregorian calendar was also added. The name of the scribe is complete but the place where the manuscript was written is not. Only the name of the village ward (*banjar*) is added and its location in the south of the village Jasri Kelod (*kelod* means the direction of the sea). No other information is offered on the location, for instance that it is located in the Regency of Karangasem in East Bali. In modern times owners wish to make sure that people know who the manuscript belongs to hence the stamp on the right-hand side of the leaf showing that it was owned by I Ketut Ruma.

(c) This is a copy of a book owned by Dewata Ida I Dewa Wayan Pucangan, from Jero Kanginan in Sidemen, Karangasem. The original is a *lontar* owned by the Puri Agung

<sup>76</sup> *iti kakawin pārthakārma samāpta, puput kasurat, anggara wage, wu, gumbrag, sasih ka tiga, śaka 1916, masehi, 28, septembēr, 1994, kasurat olih, i wayan, edi wistara, banjar ramyasaba, jasri kēlod* (Balinese and Old Javanese).

Karangasem palace dated 17 January 1945. It is now in the possession of Ida I Dewa Gde Catra, the principal of a school in Karangasem. It was written by I Gusti Lanang Sidemen Mangku from Jero Tegal in Sidemen in the village ward of Cabole.<sup>77</sup>

**Comments:** The colophon mentions from what source the new manuscript was made and where it came from. Apparently, it is not a copy of a *lontar* manuscript but of a book (*buku*) that was made after a *lontar* manuscript. It mentions the present owner and his occupation and the name of the present scribe but not the date when it was written.

(d) Thus is the Wirāṭāpārwa finished. The writing was finished on Saniscara (= Saturday), Paing, on the eight, units, 11, tens, 9, in the Śaka, 1907, by me, Ida Bagus Nyoman Began from the Griya Banjar Angkan, Klungkung, retired head of the information service in Klungkung. Meanwhile, please excuse me greatly when reading this story aloud because there may be things lacking or too much in it so please be happy to excuse me, also for the ugly letters I have written which look too uncivilized, because they were made by the writer who is exceedingly stupid and dull as happens when one gets older and older and the joints in my hands are already stiff with age. The *lontar* I have copied is owned by Ida Padanda Gde Putra Telaga from the great Griya in Banjar Angkan. Ong Swastiastu. Gregorian Calendar, 8 October 1985. The fourth month.<sup>78</sup>

**Comments:** To end this section, another recent colophon (d) may be of interest as it contains the apologies the scribe makes for his work and much information about the scribe himself and the manuscript he used for his work. The month has been omitted at the start of the colophon but has been added at the end. The outcome of the units and the tens would be impossible as there are 11 units. The scribe also added personal information, that he is a retired civil servant from the

---

77 *puniki salinan saking buku drēwen dewatā idā i dewwā wayan pucangan jēro kanginan, sidmēn, karangasēm, kawit rontalirā drwen puri agung karangasēm, tang 17, 1, 1845. mangkin kagamēl antuk idā i dewa gde cātrē, kēpala sēkolah desa padang kērtta karangasēm. kasurat olih, i gusti lanang sidmēn mangku, jro tgal sidmēn, banjar cabolē.* Collection Pusat Dokumentasi Kebudayaan Bali, Denpasar (Balinese and Indonesian [kepala sekolah = school principal]).

78 *Iti wirāṭāpārwa ri samapta, puput sinurat ring rahina, ca, pa, mrakih, pang, ping, 8, rah, 11, tēnggēk, 9, i śakawarṣaning loka, 1907, antuk tityang ida bagus noman began, ring griya banjarangkan, klungkung, pēnsiyan, pkak kēpala jawatan panrangan ring klungkung, dawēg <g>ōng ampurang pisan ring sang mamawosin amaca tatwa puniki, manawi ta wentēn kirang langkungipun, mangda ledang ngāmpurayang, malihipun antuk wirūpaning śastra lintang bhodo, mānūt kadi rūpan sang nurāt lintang bhodo tambēt, dulurin sāyan twa, liman tityang sāmpun guyul, lontar sane katdhun puniki drwen ida padandha gde putra tлага, ring griyā gong banjarangkan. ong swāṣṭiāstu. masehi, tanggal 8, oktobēr, 1985, śaṣih kapat* (Old Javanese and Balinese). Manuscript P/IV/6/DOKBUD digitally accessible at <<https://archive.org/details/wirata-parwa>> (accessed on 30 March 2020).

information service and that he suffers from sore hands probably due to arthritis. The date in the Gregorian Calendar has been added at the end of the colophon and thus the dates in the original calendar and the Gregorian have been divided by much other information.

## 5 Colophons from manuscripts from the Sasak community of Lombok

Manuscripts from Lombok often begin with the *basmallah*, *Bismilahirahmanni-rahim* (as shown in Fig. 15 of a *lontar* of the *Jatisyara*<sup>79</sup>), and in so doing ensure the texts in these manuscripts are ‘acceptable’ and considered to belong to the Islamic tradition. The *basmallah* is very often followed by a prayer-like the following short text, in the same or in similar wordings (in the poetic meter *Asmarandana*)<sup>80</sup> ‘I will start by praising / and invoking the name of Allah, / Who is Merciful on earth, / and Who is Compassionate in the hereafter, / Who is praised incessantly, / and Who acts as Guardian of the World, / and praise be to Muhammad, the Prophet’.<sup>81</sup>

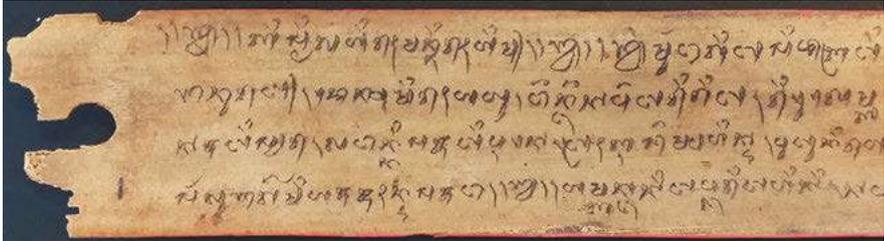


Fig. 15: *Jatisyara*. UBL Cod.Or. 2216.

This start is found in a plethora of manuscripts, not only in Lombok but also in Madura and the whole of Java sometimes albeit in slightly different wording. It may, but certainly not always, be followed by the dating of the manuscript and

<sup>79</sup> Pigeaud 1968, 87.

<sup>80</sup> See van der Meij 2002, 12–13. About Javanese verse, see van der Meij 2017, Chapter 4.

<sup>81</sup> *ingsun amimityamuji / anembut namaning alah / kang murah ing duña rēko / ingkang asih ing aherat / kang pinuji tan pgat / kang rumakseng alam iku / amuji nabi muhamat* (Javanese).

by whom it was produced. When this information does not follow at the start, it may be found at the end of the manuscript but here too, it is certainly not always the case. As many *lontar* manuscripts from Lombok are incomplete as they end randomly, sometimes in mid-sentence or even mid-word, this information is often quite lacking. Many manuscripts contain a colophon both at the beginning and at the end of a text.

Colophons in manuscripts from the Sasak part of Lombok are written in Sasak, Javanese or a mixture of both also occasionally featuring Balinese or Malay elements. Most texts from the Sasak area are written in Javanese verse called *tĕmbang macapat*.<sup>82</sup> This influences the way the colophons are written because they are also in verse and thus have to conform to the rules of the poetic meter in which they are written (usually Asmarandana). Therefore, colophons use Javanese words to fill the lines to adhere to the rules of the meter such as *mangko* (now, shortly), *ika*, *punika* (the, this, that) etc. which basically mean nothing in the colophon. For the same reason words are repeated, as in the following example from UBL Cod.Or. 4024, *Menak Amir Hamza*.<sup>83</sup> The colophon uses the verse form Asmarandana which means that each stanza has seven lines that need to have the following number of syllables ending in the stated vowel: 8i, 8a, 8e/o, 8a, 7a, 8u, 8a and because of the requirements of this verse structure, the text is verbose.

I finished writing, on Tuesday, Tuesday Manis is its name, in the week Wariga, the *ingkĕl* (the 6-day week) is wong (person, second day of the sex-day week) is its *ingkĕl*, the month is Ramlan as it happens, on the date of the nineth, the year is Wawu is its year. The place where it was written is Karang Mapak.<sup>84</sup>

Sometimes information is repeated at the beginning of the manuscript as is the case with the very long colophon in Javanese in UBL Cod.Or. 3798 that contains the episode of the Chinese princess Adaninggar of the Muslim *Menak Amir Hamzah* cycle.<sup>85</sup> The date is repeated twice in the same wording. The colophon is also interesting for stating who the scribe is, where he lives and writes and what he himself thinks about what he is doing. He also makes the traditional apology

<sup>82</sup> For an extensive description of this kind of poetic meters see van der Meij 2017, Chapter 4.

<sup>83</sup> Brandes 1901, 45 [no. 63]; Pigeaud 1968, 184.

<sup>84</sup> *tabe manirĕnunulis, ring dinĕ hanggarĕ ikĕ, hanggarĕ manis wasta rĕko, mahuku warigĕ hikĕ, hingkĕl wong hingkĕlnekĕ, sašihĕna ramlan hanuju, sĕdĕking tanggale sangĕ, tawun wawu tawuneki, hĕnggene nulis karang mapak* (Javanese).

<sup>85</sup> Brandes 1901, 48 [no. 66]; Pigeaud 1968, 140.

for his poor work and comparing his writing to birds' scratchings. He does not forget to include the traditional prayer as well which is very similar to that above. As is often the case in the translation of colophons, words are used in the original language that cannot be explained as dictionaries are lacking, the meaning of an idiom is unavailable and cultural knowledge is also negligible. Again the colophon is written in Asmarandana.<sup>86</sup>

This *lontar* was written on the day, Radite (= Sunday), Pon, in the week Kulantir, in the month Jumadilawal, on the tenth day it was, it has just been finished, on the day Radite (Sunday), Pon, it was.

I, who write this, my name is Rasa Jamathacek it is, thus is my name, of the person who writes this. It was written in the month Jumadilawal, on the tenth day it was.

It was in the house of A'ik where I wrote, looking to the east as now, under the Jarja coconut tree, at the south side of the coconut tree it was, the Jruti and Sumaga trees, with pillar sockets of Ukĕpat wood (?) thus it was, the house of this friend of mine.

At the south of my house here, is the house of my teacher, and to the south of the house of my teacher, are the houses of my hamlet, the name of the hamlet is, Rasajasa Sajata Kulon, thus is its name.

And moreover, the one who writes this is acting exceedingly sinfully, right here on earth and now, and his wife has left him as she has died, and he is exceedingly disgraceful as he writes with his *sabdha* (?) hand, and he holds his *sabdha* foot, it is.

I know all of you who read this, who read it and comment on it, and also those who listen to it, do not be sorrowful, for me who writes this, because my hand has a will all of its own, and my grandfather is getting better.

The name of the *lontar* I am writing, Pracinan is its name, and now I will tell you now, to all of you, let not one among you be sorrowful, with regards to the person who writes this now, as I ask for your great forgiveness.

I will start by praising, and calling the name of God, Who is merciful on earth here, and Who, later, will be loving at the day of the Resurrection, Who is praised incessantly, and Who guards creation, and Who is invoked in times of pain and sorrow.

Because my letters here, are like the scratchings of a bird, so I really will be the object of laughter, they look like letters from a secret alphabet, when something is wrong, forgive me, when it is right, let it be taken seriously in the hearts of those who read it.<sup>87</sup>

---

**86** The script of this colophon is very hard to read and parts of the transliteration and translation are therefore tentative. The translation is literal and follows the Javanese to show how it is written.

**87** *puh smara. duk sinurat rontal iki, dawĕg ring dina, ra, pwa, ika, ukune kulantire, ring saših jumadilawal, tang, ping sadasa dina ika, wawu wusan tĕntĕn iku, ring dina, ra, pwa, ika. wastaningsun anunulis, rasa jamathacĕk ika, mangkana ta wastaningong, kang aŕurat iki iya, duke anurat ikya, ring saših jumadilawal iku, tang, ping, 10, dina ika. ring umah a'ik ĕnggen sun anulis, maarĕp wetthan mangke ika, ring sor ring ņuh jarja rĕko, ing kulone ņuh ika, jruti lan sumaga ika, lawan sakanĕ 'ukĕpat mangkeku, uma samereŕcanya.*

In colophons from the Sasaks in Lombok a variety of calendars is used, often a combination of elements from two or even three different calendars; the Śaka calendar, the Muslim calendar and the modern (Gregorian) calendar. The Muslim calendar is especially visible in the names of the months which are in Javanese or Arabic: 1. Sura, Muharam; 2. Sapar; 3. Rabingulawal, Maulud, Mulud; 4. Rabin-gulakir, Bakda Mulud; 5. Jumadilawal; 6. Jumadilakir; 7. Rejeb, Rajab; 8. Saban, Sa'ban, Ruwah, Arwah; 9. Pasa, Puwasa, Siyam, Ramlan, Ramelan, Ramadan; 10. Sawal; 11. Sela, Dulkangidah, Apit; 12. Besar, Dulkahijjah. The colophons often mention the name of the year in the *windu* but not the name of the *windu* itself. The individual names of the 8 *windus* are derived from the names of the letters of the Arabic alphabet: 1. *Alip*, 2. *Ēhe*, 3. *Jimawal*, 4. *Je*, 5. *Dal*, 6. *Be*, 7. *Wawu*, 8. *Jimakir*. The first instance in Fig. 16 is of a manuscript that mentions the date, the month and the windu year but not the year itself. The Javanese colophon reads 'The writing was finished on the day Sukra (= Friday) Paing in the week Matal, the month Muharram on the fifth in the year Dal'.<sup>88</sup> The second example in Fig. 17 shows a colophon that mentions the day of the week and the month as well as the windu year but omits the date. Its Javanese colophon reads 'The writing was finished on Wrēhaspati (Thursday) Wage, week Dukut, in the month Sapar on the twenty fourth in the year Jimahir. I live in ...'.<sup>89</sup>

---

*ing kulone umah sun iki, umahe ta guruningwāng, malih ing kulone umah guruningong, umahe dukuh manira, wastane dukuh ika, rasajasa sajata kulon iku, mangkana ta wastaneka.*

*lan malih kang anulis iki, kalintang dorakanira, ing sajroning dunya iki mangko, tinilaring rabinya pjah, kalangkung nistanya ika, anurat dhening tangan sangkeku, kaki sabdha kang amēgēng ika. sun uninga sira sami, kang amaca miwah babasan, miwah kang amyarsa rēko, aja sami duka cipta, maring wang kang anurat, dening tangan sun san dheleku, kaki sabdha kang amegang.*

*wastane rontal tinulis, pracinan wastane ika, mangke sun caritana mangko, maring sira samadaya, ajana samya duka cipta, maring kang anurat mangkeku, andha gung sinampura.*

*ingsun amimityamuji, anbut namaning hyang suksma, kang murah ing dunya rēko, tēmbē ngaših ing aherat, kang pinuji tan pgat, kang rumakšeng alam iku, kang sinbut ing kalaran.*

*pan sastraning sun puniki, kadi cinakaring paksiya, dadi paguywan ta ngong, sastra sandhi araneka, yan sisip ampuraa, yan bēnēr si'nateku, sajro tyas kang amaca (Javanese).*

**88** Brandes 1903, 103 [no. 556]; Pigeaud 1968, 125. The colophon reads: *putus anrat ring dina, sukra paing, wara matal, sasih muharam, tanggal lima, tawun dal* (Javanese).

**89** Brandes 1903, 104 [no. 558]; Pigeaud 1968, 141–142. The colophon reads: *putus anulis, dina raspati wage, wara dukut, sasih sapar, tanggal pat likur, tawun jamakir, magriya* (Javanese).

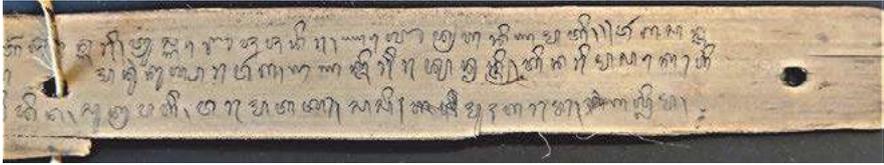
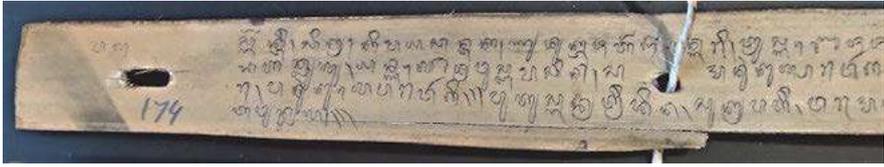


Fig. 16: *Labu Darma*. UBL Cod.Or. 3665.



Fig. 17: *Labu Darma*. UBL Cod.Or. 3808.

The following Javanese colophon is added to a manuscript of the *Puspakrama*. It combines the terminology of the Muslim and the Hindu calendars. It includes the Indonesian/Malay name *Saptu* for the day, the Arabic name *Jumadilawal* for the month while the year is indicated as *Śaka* but is actually the Muslim year.

Time of writing, Saturday, 13 Jumadilawal, in the year 1363 / 6 May 1944 CE. The text was written by Grandfather Nutri in the village of Obel-obel. The occasion for writing this manuscript was a *selamatan* (communal ritual meal) for his water buffalo(s). As a note: the (original) manuscript was written by Ama' Kertaji from the village of Obel-obel, the Kyai of Obel-obel.<sup>90</sup>

A Javanese colophon that only uses the Gregorian calendar is the following from a manuscript of the Javanese *Menak Amir Hamzah* tale *Asérah*. It states the name of the owner of the original and the copyist and the places where they live.

<sup>90</sup> 'Duk puput sinurat / jlo saptu / tanggal 13 / jumadilawal / I saka / 1363 / surat puniki ta gaduh isi' pupu' nutria / lé' désa / Obel-Obel / guna atulisiné / jari semangetan ko'ña. Tanda pringetan sija'ripiya' surat / orot Ama' Kertaji / lé' désa Obel-Obel / kyayi Obel-Obel.' (Javanese and Sasak). UBL Cod.Or. 22.474. (van der Meij 2002, 162; van der Meij 2017, 396).

This *lontar* manuscript was copied from a *lontar* owned by Ama, from Hasan Montong, in the village Ranggagata, District Praya. It was copied by Bapa Sueb from the hamlet Mantung, village Praya. The writing was finished on 13 June 1930.<sup>91</sup>

Another colophon with hybrid dating information was added in Javanese to the Sasak text *Ta Mēlak Mangan* (The Boy who loved to Eat). It mentions the combination of the days in the 5 and 7-day weeks, the name and date in the Muslim calendar as well as the complete date in the Gregorian calendar. Again the names of the owner and the copyist are stated and the places where they live.

This *lontar* manuscript was copied from the one owned by Ama' Jumilan from the hamlet of Tēpas in the village of Praya. The writing was finished on the day Monday Kliwon, the twenty-first of Rajab in the Hijrah year 1348 or 23 December 1929. It was written by Bapak Su'eb in the hamlet of Sundil in the village of Praya. (Collection Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, Bali VB. 430).<sup>92</sup>

Finally, a colophon written in Sasak and Malay added to a Sasak manuscript of the *Indarjaya*. It expresses the hope that the manuscript will indeed be of use. It also contains the excuses of the writer as usual. The date is in the Islamic calendar.

I, who write this, (tell) all who read this, stop telling me I am wrong. I am indeed a very stupid person, and I implore you not to become angry, because I was very desirous when I wrote this, I love to make manuscripts of poems, but my letters and language are not what they should be. I would be happy if many can quote this text and use it to teach their children. Finished on 7 Rajab, 1338 / 1920 CE.<sup>93</sup>

---

**91** *Takēpan puniki kadedun saking lontar duwen Ama, saking Hasan Montong, desa Ranggagata, Distrik Praya. Katēdun oleh Bapa Sueb saking Gubug Mantung, desa Praya. Puput sinurat duk ring tanggal 13 Juni tahun 1930* (Javanese). Gedong Kirtya K. 470 (Marrison 1999, 17–18).

**92** *Takēpan puniki katurun saking dwen Ama' Juminan, saking Dasan Tēpas, Desa Praya. Puput kasurat, duk ring dina Snen, Kliwon, tanggal 21, bulan Rējēb, Ijrat, 1348. Tanggal 23 Desembēr, tawun, 1929. Kasurat ulih Bapa' Su'eb, ring dasan Sundil, desa Praya* (Javanese). (Argawa 2007, 88; van der Meij 2017, 397).

**93** *Jari saya sinyenyurat, lèq selapuq si maca tulis, jerah sida gèn nyalakang, an saya tu bodo pasti, ku tunas daqda sili, pan saya tu kenapsun, demen pinaq guritan, laguq sastera kurang lebih, bègaq-bègaq jari pangajahan kanak. Duh puput, ring dina sabtu, tanggal 7 Rajap, taun 1338.* (Sasak and Malay). Collection Gedong Kirtya K. 10,074 (Marrison 1999, 61–63).

## 6 Conclusion

Colophons added to manuscripts from Bali or the Balinese community in Lombok are invariably found at the end of the texts and I have come across none that start the text. Among the Sasaks in Lombok, colophons are often found at the beginning of the text after a prayer to Allah and the Prophet Muhammad. Sometimes additional dating has been added at the end of the text. Both for the Balinese and the Sasak, colophons are written in hybrid languages that are often difficult to translate due to the absence of adequate dictionaries or other lexicographic tools. The languages of both colophon traditions do not adhere to syntactic rules that can easily be formulated. Some order appears to be present but remains unclear if definitive conclusions can be made about the make-up of the colophons and how they are put together in view of dating and other information they contain and with regard to their temporal, local or socio-cultural backgrounds. In places where cultures meet, the manuscript productions of both influenced one another evidenced by the colophons in the use of mixed vocabularies and the addition of information not found in the colophons from such places in which cultural interaction did not take place.

### Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Michael Friedrich of the CSMC in Hamburg for his comments on an earlier version and Peter Worsley of Sydney University, Australia for his comments and his suggestions to improve my English. I also thank I Nyoman Argawa from Denpasar in Bali for his help with the translation of Sasak and Balinese.

All the photographs were made by myself with great thanks to the Special Collections department of Leiden University Libraries for giving the permission to take the photographs and allowing them to be used in this paper.

## References

- Agastia, I. B. G. (1994), *Ida Padanda Made Sidemen. Pengarang Besar Bali Abad ke-20*, Denpasar: Yayasan Dharma Sastra.
- Argawa, I Nyoman (2007), *Fungsi dan Makna Mitos Dewi Anjani dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Sasak*. Thesis, Program Pascasarjana Udayana University, Denpasar.
- Behrend, T. E. (1998), *Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* (Katalogus Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara, 4), Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia and École française d'Extrême Orient.

- Brandes, J. (1901–1926), *Beschrijving der Javaansche en Sasaksche Handschriften aangetroffen in de nalatenschap van Dr. H.N. van der Tuuk, en door hem vermaakt aan de Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek* [Uitgeven ingevolge gouvernementsbesluit van 26 mei 1899, No. 19], 4 vols, Leiden: Brill.
- Creese, Helen (1996), 'Pieces in the Puzzle: The Dating of Several Kakawin from Bali and Lombok', *Archipel*, 52: 143–171.
- Damais, L. C. (1958), 'Études d'épigraphie indonésienne, V: Dates de manuscrits et documents divers de Java, Bali et Lombok', *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, 49: 1–257.
- Fox, Richard (2018), *More Than Words. Transforming Script, Agency, and Collective Live in Bali*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Gonda, J. (1932), *Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa. Proza-tekst en Kakawin* (Bibliotheca Javanica, 5), Bandung: Nix.
- Harnish, David D. (2021), *Change and Identity in the Music Cultures of Lombok, Indonesia* (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, 314), Leiden: Brill.
- Juynboll, H. H. (1911), *Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universteits-Bibliotheek*, vol. 2: *Nieuwjavaansche gedichten en Oud-, Middel-, en Nieuw-Javaansche Prozagéschriften*, Leiden: Brill.
- Juynboll, H. H. (1912), *Supplement op den Catalogus van de Sundaneesche Handschriften en Catalogus van de Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Leiden: Brill.
- Kern, R. A. (1939), *I La Galigo. Catalogus der Boegineesche, tot den I La Galigo-cyclus Behoorende Handschriften bewaard in het Legatum Warnerianum te Leiden alsmede in andere Europeesche bibliotheken*, Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum.
- Marrison, Geoffrey E. (1999), *Catalogue of Javanese and Sasak Texts*, Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th. (1960), *Java in the Fourteenth Century. A Study in Cultural History. The Nāgara-Kērtāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 AD*, vol. 1: *Javanese texts in transcription*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th. (1967), *Literature of Java: Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Public Collections in the Netherlands by Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud*, vol. 1: *Synopsis of Javanese Literature 900–1900 AD* (Codices Manuscripti, 9), Leiden: In Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduni Batavorum.
- Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th. (1968), *Literature of Java. Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Public Collections in the Netherlands by Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud*, vol. 2: *Descriptive Lists of Javanese Manuscripts* (Codices Manuscripti, 10), Leiden: In Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduni Batavorum.
- Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th. (1970), *Literature of Java. Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Public Collections in the Netherlands by Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud*, vol. 3: *Illustrations and Facsimiles of Manuscripts, Maps, Addenda and a General Index of Names and Subjects* (Codices Manuscripti, 11), Leiden: In Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduni Batavorum.
- Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th. (1980), *Literature of Java. Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Public Collections in the Netherlands by Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud*, vol. 4: *Supplement* (Codices Manuscripti, 20), Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Proudfoot, Ian (2006), *Old Muslim Calendars of Southeast Asia* (Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section Three, 17), Leiden: Brill.

- Pudjiastuti, Titik and Thoralf Hanstein (2016), *Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts. Collection Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Jakarta: Museum Nasional Republik Indonesia.
- Robson, S. O. (1971), *Wanḅaḅ Wideya* (Bibliotheca Indonesica, 6) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Rubinstein, Raechelle (1996), 'Colophons as a Tool for Mapping the Literary History of Bali: Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen – Poet, Author and Scribe', *Archipel*, 52: 173–191.
- Rubinstein, Raechelle (2000), *Beyond the Realm of the Senses: The Balinese ritual of kakawin composition*, Leiden: KITLV Press.
- van der Meij, Dick (2017), *Indonesian Manuscripts from the Islands of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok* (Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section Three, 24), Leiden: Brill.
- van der Meij, Dick (2019), 'Gods, Birds, and Trees. Variation in illustrated Javanese *pawukon* Manuscripts', *Wacana*, 20/1: 135–174.
- van der Meij, Dick (2022), 'Islamic Palm-Leaf Manuscripts from Lombok', *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts*, 13: 265–290.
- van der Meij, Th. C. (2002), *Puspakrema. A Javanese Romance from Lombok*, Leiden: Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies, Universiteit Leiden.
- Witkam, Jan Just (2007a), *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 6: *Manuscripts 5001–6000. Registered in Leiden University Library in the period between May 1905 and May 1917*, Leiden: Ter Lugt Press.
- Witkam, Jan Just (2007b), *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden*, vol. 24: *Manuscripts 23.001–24.000. Acquisitions of Leiden University Library in the period between August 1992 and November 1997*, Leiden: Ter Lugt Press.
- Worsley, Peter, S. Supomo, Thomas Hunter and Margaret Fletcher (2013), *Mpu Monaguna's Sumanasāntaka* (Bibliotheca Indonesica, 36), Leiden: Brill.



**Table 2:** The names of the *wukus*.

No.	Name of the <i>wuku</i>	No.	Name of the <i>wuku</i>
1	<i>Sinta</i>	16	<i>Pahang</i>
2	<i>Landep</i>	17	<i>Kuruwelut, Krulut</i>
3	<i>Wukir, Ukir</i>	18	<i>Marakeh, Merakih</i>
4	<i>Kurantil, Kulantir</i>	18	<i>Tambir</i>
5	<i>Tolu</i>	20	<i>Medhangkungan, Dedangkungan</i>
6	<i>Gumbreg</i>	21	<i>Maktal, Matal</i>
7	<i>Wariga(-alit), Wariga</i>	22	<i>Wuye, Uye</i>
8	<i>Wariga-agung, Warigadean</i>	23	<i>Manahil, Menail</i>
9	<i>Julungwangi</i>	24	<i>Prangbakat</i>
10	<i>Sungsang</i>	25	<i>Bala</i>
11	<i>Galungan, Dungulan</i>	26	<i>Wugu, Ugu</i>
12	<i>Kuningan</i>	27	<i>Wayang</i>
13	<i>Langkir</i>	28	<i>Kulawu, Kelawu</i>
14	<i>Mandhasiya, Mondhasiya, Medangsya</i>	29	<i>Dhukut, Dukut</i>
15	<i>Julung Pujut</i>	30	<i>Watugunung</i>

**Table 3:** The names of the months.

Month	Name in Javanese	Name in Balinese	Name in Sanskrit
1	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Caitra</i>
2	<i>Karo, Karwa</i>	<i>Karo</i>	<i>Waiśākha</i>
3	<i>Katĕlu, Katiga</i>	<i>Katiga</i>	<i>Jyeṣṭha</i>
4	<i>Kapaṭ, Kacatur</i>	<i>Kapat</i>	<i>Āṣāḍha</i>
5	<i>Kalima</i>	<i>Kalima</i>	<i>Śrāwaṇa</i>
6	<i>Kanĕm</i>	<i>Kanĕm</i>	<i>Bhadrawāda</i>
7	<i>Kapitu</i>	<i>Kapitu</i>	<i>Asuji</i>
8	<i>Kawolu</i>	<i>Kaulu</i>	<i>Kārttika</i>
9	<i>Kasanga</i>	<i>Kasanga</i>	<i>Mārgaśira</i>
10	<i>Kadasa, Kasĕpuluh</i>	<i>Kasadasa, Kadasa</i>	<i>Poṣya</i>
11	<i>Dhesta</i>	<i>Jestha/Destha, Hapit Lĕmah</i>	<i>Māgha</i>
12	<i>Sadha</i>	<i>Sada, Hapit Kayu</i>	<i>Phālgua</i>



## **Part III: Central Asia**



Dorji Wangchuk

# The Syntax of Tibetan Colophons: An Overview

**Abstract:** The value of Tibetan colophons – found in manuscript, xylographic, and other forms of editions of texts pertaining to allochthonous (i.e., translated and mainly Indo-Tibetan) and autochthonous literature, different periods, genres, fields of knowledge, and subject matter – as valuable sources of information has long been recognized in the past. A comprehensive and representative study of the topic from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, however, appears to remain a desideratum. This contribution merely attempts to provide an overview of the syntax of Tibetan colophons. It focusses on defining the term ‘colophon’, and discussing various types of colophon (i.e., author/authorship colophon, translator’s/translation colophon, editor’s/edition colophon, printing colophon, scribe’s/copyist’s/calligrapher’s colophon, treasure/revelation colophon, and miscellaneous (sub)types of colophon), structure of colophon, and various kinds of information found in the Tibetan colophons.

## 1 Prologue

In the past, Tibetologists have not only used Tibetan colophons as valuable sources of information but have also systematically gathered colophonetic data, pursued case studies, and written on Tibetan colophons – found in written/manuscript and print/xylograph culture, and in translated and autochthonous literature –, a phenomenon in its own right.<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive and systematic

---

<sup>1</sup> A survey of works containing Tibetan colophonetic data is beyond the scope of this contribution. In general, however, most catalogues of collections of Tibetan works almost invariably include colophonetic data. A few publications treating Tibetan colophons (in alphabetical order) are: Almogi 2005; Almogi 2008; Bacot 1954; Bischoff 1968; Bischoff 1974; Cabezón 2001; Clemente 2007; Diemberger, Ehrhard and Kornicki 2016; Eimer and Germano 2002; Herrmann-Pfandt 2002; Jackson 1983; Jackson 1989; de Jong 1972; Martin 2021; Meinert 2007; Samten 1992; Skilling 1994; Sobisch 2007; Sobisch 2008; Taube 1966. José Ignacio Cabezón, in particular, has attempted ‘to examine the colophon of Tibetan texts as a literary artifact, and as a source of historical information about the composition, production and dissemination of texts’, see Cabezón 2001. This study also provides several examples (pp. 239–347) and a ‘tentative structural stylistic analysis of the colophon’ (pp. 252–254).

study of the topic from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, however, still seems to remain a desideratum. Although it is not possible to do full justice to the topic within the scope of this contribution, what follows will be an attempt at providing an overview of Tibetan colophons at a putative meta-level, by taking up four issues, namely, (1) definition of the term ‘colophon’ in the Tibetan context, (2) classification of Tibetan colophons, (3) organization (or structure) of Tibetan colophons, and (4) information contained in Tibetan colophons. This paper neither focuses on a case study of a certain Tibetan colophon, a type of colophon, or a certain aspect of it, nor is it based on a statistical analysis of a large spectrum and quantity of colophonic data. Owing to its limited scope, it is not possible to provide ample examples of the cases mentioned.

## 2 Definition of the term ‘colophon’ in the Tibetan context

To begin with, a working definition of the term ‘colophon’ in terms of the Tibetan textual tradition is most pertinent here. Tibetan sources provide no such ready-made definition, and certainly not one applicable to all types of Tibetan colophons. Nonetheless, a definition of the term ‘colophon’ can be deduced from the manner in which several Tibetan scholars have understood or employed two Tibetan terms: *mjug byang* and *mdzad byang*. In a study published in 2013, titled *Bod yig gna’ dpe’i nam bshad* (‘Explication of Tibetan-Language Old Books’) Tibetan scholar Padma bkra shis, establishes the Tibetan term *mdzad byang* has been used and defined as an umbrella term for various kinds or rather layers of Tibetan colophons.<sup>2</sup> *Ad sensum*, the term *mjug byang* seems to mean a kind of ‘epilogue’, lexically explained as the ‘concluding narrative of a text’ (*yi ge’i mjug sdud kyi gtam*),<sup>3</sup> and indeed also as ‘colophon’, inasmuch as it is used as a

2 Padma bkra shis, *gNa’ dpe’i nam bshad* (p. 103.3–8): *mdzad byang ni gsung rab de thog mar mdzad pa por skul slong gi sa bon thad kar bskrun gnang mkhan gi bla slob dang mchod yon sbyin bdag | ljags rtsom gnang mkhan | ljags rtsom gyi dus yun | ljags rstom gi lung khungs rgyab rten | ljags rtsom gyi reg zig mkhan te yi ge ba | zhus dag mkhan | dbu zhabs lha sku ’bri mkhan | nyer mkho’i nag shog rgyu spus dang yul dus sogs kha gsal gting gsal zhig bkod pa de la rgya bod kyi gsung rab rig pa smra ba dag gis gsung rab kyi mdzad byang zhes brjod gnang gi ’dug pas ...|.*

3 *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *mjug byang*): ‘concluding narrative of a text’ (*yi ge’i mjug sdud kyi gtam*). In my view, the definition given by the *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* (s.v. *mjug*) is better. It states: ‘*mjug byang*: a term for a brief explanation/clarification written separately at the end after the actual-cum-main body of the text is completed (*[mjug byang] dpe cha’i gzhung dngos rdzogs rjes*

definiens of the definienda 'gyur byang ('translator's/translation colophon') and par byang ('printing colophon').<sup>4</sup> The term *mjug byang* is well attested but the earliest known attestation remains unclear in its precise meaning.

At any rate, in understanding the Tibetan concept of colophon, it is important to scrutinise how Tibetan Buddhists have come to view a scripture or treatise (both as a textual entity and in terms of the medium transmitting it) as having three distinct parts: a beginning, middle, and an end. In so doing, they have adopted and adapted the three attributes of the *saddharma* or *dharmaratna* (i.e., the teaching of the Buddha): 'wholesome in the beginning' (*ādau kalyāṇam: thog mar dge ba*), 'wholesome in the middle' (*madhye kalyāṇam: bar du dge ba*), and 'wholesome in the end' (*parayasāne kalyāṇam: tha mar dge ba*). Typically and stereotypically, these expressions are glossed as 'preludial/prefatory/introductory matter, which is wholesome in the beginning' (*thog mar dge ba klad kyi don*), 'main topical matter, which is wholesome in the middle' (*bar du dge be gzhung gi don*), and 'epilogical/concluding matter, which is wholesome in the end' (*tha mar dge ba mjug gi don*). Colophonic statements thus invariably form a part of the

---

*mjug tu logs su bris pa'i gsal bshad mdor bsdus kyi ming*). These definitions have been adopted by the digital version of the *sMon lam tshig mdzod chen mo*, which adds information and confusion in equating *mjug byang* with *mdzad byang*. It states (s.v. *mjug byang*): 'A brief explanation/clarification [serving as a] postscript of a work, whose composition is completed. When using honorific, [it] is called *mdzad byang*. In a *mjug byang*, names of the author, of the person at whose behest the work was composed, of the scribe at the time of the composition would be clearly written. An example [of its usage]: There is a text/work, whose *mjug byang* is not found' (*dpe cha brtsams tshar rjes kyi gsal bshad mdor bsdus te | zhe sa zhu skabs mdzad byang zer | mjug byang du rtsom pa po dang rtsom skul byed mkhan | dpe cha rtsom skabs kyi yi ge 'bri mkhan bcas kyi ming gsal po bris yod | dper na | mjug byang mi gsal ba'i dpe cha zhig 'dug lta bu* ). Notably, the word *mjug byang* is not recorded in Jäschke 1881.

<sup>4</sup> *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. 'gyur byang): *lo tsā'i mjug byang*; *ibid.* (s.v. *par byang*): *par gyi mjug byang*. *Ad verbum*, however, the term *mjug byang* seems to be strikingly similar to the use of the term *explicit* in the European culture of bookmaking. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (s.v. *Explicit*): 'Explicit, in bookmaking, a device added to the end of some manuscripts and incunabula by the author or scribe and providing such information as the title of the work and the name or initials of its author or scribe. Explicit were soon incorporated into or completely replaced by the colophon, which included information about the printer, printing materials, and typeface, and, often, the printer's emblem. In medieval Latin works the word explicit meant "here ends ...." Originally, it may have been an abbreviation for *explicitus est liber* ("the book is unrolled"), but by analogy with *incipit* ("here begins ...") it was taken as a present-tense, third-person singular verb form' (<<https://www.britannica.com/topic/explicit>>, accessed on 10 October 2018).

latter.<sup>5</sup> Notably, however, this third and last part, which is also called *mjug byang* ('epilogical/concluding statement'), is not always coextensive with colophons.

Following the Tibetan usage of the terms *mjug byang*, *mdzad byang*, and the like, 'colophon' may be defined broadly as 'a piece of writing found as a rule at the end of a work (at times also at the end of its chapters, or less frequently in the frontispiece or on the front page, providing information on one or more facts related to its identity, production, and transmission, including the work's title, names of persons involved – such as author or compiler, translator, scribe, initiator (*bskul ba po*), donor (e.g., of ink, paper, and other material), or artists (in case of texts containing images) – and the duration, date, place, (re)sources, and motives of composition or production'.<sup>6</sup> It may be noted at this juncture that while we shall have to see genre by genre, case by case, whether or not a colophon forms an integral part of the text or whether or not it is by the author or someone else, it is the nature and structure (or perhaps syntax) of the statement and not its location that determines whether or not it should be called a 'colophon'.

### 3 Classification of Tibetan colophons

Let us now turn to the classification of the various types or layers of Tibetan colophons. One may choose to classify Tibetan colophons on the basis of various criteria (*dbye sgo*), such as language and culture (e.g. Indic, Sinitic, or Tibetic), type of textual medium (i.e. manuscript, xylographs, inscriptions, etc.), literary genre, fields of knowledge, subject matter, periods (e.g. ancient, modern, etc.), and so forth. I, however, forego such classifications here. Instead, I wish to discuss each of the types by discussing the pertinent Tibetan term(s) for it. To the extent possible and whenever applicable, the various types of Tibetan colophons may be classified according to the sequence they occur in the text or according to the assumed relative chronology.

---

<sup>5</sup> See, Kong sprul's *Shes bya kun khyab* (pp. 1021.1–1025.6), where the colophon is indeed contained in the 'epilogical/concluding matter, which is wholesome in the end' (*tha mar dge ba mjug gi don*).

<sup>6</sup> The definition of 'colophon' proposed here may be compared with the following dictionary entry (Merriam-Webster, *s.v.* *colophon*): 'an inscription at the end of a book or manuscript usually with facts about its production' and 'an identifying mark used by a printer or a publisher' (<<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/colophon>>, accessed on 17 May 2022).

### 3.1 Author's/authorship colophon

The first and foremost type of colophon is the ‘author’s/authorship colophon’ (*mdzad/sbyar/rtsom byang*). The need to distinguish between ‘author’s colophon’ and ‘authorship colophon’ has been pointed out by Orna Almogi.<sup>7</sup> The former would be a colophonic statement composed by the actual author(s) of the pertinent work and the latter a statement about the authorship made by someone else, such as the translator, compiler, editor, scribe, copyist, or printer, obviously in cases where the former was absent. The Tibetan term for author’s/authorship colophon is *mdzad byang*. There seem to be, however, three different referents of the term. First, as observed earlier, the term *mdzad byang* has been employed in a wider sense and as an umbrella or generic term by Padma bkra shis to refer to Tibetan colophons in general. Such use of the term seems problematic, especially because it seems to disregard the term *mdzad*, clearly to be understood here as either ‘composer’ or ‘composition’. Second, in a stricter and more accurate sense, the term *mdzad byang* is commonly employed to refer to the ‘author’s/authorship colophon’.<sup>8</sup> Usually the context would indicate whether *mdzad byang* refers to an ‘author’s’ or an ‘authorship’ colophon. In the case of translated works and early indigenous Tibetan works, however, it is often difficult to tell with certainty whether the *mdzad byang* is an author’s or authorship colophon. Third, there exists yet another use of the term *mdzad byang*, the referent of which is not clear to me. For example, the Dunhuang document Pelliot tibétain 999 mentions the expression ‘*mdzad byang* of/in(?) the palace’ (*pho brang gi mdzad byang*),<sup>9</sup> where

<sup>7</sup> See Almogi 2020, 101, where it has also been proposed one should make a similar distinction between ‘translator/s colophon’ and ‘translation colophon’.

<sup>8</sup> Rong zom pa, *Rab gnas rtsa ba* (p. 161.23–24): *sngon gyi mkhan po nmams kyis mdzad pa’i mdzad byang na bzhugs kyang rung* |; Kun dpal, *sPyod ’jug ’grel pa* (p. 807.9): *gang gis brtsam pa’i mdzad byang*. Note that mKhan po Kun dpal in his *Nges sgron ’grel pa* (p. 256.8) employs the term *zhal byang* for the author’s colophon although usually *zhal byang* refers to the title of a work (i.e., in the sense of *mtshan/kha byang* of a text). See the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *zhal byang*): *dpe cha’i kha byang*. The term *mdzad byang* has found its entry in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v.), which is explained as: ‘[Information] about the identity of the composer, the dates of composition, and the like located at the end of any treatise’ (*bstan bcos gang zhig yin rung de’i mjug tu rtsom pa po su yin dang* | *dus ji tsam la brtams pa yin sogs bkod pa*). It is followed by the following example: ‘Because this text/manuscript has no author’s colophon, one would not know the composer’ (*dpe cha ’dir mdzad byang med pas rtsom pa po su yin mi shes*). Compare, however, the explanation of the word *mdzad byang* found in the *Dag yig gzar bsgrigs* (s.v. *mdzad*): *dpe cha brtsams pa’i rgyu mtshan sogs kyi gsal bshad kyi yi ge’i ming*).

<sup>9</sup> Pelliot tibétain 999 (Old Tibetan Documents Online [OTDO], <<https://otdo.aa-ken.jp>>, accessed on 10 February 2022): *pho brang gi mdzad byang dang ’phrin byang*.

the referent of the term *mdzad byang* seems unclear. Perhaps it means something like ‘imperial catalogue or registrar [of works composed/translated]’. In addition to the term *mdzad byang*, one also finds, though apparently rarer and in rather more recent sources, two more terms for author’s/authorship colophon, namely, *sbyar byang*<sup>10</sup> and *rtsom byang*.<sup>11</sup>

Notably, the Tibetan term *mdzad byang* has not been used in the earliest catalogues of mainly (but not exclusively) translated Buddhist scripture and treatises such as the *’Phang thang ma*, although terms such as ‘list of titles’ (*mtshan byang*), ‘translation colophon’ (*’gyur byang*) or simply ‘inscription of records’ (*byang bu*), and ‘catalogue’ or ‘register’ (*dkar chag*) have been used quite frequently. Two related explanations why the term *mdzad byang* has not been in use at this point in time and in such contexts come to mind here. Firstly, during the eighth and ninth centuries, the main concern was to compile catalogues (*dkar chag*) of mainly translated works and to a lesser degree of autochthonous Tibetan works; catalogues which were nothing but an inventory of titles (*mtshan byang*) and translator/translation colophons (*’gyur byang*). Secondly, it appears that, as a rule, these translator/translation colophons recorded in the early catalogues contained not only the titles of the texts but when applicable the names of the authors as well, and thus, no distinction between different types of colophons was deemed necessary.

### 3.2 Translator’s/translation colophon

The second type of colophon, the translator’s/translation colophon, is conveyed by the Tibetan term *’gyur byang*.<sup>12</sup> We also find its variant *bsgyur byang*. This type of colophon certainly pertains solely to non-Tibetan (i.e. mainly but not exclusively Indic) works in Tibetan translation. Here, too, it is important to point out that not all translation colophons could have been composed by the translators themselves, and it is necessary, as is the case regarding author’s/authorship

<sup>10</sup> The term *sbyar byang* can be found, for example, in Khams sprul’s *dByangs can rol mtsho* (p. 18.10); First rDo grub, *Yon tan mdzod ’grel* (pp. 137.17; 636.19–637.1). It has also been recorded in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v.) as a lexeme, which is explained as ‘composer’s name placed at the end of a treatise’ (*bstan bcos kyi mjug tu bkod pa’i rtsom pa po’i ming*).

<sup>11</sup> dPa’ bo gTsug lag ’phreng ba, *mKhas pa’i dga’ ston* (vol. 2, p. 1297.13–16); *sngags rnying ma la skur pa btab pa’i rtsom byang rje’i drung gi mtshan la g.yar ba zhig gzhan zhig gis byas pa byung ste rnying ma pa mtha’ dag ma mos pa nas de’i lan dang rtsom tshul la dogs pa dpyad pa drang po’i sa bon zhes bya ba mdzad* ||.

<sup>12</sup> *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *’gyur byang*).

colophons, to differentiate between translator's and translation colophons. The term 'gyur byang occurs at least thrice in the 'Phang thang ma, but my impression is that it was employed not only in the sense of 'translator's/translation colophon', as was largely to be understood later, but also in the sense of a 'list of [works in Tibetan] translation', without establishing much difference between the two.<sup>13</sup> This seems to have also been the case with the term *mtshan byang*, which meant both 'title' and 'title list'.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3 Editor's/edition colophon

The third type of colophon is the 'editor's/edition colophon' (*zhus byang*). Interestingly, the specification of this type of colophon appears but a recent development meaning the Tibetan term *zhus byang* is clearly a neologism, coined, for example, by the editors of the *bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma* (2006–2009).<sup>15</sup> Although the term *zhus byang* seems to have been coined recently, the theory and practice of 'edition/editing' (*zhu/s dag*), initially and primarily associated with the Tibetan theory and practice of translation, seems to be quite old. Nor brang o rgyan, for example, reports the translation of scriptures and treatises having undergone four phases/types of edition/editing (*zhu dag*),<sup>16</sup> i.e., 'fresh/raw edition' (*smar zhush*), 'reedition' (*yang zhush*), 'revisory edition' (*bskyar zhush*), and 'established/ finalized edition' (*gtan la phab pa'i zhu dag*), or, the 'great edition' (*zhu chen*) as Dung dkar Blo bzang phrin las (1927–1997) dubs it. Dung dkar prescribes these editorial practices for preparing xylographic editions of Tibetan texts.<sup>17</sup> According to the four kinds/phases of edition/editing, he also speaks of

<sup>13</sup> 'Phang thang ma (p. 50.13): 'gyur byang gzhan las smos pa'i gsung rab kyi mtshan la; *ibid.* (p. 65.2): *sngags nang pa'i 'gyur byang gzhan na bzhugs*; mKhan po Kun dpal, *sPyod 'jug tshig 'grel* (p. 807.10): *lo tsā ba'i 'gyur byang*. In U rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka' thang* (pp. 524.1–532.18), where 'gyur byang is used repeatedly, the term refers to the enumerations of scriptures and treatises in Tibetan translation. The term 'gyur byang, which occurs in the 'Phang thang ma, and which should actually mean 'list of [works in Tibetan] translation', has been rendered in Halkias 2004, 71 and 82 wrongly as '(translation) colophon'.

<sup>14</sup> 'Phang thang ma (p. 3.9–11): ...*sngar dha rma bsgyur zhing zhu chen bgyis pa'i mtshan byang rmying zhig mchis pas gzhi bzung ste | sgo sgo na mtshan byang mchis pa yang gtugs |*.

<sup>15</sup> lDong Chu shel, *bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur dkar chag* (B, vol. 108, p. 140.10).

<sup>16</sup> For an explanation of the four phases of editing, or, four types of edition, see the *Nor brang gsung rtsom* (p. 474.2–17).

<sup>17</sup> *Dung dkar gsung rtsom* (p. 408.13). Terminologically, one can hardly differentiate *yang zhush* from *bskyar zhush* and the attempt to differentiate between the two appears to be rather forced.

the four subtypes of editors (*zhus dag pa*), namely, ‘fresh/raw editor’ (*smar zhush pa*), ‘revisory editor’ (*bskyar zhush pa*), ‘re-editor’ (*yang zhush pa*), and ‘great editor’ (*zhush chen pa*) in this sequence.<sup>18</sup>

Tibetan tradition, to my knowledge, is unaware of a separate editor’s/edition colophon corresponding to the four types of editor/edition, but, if any such thing exists, it is one general editor’s/edition colophon. In spite of this, it appears beneficial to differentiate conceptually, regarding the, ‘author’s and authorship colophons’, between (a) an ‘editor’s colophon’, i.e., an editorial statement by the editor himself, and an ‘edition colophon’, i.e., a statement about the editing composed by someone else. Similarly in terms of the Tibetan tradition, it seems necessary to differentiate between (b) an editor’s/edition colophon pertinent to *translation* and an editor’s/edition colophon pertinent to the subsequent *transmission* of non-Tibetan, mainly Indic, texts in Tibetan translation and of autochthonous works composed in Tibetan. Furthermore, the Tibetan term *zhu/s dag* appears to be used in the sense of both what may be dubbed ‘critical editing’ carried out by a learned scholar and the simple ‘proofreading’ or ‘checking’ of a copied text (*bu dpe*) against its *Vorlage* (*ma dpe*) carried out by a scribe or copyist. The kind of edition (*zhush dag*) whose necessity Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846–1912) vehemently defends,<sup>19</sup> namely, the edition of the Tantric scriptures transmitted in the *rNying ma rgyud ’bum* and works of Klong chen pa Dri med ’od zer (1308–1364), which seeks to eliminate the textual errors (*yig skyon*) comprising of omissions, interpolations, and corruptions/aberrations (*chad lhag dang yig skyon* ≈ *chad lhag nor gsum*) based on all extant textual witnesses and the editor’s prudence, can be considered an example of ‘critical edition’. When dealing with a collection, whether in a manuscript or xylographic form, a colophonic statement on the critical edition may be found towards the end of the collection. One is also likely to find detailed information on such an edition in the catalogue of the collection.<sup>20</sup> Remarks such as ‘edited/proofread/checked once’ (*gcig zhush*) and ‘edited/proofread/checked twice’ (*lan gnyis zhush*) found usually at the end of a manuscript may be regarded as an ‘editor’s/edition colophon’ indicating a ‘proof-reader’s colophon’, most likely penned by a copyist or a scribe. A possible

---

Also note that for Nor brang, *yang zhush* it is the second phase of edition, whereas for Dung dkar, it is the third.

<sup>18</sup> *Dung dkar gsung rtsom* (pp. 416.14–417.10).

<sup>19</sup> Mi pham, *dKar chag rin chen me long* (pp. 27.20–29.17).

<sup>20</sup> Mi pham’s *dKar chag me tog phreng ba*, a catalogue of the writings of Rong zom pa Chos kyi bzang po (Almogi 1997) and *dKar chag rin chen me long*, a catalogue of the writings of Klong chen pa, are good examples of catalogues that provide interesting details about the critical edition of a collection.

explanation as to why an ‘editor’s/edition colophon’ did not emerge as a distinct type of colophon, in spite of its presence as a phenomenon, is due to it not being considered separate from that which could be referred to in general as a ‘production colophon’, commonly appended to large collections – whether in manuscript or xylographic form – and which was anyway often composed by the editors or scholars in charge. Interestingly, a Tibetan term for a ‘production colophon’, i.e. ‘printing colophon’ exists for a xylographic ‘edition’ (*dpar/spar/par byang*), but no equivalent specific Tibetan term appears to exist for a manuscript edition.

### 3.4 Printing colophon

The fourth type of colophon is the ‘printing colophon’ (*dpar/spar/par byang*). At least three orthographic variations of the term can be found.<sup>21</sup> It may be taken for granted that ‘printing colophon’ initially referred exclusively to ‘xylograph colophon’. Xylograph colophons are often lengthy and very informative, presumably due to the fact that the preparation of a xylograph edition is a very costly and prestigious enterprise.<sup>22</sup> The author himself may compose the ‘xylograph colophon’ while preparing a xylographic edition of his own work.<sup>23</sup> According to Padma bkra shis, ‘printing colophon’ was initially a ‘printing colophon [consisting of] verses of aspiration’ (*dpar byang smon tshig*) and contained names of donors (*rgyu dngos sbyor mkhan*), verses of auspiciousness and aspirational wishes (*bkra shis smon lam*).<sup>24</sup> More recently, however, the term *dpar/spar/par byang* may no longer solely refer to xylograph colophon but to any ‘printing colophon’.

<sup>21</sup> My impression is that *dpar* and *spar* must be verbs and *par* noun. But the verb *dpar* in the sense of ‘to print’ does not seem to be attested, only as perfect and future form of *dpor* meaning ‘to dictate’ (Jäschke 1881, s.v. *dpar*). Strangely, the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *dpar* & *dpar ma*) treats *dpar* = *par* and *dpar ma* = *par ma*. There *dpar* and *par* have not been considered to be verbs. Moreover, *spar ba* is the perfect and future form of *spor ba*, which means to ‘ignite, lit’, ‘to raise or lift’, or ‘to change or transfer’ (archaic).

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed description of the *dpar byang*, see Padma bkra shis, *gNa’ dpe’i nam bshad* (pp. 137.14–183.24).

<sup>23</sup> See Mi pham, *dBu ma rgyan ’grel* (pp. 496.7–499.3).

<sup>24</sup> Padma bkra shis, *gNa’ dpe’i nam bshad* (pp. 137.14–138.6).

### 3.5 Scribe's/copyist's/calligrapher's colophon

The fifth type of colophon is the 'scribe's/copyist's/calligrapher's colophon' (*bris byang*),<sup>25</sup> it is clearly distinct from its homophone *bri byang* mentioned in the *'Phang thang ma*, which means 'manual of drawing or diagrams'.<sup>26</sup> With some justification, however, the terms 'scribe' and 'copyist' may be employed synonymously and interchangeably. Occasionally, however, there seems to be a need to differentiate the two. A close disciple or confidant of an author might offer to function as a 'scribe' (*yig mkhan*; *yi ge pa*),<sup>27</sup> meaning he would put into writing the texts dictated by the author directly or prepare a final version of the text by copying from the autograph. This may have been done in direct consultation with the author. In this sense, a *yig mkhan* or *yi ge pa* is something similar to the author's personal secretary (*drung yig*). But the term *yig mkhan* is not so confined. It refers to any copyist, a *bshu 'bri* (or, *bri shu*) *byed mkhan*, but appears to be a neologism. One may, in theory, speak of a 'scribe's colophon' for the former instance – which would be, if anything, included/integrated into the author's colophon – and a 'copyist's colophon' for the latter. Scribe's/copyist's colophons are clearly less common, one possible reason being that the names of scribes or copyists often occur in one of the other types of colophons. For instance, they are often mentioned in the author's colophon, referring, of course, to the scribe of the autograph, or in the editor's colophon. Their names are often mentioned in colophons of particularly important or famous works.<sup>28</sup> Occasionally, however, they are also mentioned in historical accounts concerning the production of large collections. Unfortunately, scribe's/copyist's colophons, if they exist at all, are for the most part, not taken on when the texts are copied. For the modern scholar of the Tibetan textual tradition, this is quite lamentable. Occasionally, however, two (or more) scribe's colophons have been transmitted. Rong zom pa's collected writings contain an example.<sup>29</sup> Regarding deluxe manuscript editions of sacred

25 The term *bris byang* is well attested. See, lCang skya's *brGyad stong pa'i bris byang* (pp. 538.5–539.1): *ces pa 'di ni dad brtson nam dpyod thos pa phun sum tshogs shing | nyams len la gzhol ba ja sag bla ma bstan 'dzin chos dar gyis bka' brgyad stong pa gser gyis bris pa'i bris byang 'di lta bu zhig dgos zhes bskul ba'i ngor | shakya'i [= shākya'i] dge slong lchang skya rol pa'i rdo rjes sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni dpyod ldan dka' bcu bstan 'dzin rgya mtsos bgyis pa'o ||*.

26 *'Phang thang ma* (p. 63.10–11). According to the context, *bri byang* seems to mean 'chart with sketches' (of a *maṇḍala*).

27 *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *yig mkhan* 1): *yi ge pa'am drung yig |... ming gi mam grangs la drung yig dang | 'bri mkhan | smyig can | smyu gu can | yi ge pa | yi ge'i mkhan po bcas so ||*.

28 See the scribes' colophon in the *sGra sbyor* (p. 205.13–18).

29 Almqvist 1997, 160–161.

scriptures, a calligrapher responsible for copying the text with golden ink on blue paper could commission his own colophon. For example, Ja sag bla ma bsTan 'dzin chos dar, the calligrapher responsible for writing the text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in gold, requested the eighteenth-century dGe lugs scholar lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786) to write a 'calligrapher's colophon' for him'. lCang skya's colophon is interesting for it has its own author's colophon featuring the name of an erudite scholar, dKa' bcu bsTan 'dzin rgya mtsho, mentioned as a scribe (*yi ge pa*). Interestingly, some Tibetan sources refer to names of several scribes and their calligraphic styles from the early period of dissemination of Buddhism in Tibet.<sup>30</sup> More usually, however, the scribe remain anonymous.

### 3.6 Treasure/revelation colophon

For the sake of completeness, one may briefly allude to the concept of the 'treasure colophon' or 'revelation colophon' (*gter byang*), which is peculiar only to those Tibetan texts said to have been revealed or rediscovered by 'treasure revealers' (*gter ston/bton*). The referent of the term *gter byang* is not particularly obvious. It may be supposed that *gter byang* refers to the 'treasure/revelation colophon' containing details on the concealer, destined revealer, time and place of revelation, and so on. Samten Karmay, for example, understands the term in such a way, rendering it as the 'colophon of the "rediscovery"'.<sup>31</sup> The impression, however, remains that *gter byang* is used largely in the sense of 'treasure discovery guide'. This calls out for further investigation.

### 3.7 Miscellaneous (sub)types of Tibetan colophons

In the Tibetan textual tradition, certain types or subtypes of colophons can be observed that appear to have no corresponding Tibetan terms. Five examples are examined here. The first appears to have no separate term for what may be called the 'compiler's/compilation colophon'.<sup>32</sup> The second, 'production colophon' can be found in some manuscript editions of large collections, and occasionally, as in the case of the *Tshal pa bka' 'gyur*, also at the end of each individual section. As seen above, in xylographic editions these production colophons overlap with

<sup>30</sup> Rab rgyas & Rin chen, *Ri mo'i rnam gzhag* (pp. 26.4–27.2).

<sup>31</sup> Karmay 2007, 218.

<sup>32</sup> For an example of compiler's colophon see *Rong zom gsung 'bum* (vol. 2, pp. 638–640).

the printing colophon for which there is a Tibetan term, however in manuscript editions of large collections no specific term can be found. Some modern scholars dub a colophon, that is merely appended to specific sections, as a ‘section colophon’.<sup>33</sup> To my knowledge no separate Tibetan term has been attested either for a production colophon in general or for a section colophon in particular, aside from the term ‘printing colophon’, that excludes similar colophons in manuscript editions, and the rather new term editor’s/edition colophon. The third features colophons of varying kinds occasionally found at the end of each chapter of a work commonly referred to by modern scholars as ‘chapter colophon’. No Tibetan term appears to exist here either. In the fourth, no Tibetan word could be traced referring to an inscription at the end of a text merely stating a ‘text with the title X is herewith completed’, often also mentioning the name of the author. This part has been considered by Jacob Dalton and Sam van Schaik to be an ‘explicit’ because it happens to be the last line in a manuscript,<sup>34</sup> whereby Cathy Cantwell and Rob Mayer dub it a ‘terminating colophon’.<sup>35</sup> Fifth and finally, one encounters what may be termed a ‘donor colophon’ but this too appears to have no specific term in Tibetan.

## 4 Organization of Tibetan colophons

The structures and features of colophons vary, depending on the type of colophon, the work’s importance, literary genre, size and scope, the text’s history, and uniqueness, and not least the idiosyncrasy of the colophon’s author. It is thus extremely difficult if not impossible for one general statement to satisfactorily describe the structure and features of colophons in the Tibetan textual tradition. However, some general remarks may be ventured here. First, colophons of later periods tend to be more complex, detailed, and informative than those from the distant past. The exception being that a colophon of a more recent work of minor size, scope, and importance may be extremely minimalistic,<sup>36</sup> whereas a colophon

---

33 Harrison 1996, 78.

34 Dalton and van Schaik 2006, xxvi, 43, etc.

35 Cantwell and Mayer use the term ‘terminating colophon’ in their ‘Catalogue of the *Rig ’dzin Tshe dbang nor bu rNying ma’i rgyud ’bum*’, which is available on several digital platforms. The same expression has been used, in Bandury 2006, 82. In the latter, however, it seems to be used in contradistinction to ‘chapter colophon’.

36 See, dPal sprul’s *rDo rje’i thol glu* (p. 83.4): *a bu hral pos gang shar smras so ||*; *ibid.* (p. 29.4): *dpal sprul pas so ||*.

of an ancient work may have detailed colophons, particularly if it is important or bears controversial textual history. An example of the latter is the translation colophon of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*.<sup>37</sup> Second, an author's/authorship colophon of translated works tends to be generally much simpler and shorter than an author's colophon of an autochthonous Tibetan work. Exceptions occur here too. The author's/authorship colophon found in the Tibetan translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* is more elaborate than several author's colophons of Tibetan works. Some author's colophons of Tibetan works merely state: '[Composed] by X'. Third, canonical works may have one or more layers within the same type of colophon. For instance, several translation colophons recorded chronologically are to be found in a scripture translated several times. The largest version of the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures is said to have six translation colophons.<sup>38</sup> As mentioned earlier, a work – for instance, a super-commentary – may contain several layers of an author's colophon. Similarly, there may be more than one layer of a scribe's colophon. The simplest form of colophon seems to be the one referred to by Mayer and Cantwell as a 'terminating colophon', that only contains the title of the work and a completion phrase (*rdzogs so*). Fourth, a work may have one or more levels in colophons of various kinds. Cases also exist in which a certain colophon contains its own colophon, that is to say, a colophon of the colophon. Cases are also to be found of double author's colophons in which a subsequent master has updated an earlier work whose subject is the transmission lineage of a certain tradition.<sup>39</sup> An example of double author's colophons has also been found in which two independent works (i.e. two biographies of a single master) have been merged together, including the colophons.<sup>40</sup>

Fifth, one may reasonably assume that at the very beginning of Tibetan textual culture, the structure of colophons had not been standardized, over time, however, it was to become more and more uniform. It is conceivable that the standardization of authorship and translator's/translation colophon of Indian works in Tibetan translation took place during the process of different phases of

37 Tibskrit (s.v. *Avataṃsaka*).

38 *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 216.10–12): *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa bam po sum brgya ste nyang khams pa go cha | bai ro tsa na | lce khyi 'brug | zhang ye shes sde la sogs pa'i 'gyur byang drug yod par brag go |*

39 For example, bDud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje has added some verses in Mi pham's *bKra shis grub pa'i dbyangs snyan*, and thus also a second colophon explaining the addition. The version used in this paper, however, seems to only contain the augmented verses without the augmented colophon. See, Mi pham, *bKra shis grub pa'i dbyangs snyan* (p. 608.8–10). This requires further examination.

40 Almogi 1997, 227–228.

revision ordered by royal decree (*bka' bcad/bcas*). Thus the general pattern of the authorship colophon of Indian works in Tibetan translation became: 'Work title + author's names, often including his title (e.g., Ācārya) + ergative particle (marking the logical subject of the transitive verb) + the word 'composed' + the word 'completed' followed by a final particle (i.e., *rdzogs so*').<sup>41</sup> Even regarding author's colophons of later Tibetan works, despite the idiosyncrasies of individual authors (or editors) and the nature and scope of the work, a general pattern can be seen. The actual colophon is frequently preceded by verses of epilogue of varying size. In some cases, these verses feature this introduction: 'The following is stated (*'dir smras pa*)'. Often the verses end with a dedication and an aspirational wish. The closing particle *ces* (and its various forms depending on the *saṃdhi* rules) marks that the colophon begins.<sup>42</sup>

Sixth, author's (or authorship) colophons are mostly written in prose, even when the entire work is composed in verse but the opposite may also be true. It is even possible that the verses of an epilogue contain information normally expected in the colophon proper.<sup>43</sup> Such information is particularly valuable as it is most likely by the author himself rather than information tampered with by subsequent editors. Seventh, graphically colophons found in manuscripts may be written in smaller letters or dBu med ('Headless') script, and occasionally in differently coloured ink.

---

41 See the authorship colophon found in the Tibetan translation of Śāntarākṣita's *Madhyamā-kālamkāra* (Ichigō 1985, 336): *dbu ma'i rgyan 'di ni slob dpon zhi ba 'tsho bdag dang gzhan gyi grub pa'i mtha'i rgya mtsho'i pha rol tu son pa 'phags pa ngag gi dbang phyug gi zhabs kyi padma mrog pa med pa'i ze 'bru spyi bos len pas mdzad pa rdzogs so* ||. See also the syntax of the author's colophon in n. 43: [I, Rong zom] Chos kyi bzang po composed this as a *pañjikā* of the *Śrīguhyagarbha[ tantra ]* (*dpal ldan snying po'i dka' 'grel du* || *'di ni chos kyi bzang pos byas* ||). We may also translate this in the passive case: 'This was composed by [me, Rong zom] Chos kyi bzang po as a *pañjikā* of the *Śrīguhyagarbha[ tantra ]*'. In either case, Chos kyi bzang po is the logical subject of the transitive verb *byas*, which is clearly marked with the ergative particle *s*.

42 See mKhan po Kun dpal, *sPyod 'jug tshig 'grel* (p. 811.15).

43 Rong zom pa, *dKon mchog 'grel* (p. 249.16–17): *bla ma dam pa tshul khrims bzang* || *de sogs zhabs la phyag btsal nas* || *dpal ldan snying po'i dka' 'grel du* || *'di ni chos kyi bzang pos byas* ||. See also Almogi 1997, 133–134. Nyang ral, *Nang ral chos 'byung* (p. 500.16–21): *lho brag dpal gyi dngon pa gcig pu ru* || *sems can kun la brtse ba'i thugs rje can* || *bdud rtsi zhis po zhes zhes pa'i 'khrul zhis dam pa dang* || *'jig rten mgon po rin po che* || *rgyal ba'i sras po thu bo che ye yis* || *yang yang bskul mar btab pa'i ngor byas nas* || *bka' gter mang po ji snyed legs gzigs nas* || *nyang ban nyi ma 'od zer bsam pa dwangs pas byas* || *rang bzo ra chod* [= ras gcod] *spangs te yi ger bkod* ||.

## 5 Information found in Tibetan colophons

One of the main reasons Tibetan colophons have attracted the attention of modern scholars is the invaluable source of information they can provide. This information may be classified into at least five kinds: (1) bibliographical, (2) historical-philological, (3) biographical, (4) socio-cultural or socio-economical, and (5) spiritual-ideological. Firstly, bibliographical information, primarily indicates facts about the title of the work, authorship, date or duration of composition, and place of composition. In ideal cases, all such details may be found there.<sup>44</sup> It has already been asserted that the title occurring in the author's colophon is to be taken more seriously, particularly if it deviates from the title found on the title page or catalogue, as it is most likely to be the original title. Such bibliographical information can also be very useful in the study of the life and works of pertinent authors or related persons. Earlier, I have indicated that there was no convention in the Tibetan tradition for providing bibliographical lists of works employed by authors, for the composition of a certain work or the practice of providing exact references to their citations and quotations. However, some authors do occasionally provide a list of their sources, at least the major ones, in the colophon.<sup>45</sup> Thus colophons can be a useful source of bibliographical information for these purposes too. In addition, whenever applicable, an author's colophon also mentions the name of the petitioner (*zhu ba po*), at whose behest the work was composed.

Second, historical-philological information, largely indicates facts related to the history of the text in question; its composition and transmission, sources and versions, editorial guidelines and methods, and so on. Regarding translated literature, information on the source language (i.e., whether the translation in question has been made from Sanskrit, Chinese, Khotanese, and so on), beside the names of translators also the place of translation, circumstances under which the translation was carried out and at whose initiative, number of revisions; and occasionally also manuscripts consulted for the translation or revision, and so forth – all of which may be subsumed under the category of historical-philological information. Most importantly, colophons of xylograph editions, such as those of large manuscript collections, often inform us about the master copies consulted and the editorial policies employed. These colophons are therefore very often inexhaustible sources of information regarding traditional Tibetan textual criticism.

---

<sup>44</sup> The author's colophon of Mi pham's commentary on Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* is a good example. See his *dBu ma rgyan 'grel* (pp. 494.5–496.6).

<sup>45</sup> Thub bstan chos grags, *sPyod 'jug 'grel bshad* (pp. 876.21–880.6); Mi pham, *rNam 'grel 'grel pa* (pp. 557.22–558.14).

Some scribal colophons also mention the master-copy from which the text was copied, e.g., in the manuscript edition of the *Madhyavyutpatti*.<sup>46</sup> Some scribes justify why the task of copying had been undertaken and plead others to follow suit. A scribe's motive to preserve 'extremely rare texts' (*shind tu dkon pa'i dpe*) may also be detected.<sup>47</sup>

Third, colophons, particularly, author's colophons, can be of immense value as biographical sources. When a prolific writer exhibits the habit of composing detailed colophons loaded with information, one is able to map his entire intellectual career or personal life on the basis of these colophons. Traditional Tibetan scholars, such as Mi pham's biographer, for instance, do not seem to have always recognized the value of colophons and thus not utilized them to the optimum when writing the biography of their masters. Author's colophons may also reveal deeply personal information; the author's character, and his psychological and physical state at the time of composing the work. They reveal details on the author's way of life, and tell us of their own self-perception:<sup>48</sup> some may reveal extreme arrogance, extreme modesty or self-deprecation,<sup>49</sup> or, for that matter, extreme honesty.

Fourth, colophons, particularly of xylograph editions, important works,<sup>50</sup> or large manuscript collections, provide rich information on the socio-cultural or socio-economical aspects of the time and place of production. As the preparation of a xylograph edition is far more costly than the preparation of a manuscript edition – for in addition to the paper, ink, and employment of scribes to prepare the manuscript master copy, a great amount of wood was required, which in the overwhelmingly dry Tibetan plateau was immensely costly, and involved the employment of numerous carvers and metal workers. Artists were often employed

---

<sup>46</sup> *sGra sbyor* (p. 205.13–14).

<sup>47</sup> *sGra sbyor* (p. 205.15–18).

<sup>48</sup> Sa skya paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* (Rhoton 2002, 323): *sdom pa gsum gyi rab ru dbye ba zhes bya ba | chos dang chos ma yin pa mam par 'byed pa'i bstan bcos | mang du thos pa'i nor dang ldan pa | rigs pa dang mi rigs pa dpyod par nus pa'i blo gros can | sde snod 'dzin pa kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos sbyar ba rāzogs so ||*; Rhoton 2002, 200 (English translation).

<sup>49</sup> See, dPal sprul's *rDo rje'i thol glu* (pp. 126.17–127.2): *'dir smras mdo khams smad du skyes pa'i mi || dug gsum me ltar 'bar ba'i btsun chung po || a bu mdo med khyi rgan thod po des || snying grogs khyod la phul ba dge gyur cig ||*. The author was, however, not always self-deprecating and described himself as 'one whose three poisons (i.e., *dveṣa*, *rāga*, and *moha*) are blazing like fire' and as an 'old laid-back/lazy dog'. See *ibid.* (p. 22.8–10): *zhes pa 'di gnas dang mthun pa'i mgur 'di lung rig smra ba'i nyi ma o rgyan 'jigs med chos kyi dbang pos smras pa dge legs 'phel ||*. Here, he calls himself 'the sun of the exponent of authoritative scriptures and logical reasons'.

<sup>50</sup> See, Padma kun grol's printing colophon of the collected writings of Rong zom pa cited and discussed in Almogi 1997, 122–126, cf. 127–128.

to draw miniatures alongside (most importantly) highly qualified editors. These printing colophons are very often quite long and abundant in details, providing, the names of the donors, editors and occasionally the names of important scribes or calligraphers, the number of people employed, their wages or presents and benefits received and so on. In this manner, such colophons provide intricate detail shedding great light on the social, cultural, and economic aspects of book production in Tibet.

Fifth, colophons also provide direct and indirect information on the spiritual orientation, religious affiliation, and sectarian prejudices of the author.<sup>51</sup> They contain elements of self-promotion, not only of the authors themselves but also their religious traditions. A final note is necessary, for a degree of caution has to be taken regarding the information found in colophons, and whenever possible, cross-checked with parallel information in other catalogues and biographical or historical sources. By the same token, information provided in biographical and historical sources may often be confirmed, clarified and even put into question by consulting colophons of various kinds.

## 6 Epilogue

In conclusion, I would like to point out that gaining a nuanced and accurate picture of the phenomenon of colophons in the Tibetan textual tradition from both its diachronic and synchronic perspectives requires a far more detailed investigation. I hope, nonetheless, that the contribution here at least conveys a general but more or less accurate and representative picture of this complex phenomenon.

---

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, Mi pham, *dBu ma rgyan 'grel* (pp. 496.7–499.3); 'Od gsal snying po (pp. 604.8–605.16); *bKa' brgyad mam bshad* (pp. 177.9–185.12); *Yang dag mam bshad* (pp. 375.18–379.2).

## References

### Primary sources

- bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur dkar chag* = lDong Chu shel (alias lDong nge'i bsTan 'dzin grags pa), *bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma'i dkar chag chen mo zla ba nor bu'i me long*, *bKa' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma*, 109 vols, Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa'i dpe skrun khang, 2006–2009, vol. 108.
- bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *dPal sgrub pa chen po'i bka' brgyad kyi spyi don rnam par bshad pa dngos grub snying po*, in *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad dang spyi don 'od gsal snying po yang dag grub pa'i tshig 'grel bcas*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000, 17–187.
- bKra shis grub pa'i dbyangs snyan* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *sGyu 'phrul drwa ba chen po'i bshad brgyud kyi bla ma la gsol ba 'debs pa bkra shis grub pa'i dbyangs*, in *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad dang spyi don 'od gsal snying po yang dag grub pa'i tshig 'grel bcas*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000, 605–608.
- brDa rnying tshig mdzod* = rNam rgyal tshe ring, *Bod yig brda rnying tshig mdzod*, Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2001.
- brGyad stong pa'i bris byang* = lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, *brGyad stong pa'i bris byang*, in *gSung 'bum | rol pa'i rdo rje*, 7 vols, [Beijing: Krung go bod brgyud mtho rim nang bstan slob gling khang, 1995], vol. 5, 535–540 [reprints of xylographic edition].
- Bu ston chos 'byung* = Bu ston Rin chen grub, *bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod* [on cover: *Bu ston chos 'byung*], Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1991.
- Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* = bSam gtan et al., *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs*, Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994.
- dBu ma rgyan 'grel* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *dBu ma rgyan gyi rnam bshad 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i zhal lung*, in *dBu ma rgyan rtsa 'grel*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992, 17–498.
- dByangs can rol mtsho* = Khams sprul bsTan 'dzin chos kyi nyima, *rGyan gyi bstan bcas dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho*, Gangs can rig mdzod 2, Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1986.
- dKar chag me tog phreng ba* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *Rong zom gsung 'bum dkar chag me tog phreng ba*: see Almogj 1997.
- dKar chag rin chen me long* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *mDzod chen bdun spar du bsgrubs pa'i dkar chag rin chen me long*, in *'Ju mi pham rin po che'i gsung 'bum*, 33 vols, Chengdu: 'Jam dpal dhī yig ser po'i dpe skrun tshogs pa, vol. 9 (Ta), 2008, 2–40.
- dKon mchog 'grel* = Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po, *rGyud rgyal gsang ba snying po dkon cog 'grel*, in *Rong zom gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 31–250.
- Dung dkar gsung rtsom* = Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las kyi gsung rtsom phyogs bsgrigs*, Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1997.
- gNa' dpe'i rnam bshad* = Padma bkra shis, *Bod yig gna' dpe'i rnam bshad*, Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2013.
- Madhyamakālaṃkāra* = Śāntarakṣita, *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*: see Ichigō 1985.
- Nang ral chos 'byung* = Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1988.

- Nor brang gsung rtsom* = Nor brang o rgyan, *Nor brang o rgyan gyi gsung rtsom phyogs btus*, Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006.
- '*Od gsal snying po* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *gSang 'grel phyogs bcu mun sel gyi spyi don 'od gsal snying po*, in *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad dang spyi don 'od gsal snying po yang dag grub pa'i tshig 'grel bcas*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000, 381–605.
- Padma bka' thang* = U rgyan gling pa, *Padma bka' thang*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1996.
- '*Phang thang ma* = dKar chag 'phang thang ma, in *dKar chag 'phang thang ma | sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, edited by rTa rdo, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003, 1–67.
- Rab gnas rtsa ba* = Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po, *bDe bar gshegs pa'i sku gsung thugs kyi rten la rab tu gnas pa ji ltar bya ba'i gzhung gi bshad sbyar*, in *Rong zom gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, 135–169.
- rDo rje'i thol glu* = dPal sprul 'Jigs med chos kyi dbang po, *mTshungs don man ngag rdo rje'i thol glu spros bral sgra dbyangs* [editorial title], edited by Tarthang Tulku, Varanasi: Varanaseya Sanskrit University, 1964.
- Ri mo'i rnam gzhag* = brTson 'grus rab rgyas and rDo rje rin chen, *Bod kyi ri mo spyi'i rnam gzhag blo gsal 'jug sgo*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2001.
- rNam 'grel 'grel pa* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi gzhung gsal por bshad pa legs bshad snang ba'i gter*, Gangs ljongs shes rig gi nying bcud, [Beijing: Si khron zhing chen bod yig slob grwa & Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang], 2000.
- Rong zom gsung 'bum* = *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, 2 vols, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999.
- sDom gsum rab dbye* = Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba*: see Rhoton 2002, 277–329.
- sGra sbyor* = *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, in *dKar chag 'phang thang ma | sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, edited by rTa rdo, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003, 69–205.
- Shes bya kun khyab* = Kong sprul Yon tan rgya mtsho alias Blo gros mtha' yas, *Shes bya kun khyab*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002.
- sPyod 'jug 'grel bshad* = Thub bstan chos kyi grags pa, *sPyod 'jug gi 'grel bshad rgyal sras yon tan bum bzang*, Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1990.
- sPyod 'jug tshig 'grel* = mKhan po Kun dpal [i.e., Kun bzang dpal ldan], *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i tshig 'grel 'jam dbyangs bla ma'i zhal lung bdud rtsi'i thig pa*, in *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa rtsa ba dang 'grel ba*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990, 137–817.
- Tshig mdzod chen mo* = Krang dbyi sun et al., *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993.
- Yang dag rnam bshad* = Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, *Yang dag grub pa'i rnam bshad gsang 'grel chen mo'i don bsdus rab gsal*, in *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad dang spyi don 'od gsal snying po yang dag grub pa'i tshig 'grel bcas*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2000, 381–605.
- Yon tan mdzod 'grel* = First rDo grub 'jigs med phrin las, *Yon tan yin po che'i mdzod kyi sgo lcags 'byed byed bsdus 'grel rgya mtsho'i chu thigs rin chen lde mig*, in *Yon tan mdzod 'grel rtsa 'grel*, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998, 133–639.

## Secondary literature

- Almogi, Orna (1997), *The Life and Works of Rong-zom Paṇḍita*, Magister Thesis, University of Hamburg.
- Almogi, Orna (2005), 'Analysing Tibetan Titles: Towards a Genre-based Classification of Tibetan Literature', in Fabienne Jagou (ed.), *Conception et circulation des textes tibétains = Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*, 15: 27–58.
- Almogi, Orna (2008), 'How Authentic Are Titles and Colophons of Tantric Works in the Tibetan Canon? The Case of Three Works and Their Authors and Translators', in Orna Almogi (ed.), *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006* (Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung, 14), Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 87–124.
- Almogi, Orna (2020), *Authenticity and Authentication Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon* (Indian and Tibetan Studies, 9), Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg.
- Bacot, Jacques (1954), 'Titres et colophons d'ouvrages non canoniques tibétains. Textes et traduction', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, 44: 275–337.
- Bandury, Dalia (2006), *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collection of The Asiatic Society*, vol. 15: *Āyurvedic Manuscripts*, Part 1, edited with an introduction and index by Brahmananda Gupta, Kolkata: The Asiatic Society.
- Bischoff, Friedrich A. (1968), *Der Kanjur und seine Kolophone*, Bloomington, IN: Selbstverlag Press.
- Bischoff, Friedrich A. (1974), 'A Reply to J.W. de Jong: Notes à propos des colophons du Kanjur', *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 8: 574–578.
- Cabezón, José (2001), 'Authorship and Literary Production in Classical Buddhist Tibet', in Guy Newland (ed.), *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 233–263.
- Clemente, Michela (2007), 'Colophons as Sources: Historical Information from Some Brag-dkar Rta-so Xylographies', *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici*, 2: 121–160.
- Dalton, Jacob and Sam van Schaik (2006), *Tibetan Tantric Manuscripts from Dunhuang: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Stein Collection at the British Library* (Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, 12), Leiden: Brill.
- Diemberger, Hildegard, Franz-Karl Ehrhard and Peter Kornicki (eds) (2016), *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities and Change* (Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, 39), Leiden: Brill.
- Eimer, Helmut and David Germano (eds) (2002), *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: Proceedings of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*, Leiden: Brill.
- Halkias, Georgios (2004), 'Tibetan Buddhism Registered: An Imperial Catalogue from the Palace Temple of 'Phang-thang', *The Eastern Buddhist*, 37/1–2: 46–105.
- Harrison, Paul (1996), 'A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur', in José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (eds), *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 70–94.
- Herrmann-Pfandt, Adelheid (2002), 'The Lhan dkar ma as Source for the History of Tantric Buddhism', in Eimer and Germano (eds) 2002, 129–149.
- Ichigō, Masamichi (ed.) (1985), *Madhyamakālamkāra of Śāntarakṣita with his own commentary or Vivṛti and with the subcommentary or Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla*, Kyoto: Kyoto Sangyo University.

- Jackson, David (1983), 'Notes on Two Early Printed Editions of Sa-skyapa Works', *The Tibet Journal*, 8/2: 3–24.
- Jackson, David (1989), 'More on the Old dGa'-gdan and Gong-dkar-ba Xylograph Editions', *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions*, 2: 1–18.
- Jackson, David (1990), 'The Earliest Printing of Tsong-kha-pa's Works', in L. Epstein and R. F. Sherburne (eds), *Reflections on Tibetan and Culture: Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 107–116.
- Jäschke, Heinrich August (1881), *A Tibetan English Dictionary with Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects. To which is Added an English-Tibetan Vocabulary*, London: s.n. [Berlin, Unger Brothers (T. Grimm)], 1881 [reprinted Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1987].
- de Jong, Jan W. (1972), 'Notes à propos des colophons du Kanjur', *Zentralasiatische Studien*, 6: 505–559.
- Karmay, Samten Gyaltzen (2007), *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*, Leiden: Brill [2nd revised edition].
- Martin, Dan (2021), *Tibskrit Philology: A Bio-Bibliographical Reference Work*, edited by Alexander Cherniak, digital version <<https://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/>> (accessed on 29 Augustus 2022).
- Meinert, Carmen (2007), 'The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan rDzogs chen Thought: Reflections on the Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscript. IOL Tib. J 689-1 and PT 699', in Matthew Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (eds), *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, Leiden: Brill, 239–301.
- Rhoton, Jared Douglas (tr.) (2002), *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinction among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems: The sDom gsum rab dbye and Six Letters. Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen*, edited by Victoria R. M. Scott, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Samten, Jampa (1992), *A Catalogue of the Phu-brag Manuscript Kanjur*, Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives.
- Skilling, Peter (1994), 'Kanjur Titles and Colophons', in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies FAGERNES 1992*, edited by Per Kvaerne, Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 768–780.
- Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich (2007), *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kundga'-bsod-nams, the Great 17th Century Sa-skyapa Bibliophile* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband, 38), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Sobisch, Jan-Ulrich (2008), *Hevajra and Lam 'bras Literature of India and Tibet as Seen Through the Eyes of A-mes-zhabs. Contributions to Tibetan Studies*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- Taube, Manfred (1966), *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockrücke*, 4 vols, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.



Georges-Jean Pinault

# Colophons in Tocharian Manuscripts

**Abstract:** Colophons have rarely been preserved in Tocharian manuscripts, as the final leaves of *pustaka* format manuscripts are often destroyed or lost. The corpus features, however, a significant number of sub-colophons, i.e. colophons written at the end of the sections of a longer Buddhist work. A particular instance are those colophons of the chapters of the drama about *Maitreyasamiti* in Tocharian A, that may be compared with the parallel colophons in the Old Uyghur text *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, translated from Tocharian. In addition to the author and translator names, these colophons contain the name and the number of the chapters. Several colophons have been transmitted with a text containing the names of the donors who sponsored manuscript copy. This mention is frequently accompanied by wishes and words of praise, highlighting the reward donors and their family expect from copying a sacred text. Similar instances are to be found in manuscripts in Tocharian B. In both Tocharian languages, one may observe the development of writing colophons in verse, as a literary practice that certainly gained significance for Buddhist culture in the Tarim Basin during the second half of the first millennium CE.

## 1 Preliminaries

A large part of Tocharian manuscripts contains Buddhist literary texts that most definitely pertain to Indian pothi manuscript culture.<sup>1</sup> In place of pothi, the more precise and appropriate term would be *pustaka* or *postaka*, for the equivalent, which arises from the borrowing, of this Indo-Aryan term,<sup>2</sup> is used in Tocharian texts: Toch. B *postak*, Toch. A *postäk* and *postak*.<sup>3</sup> These nouns are well recorded (20 occurrences in total). In the Tocharian corpus, the manuscripts of religious (Buddhist) and literary texts follow what will henceforth be termed the *pustaka* format, with one string hole in the first (left) third of the leaf. The format of books made by binding oblong leaves of papers with a cord, imitated the disposition of

---

1 Survey of material aspects and palaeography by Sander 1968, 24–50.

2 Mayrhofer 1956–1976, vol. 2, 319; Turner 1966, 478b (No.8413); Mayrhofer 1986–2001, vol. 3, 331–332.

3 Poucha 1955, 191; Adams 2013, 436. For all abbreviations and acronyms see the list at the end of this article.

palm-leaf manuscripts, originally imported to the Tarim Basin by missionaries from India. The surface of such leaves could be ruled, at least horizontally, for the calligraphic writing of literary texts, and regular margins were used, with a blank space of a few centimetres for the string hole. The most widespread figures show the number of lines to fluctuate between four and nine. The leaves' length varies roughly between a minimum of 10 and a maximum 60 cm. When such leaves belong to a series forming part of a book or a whole book, they are normally numbered in the left margin on the verso side and, more rarely, close to the string hole.<sup>4</sup> Implementing paper as a support for Buddhist manuscripts became a general trend early on in the Tarim Basin. A few examples exist of manuscripts on birch bark, which also follow the *pustaka* format, such as the bilingual (Sanskrit and Toch. B) *Karmavācanā* (THT 1102–1125). Tocharian manuscripts date for the most part from between the sixth and eighth century CE. The scribes used the 'Northern-Turkestan Brāhmī' script,<sup>5</sup> also used for Sanskrit manuscripts found in the Buddhist sites of the Tarim Basin, on the northern fringe of the Taklamakan desert. This spelling system, designed originally for Sanskrit, was enlarged and adapted for rendering Tocharian phonemes foreign to Sanskrit. As for Toch. B, the earliest manuscripts date from the end of the fourth century, or beginning of the fifth century.<sup>6</sup> The earliest date for the Toch. A manuscripts is the seventh century.<sup>7</sup> Some evidence shows that Tocharian languages were still used up to the ninth to eleventh centuries CE, in the early phase of Old Uyghur Buddhism, when Old Uyghur texts were translated from Tocharian.<sup>8</sup> The entire Tocharian manuscript culture was influenced by Indian models implemented for Buddhist texts in different languages, starting with Sanskrit. By contrast, profane or secular texts, such as books of monastery accounts, business and private letters, receipts, registers, statements of offences, etc. were written on leaves of papers of

---

**4** Such external features describe the manuscripts of the Paris collection, currently in preparation, by Melinda Fodor for Pelliot Sanskrit and by Athanaric Huard for Pelliot Koutchéen, for the ERC project (Action number 788205) HisTochText (History of the Tocharian Texts of the Pelliot Collection), under the direction of Georges-Jean Pinault.

**5** Sander 1968 and 1986. The two main sub-types found in Toch. manuscripts of the classical stage are the 'Schrifttypus V, Alphabet t', typical of the Kucha region, and the 'Schrifttypus VI, Alphabet u'. See the discussion and chart of akṣaras in Sander 1968, 182–183 and pl. 29–41, completed for Tocharian by Malzahn 2007a.

**6** Malzahn 2007b, 257–258, 275–278.

**7** For a review of the chronology of Toch. B (which had several stages) and of Toch. A, see Peyrot 2008, 187–209.

**8** Supporting evidence is given by a bilingual Toch. B/OU manuscript (U 5208), dated from the beginning of eleventh century CE, see Peyrot, Pinault and Wilkens 2019, 67b.

various sizes, and did not follow the *pustaka* format. Several were glued to make scrolls of significant length. Economic and administrative documents of this kind were also written on wooden tablets, following independent patterns, similar to the ones of the Niya documents in Prākṛit, dated from the third century CE.<sup>9</sup>

The topic of colophons in Tocharian manuscripts has never been thoroughly investigated, even though, in editions of Tocharian (A and B) texts, several colophons have been identified and mentioned in passing. The whole issue has been somewhat neglected.<sup>10</sup> Material factors have impacted the amount of the possible corpus. A little over 10,400 items in the Tocharian language exist, approximately 8,600 in Toch. B and 1,800 in Toch. A, according to the CEToM database, which includes inscriptions and graffiti. A caveat should be applied to these numbers as the collections are comprised of fragmentary pieces, mostly small and worn out. The colophons of complete manuscripts are extremely scarce, since not a single book in Tocharian (A or B) exists. The final leaves of manuscripts, which normally bear the colophon, were prone to be lost or destroyed, once the wooden boards covering the books were removed in the course of time for other use. One exceptional case, in the Pelliot collection in Paris, is a book cover in poplar wood, pierced at the expected string hole place,<sup>11</sup> which still bears the title of the work and mention of the donor: *se udāṃ wāryarucintse āyu sutār ...* ‘This [is] the Udāna(varga), the sūtra given by Vīryaruci (...)’.<sup>12</sup> One may surmise this mention, carried forward on the cover, summarized the complete colophon written on the last leaf of the book. This mention on the cover confirms, were it necessary, that Buddhist books were stored in libraries of Tocharian-speaking monasteries. Nonetheless, colophons of parts of manuscripts are found in a significant number of instances, especially where a work has been divided into several sections or chapters, each ending with a specific colophon.<sup>13</sup> Several fragments are from colophons of manuscripts almost entirely lost, save for its colophon. The material can now be retrieved through the CEToM database. The present paper does not intend to be exhaustive. Its main goal is to describe the

<sup>9</sup> See the edition by Boyer, Rapson and Senart 1920–1929; translation by Burrow 1940.

<sup>10</sup> The searching function of CEToM yields 70 items. This number should be slightly revised. The colophons found in Sanskrit manuscripts edited by Peyrot 2014, 134–136 and 2015, 108–112 should also be added.

<sup>11</sup> PK Bois, série C, 5+6, cf. Pinault 1987, 185–186 and pl. XCVI–2.

<sup>12</sup> As for Skt. *Udāna*, the source of Toch. B *udāṃ*, as title of the *Udānavarga*, see Bernhard 1969 and below, p. 362.

<sup>13</sup> Strictly speaking, these should be named ‘sub-colophons’. But, as they form the large majority of the corpus by far, I have decided to refer to them simply as ‘colophons’.

salient features of Tocharian colophons, common to the manuscripts in both Tocharian languages.

## 2 General features of Tocharian colophons

The colophon gives the title – and, if required, the numbering – of the previous part or chapter of a text, or in some instances the full title of a complete text. These indications may be followed by the mention of the donors and of the scribe. As these scribal additions actually belong to so-called sub-colophons, they do not give any dating. The end of a section of any text can be marked by a specific verb, preterit 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. act. Toch. B *āra*, A *ār* ‘has come to an end, is finished’,<sup>14</sup> corresponding to Skt. *samāptaḥ*, *samāptam*. One often finds the mention of scribal activity, by the use of the verb Toch. A/B *pik-* ‘to write’.<sup>15</sup> This verb can be in the preterit, referring to the text that precedes. It can also occur in the phrase ‘to order to write’ (Toch. B *paikatsi wātk-*, A *piktsi wātk-*) with the donor(s) as subject and the book as direct object. A further relevant fact is the frequent use of the near deictic demonstrative, ‘this’, Tocharian B *se*, A *sās*, with *postak* or *postäk* ‘book’, e.g. nom. sg. B *se postak* (IOL Toch 81 b5), obl. sg. *ce postak* (THT 103 b3), A nom. sg. *sās postäk* (SHT 525.56 b4), *caṣ postäk* (A 311 b2, YQ I.10 b6), etc. This is very significant from a pragmatic point of view, because the scribe referred in this way to the book which he had near him, after he finished copying it.<sup>16</sup> Several extracts of texts containing these phrases will be quoted and discussed in the following pages.

The whole issue of colophons pertains to the various strategies of textual transitions, which can use simultaneously or alternatively different devices.

In terms of graphics, colophons have specific punctuation and marking, particularly in the use of the double *daṇḍa*, and three dots. In general, Tocharian manuscripts are quite sparing in their use of punctuations. For marking the end of a *pāda* in a metrical text, two dots (occasionally a single dot) are used. As for prose texts, the use of dots is relatively rare, without observing any fixed rule according to the limits of syntactic units. The final leaf of the section of a manuscript, or of a whole manuscript can be marked by a zigzag line as vertical

<sup>14</sup> Thomas 1957, 209–212; Malzahn 2010, 525 and 527.

<sup>15</sup> Malzahn 2010, 724.

<sup>16</sup> See Stumpf 1971, 106–107.

ornamentation, interrupting the lines of the text itself, and some blank space.<sup>17</sup> In the case of leaf A 226 (THT 859), the interval between these ornamental lines corresponds approximately to one fourth of the width of the leaf.

In addition, the shift from a section to the next may be marked by a change of meter. More precisely, this corresponded to a change of tune, i.e., some specific mood of chanting the versified text. The tune's name, usually in the locative case, is placed between double *danḍas* immediately before the section composed in verse.<sup>18</sup> In Tocharian literature, this change is found in doctrinal and commentary texts as well as in narrative texts.

In dramatic works, which are basically adaptations of Buddhist legends, the writers followed the conventions of Sanskrit dramaturgy. They actually indicate stage directions at the end of an act (Toch. A/B *nipāt* = Skt. *nipāta-*) of drama: Toch. A *lcār poñś*, B *lateṃ poñc*, translating Skt. *niṣkrāntāḥ sarve* 'All have left'. The change of the location of action is also stated at the beginning of a new act.<sup>19</sup>

First example: end of a section of the *Maitreyāvādānavyākaraṇa* in Tocharian A. This text ('Prophecy of the achievement of Maitreya') is a poem in 23 chapters<sup>20</sup> on the career of Maitreya, the future Buddha, whose advent has been announced by Śākyamuni. It is known mainly by the leaves and fragments of the same manuscript, A 219–238 (THT 852–871).<sup>21</sup> The original had 130 leaves. Another copy of this text is known by fragments A 239–242 (THT 872–875),<sup>22</sup> some parts of which overlap with passages of the previous manuscript.<sup>23</sup>

A 226 (THT 859) b3 *ske spaltäk śkaṃ yāmurāṣ tā(ṣ plāc klyossi ārwar šeñc)* 87 ||  
*maitreyā(va)[b4]dānavyākaraṇaṃ āgārikanarakopapatti ñomā wikiwepiñci pāk : • ||*  
 (|| *yasām ṣa)kkatsek ime (pāsmā)[b5]c āneṃśi : puk āñmaṣ kāryāṣ tāṣ plāc śakkats pāklyoṣāṣ*  
*sne wyākṣe(p :)*<sup>24</sup>

**17** See A 226 (THT 859) and 238 (THT 871), with the remarks in Sieg and Siegling 1921, 112 and 119, and also pl. 35, corresponding to A 226. YQ I.1 (I.10) verso, end of the first act of the MSN, see Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault 1998, 66 and the corresponding plate, *ibid.*, 323.

**18** Pinault 2008, 397–401.

**19** See Pinault 2008, 406 and 2015, 585. About Tocharian literary genres, see Pinault 2016, 168–181.

**20** Named Toch. A *pāk* 'part' = Toch. B *pāke* 'part', from a Proto-Tocharian word, not a loan from Sanskrit, see Pinault 2008, 30 and 450.

**21** Sieg and Siegling 1921, 107–119.

**22** Sieg and Siegling 1921, 119–121.

**23** For instance A 239 and A 222.

**24** Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 113. This quotation, as well as several of the following ones, contains personal restorations, because most of these texts have not been completely investigated nor translated yet.

After having made effort [and] zeal, (they were ready to hear) the following (speech). 87. In the *Maitreyāvādānavyākaraṇa*, the 22<sup>nd</sup> part named *Āgārikanarakopapatti* ('Rebirth in the hell of householders'). || For sure set up your mind carefully! Out of whole soul [and] will listen [plural] to this speech surely without distraction!

The previous part, ending with stanza 87, follows a meter  $4 \times 14$  syllables (rhythm 7/7), the next follows a meter 12+15+12+15 syllables (rhythm 5/7 and 7/8). After the three dots, there is a blank space, of approximately 2–3 akṣaras, between two double *daṇḍas*, see further examples below. The 23<sup>rd</sup> part begins with an address to the audience, according to the style used for the preaching of the Buddha.

### 3 Divisions of the text in a Buddhist drama

The *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka* ('Drama on the encounter with Maitreya') in Tocharian A is a huge text known by (at least) five manuscripts, each covering hundreds of leaves: 27 acts (Toch. A *nīpāt*), covering each around 15 *pustaka* leaves, plus one much shorter prologue. Each section is named 'act' by convention, because the whole text is cast in dramatic form, with alternation of prose and verse. It can be dated around the eighth century CE, and was translated into Old Uyghur, under the title *Maitrisimit nom bitig*: one prologue (*yükünč*) and 27 chapters (*ülüš*), which also include colophons. The OU text is known through two main recensions, one based on two versions in manuscripts from the Turfan region (Sängim and Murtuk), and the second on manuscripts from the Hami region.<sup>25</sup> Each section, – 'act' in the Toch. A text, dubbed 'chapter' in the OU version – ended with a (sub-)colophon, and the entire text certainly ended with a colophon, partially known for the last leaf of the 27<sup>th</sup> chapter in the OU so-called Turfan recension.<sup>26</sup> One would expect a general colophon for the whole text, in addition to the (sub-)colophons of the individual chapters. This text played a decisive role in the history of Tocharology and of Uyghur Buddhism, as most of the colophons stated the text's mode of transmission, despite the fragmentary state of the Tocharian texts.<sup>27</sup> According to the explanations given by the copyist in the (sub-)colophons, the Toch. A text was composed by a Buddhist scholar

<sup>25</sup> Laut and Wilkens 2017, IX–XVI, with previous literature.

<sup>26</sup> See No. 182 of the catalogue, Laut and Wilkens 2017, 232; Laut, Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1998, 147.

<sup>27</sup> The landmark study is due to F. W. Müller and E. Sieg (1916), see now Sieg 2014, 25–47, before the full edition of the texts. Comparative survey with literature by Pinault 1999, 189–205.

named Āryacandra. This is backed up by the OU (sub-)colophons, informing that Āryacandra, born in Agnideśa (Toch. A *ārśi-ypē*, i.e. Yanqi country) composed (OU *yarat-*) the previous chapter of the work from the Indian (i.e. Sanskrit) language (*ānātkāk tilintin*) into Toch. A (*tohn tilinčā*),<sup>28</sup> and that a further scholar, Prajñārakṣita, living farther east, translated (*ävür-*) it from Toch. A (*tohn tilintin*) into the Turkic (i.e. Uyghur) language (*türk tilinčā*).

Regarding the MSN, the divisions of the text marked by the usual punctuation devices and by the colophons correlate in the Toch. A version with parts of a drama; the specific divisions include stage directions. This arrangement appears quite superficial as most of the actual content differs little from the narrative that is combined with parts featuring direct speeches and dialogue sequences. The characters' speeches are often – but not always – in verse. The OU version differs for its thoroughly prosaic form and the withdrawal of all dramaturgical indications. Nonetheless, careful reading of the parallel texts has proven the OU text to be a translation of the Tocharian text, following the same sequence of episodes and speeches, and reflects several features of Toch. A's syntax and phraseology. The career of Maitreya, first as Bodhisattva, and then as Buddha, is the canvas framing the work with its pedagogical purpose, to convey in both narrative and teaching styles the major notions of the Buddhist faith.

In comparing the preserved Toch. A colophons, one can reconstruct the basic scheme, which allowed several variants, according to elements the author or copyist added. The basic colophon features conventional stage direction, marking the end of an act, followed by the act's title. The punctuation marks (double *daṇḍas* separated by blank space), are followed by the beginning of the next act, preceded (or not) by stage directions. Leaving aside the phraseology of Indian dramaturgy, the basic elements of every colophon are the work's title, the chapter number and name, the author's, and possibly the name(s) of those commissioning the copy, and the expected merit the latter hoped to gain from it. Despite some differences, the same structure is found in colophons of OU works, especially those translated from Toch. A. As expected, the translator(s)' name is mentioned beside the author's name.<sup>29</sup> Thus it appears fair to assume the influence of Tocharian habits on OU habits. Conversely, facts from OU colophons,

---

<sup>28</sup> OU *tohn* is the present-day interpretation of TWQRY in Uyghur script, which has been read previously as *toxri* of the like. Actually, the name of the Toch. A language was *twgry*, whose exact reading and source remain unknown. This moot point is not relevant for the present investigation.

<sup>29</sup> See Kasai 2008, 37–40, and the detailed discussion of OU colophons of works translated from Tocharian (Kasai 2008, 157–206).

which are numerous and often much more complete, may be inferred for the wording of their Toch. A models.

End of act XI, in prose, chapter's colophon, and beginning of act XII, in prose as well:

A 253 (THT 886) a5 (...) *täm ŧurmaŧ ŧla ypeyis puk kāswonentwāsŧi tsmālune mäskaträm* || *lcār poñŧ<sup>a</sup>* || *maitreyasamitinā*[a6](*ŧkaṃ*) (*guru*)*darŧaṃ ṇomā ŧākŧapint nipätt ār* || (blank of 2–3 akŧaras) || *tmäŧ alyākyaṃ praŧtaṃ metrak bodhisattu ṇākci wäl täpräm wimānāŧŧ oki tsoptsām wartsyaŧŧäl ṇemi*[a7](*ŧinās wa*)*ŧtwäŧ kākärpuräŧ*...<sup>30</sup>

Because of that, the increase of all virtues happens to him [king Śaṅkha] as well to his country. || All have left || In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, the eleventh act, named (*guru*)*daršana* ('Appearance of the teacher') has come to an end. || Thereupon, at another time, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, like the divine king [= the sun] out of his high palace (*wimāna*-), together with a large retinue, after having stepped down from his jewelled abodes [...]

This may be compared with the OU end of the corresponding chapter and colophon, MaitrSāṅgim XI, 14 (pl. 38), verso 17–30 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 112):

Aus diesem Anlaß sind das Volk und die Bevölkerung des Landes und der Stadt ohne Gefahr und Bedrohung, sehr froh und fröhlich. (Z. 21 leer gelassen) In dem *Maitrisimit-Sūtra*, welches der Kṣi-Meister, der Bodhisattva Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra, der die Tarkas, Vyākaraṇas und andere Śāstras genau versteht, übertragen hat und welches der Kṣi-Meister Prajñārakṣita aus der *twqry*-Sprache in die türkische Sprache übersetzt hat, ist das elfte Kapitel namens 'Das Erscheinen des Bodhisattva' zu Ende. / Verehrung dem Buddha! Verehrung der Lehre! Verehrung der Mönchsgemeinde!<sup>31</sup>

The review of all available instances shows that the OU colophons are far more developed than those of the Toch. A version, and quite emphatic. Additional mentions on the OU side include the list, itself more or less developed, of the author's titles, then of the translator's titles, and finally a blessing formula with homage to the three jewels (Skt. *triratna*-): Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha.

Some further instances, somewhat mutilated, may be mentioned in brief.

<sup>30</sup> For the text, compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 128. Followed by my translation.

<sup>31</sup> 'For this reason the people and the population of the country and of the city are without danger or threat, very delighted and joyful. [line 21 blank] In the sūtra *Maitrisimit*, which the Kṣi-master, Āryacandra, the Bodhisattva Vaibhāṣika, who understands exactly the Tarkas, Vyākaraṇas and other Śāstras, has translated, and which the Kṣi-master, Prajñārakṣita has translated from the *twqry* language into the Turkic language, the eleventh chapter, called "The apparition of the Bodhisattva" has come to an end. / Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!' (my translation).

End of act XXV and beginning of act XXVI:

A 287+259 (THT 920+892) a2 || *lcār poñš<sup>a</sup>* || *maitreyasamitināṭk(aṃ)* (*niraya*-[a3]*nidarśaṃ*)  
(*ñomā wikipāñpint ni*)*pāt ār* ||

[...] || All have left. || In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, the twenty-fifth act, named *niraya-nidarśana* ('Showing the (great) hells') has come to an end.<sup>32</sup>

The stage direction, which follows immediately afterwards, can be restored with the help of the OU text, MaitrSāngim XXV, 1 (pl. 181), vv. 1–3 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 202):

(*sās nu tāpārk plāc kukkuṭapāt ṣulis uttar*) *kālymeyam kārsnālyi*

Now, this dialogue ought to be understood (as taking place) on the northern side of the Kukkuṭapāda-mountain.<sup>33</sup>

End of act XXI and beginning of act XXII:

A 298 (THT 931) b3-4 (*maitreyasamiti*)*nāṭkaṃ gr̥hast*<*h*>*aprawrajitanirayanid(arśaṃ ñomā wikipāpint nipātt ār)*

In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka, the twenty-first act, named 'Showing hells for householders [and] religious mendicants' has come to an end.<sup>34</sup>

The Tocharian type may include mention of the author or 'composer' in the colophon as well as the act's title and mention of the work. This proves that the OU translator, in mentioning the MSN's author, followed, at least in part, a model that featured in several Tocharian colophons of the drama's chapters.

End of act III and beginning of act IV:

A 263 (THT 896) b(<a)6 (*āryacandre*)*s raritwunt maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ aniruddhavadāṃ ñomā trit nipā(t ār)///*

In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka composed by the (Vaibhāṣika) Āryacandra, the third act, named Aniruddhāvadāna ('Legend of Aniruddha') has come to an end.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 134 and 150. Restoration and translation according to Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault 2004, 43 and 46.

<sup>33</sup> See Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault 2004, 36, 39 and 43.

<sup>34</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 138. See also the names of the chapters (so-called 'Höllenskapitel') describing the punishments in various hells as per Laut, Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1998, 12–16, 85, 95, 105, 112 and 126.

<sup>35</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 137.

End of act XIV and beginning of act XV:

A 297 (THT 930) a8 (*ārwar mā*)*skantrā lcār poñśā* (|| *vai*)*bh(āṣikyā)p (ārya)candres raritwunt maitreyasamitin(āṭkaṃ)*... ///

[...] they become ready (to leave the house [= to enter into monkhood]). All have left. In the MSN composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra ...<sup>36</sup>

Toch. A *raritwu* is the preterit participle of the verb *ritw-* ‘to arrange, compose’ (a literary work), translated by OU *yarat-miš*, of the verb *yarat-* ‘to compose’, differentiated from the verb *āvīr-* ‘to translate, transpose’.<sup>37</sup>

The next fragment contains the end of an act, in verse, a somewhat extended colophon, and stage direction for the next act.

End of act X and beginning of act XI:

A 299 (THT 932) a7 ///(*śā*)*we nāktañ kumseñc napęmsac* : 1 || *lcār poñś* || *vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwunt maitreyasa(mitināṭkaṃ)*... [a3] (*śkānt nipāt ār*) || blank of 2 akṣaras || *sās nu tāpārk plāc jambudvīpaṃ ywārckā parnoreyo yetusām ketumatī rīyaṃ kārsnāl(y)i*///<sup>38</sup>

End of a stanza in meter 4 × 17 syllables (rhythm 6/6/5), punctuation and beginning of the next act in prose:

[...] the great gods come to the humans. 1 || All have left. || In the Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra (the tenth act, named NN., is finished.) || || Now this following dialog ought to be understood (as taking place) in the middle of the Jambudvīpa in the city of Ketumatī, adorned with splendour.

## 4 Colophons and the transfer of merits for the copy

A significant variation in the wording of a colophon includes mention of the manuscript’s donor(s). This addition occurs at the end of some of the MSN acts or chapters. When asking why individual chapters have specific donors, it may be surmised that copying such a large work as the MSN required enormous funding, simply for the expense of paper, pens, ink, and other implements, such as lamps to illuminate dark workshops. The contribution of the donors, sponsoring the whole copy, could be recalled at the end of some chapters. Alternatively, and

<sup>36</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 157.

<sup>37</sup> See Pinault 2016, 183–185

<sup>38</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 158.

more likely, the copy was divided into several groups of lay-followers, each of which responsible for the funding of several parts. Presumably, these patrons or families of patrons were allied in some other ways, not exclusively bound to religious belief.

End of act XII and beginning of act XIII:

A 265 (THT 898) a1 (*udāracin*)*tā sām tāññ ānkāmśāl piktsi wotkar • vaibhāṣik(yāp āryacandres raritwunt maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ ... ñomā śākwepint nipātt ar)*

[...] U. the wife together with T. A. have ordered to write (this book). In the Maitreyasamitināṭaka composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra (the act XII named ... is finished).<sup>39</sup>

In this passage and others to be quoted later, the reading and identification of proper names remain somewhat conjectural. The discussion of Old Uyghur onomastics in Tocharian, especially Toch. A, manuscripts still requires in-depth research.

End of act XXVI and beginning of act XXVII:

A 258 (THT 891) b3 (*sās postāk kulmäs or*)*śess ākālā vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwu maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ siṃhavyākaraṃ (ñomā wiki-śākpint nipātt ar)*

This book [has been] composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra according to the wish of Kulmäs Orś. In the MSN the 26<sup>th</sup> act named *Siṃhavyākaraṇa* ('Prophecy to Siṃha') is finished.<sup>40</sup>

The Toch. A text may have mentioned a donor, followed by a wish based on the achievement of the copying work which has been commissioned, see for instance the end of act II, where the name of the donor(s) was written in the lacuna:

YQ 1.43 [II.15] b6 (...) *tām wewñurāṣ* [b7] (lacuna of 25–30 akṣaras) (*mai*)*t(r)eyappravrajaṃ ñomā wāt nipāt ar* || *caṣ postāk* [b7] (lacuna of 25 akṣaras) (*pekluneṣiṃ pāññi*)*ss okoyā ṣakkats metrakāṃ ptāñāktaśśāl ṣyak śmimār* ||

Having said that, (...) the act named *Maitreya-pravrajana* ('the leaving home [for monkhood] of Maitreya') has come to an end. || This book (NN. has ordered to copy to NN., and he said:) As fruit of the merit (*puṇya-*) pertaining to writing may I for sure come together with the Buddha-lord Maitreya!<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 138.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 134. See Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault (2004, 75).

<sup>41</sup> Compare Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault 1998, 140 and 141.

Toch. A *pñi*, loan from Skt. *punya-* ‘merit’, occurs also in the plural in the phrases *pñintwiss oko*, *pñintwāśši oko* ‘fruit of merits’.<sup>42</sup> According to the Hami text this mention is absent from the OU translation:

MaitrHami II, 17b20–26 *bu* [21] *yarlg yrliqaduqta ol sansiz tümän yigil*[22]*miş quwrag yadilip b(a)rdilar* . . [23] *maitrisimit nom bitigdü maitri bodiswt*[24]*ning toyin bolmaq atlg [ikinti] ülüš* [25] *tükädi* . . [26] *namo but namo drm namo sang*

Nachdem er diese Worte zu sagen geruht hatte, zerstreute sich jene zahllose Schar vollkommen. In dem Maitrisimit-Sūtra ist das [zweite] Kapitel namens ‘Mönch-Werden des Bodhisattva Maitreya’ zu Ende. Verehrung dem Buddha! Verehrung der Lehre! Verehrung der Gemeinde!<sup>43</sup>

The parallel colophon in the Sängim manuscript is markedly different. Aside from being much more developed, it includes a wish for the donor, see the following text and translation:

MaitrSängim II, 20. pl. 19 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 61), verso 15–28 (Kasai 2008, 184–186) *kop* [16] *kamag šast(a)r-larag koduru uka y(a)rlika*[17]*dači* : : *vaybaš šastarlar(a)g arsayan* [18] *ičmiş aryač(a)nre bodis(a)v(a)t k(ä)ši açari* [19] *änätäk tilintin tohn tilinčä yara*[20]*tmiş pr(a)tinakšit k(a)rmavazike tohn tilin*[21]*tin türk tilinčä ävirmiş maitri*[22]*samit nom bitigdü maitri bodis(a)v(a)t*[23]*nun toyin bolmaq atl(i)g ikinti i* [24] *ülüš tükädi* : : (ornament) [25] *bo buyan tüşintä yidläk burhan* [26] *kutn bulzun közüniür ätözi* [27] *igsiz bolzun* : : (blank) [28] *namo but namo d(a)rm namo san*

In dem *Maitrisimit-Sūtra*, welches der k(ä)ši-Meister, der Bodhisattva Āryacandra, der alle Śāstras gründlich zu verstehen geruht und die Vaibhāṣika-Śāstras (wie) ein Lebenselixier genossen hat, aus der indischen Sprache in die tocharische Sprache übertragen hat, und welches der Prajñāraṣita Karmavāśika [aus der] tocharischen Sprache in die türkische Sprache übersetzt hat, ist das zweite Kapitel namens ‘Mönch-Werden des Bodhisattva Maitreya’ zu Ende. / Durch die Frucht dieses Verdienst möge Yidläk die Buddhaschaft erlangen, und ihr gegenwärtiger Körper möge ohne Krankheit sein! / *Namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namaḥ saṃghāya!*<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Poucha 1955, 192. This translates evidently Skt. *punya-phala-* ‘fruit of merit(s)’.

<sup>43</sup> Text and translation after Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1988, 168 and 169. The transcriptions reproduced here were used by the various editors of the OU texts. Translation: ‘After he [the Buddha] has deigned to speak these words, this countless crowd dispersed completely. In the sūtra *Maitrisimit* the [second] chapter called “The Bodhisattva Maitreya becoming a monk” has come to an end. Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!’.

<sup>44</sup> See the discussion and translation by Kasai 2008, 184–186. Translation: ‘In the sūtra *Maitrisimit*, which the Kši-master, the Bodhisattva Āryacandra, who has understood thoroughly the Śāstras and who has enjoyed as an elixir of life the Vaibhāṣika-Śāstras, – has translated from the

OU *käši* is borrowed from Toch. A/B *käšši*, equivalent of Skt. *guru*-.<sup>45</sup> The donor, Yidläk, is a lay-woman, the wife of Boz Bay Tiräk, the sponsor of the Sängim manuscript.

The colophon of act IV of MSN contains a long list of donors in Toch. A, but not in the OU text of the so-called Turfan recension:

OU colophon of chapter IV in MaitrSängim, pl. 27 (Tekin 1980, vol. 1, 89), verso 3–11.

[6] *alkap töpülärintä tuta tängiti*[7] *lär maytrisimit nom bitigdä* [8] *tegin ügä atıña abišek* [9] *kılmak atl(i)g törtünč ülüš-š* [10] *tükädi* : : (ornament) / blank of 4 lines / [11] *namo but namo d(a)rm namo sañ* / blank of 4 lines at the bottom of the page.

... die Gemeinde wurde unendlich froh und erfreut, pries und lobte die Predigt des Göttergottes Buddha. Sie hielten sie ehrfurchtsvoll auf ihren Scheiteln. / Das vierte Kapitel namens ‘Vollziehen der Weihe für die Nachfolgerschaft’ in dem *Maitrisimit*-Sūtra ist beendet. / Verehrung dem Buddha! Verehrung der Lehre! Verehrung der Mönchsgemeinde!<sup>46</sup>

Note that in the title of the chapter, the translator uses both the loan (*abišek*) from Skt. *abhiṣeka*- (through Toch. intermediary), preceded by a Turkic gloss of Toch. A *se-lāntune* ‘status of royal heir’.<sup>47</sup>

Compare the parallel Toch. A text:

A 302 (THT 935) b7 (*ptāñäkte käššiyā*)*p weñlune ārta(nt pāla)nt lcär poñs* || *vaibhāṣikyāp āryacandres raritwunt* [b8] (*maitreyasamitināṭkaṃ abhiṣe*)*k ñomā stärt nipāt (ār || kulapakāṃ praśāntasenāṃ neṣontā śākwepināñ pra(cre ṣarsaśśāl caṣ postak piktsi wotkar ... co)spā šeri kättuṃ tarmots lārat - - - - - kiññā elāk parno(ts) äkkāc hkuttemṃ wām parnots nā(cci)*

... they approved [and] praised the speech of the Buddha-lord the teacher. All have left. || In the MSN composed by the Vaibhāṣika Āryacandra the fourth act named *abhiṣeka* (‘Royal

---

Indian language into the Tocharian language, and which Prajñārakṣita Karmavāśika has translated from the Tocharian language into the Turkic language, the second chapter, called “The Bodhisattva Maitreya becoming a monk” has come to an end. Through the fruit of that merit may Yidläk obtain the Buddhahood, and her present body may be without disease! Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!’.

45 See Poucha 1955, 74; Adams 2013, 187 with literature; Carling 2009, 142–143.

46 ‘[...] the assembly became endlessly delighted and joyful, it praised and extolled the prediction of the Buddha, the god of gods. They held it respectfully on the top of their heads. / The fourth chapter called ‘Accomplishment of the ordination for the successorship’, in the sūtra *Maitrisimit* has come to an end. Homage to the Buddha! Homage to the Law! Homage to the community of monks!’ (my translation).

47 This compound is derived from Toch. A *se* ‘son’ and *lānt-*, alternative stem of *wäl* ‘king’, besides the free form *lānt*, which is both the accusative (oblique) and genitive singular. The phrase *se lānt* (alternatively *lānt se*) meant ‘king’s son’.

consecration') is finished. || The twelve brothers, starting with Praśāntasena, the chief of the family (Skt. *kulapaka-*), together with [their] sisters ordered to copy this book: ... NN.<sup>48</sup>

In this list of names, several are surely of feminine gender, certainly of various origins (mostly Old Turkic, but also Sogdian, possibly also Chinese), some mixed with titles or epithets<sup>49</sup> of Toch. A form: *parno*, masc. 'glorious', fem. *parnots*, for *parnoṃts*; *tarmots*, feminine epithet or title with the same suffix,<sup>50</sup> based on *tarm\**, loan of Skt. *dharma-* (see also *tārm\**),<sup>51</sup> indirect calque of Skt. *dhārmikā*, fem. or *dharmiyā*, fem. 'righteous, pious'; *nācci* 'lady, princess', feminine of *nātāk* 'lord, prince'. The mention of family relationships (brothers, sisters, chief the family), which is also found in Old Uyghur colophons,<sup>52</sup> is worthy of note.

Many of the same individuals have been listed in a poem of praise (meter of 20+22+10+15 syllables), in a fragment (A 303) which belongs to the same manuscript of the MSN:

A 303 (THT 936) a5 ///(tso)patsām̄ maitreyasamit postāk śpālmeṃ pekamāt was p.kis [a6] (kāswac) ... oppatyuti śeri kättuṃ tarmots lārat hkhutteṃ wām nācci elā(k) ... (šā)[a7]r(c)e pai teñkohkh 4

We have copied excellently the great book Maitreyasamiti, for the good of all ... NN.

This fragment of the MSN has some stanzas in common with leaf A 311, from a different manuscript, containing stanzas of introduction (or conclusion) to a work named Śaṣṣūtra, apparently pertaining to Maitreya literature and cult.<sup>53</sup>

A 311 (THT 945) a2 lalākkompe seyaśśūl śyak ṣaṣṣūtrā postāk pekamāt 1 kusne wrasom caṣ postāk pe(katrā bodhisatv)enām̄ ytāraṃ ymām̄ (śolam :) (sām metrakṣinām̄ opṣlyāśśūl kumnā)ṣ : tāmyo pekamāt śla wsokoneyo : śmimās ṣakkats metrak ptāñktāc ketuma(ti ri) tām praṣṭ 2 (...)<sup>54</sup>

(...) together with the son of NN. we have copied the book Śaṣṣūtra. The living being who copies this book, going (in his life) on the path pertaining to Bodhisattva, he will (come

48 Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 161.

49 These nouns could also serve as components of names. Uyghur names can in fact consist of several terms. In the present text, some names (*kättuṃ*, *hkhutteṃ*, *elāk*) are evidently of Turkic origin. The topic of OU onomastics in Tocharian texts lies beyond the scope of the present contribution. A first approach has been given by Pinault 2007, 347–351.

50 Krause and Thomas 1960–1964, vol. 1, 155, § 242.1.

51 Compare *tārme* in Poucha 1955, 118, and the loan of this term in several proper names.

52 See Zieme 1992, 80–83.

53 Sieg and Siegling 1921, 161 and 166–167.

54 Compare Sieg and Siegling 1921, 166.

together with the feast of Maitreya). Therefore we have copied with joyfulness. May we come indeed to Maitreya the Buddha-lord, to the city of Ketumatī, at that time!

A 311 (THT 945) a5 (5 syllables missing) *ākṣiññār-ām krañś ptāñkte märkampal pekluneṣi pñi : pūk pñintwaṃ tpär sumerr oki koṃ ñkätt oki lukšanu puk kleśāsīi prakte ypant* : (10 syllables missing) : (*saṃsarṣinās puk klopäntwäs*) *tsälpṣant källānt nervānac* 4

The good ones (...) have taught to us the merit of writing the Law of the Buddha-lord. Among all merits, this merit of writing [is] as high as the Sumeru (mountain), as bright as the sun(-god), achieving the hindrance of all impurities, (...) liberating from all sufferings of the Saṃsāra, leading to Nirvāṇa.

A similar text appears in A 303 (THT 936) b4–6, which allows mutual restorations.

The comparison of these leaves shows that some standard and stereotyped poems of praise on the merit of writing could be inserted in colophons and re-used in different works.

In Tocharian as well as Old Uyghur colophons the merit of writing can be transferred to several persons from the same family or clan, including deceased persons, as shown by the Toch. A fragment of a colophon (in verse) preserved in the Musée Guimet, Paris.<sup>55</sup> This piece extends the wishes of the donor(s) to several Uyghur dignitaries, as well as to several sisters, explicitly mentioned as dead. The notion of ‘transfer of merit’ (Skt. *puṇyapariṇāmanā*) was prevalent among Buddhists influenced by Mahāyāna trends. But the related practices were already recorded for early Buddhism,<sup>56</sup> and in the way known as Śrāvakayāna ‘Vehicle of the Listeners’, to which belonged the Tocharian Buddhists, whose texts are issued mostly from the Sarvāstivādin school. Notwithstanding differences of social and political organization, the accumulation of merits (Toch. A *pñi*, OU *byan*) by commissioning the copy of manuscripts was certainly an aim of lay-followers (Skt. *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*) from the higher classes of Tocharian speaking society, and later among Uyghur nobility.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See edition, translation and commentary by Pinault 2007, especially 338–358. The mention of Maitreya in the Musée Guimet fragment (a5) does not imply per se that it belonged to the colophon of a manuscript of the MSN.

<sup>56</sup> See Bechert 1976 and further literature in Zieme 1992, 64.

<sup>57</sup> Compare Zieme 2013, and with respect to colophons, Zieme 1992, 46–88, and to the cult of Maitreya, Zieme 1994.

## 5 Colophons in various works in Tocharian B

The use of colophons at the end of chapters of long-sized literary works was also present in compositions of doctrinal character. Several instances are given along the chapters of the *Udānālaṅkāra* by Dharmasoma, an extensive work,<sup>58</sup> which is an explanatory and etiological commentary of the *Udānavarga*. The latter work, equivalent to the *Dharmapada* (*Dhammapada* in Pāli), was one of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts most frequently copied in Central Asia, especially in the Tarim Basin. It has been preserved in a large number of manuscripts in Sanskrit, and in Tocharian (A and B) according to two main types: manuscripts containing only the Tocharian translation, or bilingual manuscripts, in which each Sanskrit stanza has been followed by its translation into Tocharian. In addition to bilingual manuscripts, quotations of the *Udānavarga* are found in Tocharian texts of various genres. In the commentary named *Udānālaṅkāra* (lit. ‘Ornament of the *Udāna*[*varga*]’), the stanzas of the *Udānavarga* are quoted in faithful Tocharian translations. For each of the 33 chapters of the *Udānavarga*,<sup>59</sup> the commentary was so long that it had to be divided into several parts (Toch. B *pāke* = A *pāk*, seen above p. 351), distinguished by their tunes (and meters).

The following extracts show the usual transition from one chapter to the next. The end of the previous chapter, with mention of the title, is in prose, then follows the division marked by double *daṅḍas* around a blank space, and immediately afterwards, the name of the tune (and meter) of the following chapter:

B 28 a4 ///72 dharmasomāññe udānalaṅkārne mārgavārgāntse pārweṣṣe pāke || || nanda-  
vilā(pne)

In the *Udānālaṅkāra* of Dharmasoma, first part of the *Mārgavarga*. || In the (tune) *Nandavilāpa* ||

The nominal sentence with *pāke* is equivalent to the current sentences ending with the verb Toch. B *āra* (A *ār*) ‘is finished’. End of the first part of the commentary of the *Mārgavarga* (Uv., chap. XII), in meter of  $4 \times 17$  syllables (rhythm 6/6/5). Then follows immediately the second part of the commentary, in (tune) *Nandavilāpa*, meter of  $4 \times 15$  syllables (rhythm 7/8, alternatively 8/7).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> The 70 fragments from the Berlin collection have been edited and translated in Sieg and Siegling 1949. The same text is given with commentary by Thomas 1987, 19–95, but without the translation nor the glossary given in the first edition by Sieg and Siegling 1949.

<sup>59</sup> Edition by Bernhard 1965.

<sup>60</sup> See Sieg and Siegling 1949, 46 (translation).

B 33 a2 || *dharmasomāññe udānalañkārne satkāravārgāntse pārwe(š)š(e) pāke* || ||  
*subhādrenne* || *yetwe śāsantse pelke śamāññe šotri krentāntso soylñe wewe[a3]ñu*

In the Udānālañkāra of Dharmasoma, first part of the Satkāravarga. || In [the tune] Subhādra || The ornament of the teaching, the solemn utterance (*udāna*),<sup>61</sup> [is] named the token proper to the monk, the satiating of the good ones.<sup>62</sup>

End of the first part of the commentary of the Satkāravarga (chap. XIII), in meter of 21+21+18+13 syllables, beginning of the second part, in (tune) Subhādra, meter of 20+22+10+15 syllables.

In the latter example (B 33), by contrast with the former (B 28), the beginning of a chapter, composed in verse, starts with some general and pious statements before the text proper to the commentary itself. Accordingly, additions made by the redactor or copyist were also composed in verse and integrated into the main text. Mutilated colophons of similar structure are found in B 8 a7, 64 b7, 68 a3.

In B 51 one first reads, until line b3, the end of the commentary of the Śilavarga (Uv., chap. VI), concerning the stanzas Uv. VI.16–18, in meter 4 × 12 syllables (rhythm 5/7). The commentary of the Sucaritavarga (chap. VII) begins in line b5; this part is written in meter 4 × 17 syllables (rhythm 6/6/5), named Niṣkramānta. The transition between the two chapters was partly in verse, in stanza 78, followed by the colophon and the meter of the next chapter, presumably noted as || *niṣkramāntne* ||.

In his commentary, Werner Thomas<sup>63</sup> proposed restoring the last *pāda* of the stanza 78 (4 × 12 syllables), as follows:

(*sucaritavārg<sup>ā</sup>*) *śanmāñ tu pāklyauṣso* (78)

Es wird der (Sucaritavarga) kommen. Höret auch das.

It is however more likely that in this verse part the names of the chapters (*varga-*, transposed by Toch. B *kraupe*, lit. ‘group, gathering’)<sup>64</sup> in question were translated into Tocharian. I would then restore the two last *pādas* of the stanza 78 as follows:

(: *papāṣṣorñeṣe śpālmeñ kraupe ompostām* : *krent-yamorṣṣe no se*) *śanmāñ tu pāklyauṣso*

After the excellent chapter pertaining to observance (*śīla-*) comes this one pertaining to good behavior (*sucarita-*). Listen [plural] to it!

<sup>61</sup> Sieg and Siegling 1949, 142 (glossary).

<sup>62</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1949, 54 (translation).

<sup>63</sup> Thomas 1987, 224, following the text given in Sieg and Siegling 1949, 74–75 (translation), n. 9. Translation: ‘The [chapter] Sucaritavarga will come. Listen [plural] also to that!’.

<sup>64</sup> Sieg and Siegling 1949, 116 (glossary); Adams 2013, 238.

Toch. B *papāṣṣorñeṣṣe kraupe* translates Skt. *śīla-varga-*, and *krent-yamorṣṣe*, scil. *kraupe*, translates Skt. *sucarita-varga-*. Toch. B *papāṣṣorñe* ‘observance’<sup>65</sup> is the standard equivalent of Skt. *śīla-* ‘moral conduct, morality’,<sup>66</sup> B *krent-yāmor* lit. ‘good action’ is the calque of Skt. *su-carita-* ‘good behavior’.<sup>67</sup>

This restoration is effectively supported by the transition between the Kāmavarga (chap. II) and the Tṛṣṇāvarga (chap. III) in B 8 a7, where one reads the end of the stanza 40, in meter  $4 \times 25$  (rhythm 5/5/8/7). The next chapter will be in meter  $4 \times 18$  (rhythm 7/7/4):

(: pūdñākte kākṣi yselmeṣṣ=o)mpostāṃ yokaiṣṣe ce kraupe weña tū ñke taṃsa pāklyauṣso 40  
 || dharmasomāññe (udānalañkāre kāmavarg āra || hetuphalne ||)

‘After the one pertaining to desire (*kāma-*), the Buddha-lord the teacher (*guru-*) taught this chapter pertaining to thirst (*tṛṣṇā-*). Listen [plural] now to this out of love!’ In the Udānalañkāra of Dharmasoma the Kāmavarga has come to an end. || In the (tune) Hetuphala II.<sup>68</sup>

Toch. B *yselme* is one of the equivalents of Skt. *kāma-* ‘desire’,<sup>69</sup> B *yoko/yokiye* (obl. sg. *yokai*), lit. ‘thirst’ is the standard equivalent<sup>70</sup> of Skt. *tṛṣṇā-* ‘thirst, longing, craving’.<sup>71</sup>

Therefore, on the basis of these extracts, one can see that the transition between chapters could be indicated twice, 1) by the colophon itself, which was non metrical, 2) by the naming of the chapters as integrated to the narrative commentary in verse.

A similar, albeit somewhat shorter, transition can be found in a different manuscript of the same work,<sup>72</sup> which contains the end of the second part of the commentary to the Cittavarga (Uv., chap. XXXI):

65 Actually the abstract based on the preterit participle *papāṣṣu* of the verb *pāsk-* ‘to observe’ in the moral sense; its Toch. A match is *pāpṣune*.

66 Monier-Williams 1899, 1079a; Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 4, 407b.

67 Monier-Williams 1899, 1223a; Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 4, 386b.

68 Compare Sieg and Siegling 1949, 12–13 (translation); Thomas 1987, 152. For sake of convenience, I have filled the lacuna with one of the tune’s names which have the meter  $4 \times 18$  syllables (rhythm 7/7/4). Other well recorded meters of the same structure would be *bahupayikne*, *vilumpagatiṇe*, *vemacitreṃne*, *tesakaccāmne*, *klampāryaine*, etc.; the first two belong to the meters used for the *Udānastotra*, see Peyrot 2016, 319.

69 Sieg and Siegling 1949, 160 (glossary).

70 Sieg and Siegling 1949, 158 (glossary).

71 Edgerton 1953, 256b; Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 2, 389b.

72 Belonging to the Pelliot collection, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

PK NS 22 a2 (*kartse pelaikne*) *ārttau tāka poyši-käššišše sūtār warñai* [a3] (lacuna of 13 syllables = pāda 114d) 114 *udānalañkārne cittavārggāntse* [a4] (*wate pāke*)<sup>73</sup>

(The good Law) has been approved beginning with the Sūtra belonging to the omniscient, the teacher. [114c] (...) In the Udānalañkāra, second part of the Cittavarga.

The meter of this part was of 21/21/18/13 syllables, the second part of 4 × 12 syllables (rhythm 5/7). The third part is in meter 4 × 12 syllables (rhythm 5/7). One cannot exclude that this sentence ended with the verb *āra* ‘is finished’, but this was not required.

Several narrative and dramatic works are found in the Toch. B corpus. They may include the mention of the donors, i.e., people who ordered the copy of the manuscripts, as found above in Tocharian A.

B 519 a4 ///(*po*)*yšimne* || *pravešakk āra* || *ce po(sta)k lipijñake...* (*paikyka*) ... (5) (*wa*)*rwantsa* *yātkare pai(katsi)* (4 syllables lacuna) *weñāre*

... to the omniscient. || The intermede has come to an end. || This book NN., expert in writing, has written ... (5) Because of that NN., ... (and) NN. the receiver ordered (plural) to write, ... they said ...<sup>74</sup>

This extract gives the colophon of a part of a short scene, named *pravešaka*-‘interlude’, a term of Sanskrit dramaturgy.<sup>75</sup> It is found in both languages in the same phrase, placed between double *daṇḍas*: Toch. B, IOL Toch 140 b1 *pravešak āra*; Toch. A *pravešakk āra* in A 288 b5 (inserted in the first act), YQ I.1 a7, YQ III.5 a4. On the basis of colophons in Toch. A (see above, p. 350), it is safe to assume that the sentence beginning with *ce postak* contained the name of the scribe and the verb ‘to write’; in addition, the next sentence, in line 5, mentioned the commission of copying by named donors. In the first part of the colophon, *lipijñake*,<sup>76</sup> the nominative singular, has been borrowed from Buddhist Sanskrit *lipijñaka*-, masc., a typically Middle Indic *-ka*-derivative of Skt. *lipi-jña*- ‘one who can write’,<sup>77</sup> near equivalent of *lipi-kara*- ‘writer, scribe’ (Epic Skt.) or *lipika*-

<sup>73</sup> Revised edition and restoration by Pinault, put on CEToM together with Malzahn and Peyrot (February 2012): <<https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-pkns22>> (accessed on 22 April 2022).

<sup>74</sup> Compare Sieg and Siegling 1953, 322.

<sup>75</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 692c; Pinault 2015, 585b.

<sup>76</sup> Despite the fading of the script and the bad state of the paper, this word is still readable. No reading in Sieg and Siegling 1953, 322, nor on the Tocharica site of TITUS project: <<http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/tocharic/tht.htm>> (accessed on 11 April 2022).

<sup>77</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 902c. One of numerous compounds meaning ‘knowing X, expert in X’, see *lakṣaṇa-jña*-, *marma-jña*-, *rasa-jña*-, *doṣa-jña*-, etc.

‘writer, clerk, scribe’.<sup>78</sup> Besides, the standard Skt. term *lekhaka*- ‘writer, scribe, clerk’<sup>79</sup> has been borrowed under the form Toch. B *lekhāke* ‘copyist, scribe’.<sup>80</sup>

In examining the previous observations, it appears that the ‘syntax’ of Tocharian colophons was not just a matter of the spatial and graphic division of the text. It may include several traits perceptible through listening carefully, involving changes of tunes (and corollary meters). This was bound presumably by the need to mark the articulation of a long work which ought to be recited and read in public, not simply reserved for private and silent reading.

## 6 Colophons and verses of praise

The boundaries are fuzzy between colophon, praise of the copyist’s writing, and wishes of the donors or on behalf of them. Examples of combinations of these three different genres exist. Such practice was begun as soon as the colophon itself could be composed in verse. Alternatively, it could include verse parts borrowed from other types of texts. In Sanskrit manuscripts found in the northern oases of the Tarim Basin, one finds often short colophons or wishes – often reduced to one sentence – of the copyist, but in Tocharian B (less often A), not in Sanskrit. The standard wish reads in prose: ‘May we all become Buddhas!’, Toch. A *poñś tākimās ptāñktāñ*, see for instance the colophon of the first act of the MSN.<sup>81</sup> Needless to say, this kind of utterance is found in various types of pious works.<sup>82</sup> The wish to attain Buddhahood is met as the conclusion of an intriguing bilingual piece (B 605),<sup>83</sup> which contains a syllabary of the Brāhmī script on the recto, with divisions expressed in Toch. A. The verso tells in Toch. B that these twelve writing exercises have been ordered by Dharmacandra, out of his wish for the dignity of Buddha; then standard goals follow, such as being freed from the circle of births and meeting with Maitreya. The text ends in Toch. A, between double *daṇḍas*, by the mention of the profane name of the donor, Toñkitsā. Immediately before one reads the following statement in Toch. B: B 605 b6 *se ce amok aklyiyenträ po paññākte tākoyeṃ*, ‘Who may learn this art [scil. of writing],

<sup>78</sup> Edgerton 1953, 462b.

<sup>79</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 901b.

<sup>80</sup> Reference in Adams 2013, 608.

<sup>81</sup> YQ I.10 b8. This long colophon, starting on line b5, mentioned several donors, some of which bear OU names or titles (such as *čor*), see Ji Xianlin, Winter and Pinault 1998, 64–65 and 66.

<sup>82</sup> Peyrot 2014, 134–136 and 2016, 322–323.

<sup>83</sup> See Sieg and Siegling 1953, 387.

may they all become Buddha!<sup>84</sup> It is clear that the merit based on writing words issued by the Buddha extended from the copyist to the commissioner of the copy.

The praise of writing (Skt. *lekhana-stava-*) was a genre pertaining to colophons, as colophons may include praises and wishes in prose, and frequently in verse, in Tocharian. This genre is best known by an extremely interesting, albeit non-canonical, text, the Tocharian *Udānastotra*, which existed in both A and B languages. The Toch. B *Udānastotra* is almost entirely preserved.<sup>85</sup> The main part consists of 31 stanzas of  $4 \times 18$  syllables (rhythm 7/7/4), corresponding to the 33 chapters of the *Udānavarga*. The *Udānastotra*, lit. ‘praise of the Udāna’, is a poetic work, being ancillary to the *Udānavarga*. In *udāna-stotra-*, as in *udāna+alaṃkāra-*, the word *udāna-* refers to the *Udānavarga*, whose original title was indeed *Udāna*,<sup>86</sup> taken from the Pāli *Udāna*, even though it includes almost all the verses found in the Pāli *Dhammapada* and the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*.

Actually, the *Udānastotra* does not praise the *Udāna(varga)* much itself, but the act of writing it, precisely for copying each of its successive chapters. Each stanza of the *Udānastotra* is devoted to one (occasionally two) chapters of the *Udāna(varga)*, and contains stereotyped statements, variations and wishes on the basis of a keyword or the basic notion which comprises the title of each *varga*. Every stanza or at least nearly all contain a form of the Toch. B verb *paik-/pik-* ‘to write’.

Example: the 27<sup>th</sup> (alternatively 21<sup>st</sup>) stanza, linked to the Drohavarga, chap. XIV of the *Udānavarga*:

PK AS 4A b2-4 *paikykalñesa drohavarg akālk kñītār-ñ serkene po cmelaṣṣe :*  
*mamāntaṣ ra yolainne mā ñi t(ā)koy māntalyñe k<sub>u</sub>ce ṣ krentāmne :*  
*kaṣṣentai ra sanamne mā wer ṣono wṣi-ñā nta tarkoym trañko :*  
*aknātsaimpa ṣe śmalyñe mā ñi tākoy śānmimar krentāmp=eṣe 27*

May through the writing of the Drohavarga my wish come true in the circle of all births. [a]  
 May I not bear malice towards an evil person, even if he is malicious, nor towards those who

**84** Actually, Toch. B *paññākte*, for standard *pañākte*, is singular, which is triggered by the preceding quantifier *po* ‘all’, being indifferent to number as determinative. Differently Peyrot 2013, 706.

**85** Discovered and first edited by Lévi 1933, 40 and 57–71; revised edition and translation by Pinault 1990, 58–67. Further discussion of the structure and import of the whole text by Peyrot 2016, 306–324. The edition and translation of the fragments has been made available on the CEToM site by Pinault and Malzahn in 2012. In Toch. A, only one fragment is preserved, A 391 (THT 1025), which gives the bilingual text (Sanskrit/Toch. A) of the final stanzas of the Mārgavarga (Uv., chap. XII), followed by a colophon (line b 7) parallel to the one known entirely by the 19<sup>th</sup> stanza of the Toch. B *Udānastotra*.

**86** See Bernhard 1969.

are good. [b] May even towards a murderous enemy hate [and] enmity not reside in me at all [and] may I abandon sin. [c] May I not have a meeting with an ignorant one [and] may I come together with good people.<sup>87</sup>

Skt. *droha*- ‘malice, mischief’,<sup>88</sup> being the key word of the stanza, is rendered by Toch. B *māntalyñe*, abstract of *mānt*- ‘to destroy’, see also the pret. participle *mamāntau* (b).

On the basis of bilingual fragments Peyrot has shown that this Tocharian work followed the *Udānavarga* in Sanskrit, not translated, in the same manuscript.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the *Udānastotra* can be deemed a collective colophon, alternatively a compendium of sub-colophons, based on some kind of enlarged praising colophon, whose individual stanzas could be re-used in every copy of the *Udānavarga*. Admittedly, this poetic exercise is not of very high literary quality. Nonetheless, such a work opens a window into the training and scholarship of the copyists who wrote the colophons in verse of various Buddhist works. As the sponsoring of the copy of manuscripts, as well as of other artefacts, had become an essential part of the lay-followers’ everyday Buddhist practice, the composition of colophons receives some significance for the whole culture of Central Asia.

### Acknowledgments

The research for this article was carried out under the auspices of the HisTochText project, that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC), under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 and innovation program (grant agreement No. 788205).

---

<sup>87</sup> Text and translation after Pinault (1987, 61 and 64–65), see also Pinault and Malzahn, CEToM (August 2013): <<https://cetom.univie.ac.at/?m-pkas4a>> (accessed on 11 April 2022).

<sup>88</sup> Monier-Williams 1899, 502c; ‘Beleidigung, Feindseligkeit’ according to Bechert, Röhrborn and Hartmann 1973–2018, vol. 2, 501b.

<sup>89</sup> Peyrot 2016, 315–319 and 322–324.

## Abbreviations

CEToM	A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts: < <a href="https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian">https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian</a> >
IOL	India Office Library, London.
MaitrHami	<i>Maitrisimit</i> , Hami recension.
MaitrSängim	<i>Maitrisimit</i> , Sängim manuscript.
MSN	<i>Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka</i> in Tocharian A.
PK	Pelliot Koutchéen, Bibliothèque nationale de France. AS = Ancienne Série, NS = Nouvelle Série.
OU	Old Uyghur.
SHT	Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden.
THT	Tocharische Handschriften der (Berliner) Turfansammlung. Current standard inventory for the manuscripts of the Berlin collection, kept by the State Library at Berlin = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Orientabteilung.
Toch. A	Tocharian A.
Toch. B	Tocharian B.
Uv.	<i>Udānavarga</i> .
YQ	Yanqi manuscript of the MSN in Tocharian A.

## References

- Adams, Douglas Q. (2013), *A dictionary of Tocharian B*, 2nd edn (Leiden Studies in Indo-European, 10), Amsterdam: Rodopi [1<sup>st</sup> edn 1999].
- Bechert, Heinz (1976), ‘Buddha-Feld und Verdienstübertragung: Mahāyāna-Ideen im Theravāda-Buddhismus Ceylons’, *Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* [Académie Royale de Belgique], 62: 27–51.
- Bechert, Heinz, Klaus Röhrborn and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds) (1973–2018), *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden [und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule]*, begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt, 4 vols [29 fascicles], Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bernhard, Franz (1965), *Udānavarga*, Vol. 1: *Einleitung, Beschreibung der Handschriften, Textausgabe* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, 10), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bernhard, Franz (1969), ‘Zum Titel des sog. “Udānavarga”’, in Wolfgang Voigt (ed.), *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 27. Juli 1968 in Würzburg*. Vorträge Teil 3 (ZDMG Supplementa, 1), Wiesbaden: Steiner, 872–881.
- Boyer, Auguste M., Edward James Rapson and Émile Senart (1920–1929). *Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, 3 parts, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Burrow, Thomas (1940), *A translation of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan* (James G. Forlong Fund, 20), London: Royal Asiatic Society.

- Carling, Gerd (2009), *Dictionary and Thesaurus of Tocharian A*, Vol. 1: A-J, compiled by Gerd Carling in collaboration with Georges-Jean Pinault and Werner Winter, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Edgerton, Franklin (1953), *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. 2: *Dictionary*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Geng Shimin and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (1988), *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit*, in Zusammenarbeit mit Helmut Eimer und Jens Peter Laut herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Geng Shimin, Jens Peter Laut and Georges-Jean Pinault (2004), 'Neue Ergebnisse der Maitrisimit-Forschung (II): Struktur und Inhalt des 26. Kapitels', *Studies in the Inner Asian Languages*, 19: 29–94.
- Ji Xianlin, Werner Winter and Georges-Jean Pinault (1998), *Fragments of the Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China* (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, 113), Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kasai, Yukiyo (2008), *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone* (Berliner Turfantexte, 26), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Krause, Wolfgang and Werner Thomas (1960–1964), *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. 1: *Grammatik*; Bd. 2: *Texte und Glossar*, Heidelberg: Winter.
- Laut, Jens Peter, Geng Shimin and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (1998), *Eine buddhistische Apokalypse. Die Höllenskapitel (20–25) und die Schlußkapitel (26–27) der Hami-Handschrift der alttürkischen Maitrisimit. Einleitung, Transkription und Übersetzung* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 103), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Laut, Jens Peter and Jens Wilkens (2017), *Altürkische Handschriften*, Teil 3: *Die Handschriften Fragmente der Maitrisimit aus Sängim und Murtuk in der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII/11), Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Lévi, Sylvain (1933), *Fragments de textes koutchéens. Udānavarga, Udānastotra, Udānālaṃkāra et Karmavibhaṅga* (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, 2), Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Malzahn, Melanie (ed.) (2007), *Instrumenta Tocharica*, Heidelberg: Winter.
- Malzahn, Melanie (2007a), 'A Tocharian Brahmi chart', in Malzahn (ed.) 2007, 223–254.
- Malzahn, Melanie (2007b), 'The most archaic manuscripts of Tocharian B and the varieties of the Tocharian B language', in Malzahn (ed.) 2007, 255–297.
- Malzahn, Melanie (2010), *The Tocharian verbal system* (Leiden Studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics, 3), Leiden: Brill.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred (1956–1976), *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, 3 vols, Heidelberg: Winter.
- Mayrhofer, Manfred (1986–2001), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, 3 vols, Heidelberg: Winter.
- Müller, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl and Emil Sieg (1916), 'Maitrisimit und "Tocharisch"', in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1916*: 395–417 [Reprint in Sieg 2014, 25–48].
- Monier-Williams, Sir Monier (1899), *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Peyrot, Michaël (2008), *Variation and change in Tocharian B* (Leiden Studies in Indo-European, 15), Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Peyrot, Michaël (2013), *The Tocharian subjunctive. A study in syntax and verbal stem formation* (Leiden Studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics, 8), Leiden: Brill.

- Peyrot, Michaël (2014), 'Notes on Tocharian glosses and colophons in Sanskrit manuscripts I', *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 15: 131–179.
- Peyrot, Michaël (2015), 'Notes on Tocharian glosses and colophons in Sanskrit manuscripts II', *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 16: 107–130.
- Peyrot, Michaël. (2016), 'The Sanskrit Udānavarga and the Tocharian B Udānastotra: a window on the relationship between religious and popular language on the northern Silk Road', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 79/2: 305–327.
- Peyrot, Michaël, Georges-Jean Pinault and Jens Wilkens (2019), 'Vernaculars of the Silk Road – A Tocharian B–Old Uyghur bilingual', *Journal Asiatique*, 307/1: 65–90.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (1987), 'Épigraphie koutchéenne', in Chao Huashan, Simone Gaulier et al. (eds), *Sites divers de la région de Koutcha*. (Mission Paul Pelliot. [Documents conservés au Musée Guimet et à la Bibliothèque Nationale], 8), Paris: Institut d'Asie du Collège de France, 59–196.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (1990), 'Compléments à l'Udānālāṅkāra et à l'Udānastotra en koutchéen', in Akira Haneda (ed.), *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale. Actes du colloque franco-japonais (4-8 octobre 1988)*, Kyoto: Association Franco-Japonaise des Études Orientales, 51–69.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (1999), 'Restitution du *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka* en tokharien A: Bilan provisoire et recherches complémentaires sur l'acte XXVI', *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 8: 189–240.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2007), 'Le tokharien pratiqué par les Ouïgours: à propos d'un fragment en tokharien A du Musée Guimet', in Jean-Pierre Drège and Olivier Venture (eds), *Études de Dunhuang et Turfan* (EPHE. Hautes études orientales, 41), Geneva: Droz, 327–366.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2008), *Chrestomathie tokharienne. Textes et grammaire*, Louvain: Peeters.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2015), 'Dramatic works: Central Asia', in Jonathan Silk et al. (eds), *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I: *Literature and Languages* (Handbook of oriental studies, Section 2: India, 29/1), Leiden: Brill, 584–590.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (2016), 'Les Tokhariens, passeurs et interprètes du bouddhisme', in Michel Espagne Svetlana Gorshenina, Frantz Grenet, Shahin Mustafayev and Claude Rapin (eds), *Asie Centrale. Transferts culturels le long de la Route de la Soie*, Paris: Vendémiaire, 167–200.
- Poucha, Pavel (1955), *Thesaurus linguae Tocharicae dialecti A*. (Monografie Archivu Orientalního, 15), Prague: Státní Pedagogické Nakladatelství.
- Sander, Lore (1968), *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Supplementband, 8), Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Sander, Lore (1986), 'Brāhmī Scripts on the Eastern Silk Roads', *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 11–12: 159–192 [published in 1987].
- Sieg, Emil (2014), *Tocharologica. Selected writings on Tocharian*, edited and introduced by Georges-Jean Pinault and Michaël Peyrot (Monographien zur Indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, 22), Bremen: Hempen.
- Sieg, Emil and Wilhelm Siegling (1921), *Tocharische Sprachreste*, Vol. 1: *Die Texte*, A. *Transcription*, B. *Tafeln* (Königlich Preußische Turfanexpeditionen), Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Sieg, Emil and Wilhelm Siegling (1949), *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B*, Heft 1: *Die Udānālāṅkāra-Fragmente. Übersetzung und Glossar*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Sieg, Emil and Wilhelm Siegling (1953), *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B, Heft 2: Fragmente Nr. 71–633*. Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von Werner Thomas, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Stumpf, Peter (1971), *Der Gebrauch der Demonstrativ-Pronomina im Tocharischen*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Tekin, Şinasi (1980), *Maitrisimit nom bitig. Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule*, 1. Teil: *Transliteration, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen*; 2. Teil: *Analytischer und rückläufiger Index*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Thomas, Werner (1957), *Der Gebrauch der Vergangenheitstempora im Tocharischen*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Thomas, Werner (1987), *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B. Teil I: Die Texte. Band 1: Fragmente Nr. 1-116 der Berliner Sammlung*, herausgegeben von Emil Siegt und Wilhelm Siegling, neubearbeitet und mit einem Kommentar versehen, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Turner, Ralph Lilley (1966), *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. Volume I: Text*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Zieme, Peter (1992), *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uigurischen Königsreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien* (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 88), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Zieme, Peter (1994), 'Zum Maitreya-Kult in uigurischen Kolophonen', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 49/2 [= Volume of Studies presented to Professor Edward Tryjarski]: 219–230.
- Zieme, Peter (2013), 'Stifter und Texte von der Seidenstraße nach Zeugnissen des altuigurischen Buddhismus', in Barbara Schuler (ed.), *Stifter und Mäzene und ihre Rolle in der Religion. Von Königen, Mönchen, Vordenkern und Laien in Indien, China und anderen Kulturen*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 43–55.

Yukiyo Kasai

# Central Asian and Iranian Influence in Old Uyghur Buddhist Manuscripts: Book Forms and Donor Colophons

**Abstract:** Two different Buddhist traditions played an essential role in introducing Buddhism to the Uyghurs – the Tocharian and the Chinese – both of which cultivated their respective Buddhist cultures in the Turfan area. Gradually, the Uyghurs learned increasingly more of Chinese Buddhist culture, due to a close diplomatic relationship the neighbouring oasis state of Dunhuang (敦煌), and the majority of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts were translated from Chinese. However, Old Uyghur book forms and donor colophons show that the Uyghurs did not simply imitate Chinese Buddhist culture. Instead, they developed their own book and manuscript culture from a diverse context, drawing elements from the region's various Buddhist traditions. Moreover, traces even of an Iranian influence can be perceived in the Buddhist colophons – transmitted via Manichaeism.

## 1 Introduction

The Uyghurs, a Turkic-speaking nomadic tribe, established an empire known as the East Uyghur Kaganate in Mongolia, c. 744–840. Following the empire's demise in 840, the majority of Uyghurs moved into the eastern part of the Tianshan (Chin. 天山) region to found what became the West Uyghur Kingdom (second half of the ninth to the thirteenth century).<sup>1</sup> This kingdom continued to exist even after the rise of Činggiz Khan (1162?–1227), to whom the Uyghur king at that time voluntarily submitted, and the establishment of the Mongolian Empire (1206–1368). In the span of this long period, from the mid-eighth century to the fourteenth, the Uyghurs experienced fundamental religious changes. Originally, they had maintained traditional beliefs shared with other nomadic tribes, in which Heaven played an essential role. However, Manichaeism, a tradition founded in the third century in Babylonia, was introduced during the period of the East

---

<sup>1</sup> The history of the Uyghurs is discussed in many books and articles. See, e.g., Mackerras 1990; Golden 1992, 155–172; Sinor, Geng Shimin, and Kychanov 1998. For a detailed study on the Uyghurs' migration eastward, see, e.g., Moriyasu 2015b.

Uyghur Kaganate.<sup>2</sup> Scholars suggest that the third Uyghur ruler Būgü Kagan's (759–779) support for that religion was a significant political decision<sup>3</sup> that generated strong resentment among Uyghurs who maintained their traditional beliefs. Despite this resentment, from the end of the eighth century onward, the Manichaeism and its followers received the continuous support of the Uyghur rulers.

Manichaeism remained the dominant religion of the Uyghurs for a while after their migration to the Tianshan area. There, however, through exchanges with the local Buddhist inhabitants, primarily the Chinese and the Tocharians (Indo-European language speakers) the Uyghurs gradually converted to Buddhism. In the second half of the tenth century or at the beginning of the eleventh century, after a short period of co-existence with Manichaeism, the Uyghurs' primary religion became Buddhism.<sup>4</sup> Buddhism enjoyed a favoured position among the Uyghurs until the end of the Mongolian period (1363). During that time, the Uyghurs produced Buddhist texts in their own language. At first, both Tocharian and Chinese texts served as sources for Old Uyghur translations, but as the Uyghurs mainly absorbed Chinese Buddhism, Chinese texts were increasingly their primary source.<sup>5</sup> From the tenth century onward, the West Uyghur Kingdom's close relationship to Dunhuang (敦煌) – its neighbouring oasis state and an important Buddhist centre in Northwest China – played an essential role in this transition.<sup>6</sup> This does not mean, however, that the Tocharian Buddhist tradition was eliminated. It is also possible that some Manichaeism elements were retained, even after the Uyghur conversion to Buddhism. The Uyghurs also had connections to the Song-Dynasty (960–1279, 宋) and the Khitan Empire (907–1125, in Chinese sources known as Liao 遼), but were of a lesser degree than the Dunhuang connections. Thus, it was on the basis of these varied sources that Uyghur Buddhist culture was established.

---

2 On the introduction of Manichaeism to the Uyghurs, see, e.g., Moriyasu 1991, 31–32; Moriyasu 2004a, 33–35; Moriyasu 2015a; Clark 2000; Clark 2009.

3 See, e.g., Yoshida 2011, 46; Yoshida (forthcoming), [6]. Yoshida notes that several scholars present this point of view.

4 On the introduction of Buddhism to the Uyghurs, see, e.g., Moriyasu 1990; Moriyasu 1991, 147–174; Moriyasu 2004a, 174–209; Moriyasu 2015c; Tremblay 2007.

5 Johan Elverskog gives an overview of the extant Old Uyghur Buddhist texts that have been published up to 1997. See Elverskog 1997.

6 See, e.g., Kudara 1983, 201; Röhrborn 1997, 551; Rong 2001.

## 2 The book form of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts

The diverse exchanges in which Uyghur Buddhist culture developed are evident in the form of the books containing Buddhist texts. To date, a few extant Old Uyghur Buddhist texts have been identified that share some features with Manichaean texts, including the form of the manuscripts, in which they are found, i.e. the codex. For example, two fragments in Old Uyghur, Pelliot Ouïgour 1 (Fig. 1) and Mainz 131 [T II. Y 37] (Fig. 2), are codices.<sup>7</sup>

The former was found in the so-called library cave at Dunhuang, which was probably closed in the first half of the eleventh century, and thus may be dated prior to the closure.<sup>8</sup> This fragment is identified as a part of the Araṇemi-Jātaka.<sup>9</sup> The date of the latter fragment, which contains a biography of Buddha Śākya-muni, remains unknown.<sup>10</sup> However, it shares some linguistic features, such as the use of the converb *-(X)pAn*,<sup>11</sup> with Manichaean texts, the production of which predates most of the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. Hence, both texts may be grouped together with the earliest Buddhist texts written in Old Uyghur. Another similarity with Manichaean manuscripts evidenced in Pelliot Ouïgour 1 is the use of horizontal writing that is also used in Manichaean codex books.<sup>12</sup> Conversely, the Uyghur script is usually written vertically. While Buddhism was being introduced, the Buddhists may well have been attempting to attract Manichaean Uyghurs by imitating features of Manichaean written culture, such as codex form and horizontal writing.

Very early on, however, the Uyghur Buddhists seem to have begun adopting manuscript forms that were widespread in many Buddhist cultural regions. In addition to the codex or booklet (Figs 1, 2 and 7), the pothi book (Figs 3 and 4), which was and still is the most common form for Buddhist texts in Tibet, India and so on, the scroll (Fig. 5) and the concertina (Fig. 6) (a form of book folded in accordion-style) were adopted for writing Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. The frag-

<sup>7</sup> Images of these fragments are available online: <<http://idp.bl.uk>> and <[http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/images/mainz0131\\_seite1.jpg](http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/mainz/images/mainz0131_seite1.jpg)> (accessed on 12 July 2022). On the left side of the fragment Mainz 131, the trace of the binding is visible.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of the general dating of the manuscripts found in the so-called library cave in Dunhuang and other problems to do with Old Uyghur manuscripts found in other caves, see Moriyasu 1985, 3–4, 15–17.

<sup>9</sup> About the detailed study of this fragment, see Hamilton 1986, 1–20.

<sup>10</sup> About the detailed study of this fragment, see Laut 1983.

<sup>11</sup> On this converb, see Eral 2004, 308–310.

<sup>12</sup> Other examples of codices with Buddhist content written horizontally are listed in Moriyasu 2015c, 623.

mentary condition of many of the manuscripts makes it difficult to identify their form. Even when a manuscript form is identifiable, it does not necessarily tell of a relationship between form and chronology, or between form and a particular Buddhist school, for only a few manuscripts can be dated.<sup>13</sup> As a result, this subject calls for more comprehensive and detailed research. The article here presents the problems in using various book forms among the Old Uyghur manuscripts and poses solutions for them.

Regarding the process of Buddhism's introduction to the Uyghurs discussed above, the Tocharians – whose Buddhist culture was closely connected with Indian book-making traditions – are the most likely to have introduced the pothi book form to the Uyghurs. While the majority of Tocharian Buddhist texts were written on wide pothi leaves (see, e.g., Fig. 8), Uyghur Buddhists used both wide and portrait-oriented pothi leaves for their texts (see, e.g., Figs 3 and 4). Old Uyghur manuscripts share this feature with those of the Sogdian Buddhists. In place of the terms 'wide' and 'portrait', the form Sogdian pothi texts take is defined by the Iranists with the terms 'short-lined' and 'long-lined'. In the short-lined version of the Sogdian pothi form, the lines of text are written parallel to the short side of the leaf, while in the long-lined form, the lines run parallel to the long side of the leaf. Unlike Old Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts in the Uyghur script, which commonly use vertical writing, Sogdian texts in Sogdian script can be written both vertically and horizontally. Thus, if the writing direction of the script in a long-lined form is horizontal, it corresponds to the Old Uyghur wide pothi form. If the script direction is vertical, it corresponds to the Old Uyghur portrait pothi form. Further complicating the matter is that the original form chosen by the scribe could be reinterpreted by the reader. A reader may have chosen to read a text vertically, even though the scribe had written the text horizontally, or vice versa. The writing and reading direction of the script, therefore, affects the scholars' decision in determining the book form, which, in any case, is not always determinable.<sup>14</sup> Despite these difficulties, there exist several manuscripts, in which scholars *can* determine the writing and reading directions. Based on these manuscripts, it may be surmised that the Sogdian Buddhist texts were written

---

**13** Many scholars discuss the linguistic and philological features that can be used for dating the manuscripts. While the various criteria and methods for dating civil documents have been established, the dating of Buddhist manuscripts still presents many problems due to their characteristics as translated literature and sacred text. See, e.g., Moriyasu 2004b.

**14** The images of Sogdian fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection are available online: <<http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/index.html>> and <<http://idp.bl.uk>> (accessed on 12 July 2022). Because of this accessibility, the images are not presented in this article.

both in wide and portrait pothi form, although it remains unclear how frequently each of these forms were used.<sup>15</sup>

The role of the Sogdians in the introduction of Buddhism to the Uyghurs is a significant subject of scholarly discussion. Two major theories circulate on the general introduction of Buddhism to the Turkish-speakers, to which Uyghurs also number. One theory claims that Sogdians had already introduced Buddhism to the Turkish-speakers in the period of the first Turkish Kaganate (552–630) in Mongolia, under whose rule the Uyghurs lived and was the predecessor of the East Uyghur Kaganate. The other theory, posits that most of the Uyghurs converted to Buddhism only after their migration to the Eastern Tianshan area under the influence of the Tocharians and the Chinese. The former theory is dubbed the ‘Sogdian hypothesis’, and the latter the ‘Tocharian hypothesis’.<sup>16</sup> A few reports in Chinese sources indicate contact between the rulers of the first Turkish Kaganate and Buddhism.<sup>17</sup> Up to now, however, no archaeological finds show the spread of Buddhism in the former territory of the Turkish Kaganate in Mongolia. Thus, any interest in Buddhism in that period seems to have been limited to the personal interests of individual Turkish rulers. Furthermore, the Sogdians converted to Buddhism, absorbing Chinese Buddhist culture, most likely after their migration into the regions near China. Furthermore, most Sogdian Buddhist texts were translated from Chinese.<sup>18</sup> The comparative studies of extant Sogdian and Old Uyghur Buddhist texts show that Sogdian texts did not directly serve as models for any Old Uyghur translations.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, when Uyghurs converted to Buddhism, Sogdians did not seem to play a central role as intermediaries.

---

**15** Reck 2009 discusses this problem in detail. At times the foliation is given but appears in a different direction to that of the main text. For example, when the main text is written vertically, the foliation at the top of the manuscript is given horizontally. Keeping the text in the correct direction according to the foliation (with the lines of the main text running vertically), the foliation is legible. If the text is turned and held horizontally, the foliation is in the wrong direction. In the latter instance, the scribe has decided the writing direction and (perhaps unintentionally) showed it to the readers.

**16** The theories are represented in the following sources. See, e.g., Laut 1986; Moriyasu 1990; Moriyasu 2015c. Scholars supporting the Sogdian theory also see a strong influence of Tocharian Buddhists on Uyghurs after their migration. See, e.g., Geng Shimin, Laut and Pinault 2004a and 2004b.

**17** Xavier Tremblay summarizes those sources: Tremblay 2007.

**18** On the introduction of Buddhism to the Sogdians and research on Sogdian Buddhist texts, see, e.g., Yoshida 1991; Yoshida 1993; Tremblay 2007, 89–97; Yoshida 2009a.

**19** Not many texts that are both in Sogdian and Old Uyghur have been preserved. *Araṇemi-jātaka* and *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* are two such examples of texts both in Sogdian and Old

However, there is evidence of some Sogdian involvement in Uyghur Buddhist material culture. Yutaka Yoshida argues that the Uyghur Buddhists in Turfan probably owned and read Sogdian Buddhist texts as the colophons added to some Sogdian Buddhist texts contain Turkish names.<sup>20</sup> Thus, a connection between the Uyghur Buddhists and the Sogdian texts cannot be discounted. As mentioned above, the Sogdians used pothi book forms. It remains unclear whether both forms were already adopted in the period when the Sogdian Buddhist texts were used primarily by the Sogdians themselves or only became widespread when Uyghur Buddhists implemented them. The history of the use of these two pothi forms for Old Uyghur and Sogdian Buddhist texts and their origins remains an interesting future research topic.

Moreover, another question that remains unanswered is whether the various pothi forms reflect different stages in the historical development of Old Uyghur Buddhist book culture or whether or not they correlate with the particular Buddhist traditions that impacted on the Uyghurs. Scholars are aware of famous Buddhist texts translated from Tocharian to Old Uyghur, *Maitrisimit*, ‘Meeting with Maitreya, the Future Buddha’, and *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, ‘The annulus of legends which refer to the ten kinds of actions’. Up to now, three large manuscripts have been identified as copies of the *Maitrisimit*. They have been referenced according to the place of their discovery – in Sängim, Murtuk, and Hami – and each is written on wide pothi leaves.<sup>21</sup> The majority of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* manuscripts have been preserved in Berlin and St. Petersburg. They too are all written on wide pothi leaves.<sup>22</sup> In all cases, the book form and the origin of the original text appear to reasonably link to each other.

Conversely, the scroll form seems to have been adopted by the Chinese Buddhist community. The Old Uyghur version of the Chinese apocryphal sutra *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk Sudur* (Chin. *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhoujing* 佛說天地八陽神咒經 [Mantrasūtra of the Eight Principles of Heaven and Earth as Spoken by the

---

Uyghur. A comparative study of the texts shows that the Sogdian and Old Uyghur versions share no direct relationship. See, e.g., Sundermann 2001, 340; Sundermann 2006, 718–720.

**20** Yoshida 2007, 63–66; Yoshida 2008, 340–344.

**21** The Sängim and Murtuk manuscripts have been catalogued. See Laut and Wilkens 2017. The facsimiles of the Hami manuscripts have been partly published in several editions. See, e.g., Geng Shimin and Klimkeit 1988. Peter Zieme published two additional fragments preserved in the Otani Collection (Kyoto), see Zieme 2000b. Though also in the wide pothi book form the fragments do not belong to any of the above mentioned manuscripts.

**22** The manuscripts preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been catalogued and edited. See Ehlers 1987; Wilkens 2010; Wilkens 2016. The fragments preserved in St. Petersburg have been edited in Shōgaito, Tugusheva and Fujishiro 1998.

Buddha], T. 2897), for example, survives in various manuscripts and block prints, and one of the oldest manuscripts found in Dunhuang Or.8212(104) is a scroll of this text.<sup>23</sup> Although the manuscript's place of production remains undecided, a close connection to Chinese Buddhist culture is evident in the manuscript's form. This does not, however, mean that the scroll was always used for texts translated from Chinese, nor that it became dominant among the Old Uyghur Buddhist manuscripts due to the transition to Chinese sources. On the contrary, the pothi book seems to have been used continuously as the main book form for Old Uyghur Buddhist texts. The manuscripts of texts translated from Chinese – such as the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (T. 665.16) or *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (T. 475.14) – were largely produced as pothi books.<sup>24</sup>

The use of the book form for Old Uyghur Buddhist texts changed slightly when block printing techniques were introduced in the Mongolian period (thirteenth–fourteenth century). The concertina form was often adopted for block-printed texts, although the pothi book continued as the dominant form for manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> Also, according to Yūkei Hirai, in Dunhuang the codex or booklet seems to have become accessible from the tenth century onwards.<sup>26</sup> Among the Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, however, a few manuscripts exist in that form, although it was the standard form for the Manichaeic texts that were the forerunners of Buddhist ones. The codex or booklet seems to have been used continuously at least in small numbers after the Uyghurs' religious transition from Manichaeism to Buddhism.

The above facts show that the Uyghurs developed their manuscript culture based on the variety of Buddhist traditions in the region. The Old Uyghur Buddhist texts were usually translated from Chinese, so it is likely a strong absorption of the Chinese book tradition took place. The Uyghurs, however, did not follow

---

**23** The image will be published online: <<http://idp.bl.uk>> (accessed on 4 August 2022). The fragments preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been catalogued. See Raschmann 2012. On the complete edition of this text, see, e.g., Oda 2015.

**24** The fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been fully catalogued. On the book format of the different manuscripts, see Raschmann 2000, 13–52. Peter Zieme edited and published the Old Uyghur version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, see Zieme 2000a.

**25** The block-printed texts preserved in the Berlin Turfan Collection have been catalogued completely with information on book formats, see Yakup and Knüppel 2007; Yakup 2008; Yakup 2009.

**26** Hirai 1984, 23. Jean-Pierre Drège discusses the technical development of the codex booklet form, see Drège 2018, 27–28. Sam van Schaik also discusses book forms based on Tibetan materials from Dunhuang, see van Schaik 2006, 62–64. Very recently Imre Galambos discussed various book forms of the Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang, including codices, see Galambos 2020, 32–36.

the Chinese tradition entirely preferring instead to adhere to the Buddhist traditions widespread in Central Asia, which maintained closer ties to India.

### 3 The template of Old Uyghur Buddhist colophons

Unlike the book forms, the contents of Old Uyghur Buddhist texts clearly show a strong connection to Chinese Buddhism. This applies not only to the *sūtras* directly translated from Chinese, but also to the colophons Uyghur donors added individually at the end of copied or printed *sūtras*, commentaries or eulogies. In such colophons, the donors give the date of copying or printing, explain the reason for their donation, and wish for the fulfilment of their religious goal through the merit gathered by this donation activity. When writing their colophons the Uyghur Buddhists adopted the Chinese colophon template.<sup>27</sup> Most of the donor colophons follow this template. This is evidenced in the colophon appended to the Sāngim manuscript of *Maitrisimit*, dating from the tenth century.<sup>28</sup> Thus, it seems that a template for the donor colophons was created shortly after the introduction of Buddhism to Uyghurs. Almost all the components of Chinese colophons are to be found in Old Uyghur ones, in precisely the same order:<sup>29</sup>

- Section 1: beginning formula
- Section 2: date
- Section 3: names of the donors
- Section 4: reasons for copying or printing the text or texts
- Section 5: dedication of religious merit
- Section 6: donor or donors' wishes
- Section 7: ending formula

Section 1 and Section 7 appear only in Old Uyghur colophons. While Section 1 consists of only one word, *yemä* 'now', for Section 7 there are some varieties such as *ädgü ädgü* or *sadu sadu*, all of which mean 'good'. The word *yemä* is generally used as the beginning formula in Old Uyghur and often appears at the beginning of a new sentence. The formula in Section 7 corresponds to the Sanskrit *sādhu*. These sections demonstrate the uniqueness of the Old Uyghur, but are not relevant to the

<sup>27</sup> I discussed this in detail in Kasai 2008, 37–44.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., Kasai 2008, 181–184 (colophon No. 82).

<sup>29</sup> Peter Zieme identifies, classifies, and discusses these entries, see Zieme 1992.

current discussion. The only essential difference between Chinese and Old Uyghur colophons is Section 5: Dedication of Religious Merit, which is generated through copying or printing Buddhist texts by donors. This section does not appear in Chinese colophons, but the corresponding section is contained in the Chinese prayer text (*yuanwen* 願文) which were written by the Buddhists at various events, such as offerings and creating or repairing the grotto temples.<sup>30</sup> In the Chinese prayer text, after Section 5.1.: Dedication of Merit to the Guardians, the people to whom the donors want to dedicate merits (Section 5.2.) are mentioned according to their social rank, and to each of them, Section 6: Donor or Donors' Wishes, are added, as in Old Uyghur colophons:<sup>31</sup>

二月八日逾城文 (Moon which is) over the city wall on the 8<sup>th</sup> February<sup>32</sup>

*Section 5.1. followed by Section 6*

(前略) 總斯多善，先用奉資梵釋四王、龍天八部：惟願威光盛熾，神力無疆；擁護生靈，艾(乂)安邦國。

... All of those many good things should first be respectfully offered up to Brahmā, Indra, the Four Heavenly Kings and the nāgas and gods of the eight classes. May their glory flourish and their divine power be limitless. (May those gods) support and protect the living beings and stabilize the state!

*Section 5.2. followed by Section 6*

又持勝福，次用莊嚴我當今天城(成)聖主貴位：伏願聖壽延昌，淳風永播；金轉(輪)與法輪齊持(轉)，佛日將舜日交暉；妖氛蕭清，保寧宗社。又持勝福，次用莊嚴我河西節度使貴位：伏願佐天利物，助聖安人；福將山岳與(以)齊高，受(壽)等海泉如(而)深遠。又持勝福，次用莊嚴：伏惟使臣、僕射福同山岳，萬里無危；奉招(詔)安邦，再歸帝釋(室)。又持勝福，次用莊嚴則我河西都僧統、內僧統和尚等貴位：伏願長垂帝釋(澤)，為灌頂之國師；永鎮臺階，讚明王之利化。又持勝福，次用莊嚴都衛已下諸官吏等：伏願金柯蓋(益)茂，玉葉時芳；盤石增勳，維城作鎮。然後天下定，海內清；無聞征戰之明(名)，有賴威雄之化。

**30** The result of the comparative studies between Old Uyghur colophons, Chinese colophons and Chinese prayer texts on those sections is shown as a table with a detailed discussion in my book, see Kasai 2008, 42–43.

**31** The structure of the Chinese colophons and prayer texts differs from one another. Thus, the Old Uyghur colophons adopted only the Section 5 from the prayer texts, while the other sections follow the template of Chinese colophons.

**32** The text follows Huang Zheng and Wu Wei's edition, see Huang Zheng and Wu Wei 1995, 445–447. Their text is based on P. 2058 and P. 3566 which are copies of the same text. I put the corresponding entry number at the beginning of each entry. The following English translation is my own. Licia Di Giacinto (Bochum), Henrik Hjort Sørensen (Bochum), and Hou Haoran (Bochum) gave me useful advice in making the translation. I appreciate their specialist support. I alone am responsible for any mistakes.

Moreover, holding this victorious merit, (I) next use it to adorn our holy sovereign of noble rank, the present Tiancheng (天成) Emperor. May his holy longevity be prolonged in glory and (his) simple and honest manners spread for all time. The golden-wheel and *dharmawheel* shall keep turning, the Buddha-sun shall shine together with the Shun (舜)-sun, and the inauspicious *qi* (氛) shall be swept away, and (the emperor) shall keep the ancestors' shrine and shrines for the gods of earth and corn. Moreover, holding this victorious merit, (I) next use it to adorn the honourable position of our military governor of Hexi (河西). May he assist Heaven to make benefit for all beings and help the saints to pacify human beings. (His) merit shall be high like the mountains and peaks, and his longevity shall be deep and far away like the oceans. Also holding this victorious merit, (I) next use it to adorn (the following people): May the merit of ambassadors (Chin. 使臣) and supervisors (Chin. 僕射) be like the mountains and peaks; within the realm of 10000 *li* (里), may (they) be free from danger; may (they) be dedicated to the emperor's degrees, stabilize the state, and come back to the emperor's house again. Furthermore, holding this victorious merit, (I) use it to adorn our *dou sengtong* (都僧統) of Hexi (河西), *nei sengtong heshang* (內僧統和尚),<sup>33</sup> and all those other ones. May (they) distribute the imperial blessing at length and become State Preceptors of the coronation. May (they) sit on the stage-seat (臺階)<sup>34</sup> and praise the luminous king's edification of others. Moreover, holding this victorious merit, (I) then use it to adorn all the government officials beginning with *douwei* (都衛).<sup>35</sup> Their golden branches shall grow more and more, and their jade leaves flourish according to the seasons. May their increasing accomplishments solidify. (May they) link cities (to each other) for the protection of the state and build forts. After that, the world may be stabilized and the state be purified. (One) will not hear the name of war or rely on a military power's strength.

Generally, the Old Uyghur colophons also follow this template. The number of people mentioned is sometimes higher than in the Chinese prayer texts, and they are identified through kinship terms and individual names rather than social ranks. That is to say, they are not rulers or high ranking officials as those appearing in Chinese prayer texts, but family members and relatives in Old Uyghur colophons. This section makes up the largest part of some colophons, as exemplified here:

33 These are the monk's ranks used in Dunhuang. On these ranks, see, e.g., Chikusa Masa'aki 1982.

34 In the Taishō Tripiṭaka database, this term appears only in texts found in Dunhuang. The term seems to have been of common usage in Dunhuang. It is still unclear as to what it means exactly. As it appears along with the titles of high-ranking monks, it is probably a kind of seat reserved for those of high rank.

35 It should be one of the government officials, but the exact rank and function is not clear. It is not listed, for example, in the table of government officials in the Tang Dynasty compiled by Mamoru Tonami, see Tonami 1998.

SI 2 Kr. 86<sup>36</sup>

*Section 1 and Section 2*

missing

*Section 3*

lines 1–2 [ *üč ärdini-kä akıgı|z b(ä)k katg süzök kertg|ünč köñüllüg upase upasanč*]

lines 1–2 ... [the layman] ... [and the laywoman] ... [who have] the insusceptible and immovably pure f[ai]th in the *triratna*,

*Section 4*

lines 2–3 [ *äd|gü-lärin öp sakımp ”R[ ]LMYŠ [ bititü] tägindim(i)z :*

lines 2–3 have thought<sub>2</sub> the [advantages] of the(?) ... and [had it written off].

*Section 5*

lines 3–4 *bo nom bititmäkdin turmiš buyamg ävirä ötünü täginür [biz(?)]*

lines 3–4 [We] allocate the merit that has arisen from copying this *sūtra*:

*Section 5.1 followed by Section 6*

lines 4–7 [*bo buyan ädgü kılınč küçintä al|tın yağız-takı alkančsız tälim tiši erkäk kut w(a)hšik ayaz-[takı ]-L’R-NYNK t(ä)ñridäm ıdok küč-läri küsün-läri aslıp üštälip [ ] bodunug k(a)rag apamukaṭäki adasızın tudasızın küyü küzäṭü[tutmak-lar bolzun ]*

lines 4–7 ... [by power of this religious merit (*puṇya*)], the divine and sacred powers<sub>2</sub> of the infinitely numerous female and male guardian spirits below on the brown earth and [the female and male(?) gods(?) in the] clear sky may increase and grow ..., and [they may] guard and protect the people<sub>2</sub> for eternity without danger and distress!

*Section 5.2 followed by Section 6*

lines 7–26 *eçim aṭsız-ka eçim yam inal-ka : yäñ(g)äm sumak t(ä)ñrim-kä [ tur]miš buyamg nomlug dentarm(i)z äsän açarı bäg-kä : eçim ädgü togrıl[ ] : yäñgäm ičkälmiš t(ä)ñrim-kä : eçim äsän inal-ka yäñgäm el [ eçim ]/ inal-ka : yäñgäm basana t(ä)ñrim-kä : eçim bāgičük inal-ka [yänäm -Q’] eçim han kul-ka : yäñgäm aṭay kunčuy-ka : ič kadičük-kä : [ ] kay-a šäli-kä : sumak t(ä)ñrim-kä : kadın atam kädik totok bäg-kä [kadın anam ]-Q’ eçim basana inal-ka : inim kāraksız-kä : kälünim tilik sang [ ] el almiš t(ä)ñrim-kä : adaš-ım bolmiš-ka : eçim sang toyın inal-ka[ ]-K’ : kızım aṭay kızka kızların kiçig k(i)y-ä-kä : takna inal-ka : [ közüñür-däki ko|p ädgülig küsüs-läri kamıp ’añ kenintä burhan kutın bulmak-ları bolzun [ ärt]miš adın aṭun-ka sanlıg bolmiš : ulug aṭam sñkar totok bāgkā ulug anam [ ]w totok bāgkā : eçim tudan açarı-ka : yäñgäm kutug t(ä)ñrim-kä : tugmiš aṭam \*k/z inal-k[a tug]miš anam ogul yetmiš t(ä)ñrim-kä : eçim tagay inal-ka : yäñgäm sävinč*

<sup>36</sup> The fragment is now kept in St. Petersburg. For a transcription of the text, its German translation, and a detailed study, including information on previous studies, see Kasai 2008, 269–272 (colophon No. 152).

*t(ä)ñrim-kä anam üšťäk t(ä)ñrim-kä : anam ana hatun t(ä)ñrim-kä : bäkümüš totok-ka : ačam karamuk inal-ka : anam anğ kunčuy t(ä)ñrim-kä : ačam ödüš inal-ka : adak totok mal-ka : anam taz küñ t(ä)ñrim-kä anam buyančog t(ä)ñrim-kä : äkäm tärim kunčuy t(ä)ñrim-kä : yäñgäm tadarčın t(ä)ñrim-kä : ečim ačsız inal-ka ečim sansız inal-ka ada[š]ım kutlug-ka : karna šäli-kä : ana hačun t(ä)ñrim-kä adašım elig-kä : yğmıš t(ä)ñrim-kä : kä/ig t(ä)ñrim-kä : ölgäšük üd-lärintä ög-lärin köñül-lärin yğnu umadın ärmäz yaramaz oron-larta tugmıš ärsär ol ol oron-larntın ozup kutrulup üstün tužit t(ä)ñri yerintä burhan-lar uluš-ınta tugmak-lan bolzun*

lines 7–26 [Further, we allocate the merit]: my elder brother Ačsız, my elder brother Yam Inal, my elder sister-in-law Sumak T(ä)ñrim. [I allocate] the ... [accu]mulated merit: our monk with *dharmā* Āsān Ačari Bäg, my older brother Ädgü Togrıl ... my elder sister-in-law İčkälmiš T(ä)ñrim, my elder brother Āsān Inal, my elder sister-in-law El ..., [my elder brother] ... Inal, my sister-in-law Basana T(ä)ñrim, my older brother Bägicük Inal, ..., my older brother Han Kuli, my older sister-in-law Ačay Kunčuy, İč Kädičük, ... Kay-a Šäli, Sumak T(ä)ñrim, my father-in-law Kädik Totok Bäg, [my mother-in-law] ..., my older brother Basana Inal, my younger brother Käräksiz, my younger sister-in-law Tilik Sarıg ... El Almiš T(ä)ñrim, my friend(?) Bolmiš, my elder brother Sarıg Toyın Inal, ..., my daughter Ačay Kız, my daughters Kiçig Kyä, Takına Inal, ... [All] their [present] good wishes may be fulfilled, and after that, they may attain Buddhahood! [Further, we allocate the religious merit], to the deceased and to those who belong to the other existence: my grandfather Sınkar Totok Bäg, my grandmother... Totok Bäg, my older brother Tudan Ačari, my older sister-in-law Kutug T(ä)ñrim, my biological father 'K/Z Inal, my [biological] mother Ogul Yet-miš T(ä)ñrim, my older brother Tagay Inal, my older sister-in-law Sävinč T(ä)ñrim, my mother Üšťäk T(ä)ñrim, my mother Ana Hatun T(ä)ñrim, Bäkümüš Totok, my father Karamuk Inal, my mother Arıg Kunčuy T(ä)ñrim, my father Ödüš Inal, Adak Totok Inal, my mother Taz Küñ T(ä)ñrim, my mother Buyančog T(ä)ñrim, my elder sister Tärim Kunčuy T(ä)ñrim, my elder sister-in-law Tadarčın T(ä)ñrim, my elder brother Ačsız Inal, my elder brother Sansız Inal, my friend(?) Kutlug, Karna Šäli, Ana Hačun T(ä)ñrim, my friend(?) Elig, Yıgmıš T(ä)ñrim, Kä/ig T(ä)ñrim. If they cannot gather their hearts and senses in the time at their death and should be reborn in inappropriate<sub>2</sub> places, may they be delivered and liberated from these places and be reborn above in Tušita heaven, in the Buddha fields!

*Section 7*

line 27 *sadu sadu ädgü ädgü.*

line 27 *sādhu, sādhu!* Good, good!

The size of these sections in donor colophons reveals that Section 5, together with Section 6, constitutes the essential component for Uyghur donors. It differs from both Chinese colophons and prayer texts. Of the Buddhist colophons written in Central and Eastern Asian languages, only one Sogdian Buddhist colophon features a long list of people to whom religious merit is dedicated:

Pelliot Sogdien 8<sup>37</sup>

*Section 2*

The year of the prince ....., in Tuen-Huang, year of the tiger, sixth month, the fifteenth elapsed.

*Section 3 and Section 4*

Ordered to translate this *sūtra*, ... Čwr'kk, son of Npt'yr, with sincere faith, of a pure spirit, with a view to..... of protection, of merit and of benefit, so that it may be a [170] protection and safeguard for all beings, so that everyone may obtain deliverance from sickness and misfortune.

*Section 5.2*

I dedicate this action of merit to my entire family: hand of my grandfather; of my grandmother *rwtpṛṇḍ'yh*; of my father *npt'yr*; of my mother *pwtyḍ'yh*; of *nwšy'n*; of *br't'nh*; of *mrkth*, of *krzβy'rt*; [175] of *'rwtpṛṇč*; of *ywnčwyh*; of *šwt'kk*; of *'sk'tč*; of *δ'rprn*. I add the

---

37 The fragment is now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. The following English translation is based on Émile Benveniste's French translation of Sogdian text, see Benveniste 1940, 113–115. Jessie Pons (Bochum) kindly checked and corrected the English translation. The original French translation is: L'année du prince ....., à Tuen-Huang, année du tigre, sixième mois, le quinze écoulé. A ordonné de traduire ce *sūtra*, .... Čwr'kk, fils de Npt'yr, avec une sincère foi, d'un esprit pur, en vue de ..... de la protection, du mérite et du bienfait, pour qu'il soit une [170] protection et une sauvegarde pour tous les êtres, que chacun obtienne délivrance de la maladie et du malheur. Je voue cette action de mérite à l'ensemble de ma famille : main de mon grand-père ; de ma grand-mère *'rwtpṛṇḍ'yh* ; de mon père *npt'yr* ; de ma mère *pwtyḍ'yh* ; de *nwšy'n*, de *br't'nh*, de *mrkth*, de *krzβy'rt* ; [175] de *'rwtpṛṇč* ; de *ywnčwyh* ; de *šwt'kk* ; de *'sk'tč* ; de *δ'rprn*. J'y mêle le mérite de ceux de notre famille qui ont quitté cette existence : main de *βytw'č* ; de *k's* ; de *nym'nh* ; de *y'n'kh* ; de *mwš'kk* ; *wrδ'n* ; de *ywšm'nčh* ; [180] de *ywt'ywrh* ; de *βywytyšyrh* ; de *r'm'kkh* ; de *s'w'nčh* ; de *stčry* ; de *ywš'kk* ; de *znyprn* ; de *y'nprn* ; de *myḍβ'nčh* ; de *ršt't'yh* ; de *sypwnh* ; de *my'mnh* ; de *mpy'n* ; de *t't'č* (ou *tytč* ?) ; de *'prtmy'n* ; du deuxième *mpy'n* ; de *ywt'yt* ; de *pwty'n* ; de *nnpkkn* (?) ; [185] de *k's'k* ; de *ynt'* ; de sa femme *my'ḍ'yh* ; de *'t'nh* ; de *r'w'yš* ; de toute la famille ; des parents .... ; des vivants et des morts ; des proches et des lointains ; des connaissances et des non-connaissances ; des défunts respectés ; de tous les êtres des cinq existences des trois mondes ; qu'ils aient ce mérite [190] pour la gloire du bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara maître des créatures, le plus haut des dieux. Moi, serviteur, Čwr'kk, puisse ce vœu m'être accordé : que, avec les défunts (?) et avec les vivants, avec l'ensemble de ma race, que je sois sain et sans maladie, bienfaisant, méritant, m'efforçant pour le service du Buddha, du dharma et du saṃgha ; brave dans le don ; que jamais mon esprit ne se dresse contre moi en ennemi, avare et sans don, et qu'il ne lèse pas. [195] Puissé-je être assez fort et puissant pour pouvoir, par mes propres ressources, fonder un vihāra et saṃghārāma, y établir en respect de nombreux moines, les servir dans les quatre sortes d'indices, dans le don de nourriture (et) boisson, de toutes sortes de vêtements, dans le fait d'étendre le tapis (et) le lit et dans la médecine des remèdes, avec soigneurs et serviteurs. Dans la bonne générosité de ce mérite, puisse-je obtenir [200] comme maître Maitreya Buddha et lui faire respect selon la règle ; dans la bénédiction de l'état de Buddha, écouter la consolation (?) ; fermer la mauvaise voie à tous les êtres des cinq existences et éteindre pour eux le mal ; obtenir moi-même le signe de l'état de Buddha.

merit of those in our family who have left this existence: hand of *βytw'č*; of *k's*; of *nym'nh*; of *y'n'kh*; of *mwš'kk*; of *wrδ'n*; of *ywšm'nčh*; [180] of *ywt'ywrh*; of *βywt'yšyrh*; of *r'm'kkh*; of *s'w'nčh*; of *sttčry*; of *ywš'kk*; of *znpyn*; of *y'nprn*; of *myδβ'nčh*; of *rštδ'yh*; of *sypwnh*; of *my'mnh*; of *npny'n*; of *t't'č* (or *tytč* ?); of *'prtmy'n*; of the second *mpy'n*; of *ywt'yt*; of *pwty'n*; of *nnpkkn* (?); [185] of *k'š'k*; of *ynt'*; of his wife *my'δ'yh*; of *'t'nh*; of *r'w'yš*; of the whole family; of parents ...; of the living and the dead; of the near and far; of knowledge and non-knowledge; of the respected dead; of all beings of the five existences of the three worlds;

#### Section 6

May they have this merit [190] for the glory of the Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara, master of creatures, the highest of the gods. I, servant, Čwr'kk, may this vow be granted to me: that, with the deceased (?) and with the living, with all my race, I may be healthy and disease-free, beneficial, deserving, striving for service to the Buddha, the *dharma*, and the *saṃgha*; brave in the gift; that my spirit may never rise up against me as enemy, greedy and without gift, and that it does not impair. [195] May I be strong and powerful enough to be able, by my own resources, to establish a *vihāra* and *saṃghārāma*, to establish there in respect for many monks, to serve them in the four kinds of clues, in the gift of food (and) drink, of all kinds of clothing, in the spreading of the rug (and) the bed, and in the medicine of remedies, with healers and servants. In the good generosity of this merit, may I obtain [200] as master the Buddha Maitreya and show him respect according to the rule; in the blessing of the state of buddha, listen to consolation (?); close the wrong path to all beings of the five existences and extinguish evil for them; obtain, myself, the sign of the state of Buddha.

Compared with Old Uyghur colophons, this Sogdian colophon does not have Section 1: Beginning Formula and Section 7: Ending Formula. Nor does Section 5.1: Dedication of the Merit to the Guardians appear either. Hence, this colophon adheres more to a Chinese colophon model than the template of Uyghur colophons. However, no close connections to typical Chinese prayer texts appear in any of its sections. As with Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, the Sogdian Buddhist texts were also produced largely by absorbing Chinese Buddhism. Such faithful adoption of the Chinese colophon template is therefore reasonable. The fact that the Sogdian and Old Uyghur colophons share a section consisting of the dedication of the merit to the numerous family members supports the argument forwarded in Section 5.2 based on the Central Asian or Iranian tradition rather than the absorption of Chinese Buddhist culture.<sup>38</sup>

To illustrate this point, a colophon added to the Middle Iranian Manichaean hymn book *Maḥmāmag* is pertinent. The colophon states that production of the

<sup>38</sup> Nicholas Sims-Williams (Cambridge) informed me that a Bactrian colophon also has a long list of family members in the dedication of merit, see Sims-Williams 2000. I appreciate his specialist support. That particular colophon only mentions kinship terms not identified by individual names.

hymn book *Maḥrnāmag* began around 762 in Ark, and after a brief interruption, was completed at the beginning of the ninth century, during the period of a Uyghur ruler who strongly supported the Manichaean community. In the colophon, there is a kind of dedication part listing numerous members of the audience, primarily Manichaean laypeople.<sup>39</sup>

M I, lines 1–44

[They may send] health and integrity the two ‘glories’ and the two blisses to these our rulers, the lords, first and foremost most fortunate of the born, the shining ‘member’ of the Messenger of Light, the pious ‘hearer’ Ai tängridä chut bulmäs alp bilgä Uigür changän, the \*protector of the apostles, the caregiver (patron saint) of the truthful, innocent (Electi), as well as his descendants and his ruling dynasty, the princes and princesses, first of all the Yultuzbai Tegin, the Ügä Pēröz Tegin, the Chasär Tegin, the Vazurgän Tegin, the Tatar Apa Tekin, the Žirëft Tekin (and) the Nëv Tekin, these princes, in addition the lords, the powerful Savağ Tutuğ, Tschīq Tutuğ, furthermore the Tschigschis, the Tiräks, and further the Il-Ügäsi Kadosch Niyōšägbäd (master of the auditor), the member, the shining, the Messenger of Light, in addition the Il-Ügäsis: Ötür Ügä, Sawtschi Muğa (= Buğa? Mağâ?) Tarkan Ügä, Bilig Köngül Sangun Ügä Batur Sangun Ügä, Tai Muğa Tarchan Ügä, Nižük Sangun Ügä, these loads, the powerful ones. And further they whose name is not mentioned by me, may they live and prosper in eternity, Amen!

The list begins with the Uyghur ruler, his male and female family members, and high-ranking vassals. While the above-quoted lines mention them in capitals, from line 45 on, the colophon lists vassals in other cities under Uyghur rule at the time of its production. The list contains female audience members, including princesses. The long list of names continues to line 159.

---

<sup>39</sup> The following English translation is based on Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller’s German translation. See Müller 1913, 9–10. The original German translation is: [Sie mögen senden] Gesundheit und Unversehrtheit die beiden ‘Glorien’ und die beiden Glückseligkeiten diesen unseren Herrschern, den Herren, zuvörderst dem glücklichsten der Geborenen den glänzenden ‘Glieder’ des Lichtgesandten, den frommen ‘Zuhörer’ Ai tängridä chut bulmäs alp bilgä Uigür changän, dem \*Beschützer der Apostel, dem Pfleger (Schutzpatron) der Wahrhaften, Lauteren (Electi), dazu seiner Nachkommenschaft und seinem Herrschergeschlecht, den Prinzen und Prinzessinnen, zuvörderst dem Yultuzbai Tegin, dem Ügä Pēröz Tegin, dem Chasär Tegin, dem Vazurgän Tegin, dem Tatar Apa Tekin, dem Žirëft Tekin (und) dem Nëv Tekin, diesen Prinzen, dazu den Herren, den mächtigen Savağ Tutuğ, Tschīq Tutuğ, ferner den Tschigschis, den Tiräks, und weiter dem Il-Ügäsi Kadosch Niyōšägbäd (Herrn d. Auditores), dem Gliede, dem glänzenden, des Lichtgesandten, dazu den Il-Ügäsis: Ötür Ügä, Sawtschi Muğa (= Buğa? Mağâ?) Tarkan Ügä, Bilig Köngül Sangun Ügä Batur Sangun Ügä, Tai Muğa Tarchan Ügä, Nižük Sangun Ügä, diesen Herren, den mächtigen. Und weiter diejenigen, deren Name von mir nicht erwähnt ist, mögen sie leben und gedeihen in Ewigkeit, Amen! On this colophon, see also Sundermann 1992, 71–72; Yoshida 2009b, 352, n. 10; Moriyasu 2015d, 241–244.

Only a few Manichaean colophons have been preserved most of which are in a fragmentary condition. For which reason it remains unknown whether or not it was usual for Manichaean colophons to contain such long lists of individual names. It is possible such a large number of people listed in the dedication was a widespread feature of colophons in Iranian culture and had been adopted by the Uyghurs via Manichaeism.

## 4 Closing remarks

The discussion above argues that Uyghur Buddhists established their manuscript culture through various exchanges with different religious communities and Buddhist cultures in Central and Eastern Asia. Those exchanges are reflected in the different forms of the manuscripts containing Old Uyghur Buddhist texts and the structure colophons featured in the texts. Some aspects of the texts and colophons show Buddhists were aware of Manichaeism and its literature, which were forerunners of Uyghur Buddhist texts. Buddhists experimented, imitating Manichaean text styles. This is exemplified by the use of the codex and the long list of audience and family members are examples of this. The codex book was not adopted as the standard form for Old Uyghur Buddhist texts, although the list of people survived and became a characteristic feature of Old Uyghur Buddhist donor colophons.

However, the most essential contribution to the production of Old Uyghur Buddhist literature was the diverse Buddhist traditions in the regions surrounding the Uyghurs. Although the Chinese influence was considerable, Uyghur Buddhists did not follow the Chinese model passively. As they developed styles of writing texts in the Old Uyghur language and script, the Uyghurs also absorbed features from Central Asia.

### Acknowledgments

Research and writing of this paper were facilitated through the Buddhist Road project which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 725519).

## References

- Bazin, Louis and Peter Zieme (eds) (2001), *De Dunhuang à Istanbul. Hommage à James Russell Hamilton* (Silk Road Studies, 5), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Benveniste, Émile (1940), *Textes Sogdiens* (Mission Pelliot en Asie centrale, 3), Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Chikusa Masa'aki 竺沙雅章 (1982), 'Tonkō no sōkan seido 敦煌の僧官制度 [The monks' bureaucratic system in Dunhuang]', in Chikusa Masa'aki (ed.), *Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中国仏教社会史研究 [Studies on the social history of Chinese Buddhism] (Tōyōshi kenkyū sōkan, 34), Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 329–425.
- Clark, Larry V. (2000), 'The Conversion of Bügü Khan to Manichaeism', in *Studia Manichaica IV. Internationaler Kongress zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.-18. Juli 1997* (Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband, 4), Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 82–123.
- Clark, Larry V. (2009), 'Manichaeism among the Uyghurs: The Uyghur Khan of the Bokug Clan', in Jason David BeDuhn (ed.), *New Light on Manichaeism. Papers from the Sixth International Congress on Manichaeism* (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, 64), Leiden: Brill, 61–71.
- Drège, Jean-Pierre (2018), 'Dunhuang and Two Revolutions in the History of the Chinese Book', in Huaiyu Chen and Xinjiang Rong (eds), *Great Journeys across the Pamir Mountains. A Festschrift in Honor of Zhang Guangda on his Eighty-Fifth Birthday* (Brill's Inner Asian Library, 37), Leiden: Brill, 20–32.
- Ehlers, Gerhard (1987), *Alltürkische Handschriften, Teil 2: Das Goldglanz-sūtra und der buddhistische Legendenzyklus Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13.10), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Elverskog, Johan (1997), *Uyghur Buddhist Literature* (Silk Road Studies, 1), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Eral, Marcel (2004), *A Grammar of Old Turkic* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 8 Abt. Zentralasien, 3), Leiden: Brill.
- Galambos, Imre (2020), *Dunhuang Manuscript Culture: End of the First Millennium* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 22), Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Geng Shimin and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit (1988), *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit* (Asiatische Forschungen. Monographiereihe zur Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache der Völker Ost- und Zentralasiens, 103), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Geng Shimin, Jens Peter Laut and Georges-Jean Pinault (2004a), 'Neue Ergebnisse der Maitrisimit-Forschung (I)', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 154/2: 347–369.
- Geng Shimin, Jens Peter Laut and Georges-Jean Pinault (2004b), 'Neue Ergebnisse der Maitrisimit-Forschung (II): Struktur und Inhalt des 26. Kapitels', *Nairiku aja gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 [Studies on the Inner Asian Languages], 19: 29–94.
- Golden, Peter B. (1992), *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples* (Turcologica, 9), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hamilton, James (1986), *Manuscrits ouïgours du IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle de Touen-houang*, Paris: Peeters.
- Hirai, Yūkei 平井宥慶 1984. 'Kongō hanyakyō 金剛般若經 *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*', in Tairyō Makita and Fumimasa Fukui (eds), *Tonkō to Chūgoku bukkyō* 敦煌と中国仏教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Buddhism] (Kōza Tonkō, 7), Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 17–34.
- Huang Zheng 黄徽 and Wu Wei 吴偉 (1995), *Dunhuang yuanwen ji* 敦煌願文集 [Collection of Dunhuang Prayer Texts], Hunan: Yuelu shushe chuban.

- Kasai, Yukiyo (2008), *Die uigurischen buddhistischen Kolophone* (Berliner Turfantexte, 26), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Kudara, Kōgi 百濟康義 (1983), 'Myōhō renga kyō gensen no uigurugo dampen 妙法蓮華經玄贊のウイグル訳断片 [Uyghur fragment of the *Miaofa lianhuaqing xuanzan*]', in Mori Masao (ed.), *Nairiku aja, nishi aja no shakai to bunka* 内陸アジア・西アジアの社会と文化 [Society and Culture of Inner Asia and the Muslim World], Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 185–207.
- Laut, Jens Peter (1983), 'Ein Bruchstück einer alttürkischen Buddhobiographie', *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher Neue Folge*, 3: 88–101.
- Laut, Jens Peter (1986), *Der frühe türkische Buddhismus und seine literarische Denkmäler* (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica, 21), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Laut, Jens Peter and Jens Wilkens (2017), *Altürkische Handschriften. Teil 3: Die Handschriftenfragmente der Maitrisimit aus Sängim und Murtuk in der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13,11), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Mackerras, Colin (1990), 'The Uighurs', in Denis Sinor (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 317–342.
- Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫 (1985), 'Uigurugo bunken ウイグル語文献 [Uigurica from Tun-huang]', in Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳, (ed.), *Tonkō kogo bunken* 敦煌胡語文献 [Non-Chinese Literature from Dunhuang] (Kōza Tonkō, 6), Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1–98.
- Moriyasu, Takao (1990), 'L'origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l'apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien', in Akira Haneda (ed.), *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale. Actes du Colloque Franco-Japonais organisé par l'Association Franco-Japonaise des Études Orientales*, Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 147–165.
- Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫 (1991), 'Uiguru=Mani kyō shi no kenkyū ウイグル=マニ教史の研究' [A Study on the History of Uighur Manichaeism. Research on Some Manichaean Materials and their Historical Background]', *Osaka daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 大阪大学文学部紀要 [Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters Osaka University], 31/32: 1–248.
- Moriyasu, Takao (2004a), *Die Geschichte des uigurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstraße. Forschungen zu manichäischen Quellen und ihrem geschichtlichen Hintergrund* (Studies in Oriental Religions, 50), tr. Christian Steineck, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Moriyasu, Takao (2004b), 'From Silk, Cotton and Copper Coin to Silver. Transition of the Currency Used by the Uighurs during the Period from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> Centuries', in Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Simone-Christiane Raschmann, Jens Wilkens, Marianne Yaldiz and Peter Zieme (eds), *Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road* (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, 17), Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 228–239.
- Moriyasu Takao (ed.) (2015), *Tōzai Uiguru to Chū'ō Yūrashia* 東西ウイグルと中央ユーラシア [Eastern and Western Uyghurs and Central Eurasia], Nagoya: Nagoya daigaku shuppankai.
- Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫 (2015a), 'Higashi Uiguru teikoku Manikyōshi noshintenkai 東ウイグル帝国マニ教史の新展開 [New Developments in the History of Manichaeism in the East Uyghur Kaganate]', in Moriyasu (ed.) 2015, 536–557.
- Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫 (2015b), 'Uiguru no seisen ni tsuite ウイグルの西遷について [Uyghurs' migration to the Western region]', in Moriyasu (ed.) 2015, 276–298 [first published in *Tōyō gakuho* 東洋学報 *The Toyo gakuho*, 59/1–2 (1977): 105–130].
- Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫 (2015c), 'Toruko bukkyō no genryū to ko torukogo butten no shutsugen トルコ仏教の源流と古トルコ語仏典の出現. L'origine du Bouddhisme chez les Turcs et l'apparition des textes bouddhiques en turc ancien', in Moriyasu (ed.) 2015, 618–

- 644 [first published in *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 [*The Journal of Historical Science*], 98.4 (1989): 453–487].
- Moriyasu, Takao 森安孝夫 (2015d), ‘Zōho: Uiguru to Toban no hokutei sōdatsusen oyobi sonogo no saiki jōsei ni tsuite 増補: ウイグルと吐蕃の北庭争奪戦及びその後の西域情勢について [The Uyghur-Tibetan Struggle for Beshbalygh and the Subsequent Situation in Central Asia: An Enlarged Edition]’, in Moriyasu (ed.) 2015, 230–274 [first published in Ryūsha Kaisei shōgakukai (ed.), *Ajia bunkashi ronsō*, 3 アジア文化史論叢, 3 [Contribution to West, Central and North Asian Studies. Collected Paper of Liu-sha Hai-his Scholarship Prize Winners, 3], Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1979, 199–238].
- Müller, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl (1913), ‘Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Maḥrñāmag)’, *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 5: 1–40.
- Oda, Juten (2015), *A Study of the Buddhist Sūtra Called Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruq or Säkiz Törlügin Yarumış Yaltrımıš in Old Turkic* (Berliner Turfantexte, 33), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Raschmann, Simone-Christiane (2000), *Altürkische Handschriften, Teil 5: Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtra. Teil I: Vorworte und Erstes bis Drittes Buch* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13.13), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Raschmann, Simone-Christiane (2012), *Altürkische Handschriften, Teil 18: Buddhica aus der Berliner Turfansammlung, Teil I: Das Apokryphe Sutra Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruq* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13.26), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Reck, Christiane (2009), ‘Kurz oder lag, hoch oder quer. Über die Buchformate der Sogder’, in Rainer Brunner, Jens Peter Laut and Maurus Reinkowski (eds), *XXX. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Freiburg, 24.–28 September 2007*, online publication (now available on <[https://www.academia.edu/32389326/Hoch\\_oder\\_quer\\_kurz\\_oder\\_lang\\_%C3%BCber\\_die\\_Buchformate\\_der\\_Sogder.pdf](https://www.academia.edu/32389326/Hoch_oder_quer_kurz_oder_lang_%C3%BCber_die_Buchformate_der_Sogder.pdf)>, accessed on 31 January 2022).
- Röhrborn, Klaus (1997). ‘Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Vita: Biographie oder Hagiographie?’, in Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (eds), *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaraḥ. Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Indica et Tibetica, 30), Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 551–557.
- Rong, Xinjiang (2001), ‘The Relationship of Dunhuang with the Uighur Kingdom in Turfan in the Tenth Century’, in Bazin and Zieme (eds) 2001, 275–298.
- Shōgaito, Masahiro 庄垣内正弘, Lilia Tugusheva and Setsu Fujishiro 藤代節 (1998) *Uigurubun Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā no kenkyū. Sankuto peteruburuḡu shožō ‘Jūgōdō monogatari’* ウイグル文 *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* の研究 サンクトペテルブルグ所蔵『十業道物語』 [The *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* in Uighur from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies Russian Academy of Sciences], Kyoto: Shokado.
- Sims-Williams, Nicholas (2000), ‘A Bactrian Buddhist manuscript’, in Jens Braarvig (ed.), *Buddhist Manuscripts I* (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, 1.3), Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 275–277.
- Sinor, Denis, Geng Shimin and Yevgeny Ivanovich Kychanov (1998), ‘The Uighurs, the Kyrgyz and the Tangut (Eighth to the Thirteenth Century)’, in M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (eds), *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century* (History of Civilization of Central Asia, 4), Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 191–206.
- Sundermann, Werner (1992), ‘Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts Concerning the Turfan Region’, in Alfredo Cadonna (ed.), *Turfan and Tun-Huang. The Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route* (Orientalia Venetiana, 4), Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 63–84.

- Sundermann, Werner (2001), 'Eine soghdische Version der Araṇemi-Legende', in Bazin and Zieme (eds) 2001, 339–348.
- Sundermann, Werner (2006), 'A Fragment of the Buddhist *Kāñcanasāra* Legend in Sogdian and its Manuscript', in Antonio Panaino and Andrea Piras (eds), *Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europæa held in Ravenna, 6–11 October 2003*, vol. I: *Ancient & Middle Iranian Studies*, Milan: Mimesis, 715–720.
- Tonami, Mamoru 礪波護 (1998), *Tō no gyōsei kikō to kanryō* 唐の行政機構と官僚 [Administrative Structure and Government Officials of the Tang Dynasty], Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha.
- Tremblay, Xavier (2007), 'The Spread of Buddhism in Serindia: Buddhism among Iranians, Tocharians and Turks before the 13<sup>th</sup> century', in Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher (eds), *The Spread of Buddhism* (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 9 Uralic & Central Asian Studies, 16), Leiden: Brill, 75–129.
- van Schaik, Sam (2006), 'The Tibetan Avalokiteśvara Cult in the Tenth Century: Evidence from the Dunhuang Manuscripts', in Ronald M. Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer (eds), *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis. Studies in its Formative period, 900-1400* (Brill's Tibetan Studies Library, 10.4), Leiden: Brill, 55–72.
- Wilkens, Jens (2010), *Alltürkische Handschriften*, Teil 10: *Buddhistische Erzähltexte* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13.18), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Wilkens, Jens (2016), *Buddhistische Erzählungen aus dem alten Zentralasien. Edition der altuigurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (Berliner Turfantexte, 37), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Yakup, Abdurishid (2008), *Alltürkische Handschriften*, Teil 12: *Die uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Teil 2: *Apokryphen, Mahāyāna-Sūtren, Erzählungen, Magische Texte, Kommentare und Kolophone* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13.20), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Yakup, Abdurishid (2009), *Alltürkische Handschriften*, Teil 15: *Die uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Teil 3: *Stabreimdichtungen, Kalendarisches, Bilder, Unbestimmte Fragmente und Nachträge* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13.23), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Yakup, Abdurishid and Michael Knüppel (2007), *Alltürkische Handschriften*, Teil 11: *Die uigurischen Blockdrucke der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Teil 1: *Tantrische Texte* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, 13.19), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Yoshida, Yutaka 吉田豊 (1991), 'Sogudogo butten kaisetsu ソグド語仏典解説 [Buddhist Literature in Sogdian]', *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 7 (1991): 95–119.
- Yoshida, Yutaka 吉田豊 (1993), 'Sogudogo butten kaisetsu ソグド語仏典解説補遺 [Supplement to "Buddhist Literature in Sogdian"]', *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 8: 135–138.
- Yoshida, Yutaka 吉田豊 (2007) 'Torufangaku kenkyūjo shozō no sogudogo butten to "bosatsu" wo imisuru sogudogo goi no keishiki no raigen nit suite–Kudara Kōgi sensei no sogudogo butten kenkyū wo shinonde- トルファン学研究所所蔵のソグド語仏典と「菩薩」を意味するソグド語語彙の形式の来源について–百濟康義先生のソグド語仏典研究を偲んで– [Report of the unpublished Buddhist Sogdian texts of the German Turfan Collection and discussion on the origin of a Sogdian word for "bodhisattva"]', *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 *The Studies in Buddhism*, 62/63: 46–87.
- Yoshida, Yutaka (2008), 'Die buddhistischen sogdischen Texte in der Berliner Turfansammlung und die Herkunft des buddhistischen sogdischen Wortes für *bodhisattva*. Zum Gedenken an Prof. Kōgi Kudasas Arbeiten an den sogdischen Texten' [translated by Yukiyo Kasai in

- cooperation with Christiane Reck], *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 61/3: 325–358.
- Yoshida, Yutaka (2009a), ‘Buddhist Literature in Sogdian’, in Ronald E. Emmerick and Maria Macuch (eds), *The Literature of pre-Islamic Iran. Companion Volume I to A History of Persian Literature* (History of Persian Literature, 17), New York: I. B. Tauris, 288–329.
- Yoshida, Yutaka (2009b), ‘The Karabalgasun Inscription and the Khotanese Documents’, in Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Christiane Reck and Dieter Weber (eds), *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mittelliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 31), Wiesbaden: Reichert, 349–362.
- Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊 (2011) ‘Sogudojin to Sogudo no rekishi ソグド人とソグドの歴史’ [Sogdians and the Sogdian History], in Sofukawa Hiroshi 曾布川寛 and Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊 (eds), *Sogudojin no bijutsu to gengo ソグド人の美術と言語* [Sogdian Arts and Languages], Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 7–78.
- Yoshida, Yutaka (forthcoming), ‘The Eastern Spread of Manichaeism’, in Jason BeDuhn (ed.), *Handbook of Manichaeism*, Leiden: Brill.
- Zieme, Peter (1992), *Religion und Gesellschaft im Uigurischen Königreich von Qočo. Kolophone und Stifter des alttürkischen buddhistischen Schrifttums aus Zentralasien* (Abhandlungen der rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 88), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Zieme, Peter (2000a), *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (Berliner Turfantexte, 20), Turnhout: Brepols.
- Zieme, Peter (2000b), ‘Fragments of the Old Turkic *Maitrisimit nom bitig* in the Otani Collection’, *Nairiku ajia gengo no kenkyū* 内陸アジア言語の研究 *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*, 15: 123–134.

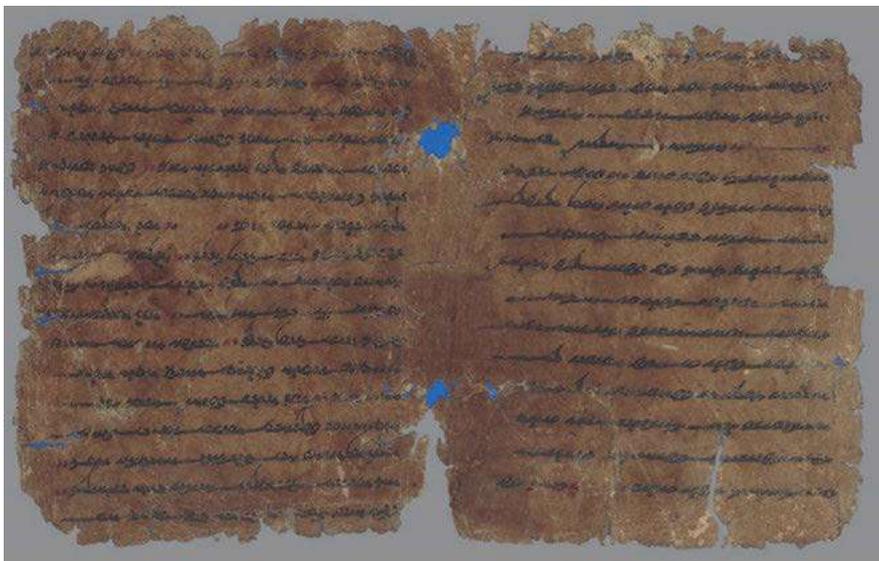


Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Pelliot Ouïgour 1a. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

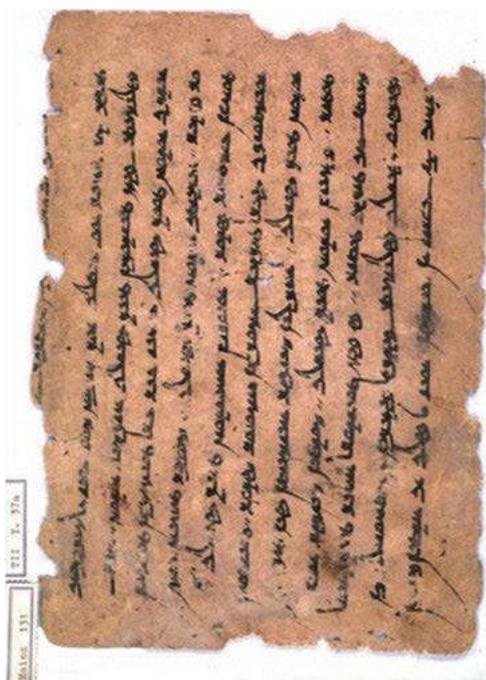


Fig. 2: Mainz 131 [T II. Y 37], Seite 1, Depositem der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



Fig. 3: Mainz 920 [T II [S] 24], recto, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.

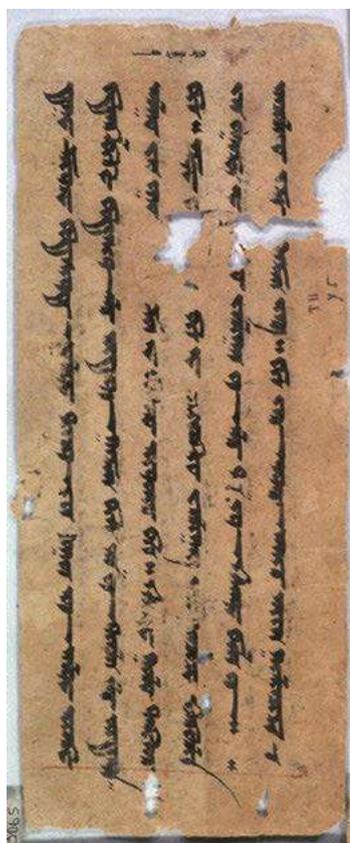
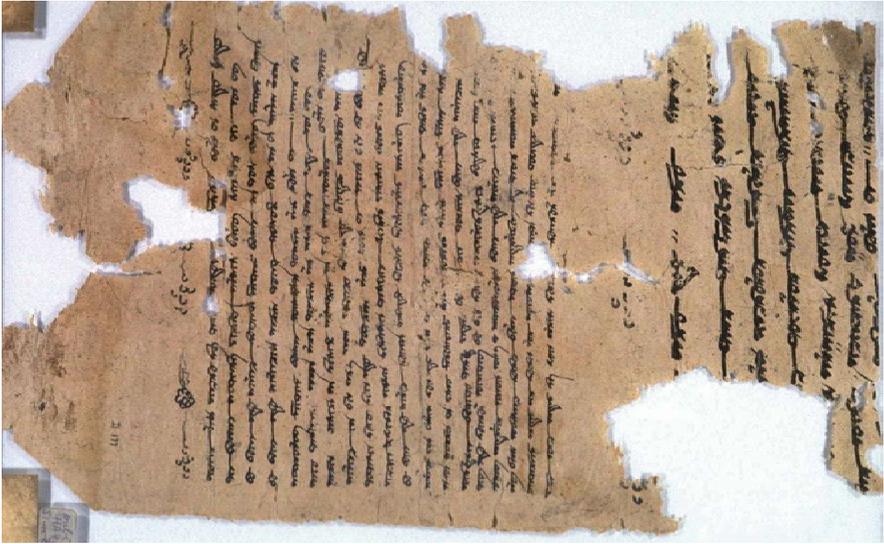
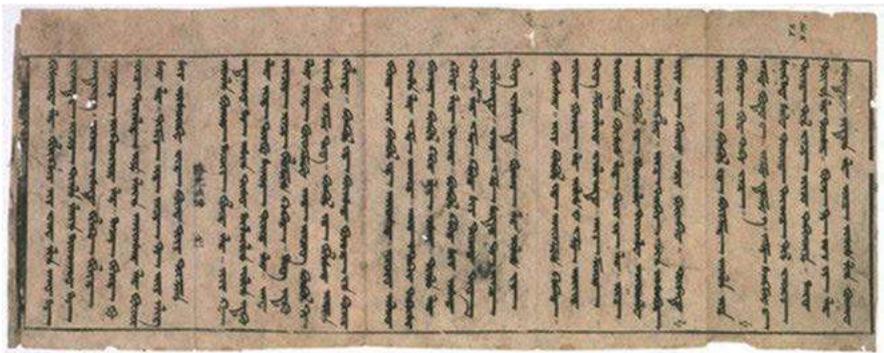


Fig. 4: U 3065 [T II y 5], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



**Fig. 5:** U 4921 [T II D 199], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



**Fig. 6:** U 4627 [T I D 195], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



**Fig. 7:** U 3365 [T III TV. 68. 509], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



**Fig. 8:** THT 85 [T III Š 80.31], Seite 1, Depositum der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung.



# Indexes

This volume contains two indexes. The first is an index of titles and the second a general index. Within each index, the headings are arranged in word-by-word order, ignoring diacritical marks, even if letters with and without those would count as different letters in the respective languages. The primary aim was to assist the reader in finding names and terms of interest, rather than creating a concordance. This is also why terms that appear too frequently (e.g. ‘Sanskrit’), and would therefore be impractical as index headings, are omitted.

Imre Galambos

## Index of Titles

- Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 46, 125  
*Amarakośa* 79, 92–93, 100, 113  
*Amarakośavivṛti* 66, 100  
*Amoghapāśahṛdaya* 59, 60, 65, 79  
*Anirut Kham Chan* 269, 279, 280  
*Anuyogadvāra* commentary 136  
*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* 29, 72, 335
- Bhīmaswarga* 298, 304 n. 58  
*Bhīṣma Parwa* 298  
*Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* 292  
*Bṛhajjātaka* 62, 76, 94  
*Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* 337
- Catalogue des manuscrits en pali* 213  
*Catalogue des manuscrits palis des collections françaises, fonds des bibliothèques publiques et privées* 213  
*Catalogue of Javanese and Sasak Manuscripts* 291  
*Catalogue of the Strasbourg Jaina manuscripts* 47, 120  
*Cindamani* 267, 278, 280
- Dasagīta* 134  
*Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* 377 n. 19, 378  
*Daśavaikālikasūtra* 134  
*Dhammapada (Dharmapada)* 23 n. 26, 259, 362, 367; see also *Khotan Dharmapada*
- Gītagovinda* 139  
*Gotamapṛcchā* 133
- Hārāvalī* 46  
*Hitopadeśa* 59, 84, 99
- Indarjaya* 317  
*Indian Ephemeris* 196  
*Jainapustakapraśastisaṅgraha* 43, 45  
*Jambūdvīpaprajñāpti* 138  
*Jayottaratantra* 59, 97
- Kakawin Anggabancana* 299  
*Kakawin Arjunawiwāha* 294–295, 298  
*Kakawin Bhāratayuddha* 299, 300, 306, 308  
*Kakawin Hariwangśa* 296–297  
*Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama* 287  
*Kakawin Pratiloma* 306, 307  
*Kakawin Pṛthuwijaya* 305  
*Kakawin Rāmāwijaya* 293, 304 n. 56  
*Kakawin Sumanasāntaka* 290  
*Kalpasūtra* 121, 138, 143  
*Kap Maha Chat* 269, 278  
*Kāraṇḍavyūha* 58–59, 68, 73, 106, 111  
*Karmavācānā* 348  
*Kēṛta Basa* 305  
*Khotan Dharmapada* 6, 15, 21–28, 30 n. 46, 31–33, 35–36; see also *Dhammapada*  
*Kīdung Adiparwa* 299, 305



*Vācaspatyabr̥hatsaṃskṛtābhīdhāna* 46, 47  
*Vāmakeśvaratantra* 103  
*Vāmakeśvarīmataviśamapadaṭṭippanī* 62,  
 63, 66, 74  
*Vasudhārādhārāṇī* 58, 59, 61  
*Vessantara Jātaka* (*Viśvāntarajātaka*) 72,  
 220, 235, 268; see also *Maha Chat*  
*Kham Luang*

*Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 379  
*Visaiyabanha* 245  
*Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣyavṛtti* 140  
*Viṣṇudharma* 61  
*Vocabulaire codicologique* 44–45  
*Waṅbaṅ Wideya* 289

## General Index

Abhidhamma 233, 234, 258  
 Achaemenid documents 7, 37  
 Afghanistan 18  
 Agatī, Maria Luisa 44–45, 50  
 Ahmedabad 137  
 Akṣayaṭṭīyā festival 130  
 Almogi, Orna 329  
 Ampenan 288, 307  
 Anak Agung Gde Ngurah, king of  
 Karangasem 291  
 Añcalagaccha 127, 132, 139  
 Anisong texts 232 n. 5, 233, 233 n. 7, 234,  
 234 n. 7  
 Apraca dynasty 19  
 Apte, Vaman Shivaram 46  
 Aramaic 7, 15, 16, 36, 37  
 Araṇemi-Jātaka 375, 377 n. 19  
 Asia see Central Asia, South Asia, South-  
 East Asia  
 Aśokan inscriptions 17–18, 59  
 Ayutthaya Kingdom 261, 263  
 – literature of 264, 267, 270–271, 274,  
 276, 278  
 Babylonia 373  
 Bactrian documents 7, 15, 37–38, 386  
 n. 38  
 Badung, kingdom of 293–294  
 Bailey, H. W. 23–24  
 Balbir, Nalini 7  
 Ban Hua Siang 245  
 Ban Vat That 230, 245  
 Bangkok 213, 218, 247–248, 264, 266–  
 270, 275–276

– period 248, 263–264, 267, 274, 278  
 Baums, Stefan 6–7, 33–34  
 Berlin 128, 133, 136–137, 265, 271–272,  
 378  
 Bhāskarācārya 139  
 Bhaṭṭācārya, Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati 46  
 Bibliothèque nationale de France  
 (BnF) 121 n. 10, 213–214, 385 n. 37  
 Bikaner 129, 136  
 birch bark 3, 6, 20–21, 30, 35, 348  
 Bodleian Library 138  
 Bozzolo, Carla 49  
 Brahmagiri 17  
 Brāhmī 15, 17, 348, 366  
 Brandes, J. 289  
 Braun, Heinz 211  
 British Library 29, 31 n. 50, 33, 35, 139,  
 140  
 Brough, John 21, 24–27  
 Buddhist Archives of Luang Prabang  
 (BAD) 230, 230 n. 2, 257  
 Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHSD) 61  
 Buddhist Road project 388  
 Buginese language and script 285  
 Būgū Kagan 374  
 Bun Phavet festival 235  
 Bunkhong, Viceroy 250  
 Burma 211, 213–214, 240; see also  
 Myanmar  
 Burmese manuscripts 8, 212, 213, 215,  
 224–225  
 Cakranagara 284, 287–288, 291  
 Cambay 121, 124, 137, 140

- Cambodia 8, 211–214  
 Cambodian script 223  
 Cambridge University Digital Library 50,  
     121 n. 10  
 Cambridge University Library 48, 135,  
     137, 140  
 Cantwell, Cathy 336, 337  
 Capađa, scribe 17  
 Central Asia 1–5, 9 n. 28, 10–11, 362, 368  
   – influence on Uyghurs 373, 380, 386, 388  
 Centre for the Study of Manuscript  
   Cultures (CSMC) 11, 168, 231, 255,  
     257, 276, 318  
 CETOm (A Comprehensive Edition of  
   Tocharian Manuscripts) database  
     349, 349 n. 10  
 Chao Phraya River 261  
 Chevillard, Jean-Luc 168  
 Chiang Mai 247  
 Chiang Rung 247, 247 n. 28  
 Chiang Tung 238, 246, 247  
 China 3, 374, 377  
 Chinese 4, 10, 339, 360, 374, 377–388  
   *passim*  
   – princess 313  
 Christian year/era 172, 177–179, 200,  
     202, 242 n. 21, 306, 310  
 Christianity 3  
   chronogram 128, 135, 144, 305, 305 n. 64  
   Činggiz Khan 373  
 Ciotti, Giovanni 7–8, 171, 173, 305 n. 64  
 cloth wrapping 4, 216, 232, 233 n. 7  
 codex 2, 10, 375, 379, 388  
   – and Islam 9 n. 28  
 COMSt (‘Comparative Oriental Manuscript  
   Studies’) 2  
 concertina see leporello  
 copper plates 19  
 Creese, Helen 290  
  
 Dalton, Jacob 336  
 Damais, Louis 289  
 Delhey, Martin 11  
 Denpasar 285–286, 293, 304 n. 59, 309,  
     318  
 Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft  
   (DFG) 168, 255, 276  
  
 Devendrasūri 134  
 dGe lugs scholar lCang skya Rol pa’i rdo  
   rje 335  
 Dhamma (Tham) script 229, 237 n. 13,  
     238, 246–248, 255  
 Dhāraṇaka 140  
 Dharmasoma 362–364  
 Digambara (‘sky-clad’) 119, 141 n. 98  
 Digital Repository of the Endangered and  
   Affected Manuscripts in Southeast  
   Asia (DREAMSEA) 231, 257, 286 n. 5  
 digitisation 51, 168, 231, 254–255, 257,  
     286 n. 5  
 digraphy 113  
 Documentation Centre for Balinese  
   Culture 285, 286  
 ductus 112  
 Dung dkar Blo bzang phrin las 331  
 Dunhuang 9 n. 28, 329, 373–375, 379,  
     379 n. 26, 382 n. 34  
  
 East Uyghur Kaganate 373–374, 377  
 École française d’Extrême Orient (EFEO)  
     213–214  
 École Pratique des Hautes Études 11  
 end title 47, 48  
 ex libris 1  
 explicit 1, 16, 45, 100, 289, 327 n. 4, 336  
  
 Falk, Harry 27–32  
 Filliozat, Jacqueline 213–215  
 final rubric 1, 7, 48–49, 52–53, 66–68,  
     100, 106, 107, 110  
 Flügel, P. 133  
 foliation 215, 377 n. 15  
 Formigatti, Camillo A. 7  
 France, king of 213–214  
 Franceschini, Marco 7, 8, 151–152, 168  
 Friedrich, Michael 318  
  
 Gāndhārī 6, 7, 15–17, 20–21, 23 n. 27–28,  
     25–28, 30, 33, 35–38, 367  
 Gilgit 7, 7 n. 27, 15, 32 n. 55, 37, 38 n. 70  
 golden ink 143, 265–266, 335  
 golden leaf 18–19  
 Gośṛṅga cave 23  
 Grabowsky, Volker 8

- Gujarat 47 n. 13, 119–121, 122 n. 17, 124–125, 135, 137, 139, 145  
 Gujarati 120, 123–126, 128 n. 41, 134–137, 139
- Hami 352, 358, 378, 378 n. 21  
 Helagupta 19  
 Hemacandra 46, 125  
 Hindi 25, 125, 126  
 Hindu 7, 9, 288, 291–292  
 – calendar 316  
 – gods 271–272  
 – Tantric texts 59  
 Hinduism 3, 287
- Hinüber, Oskar von 15, 37, 45, 59, 212  
 Hirai, Yūkei 379  
 Hundius, Harald 212
- I Nyoman Argawa 318  
 Ida Bagus Gede Agastia 290  
 Ida Bagus Sangka 288  
 Ida I Gusti Putu Jlantik 307  
 Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen 290  
 IFP (Institut Français de Pondichéry) 152, 153 n. 4, 168 n. 17, 172 n. 2  
 indigenous terminology 4, 155  
 Indonesian National Library 287  
 Islam 3, 9 n. 28, 285, 288, 298, 312, 317  
 Islamic texts 9–10, 45 n. 7, 303  
 imprecations against misuse 9  
 India 3, 17, 17 n. 9, 120, 121, 137, 171, 173, 305 n. 64, 348, 375, 380; see also  
 North India, South India, Western India  
 Indo-Aryan 34, 347  
 invocations 5, 177  
 Iran 3, 373, 386  
 Iranian 17  
 – Middle 386
- Jaina, Bhāgacandra 25–26  
 Jainism 3, 45  
 Jaisalmer 121, 138, 140  
 Jātaka tales 219, 233–235; see also  
 Araṇemi-Jātaka, Bṛhajjātaka, and  
 Vessantara Jātaka  
 Jatinga-Ramesvara 17  
 Java 288–289, 291, 295, 306, 312  
 – East 283, 294 n. 28  
 – West 283–284, 288, 294 n. 28  
 Javanese 4, 283–287  
 Jayarājadeva 44, 72  
 Jayārimalla 44, 69  
 Jayārjunadeva 44, 78, 83  
 Jayasthitimalla 44, 93  
 Jina Rṣabha 130  
 Jinabhadrasūri 140  
 Jinavijayamuni (= Jinavijaya, Muni) 16, 43–45, 49, 121, 136  
 Jovian year 163, 167, 172–179, 180 n. 18, 182 n. 26, 190 n. 54, 193, 200–201
- Kali year/era 172, 177–179, 200, 202  
 Kapadia, Hiralal Rasikdas 135  
 karaṇa 174, 195–197, 200  
 Karangasem 284, 287, 291, 296, 309–311  
 Karashima, Seishi 29–32  
 Karmay, Samten 335  
 Kasai, Yukiyo 10  
 Kathmandu valley 44  
 Kharataragaccha 132, 136, 139, 140, 145, 146 n. 107  
 Kharoṣṭhī script 15, 17, 20, 29, 33, 38  
 Khitan Empire 374  
 Khmer Rouge regime 214  
*khoi*-paper 9, 261–262, 275–276  
 Khom script 8, 211–216, 219, 223 n. 22, 224 n. 25  
 Khotan 21  
 Khotanese 339  
 Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer 332, 332 n. 20  
 Kollam year 163, 172–179, 182 n. 26, 193, 197, 200  
 Konow, Sten 22–25  
 Krasser, Helmut 2  
 Krorayina kingdom 15, 36  
 Kurram valley 20  
 Kuṣāṇa era 23, 37 n. 67
- Lan Na kingdom 8, 229, 238, 254  
 Lan Sang kingdom 229, 249  
 Lao script  
 – modern 231, 237 n. 13, 253  
 – Old 231  
 Laos 8, 211, 214, 229, 238, 254

- laymen 127, 130, 137, 141, 145, 146 n. 107, 244, 253, 255
- laypeople 119, 132, 142, 230, 231, 244, 255, 387
- laywomen 243, 249, 253, 259, 359; see also women
- Jain 131, 133–134, 142
- leather sheets 36, 37
- Leiden University Libraries 283 n. 1, 285, 287, 289, 291, 318
- Leipzig 137
- lending/borrowing statements 8, 151, 151 n. 2, 171, 173, 198
- Lenz, Timothy 34
- leporello (concertina) 4, 9–10, 261–262, 275–276, 375, 379
- Lombok 9–10, 283–295, 298–299, 306, 312–318 *passim*
- Luang Prabang 8, 224 n. 24, 229–230, 230 n. 2, 235, 242–257 *passim*
- lunar month 172, 181, 200, 204, 235–247 *passim*, 267
- Madura 283, 288, 294 n. 28, 312
- Mahāvīra 134
- Maitreya (also: Metteyya) 143, 236–238, 351–361, 366, 378, 386
- Manichaeism 373–374, 379, 388
- Manichean influence 10
- Māṇikya 100, 113
- marriage contract 16
- Marrison, Geoffrey E. 291
- Mataram 288, 299
- Matisāra 140
- Mayer, Rob 336, 337
- medical treatises 233, 234, 286, 287
- van der Meij, Dick 9, 291
- Mekong River 229, 247, 251
- Menander 19
- Metteyya see Maitreya
- Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho 332, 337 n. 39, 340
- Miles, Lieutenant Colonel 135
- miniature stūpa 20
- mistakes 174 n. 5, 220, 243, 247, 273, 296
- Moghol emperors 131
- Mon alphabet 229
- Mongolia 373, 377
- Mongolian Empire 373
- Mūl script 8, 211–214, 216
- multiple-text manuscripts 216, 233, 235, 262
- Murthy, R. S. Shivaganasha 47
- Murtuk 352, 378, 378 n. 21
- Musée Guimet 361
- Museum of Asian Arts, Berlin 265, 271
- Muzerelle, Denis 44–45
- Myanmar 246; see also Burma
- Nāgārjuna 337
- nakṣatra 53, 173, 174, 194–196, 200, 207
- nāḷikai 196–197, 173
- National Library of Thailand 264, 265, 265 n. 12
- Navarātra festival 188
- Nepal 7, 9 n. 28, 44, 50
- Nepālamaṇḍala 44
- NETamil (ERC project) 11
- Newari 113
- Nissaya system 214, 246
- Niya 7, 19, 36–38, 349
- North India 4, 6, 119
- nuns 133–135
- Oḍis 18, 19
- Old Uyghur 10, 348, 352–353, 360–361, 373–388 *passim*
- onomastics 357, 360 n. 49, 378, 380, 382, 388
- Ol'denburg", Sergeĭ 22–23
- oral performance 10
- oral transmission 119
- Ornato, Ezio 49
- ownership statements 6, 8, 152, 156–158, 244, 253
- Padma bkra shis 326, 329, 333
- Pak Nam incident 247
- Pakistan 18
- paḥṣa (lunar fortnight) 172, 174, 185–189, 200, 206
- Pali Text Society 214
- pañcāngas 174, 195, 196
- Palola kings 38 n. 70
- Panarut, Peera 9

- Pārśva 132  
 Patan 72–106 *passim*, 121, 136, 138, 140, 145  
 Persia see Iran  
 Peshawar 18  
 Petech, Luciano 50  
 Pha Khamchan Virachitto 230 n. 2, 232 n. 5, 233, 234 n. 7  
 Pha Phui Thirachitta Maha Thela 241–242, 254  
 Pigeaud, Theodore 285  
 pilgrimages 120, 142, 144, 145, 230 n. 2  
 Pillai, L. D. Swamikannu 196  
 Pinault, Georges-Jean 10, 348 n. 4  
 planet 183–185, 184 n. 33, 199, 205  
 polygraphy 113  
 Porten, Bezalel 16  
 post-colophon 1, 48, 123, 124, 135–136, 141  
 Prakrit 123–125, 134, 138, 349  
 prayers 234, 314, 318  
 – Chinese (*yuanwen* 願文) 381, 381 n. 30–31, 382, 384, 386  
 Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme (PLMP) 233  
 protection 224, 263, 381–385  
 – of manuscripts 64–65, 143, 232, 250  
 Proudfoot, Ian 291  
 punctuation 23, 34, 53, 122, 294, 307  
 – in Tocharian manuscripts 350, 353, 356  
 Puruṣottamadeva 46  
 quantitative codicology 5, 7, 49, 51  
 Rajasthan 119–121, 122 n. 17, 124–125, 135, 137, 145  
 Rama I, King 266, 278  
 Rama II, King 279  
 Rama III, King 279–280  
 Rāyasimha, king of Bikaner 136  
 red ink 48, 122, 138  
 Robson, S. O. 289  
 Rock Edicts 17  
 Rong zom pa 332 n. 20, 334, 340 n. 50  
 Royal Scribes Department 263–264, 273  
 Rubinstein, Raechelle 290  
 Śāka era/year 53, 128–129, 177, 310, 315–316; see also Śālivāhanaśāka era  
 Śālivāhanaśāka era/year 172, 177–179, 198, 200, 202; see also Śāka era  
 Salomon, Richard 26, 33–34  
 Saṃghamitra, scribe 18–19  
 Saṃghavi Ṛṣabhadāsa Sāngana 120  
 Sāngim 352, 358–359, 378, 378 n. 21, 380  
 Sanskrit Manuscript Project, Cambridge University Library 48, 49  
 Sarma, K. Venkateswara 62, 63, 64  
 Sasak 10, 283, 286–289, 291–293, 306–307, 312–318 *passim*  
 Śatrunjaya 120  
 Say Setthathirat, King 230  
 van Schaik, Sam 336, 379 n. 26  
 Schnake, Javier 8  
 scribal maxims 5, 122, 138, 143, 216, 223  
 Senavarma, king of the Oḍi 18, 20, 23  
 Shah, Amritlal Maganlal 121, 133  
 Shinkot casket 19  
 Siam 212, 263, 272 n. 31, 274; see also Thailand  
 Siddapura 17  
 signatures, scribal 17, 165  
 Sikhism 3  
 Silk Road 18  
 – southern 21, 36  
 Sinhala script 215  
 Sinhalese manuscripts 8, 213, 225  
 Sipsòng Panna 247  
 Sisavang Vong, King 249–250  
 Sogdian 360, 376–378, 384, 385 n. 37, 386  
 solar month 172, 174, 179–182, 190, 199–200, 203–204  
 Song Dynasty 374  
 South Asia 1–9, 15, 45, 62, 67  
 South-East Asia 1–5, 8–10, 211, 224, 231, 255, 257, 267, 267 n. 22, 286 n. 5  
 South India 4, 7, 171, 185 n. 39, 261  
 South Sulawesi manuscripts 283, 285, 288  
 Spilling, H. 45  
 Śreyāṃsa, Prince 130

- Sri Lanka 211, 213–214  
 St. Petersburg 21–22, 24, 28, 378, 383  
     n. 36  
 State Library of Berlin 265  
 Sthānakavāsīn 131, 132, 134, 135  
 stūpa 18, 20, 229–230  
 stylus 215, 232  
 sub-colophon 1, 10, 48, 347, 350, 368  
 subscription 1, 44–45, 47 n. 16  
 Sultān Shams ud-dīn 44  
 Sunda (West-Java) 283  
 Surat 127, 131, 137  
 Suttanta doctrine 233, 234  
 Śvetāmbara ('white-clad') 119–121, 127,  
     131–132, 137–139, 141 n. 98  
  
 Tai Khün language 238, 246  
 Tai Lü 8, 238, 246–247, 254–255  
 Taklamakan desert 348  
 Taksin, King of Thonburi 264–266  
 Tamil Nadu 7, 151  
 Tamil script 153, 153 n. 5, 196  
 TAMILIAN Grantha script 153, 153 n. 5, 171  
 Tapāgaccha 141, 145  
 Tarim Basin 10, 347–348, 362, 366  
 Tessitori, Luigi Pio 135  
 Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) 48  
 Thailand 8, 211–214, 238, 275; see also  
     Siam  
 Tham script 229, 231, 237 n. 13, 254–255,  
     257–259; see also Dhamma script  
 Thomas, Werner 363  
 Thonburi 263, 264, 276  
 Tianshan (Chin. 天山) region 373, 374,  
     377  
 Tibet 3, 4, 335, 341, 375  
 tithi 53, 128, 173–174, 185 n. 39 and 41,  
     186–196, 200, 206  
 Tocharian 10, 347–368 *passim*, 374,  
     376–378  
 trade networks 3  
 Trambāvatī 120  
 transference of merit 245, 249, 356, 361  
 Tripāṭhī, Chandrabhāl 47–48, 120  
  
 Tumaśrī, scribe 58, 85, 86, 112–113  
 Turfan 352, 259, 378  
 Turkish Kaganate, first 377  
 van der Tuuk, H. N. 287, 289, 291, 298, 303  
  
 Udayana University 285  
 Un Kham, Viceroy 250  
 UNESCO 153, 230  
 Uttamavijayagaṇi 131  
  
 Valabhī 119  
 Valia, treasurer 18–19  
 Vat Chôm Si 246–247  
 Vat Maha That monastery 8, 229–234,  
     241–245, 249, 251–254, 257  
 Vat Si Bun Hūang collection 235  
 Vat Siang Thōng 230, 233  
 Vessantara Jātaka 235  
 Vikrama era 121, 128, 129  
 Vinaya rules 37 n. 67, 233, 234  
 Vinayasagar, Mahopadhyay 132  
 Vijayamitra, Apraca king 19  
  
 Wangchuk, Dorji 10  
 Wat Pho 213, 218, 219, 225  
 West Uyghur Kingdom 373, 374  
 Western India 7, 119, 121  
 Wilden, Eva 11, 168  
 Wilson, Horace Hayman 46–47  
 women 9, 133, 248–249, 255; see also  
     laywomen  
 wood 291, 340, 349  
     – boards 232  
     – covers 250  
     – plates 3–4  
     – tablets 349  
     – slabs 36  
 woodblock printing 3, 4, 10  
 Worsley, Peter 290, 318  
 writing support 7, 121, 238, 243, 255, 257  
     – perishable 36  
  
 yoga 53, 174, 195–197, 200  
 Yoshida, Yutaka 378