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**Towards a Typology of Colophons**

**Typologie kolofónů**

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## **Prohlášení**

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V Brně, dne 10. května 2025

Jakub Kozák

## **Poděkování**

Můj velký dík patří vedoucí mé diplomové práce, prof. Lucii Doležalové. Dále děkuji členům týmů projektů *Done. Pour the wine* a *THEEND* za jejich podnětné postřehy ke conceptualizaci kolofónů a pročetí rukopisu práce, především dr. Andree Hlaváčové Svobodové, dr. Haně Kreisingerové, Anně Michalcové a dr. Kateřině Volekové. V neposlední řadě jsem vděčný své rodině za vytrvalou podporu během studia.

## Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá možnostmi klasifikace středověkých latinských kolofónů (v širokém vymezení) a předkládá jejich novou, empiricky ukotvenou, fasetovou typologii. Ta zohledňuje aspekt formální, sémantický a syntaktický. Navržená typologie je aplikována na korpus přibližně 3700 latinských kolofónů (především z pozdněstředověkých rukopisů ze střední Evropy), který je založený na nové databázi kolofónů, aktuálně vyvíjené na Karlově univerzitě. Ke zhodnocení struktury typologie a k ověření toho, zda splňuje v práci stanovená kritéria, byla využita analýza statistických ukazatelů—výzkum tak spadá do metodologického rámce kvantitativní kodikologie. Nadto se diplomová práce dotýká problematiky kolofónových formulí a nově jich několik, dosud nepopsaných, identifikuje; rovněž se zabývá možnostmi využití automatické LLM anotace kolofónů. Navržená typologie představuje první krok k systematickému uchopení kolofónů jakožto významného kodikologického fenoménu.

**Klíčová slova:** kolofóny, středověké rukopisy, středověká latina, dějiny knihy, typologie, písemná kultura, kodikologie, středověká studia, písaři

## **Abstract**

The thesis explores the possibilities of classifying medieval Latin colophons (broadly conceived) and proposes a new, empirically grounded faceted typology that reflects their formal, semantic, and syntactic aspects. This typology is applied to a corpus of approximately 3,700 Latin colophons (mostly from late medieval manuscripts from Central Europe), drawn from a newly developed colophon database currently being prepared at Charles University in Prague. The design of the typology, as well as its adherence to the theoretical criteria established within this thesis, is evaluated using statistical measures, thereby situating the research within the methodological framework of quantitative codicology. Furthermore, the thesis addresses colophon formulae, identifying several dozen previously undescribed examples, and investigates the potential for LLM-based automatic annotation of colophons. The proposed typology represents a first step toward achieving a systematic comprehension of colophons as the significant codicological phenomenon that they are.

**Key words:** colophons, medieval manuscripts, medieval Latin, book history, typology, written culture, codicology, medieval studies, scribes

## List of Abbreviations

- BB Bénédictins du Bouveret. *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia, 2–7. Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1965–1982.
- FLC Reynhout, Lucien. *Formules latines de colophons*. *Bibliologia*, 25A–B. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

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[...] cierta enciclopedia china que se titula Emporio celestial de conocimientos benévolos. En sus remotas páginas está escrito que los animales se dividen en (a) pertenecientes al Emperador, (b) embalsamados, (c) amaestrados, (d) lechones, (e) sirenas, (f) fabulosos, (g) perros sueltos, (h) incluidos en esta clasificación, (i) que se agitan como locos, (j) innumerables, (k) dibujados con un pincel finísimo de pelo de camello, (l) etcétera, (m) que acaban de romper el jarrón, (n) que de lejos parecen moscas [...] notoriamente **no hay clasificación del universo que no sea arbitraria y conjetural**.

— Jorge Luis Borges, *El idioma analítico de John Wilkins*

## I Introduction\*

The objective of this thesis is to explore possibilities for classifying Latin colophons (broadly conceived) found in medieval manuscripts. It seeks to establish meaningful criteria for a typology of colophons, propose a systematic classification framework, and evaluate its effectiveness. The rationale for such a delimitation of the subject is the lack of a universally recognized, scholarly typology of colophons. This absence is not merely a gap in the academic literature but also a significant impediment to systematic research, as it forces scholars to approach this material in an ad hoc manner. A comprehensive typology would enable proper mapping of the entire field, thus facilitating more coherent colophon studies.

After establishing the theoretical criteria and designing the typology based on current literature and preliminary observations, I will apply the typology to a test corpus of colophons.<sup>1</sup> In

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\* Statement on the use of AI: In addition to the initial heuristics, I utilized LLM tools (*Claude*, *ChatGPT*) for synonym suggestions, stylistic enhancements, final proofreading, formatting of footnotes and the bibliography, as well as assistance with generating appendices and typesetting in  $\text{\LaTeX}$ .

<sup>1</sup> The thesis was being written alongside an ongoing project aiming to create a colophon database (see its description in Chapter 3), and it utilizes preliminary data outputs from this project. For its description, see “Colophons,” *Medieval Scribes*, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, accessed April 30, 2025,

this aspect, the thesis aligns itself with the tradition of quantitative research.<sup>2</sup> This application will allow an evaluation of the typology’s effectiveness and facilitate the identification of necessary refinements. The thesis will conclude with recommendations for adjustments to improve the typological framework.

\* \* \*

The colophons have been a part of codicological and philological studies (as far as medieval European manuscripts are concerned) for a long time.<sup>3</sup> However, this phenomenon still lacks a universally accepted standard definition. An influential and frequently cited definition is provided by Denis Muzerelle in his *Vocabulaire Codicologique*: “Formule finale dans laquelle le scribe mentionne le lieu ou la date de la copie, ou l’un et l’autre.”<sup>4</sup> According to it, there are four criteria: the colophon (1) stands at the end of the text, (2) was written by the scribe, and contains either (3) the place or (4) the date when the copy was created.

This is a rather strict definition. There are others, which subsume under the term *colophon* a broader range of phenomena. For instance, according to the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, a colophon is a final addition containing information about the manuscript’s production: “Zusatz am Schluß eines Textes, der sich—anders als das Explicit—nicht oder nicht ausschließl. auf Verf. und Titel des gebotenen Werkes bezieht, sondern **Bemerkungen zur Entstehung einer Druckaufl. bzw. einer Hs. enthält.**”<sup>5</sup> Even this definition can be overly limiting; consequently, individual studies dealing with colophons often define them even more broadly. The minimal condition for defining a colophon seems to be that it is a scribal addition positioned at the end of a copied text and is neither its integral part nor a completely independent textual

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<https://scribes.ff.cuni.cz/colophons/>; “Dokonáno. Nalij vína paní Anno’. Jazykové experimenty ve středověkých písařských přispících a kolofonech” [“Done. Pour the wine.” Language Experiments in Medieval Scribal Additions and Colophons], *STARFOS*, Technologická agentura ČR, accessed April 30, 2025, <https://starfos.tacr.cz/cs/projekty/GA24-10628S>. Currently, multiple projects are underway aimed at creating a database of colophons—the problem of their classification is therefore highly relevant. See, for example, *Kolophone*, Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, accessed April 30, 2025, <https://www.kolophone.de/>.

<sup>2</sup> As outlined by Marilena Maniaci, “Statistical Codicology: Principles, Directions, Perspectives,” in *Trends in Statistical Codicology*, ed. Marilena Maniaci (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 1–32.

<sup>3</sup> Pioneering work was done by Otto Jahn, Wilhelm Wattenbach, and—as has recently been shown—by Łukasz Gołębiowski. Jerzy Kaliszuk and Sławomir Szyller, “Badanie rękopisów średniowiecznych według Łukasza Gołębiowskiego” [Analysis of Medieval Manuscripts According to Łukasz Gołębiowski], *Analecta: Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki* [Analecta: Studies and Materials for the History of Science] 29, no. 1 (2020): 7–69.

<sup>4</sup> Denis Muzerelle, *Vocabulaire codicologique: répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits* (Paris: Editions CEMI, 1985), 434, s. v. *Colophon*.

<sup>5</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 5, (Stuttgart–Weimar: Metzler, 1999), s. v. *Kolophon*, col. 1272–1273 (bold added). This definition also mentions printed books. In early prints, the colophon was a rather standardized paratext containing production information about the book. It fulfilled functions similar to those later incorporated into the title page, which gradually replaced the colophon as the primary source of publication information.

unit. This broadest definition will be adopted within this thesis,<sup>6</sup> aligning with the approach taken by the previously mentioned project.

Nevertheless, colophons are not a feature peculiar exclusively to the European medieval Latin manuscript tradition. On the contrary, they appear to be a virtually universal phenomenon across written cultures.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, among various cultural traditions and their respective scholarly reflections, the concept of colophons may differ considerably. While definitions of colophons within the medieval Latin tradition emphasize that they are *final* scribal additions, this might not be the case in other cultures: for instance, in Glagolitic codices, what is understood as a colophon does not have a fixed position at the end of the copied text and is often placed elsewhere in the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the concept of colophons is not necessarily limited to inscriptions within books but can encompass an even broader range of written phenomena, including those we would classify as epigraphical.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, it will not be straightforward—perhaps not even possible—to coin a universal trans-cultural definition of the colophon. Nevertheless, this is not the concern of this thesis; here the definition pertaining specifically to medieval Latin manuscripts will be employed.

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<sup>6</sup> Similar to how the colophon is defined by Lucie Doležalová, “Et cetera baba stara,” in *Staré baby. Ženy a čas ve středověké Evropě* [Old Hags: Women and Time in Medieval Europe], eds. Vojtěch Bažant, Jiří Dynda, David Šimeček and Martin Šorm (Praha: Lidové noviny, 2021), 215–232, esp. 225–226.

<sup>7</sup> For scholarship focused on non-Western colophons, see Marilena Maniaci, “Preliminary Reflections for a Comparative Analysis of Colophons,” *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Bulletin* 8, no. 1 (2022): 199–210. See also the bibliography provided in this study. Additionally, cf. e.g. Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Potbi Manuscripts* (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), and Angelo M. Piemontese, “Colophon persiani fioriti e illustrati,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1995), 473–493.

<sup>8</sup> Nataša Golob, “A Few Comments on Glagolic Colophons (14th and 15th Centuries),” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1995), 449–461, esp. 455.

<sup>9</sup> Michael E. Stone, “Colophons in Armenian Manuscripts,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1995), 463–471, esp. 463: “Armenians wrote colophons, memorial inscriptions and dedications on a variety of objects made of different types of material. These included not only manuscripts, but also vestments, icons, metal work designed for church use, and others.”

## 2 Study of Colophons

For a significant part of the 20th century, scholarship regarded colophons primarily as a source of factual historical information, either about the origins of manuscript or about their scribes.<sup>10</sup> This latter prosopographical focus is well illustrated by the largest catalogue of medieval Latin colophons compiled by the Bénédictins du Bouveret (*BB*) and published from the mid-1960s to the early 1980s. Comprising six volumes, this catalogue contains about 24,000 colophons organized alphabetically by the scribe's name mentioned in the colophon (the last volume is reserved for colophons that do not identify their scribe).

This approach rests on the inherent assumption that colophons are *trustworthy*.

At the same time, colophons were also viewed as curiosities providing glimpses into the scribes' daily lives (such as complaints about hard labour, requests for rewards, or prayers) or expressing their wittiness (jokes, codes, or “parody”). Such colophon material was largely approached as rather unorganized and authentic impromptu expressions of the scribes, whose value was seen mostly in their amusing qualities. This perspective is represented, for instance, by two short articles by Lynn Thorndike, who refers to these colophons as “copyists' final jingles”, a characterization that itself aligns well with this view.<sup>11</sup>

The conceptualization of colophons has been fundamentally altered by more contemporary research. It no longer emphasizes colophons as authentic expressions of the scribes' mentalities, but rather as products of cultural convention following shared general patterns. This approach culminated in the research on colophon *formulae*, most importantly in *Formules latines de colophons* (*FLC*) by Lucien Reynhout.<sup>12</sup> He draws on the linguistic distinction between an “expression formulaire” and a “construction formulaire”—the former being a fixed string of words, the latter a rather variable set of similar constructions that display variation.

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<sup>10</sup> For a brief description of the development and the state of the art in colophon studies, cf. Lucien Reynhout, “Quantitative Codicology and Scientific Paradigms: A Typology of Latin Formulae in the Colophons of Western Manuscripts,” in *Trends in Statistical Codicology*, ed. Marilena Maniaci (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2022), 725–734, esp. 731–732.

<sup>11</sup> Lynn Thorndike, “Copyists' Final Jingles in Medieval Manuscripts,” *Speculum* 12, no. 2 (1937): 268. Lynn Thorndike, “More Copyists' Final Jingles,” *Speculum* 31, no. 2 (1956): 321–328.

<sup>12</sup> Even earlier, this approach was pioneered by Gérard Garitte's work in Greek codicology. Cf. Gérard Garitte, “Sur une formule des colophons grecs: ἡ μὲν χεὶρ ἡ γράψασα,” in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita*, Studi e Testi 219 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), 359–390.

Additionally, he identifies a “formule sémantique”, defined as a fixed idea expressed by various wordings. The colophon formulae tend to be “constructions formulaires”.<sup>13</sup> Reynhout also lists four criteria that a formula should meet: (1) recurrence in multiple manuscripts, (2) employment by multiple scribes, (3) “connexité” of the words—not mere collocation, but logical interconnectedness, and (4) thematic unity.<sup>14</sup>

*FLC* conclusively shows that the formulae (the book analyses 29 of them)<sup>15</sup> are subject to cultural trends, and their employment considerably varies both temporally and geographically.<sup>16</sup> Through this analysis, the notion of colophons as genuine or authentic expressions of the scribes is indeed called into question.<sup>17</sup>

Despite this “formulaic-turn”, the older approach seems to be resilient, and “authenticist” voices are still audible within research.<sup>18</sup> For instance, a fairly recent and recognized introduction to manuscript studies by Erik Kwakkel, *Books Before Print*, states that the place of the colophon at the end of the copied text serves as “a podium from which the scribe could announce information about himself [sic] and his [sic] work.”<sup>19</sup> This is fair enough for factual production information such as the date, but Kwakkel applies this also to what doubtless constitutes a formula: “Well known are colophons that cry out ‘Please give me a drink!’ and ‘Let the right hand be free from pain!’ (*Hoc opus est scriptum magister da mihi potum* and *Dextera scriptoris careat gravitate doloris*) [...] and **the scribe probably meant it**[.]”<sup>20</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *FLC*, 22. Cf. David Moreno Olalla, “The Scribal Formula *Heu male finivi quia scribere non bene scivi*,” *Scriptorium* 67, no. 1 (2013): 144–174, esp. 145; Markus Schiegg, “Scribes’ Voices: The Relevance and Types of Early Medieval Colophons,” *Studia Neophilologica* 88, no. 2 (2016): 129–147, esp. 135.

<sup>14</sup> *FLC*, 22. For challenges in defining a formula, cf. also Reynhout, “Quantitative Codicology,” 729.

<sup>15</sup> The formulae are explored on the basis of a dataset derived from *BB*. This demonstrates how even the most cutting-edge publications are indebted to this outdated catalogue. The fact that *BB* remain a standard reference for studies in quantitative codicology—recently used, for example, by Åslaug Ommundsen, Aidan Keally Conti, Øystein Ariansen Haaland, and Bodil Holst, “How many medieval and early modern manuscripts were copied by female scribes? A bibliometric analysis based on colophons,” *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 12, no. 1 (2025): art. 346—underscores the need for creating a more reliable database of colophons.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also Reynhout, “Quantitative Codicology,” 731: “If one were bold enough to venture an epistemological parallel, one could almost compare the mechanisms that govern the ‘lives’ of the formulae to manifestations of a biological nature!”

<sup>17</sup> Reynhout mentions amusing instances where older scholars understood parts of the formulae (e.g. *plenus amoris*) as scribes’ names. *FLC*, 186. Cf. Reynhout, “Quantitative Codicology,” 728: “Therefore, this placing in perspective of colophon formulae by means of a qualitative methodological approach definitively precludes their supposedly anecdotal nature”. However, it must be acknowledged here that the formulaicity–authenticity tension might be different in non-Latin traditions. For instance, Armenian colophons are an important linguistic source precisely because they are composed by scribes themselves, thus containing traces of actual language usage. See Stone, “Colophons in Armenian Manuscripts,” 469.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Reynhout, “Quantitative Codicology,” 725–726.

<sup>19</sup> Erik Kwakkel, *Books Before Print* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 67.

<sup>20</sup> Kwakkel, *Books Before Print*, 67–68 (bold added). The authenticity of colophon expressions is also defended, for example, by Kurt Otto Seidel, “Tres digiti scribunt totum corpusque laborat: Kolophone als Quelle für das Selbstverständnis mittelalterlicher Schreiber,” *Das Mittelalter* 7, no. 2 (2002): 145–156, e.g. “Ich fasse die Kolophone als absichtsvolle Aussagen auf, auch dann, wenn bestimmte feste Formeln wiederholt werden.” (p. 147) or “Auch wenn viele der Kolophone traditionelle Formeln aufnehmen, lässt sich dennoch oft durchaus auch eine persönliche Aussage daraus ablesen.” (p. 154)—clear criteria, however, for distinguishing between

My thesis does not represent a qualitative study focused on the philological and historical interpretation of the textual contents of colophons; nevertheless, my reflections regarding colophons are embedded within scholarship that stresses their formulaic character rather than their authenticity and spontaneity.

## 2.1 Classification Attempts

Approaches to the classification of colophons correspond with the various conceptualizations of them as described. They can be divided into three groups: (1) enumeration of variation, (2) ad hoc typologies used in case studies, and (3) an explicit theoretical approach.

The first category is characteristic of the “jingle”-ish articles in which colophons are treated as funny peculiarities.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes, they are grouped into larger thematically oriented categories, but no theoretical basis for this systematization is provided.

The case studies of particular manuscript collections that deal with colophons have, of course, faced the necessity of classifying them for research purposes. These classification systems therefore do not aim to be universally applicable, as they are designed to serve specific research objectives; nevertheless, they can be inspiring and provide insights into what researchers expect from a serviceable typology.

The case studies that focus on scribes, codicological features of the manuscripts, and their historical context naturally tend to emphasize such factual information in their classifications.<sup>22</sup>

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what is formulaic and what constitutes a genuine *persönliche Aussage* are not provided. This resilience is also demonstrated clearly by the titles of scholarly articles such as Schiegg's “Scribes' Voices”.

<sup>21</sup> Besides the aforementioned articles by Thorndike, cf. Alphonse De Poorter, “Quelques formules à l'usage des scribes et annotations diverses tirées des manuscrits de Bruges,” *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 14, no. 3 (1935): 872–879; Zdeněk Kristen, “Písařské přípisky v explicitech rukopisů z českých zemí jako pramen historický” [Scribal subscriptions in the explicits of manuscripts from the Czech lands as a historical source], *Sborník Vysoké školy pedagogické v Olomouci. Historie* [Anthology of the Pedagogical College in Olomouc. History] 1 (1954): 54–66; Richard Gameson, *The Scribe Speaks? Colophons in Early English Manuscripts*, H. M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 12 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2002); Ludmila Kisseleva, “Les colophons et les scribes des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences de la Russie,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 361–366.

<sup>22</sup> Five categories of information about the scribe that the colophon may contain are distinguished by Carla Bozzolo, “Pour une exploitation systématique des colophons: le copiste rhénan,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 81–90. In an article concerning colophons in Sevillian manuscripts, Carmen Álvarez Márquez draws on the simple classification provided by *BB* (vol. 1, p. VII), but elaborates in more detail on various structural aspects, cf. Cuadro III (pp. 405–408) similar to the works of Folhen and Cottureau mentioned below. Carmen Álvarez Márquez, “Escribas y colofones en la Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 385–413. Nine categories, mostly of “factual” information, are also recognized in the colophons in Hebrew manuscripts by Malachi Beit-Arié, “Colophons in Hebrew Manuscripts: Source of Information on Book Production and Text Transmission,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 495–504. See also the highly information-oriented approach reflected already in the titles of these

Furthermore, there are studies that, rather than dividing colophons into broader categories, attempt to analyse and describe their constitutive elements;<sup>23</sup> these analyses can also offer inspiration for a typology that annotates the various attributes contained in colophons.

From among the ad hoc typologies, two scholarly works stand out: the article of Jeannine Fohlen on the colophons of 14th and 15th century manuscripts from the Vatican Library,<sup>24</sup> and the doctoral dissertation of Émilie Cottereau focusing on book culture and manuscript production in late medieval France.<sup>25</sup> (Since both studies rely primarily on dated manuscripts and colophons containing scribes' names, their approaches and classification models reflect this particular emphasis.)

Fohlen analyses the colophons in five principal categories: general features, scribe, dating, localization, and circumstances of the copy. Within these categories, she distinguishes and statistically evaluates various manifestations, for instance: the language used, prose versus verse rendering, syntactical formulation of the scribe's name, elements constituting the scribe's name, the manner in which the dating is expressed, etc. Fohlen thus creates a faceted classification sui generis, which is perhaps overly detailed to constitute a practical and easily applicable typology. Nevertheless, her work clearly demonstrates which categories are relevant and of scholarly interest, and roughly outlines the key focal points a meaningful typology might consider.

Cottereau's thesis proceeds in a similar manner, but it goes into even greater detail. After a comprehensive analysis of structural elements, the author isolates individual aspects (for instance, the type of dating or the presence/absence of mention of the scribe's professional status, etc.), establishes their correlation with other examined characteristics, as well as philological and codicological features (such as the textual genre), explores their chronological distribution, and draws conclusions.<sup>26</sup>

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articles: "exploitation systématique", "source of information".

<sup>23</sup> Ten elements found within the colophons of one particular copyist are described by Emma Condello, "Da copista a familiaris: il cammino professionale di uno scriba del Trecento nei colophon di Guillaume de Breuil," in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 321–346. An additional inspiring approach is the description of the structure of Greek colophons (actually similar to the faceted typology proposed in Chapter 4) by Ernst Gamillscheg, "Struktur und Aussagen der Subskriptionen griechischer Handschriften," in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1995), 417–421. For an approach considering various cultural traditions, see Maniaci, "Preliminary Reflections".

<sup>24</sup> Jeannine Fohlen, "Colophons et souscriptions de copistes dans les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane (XIVe et XVe s.)," in *Roma, magistra mundi. Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts à Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, ed. Jaqueline Hamesse, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 10 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), 233–264.

<sup>25</sup> Émilie Cottereau, "La copie et les copistes français de manuscrits aux XIVe et XVe siècles: étude sociologique et codicologique" (PhD diss., Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2005).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. an example of a conclusion drawn from such a detailed analysis: "La fréquence des demandes de prière au lecteur dépend donc tour à tour du copiste et du destinataire : comme on l'a vu, quel que soit le statut du copiste, ce type de formulation est pratiquement absent lorsque le destinataire est un laïc [...] En revanche, sa fréquence est relativement importante dès que le manuscrit est copié pour une institution. Inversement, quel

As for the explicit approaches whose objective is to establish a theoretically based, more or less universal typology, I am aware only of one such attempt, that by Markus Schiegg.<sup>27</sup> The goal of Schiegg's article is to propose a classification system of colophons that takes into account their formal, contextual, and functional characteristics. However, the emphasis is placed on the functional aspect, which is analysed from a perspective of pragmatics through the employment of speech act theory. Regarding the suggested formal classification, the article is very brief and only outlines the possibilities for considering the length, language, metrical structure, visual elements, and cryptographical features of the colophons—it does not, however, present specific suggestions for classifying these formal elements.

Schiegg's contextual classification is equally problematic—it suggests taking into account (1) the manuscript context and (2) who wrote the colophon, whether the scribe of the preceding text or a later user. The former would rather establish a typology of the copied texts themselves than of the colophons;<sup>28</sup> the latter may indeed be useful, but in practice, it would require a detailed palaeographical analysis and, consequently, instead of facilitating further research, would itself depend on previous studies.

The application of the pragmatic approach in the functional classification of colophons is based on the assumption that “it is possible to apply Searle's typology of illocutions, i.e. intentions behind an utterance, to written and historical texts.”<sup>29</sup> Following speech act theory, Schiegg distinguishes four types of colophons, each corresponding to a respective illocution category: the assertives, the expressives, the directives, and the declaratives.

However, it seems rather challenging to discern the *intentions* behind the text of a colophon. As indicated above, the crucial insight of scholarship emphasizing the formulaic nature of colophons is that they are shaped more by social conventions than by individual invention or spontaneity; given this, one cannot simply interpret *tres digiti scribunt unde totus corpus laborat* as a genuine expression of a particular scribe's toil, but rather as an acknowledgement of shared cultural patterns. Schiegg, however, cites this very colophon as an example of an expressive.<sup>30</sup>

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que soit le destinataire, ces demandes sont plus nombreuses lorsque le copiste appartient au clergé régulier. Les deux facteurs entrant en synergie, le pourcentage maximal (lorsque l'effectif est suffisamment nourri) est logiquement observé dans les manuscrits copiés pour des institutions par les membres du clergé régulier.” Cottureau, “La copie et les copistes,” 363.

<sup>27</sup> Schiegg, “Scribes' Voices”. There is also Reynhout's article describing his doctoral dissertation project, which bears the title *Pour une typologie des colophons de manuscrits occidentaux*; however, the necessity of creating a typology of colophons is presented here in the conclusion only as a future prospect. Lucien Reynhout, “Pour une typologie des colophons de manuscrits occidentaux,” *Gazette du livre médiéval* 13 (1988): 1–4.

<sup>28</sup> This is not to argue that studying the correlation between particular colophon types and types of text is uninteresting or without value. Nevertheless, this cannot in itself represent a typology; on the contrary, such research would require an already-established typology.

<sup>29</sup> Schiegg, “Scribes' Voices,” 139.

<sup>30</sup> Schiegg, “Scribes' Voices,” 140. Paradoxically, Schiegg explicitly acknowledges and praises Reynhout's research (p. 135), yet does not fully integrate or engage further with its conclusions.

Schiegg's approach might perhaps work well at the level of locution. One can observe, for instance, imperative structures distinguished from declarative structures, but an attempt to interpret scribes' intentions and the illocutionary force of their utterances ventures beyond observable textual analysis, entering the realm of speculative hermeneutics.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, given that Muzerelle's definition of a colophon, as mentioned above, is rather narrow and that scholarship frequently adopts a broader one, other types of scribal additions presented in Muzerelle's dictionary might also be considered subcategories of colophons in this broad sense. Besides the colophon, Muzerelle mentions three more *formules finales*: *collation* (indicating the number of leaves or quires), *stichométrie* (indicating the number of verses), and *invocation*—though together these can hardly represent a comprehensive typology of final additions. There are, however, several other entries in Muzerelle's work whose definitions do not explicitly mention their final position, but which cover the range of phenomena found in colophons and correspond with several distinctions discussed above as well as with my proposed typology (Chapter 4): for instance, *souscription*, *imprécation*, *doxologie*, *ritournelle*, *charade*, and *énigme*—nevertheless, no further systematization of them is provided, nor is their mutual relationship elucidated.

To conclude, there is currently no comprehensive, theoretically, and empirically based typology of colophons. Yet, there are numerous studies whose particular approaches and specific observations concerning the structural elements of colophons are inspiring and potentially suitable for integration within a broadly conceived typological framework.

## 2.2 What Is a Typology Good For?

What is the *raison d'être* of a colophon typology? Besides the obvious fact that it serves as a practical tool for organizing and filtering data—a necessity once comprehensive databases of colophons have been compiled—a well-designed typology of colophons can aspire to more ambitious scholarly goals.

When Reynhout speaks about the utility of his research on formulae, he enthusiastically states that “[t]he relative datings and localisation of colophon formulae will in fact make it possible to attain implicit datings and localisations for manuscripts whose colophons do not furnish precise information.”<sup>32</sup> I venture to suggest this is true not only for the respective formulae, but also more generally for particular colophon types (as demonstrated by Cottureau's research mentioned above). Further, Reynhout compares the development and spread of individual formulae to that of other phenomena such as script types and manuscript decoration. A comprehensive typology could indeed serve as a means of describing this development in detail.

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<sup>31</sup> For further critical evaluation of Schiegg's approach, cf. Lucie Doležalová, “Vernacular Scribal Additions in Late Medieval Bohemia: The Example of the Old Hag Formula,” *Scriptorium* 74, no. 2 (2020): 284–303, esp. 295.

<sup>32</sup> Reynhout, “Quantitative Codicology,” 730.

One might argue that this view of the role of colophon typology is overly ambitious and audacious. However, could not the same have been said, for instance, about the study of watermarks, before filigranology became a significant auxiliary science of history and before major watermark databases were created?

I would like to propose that a solid typology might represent a step towards establishing “colophonology” as a relevant codicological subdiscipline.

### 2.3 Criteria of the Typology

First of all, the typology should have an empirical grounding—it ought to be based on a corpus of data and validated by its practical application. Moreover, the typology should not substitute the actual scholarly research of colophons, but rather serve as a tool to facilitate such research. Conversely, the correct assignment of a colophon within the typology should not depend on prior extensive research.

Furthermore, I propose the following four specific criteria for developing the colophon typology:

**(1) Definition clarity.** The classes within the typology should be defined with maximum clarity, avoiding ambiguity and minimizing reliance on researchers’ intuition, thereby enabling scholars to apply the typology to other corpora without significant adjustments. Clear and precise definitions will make the typology universally applicable and transferable.

**(2) Balanced design.** This criterion requires (a) that the classes display moderate frequencies, and (b) that they are neither overly general nor excessively specific. Categories and attributes should not represent marginal or overly specific phenomena as this makes the typology unnecessarily complex (again, the typology is not meant to replace detailed research). Conversely, overly general or universal features common to most colophons are equally undesirable, as they do not constitute suitable criteria for meaningful differentiation.

**(3) Exhaustiveness.** Ideally, the typology should allow for the positive classification of all (or at least nearly all) colophons.

**(4) Research relevance.** The typology’s attributes should capture phenomena of genuine scholarly interest, rather than merely incidental features, even if they otherwise meet the previous criteria. Furthermore, *research relevance* can function as a counterbalance to these criteria—it may justify including features that are relatively infrequent or subtly distinguished from one another where excluding them would be detrimental to scholarly understanding. In other words, *research relevance* permits scholarly judgement to override a strictly mechanical application of the other criteria, provided this is academically warranted.

### 3 Corpus

The corpus of data underlying this thesis is derived from a database currently being developed within the grant project “*Done. Pour the wine.*” *Language Experiments in Medieval Scribal Additions and Colophons*. At the time of writing, this project is still ongoing (duration 2024–2026); thus, the database continues to expand and has not yet been published. This work reflects the state of the data as of February 2025.

This database represents one of the key objectives of the aforementioned project. It aims to encompass colophons (broadly defined) from medieval manuscripts (up to the beginning of the 16th century) currently housed in repositories in the Czech Republic, with the possibility of future geographical expansion.

In the initial phase, the project team members focused on excerpting data from the catalogues of manuscript collections; the relevant catalogues are listed below in the bibliography section (see 7.1). When feasible, the data from the catalogues were cross-verified against digital facsimilia available through the digital manuscript library *Manuscriptorium*.<sup>33</sup> However, since not all manuscripts have been digitized, this verification could not be completed for the entire database. For collections currently lacking comprehensive catalogues, such as that of the Zemský archiv v Opavě, pobočka Olomouc, Sběrka rukopisů Metropolitní kapituly Olomouc (Regional Archives in Opava, Olomouc Branch, Manuscript Collection of the Metropolitan Chapter of Olomouc), the data were obtained through direct autopsy of the manuscripts themselves.

The excerpts primarily included scribal additions located at the end of textual units or their subdivisions, as well as other types of annotations documented in catalogues. For practical reasons, additions containing only *finis* without further elaboration or *amen* were omitted. Additionally, plain final rubrics containing only the name of the work and/or its author without any further specification or evaluation were also excluded from the excerption.

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<sup>33</sup> *Manuscriptorium*, National Library of the Czech Republic, accessed April 30, 2025, <https://new.manuscriptorium.com/en/>.

In addition to the quotation of the colophon text itself,<sup>34</sup> the database comprises various kinds of metadata: information about the manuscript (dating, origin, provenance), the manuscript context of the colophon, its language, script type, and identification of the scribe. Nevertheless, a digital image has been available for only a small fraction of the records—this represents a significant methodological limitation of my research, as I could not take into account the visual aspects of the colophons nor evaluate their palaeographical features in detail. It is hoped, however, that these limitations can be overcome in further stages of the project.

All the project data are stored using an entity-relationship database, *Heurist*.<sup>35</sup>

For the corpus, I selected from the database all records identified as containing colophons written (at least partially) in Latin, thus omitting those composed solely in the vernacular (primarily Old Czech and Middle High German).

This selection consists of 3,782 colophons found in 1,936 manuscripts housed in several institutions. Of these manuscripts, only 181 underwent direct examination by autopsy, involving either inspection of the physical manuscript or examination of its digitized copy, whereas data concerning the remaining 1,755 manuscripts were excerpted from catalogues. The libraries, alongside their respective numbers of manuscripts and colophons, are presented in the following table:

<b>Repository</b>	<b>Manuscripts</b>	<b>Colophons</b>
Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta (Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague)	805	1,638
Praha, Národní knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic)	251	488
Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci (Olomouc Research Library)	232	442
Olomouc, Zemský archiv v Opavě, pobočka Olomouc, Sběrka rukopisů Metropolitní kapituly Olomouc (Regional Archives in Opava, Olomouc Branch, Manuscript Collection of the Metropolitan Chapter of Olomouc)	54	243 <sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> The colophon text is included either exactly as given within the respective catalogue or transcribed directly from the manuscript according to standard conventions for the transcription of medieval Latin texts: the original spelling is maintained as it appears in the manuscripts, and the common abbreviations are tacitly resolved. Old Czech texts are presented according to standard transcription conventions (rather than transliteration), as is customary in Old Czech studies.

<sup>35</sup> *Heurist Network Association*, accessed April 30, 2025, [https://heurist.huma-num.fr/Heurist\\_Contacts/web](https://heurist.huma-num.fr/Heurist_Contacts/web).

Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácké opatství Vyšší Brod (Cistercian Abbey of Vyšší Brod)	95	140
Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library of Poland) <sup>37</sup>	115	125
Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna (Brno City Archives, St James Library)	57	117
Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov (Moravian Library, Mikulov Chateau Library of the Dietrichsteins)	50	90
Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad (Benedictine Abbey of Rajhrad)	52	89
Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea (National Museum Library)	44	87
Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum (Silesian Museum)	32	64
Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno (Moravian Library, Augustinians Staré Brno)	28	55
Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově (Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov)	22	41
Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát (Křivoklát Castle Library)	20	33
Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart (Kynžvart Chateau Library)	19	32
Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea (Moravian Land Archives, Francis Museum)	16	24
České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích (Research Library of South Bohemia)	8	19
Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši (Premonstratensian Canonry in Nová Říše)	8	13
Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou (Military Order of the Crusaders with the Red Star)	8	11
Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno (Moravian Library, Friars Minor Brno)	6	10

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Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna (Kroměříž Archiepiscopal Chateau Library)	7	9
Plzeň, Studijní a vědecká knihovna Plzeňského kraje (Education and Research Library of Pilsener Region)	3	5
Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Františkáni Moravská Třebová (Moravian Library, Franciscans Moravská Třebová)	2	4
Rájec nad Svitavou, Zámecká knihovna Rájec nad Svitavou (Rájec nad Svitavou Chateau Library)	1	2
Brno, Archiv města Brna, Sběrka rukopisů (Brno City Archives, Manuscript Collection)	1	1
<b>In Total</b>	<b>1,936</b>	<b>3,782</b>

### 3.1 *Any Natural Corpus Will Be Skewed*—Data Bias

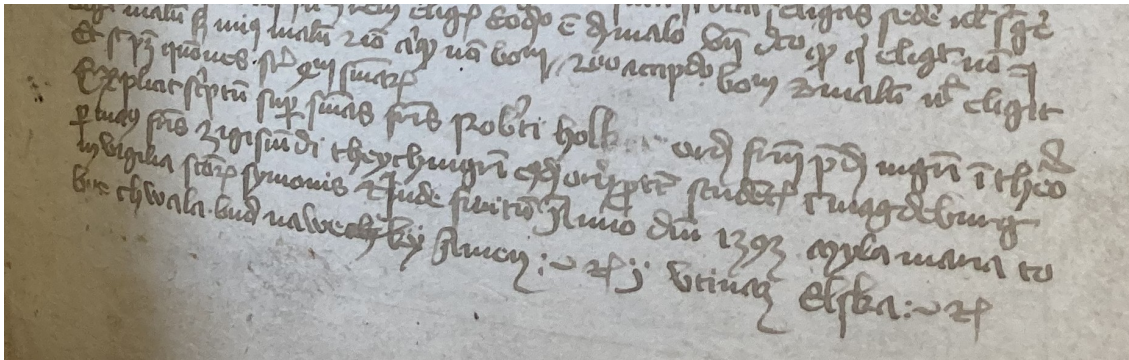
When evaluating the data, the main problem appears to be their inherent inconsistency. It is due to the fact that most records come from catalogues created in various periods, each with differing objectives, methodologies, levels of quality, and adherence to codicological standards.

To cite just one example among many, I refer to the treatment of manuscript ms. 909<sup>36</sup> (unfortunately not digitized) in Josef Truhlář’s catalogue. On fol. 97r, there is the following colophon:

<sup>36</sup> It is striking that the ratio of colophons per manuscript is significantly higher for this collection compared to the others. This is most likely due to the fact that manuscripts from this library were examined through direct autopsy, rather than being excerpted solely from catalogues. This discrepancy clearly demonstrates the extent of data often overlooked by catalogue descriptions.

<sup>37</sup> This is a collection of lost manuscripts formerly kept in the National Library of Poland. The research on these manuscripts and the colophons therein has been conducted by Jerzy Kaliszek, to whom I am grateful for generously providing the data; cf. Kaliszek and Szyller, “Badanie rękopisów”. Several of the manuscripts lack assigned shelfmarks or have unknown former shelfmarks; thus, they are listed in Appendix I as *unknown*, marked by their respective reference numbers.

<sup>38</sup> Hereinafter, manuscripts from my corpus are referenced by their assigned numbers as listed in Appendix I.



*Et sic patent quæstiones super 4<sup>m</sup> sententiarum.*

*Explicit scriptum super sententias fratris Roberti Holk[oth] ordinis fratrum predicatorum magistri in theologia per manus fratris Sigismundi Theychinger eiusdem ordinis protunc studentis in Magdeburg in vigilia sanctorum Symonis et Jude finitum anno domini 1393. Milá Maria tobě chvála bud' na věky. [Dear Maria, praise be to you forever.] Amen. etc. Utinam Elška etc.*

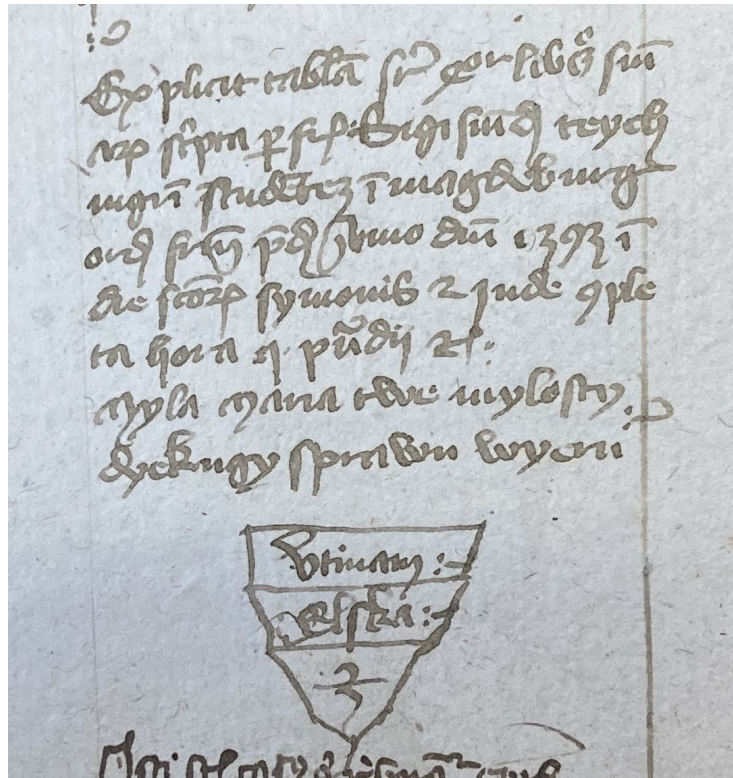
In the catalogue, the explicit of the text and the colophon are transcribed as follows (with my highlighted divergences from the manuscript):

»nihil eligit. Et sic patent quæstiones super IV sententiarum. Explicit scriptum **etc.** **u. s.** per manus fratris Sigismundi Theychinger **ord. pred.** protunc studentis in Magdeburg in vigilia Symonis et Jude finitum a. d. 1393. Myla Maria tobye chwala bud na weky. Utinam Elska.«<sup>39</sup>

The cataloguer chooses not to repeat the reference to the work, which was already mentioned above in the description of the textual unit, and simply puts etc. *u[t] s[upra]* without marking his intervention with brackets or parentheses. This, however, necessitates modifying the information about the scribe's affiliation with the Dominican Order, because the referent of *eiusdem ordinis* is lost due to the omission of the mention about the author; Truhlář, therefore, moves the affiliation information to this position and reads *ord. pred.* Furthermore, he also skips the stock phrase *Amen. etc.*

Another example from the same manuscript (fol. 103r) illustrates a frequent deficiency in the catalogues—the omission of the entire colophon or a significant portion thereof.

<sup>39</sup> Josef Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum qui in C.R. Bibliotheca publica atque universitatis Pragæ asservantur*, vol. 2 (Praha: Societas Scientiarum Bohemica, 1906), 251.



Here, one reads:

*Explicit tabula super 4<sup>or</sup> libros sententiarum scripta per fratrem Sigismundum Taychinger studentem in Magdeburg ordinis fratrum predicatorum anno domini 1393 in die sanctorum Symonis et Jude completa hora quasi prandii etc. Milá Maria, tvé milosti děkuji s pravú věru.* [Dear Maria, I thank your grace with true faith.]

*Utinam*

*Elška*

*Etc.*

The cataloguer omits the information about the scribe and the date, probably because it appears elsewhere in the manuscript, and includes in the catalogue only the passage written in Czech.<sup>40</sup>

This is understandable given the state and interests of codicology at the beginning of the 20th century, when a detailed and careful analysis of colophon syntax was not yet common practice, as primary attention was mostly directed towards the historical information contained in the colophon. Nevertheless, this approach poses substantial challenges for current research. I considered whether I should restrict the corpus only to data verified through manuscript autopsy and taken from catalogues that demonstrate greater scholarly rigour and consistency, or

<sup>40</sup> Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum*, 252.

whether to work with the full corpus despite this data bias. I have opted for the latter, as I believe that applying the typology to a dataset large enough to enable meaningful quantitative analysis would be of greater scholarly value than presenting yet another narrowly defined micro-case study drawing upon only a fraction of the available manuscript material. Since this thesis primarily focuses on the typology itself rather than providing a comprehensive qualitative evaluation of the colophons and manuscripts, the corpus—even if skewed—can be considered test data. The proposed approach can subsequently be applied to a refined version of the corpus during later stages of the project within which it was originally developed.

### 3.2 Data Adjustment

In addition to the initial selection of colophons written entirely or partially in Latin, I also made further minor adjustments to the corpus. First, I excluded any colophons incorrectly annotated as Latin.<sup>41</sup> Additionally, I excluded one instance where the excerptor explicitly noted that the provided text was only a cataloguer’s paraphrase of the colophon and another case where the colophon was largely illegible. Lastly, I filtered out those colophons that were not aligned with the project’s excerption standards as outlined briefly above; (I excluded, for instance, additions occurring at the beginning or at least not positioned at the end of the textual unit, focusing, however, primarily on what emerged naturally during the corpus annotation.)<sup>42</sup>

Overall, 69 items were excluded, resulting in a final corpus of **3,713** colophons from **1,911** manuscripts, all of which are listed in Appendix I with their respective reference numbers used throughout the thesis. The statistics presented in the following section are likewise derived from this adjusted final corpus.

The corpus contains several colophons which were most likely copied from models.<sup>43</sup> I decided to retain these colophons because, structurally, they do not appear to represent a distinct phenomenon, and because we cannot always reliably determine whether a colophon is a copied one or not. The typology should thus be applicable to these copied colophons as well.

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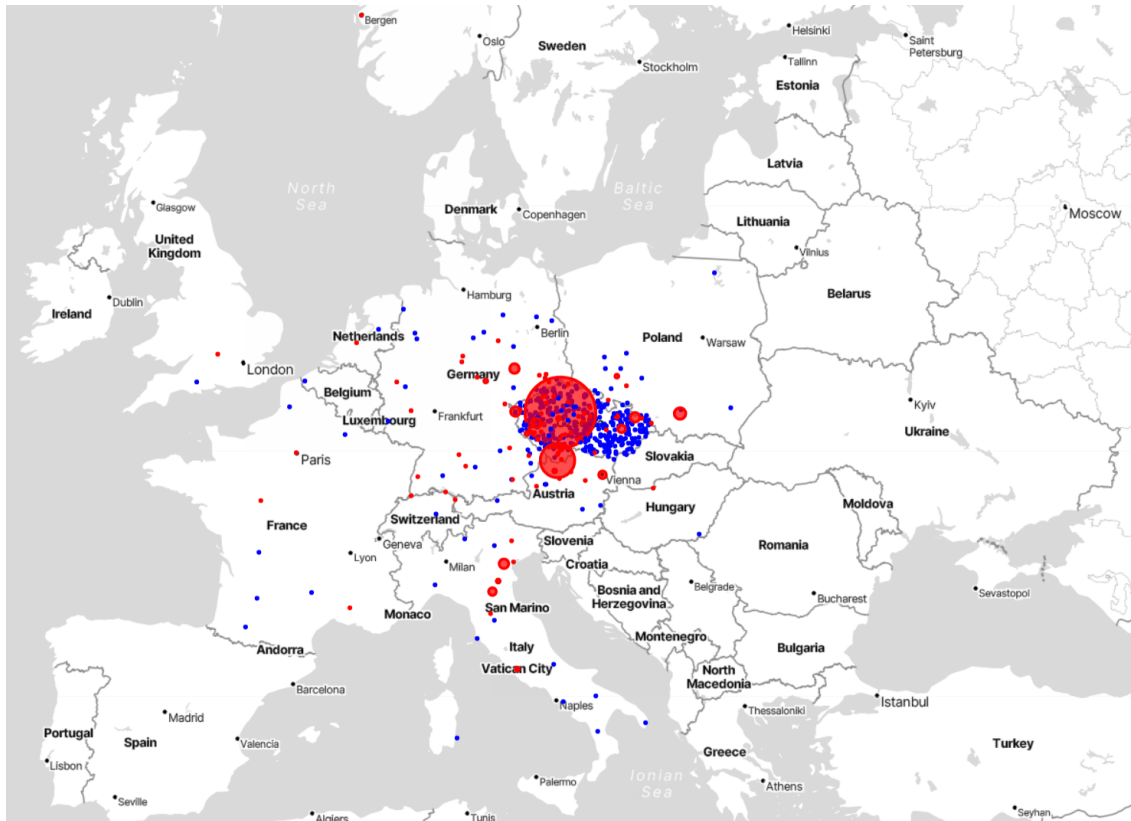
<sup>41</sup> I do not consider as genuinely Latin those cases where only the words *Jesus, et,* and *anno domini* appear in “Latin”, or instances containing merely the Latin form of a proper name (even if with Latin inflection).

<sup>42</sup> However, I retained two exceptional entries: one addition that, despite containing the word *incipit*, is placed at the end of the text it refers to (ms. 317, fol. 222r), and another case where it is uncertain whether the addition refers to the preceding or to the following text (ms. 1274, fol. 33r).

<sup>43</sup> E.g. ms. 1101, fol. 235v; ms. 804, fol. 168rb; ms. 560, fol. 216v. The phenomenon of copied colophons is discussed, for instance, by Jean Destrez and Guy Fink-Errera, “Des manuscrits apparemment datés,” *Scriptorium* 12, no. 1 (1958): 56–93; and Louis Jordan, “Problems in Interpreting Dated Colophons Based on Examples from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana,” in *Scribi e colofoni: le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all’avvento della stampa*, eds. Emma Condello and Giuseppe De Gregorio (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1995), 367–384.

### 3.3 Data Limitations

As the project currently focuses almost exclusively on manuscript material held in collections located in the Czech Republic, and originating predominantly from Central Europe—especially the Czech lands—the diversity of the data may be limited. For the geographical distribution of those manuscripts within the corpus for which geographical attribution is possible, see the following map:<sup>44</sup>

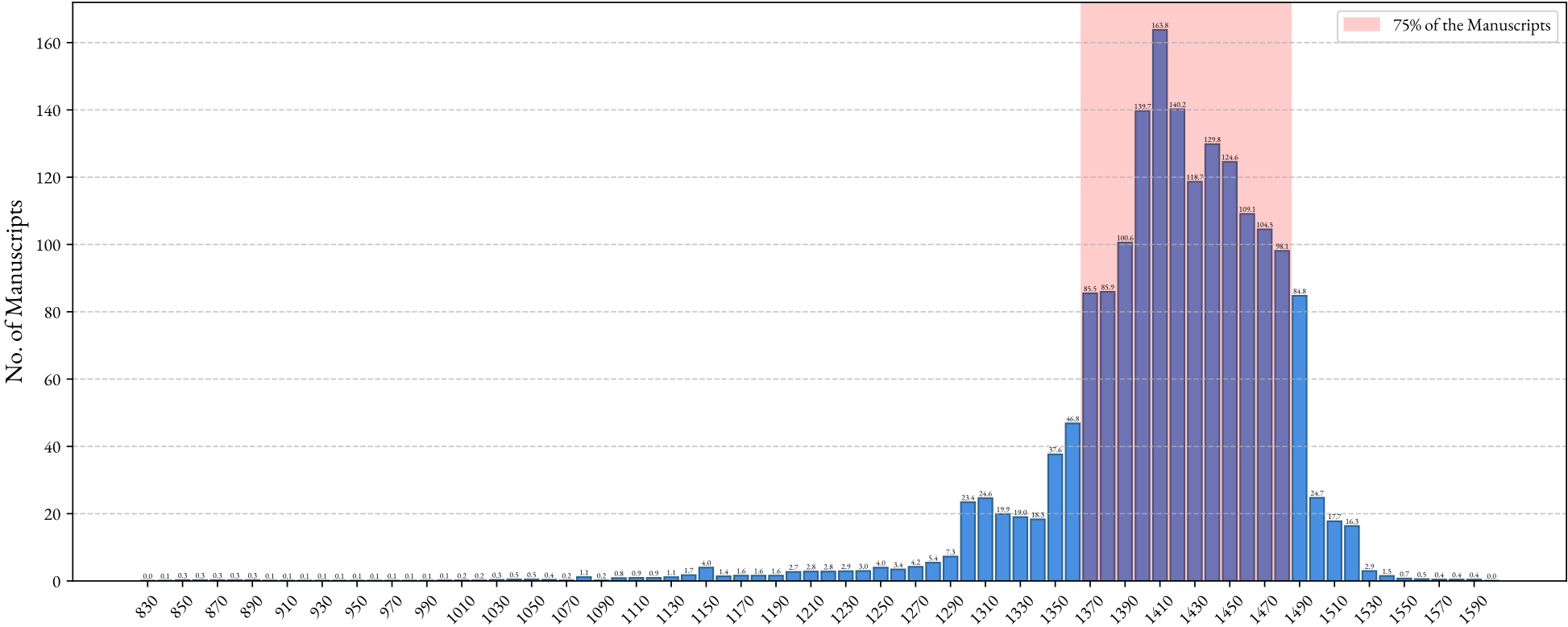


This is not the only limitation—a similar issue is evident in the chronological distribution of the manuscripts. The material originates almost exclusively from the Late Middle Ages, with three-quarters of the codices falling within approximately a one-century period from 1370 to 1480, and with a significant decline after 1490, as illustrated in the chart below:<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> The red dots vary proportionally in size and represent manuscripts with precisely established origins, while the blue dots are placed randomly within broader geographical regions to which the origins of other manuscripts have been more generally attributed. Map created using *Leaflet* with map tiles by *Stadia Maps* and *Stamen Design* (CC BY 3.0).

<sup>45</sup> Dating could be established for 1,800 manuscripts. Those that cannot be dated precisely to a single decade are represented in the chart by distributing their dating across the decades encompassed within their estimated date range, with proportional weighting applied accordingly.

Manuscripts In Total: 1800.00



Considering these limitations, it follows that a typology based, applied, and tested on this corpus of data cannot make a definitive claim to universal relevance covering all chronological and geographical contexts of medieval Latin codicological material. It can, however, serve as a valuable methodological case study demonstrating how typologies of colophons can be established. Of particular interest will be the potential differences that may emerge when this typology is applied to an extended or completely different dataset later on.

## 4 Proposed Typology

With regard to the criteria which the typology should meet (see Chapter 2) and the diversity of the data (see Chapter 3), a monothetic classification with a strict hierarchy, in which an element is assigned by a clear, predetermined principle (such as, for instance, biological taxonomy), does not seem appropriate, since it would inherently oversimplify the complexity of the material. A partial approach to such a typology is provided by the aforementioned speech-acts-based functional classification suggested by Schiegg.<sup>46</sup> This classification proves unsuitable according to several of our criteria.

Although this assessment is rather subjective, it appears unlikely that the speech-act categories, when applied to medieval Latin material, are defined clearly enough to ensure the typology's universal applicability and transferability (criterion 1). I attempted to tag the testing dataset (one hundred randomly selected colophons from the corpus, see Chapter 5) according to the four speech-act categories Schiegg uses, explicitly noting instances where categorization was uncertain (see column "Equivocal" in Appendix II). Notably, uncertainty occurred in as many as 40% of cases!—and this lack of clarity significantly correlates with all categories except the assertives.

The application of Schiegg's typology also results in a markedly uneven distribution (criterion 2). In the testing dataset, the assertives account for 90%, expressives 47%, while the directives represent only 12% and declaratives 10%.

Also, the research relevance criterion (criterion 4) is, in my opinion, not met. To my knowledge, no existing study primarily addresses pragmatic aspects of colophon language itself, and even if such research were to be undertaken, it is uncertain how helpful a typology would be if characterized by a single, overwhelmingly dominant category, a high degree of overlap among classes,<sup>47</sup> and extensive definitional ambiguity.

To avoid similar issues, the typology proposed here employs a different structural logic: a faceted typology appears both feasible and productive. The corpus was tagged and tested using a typology consisting of three facets, each representing a distinct and complementary

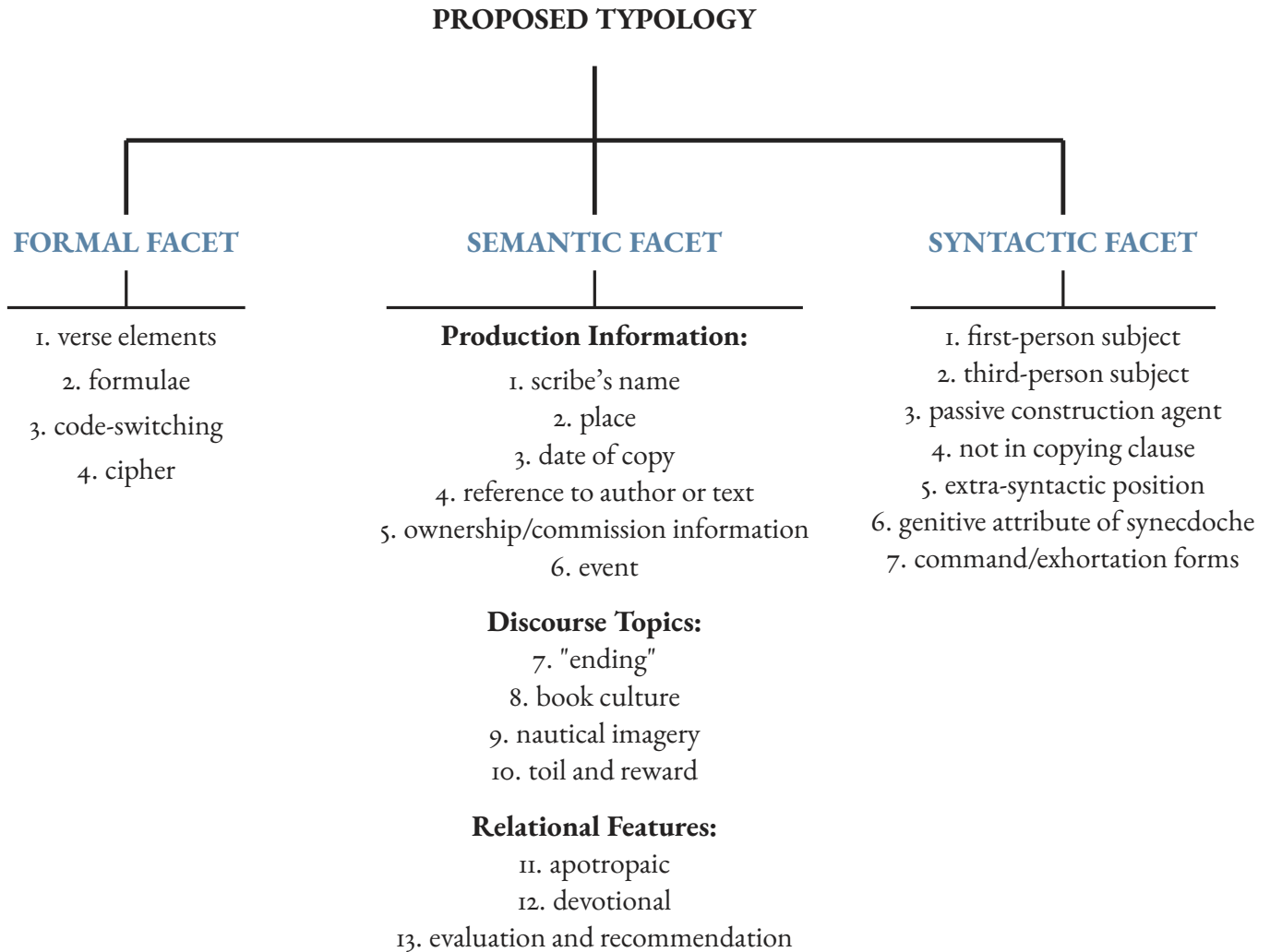
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<sup>46</sup> Strictly speaking, Schiegg's system is not entirely monothetic, since it allows individual colophons to be assigned to multiple categories. Neither is it hierarchical, as it constitutes a single-level classification. Nevertheless, it is an attempt to sort the data according to a *single* theoretical criterion.

<sup>47</sup> 47% of the colophons from the testing dataset have been assigned to more than one category.

analytical perspective on colophons: a formal facet, a semantic facet, and a syntactic facet. These three aspects have frequently been explored independently in earlier studies, but none alone is sufficient for a comprehensive typology.

Within each of the facets, there are multiple binary polythetic attributes, which are illustrated in the figure below and defined further within this chapter.



#### 4.1 Formal Facet

The formal facet encompasses the external, structural characteristics of colophon language and modes of its textual presentation within manuscripts, comprising metrical and prosodic features, the concept of *formulae*, and linguistic and textual devices such as code-switching and cryptographic elements.

#### 4.1.1 Verse Elements

When examining the material, I found it surprisingly difficult to determine precisely what constitutes a verse within colophons. Besides clearly defined metres such as hexameter, there are numerous textual constructions that possess certain rhythmic or metrical characteristics without forming a recognized poetic meter. These cases include instances of *Scheinprosodie*, truncated forms of common metres—for instance, *et sic est finis, laus et gloria Trinis*—,<sup>48</sup> isolated metrical clausulae, cursus, and simple rhyme, e.g. *est namque huius tractatuli finis, ad quem properavi nimis*.<sup>49</sup>

Furthermore, it would be valuable to observe the visual rendering of these borderline cases, as such observations might occasionally inform us whether and how scribes perceived these texts metrically. However, as noted earlier, I could not systematically analyse the visual aspects of the colophons. Additionally, I chose not to incorporate considerations of scribal intent, as this would introduce excessive interpretative subjectivity (potentially conflicting with criterion 1).

Therefore, I have decided to classify strictly as verse only those instances that clearly form a sound recognized poetic metre or else differ from one by just one or a few complete metrical feet (e.g. *Finito sit laus et gloria Christo*),<sup>50</sup> thus filtering out all cases of phrases truncated by syllables not forming a whole foot or feet, or those requiring excessively liberal scansion. This rather strict delimitation was adopted primarily to satisfy criterion 1 (definition clarity).<sup>51</sup> The very fact, however, that colophons often feature language with metrically suggestive forms lying beyond my definition of verse is interesting and awaits further detailed scholarly examination.

There is a complex relationship between *Verse elements* and *Formulae*, as many of the formulae inherently possess a metrical character. Nevertheless, there are formulae completely lacking metrical features (no. 1, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 35, and 36), as well as their non-metrical variants. On the other hand, there are also verses that do not constitute formulae—for instance, metrical ethical maxims,<sup>52</sup> prayers in verse,<sup>53</sup> which lack the variation and distribution typical of formulae, or simply quotations from poetic works.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Ms. 1532, fol. 205va.

<sup>49</sup> Ms. 1611, fol. 78r.

<sup>50</sup> Ms. 245, fol. 42r.

<sup>51</sup> During the data excerption within the project described in Chapter 3, an aim was also to mark whether or not a colophon constituted a verse. I observed that the intuitive assessment by different excerptors varied significantly, providing highly inconsistent data. This experience further supported adopting a stricter definition.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. ms. 1100, fol. 67v: *Quod sibi quisque serit / presentis tempore vite / hoc sibi messi erit / dum dicitur ite venite*.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. ms. 505, fol. 87r: *salva nos omnes te poscimus alme Iohannes*.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. ms. 1276, fol. 50v: *cum mala per longas convaluere moras*.

#### 4.1.2 Formulae

For the concept of colophon formulae, I adopt Reynhout’s definition (outlined above, Chapter 2). Since the understanding of what exactly constitutes a formula can be highly subjective and dependent on researchers’ previous experience with manuscript material, the most feasible approach is to tag the formulae against a given catalogue of them. From Reynhout’s extensive work in this field, I adopt the list of 29 formulae explored in *FLC* (of which 24 appear in the corpus),<sup>55</sup> supplementing it with additional formulae identified by other scholars (who refer explicitly to Reynhout’s conceptual framework), and with those I have established through my own examination of the corpus.

Given the limitations inherent in the data, accurately establishing formulae not yet been documented in the literature proved challenging and inevitably entailed some reliance on intuition, as I was unable to conduct an analysis quite as rigorous as that of *FLC*. As an additional reference outside of my corpus, I made use of *BB*, which is frequently cited in the following sections as supporting evidence to justify my identification of formulae.

Consequently, the category of formulae within the proposed typology cannot be regarded as definitively closed, but rather remains open to extension, pending further research into colophon formulae and additional material to which the typology might be applied.

The following formulae are adopted from *FLC*. For those for which the theoretical exposition and evidence in *FLC* remain fully adequate, I simply refer to Reynhout’s original work without additional elaboration.<sup>56</sup> In contrast, below I will specifically discuss those formulae from Reynhout’s study whose definitions I have adapted and expanded based on a broader spectrum of variations observed in my corpus—these additional variants I will include as well.

(1) *Felicitet*.<sup>57</sup> Although *FLC* does not include other synonyms used in the same way which appear within my corpus, I define these additional instances also as variants of the

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<sup>55</sup> In the corpus, there are no attestations of the following formulae: ...*si(c) deum habeatis protectorem* (*FLC* I 67–81; II, 38), *Finito Christus rex libro sit benedictus* (*FLC* I, 137–140; II, 33), *Quod [person’s name]* (*FLC* I, 194–198; under this formula, I do not include ms. 1750, fol. 174r, where the relative pronoun has an antecedent in grammatical agreement: *Explicit scriptum [...] quod Anshelmus Cantuariensis [...] compilavit*, nor ms. 660, fol. 292v, where *quod* is a conjunction: *credo quod sit Iohannis Guedeler*), *Absolvi(t) / absolutus* (*FLC* I, 277–282; II, 26), *Exscripsi(t) / exscriptus* (*FLC* I, 283–287; II, 30).

<sup>56</sup> Formulae adopted from *FLC* without adjustments: *Scribere qui nescit...* (*FLC* I, 95–99; II, 38), *Finis adest operis...* (*FLC* I, 143–148; II, 31–33), *Qui me scribebat... nomen habebat* (*FLC* I, 149–154; II, 36), *Nomen scriptoris... plenus amoris* (*FLC* I, 187–194; II, 35), ...*cuus anime propicietur deus* (*FLC* I, 199–204; II, 26; in the current corpus, there appear only “fausses variantes” of this formula listed in *FLC* as C, e.g. ms. 1493; ms. 1745, fol. 358v; ms. 1432), *Finitus et completus / finivi(t) et complevi(t)* (*FLC* I, 205–213; II, 35; I adhere to Reynhout’s strict definition and do not include *finitus et scriptus*: ms. 1654, fol. 68r), *Oretis pro eo propter deum* (*FLC* I, 214–216; II, 35–36), *Finivi librum scripsi sine manibus ipsum* (*FLC* I, 229–233; II, 35), *Expletus / explevi(t)* (*FLC* I, 258–268; II, 29–30), *Transcripsi(t) / transcriptus* (*FLC* I, 269–276; II, 41), *Valeas qui legisti* (*FLC* I, 288–294; II, 41–42), *Τέλος* (*FLC* I, 295–302; II, 41), ...*-ebat* (*FLC* I, 305–310; II, 27).

<sup>57</sup> *FLC* I, 57–66, 239–257; II, 31.

present formula: *felicissime*,<sup>58</sup> *fauste*,<sup>59</sup> *fauste optime*,<sup>60</sup> *fauste feliciterque*,<sup>61</sup> *faustissime*,<sup>62</sup> *iocose*.<sup>63</sup>

(2) *Sicut navigantibus portus...*<sup>64</sup> This formula appears in my corpus exclusively in its—rather marginal—<sup>65</sup>variant listed by *FLC* as E: *Contigimus portum, quo mihi cursus erat*,<sup>66</sup> which, however, constitutes simply a quotation from the closing lines of Ovid’s *Remedia amoris*,<sup>67</sup> where it functions metaphorically as a type of “literary colophon” within the work’s narrative structure.

(3) *Explicit iste liber sit scriptor crimine liber*.<sup>68</sup> I also encompass further variations employing wordplay with the homonymy of *liber*, such as *Iam sum liber, quia finitus est liber*,<sup>69</sup> or a truncated version of this formula: *Sit scriptor omni timore liber*.<sup>70</sup>

(4) *Explicit explicat ludere scriptor eat*.<sup>71</sup> I expand this formula to include the variant *explicit expliciunt* as this version employs the same pun involving an awkward nonclassical inflection of the verb *explicare*.<sup>72</sup>

(5) *Detur pro penna scriptori pulchra puella*.<sup>73</sup> This formula appears as well in its “cheese-variant” (*Scriptori pro penna datur caseus ori...*), which develops further into a short macaronic poem.<sup>74</sup>

(6) *Finito libro reddatur...*<sup>75</sup> In my corpus, the only indisputable attestation of this formula belongs to what Reynhout categorizes as “variantes satiriques” (*Finito libro frangantur crura magistro*).<sup>76</sup> Other occurrences of colophons with *finito libro* (including those consisting only of these two words)<sup>77</sup> may rather be associated with other formulae containing this element (no. 8 and 17); however, a accurately assigning them to either of these formulae is not an objective of the present thesis.

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<sup>58</sup> Ms. 353, fol. 373r.

<sup>59</sup> Ms. 154I, fol. 191r.

<sup>60</sup> Ms. 154I, fol. 171r.

<sup>61</sup> Ms. 2II, fol. 453v.

<sup>62</sup> Ms. 103I, fol. 151r.

<sup>63</sup> Ms. 310, fol. 55r.

<sup>64</sup> *FLC* I, 85–94, II, 38–41.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. chronological distribution in *FLC* I, 87.

<sup>66</sup> Ms. 180, fol. 185; ms. 181, fol. 147v.

<sup>67</sup> *Ov. rem.* 812.

<sup>68</sup> *FLC* I, 103–108; II, 30.

<sup>69</sup> Ms. 1216, fol. 151v.

<sup>70</sup> Ms. 1486.

<sup>71</sup> *FLC* I, 109–114; II, 30.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. “Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (DMLBS),” BREPOLiS, accessed March 22, 2025, <http://www.brepolis.net/>, s. v. *explicare*. For further evidence of this variant, cf. e.g. *BB* 20979–20982.

<sup>73</sup> *FLC* I, 115–125; II, 26–27.

<sup>74</sup> Ms. 530, fol. 191r.

<sup>75</sup> *FLC* I, 127–135; II, 33–34.

<sup>76</sup> Ms. 44, fol. 139r.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. ms. 882, fol. 207v.

(7) *Et sic est finis.*<sup>78</sup> This formula also occurs in the macaronic Latin-Czech variant *et sic est konec* [the end]<sup>79</sup> as well as in the abbreviation *e. s. e. f.*, which most probably stands for this formula.<sup>80</sup>

(8) *Finito libro referamus gratias Christo.*<sup>81</sup> I include as well a slightly atypical form lacking the central verb *referre*, but expressing the same abstract notion: *Finito opere sit laus Christe tibi...*<sup>82</sup>

(9) *Qui scripsit scribat semper cum domino vivat.*<sup>83</sup> This formula is also attested in truncated forms,<sup>84</sup> such as only *Qui scripsit* (which might also correspond to formula no. 19),<sup>85</sup> and as another variation—unlisted by *FLC*—that lacks the initial element *qui scripsit*: *Ipse diu scribat et longo tempore vivat.*<sup>86</sup>

(10) *Pro quo...*<sup>87</sup> While my corpus lacks some variants listed in *FLC* (*in quo, ex quo, quare*), it reveals numerous additional ones (a fact perhaps unsurprising, as Reynhout considers this formula typical of Central Europe). These additional variants include: *pro cuius fine*,<sup>88</sup> *pro cuius complemento*,<sup>89</sup> *de cuius consumacione*,<sup>90</sup> *pro cuius finis consumacione*,<sup>91</sup> *pro quo fine*,<sup>92</sup> *per quem finem*,<sup>93</sup> *quo*,<sup>94</sup> and the Czech *z toho* [from that].<sup>95</sup>

(11) *Per manus et non per pedes.*<sup>96</sup> I further expand this formula to include the following variants: simple *per manus* if the scribe's name is not mentioned,<sup>97</sup> *per manus cuiusdam*<sup>98</sup> if it is not further specified either by a name (*per manus cuiusdam Stanislai a sancto Martino*)<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *FLC* I, 155–164; II, 27–29.

<sup>79</sup> Ms. 318, fol. 258r.

<sup>80</sup> Ms. 1031, fol. 144v.

<sup>81</sup> *FLC* I, 165–170; II, 34–35.

<sup>82</sup> Ms. 1612, fol. 76v.

<sup>83</sup> *FLC* I, 170–185; II, 36–38.

<sup>84</sup> The abbreviated forms of the formulae further highlight their inherently formulaic nature: since they were widely known, merely the incipit was sufficient to evoke the entire expression.

<sup>85</sup> Ms. 963, fol. 87v.

<sup>86</sup> Ms. 853, fol. 195vb.

<sup>87</sup> *FLC* I, 217–228; II, 36.

<sup>88</sup> E.g. ms. 1518.

<sup>89</sup> Ms. 510, fol. 83r.

<sup>90</sup> Ms. 218, fol. 110v.

<sup>91</sup> Ms. 1513.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. ms. 213, fol. 205v.

<sup>93</sup> Ms. 567, fol. 253r.

<sup>94</sup> Ms. 1845, fol. 66v.

<sup>95</sup> Ms. 811, fol. 352r.

<sup>96</sup> *FLC* I, 234–236; II, 36.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. ms. 395, fol. 87r.

<sup>98</sup> E.g. ms. 1061, fol. 63r.

<sup>99</sup> Ms. 1747, fol. 91v.

or by nationality (*per manus cuiusdam Bohemi*),<sup>100</sup> *peius quam per pedes*,<sup>101</sup> *per manus et per pedes Plichte*,<sup>102</sup> *per manus eiusdem jakož dobře vieš* [as you know well],<sup>103</sup> *per manus chudého žáka* [of a poor student],<sup>104</sup> and *per me manum* (sic).<sup>105</sup> This variability is again unsurprising, as the geographical core of its distribution is Central Europe, and, curiously, Prague above all.<sup>106</sup> Potentially, the phrase *manu mea propria*<sup>107</sup> and similar expressions could also be included under this formula, but as these are not listed in *FLC* and appear only rarely in my corpus, I have chosen not to incorporate them here.

The next formula, **(12) *Heu male finivi quia scribere non bene scivi***, I adopt from the thorough research conducted by David Moreno Olalla.<sup>108</sup> Beyond the existing, already detailed catalogue of variants,<sup>109</sup> I include several additional instances observed in my corpus: a slightly truncated *heu male finivi quia scribere non scivi*,<sup>110</sup> *qui me finivit pro parte scribere scivit* (perhaps most closely related to Moreno Olalla's variant A1g),<sup>111</sup> as well as *qui te finivit partecus rodere scivit* with its minor variations (not strongly resembling any of the catalogued variants).<sup>112</sup> Further, I note one attestation in which the metrical character of the formula has been completely lost,<sup>113</sup> and a variant significantly different in content: *qui te finivit dormire nonque nequivit*.<sup>114</sup>

Formula **(13) *Et cetera baba stará*** [old hag], originating from Czech and thus restricted to material from the Czech lands, has been studied by Lucie Doležalová, who presents a list of its attestations and variants, incorporating evidence that is also represented in my corpus.<sup>115</sup>

Based on my survey of the corpus, I have identified the following formulae which have not previously been described within Reynhout's conceptual framework. Along with their definitions, I briefly characterize their range of forms and provide preliminary outlines of their variation. However, I do not systematically arrange or number the variants, nor do I investigate their chronological or spatial distributions, as the current corpus does not offer sufficient data for such analyses. Instead, I employ a preliminary content-based grouping.

<sup>100</sup> Ms. 182, fol. 34v.

<sup>101</sup> Ms. 346, fol. 84v.

<sup>102</sup> Ms. 674, fol. 34r.

<sup>103</sup> Ms. 500, fol. 378v.

<sup>104</sup> Ms. 1615, fol. 110r.

<sup>105</sup> Ms. 1661, fol. 171v.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *FLC* I, 236.

<sup>107</sup> Ms. 657, fol. 220v.

<sup>108</sup> Moreno Olalla, "The Scribal Formula".

<sup>109</sup> Moreno Olalla, "The Scribal Formula," 150.

<sup>110</sup> Ms. 1423.

<sup>111</sup> Ms. 1826, fol. 26va.

<sup>112</sup> Ms. 116, fol. 189v; ms. 273, fol. 64r; ms. 1687, fol. 324r.

<sup>113</sup> Ms. 1495: *Hunc breviarium finivi male, quia scribere nescivi melius [...]*

<sup>114</sup> Ms. 1700, fol. 13v.

<sup>115</sup> Doležalová, "Vernacular Scribal Additions". I am grateful to Lucie Doležalová and Robin Böckerman for drawing my attention to further instances of this formula (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 170, fol. 8v and 182r).

The next two formulae share vernacular origins—specifically Middle High German—and incorporate the phrase *et cetera*, thus resembling the formula *et cetera baba stará* (no. 13).

**(14) *Et cetera puntschuch*.**<sup>116</sup> This formula occurs in numerous spelling variants and abbreviated forms—for example, *Et cetera. Buntschuch*,<sup>117</sup> *etc. Puonczoch*,<sup>118</sup> *Punth such etc.*,<sup>119</sup> *et cetera puntsch*,<sup>120</sup> or *et cetera punt*.<sup>121</sup> Additionally, there is one case where the formula appears integrated into a longer German sentence: *etc. Patschuch hadery, daz synt fustuch etc.*,<sup>122</sup> similar to the usage documented by *BB*.<sup>123</sup>

**(15) *Et cetera rindfleisch*.**<sup>124</sup> For this butcher-ish formula, many spellings appear as well: *etc. rintfleyß*,<sup>125</sup> *Et cetera Rynthfleysch*,<sup>126</sup> *etc. rinth*.<sup>127</sup> among others. In my corpus, only “beef” is found, but there is evidence for other *Fleischsorten* as its variants as well.<sup>128</sup> This formula, too, has occasionally been mistaken as a scribe’s name.<sup>129</sup>

Another group of formulae addresses the notion of scribal work as a strenuous activity worthy of reward, or expresses satisfaction at having completed the task (cf. the attribute *Toil and reward* below within the semantic facet). This renders them similar to the previously discussed formulae no. 4 and 5 (as well as others documented in *FLC: Scribere qui nescit... Finis adest operis...*)

**(16) *Scriptori(s) munus...*** The standard form of this formula in my corpus is a Leonine hexameter: *Scriptoris munus sit bos bonus et equus unus*.<sup>130</sup> Additionally, there is another different variant: *Unum tuum munus exposcit non labor unus*.<sup>131</sup> The crucial element in defining this formula thus appears to be the Leonine rhyme *munus – unus*.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> The origins and reason for employment of this formula, including references that overlap with evidence from my corpus, are also discussed by Doležalová, “Vernacular Scribal Additions,” 296–298. Cf. also Lucie Doležalová, “Medieval Nonsense Humour in Scribal Additions,” in *Medieval Humour: Expressions, Receptions and Functions*, ed. Kleio Pethainou (Trivent Publishing, 2023), 73–92, esp. 83.

<sup>117</sup> Ms. 1145, fol. 133v.

<sup>118</sup> Ms. 1541, fol. 127v.

<sup>119</sup> Ms. 1891, fol. 224vb.

<sup>120</sup> Ms. 1663, fol. 56v.

<sup>121</sup> Ms. 1777, fol. 109r.

<sup>122</sup> Ms. 1563, fol. 237rb.

<sup>123</sup> *BB* 9754, 20921, cf. also 11311.

<sup>124</sup> This formula is also mentioned by Doležalová, “Vernacular Scribal Additions,” 298; and Doležalová, “Medieval Nonsense Humour,” 83.

<sup>125</sup> Ms. 1909, fol. 243rb.

<sup>126</sup> Ms. 1640, fol. 49r.

<sup>127</sup> Ms. 1787, fol. iv.

<sup>128</sup> *BB* have *Kalpfleys* (17830), Doležalová cites *Cygenfleysch* and *Ochsenfleysch*. Doležalová, “Vernacular Scribal Additions,” 298.

<sup>129</sup> In *BB* 6768, *Ryntfleys* is erroneously identified as a scribe, and the colophon is accordingly ordered under the letter R.

<sup>130</sup> Ms. 20, fol. 90v; ms. 292, fol. 168v; and with minor variation ms. 1351, fol. 142v?

<sup>131</sup> Ms. 1099, fol. 213r.

<sup>132</sup> *BB* also provide substantial evidence for this formula: e.g. 23415–23419, 23435–23438, or 11284 (the last is a

(17) *Finito libro saltat scriptor pede leto*.<sup>133</sup> A Leonine hexameter featuring the familiar ablative absolute *finito libro* in the first hemistich (cf. formulae no. 6 and 8); besides this characteristic opening (with occasional variations of the predicate indicating completion, e.g. *libro completo*),<sup>134</sup> another defining criterion for this formula is the mention of the dance (various forms of the verb *saltare*).<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, all instances in my corpus conclude consistently with *pede l(a)eto*.<sup>136</sup>

(18) *Hoc opus exegi festum sepissime fregi*.<sup>137</sup> This formula is also a Leonine hexameter (if scanning the adverb ending *-e* as short). Within the corpus, it shows only limited variation, usually involving changes in the adverb (*rarissime*)<sup>138</sup> or—though metrically problematic—employing the plural *fasta*.<sup>139</sup> A stable feature seems to be the final word *fregi*, rhyming with the perfect tense of various prefixed compounds of *agere* in the caesura.<sup>140</sup>

(19) *Qui scripsit scripta manus eius sit benedicta*.<sup>141</sup> The polyptoton in the first hemistich of this Leonine hexameter (if taking the syllable in caesura as heavy) recalls that of that of the formula *Qui scripsit scribat semper cum domino vivat* (no. 9). The most common variation lies in the alteration of the words *manus* and *eius* for their synonyms such as *dext(e)ra* or *sua*.<sup>142</sup> More significant variation include, on the one hand, changes in rhyme and thus of word order: *Hic liber est scriptus, qui scripsit, sit benedictus*,<sup>143</sup> and on the other, lexical variation (abandoning the polyptoton entirely), *Qui fecit dicta, eius lingwa sit benedicta*.<sup>144</sup>

(20) *Scribentis... legentis*. This formula occurs only twice within my corpus: as a Leonine hexameter, *Corpus scribentis benedic deus atque legentis*,<sup>145</sup> and as the slightly metrically disrupted Leonine hexameter, *Gloria scribentis laus est in ore legentis*.<sup>146</sup> These verses share as a common feature (only) the Leonine rhyme between words from the same semantic domain, *scribentis* and *legentis*. Because of the limited available evidence, I do not attempt to establish its “standard” version. Nevertheless, its frequent attestation in *BB* justifies considering it a formula.<sup>147</sup>

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rather pious variant in contrast to the livestock-themed examples found in my corpus: *Scriptoris munus sit Deus trinus et unus*).

<sup>133</sup> In this form in ms. 1073, fol. 248r.

<sup>134</sup> E.g. ms. 1863, fol. 122r.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. ms. 1073, fol. 248r; ms. 241, fol. 162r; and ms. 733, fol. 262v.

<sup>136</sup> It is also attested in *BB*: e.g. 5578, 22735, 23740.

<sup>137</sup> Ms. 1350, fol. 180v?

<sup>138</sup> Ms. 770, fol. 222v.

<sup>139</sup> E.g. ms. 1468.

<sup>140</sup> There is also significant additional evidence of this formula in *BB*: e.g. 2834, 22506.

<sup>141</sup> E.g. ms. 789, fol. 165v.

<sup>142</sup> E.g. ms. 1328, fol. 301v?; ms. 1364, fol. 343v?; ms. 1234, fol. 100v.

<sup>143</sup> Ms. 1419.

<sup>144</sup> Ms. 1600, fol. 164ra. It also appears frequently in *BB*: e.g. 420 and 23206–23227.

<sup>145</sup> Ms. 1718, fol. 5v.

<sup>146</sup> Ms. 1060, fol. 7v.

<sup>147</sup> E.g. *BB* 22618, 22619, 23761.

**(21) *Scriptorem... meliorem.*** There appear to exist two distinct groups within this formula. The first is characterized by the imperative *lauda* at the start of the line—e.g. *Lauda scriptorem donec videas meliorem*.<sup>148</sup> The second group comprises devotional elements—e.g. *Istum scriptorem faciat Christus meliorem*.<sup>149</sup> In addition to these formally intact hexameters with the Leonine rhyme *scriptorem – meliorem*, many metrically distorted variants also occur, some of which display hardly any metrical features, for instance: *Bone deus fac iustum scriptorem meliorem*.<sup>150</sup> *BB* also attests to both variants.<sup>151</sup>

**(22) *Scriptor cessa...*** This highly variable formula consists of a hexameter or its derived form employing the imperative *cessa*, usually as a command to the scribe (vocative *scriptor*). There is a Leonine rhyme matching this *cessa* in the caesura with the adjective *fessa* (or its synonyms) at the end of the line. As the “standard” form, I quote *O scriptor cessa quoniam manus est tibi fessa* from *BB*, due to its metrical soundness;<sup>152</sup> within my corpus, there are no instances where the formula makes up a complete hexameter. Interestingly, certain variations appear that incorporate—presumably—the scribe’s name: *Iam Kříži* [lit. Cross] *cessa quia manus est tam festa* (sic),<sup>153</sup> or devotional elements (even if somewhat nonsensical): *O scriptor cessa beata Maria est tibi fessa*.<sup>154</sup> As an additional variant, I also include its truncated form, *Scriptor cessa*.<sup>155</sup>

**(23) *Scriptor siste...*** This is another formula employing an imperative, *siste*, directed either to the scribe (*scriptor*) or to their synecdoche, here for instance *penna*.<sup>156</sup> The imperative placed at the caesura of the Leonine hexameter rhymes either with *iste* at the end of the line or with other words, as in *Iam scriptor siste, tenuit labor iste satis te* (in this case, it is necessary to scan the syllable before the caesura as heavy).<sup>157</sup> This formula could perhaps be considered as a variant (or rather, a group of variants) of the previous one—a relationship that would have to be more fully explored by more extensive research.

The next four formulae are apotropaic in character, warning against stealing or mistreatment of books (cf. *Apotropaic* attribute below within the semantic facet).

**(24) *Non videat Christum qui librum subtrahat istum.***<sup>158</sup> This Leonine hexameter,

<sup>148</sup> Ms. 623, fol. 200v.

<sup>149</sup> Ms. 164, fol. 9r.

<sup>150</sup> Ms. 1827, fol. 141v.

<sup>151</sup> The “*lauda*”-variant appears, e.g., in *BB* 5301, the devotional one in *BB* 1025.

<sup>152</sup> *BB* 22686.

<sup>153</sup> Ms. 579, fol. 335v. Cf. *BB* 13561.

<sup>154</sup> Ms. 31, fol. 119v; ms. 1871, fol. 11v.

<sup>155</sup> Ms. 292, fol. 168v. *BB* also provide substantial evidence of this formula with manifold variations: e.g. 22685–22687 or 2628.

<sup>156</sup> Ms. 1848, fol. 282vb.

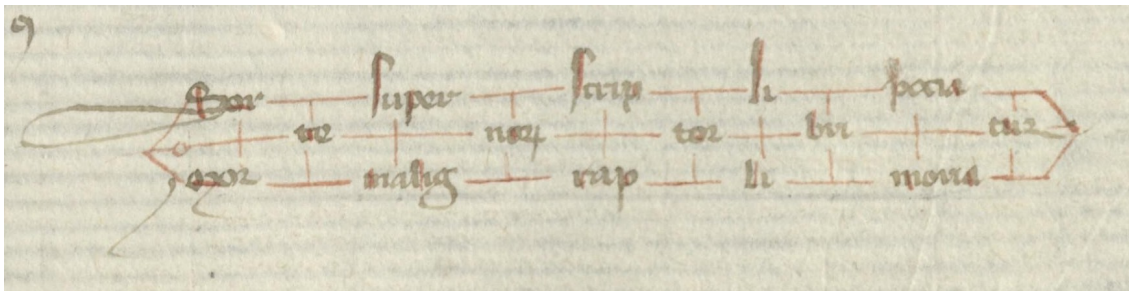
<sup>157</sup> Ms. 385, fol. 204r. *BB* attest a considerable number of occurrences: e.g. 132, 1501, 5891.

<sup>158</sup> E.g. ms. 1335, fol. 230r?

with a consistent rhyme *Christum – istum*, appears relatively stable, varying primarily in forms of the verb *subtrahere*.<sup>159</sup>

(25) *Qui te furetur tribus lignis associetur*.<sup>160</sup> This highly variable formula, clearly aiming to make up a hexameter, virtually never occurs within my corpus in metrically sound form. The first hemistich begins with *qui(s)*, referring to a book thief, and ends with *furetur* (or its other inflectional forms) at the caesura. The second hemistich offers the punishment for the thief, concluding with the passive form of various verbs rhyming with *furetur*, usually invoking the notion of a triplet when describing the means of punishment: *tribus lignis*,<sup>161</sup> *tribus zonis*,<sup>162</sup> *tribus virgis*,<sup>163</sup> *tribus laqueis*.<sup>164</sup> Occasionally, however, other punishments (without *tribus*) also occur, such as *anathematis ense necetur*,<sup>165</sup> *in culum percutietur*,<sup>166</sup> and *ligno coronetur*.<sup>167</sup>

(26) *Sorte supernorum scriptor libri pociatur / morte superborum raptor libri moriatur*.<sup>168</sup> This is couplet of Leonine hexameters which never occur separately within my corpus. Variation is mostly restricted to the genitive attribute of *morte*: for instance, *reproborum*<sup>169</sup> or *malignorum*,<sup>170</sup> the “standard” form, however, seems to be *superborum*, due to its clever symmetry with *supernorum* in the first line. The limited variation is to be expected, since the essence of this formula lies in the correspondences of the word endings of the two lines, *sorte – morte*, *scriptor – raptor*, etc., sometimes visually highlighted in manuscripts thus:<sup>171</sup>



Ms. 1779, fol. 143r.<sup>172</sup>

(27) *Non deportabis...* This is a relatively variable formula, its core being the beginning phrase *non deportabis*, which forms the first hemistich of a hexameter up to the semiquinaria.

<sup>159</sup> E.g. ms. 1341, BF?; ms. 1251, fol. 107r. Evidence in *BB*: e.g. 22634–22639.

<sup>160</sup> E.g. ms. 1251, fol. 107r.

<sup>161</sup> E.g. ms. 1526.

<sup>162</sup> Ms. 264, fol. 187v.

<sup>163</sup> Ms. 346, ff. 126v–127r.

<sup>164</sup> Ms. 1843, fol. 166v.

<sup>165</sup> Ms. 1339, fol. 45v?

<sup>166</sup> Ms. 7, fol. 192v; ms. 1826, fol. 26va.

<sup>167</sup> Ms. 1468. In *BB* e.g. 23415–23419, 23435–23438, 11284.

<sup>168</sup> E.g. ms. 299, fol. 84r.

<sup>169</sup> Ms. 1709, fol. 195v.

<sup>170</sup> E.g. ms. 1823, fol. 77v.

<sup>171</sup> Examples found in *BB* include e.g. 21603, 23586–23594.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. *BB* 23591.

The rest is typically—but not always—introduced by *nisi*, expressing the conditions for acquiring the book, for instance: *Non deportabis nisi quinque florenos dabis*.<sup>173</sup> Under this formula, I also include short variations, such as *Non deportabis*<sup>174</sup> and *Non dep.*<sup>175</sup> The supporting evidence for this formula provided by *BB* is rather limited, however.<sup>176</sup>

The content of the next set of formulae is essentially devotional in the broader sense. Admittedly, however, this can serve only as an ancillary criterion for classification because many other formulae might also have their own pious or devotional variants, whereas the usually devotional ones can occasionally assume rather crude forms.

**(28) *Laus tibi sit Christe quoniam liber explicit iste.***<sup>177</sup> This Leonine hexameter (if we scan the syllable before the caesura as heavy) with rhyme *Christe – iste* exhibits minimal variations, restricted to word order and to the possible substitution of the conjunction with a synonymous one. However, one curious variant observed in the corpus is *Laus tibi sit Christe quia sermones expliciunt iste*, in which the preservation of the rhyme causes ungrammatical agreement.<sup>178</sup>

**(29) *Christus laudetur quod libri finis habetur.***<sup>179</sup> This Leonine hexameter possesses a rather variable first hemistich; a frequent variant begins with *laus Christo detur*.<sup>180</sup> The stable feature appears to be the heroic clausula *finis habetur*.<sup>181</sup>

**(30) *Explicit hec summa, sit Christo gloria summa.*** This Leonine hexameter (if scanning the syllable before the caesura as heavy) appears only once in the corpus, with a rather awkward *hac* instead of *hec* which is attested in *BB*.<sup>182</sup> This formula plays on a homonymy (or rather polysemy) within the Leonine rhyme *summa – summa*, similarly to formula no. 3.<sup>183</sup>

**(31) *Assit principio sancta Maria meo.*** This pentameter belongs more naturally among formulae appearing at the beginning of the text, rather than at its end. It indeed occurs within scribal additions that I decided to exclude from the corpus (see above, Chapter 3.2). Nevertheless, I include it here because some variants explicitly thematizing finishing a book also occur at the end of texts. However, these end-positioned variants exhibit significant metrical disrup-

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<sup>173</sup> Ms. 1639, fol. 257r.

<sup>174</sup> Ms. 143, fol. 71v.

<sup>175</sup> Ms. 1777, fol. 109r.

<sup>176</sup> *BB* 11719, 18654, 18689, 19887.

<sup>177</sup> E.g. ms. 1335, fol. 172v?

<sup>178</sup> Ms. 1676, fol. 225v. There are numerous instances of this formula in *BB*: e.g. 15.

<sup>179</sup> Ms. 1477.

<sup>180</sup> E.g. ms. 1416.

<sup>181</sup> In *BB* e.g. 22186–22189.

<sup>182</sup> *BB* 5168, 20992, 20993, also 21351, 21352.

<sup>183</sup> For a similar principle, cf. also *BB* 20994: *Explicit hec vita, quicumque legis mala vita.*

tions (along with a different verb in a different form employed here): *Astitit principio et fini (sancta) Virgo Maria meo*.<sup>184</sup>

Other formulae do not fit comfortably within my preliminary classification categories; they all, however, centre thematically on book/literary culture.

**(32) *Nomen scriptoris si tu cognoscere queris...***<sup>185</sup> This formula consists of a couplet of hexameters; the first line, forming a conditional clause, seems to be rather stable, except for the variation of its concluding verb: besides *queris*, one also finds *velis*<sup>186</sup> or *gliscis*.<sup>187</sup> The second line is a charade or an *aenigma syllabicum* that reveals the scribe's name, divided into syllables as a riddle: e.g. *Mar tibi sit primum, Ti medium Nusque supremum*,<sup>188</sup> i.e. *Martinus*.

**(33) *Scriptor scripsisset bene melius si potuisset***.<sup>189</sup> This is a highly variable formula in hexameter form, whose primary distinctive feature is a prominent Leonine rhyme employing verbs in the pluperfect subjunctive, in either the first- or the third-person singular. The first verb is usually a form of *scribere*, while the second is more variable: for example, *Si melius scripsissem, meum nomen inposuissem*,<sup>190</sup> or *Melius scripsissem si aliquid bibere habuissem*.<sup>191</sup> I have also included instances that employ only one verb in *-isse-*, thus not producing the rhyme, but clearly alluding to this formula: *Scripsissem melius sed non michi competit usus*.<sup>192</sup> In some cases, this formula is supplemented with additional lines further developing its imagery.<sup>193</sup>

**(34) *Penna erat vilis manus vero puerilis***.<sup>194</sup> This attempted hexameter occurs only twice within the corpus, with the other instance being *Penna fuit vilis scriptor erat puerilis*.<sup>195</sup> Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain detailed variation or a canonical form of this formula; based on the evidence in *BB*,<sup>196</sup> it seems possible to identify its essential defining element as the Leonine rhyme of adjectives *vilis* – *puerilis*, applied to various entities of the copying process: *manus, penna, palma, scriptor...*

The formulae listed so far all possess metrical form; the final two that follow are exceptions, as their major variants typically do not constitute verses.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Ms. 1457; ms. 1434. In *BB*, I have not found the variant with *et fini*; however, the initial-position formula is frequently documented: e.g. 19978–19984, 19994–20012.

<sup>185</sup> E.g. ms. 1749, fol. 196r.

<sup>186</sup> E.g. ms. 1524.

<sup>187</sup> Ms. 1385, fol. 155v?

<sup>188</sup> Ms. 1749, fol. 196r.

<sup>189</sup> E.g. ms. 1563, fol. 155rb.

<sup>190</sup> Ms. 844, fol. (I) VI. II.

<sup>191</sup> Ms. 264, fol. 187v.

<sup>192</sup> Ms. 1726, fol. 6or.

<sup>193</sup> Ms. 310, fol. 75v; ms. 1450. In *BB*, e.g. 1050, 23394–23400.

<sup>194</sup> Ms. 1423.

<sup>195</sup> Ms. 1415, fol. 107r?

<sup>196</sup> E.g. *BB* 1373, 19187, 22659.

<sup>197</sup> Both formulae presented here are based on the word *amen*; there has been research conducted on its usage as a conclusion marker (not exclusively) in Old Czech texts, with particular attention also paid to colophons em-

(35) *Amen solamen*.<sup>198</sup> This formula is based on the juxtaposition of *amen* with other words ending in *-men*, such as in *amen solamen amamen*,<sup>199</sup> or in the macaronic variant *amen stramen kámen* [the stone].<sup>200</sup> These words do not necessarily have to be immediately adjacent, as demonstrated in the following instance: *Amen. Fac me tecum gaudere solamen*.<sup>201</sup> In one case, the formula is even developed into a hexameter: *Sit tibi Christe amen, qui sacrum emitis flamen*.<sup>202</sup> I did not include cases where *amen* is simply repeated multiple times,<sup>203</sup> though it warrants further investigation as to whether such usage truly constitutes a distinct phenomenon or if it might better be subsumed under this formula.<sup>204</sup>

(36) *Amen dicant omnia*.<sup>205</sup> The variation within this very frequent formula lies in the alteration of the form of the verb *dicere*: *dicat*,<sup>206</sup> *dicamus*,<sup>207</sup> as well as its subject: *omnes fideles*,<sup>208</sup> *singula*,<sup>209</sup> or *quavis*.<sup>210</sup> In one case, it forms part of a longer prayer addition: *Amen dicant omnia sub celo que sunt sita et dele peccaria tu felix margarita mater dei domini omnia redde quitta etc. Amen*.<sup>211</sup>

There are also a few expressions I considered classifying as formulae, but due to insufficient evidence of their formulaic character and of their broader spread—either within my corpus or in *BB*—I decided not to categorize them as such. Nevertheless, these expressions remain to be scrutinized more carefully in subsequent research, potentially leading to their recognition as formulae. For now, it will suffice simply to list them along with short explanations:

(1) *In der mandl suppen*. This German expression seems similar to formulae no. 14 and 15. It is, however, not attested in *BB*, and all three instances in my corpus come from one manuscript, ms. 1189.<sup>212</sup>

(2) *Schuch tuch pruch*.<sup>213</sup> Probably originating likewise from German, and similar in type to formulae no. 14 and 15.

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ploying it: Hana Kreisingerová and Kateřina Voleková, “Funkce staročeského »amen« v biblických a světských textech” [Function of Old Czech “amen” in Biblical and secular texts], *Clavibus unitis* 13, no. 2 (2024): 7–18.

<sup>198</sup> E.g. ms. 1053, fol. 74v.

<sup>199</sup> Ms. 1187, fol. 116r.

<sup>200</sup> E.g. ms. 1175, fol. 306r.

<sup>201</sup> Ms. 1884, fol. 158vb.

<sup>202</sup> Ms. 1682, fol. 134v.

<sup>203</sup> Ms. 1855, fol. 31r.

<sup>204</sup> *BB* provide numerous examples, e.g. 20082–20093.

<sup>205</sup> E.g. ms. 1061, fol. 129r.

<sup>206</sup> Ms. 749, fol. 110r.

<sup>207</sup> Ms. 665, fol. 56v.

<sup>208</sup> Ms. 462, fol. 214r.

<sup>209</sup> Ms. 734, fol. 339v.

<sup>210</sup> Ms. 749, fol. 110r.

<sup>211</sup> Ms. 1296, fol. 2r. In *BB*, e.g. 8525, 12343.

<sup>212</sup> Fol. 93r, fol. 112v, and fol. 165r.

<sup>213</sup> Ms. 292, fol. 97v; ms. 343, fol. 100r; with minor variation in ms. 1770, fol. 216. This expression is also mentioned by Doležalová, “Vernacular Scribal Additions,” 297–298.

(3) *Chudý žák* [a poor student] and (4) *Šiška* [the cone]. These expressions could theoretically function similarly to the *et cetera baba stará formula* (no. 13), but they are attested scarcely, and *BB* includes no additional occurrences apart from those already present in my corpus.<sup>214</sup>

(5) *Tak buob daj* [so may God grant].<sup>215</sup> Further research focusing on colophon formulae in Czech would be necessary to evaluate fully whether this expression functions as a formula.

(6) *Non sit tibi grave pro scriptore dicere ave.*<sup>216</sup>

(7) ... *quando raduntur vituli*. This phrase is part of a mock dating found three times within the corpus, for example: *In die Gregali, in quo raduntur vituli, qui nec est martir nec confessor, sed in utroque confusus.*<sup>217</sup> Alternate forms of this curious saint's name include *Gurgulus*<sup>218</sup> and *Grigulus*.<sup>219</sup> In *BB*, I discovered only a single instance of such an expression, mentioning Saint *Gogulus*.<sup>220</sup>

(8) *Finales...* This word appears in multiple highly variable expressions within the corpus; a few of these expressions include internal rhyme between *finales* and other words (such as *bibales*<sup>221</sup> or *sotulares*),<sup>222</sup> others are macaronic,<sup>223</sup> and succinct in character.<sup>224</sup> The only shared characteristic among these expressions appears to be this curious word (*finales*). Outside of the corpus, I have not yet encountered further attestations of this term; therefore it would be premature to consider it a formula.

(9) *Eraromem amissivon*. All instances<sup>225</sup> of this word reversal as well as one where it is resolved (*memorare novissima*)<sup>226</sup> appear exclusively in colophons produced by the scribe Iohannes Thabrarr. For this reason, it seems to be just his personal idiosyncrasy, although its potential broader circulation has not yet been ruled out.

(10) *Phlegeton tunc urat opus hoc qui tollere curat*. This apotropaic hexameter line appears only twice among the Warsaw *deperdita*, with no additional attestations elsewhere.<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> *Chudý žák* appears three times in ms. 1615, fol. 110r, fol. 187r, fol. 259v; in ms. 144, fol. 29v: *chudý kněz* [a poor priest]. *Šiška* is attested only once in ms. 249, fol. 48v.

<sup>215</sup> E.g. ms. 443, fol. 297v.

<sup>216</sup> Attested only once in ms. 1588, fol. 234va; a related expression occurs in ms. 1690, fol. 9r. In *BB*, I have located only one further example: 22633.

<sup>217</sup> Ms. 1882, fol. 84r.

<sup>218</sup> Ms. 607, fol. 13v.

<sup>219</sup> Ms. 1502.

<sup>220</sup> *BB* 17765.

<sup>221</sup> E.g. ms. 376, fol. 221v.

<sup>222</sup> E.g. ms. 461, fol. 119v.

<sup>223</sup> E.g. ms. 579, fol. 335v and ms. 719, fol. 221r.

<sup>224</sup> E.g. ms. 737, fol. 173r.

<sup>225</sup> Ms. 1532, fol. 111rb; ms. 1583, fol. 196vb, fol. 214ra; ms. 1586, fol. 138r, fol. 175v.

<sup>226</sup> Ms. 1586, fol. 76v.

<sup>227</sup> Ms. 1421; ms. 1481.

(11) *Hoc ille scripsit qui primo scribere discit.*<sup>228</sup>

(12) *Si quisque quod suum est...* This expression addresses the question of authorship originality, explicitly highlighting that the text is essentially a compilation: *Si quisque quod suum est recipere velit, nihil aut modicum auctori manebit.*<sup>229</sup> Thus, it seems closely related to the preceding copied work; indeed, the two occurrences in the corpus appear in the colophons appended to a single work, Johannes Nider's *Consolatorium timorate conscientie*. Moreover, the corpus also contains another variant expressing a similar sentiment: *Si quid suum est tolleret, parum vel nihil colligenti remaneret.*<sup>230</sup> This second formulation appears twice in *BB* as well.<sup>231</sup> Further research would be necessary to establish whether this is genuinely a colophon formula or rather merely an intrinsic closing statement of a particular work or a group of works.

Throughout the above discussion of formulae, I have used the designation “standard form” of a formula several times, usually meaning its frequent and metrically sound variant. It remains an open question for broader comparative research, however, whether these metrical variations really represent the “standard” and “original” versions (as principles of textual criticism would suggest and as current scholarship typically presumes), or if, conversely, they might represent secondary, later forms derived from non-metrical counterparts.

#### 4.1.3 Code-Switching

Under the term code-switching, I refer specifically to the use of multiple languages within a single colophon, excluding “external” language changes between the colophon itself and the text to which the colophon is attached. I also exclude cases where only a place-name appears in another language from the remainder of the colophon, such as [...] *in Nova urbe Pragensi pod skale.*<sup>232</sup> Similarly, I do not include colophons containing explicit explanations or glosses of foreign words, which function effectively as short glossaries, for example: *Adonay hebraicum, tetragramoton grecum, latine dicitur dominus noster iustus yoth he van he.*<sup>233</sup>

Typically, code-switching occurs between Latin and the vernacular (Old Czech or Middle High German),<sup>234</sup> although occasionally three or even four languages appear within a single colophon.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Most of the instances (ms. 249, fol. 48v; ms. 1478; ms. 1313, fol. 250v) have *scripsit*, but given the content of the expression, the version with *scripsit* (ms. 982, fol. 10v) is particularly amusing.

<sup>229</sup> Ms. 1142, fol. 170r; ms. 1258, fol. 42r.

<sup>230</sup> Ms. 1233, fol. 330r.

<sup>231</sup> *BB* 20408, 20670.

<sup>232</sup> Ms. 1624, fol. 449r.

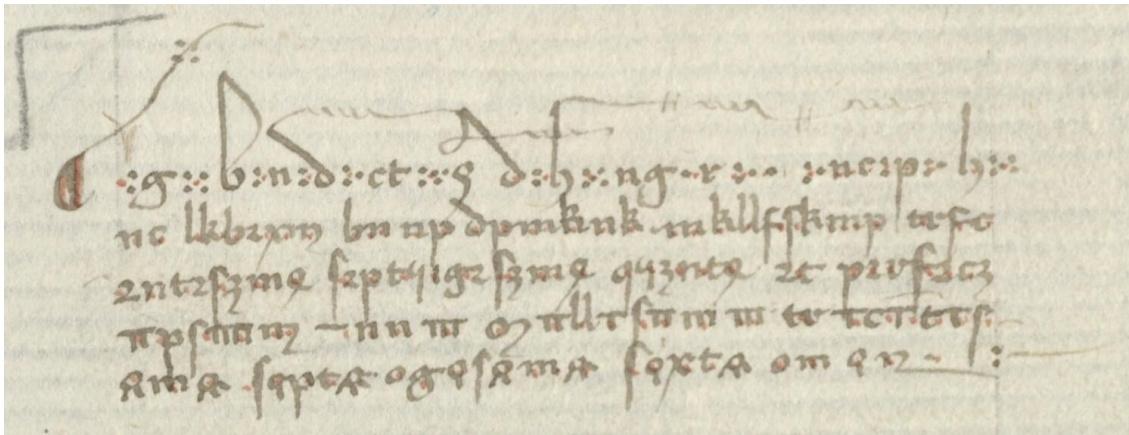
<sup>233</sup> Ms. 1314, fol. 178r, cf. also ms. 1882, fol. 179v: *Iniquitas est, que anoma dicitur, quodquod contra legem sit. Nam nomos lex [...]*

<sup>234</sup> E.g. ms. 1010, fol. 3v: *Finis, milej Janku* [dear John]; ms. 770, fol. 237v: *Non est plus. Her, ich pit.*

<sup>235</sup> Three languages appear in ms. 1583, fol. 29vb, fol. 32va; and ms. 1586, fol. 73v. Four languages occur in ms. 1231, fol. 101r: *Konec. Τέλος. Finis. Ent. Amen.*

#### 4.1.4 Cipher

There are several forms of cryptographic devices or ciphers found within colophons. A common form is the charade, which involves decomposing a word—typically a name—into syllables.<sup>236</sup> Another simple method involves writing a word or phrase backwards, e.g. *Subocai* for *Iacobus*.<sup>237</sup> Additionally, simple substitution ciphers appear frequently.<sup>238</sup> These are usually based on substituting vowel letters with other characters, employing various systems, for instance: dots whose number reflects the vowels' order in the alphabet; consonant letters that follow immediately after the vowel in the alphabet; special characters consisting of one horizontal stroke as many vertical strokes as the vowel's numerical position (among the vowels) in the alphabet; or similarly, characters comprising a circle with a varying number of radiating strokes, again dependent on the vowel's alphabetical position. All five of these systems are exemplified in a single colophon from the corpus, with each line employing a different one:



Ms. 1779, fol. 143r.

#### 4.2 Semantic Facet

This facet deals with the content and meaning of the colophon. It can itself be further divided into three sub-facets. The first sub-facet, *Production information*, focuses on factual data about the origin of the copy that are explicitly conveyed by the scribe. The second, *Discourse topics*, explores broader thematic domains or subject matters addressed within a colophon. The third sub-facet, comprising the three remaining attributes, can be labelled *Relational features*. These attributes aim to capture aspects representing the relationship that the colophon constructs with other entities of the textual process—(1) the reader, (2) the divinity, and (3) the text and the copy itself.

<sup>236</sup> See formula no. 32, with examples thereof.

<sup>237</sup> Ms. 1887, FP.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Benjamin A. Saltzman, “Vt hksdkxt: Early Medieval Cryptography, Textual Errors, and Scribal Agency,” *Speculum* 93, no. 4 (2018): 975–1009.

#### 4.2.1 Scribe's Name

The primary challenge in annotating this attribute was determining what precisely should be considered a predicate denoting copying versus those predicates referring to other activities related to the book-production process.<sup>239</sup> Besides the standard “verbs of copying” introducing the name of the scribe, such as *scribere*, its prefixed compounds, *finire*, and its synonyms, there are less common ones, such as *reportare*,<sup>240</sup> *ingrossare*, *regrossare*, and *transumere*, which I consider verbs of copying.<sup>241</sup> The scribe's name can also be part of a prepositional phrase introduced by *per* in elliptical construction without a verb, or simply appear as a subscription without integration into the syntax of a longer sentence. In the latter case, subscriptions in the nominative I universally considered as denoting the scribe, whereas those in the genitive I considered an indication of manuscript ownership (see below).

#### 4.2.2 Place

Accurately identifying the place of copying (as I initially tried to define it) proved to be surprisingly complicated since geographical attributions appearing in a colophon may refer to various places beyond the location of the actual copying event itself, for instance: the origin of the work being copied,<sup>242</sup> or locations associated with the scribe<sup>243</sup> or the owner of the book.<sup>244</sup> Consequently, distinguishing precisely which entity a geographical reference applies to can often be challenging.

Consider the following example:

*Expliciunt synonyma Rasis ac Almansoris et finite sunt per Iohannem de Bregba apothecarium **in Konigesberg** ipso die Satiri martiris quadrigesimo quinquagesimo tercio et cetera. Explicit, expliciunt amen.*<sup>245</sup>

The adverbial modifier (*in Konigesberg*) could be interpreted in two ways: either as modifying the noun *apothecarium* (which, in my opinion, is the correct interpretation here), or potentially as modifying the predicate (and thereby the entire sentence). The former interpretation would indicate the scribe's occupation-location, the latter would indicate the place where the copy itself was executed.

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<sup>239</sup> Cf. the typology of “formulation[s] de l'acte de copie” in Cottureau, “La copie et les copistes,” 342ff.

<sup>240</sup> However, *reportare* cannot universally be considered a verb of copying and must be examined case-by-case. In certain examples, *reportare* explicitly implies an action distinct from copying, which is indicated by another verb; cf. ms. 167, fol. 27r.

<sup>241</sup> For the particularly curious *transumere*, cf. “DMLBS,” s. v. *transumere*.

<sup>242</sup> Cf. ms. 1706, fol. 151ra.

<sup>243</sup> Cf. ms. 611, fol. 338v.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. ms. 1604, fol. 201va.

<sup>245</sup> Ms. 1209, fol. 10r.

This ambiguity can theoretically be avoided by focusing exclusively on the *structural presence* of any geographical attribution in the form of an adverbial modifier. Such an approach would, however, fail to align well with criterion 4 (research relevance), as it would encompass an excessively broad range of phenomena, whereas scholarly interest generally centres specifically on data relating directly to the copying process itself.

To overcome this problem, I suggest defining the attribute *Place* as follows: either the location where the copy was carried out or the scribe's place of residence at the period of copying. This approach resolves most ambiguous cases (including the example above) and maintains a reasonable balance between criterion 1 (definition clarity), 2.b (avoiding excessive generality and excessive specificity), and 4 (relevance).

As the "scribe's place of residence" might also appear somewhat ambiguous, let me clarify further which specific cases I include within this definition:

- Adverbial modifiers consisting of a prepositional phrase explicitly modifying either the scribe's name, or the noun denoting the scribe's occupation placed in apposition to the scribe's name. These prepositional phrases are introduced by *in* (see example above), *ad*,<sup>246</sup> or *apud*,<sup>247</sup> but not by *de* (since *de* usually implies place of origin rather than residence).<sup>248</sup> Such modifiers may sometimes be further specified by explicit markers clearly indicating the scribe's residence during the copying, such as *existens tunc temporis*,<sup>249</sup> *tunc manentis*,<sup>250</sup> or *tunc commorantem*.<sup>251</sup>
- Adjectival or genitive attributes qualifying the name of the scribe, or the noun denoting occupation that follows the scribe's name in apposition, solely in cases accompanied explicitly by adverbs of time such as *protunc*.<sup>252</sup>
- Clauses explicitly recording the place of residence of the scribe at the time of copying.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>246</sup> Cf. ms. 1615, fol. 187r.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. ms. 1339, fol. 45v?.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. ms. 1332, fol. 271r?: *Explicit libellus scriptus per fratrem Iobannem sacerdotem de Altovado monasterio alias de Crumpnaw 1395*. However, in some instances the preposition *de* appears quite synonymous with *in*: cf. the following scribe who presents the same information either using *in* or *de*, without clear differences in the meaning: ms. 1621, fol. 116v and fol. 130r.

<sup>249</sup> Ms. 1548, fol. 31va.

<sup>250</sup> Ms. 1615, fol. 187r.

<sup>251</sup> Ms. 611, fol. 338v.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. ms. 909, fol. 174r: [...] *per manus fr. Sigismundi Theychingeri de conventu Coloniensi provincie Bohemie protunc studentis Magdeburgensis*. This example also illustrates clearly why including prepositional phrases with *de* would be inaccurate. Cf. also examples in which a genitive attribute without further clarification explicitly designates something other than the scribe's residence: ms. 1586, fol. 73v and fol. 175v: [...] *per me Iobannem Thabrarr de Brunna, arcium baccalarium florentissimi studii Wyenensis in die apostolorum Symonis et Iude anno Domini 1454 et in excellentissimo studio Paduano [...]*

<sup>253</sup> Cf. ms. 153, fol. 23v: *Explicit tractatus Reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini Dei gracia patriarce Constantinopolitani quoque archiepiscopi domini Hugulini magistri sacre theologie ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini ab eodem compilatus M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup> tempore sanctissimi pape Gregorii XI, quo tempore steti Florencie pro studente.*

Nevertheless, the precise wording of each colophon must be considered carefully, as demonstrated by the following example:

*Explicit collecta notabilia de libro Methaeorum per Stephanum quondam rectorem  
scole superioris ecclesie in Montibus Cutbnis.*<sup>254</sup>

Following the criteria just outlined, this colophon would theoretically be tagged for the attribute *Place*; but the occurrence of the temporal adverb *quondam* explicitly contradicts such interpretation, as this term indicates that this spatial attribution was no longer valid at the time the text was copied.

#### 4.2.3 Date of Copy

Here, I include all temporal references (in any dating format) that *can be* understood as indicating the date on which the copy was finished. Frequently, it is not clear to which exact event the date in the colophon refers (completion of copying, origin of the text, or some other event); however, I suggest still including these ambiguous cases in this attribute. I also include instances of colophons that do not themselves contain explicit dating, but rather refer to another colophon or preceding scribal annotation within the same manuscript that features dating.<sup>255</sup> However, in a few cases where only *anno domini etc.* appears, without any explicit mention of the year, I do not classify these odd colophons under the attribute *Date of copy*.<sup>256</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Reference to Author or Text

This attribute comprises all cases in which the colophon contains a definite reference to the work that it follows in the manuscript. I do not consider mere indications of overall genre designation, such as *questiones*,<sup>257</sup> or more vague references, such as *hec pars huius libelli*,<sup>258</sup> as sufficient to assign this attribute. However, I do include cases that are more specific, referring explicitly to the title of the work, containing a brief description of its contents, explicitly mentioning the author's name, or at least specifying the number of the volume (for instance, *liber quintus*)<sup>259</sup> or another textual division.

Correct identification of references to the author or text also necessitates examination of the text preceding the colophon, rather than depending solely on the internal wording of the colophon itself. For instance, the colophon *Deo gracias. Amen. Qui scribit scribat, semper cum*

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<sup>254</sup> Ms. 191, fol. 115v.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. ms. 292, fol. 168v: *Expliciunt registra super librum predictum anno ut supra [...]*

<sup>256</sup> E.g. ms. 1284, fol. 240va.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. ms. 1735, fol. 149r.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. ms. 1900, fol. 268v.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. ms. 1905, fol. 266vb.

*Domino vivat. Fredericus* could at the first glance seem to refer to a scribe (or possibly an owner or commissioner) named Fredericus. It is, however, attached to a text by Federico Petrucci, and it should therefore be understood rather as referring to the author.<sup>260</sup>

#### 4.2.5 Ownership or Commission Information

Ownership or commission remarks can refer either to individual persons or institutions (such as monasteries). In most cases, ownership is clearly marked through constructions using the verb *esse* with a possessive genitive,<sup>261</sup> whereas commission information typically employs the dative of beneficiary,<sup>262</sup> an explicit predicate<sup>263</sup> or a full explanatory clause.<sup>264</sup> This category also includes notes on trading the books if the purchaser is explicitly indicated, possibly accompanied by an indication of price.<sup>265</sup>

Identification becomes more complicated in cases of shorter or elliptical colophons containing a name, but not explicitly indicating to whom it refers. I generally tended to interpret isolated names in the genitive as markers of ownership whenever it was clear they did not designate the author of the text preceding.<sup>266</sup> However, it must again be emphasized that such ambiguous colophons need to be evaluated individually. For instance, colophons found in a book owned by a certain bachelor Cycleron could easily be mistaken as referring to the ancient author of the same name, if external evidence of this individual were unavailable.<sup>267</sup>

Moreover, in rare cases, where it is certain that scribes copied for themselves, I assigned to these colophons both attributes simultaneously: the *Scribe's name* as well as *Ownership or commission information* attributes.<sup>268</sup>

#### 4.2.6 Event

This attribute covers all events and happenings referred to in the colophons other than those directly associated with the act of copying or other aspects of book production itself. It can broadly be divided into two subgroups: (1) personal events related to the scribe or their acquaintances, and (2) more universal “historical” events.

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<sup>260</sup> Ms. 95, fol. 199r.

<sup>261</sup> Cf. ms. 1749, fol. 196r.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. ms. 1604, fol. 201va.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. ms. 1668, fol. 223r: [...] *constructus est ab illustri Elyzabeth, regina Bohemie et Polonie liber iste.*

<sup>264</sup> Cf. ms. 1543, fol. 126vb: [...] *qui presentes libros pro suis impensis, pecuniis et expensis conscribere fecit et procuravit.*

<sup>265</sup> Cf. ms. 174, fol. 289v.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. ms. 1732, fol. 147v.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. ms. 1699, fol. 174v, fol. 181v, fol. 248v, fol. 288v, or fol. 167r.

<sup>268</sup> E.g. ms. 931, ff. 248v–249r: [...] *per Sigismundum Span de Bernstein sibi ipsi [...]*

Personal happenings show remarkable variety; they may include, for instance, information about incidents such as a theft of the scribe's coat,<sup>269</sup> the birth of the scribe's twin children,<sup>270</sup> the castration of the scribe's brother,<sup>271</sup> or the commencement of the scribe's studies.<sup>272</sup>

“Historical” events pertain to both political affairs, such as references to elections or deaths of rulers<sup>273</sup> or episodes of warfare,<sup>274</sup> and natural occurrences, such as a solar eclipse,<sup>275</sup> a comet,<sup>276</sup> a heat wave,<sup>277</sup> or a plague.<sup>278</sup>

Overlapping the two subgroups are necrological remarks, which are systematically tagged as *Events*.<sup>279</sup>

Information about historical happenings used merely as a dating device (e.g. *tempore concilii in Constancia*<sup>280</sup> or *sub imperio ducis Henrici*)<sup>281</sup> is not labelled under *Events* here. Also, I do not include events concerning the content of the text to which the colophon is attached, circumstances of its origin, or biographical information about the text's author.<sup>282</sup> Likewise, commemorations of historical events from a relatively remote past,<sup>283</sup> or conversely, references to projected future events, are excluded as well.<sup>284</sup>

#### 4.2.7 “Ending”

The colophons—unsurprisingly—often include a notion of ending. This idea is conveyed either by verbs, such as *fnire*, *complere*, *perficere*, and their synonyms, or by corresponding nouns. In addition, I also consider as markers of ending the adverb *tantum*<sup>285</sup> as well as the subjunctive expression *sufficiant*.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Ms. 1536, fol. 316v: [...] *et ipso die allatum mihi fuit pellicium*.

<sup>270</sup> Ms. 1849, BP: *Anno domini M° CCCC° LXXVI mensis mai die sexto omnipotens deus duas michi soboles dedit*. Cf. also birth record of other persons: ms. 799, fol. 80v.

<sup>271</sup> Ms. 1615, fol. 110r: [...] *quo die castratus seu ab umbone privatus est Martinus frater meus*.

<sup>272</sup> Ms. 189, fol. 87v: [...] *eodem anno in crastino s. Bartholomei exivit de Crumpnaw ad studium Paduam, habens annos etatis sue XVI in translacione s. Venceslai*.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. ms. 1401, FF?; ms. 1691, fol. 176ra.

<sup>274</sup> Cf. ms. 1779, fol. 141r.

<sup>275</sup> Ms. 317, fol. 224r.

<sup>276</sup> Ms. 550, fol. 231r.

<sup>277</sup> Ms. 305, fol. 32v.

<sup>278</sup> Ms. 694, BF.

<sup>279</sup> E.g. ms. 1753, FP; ms. 1536, fol. 11v; ms. 1086, fol. 302v; or ms. 1776, fol. 36r.

<sup>280</sup> Ms. 1814, fol. 52rb.

<sup>281</sup> Ms. 1198, fol. 106v.

<sup>282</sup> E.g. ms. 1602, fol. 42va.

<sup>283</sup> E.g. ms. 1214, fol. 29r: *Commemoracionem animarum in crastino omnium sanctorum instituit Odilio abbas Cluniacensis anno Domini 1000*.

<sup>284</sup> E.g. a rather humorous one—ms. 1425: *In Jaroczino bibent dobre pywo* [good beer].

<sup>285</sup> E.g. ms. 1544, fol. 343ra.

<sup>286</sup> E.g. ms. 957, fol. 90v.

#### 4.2.8 Book Culture

I was tempted to include in the typology a category broadly inspired by the so-called *book epigrams* commonly discussed in Byzantine studies, remarks whose thematic focus concerns book production and literate culture in general.<sup>287</sup> The markers considered for this attribute were mainly nouns *scriptor*, *lector*, *liber*, and other ones from their lexical domain. Many of the formulae (e.g. no. 3, 4, 9, 32, 33, and 34) indeed fit within this category. During the annotating process, however, it became evident that this attribute overlaps significantly with the attribute *Toil and reward*, potentially violating criterion 2 by introducing excessively specific distinctions. This issue will receive further evaluation in the following chapter.

#### 4.2.9 Nautical Imagery

Having read the secondary literature on the colophons, one might receive the impression that nautical imagery—metaphorical expressions based on seafaring—occurs frequently and prominently in colophons.<sup>288</sup> I had initially anticipated finding numerous colophons incorporating words from the relevant lexical domain, such as *nauta*, *portus*, *vela*, *navigare*, *navis*, etc. However, during the annotation process, it became evident that this particular imagery appears only rarely within the corpus.<sup>289</sup> Indeed, aside from formula no. 2, the corpus contains only two further instances of the noun *portus*<sup>290</sup> and one rather mysterious Czech example, [...] *A na konci plachta etc. [...]* [And the sail/cloth at the end etc.],<sup>291</sup> which, however, likely constitutes a metaphor for death rather than maritime travel.<sup>292</sup>

#### 4.2.10 Toil and Reward

In terms of frequency, this attribute of the semantic facet stands in stark contrast to the previous one. The theme of scribes' toil and the corresponding reward they desire is indeed a

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<sup>287</sup> Although sometimes defined rather as paratexts closely related to the copied works. In some cases, this term is used virtually as a synonym to colophon itself. See *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*, Ghent University, accessed May 8, 2025, <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/>; and Sien De Groot, "Byzantine Book-Epigrams: From Manuscript to Edition," in *(un)documented: Was bleibt vom Dokument in der Edition?*, ed. Mira Berghöfer et al. (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2020), 39–60.

<sup>288</sup> Cf. Reynhout's formula "Sicut nauigantibus portus..." in *FLC I*, 85–94; Sebastian Paul Brock, "The Scribe Reaches Harbour," in *Bosphorus: Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. S. Efthymiadis, C. Rapp, and D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantinische Forschungen 21* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1995), 195–202, focusing on the Syriac colophons, but exploring also the Latin tradition and providing a list of relevant instances from *BB*. In the oriental tradition, this is further elaborated by Adam Carter McCollum, "The Rejoicing Sailor and the Rotting Hand: Two Formulas in Syriac and Arabic Colophons with Related Phenomena in Some Other Languages," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 18 (2015): 67–94.

<sup>289</sup> A possible explanation is that nautical imagery was unlikely to spread in regions without direct access to the sea, such as Central Europe, where the majority of manuscripts in the corpus originated.

<sup>290</sup> Ms. 239, fol. 20v; ms. 987, fol. 212r.

<sup>291</sup> Ms. 570, fol. 8iv.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. *Staročeský slovník* [Old Czech dictionary] (Prague: Academia, 1968–2008), accessed April 11, 2025, <http://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz, s. v. plachta>.

widespread and frequently attested topic in colophons, as secondary literature commonly emphasizes.<sup>293</sup> Here I also include cases in which toil is referenced only implicitly, such as *Sit igitur Deus benedictus et gloriosus, qui ad finem diu desideratum perduxit Amen*.<sup>294</sup> Additionally, instances expressing rejection of reward or complaints about its inadequacy fall within this category as well.<sup>295</sup> Similarly, formulae no. 3, 4, 5, and 16 (as well as *Scribere qui nescit...* and *Finis adest operis...* from *FLC*), in their major variants, also pertain to this attribute.

#### 4.2.11 Apotropaic

Colophons tagged with this attribute warn against stealing or mistreating books, threatening punishments upon those who would do so. They thus establish a notion of a relationship between the colophon and the manuscript's (ab)user. Besides the formulae categorized as apotropaic (no. 24, 25, 26, and 27), I also include here one instance explicitly forbidding the sale of a book.<sup>296</sup>

#### 4.2.12 Devotional

This attribute establishes the relationship between the colophon and the divine realm—whether God, frequently the Virgin Mary, or other saints. Devotional remarks range from simple invocations to more elaborate prayers. Correctly recognizing all relevant instances is usually straightforward and unproblematic. However, a minor complication involves possible overlaps occurring when dates are set in relation to a saint's festival, thereby potentially creating ambiguity between this attribute and that of the *Date of copy*. An instance exemplifying how a dating phrase can extend beyond a mere calendrical record into explicit devotional intent is the following colophon: *Anno Iesu Christi Domini M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup>LIIII<sup>o</sup> in die Saturnis festum gloriosissime virginis Marie Nativitatis precedentis serenissime imperatricis et domine nostri collegii Reczkonis precipue...*<sup>297</sup> Nonetheless, the boundaries are often indistinct; when a saint's name is accompanied only by minimal, attributive description, for example, a single adjective, my decision was to exclude these cases from classification as *Devotional*.<sup>298</sup> A similar ambiguity might theoretically occur when devotional language is embedded within a work's title (see attribute *Reference to author or text*), though such overlap was rarely encountered.

Moreover, when dating involves references to incipits of respective liturgical chants, I do not classify these quotes as devotional, even though they might exhibit clearly devotional con-

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<sup>293</sup> Cf. e.g. Kwakkel, *Books Before Print*, passim.

<sup>294</sup> Ms. 292, fol. 145r. Cf. also ms. 192, fol. 229r.

<sup>295</sup> E.g. ms. 1482: *Finem cognosco, et finales non posco*; and ms. 1442: *Est pretium mihi krank, cum nil sequitur nisi Habdank*.

<sup>296</sup> Ms. 766, fol. 68v.

<sup>297</sup> Ms. 226, fol. 208v.

<sup>298</sup> E.g. ms. 236, fol. 153v: [... ] *a. D. 1436 in die s. Procopi patroni Bohemorum gloriosi*.

tent. I do, however, include here a simple *alleluja*<sup>299</sup> and a repetition of *amen*<sup>300</sup> (but not a single *amen*). Finally, explicit invitations or appeals to prayer are also included in this category.<sup>301</sup>

#### 4.2.13 Evaluation and Recommendation

The last attribute of this facet covers instances when the colophon refers to the preceding text or the copy and comments upon its quality (also indirectly),<sup>302</sup> possibly recommending it to the reader. The evaluation expressed is usually positive, but also cases of *captatio benevolentiae* belong here.<sup>303</sup> A possible problem with tagging this attribute can arise when a descriptive term referring to the quality of the work (especially adjectives such as *brevis* or *notabilis*) forms an integral part of the work's title itself—however, such cases I included here as well.

I have decided not to include instances in which the author, rather than the work, is praised, since it can be hard to distinguish such praises from situations when the evaluation adjective is a standard epithet of the author in the manner of *Beda Venerabilis* or *Duns Scotus, doctor subtilis*.

### 4.3 Syntactic Facet

The inspiration for including in the typology a facet dealing with the syntax of colophons originated in the research of Jeannine Fohlen and Émilie Cottureau.<sup>304</sup> Their studies confirm the research relevance (criterion 4) of distinguishing various syntactic forms of the copying predicate and of the construction that includes the scribe's name, by examining the respective types' chronological development and correlation with other codicological features.<sup>305</sup> While such detailed analysis is not conducted explicitly in this thesis, my syntactic approach can nevertheless provide a robust foundation for further studies in this line of research. The syntactic facet will focus primarily on how the construction of the copying predicate is formulated and on the position of the scribe's name within this construction (or outside of it). Accordingly, not all colophons in the corpus will be tagged for these categories, as a portion of them neither includes the scribe's name nor explicitly concerns copying. Additionally, the last attribute within this facet addresses a different phenomenon, namely whether or not the colophon includes

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<sup>299</sup> E.g. ms. 1173, fol. 129v.

<sup>300</sup> E.g. ms. 1855, fol. 31r.

<sup>301</sup> E.g. ms. 1534, fol. 377vb.

<sup>302</sup> Cf. e.g. ms. 160, fol. 72r: [...] *Corrige lector celerem scibendi cursum, si quepiam demum repereris.*

<sup>303</sup> E.g. ms. 1236, fol. 208v: *Super operis imperfectione veniam postulans a lectore et qua corrigenda viderit vel addenda non invidenti, sed benigno animo corrigat et emendet [...]*

<sup>304</sup> Fohlen, "Colophons et souscriptions". Cottureau, "La copie et les copistes". Cf. also Hana Kreisingerová and Kateřina Voleková, "Česká vlastní jména v kolofónech středověkých rukopisů" [Czech proper names in colophons of medieval manuscripts] (paper presented at the 5th Czech Onomastic Conference, Prague, April 7, 2025).

<sup>305</sup> Cottureau, "La copie et les copistes," 316–328.

a command or appeal presented using the imperative mood or jussive/adhortative/(optative) subjunctive.

My typology, however, is not identical to Cottureau's. It does not focus on her primary classification, "[p]osition du scripteur", which distinguishes personal from impersonal formulations (thus taking into account presence of personal pronouns and their deixis). Instead, my typology corresponds more closely to her secondary classification, "[f]orme grammaticale". I find this approach better suited since it uses only formal syntactic criteria, rather than integrating interpretative, semantic analysis. Moreover, I suppose that this formal syntactic division potentially allows easier application of automatic annotation tools.

The attributes have been designed primarily with Latin syntax in mind; however, all relevant cases occurring in the vernacular (or as macaronic expressions) proved easily classifiable using the suggested attributes as well.

The syntactic facet should be regarded as experimental for the time being; its potential applications and usefulness will be explored further as the research progresses.

#### 4.3.1 First-Person Subject

This attribute corresponds to Cottureau's category "[f]ormule personnelle avec copiste comme sujet". It covers all cases in which the scribe's name appears as the first-person subject of the copying predicate, as illustrated by the following example: *Ego frater Ioannes Ferrariensis carmelita scripsi et perfeci hoc sacrum opus [...]*<sup>306</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Third-Person Subject

In this category, the scribe is still the grammatical subject of the copying predicate, but now appears in the third-person. It overlaps with Cottureau's category "[f]ormule impersonnelle avec copiste comme sujet" (excluding, however, her third *précision*).<sup>307</sup> For example: *Petrus Iohannes scripsit hoc.*<sup>308</sup>

#### 4.3.3 Passive Construction Agent

Colophons tagged for this attribute present the copying action using a passive construction (most commonly with the book or work as the grammatical subject), with the scribe's name introduced as its agent in a prepositional phrase.<sup>309</sup> Example: *Explicit tractatus etc. scriptus per*

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<sup>306</sup> Ms. 1906, fol. 221r.

<sup>307</sup> As in the table in Cottureau, "La copie et les copistes," 321.

<sup>308</sup> Ms. 1362, fol. 87r?

<sup>309</sup> This overlaps with several Cottureau's categories, specifically the second *précisions* of "[f]ormule personnelle avec livre comme sujet" and "[f]ormule impersonnelle avec livre comme sujet".

*fratrem Przybiconem in Altovado.*<sup>310</sup> I include here also cases in which the predicate is elliptical, such as 1498. *Per me Paulum Holczer.*<sup>311</sup>

#### 4.3.4 Not in Copying Clause

In many cases, the scribe's name is present, yet not within the same clause as the copying predicate, instead located elsewhere in the colophon (while still syntactically connected). The copying predicate clause could either be present but, for instance, serving as the subject of the clause where the scribe's name occurs (as in *Qui me scribebat Iohannes nomen habebat*),<sup>312</sup> or could be completely absent (for example *Orate pro scriptore nomine Iohannes.*)<sup>313</sup> Both variants are covered by this attribute.

#### 4.3.5 Extra-Syntactic Position

The scribe's name can, however, occur separately and disconnected from the syntax of the colophon, functioning simply as a subscription. In such instances, it can only be assumed that this name indeed belongs to the scribe, as further explicit indications are typically absent. An example: *In fine benedicatur nomen Marie. Iohannes Strażowecz.*<sup>314</sup>

#### 4.3.6 Genitive Attribute of Synecdoche

In numerous colophons, the scribe's name appears as the genitive attribute of a synecdoche referring to the scribe, usually *manus* (or its vernacular equivalent), though other nouns can also appear in this capacity.<sup>315</sup> Example: *Explicit liber de doctrina christiana per manus Hauer.*<sup>316</sup>

#### 4.3.7 Command/Exhortation Forms

Under this attribute, I have tagged colophons that employ imperative mood<sup>317</sup> or exhortative/jussive or optative subjunctive forms.<sup>318</sup> This approach draws inspiration from Schiegg's speech-act classification, but replaces his relatively vague pragmatic approach with a more precise syntactic one (though with the methodological caution that accurately identifying the semantics of certain subjunctive forms is interpretative as well). I have not tagged lexicalized salu-

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<sup>310</sup> Ms. 1373, fol. 104v?

<sup>311</sup> Ms. 1547, fol. 271rb.

<sup>312</sup> Ms. 1413.

<sup>313</sup> Ms. 1902, fol. 4va.

<sup>314</sup> Ms. 1363, fol. 214v?

<sup>315</sup> E.g. ms. 944, fol. 192r: [...] *scriptumque diligencia Alberti de Trziebon* [...]

<sup>316</sup> Ms. 1038, fol. 76r.

<sup>317</sup> E.g. ms. 1534, fol. 377vb: *Et sic est finis et cetera. Orate pro scriptore.*

<sup>318</sup> E.g. ms. 1722, fol. 142vb: *Amen dicant omnia.*

tations such as *salve* or *ave* under this attribute. A potential further expansion might involve the jussive future, which I have not included thus far to ensure the attribute does not overly depend upon interpretative decisions.<sup>319</sup> I have also included macaronic colophons containing equivalent constructions in their vernacular sections.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> Formula no. 27 (*Non deportabis...*) could serve as an example of such a construction.

<sup>320</sup> E.g. ms. 1699, fol. 63r: *Bone Jesu, pomoz z núže* [help from distress].

## 5 Application and Evaluation

I have annotated the corpus using the attributes described in the previous chapter.<sup>321</sup> Initially, the annotation was done for a set of one hundred randomly chosen colophons from the corpus in order to test the feasibility of my tagging system and to draw preliminary conclusions. This testing dataset is attached in Appendix II to illustrate how the encoded data appears. After validating the approach, I proceeded to annotate the entire corpus.

### 5.1 Testing the Typology

In terms of criterion 1 (definition clarity), I have addressed most of the issues above when describing the attributes. I would particularly emphasize the problem with the definition of *Verse elements*, where I decided on a rather strict definition, which can, however, be re-evaluated if necessary. Equally challenging was the definition of the attribute *Place*—here, I hope to have arrived at a reasonable compromise, delimiting it as precisely as possible within the rather blurred complex. Finally, the attributes within the *Discourse topics* subdivision of the semantic facet were straightforward to identify when their semantics were clearly defined by a given set of words from the respective lexical field. This should be borne in mind when potentially broadening the attributes of this facet, particularly with regard to possible automatic annotation.

Whether criterion 2.a (moderate frequencies of attributes) has been met is demonstrated by the following table:

Attribute	Occurrences	Frequency (%)
Verse Elements	556	15
Formulae	1,107	29.8
Code-Switching	211	5.7
Cipher	37	1.0

<sup>321</sup> On a technical level, I tagged the corpus in an Excel spreadsheet with pre-coded annotation tags. These were later transformed into Boolean values representing individual attributes in JSON format, which formed the basis for the analysis presented in this chapter and for generating the appendix.

Scribe's Name	918	24.7
Place	491	13.2
Date of Copy	1,710	46.1
Reference to Author or Text	1,963	52.9
Ownership or Commission Information	200	5.4
Event	79	2.1
"Ending"	2,711	73.0
Book Culture	143	3.9
Nautical Imagery	5	0.1
Toil and Reward	212	5.7
Apotropaic	51	1.4
Devotional	1,117	30.1
Evaluation and Recommendation	342	9.2
First-Person Subject	17	0.5
Third-Person Subject	39	1.1
Passive Construction Agent	465	12.5
Not in Copying Clause	47	1.3
Extra-Syntactic Position	70	1.9
Genitive Attribute of Synecdoche	284	7.6
Command/Exhortation Forms	799	21.5

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Alarming are the overly low or high frequencies. On the one hand, low frequencies indicate that the phenomenon represented by the attribute is rather marginal; therefore, its inclusion in the typology might only be justified if it provides valuable information for the research worth recording (criterion 4). Otherwise, its position within the typology should be reassessed. On the other hand, extremely high frequencies could indicate that the characteristic is inherently common to colophons as such, thus rendering the attribute too general.

The first cause for concern is the attribute *Cipher*, which has a frequency of only about 1%. When one approaches colophons through non-quantitative methods, the occurrence of any type of code is striking, and colophons employing such codes stand out noticeably. This can create an illusion that codes constitute a frequent feature, which is clearly not the case—this initial impression appears to have influenced my typology's design as well. Furthermore, nu-

merous colophons annotated as *Cipher* employ the charade formula no. 32, not an elaborate cryptographic device. Additionally, considering the higher frequencies of other formal facet attributes, which indicates their significantly greater descriptive value, capturing the code nature of a small number of colophons seems too fine-grained, thereby making the typology overly complex. Consequently, I would suggest excluding this attribute from the design.

Another attribute with a relatively low frequency (2.1%) is *Event*. Yet in this case, I would give priority to the *research relevance* criterion, as events typically provide precisely the information scholars seek in colophons: auxiliary information for manuscript origin attribution or prosopographical data on scribes or other persons.

From the *Discourse topics* subgroup of the semantic facet, the *Nautical imagery* attribute already proved less useful and greatly underrepresented during the annotation procedure (see above, Chapter 4). A similar problem arises with the attribute *Book culture*—its definition should therefore either be broadened or, if a correlation with other attributes is confirmed (see below), potentially merged with them.

*Apotropaic* emerged as yet another low-frequency attribute. It would be logical to consider merging it with another attribute from the *Relational features* subdivision of the semantic facet—namely, *Evaluation and recommendation*—as both share the form of an appeal to text users, though providing different types of guidance. Nevertheless, this merger would compromise the balanced conceptual structure of these attributes, currently based on their constructed relationship to various entities involved in the manuscript copying process, as it would blur the distinction between text-oriented and user-oriented attributes.

Conversely, almost three quarters of the colophons have been tagged with the semantic attribute “*Ending*”. For this attribute to serve effectively as a sorting criterion, subdividing it further may be advisable (unless one would prefer excluding this attribute altogether, as it seems characteristic for colophons in general rather than for any particular subtype). One possible refinement could involve more detailed semantic distinctions,<sup>322</sup> while another could be a formal subdivision—e.g. into end-noun, end-verb, adverb etc.—, in a similar way to how the semantic facet (excluding its final attribute) can be perceived as a subdivision of *Scribe’s name*.

Finally, another issue warrants comment: the total count of syntactic attributes relating to the formulation of the scribe’s name exceeds the number of occurrences of *Scribe’s name* itself. This happens because some colophons, curiously, contain multiple syntactic formulations of the scribe’s name simultaneously.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Cottureau’s typology of the broader semantic category, act-of-copying verbs, is particularly inspiring. Cottureau, “La copie et les copistes,” 342.

<sup>323</sup> E.g. ms. 674, fol. 34r: *Scrisit Plichta de Chrast. Explicit epistola compilata per quendam doctorem de Moravia et finita per manus et per pedes Plichte.*

Criterion 2, concerning the balanced design of attributes, can also be tested statistically. I suggest using co-occurrence and correlation measures to determine whether the chosen attributes are balanced, or whether they are excessively general or specific.

Two statistical measures will be employed, the Jaccard index and the phi coefficient. The Jaccard index is a ratio between the intersection and the union of two finite sets, constituting a correlation metric that takes into account only co-presence, not co-absence. Essentially, it shows the probability that elements of both sets occur, given that at least one of them occurs.<sup>324</sup> The phi coefficient is a measure of association (correlation) between two binary variables. It ranges from -1 to +1, where +1 indicates a perfect positive correlation, 0 indicates statistical independence, and -1 a perfect negative correlation (i.e. complementarity). Unlike the Jaccard index, it takes into account also the co-absence of the variables.

When applying these measures to our data, attention will be given to the potential red flags of a high Jaccard index or phi coefficient among inner-facet attributes—this could suggest that these attributes essentially represent the same phenomenon, which could be described instead by a single broader attribute, pointing to an overly detailed typology. Under these circumstances, the only valid reason for retaining such overlapping attributes would be their research relevance (criterion 4).

Values around zero are ideal, as they indicate no statistical association between two given attributes, meaning that these attributes cover clearly distinct phenomena. Moreover, a negative phi coefficient between inner-facet attributes is also desirable, since it implies that the attributes represent complementary aspects of the same phenomenon, each covering its different, relatively mutually exclusive feature. In such cases, the attributes could be organized under a parent category representing this broader common phenomenon, while the individual attributes would reflect its specific, often mutually exclusive manifestations.

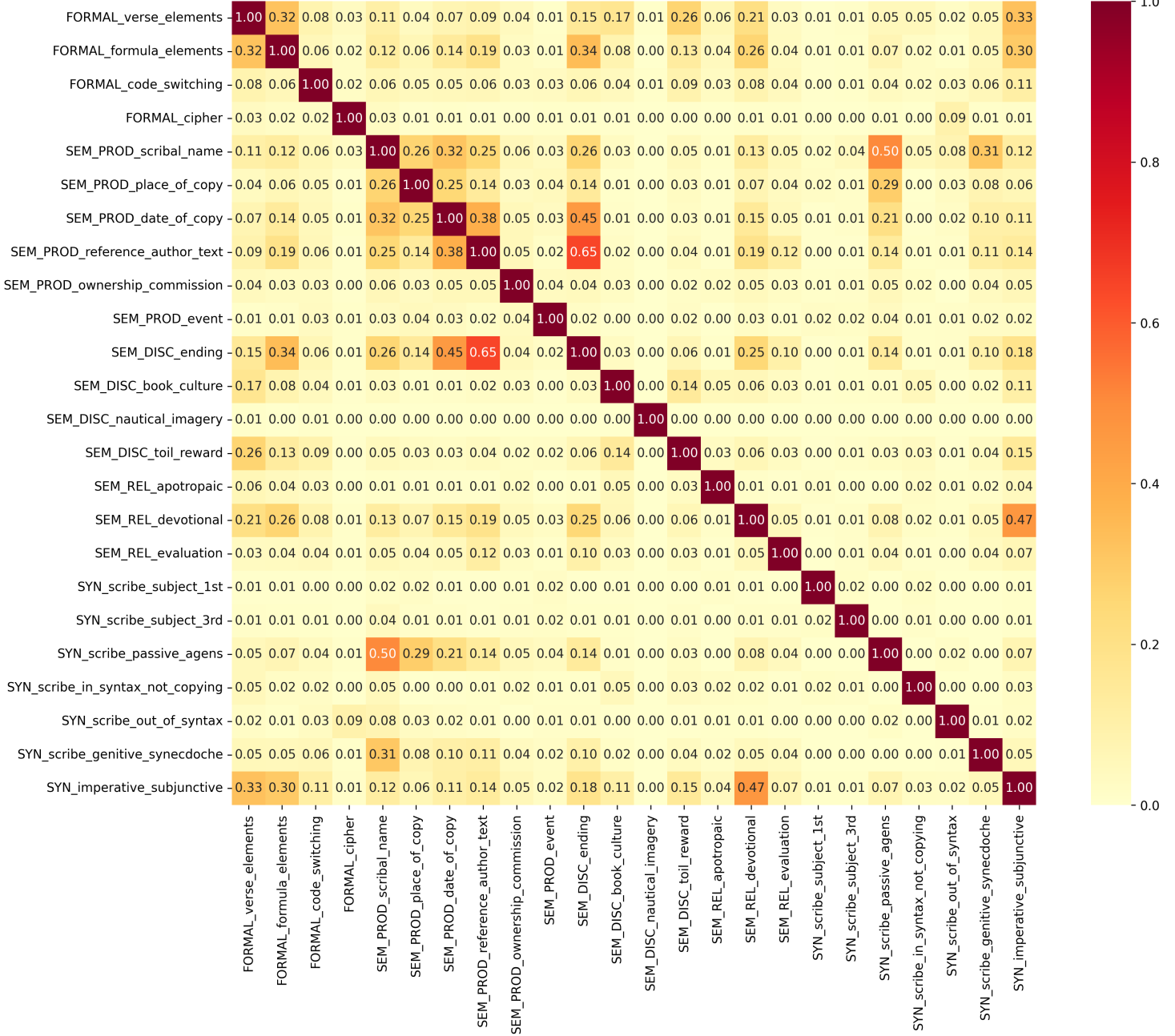
Higher positive values of these metrics for pairs of attributes belonging to different facets, though less significant with regard to typology design, might nonetheless highlight common patterns observable across the corpus and could suggest broadly defined colophon subtypes.

The following heatmap matrices illustrate the Jaccard index and phi coefficient values for the proposed typology's attributes:

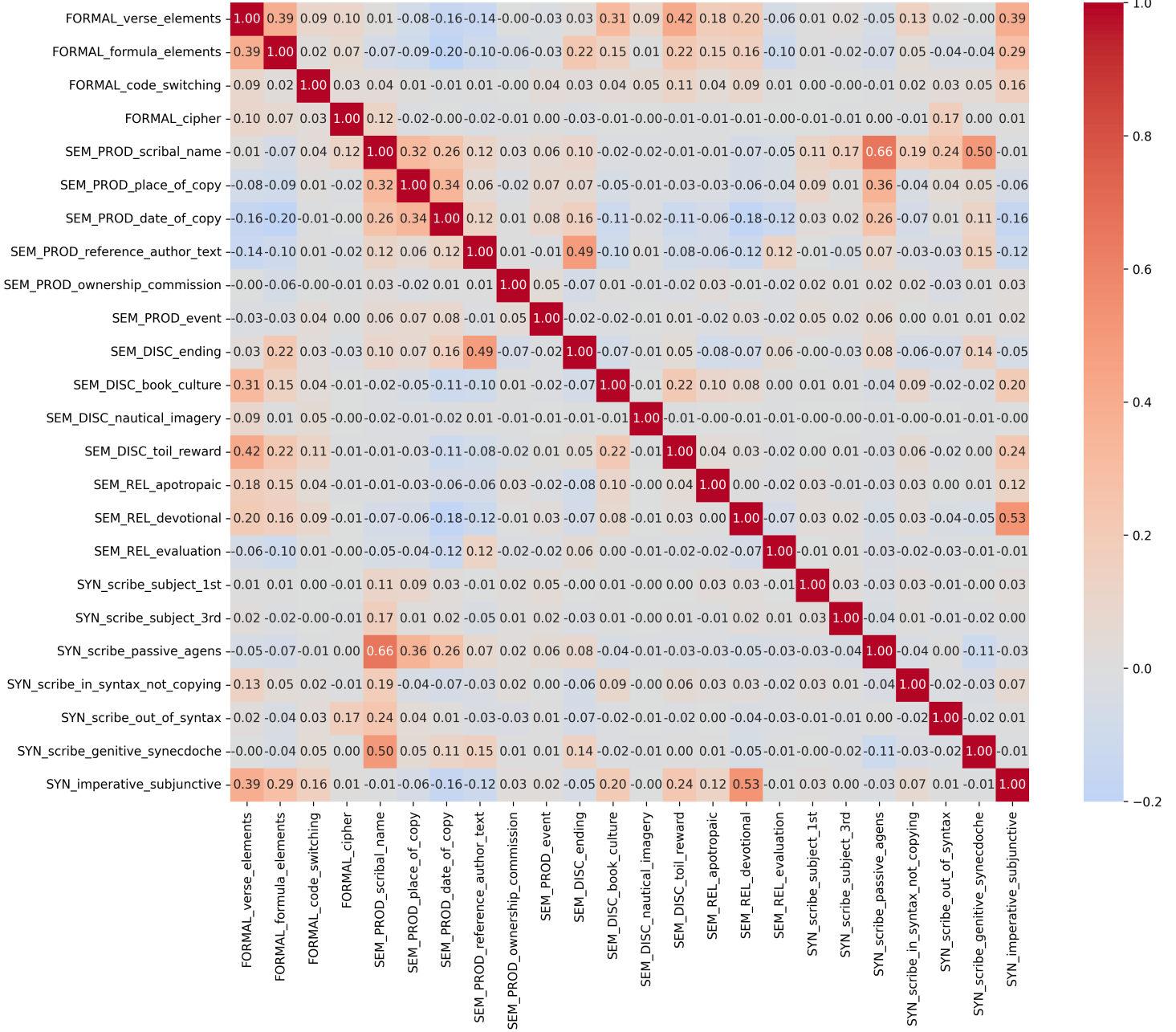
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<sup>324</sup> Employing this measure for attributes with high frequency, however, can be problematic, as it tends to produce inflated values due merely to chance co-occurrence: e.g. if two attributes each have a frequency of 80%, the minimum Jaccard index is 0.6. Therefore, the phi coefficient must also be considered in the case of high-frequency attributes.

Overall Jaccard Similarity Matrix



Overall Phi Coefficient Correlation Matrix



The first issue I would highlight is the high co-occurrence and correlation between attributes related to manuscript production information (*Scribe's name, Place, Date of copy, Reference to author or text*). This suggests these attributes are closely connected indeed and tend to appear jointly within colophons (cf. Muzerelle's definition of colophon). In theory, the subgroup heading *Production information* could effectively encompass all this information collectively; nevertheless, in this instance, I would recommend prioritizing the *research relevance* criterion as these attributes capture information that is particularly valuable for scholarly analysis, despite being relatively fine-grained within the current framework of the typology.

Earlier, when assessing attribute frequency, I suggested reconsidering the low-frequency attribute *Book culture*. It is now evident from the heatmaps that this attribute really correlates with the *Toil and reward* semantic attribute (phi coefficient of 0.22). Therefore, when revising the typology, I suggest either retaining only *Toil and reward*, or merging these two attributes under a broader, unified definition.

Another significant inner-facet co-occurrence and correlation can be observed between the *Verse elements* and the *Formulae* attributes. This result, however, is not unexpected and, in fact, was explicitly addressed when defining these attributes in Chapter 4. It is a welcome confirmation that these two really are interrelated features.

Equally noticeable are the slightly negative-leaning phi coefficient values observed between the formal attributes (*Verse elements* and *Formulae*) on the one hand, and attributes relating to *Production information* on the other—suggesting a tendency towards mutual exclusivity: when one of them appears, the other tends to be absent. A similar negative correlation with *Production information* attributes also appears in the cases of *Toil and reward* and *Devotional*. In connection with these observations, the syntactic attribute *Command/exhortation forms* is particularly noteworthy, as it demonstrates a positive correlation with *Verse elements, Formulae, Toil and reward, and Devotional*, and, again, a negative correlation with attributes tied to *Production information*.

This can be interpreted as suggesting that, generally speaking, there really are two distinct colophon-types. Those of the first type convey factual information about the copy's production, while colophons in the second category tend to be rather "garrulous", formally inventive, employing addresses to readers, or expressing devotional sentiments.

For anyone familiar with colophon research, this conclusion is perhaps not surprising. Nevertheless, quantitative analysis demonstrates clearly that the distribution of the attributes related to these types deviates from a null hypothesis. Thus, despite occasionally coexisting within the same textual space at a copy's conclusion, they are rather complementary indeed—the presence of one implies the likely absence of the other. Scribes, therefore, would have chosen, either consciously or subconsciously, to employ one category preferentially over the other. It should, of course, be emphasized that this demonstrates an overall tendency rather than a strictly universal rule; this is further illustrated for example by formula no. 32 (*Nomen*

*scriptoris si tu cognoscere queris...*), which effectively integrates the scribe's name into a formula, thereby harmonizing the seeming opposites.<sup>325</sup> It is a matter for subsequent research to identify the factors that may have influenced the employment of one colophon type over the other or their potential combination.

Nevertheless, the outlined dichotomy of these two distinct types can also be revealing for the conceptual discussion about colophons, particularly regarding the authenticity–conventionality tension described above. Although scholars recognized the “factual” information inherent in some colophons, they tended subsequently to project the idea of factual significance onto colophons of the other type as well. Consequently, they became overly trusting about what such colophons “say” (e.g. scribe's toil, reader addresses, desired reward, etc.), overlooking the possibility that these represent a different phenomenon.

Regarding exhaustiveness (criterion 3), this can best be assessed by observing how many colophons remained unclassified within the typology. Out of the total 3,713 colophons, it was impossible to classify 63 (approximately 1.7%). While this proportion is relatively low and does not seem disproportionate, individual cases still merit commentary.

The first group of these unclassifiable colophons comprises those that were simply too obscure or damaged to interpret and could not be confidently identified as containing a cipher either.<sup>326</sup> Other colophons include solely names that remain impossible to associate unambiguously either with the scribe, the commissioner/owner, or the author of the preceding text.<sup>327</sup>

Some of the colophons include what can be understood as proverbial expressions (in prose), for which the typology lacks a dedicated attribute.<sup>328</sup> Nevertheless, it appears that their frequency is not sufficiently high to warrant introducing one; moreover, clearly defining what constitutes a proverb could prove challenging, thus potentially conflicting with criterion 1.

Nineteen (nearly one third!) of the unclassified colophons originate from a single manuscript, ms. 1276.<sup>329</sup> These colophons appear at the end of chapters within Aristotle's works. Occasionally, they consist of only a single word, such as *utrum*;<sup>330</sup> in other cases, they incorporate parts of lines taken from classical authors or proverbial expressions, although these do not meet the definition of *Verse elements*.<sup>331</sup> It is noteworthy but not unexpected that this manuscript is one of the few whose colophons were examined by direct autopsy, rather than solely through catalogues that would most likely omit colophons of this nature. Therefore,

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<sup>325</sup> The correlation matrix also shows that the negative correlation between *Verse elements / Formulae* and *Scribe's name* is notably less significant than that with the *Date of copy* attribute.

<sup>326</sup> E.g. ms. 852, fol. 12r (*R (K?) [A?] T H etc.*), or ms. 1320, fol. 45v (*ammmmmffmnnffpopopo*) and fol. 57rb (*ammnnppplffturuffammnpppamm*) which, nonetheless, could perhaps represent some form of cipher.

<sup>327</sup> E.g. ms. 1699, fol. 146r: *Wykleff Iohannes*; ms. 1845, fol. 37r: *Iohannes Iux*.

<sup>328</sup> E.g. ms. 1525: *Bene vestiri, pulcre mentiri, audacter interficere, proprium fertur medicorum*.

<sup>329</sup> Ff. 15v, 18r, 19r, 29v, 32r, 37r, 38r, 40r, 41r, 46v, 52r, 55r, 58v, 64r, 66r, 67r, 74r, 81r, 97r.

<sup>330</sup> Ms. 1276, fol. 33r.

<sup>331</sup> E.g. ms. 1276, fol. 66r: *et nos cedamus amori Virgilius*.

the conclusion is ambiguous: on the one hand, this manuscript may represent an idiosyncratic case that might reasonably be disregarded; on the other hand, one should anticipate that a thorough examination of manuscript collections, which have thus far been studied exclusively via manuscript catalogues, could reveal additional similar cases, raising the question of whether it might become necessary to include attributes for the classification of colophons like these as well.

## 5.2 Outside the Framework

I also consider it necessary to address features observed within the colophon material that are, nevertheless, rather marginal and too scarcely attested to be explicitly reflected by the typology design. However, they may nonetheless influence how we interpret and conceptualize colophons.

A small group of colophons elaborates in more detail on scribes' biographical data or other personal information, but cannot clearly be classified under the *Event* attribute. This group includes colophons that mention, for example, the scribe's birth date,<sup>332</sup> or indicate the scribe's age at the time of copying,<sup>333</sup> as well as vague information concerning their whereabouts, which does not meet the criteria of the *Place* attribute (e.g. references to the scribe's exile).<sup>334</sup> Also belonging here are non-formulaic personal statements reflecting on the scribe's living conditions or personal circumstances.<sup>335</sup>

Another area where colophons can occasionally provide additional detail is information related to the copy itself: either its physical features (e.g. indicating the number of quires the text comprises)<sup>336</sup> or particular circumstances underlying its creation. Examples here are colophons that specify the pace at which the manuscript was copied,<sup>337</sup> elaborate on the copy's model (particularly regarding its quality),<sup>338</sup> reflect on the transmission of the text in general,<sup>339</sup> or that state the price the copy cost.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> Ms. 253, fol. 79r.

<sup>333</sup> E.g. ms. 1130, fol. 201r.

<sup>334</sup> E.g. ms. 651, fol. 186v.

<sup>335</sup> E.g. ms. 1273, fol. 432r: *Expletum est hoc opus per me Georgium doctorem sacre theologie feria quinta post festum sancti Dyonisii in Fratislavia in miseria etc.*

<sup>336</sup> Ms. 63, fol. 309v: *Explicit glosa super decretum scripta super V quinternos [...]*

<sup>337</sup> Ms. 64, BF: [...] *quem propria manu scripsit in uno mense et unum quinternum in uno die, et propterea indiget liber correctione.*

<sup>338</sup> E.g. ms. 482, fol. 139r: *Laus deo de fine. Sed multum incorrectum exemplar habebatur. S praci [with labour].*

<sup>339</sup> Ms. 145, fol. 252r.

<sup>340</sup> E.g. ms. 1656, fol. 386r: *Expliciunt dicta Gorre super Lucam finita anno domini M° CCC° 96°. Dedi scriptori de quolibet sexterno III grossos et pro papiro XVI grossos et finales IIII grossos et de illuminatura [gap] grossos et pro ligatura [gap] grossos.*

I have also encountered several additions of a legal-commemorative character related to the inheritance of the respective book, thereby marking its ownership history.<sup>341</sup> Likewise, the circulation of books is occasionally attested by colophons that mention exchanges and borrowings of codices.<sup>342</sup>

When addressing previously the unclassified colophons, I noted proverbial content present in some of them. This feature also occurs in colophons otherwise classifiable within the typology.<sup>343</sup> Somewhat related to this phenomenon are biblical references<sup>344</sup> and quotations<sup>345</sup> that appear occasionally as well.

Political and religious-political reflections are partially covered under the *Event* attribute. Nevertheless, there are several colophons where such reflections occur but do not constitute an actual event—rather, they seem to be echoes of contemporary polemics.<sup>346</sup>

Parody and nonsense constitute a significant conceptual challenge,<sup>347</sup> a problem into which I did not want to delve when designing the typology. There are, however, colophons which could intuitively be interpreted as exhibiting these characteristics.<sup>348</sup> Rather rarely, one also encounters vulgarisms in colophons.<sup>349</sup> In a single instance, there is a prominent formal innovation, a colophon composed in the form of a dialogue.<sup>350</sup>

The final aspect that lies beyond the typology's present capacity, and which I wish to address, is the possibility of creating an internal sub-typology of *Formulae*. The need for such sub-classification is particularly evident given that almost one third of the colophons have been tagged so. This undertaking will be feasible once the identified formulae have been comprehensively described and meaningfully grouped. Additionally, when analysing formulae, one

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<sup>341</sup> E.g. ms. 68, fol. 375v: [...] *Qui dominus Martinus in Pilzna mortuus est intestatus, et ecclesie pragensi cesserunt quinque volumina lecture domini Abbatis super omnes decretales ab intestato.*

<sup>342</sup> Ms. 575, fol. 200r: [...] *Wenceslaus de Tyn, baccalaureus Pragensis, commutavit hunc librum domino Wenceslao de Krzizanow, magistro artium et doctori sacre theologie, pro aliis duobus parvis libellis [...]* Cf. also ms. 332, fol. 63v.

<sup>343</sup> E.g. ms. 1043, fol. 232r.

<sup>344</sup> Ms. 1264, fol. 232r: *Asamoneus fuit avus Mathie patris lude Machabei et fratrum eius. Anno 1465.*

<sup>345</sup> Ms. 1772, fol. 93v (Act 2:11).

<sup>346</sup> E.g. ms. 1157, fol. 68r: *Sancta Maria et omnes sancti orate pro nobis, ut veritas probetur, et tu sancte Viklefferra pro tuis, ut falsitas condempnetur etc.*

<sup>347</sup> Nonsense in colophons has been discussed by Doležalová, "Medieval Nonsense Humour". With regard to parody, scholars have occasionally applied this categorization rather liberally, classifying colophons that diverge from the conventional image of the strenuous and pious scribe as parodic. For instance, Zdeněk Kristen describes formula no. 5 as possessing "a rather rude, undoubtedly parodic meaning" (Kristen, "Písařské přípisky," 61). Yet parody requires a non-parodic referent which it imitates and reshapes, but no such "serious" counterpart for this particular formula is described. Nonetheless, even more recent scholarship still employs the term: cf., for instance, *FLC*, passim, which mentions "variantes satiriques" of several formulae.

<sup>348</sup> E.g. ms. 1239, fol. 36r: [...] *Sicut pica pirum, manducat saxo butirum [...]*; ms. 1452: *Finivi librum, scripsi sine manibus ipsum, Alpi p ci habas qui habet ni nas, tot habet gras.*

<sup>349</sup> E.g. ms. 472, fol. 89v: *Exest scheizz in das nest, ge furbaz und bespey dich nicht. kocze, vrawe gocze, du host eyn groze vocze [...]*

<sup>350</sup> Ms. 243, fol. 84v: [...] *Quando? In vigilia Mathey apostoli et evangeliste. A quo? A Iohanne schotorum rectore. Ubi? In Wienna. Quo tempore? Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup>CCC<sup>o</sup>XL<sup>o</sup>VII<sup>o</sup> [...]*

inevitably notices their tendency to appear in chains.<sup>351</sup> The typology currently reflects only *whether* a colophon is formulaic, but does not account for the “degree” of its formulaic nature. Expanding on this issue, one might question whether formulae (or certain ones among them) truly occur as rather isolated, “pure” phenomena, or whether they predominantly or exclusively appear in interconnected formulaic clusters. This perhaps cannot be approached from the standpoint of typology, but I wish to emphasize it as an important and promising direction for future research.

### 5.3 LLM Tagging

I have referred several times to the possibility of automatic tagging based on artificial intelligence (AI). One promising option for automated annotation could be deploying machine learning models specifically trained for entity identification or semantic analysis. Another approach could involve using a large language model (LLM). To explore the latter possibility, I used two of OpenAI’s models, accessed via the OpenAI API: the more economical one, *gpt-4o*, and the more advanced—but considerably costlier—*gpt-4.5-preview*. I instructed these models to tag the testing dataset and measured their results against the set as I had annotated it.<sup>352</sup>

The performance varied significantly for each attribute. The effectiveness of both models was particularly high for attributes within the *Production information* subgroup of the semantic facet (with the exception of *Ownership or commission information* when using model *gpt-4o*), as indicated by the count of true positive, false positive, and false negative annotations and the corresponding F-score values:<sup>353</sup>

Attribute	gpt-4o				gpt-4.5-preview			
	TP	FP	FN	F <sub>I</sub>	TP	FP	FN	F <sub>I</sub>
Scribe’s Name	27	4	3	<b>0.885</b>	28	3	2	<b>0.918</b>
Place	19	13	0	<b>0.745</b>	19	14	0	<b>0.731</b>
Date of Copy	42	2	1	<b>0.966</b>	42	3	1	<b>0.955</b>
Reference to Author or Text	39	2	2	<b>0.951</b>	41	4	0	<b>0.953</b>
Ownership or Commission Information	4	1	5	<b>0.571</b>	7	1	2	<b>0.824</b>

<sup>351</sup> A particularly prominent chain of formulae is found, for instance, in ms. 432, fol. 156v. Cf. also a short poem with incorporated formulae in ms. 1234, fol. 100v.

<sup>352</sup> The prompt itself was mostly generated by an LLM chatbot using the *Claude 3.7 Sonnet* model based on Chapter 4 of the present thesis. This prompt is reproduced in Appendix III.

<sup>353</sup> The F-score (F<sub>I</sub>) is a common metric used for evaluating the accuracy of classification models; it combines precision (the proportion of positive predictions actually correct) and recall (the proportion of actual positives correctly identified) into one single harmonic mean.

Besides this, among attributes with at least five occurrences, both models performed effectively when tagging “*Ending*”,<sup>354</sup> and *Devotional*.<sup>355</sup> Notably, with these attributes, it appears that *gpt-4o*, which tended towards producing false negatives, slightly outperformed the more powerful model, whose results exhibited greater false positivity. Nevertheless, the *gpt-4.5-preview* clearly displayed superior results in recognizing the attributes *Verse elements*,<sup>356</sup> *Toil and reward*,<sup>357</sup> and achieved slightly better performance in identifying *Formulae*.<sup>358</sup>

On the other hand, both models were largely ineffective in identifying attributes such as *Command/exhortation forms*,<sup>359</sup> *Passive construction agent*,<sup>360</sup> and other ones from the syntactic facet, though it must be acknowledged that these attributes were only scarcely attested in the test dataset. One would reasonably anticipate that a dedicated syntactic-analysis model would perform better for these features than a general LLM. Likewise, the *Evaluation and recommendation* attribute was also poorly recognized.<sup>361</sup>

The overall F-scores (micro-average)<sup>362</sup> are **0.757**<sup>363</sup> for *gpt-04* and **0.794**<sup>364</sup> for *gpt-4.5-preview*, representing moderate overall performance. Nevertheless, given the excellent results obtained for some attributes, utilizing an LLM annotation, at least for some part of the typology, for preliminary sorting followed by human verification, or for a large corpus of data (*BB* catalogue comes into mind), appears highly promising.

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<sup>354</sup> F-score of *gpt-04* is **0.993**, and of *gpt-4.5-preview* **0.965**.

<sup>355</sup> F-score of *gpt-04* is **0.907**, and of *gpt-4.5-preview* **0.833**.

<sup>356</sup> F-score of *gpt-4.5-preview* is **0.8**, while that of *gpt-04* is only **0.357**.

<sup>357</sup> F-score is **0.824** for *gpt-4.5-preview*, compared to only **0.571** for *gpt-04*.

<sup>358</sup> F-score is **0.767** for *gpt-4.5-preview*, and **0.723** for *gpt-04*.

<sup>359</sup> F-score of *gpt-04* is **0.345**, while that of *gpt-4.5-preview* is **0.615**.

<sup>360</sup> F-score of *gpt-04* is **0.105**, and of *gpt-4.5-preview* **0.645**.

<sup>361</sup> F-score of *gpt-04* is **0.308**, and of *gpt-4.5-preview* **0.632**.

<sup>362</sup> The macro-average, however, is lower, as it is negatively skewed by the poor performance observed for numerous low-frequency attributes. This means the model is effective primarily in processing large data quantities and in capturing prevalent patterns, but rather less reliable for precise and comprehensive typological annotation across all attributes. Accordingly, it does not yield a fully balanced representation of attribute distribution within the corpus.

<sup>363</sup> Micro-average precision: 0.783, recall: 0.733.

<sup>364</sup> Micro-average precision: 0.735, recall: 0.864.

## 6 Conclusion

The main objective of this thesis was to evaluate current approaches to classifying medieval Latin colophons, and—drawing inspiration from them—to propose a new, empirically based colophon typology. The motivation behind this undertaking was that a systematically designed and thoroughly tested typology would enable researchers to approach the vast and varied colophon material methodically, rather than in the ad hoc manner prevalent in current scholarship.

After summarizing and assessing the approaches of several existing case studies (among which corpus-based approaches, especially those of Jeannine Fohlen and Emilie Cottreau, were found most inspiring), I proceeded with a critical evaluation of the only explicit attempt at a theoretical typology thus far—namely, the speech act theory-based functional typology proposed by Markus Schiegg. His typology was found to be unsuitable, as it excessively relied on interpretative conjectures rather than resting upon clear definitions and empirically grounded observable features. Furthermore, his classification is based on outdated assumptions regarding colophons' information value, construing them as authentic scribes' "voices", instead of acknowledging their formulaic and conventional character.

I concluded the introductory section by suggesting four criteria that a universally applicable typology of colophons should meet: *definition clarity*, *balanced design*, *exhaustiveness*, and *research relevance*. Guided by this theoretical framework, I proposed a faceted typology consisting of three facets (*formal*, *semantic*, and *syntactic*) comprising twenty-four binary attributes. Using these attributes I subsequently annotated a corpus of 3,713 colophons based on a newly built database (though primarily composed of Central European manuscripts dating from the Late Middle Ages)—a sample of the annotated data is provided in Appendix II. The assembled corpus was also critically evaluated, with particular attention given to how its scope and the methodology employed in its creation (including the accuracy and reliability of data derived from catalogues) influence the conclusions drawn from it.

The evaluation of the typology against the theoretical criteria was conducted using statistical measures of co-occurrence and correlation (the Jaccard index and phi coefficient). Overall, this evaluation demonstrated that the proposed typology is fairly well-balanced, with only a limited number of attributes identified for possible reassessment, merging, or exclusion (such as the scarcely represented *Cipher* attribute, and *Book culture* which significantly correlated with

other attributes). Furthermore, the presence of the semantic facet and the notably high frequency observed in the “*Ending*” attribute indicated possibilities for developing a hierarchical classification system, potentially as a more detailed subdivision within the existing faceted framework.

Through this analysis, I was also able to point to the conceptual dichotomy within the phenomenon of the (broadly defined) colophon: there appear to be two relatively distinct general types of colophons—namely, “factual” colophons, and those of a primarily formulaic nature. Statistical evaluation highlighted the complementary distribution of these two colophon types, hence cautioning against an indiscriminate interpretation of them and their informational relevance—an approach that has, regrettably, been common in many studies on colophons to date.

Beyond the thesis’s main objectives, I was also able to identify and schematically characterize twenty-three colophon formulae not previously described comprehensively within current scholarship. Moreover, the potential of LLM-based annotation for the developed colophon typology was successfully tested (with the best-performing model achieving a micro-average F-score of 0.794), which provides a promising foundation for its further application—particularly for processing large volumes of data efficiently.

The future steps in my research will be to apply this proposed typology to a larger and more representative dataset, to assess the extent to which the results presented in this thesis were influenced by the limited corpus, and to verify if the results hold more universally. Finally, I intend to examine the correlation between various colophon types defined in this typology and other codicological features (including manuscript origin, date of production, and the textual genre of manuscript contents). In this way, it will become possible to test whether the typology could indeed fulfil the more ambitious goal I outlined—specifically, serving as an auxiliary means for determining the dating and geographical origin of manuscripts.

The thesis has also touched upon several aspects of colophon research that it has not been possible to scrutinize fully here, but to which I am determined to dedicate myself in future research. These desiderata include: (1) the previously mentioned application of the typology to a larger corpus of data; (2) an exploration of the visual aspect of colophons, including potential reflections of this dimension within the typology structure; (3) a more detailed analysis of the metrical features of colophons, leading potentially to a further subdivision of the *Verse elements* attribute; (4) a more extensive use of AI-based solutions for the automatic annotation of colophon texts; and (5) a comparative study of colophons in Latin manuscripts and those from other written traditions.

I am convinced that the proposed colophon typology is the meaningful first step towards realizing these far-reaching aims—towards a systematic comprehension of colophons, and thus towards a better understanding of their significance within manuscript culture as a whole.

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## Appendix I: Source Manuscripts for the Corpus

### **Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta (Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague)**

1. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F XXXII
2. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F XXXVII
3. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F XXXVIII
4. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F XLIV/1
5. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F XLVI
6. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LII
7. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LIII/1
8. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LV
9. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LIX
10. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXa
11. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXb
12. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXI
13. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXIII
14. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXVIII
15. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXV
16. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXVII
17. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXX/1
18. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXXI
19. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXXII/2
20. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXXIV/2
21. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXXVII
22. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F LXXXVIII
23. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F XCII
24. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F C/1
25. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F CII
26. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, F CIX
27. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G V
28. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G VII
29. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G VIII
30. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G X
31. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XII

32. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XVIII
33. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XIX
34. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XX
35. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXI
36. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXII
37. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXIII/2
38. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXVIII
39. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXIX
40. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXXI
41. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXXIV
42. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XXXVII
43. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XLI
44. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XLII
45. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XLIII
46. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XLIV
47. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XLV
48. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XLVI
49. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, G XLVIII
50. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H IV/1
51. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H V
52. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H VI/2
53. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H VI/3
54. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H VII
55. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H VIII
56. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H IX
57. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H X
58. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H XI
59. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H XIII/2
60. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H XIV
61. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H XVI
62. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, H XXV/I
63. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I I
64. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I II
65. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I III/I
66. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I III/2
67. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I IV/I
68. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I IV/2
69. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I IV/3
70. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I VI
71. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I VII/1
72. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I VII/2
73. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I IX/3

74. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XI
75. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XV
76. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXI
77. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXII/I
78. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXII/2
79. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXVII
80. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXIX
81. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXX
82. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXXIII
83. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXXIV
84. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXXV
85. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XXXVI
86. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XLIV/I
87. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XLVII
88. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I XLIX
89. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I L
90. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LIII/2
91. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LVI/2
92. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LVI/3
93. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LX/2
94. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LXI
95. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LXII
96. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LXIV
97. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LXXV
98. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LXXVI
99. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LXX
100. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, I LXXVI
101. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K I
102. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K II/1
103. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K V
104. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K VII
105. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K VIII/1
106. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K VIII/2
107. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K IX
108. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XIV
109. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XV
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112. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXIII
113. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXV
114. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXX/2
115. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXXI

116. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXXII
117. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXXV
118. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXXVIII
119. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, K XXXIX
120. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L I/2
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137. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XXVIII
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142. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XXXIII
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144. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XXXVI
145. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XXXVII
146. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XXXVIII
147. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XXXIX
148. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XL
149. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XLII
150. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XLVI/I
151. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XLVII
152. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XLVIII
153. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XLIX
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155. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LII
156. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LIII
157. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LIV

158. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LVIX
159. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXIII
160. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXIV
161. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXVII
162. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXVIII/2
163. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXX
164. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXI
165. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXII
166. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XXVII
167. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXVIII
168. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXIX
169. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXX
170. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXXII/1
171. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXXII/2
172. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXXV
173. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXXVI
174. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXXVII
175. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L LXXXIX/2
176. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XC/1
177. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XC/3
178. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XC/4
179. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XC/5
180. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XCI/1
181. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XCI/2
182. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XCIII
183. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XCV
184. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, L XCVI
185. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M II
186. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M III
187. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M IV
188. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M V
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199. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXIII

200. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXIV
201. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXV
202. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXVII
203. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXIX
204. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXI
205. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXII
206. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXIII
207. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXIV/1
208. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXIV/2
209. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXV
210. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXVI
211. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXVII
212. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XXXIX
213. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XL/2
214. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XLIII
215. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XLIV
216. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LII
217. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LIV
218. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LV
219. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LVI
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222. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXVIII
223. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXIX
224. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXXV
225. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXXVII
226. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXXXI
227. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXXXII
228. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXXXIV
229. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXXXVI
230. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M LXXXIX
231. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XC
232. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M XCIII
233. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M C
234. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CII/1
235. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CII/ 2
236. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CIII
237. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CV
238. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CVI
239. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CVIII
240. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CIX
241. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXII

242. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXVI
243. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXVII
244. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXVIII/1
245. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXVIII/2
246. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXIX
247. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXX
248. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXXV
249. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXXVI
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260. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXL
261. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXLV
262. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CXLVII
263. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CLIV
264. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CLV
265. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CLVI
266. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, M CLX
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268. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N II
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274. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N IX
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276. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XII
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278. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XV
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281. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XIX
282. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XX
283. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXI

284. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXII
285. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXIII
286. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXIV
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288. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXVII
289. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXVIII
290. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXX
291. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, Cim. 4
292. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXXI
293. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXXIII
294. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XXXVI
295. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, Cim. 7
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304. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A IX/2
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306. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N XLVIII
307. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XII
308. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N L
309. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N LI
310. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N LIII
311. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XIV
312. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N LIV
313. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N LV
314. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XVIII
315. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N LVI/1
316. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, N LVIII
317. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O I
318. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XX
319. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O II
320. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O III
321. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O V
322. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O VII
323. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O VIII
324. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XI
325. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XII

326. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XIII
327. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXI/1
328. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XIV
329. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XV
330. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XVI
331. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XVII
332. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXII
333. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXII
334. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXIII
335. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXV
336. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXVI
337. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXV
338. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXVIII
339. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXX
340. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXXI
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343. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XXXVIII
344. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XLI
345. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XLII
346. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XLIII
347. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XLIV
348. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XLVII
349. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXVI
350. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XLVIII
351. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O XLIX
352. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O L
353. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXVII
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355. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LIII
356. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LIV
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358. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LVI
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360. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LVIII
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362. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXIII
363. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXVI
364. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXX
365. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXXI
366. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXXII
367. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXXIII

368. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXXIV
369. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, O LXXVIII
370. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, P XI
371. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, Adlig. ad. Inc. C. 36
372. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, Adlig. ad. Inc. F 17
373. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXVIII/2
374. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXVIII/3
375. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXXIII/1
376. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXXIII/3
377. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXXIII/5
378. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXXIV
379. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XXXVI
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386. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XLIV
387. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XLVI/2
388. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LIII
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390. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LV/1
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394. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LIX/6
395. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LX/2
396. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXI/1
397. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXI/2
398. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXII/1
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404. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXI/2
405. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXI/3
406. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXI/4
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409. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXIII/3

410. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXIII/5
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413. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXV
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415. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXVI/3
416. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXVI/6
417. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXVI/8
418. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXVI/9
419. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXVIII/6
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421. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXIX/2
422. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXIX/3
423. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXIX/5
424. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXIX/6
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426. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXXIII
427. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXXV/2
428. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A LXXXVI
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441. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XCII
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444. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XCIII/5
445. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XCIII/6
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448. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XCVII
449. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A XCIX
450. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A C
451. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CII

452. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CIII
453. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CIV
454. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CV
455. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CVI/2
456. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CVII
457. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CVIII/1
458. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CVIII/2
459. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXII
460. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXIII/1
461. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXIII/2
462. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXIV/1
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464. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXV/2
465. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXV/3
466. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXV/4
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475. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXXXV/2
476. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXXXVIII
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478. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXLIII
479. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A CXLVI
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493. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, B I/2

494. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, B II/1
495. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, B II/2
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510. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, B XIX
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558. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C IX/1
559. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C IX/2
560. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C IX/3
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562. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C XI
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571. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C XVII/2
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575. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C XXI/2
576. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C XXI/4
577. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C XXI/5

578. Praha, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, C XXXII
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1400. Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácké opatství Vyšší Brod, 81
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1408. Vyšší Brod, Cisterciácké opatství Vyšší Brod, 103
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- Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa  
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1416. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Cl.lat.F.ch.10
1417. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, G 256
1418. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1419. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.106
1420. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.116

1421. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.118
1422. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.120
1423. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.137
1424. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.138
1425. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.141
1426. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1427. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.16
1428. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.170
1429. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.179
1430. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.18
1431. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.196
1432. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.197 t. 2
1433. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.210
1434. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.216
1435. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.224
1436. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.232
1437. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.242
1438. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.244
1439. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1440. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1441. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.254
1442. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1443. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.259
1444. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.264
1445. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.272
1446. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.275
1447. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.279
1448. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.286
1449. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.287
1450. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.292
1451. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.3
1452. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.30
1453. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.302 (?)
1454. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.306
1455. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.314
1456. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.318
1457. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.32
1458. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.336
1459. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.34
1460. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.353
1461. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.354
1462. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.373

1463. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.374
1464. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.390
1465. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.40
1466. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.407
1467. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.44
1468. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.464
1469. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.484
1470. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.490
1471. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.5
1472. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.505 (?)
1473. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.514
1474. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.530
1475. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1476. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.54 (?)
1477. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.58
1478. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.59
1479. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.69
1480. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.7
1481. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.77
1482. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.80
1483. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.I.89 (?)
1484. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.II.III
1485. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.II.201
1486. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.II.214
1487. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.II.32
1488. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.XVI.5
1489. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.ch.XVII.18
1490. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1491. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1492. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1493. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.F.v.I.78
1494. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1495. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.O.ch.I.86
1496. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.Q.ch.I.109
1497. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.Q.ch.I.120
1498. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.Q.ch.I.144
1499. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1500. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1501. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.Q.ch.I.210
1502. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.Q.ch.I.219
1503. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
Lat.Q.ch.I.23 (?)
1504. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa,  
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1505. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.I.62
1506. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.I.73
1507. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.I.89
1508. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.I.93
1509. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.I.94
1510. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.XVI.2
1511. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.XVI.32
1512. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.XVII.131
1513. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.XVII.134
1514. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.ch.XVII.69 (?)
1515. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.v.I.119
1516. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.v.I.145
1517. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, Lat.Q.v.I.186
1518. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown1
1519. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown2
1520. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown3
1521. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown4
1522. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown5
1523. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown6
1524. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown7
1525. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown8
1526. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown9
1527. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown10
1528. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown11
1529. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown12
1530. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa, unknown13
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1531. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 34
1532. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 118
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1534. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 101/105
1535. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 103/76
1536. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 104/47
1537. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 105/94
1538. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 106/120
1539. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 107/115
1540. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 110/119
1541. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 111/117a
1542. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 112/117b
1543. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 113/110
1544. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 140b

1545. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 9/12
1546. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 27/29
1547. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 28/26
1548. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 75
1549. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 30/72
1550. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 32/98b
1551. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 33/71
1552. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 34/42
1553. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 35/43
1554. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 36/73
1555. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 37/46
1556. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 40/74
1557. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 41/79
1558. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 42/65
1559. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 43/63
1560. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 48/64
1561. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 49/88a
1562. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 50/88b
1563. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 51/60
1564. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 54/109c
1565. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 55/109e
1566. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 58/83
1567. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 62/90
1568. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 64/96
1569. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 70/50
1570. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 71/48
1571. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 73/51 sv. 1
1572. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 74/51 sv. 2
1573. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 76/95
1574. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 79/57
1575. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 82/86
1576. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 84/59
1577. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 86/53
1578. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 87/107
1579. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 88/66
1580. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 89/67
1581. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 93/77
1582. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 94/106
1583. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 95/III
1584. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 96/II4

1585. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 97/91  
 1586. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 98/121  
 1587. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Svatojakubská knihovna, 99/78

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1588. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 21  
 1589. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 22  
 1590. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 23  
 1591. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 25  
 1592. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 26  
 1593. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 28  
 1594. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 29  
 1595. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 30  
 1596. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 32  
 1597. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 33  
 1598. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 35  
 1599. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 36  
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 1601. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 41  
 1602. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 46  
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 1606. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 57  
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 1608. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 61  
 1609. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 62  
 1610. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 64  
 1611. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 66

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1617. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 75
1618. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 79
1619. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 80
1620. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 82
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1622. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 91
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1627. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 100
1628. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 102
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1630. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 107
1631. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk III
1632. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 112
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1635. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 16a
1636. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 18
1637. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Zámecká knihovna Dietrichsteinů Mikulov, Mk 20
- Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství  
Rajhrad (Benedictine Abbey of Rajhrad)**
1638. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad, R 371

1639. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1640. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1646. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 390
1647. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 391
1648. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 392
1649. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 394
1650. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 395
1651. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 400
1652. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1653. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1654. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1655. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1656. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 408
1657. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 409
1658. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 411
1659. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1660. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1661. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 421
1662. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 426
1663. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 427
1664. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 436
1665. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 586
1666. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 596
1667. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 598
1668. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 600
1669. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 625
1670. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 626
1671. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 638
1672. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 17
1673. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 19
1674. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 22
1675. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 347
1676. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 350
1677. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 352
1678. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 354
1679. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1680. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1681. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 361
1682. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 363
1683. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1684. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
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1685. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 366
1686. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 368
1687. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 369
1688. Rajhrad, Benediktinské opatství Rajhrad,  
R 370
- Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea  
(National Museum Library)**
1689. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, III C  
31
1690. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, III H  
64
1691. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, VII D  
29
1692. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, VIII E  
67
1693. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII C  
14
1694. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII C  
15
1695. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII C  
17
1696. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII C  
18
1697. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII D  
17
1698. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII F  
23
1699. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII F  
27
1700. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII F  
30
1701. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XII G  
29
1702. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII  
C 20
1703. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII  
D 25
1704. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII  
D 26
1705. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII  
D 28
1706. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII  
E 15
1707. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII F  
23
1708. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII  
G 44
1709. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIII  
G 45
1710. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV  
B 20
1711. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV  
C 14
1712. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV  
C 15
1713. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV  
E 20
1714. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV  
E 23
1715. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV  
E 26
1716. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XIV F  
45
1717. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XV D  
12
1718. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XV G  
44
1719. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVI  
A 22
1720. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVI  
E 30

1721. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVI  
E 40
1722. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVI  
G 63
1723. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVI  
G 78/2
1724. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVII  
B 35
1725. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVII  
D 31
1726. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVII  
F 63
1727. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVII  
G 77
1728. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVIII  
A 8
1729. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVIII  
A 40
1730. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVIII  
B 18
1731. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVIII  
D 32
1732. Praha, Knihovna Národního muzea, XVIII  
E 4

**Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum (Silesian Museum)**

1733. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RA - 3
1734. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RA - 6
1735. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 1
1736. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 3
1737. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 4
1738. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 5
1739. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 9
1740. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 11
1741. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 12
1742. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 14
1743. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RB - 16
1744. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 1
1745. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 2
1746. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 3
1747. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 6

1748. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 7
1749. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 8
1750. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 11
1751. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 12
1752. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 13
1753. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 14
1754. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 16
1755. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 17
1756. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 18
1757. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 21
1758. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 23
1759. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 27
1760. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 28
1761. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 30
1762. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 31
1763. Opava, Slezské zemské muzeum, RC - 32

**Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno (Moravian Library, Augustinians Staré Brno)**

1764. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 6
1765. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 8
1766. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 9
1767. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 11
1768. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 12
1769. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 18
1770. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 29
1771. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 30
1772. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 33
1773. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 37
1774. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 41

1775. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 45
1776. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 46
1777. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 47
1778. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 48
1779. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 50
1780. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 51
1781. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 58
1782. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 60
1783. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 63
1784. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 64
1785. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 65
1786. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 70
1787. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 87
1788. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 88
1789. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 98
1790. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 100
1791. Brno, Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Augustiniáni Staré Brno, A 117
- Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově (Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov)**
1792. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF I 2
1793. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF I 3
1794. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF I 4
1795. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF III 2
1796. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF III 3
1797. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF III 4
1798. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF III 15
1799. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF IV 2
1800. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DF IV 6
1801. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG I 19
1802. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG III 7
1803. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG III 14
1804. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG III 15
1805. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG III 16
1806. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG III 20
1807. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG IV 24
1808. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG IV 47
1809. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG V 1
1810. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG V 3
1811. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG V 4
1812. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG V 13

1813. Praha, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, DG V 49

**Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát (Křivoklát Castle Library)**

1814. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I a 37  
1815. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I a 39  
1816. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I b 3  
1817. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I b 15  
1818. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I b 17  
1819. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I b 19  
1820. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I c 13  
1821. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I a 17  
1822. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I d 13  
1823. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I d 17  
1824. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I d 27  
1825. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I a 21  
1826. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I d 32  
1827. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I d 36  
1828. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I d 39  
1829. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I d 62  
1830. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I e 6  
1831. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I e 7

1832. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I e 10

1833. Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna Křivoklát, I e 13

**Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart (Kynžvart Chateau Library)**

1834. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 2 D 4  
1835. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 D 2  
1836. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 D 15  
1837. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 E 21  
1838. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 E 33  
1839. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 G 8  
1840. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 G 13  
1841. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 G 18  
1842. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 G 31  
1843. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 H 13  
1844. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 H 24  
1845. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 H 26  
1846. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 H 27  
1847. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 20 H 39  
1848. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 22 D 2  
1849. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 22 D 2 (80)  
1850. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 25 C 5  
1851. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 25 C 13

1852. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna Kynžvart, 25 C 15

**Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno (Moravian Library, Friars Minor Brno)**

1853. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno, Mn 11

1854. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno, Mn 12

1855. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno, Mn 13

1856. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno, Mn 14

1857. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno, Mn 15

1858. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Minorité Brno, Mn 18

**Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Františkáni Moravská Třebová (Moravian Library, Franciscans Moravská Třebová)**

1859. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Františkáni Moravská Třebová, MT 15

1860. Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna, Františkáni Moravská Třebová, MT 18

**Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši (Premonstratensian Canonry in Nová Říše)**

1861. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 9

1862. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 16

1863. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 17

1864. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 30

1865. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 67

1866. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 68

1867. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 69

1868. Nová Říše, Kanonie premonstrátů v Nové Říši, NŘ 70

**Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea (Moravian Land Archives, Francis Museum)**

1869. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 1

1870. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 5

1871. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 139

1872. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 149

1873. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 432

1874. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 512

1875. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 611

1876. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 625

1877. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 626

1878. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 630

1879. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 641

1880. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 770

1881. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 773

1882. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 880

1883. Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Sběrka rukopisů Františkova muzea, FM 964

**České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích (Research Library of South Bohemia)**

1884. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, I Bi 9
1885. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, I VB CCXIX
1886. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, I Se 5
1887. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, I CK 8
1888. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, I CK 24
1889. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, 2 CK 45
1890. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, I Bi 10
1891. České Budějovice, Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích, I Bi 12

**Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou (Military Order of the Crusaders with the Red Star)**

1892. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, VI D 11
1893. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, VII B 22
1894. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, VII G 3

1895. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, XIV F 24
1896. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, XVIII F 6
1897. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, XVIII F 15
1898. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, XLI H 9
1899. Praha, Rytířský řád křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, fragm. 38

**Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna (Kroměříž Archbishopal Chateau Library)**

1900. Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna, inv. č. 21083
1901. Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna, inv. č. 21222
1902. Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna, inv. č. 21227
1903. Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna, inv. č. 21235
1904. Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna, inv. č. 21238
1905. Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna, inv. č. 21245
1906. Kroměříž, Kroměřížská arcibiskupská zámecká knihovna, inv. č. 21431

**Plzeň, Studijní a vědecká knihovna Plzeňského kraje (Education and Research Library of Pilsener Region)**

1907. Plzeň, Studijní a vědecká knihovna Plzeňského kraje, 21 M T 38
1908. Plzeň, Studijní a vědecká knihovna Plzeňského kraje, 22 M T 87
1909. Plzeň, Studijní a vědecká knihovna Plzeňského kraje, 21 B 2

**Rájec nad Svitavou, Zámecká  
knihovna Rájec nad Svitavou (Rájec  
nad Svitavou Chateau Library)**

1910. Rájec nad Svitavou, Zámecká knihovna  
Rájec nad Svitavou, 46-F-27

**Brno, Archiv města Brna, Sběrka  
rukopisů (Brno City Archives, Ma-  
nuscript Collection)**

1911. Brno, Archiv města Brna, Sběrka rukopisů,  
115

## Appendix II: Testing Dataset

No.	Ms.	Colophon	Formal				Semantic										Syntactic					Schiegg								
			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative
1	1238, fol. 133r	Laus tibi Christe, quoniam liber explicit iste.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y
2	737, fol. 92r	Anno domini 1386 hic liber est finitus quinto die mensis Marcii.	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
3	1030, fol. 70r	Et sic est finis huius quarti tractatus.	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
4	498, fol. 321v	Salve mater glorie.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n
5	1794, fol. 411rb	Et sic est finis.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y
6	1541, fol. 224r	In studio Cracoviensi	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
7	1297, fol. 22r	hec ego exprobari	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n
8	1903, fol. 184rb	Explicit postilla domini Conradi, finita sub anno Domini M <sup>o</sup> CCC <sup>o</sup> nonagesimo III <sup>o</sup> , proxima feria tertia ante festum sancti Urbani.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
9	995, fol. 69v	[bigger script:] Explicit opus Alani. Deo gratias et beate virginis. Hoc opus ut finxit, mentem sacro pneumate tinxit Alanus, brevis hora, brevi quem sse spite trivit. Qui duo, qui septem, qui totum scibile, scivit. Hoc opus occulto gremio sacra pagina scelat. Nec cuiquam stulto, sua mystica dona revelat.	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
10	1699, fol. 36r	Iohannes Cyceron me comparavit	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n

No.	Ms.	Colophon	Formal				Semantic										Syntactic					Schiegg								
			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative
11	1825, fol. 222v	Publii Virgilii Maronis Eneydos liber duodecimus et ultimus explicit die septimo mensis Ianuarii annis millenis tricentenis septuagenis octenis. Deo gratias. Amen. Amen. Amen.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
12	1715, fol. 315r	Collacio anno domini etc. LXX in Egra per dei gratiam	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
13	1711, fol. 224ra	Deo gracias, non est hic plus. Explicit hoc totum.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y
14	512, fol. 88v	Et est finis huius operis. Alleluia alleluia alleluia etc.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
15	138, fol. 77v	Explicit de formarum latitudinibus textus. Laus Christo debetur, libri cum finis habetur.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
16	970, fol. 56v	[in red:] Explicit liber VII ad honorem summe trinitatis et individue unitatis, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen, a magistro Iohanne de Deo compilatus.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
17	1360, fol. 167v?	Amen dicant omnia.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	y	n	y
18	410, fol. 150r	Explicit expositio passionis utilis et bona valde.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
19	397, fol. 2v	Anno Domini M <sup>o</sup> CC <sup>o</sup> LXXX <sup>o</sup> III <sup>o</sup> dominus Thobias episcopus Pragensis XXVus fecit istum librum scribi et contulit eum ecclesie Pragensi.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
20	1086, fol. 380r	Hec de pedibus sedentis super solium excelsum, id est super sacram Scripturam et cetera. Baba. Lupus de Oppawia. Finita sunt hec feria quinta ante Pentecostes per me, Iohannem Lupum de Oppavia anno Domini millesimo CCCC <sup>o</sup> quinquagesimo septimo.	n	y	n	n	y	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	y

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			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative	Equivocal
21	1837, fol. 28v	Finit Orthographia Gasparini oratoris optimi per me Iohannem Lunsum. Iuvenalis: Nosse volunt omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y
22	1715, fol. 98r	In die visitacionis virginis gloriose matris [?] mee dignissime anno etc. LXII.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
23	688, fol. FF	Iste liber Oracionarius sic nuncupatus scriptus est anno domini 1422 in castro Vylstyn pro domino Raczkone archidiacono Luthomerzicensi et tumbario ecclesie Pragensis per manus Iohannis Baptiste, sit laus tibi Christe in secula seculorum. [different hand:] Oracionarius ecclesie Pragensis singularis et pulcer pro meditatione et devota oracione .. qui ascribitur venerabili Bede presbitero vel cuidam fratri Celestino.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	y	y	
24	380, fol. 315v	Explicit postilla fratris Roberti Holgoth ordinis predicatorum super librum Sapiencie anno Domini etc. LXVIII° per me Paulum de Iglawia ante sancti Pauli conversionem Plzne.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n
25	310, fol. 75v	Legere si scissem, correcte scripsissem, sed cum materia bene concordat scriptura.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n
26	8, fol. 278v	Et sic est finis.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y
27	924, fol. 193v	[crossed out:] Maria Amen. Explicit Honorius de libero arbitrio. [after one blank line:] Pomoz, milá panno Maria, do Čech. In honore Maria.	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	y	

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28	1594, fol. 113v	Anno domini M° etc. 1451 feria sexta post festum sancti [sic!] crucis exaltationis per me Ieorium Keyser de Theymer finitus-que iste liber in Haydelberg circa horam secundam. [jinou rukou] Ritter roch fenne rex antiquus koniginne disparibus campis numquam rochu schach tibi fiat.	y	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	
29	1631, fol. 32v	Deo gracias anno etc. LXXX° 4.	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	
30	227, fol. 138v	Expliciunt questiones super libro Porphirii doctoris subtilis Scotis.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
31	815, fol. 163r	[in red ink:] 1498	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
32	16, fol. 29or	Et sic est finis Amen.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	
33	1814, fol. 105rb	Expliciunt Gesta Romanorum et cum hoc Hystoria septem sapientum anno domini 1418 per manus Petri Trost de Obernhawsen, tunc temporis prepositus [sic] novi hospitalis in Nürnberg.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	
34	674, fol. 42r	Iohannes Gelle de Helgenstad.	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
35	1011, fol. 54r	Explicit tractatus etc. u. s. editus per fr. Iohannem de Hagen priorem ord. Carth. 1465 [...] scriptus 1510 et completus in die presentacionis b. Marie virg., qui est in profesto Cecilie.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
36	795, fol. 87r	Expliciunt concordancie epistolarum et ewangeliorum per circulum anni edite per dominum ac magistrum Henricum comendatorem in Sythavia dictum de Warnsdorf. Finito libro sit laus et gloria Cristo. finis adest operis, mercedem posco laboris.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y

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37	1568, fol. 133va	Te Deum laudamus.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	
38	287, fol. 56v	Explicit Summa Hostiensis de penitencia. est ecclesie pragen. metropolitane.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
39	1372, fol. 38v?	Qui scripsit scripta ejus manus sit benedicta.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	y	y	
40	1101, fol. 256v	Hic est finis, quem ille mihi possuit, qui est omnium principium atque finis ... anno a nativitate Domini millesimo CCC°XLVIII° die Iovis post octavas Epiphanie eiusdem, cui pro infinitatis beneficiis, que michi tribuitur, et specialiter pro eo, quia non obstante mortalitate, que in istis partibus invalescit, me perduxit ad finem operis istius [...] Amen. Gracias refero [...] In manus tuas Domine etc.	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	
41	1332, fol. 27r?	Explicit libellus scriptus per fratrem Iohannem sacerdotem de Altovado monasterio alias de Crumpnaw 1395.	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
42	1303, fol. 80va	Deo gracias. Finitum per me N [?] Ver sub anno incarnationis dominice 1490 in festo Michaelis archangeli hora 17 amen.	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
43	1075, fol. 47r	[different hand:] Finis adest operis, mercedem posco laboris.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	
44	1854, fol. 159v	Consumatum est hoc opus de casibus concieencie per venerabilem fratrem Bartholomeum de sancto Concordio ordinis fratrum predicatorum decretorum doctorem in Ciuitate pisana Anno domini M°ccc°xxxviii° mense decembris tempore sanctissimi patris domini benedicti pape xii. deo gracias etc.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	

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45	952, fol. 72r	A. d. [...] iste liber plenariter [...] dom. Iohannis Herbordi de Lub. [...]	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
46	607, fol. 13v	Expliciunt puntschuch haderii. Et est finitus in die sancti Gurguli in quo raduntur vituli, qui nec est martir nec confessor, sed in utroque confusus Amen. Anno domini 1399 in vigilia Visitationis sancte Marie, quod est ante festum sancti Procopii confessoris.	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y
47	903, fol. 140r	[after one blank line, in red:] Explicit tractatus de culpa et gracia completus anno domini M <sup>o</sup> CCCm <sup>o</sup> LVII <sup>o</sup> . Deo gracias.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
48	648, fol. 95v	Detur pro penna scriptori pulcra puella. Librum finivit Conradus scriptor domino Io. magistri sco. Nytrien. Bohemi. solus est etiam Bohemus et servitor suus fidelis ordinis dyaconatus etc.	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	y
49	905, fol. 132r	Explicit [...] [rasura] per manus Nicolai de Pieska sub anno domini 1376.	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n
50	1700, fol. 13v	Et sic est huius finis, laudetur deus insublimis, deo sit laus dyaboloque fraus. Qui te finivit dormire nonque nequivit etc.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y
51	1145, fol. 133v	Deo gracias. Explicit per Conradum de Zuczenhusen etc. [different hand:] Et cetera. Buntschuch.	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y
52	1468, fol. NA	Quis furetur librum, ligno coronetur.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n
53	1911, fol. 466va	Lucidius etenim correxissem, si non exemplaribus caruissem.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	
54	731, fol. 21r	Expliciunt prothemata Conradi venerabilissimi. Deus propicius esto nostri omnium etc.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	y

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55	160, fol. 83r	Finis Bononie XI. die Julii anno Christi etc. 1459 per mr. theologie Wenceslaum Křižanow.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
56	651, fol. 127r	Explicit hoc totum, infunde et da michi potum...	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	y	
57	917, fol. 80r	[in red:] Finis opusculi anno 1507 feeria sexta post ascensionis in loco nostro Quatuordecim Auxiliatorum extra Cadanum transcripti	n	y	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
58	228, fol. 189r	Explicit compendium Thome per manus Venceslai de Rokiczana et est finitus feria quarta in die Cinerum a. Domini M°CCCC°LIII°. Et sic est finis huius operis, pro quo sit benedictus in secula Amen.	n	y	n	n	y	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	y	y	
59	841, fol. [?]	Explicit Orationale per fratrem Ieronimum Weysheupt de Wra[tislawia?], ordinis canonicorum regularium Montis sanctae Marie in Glatz, Pragensis diocesis, anno Domini milesimo 482.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
60	1178, fol. 177r	Explicit tractatus valde bonus per manus fratris Benedicti. Orate pro eo.	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	y	y	n	n
61	673, fol. 15r	Explicit Aurissa michi lector sis precorissa ...	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	y	
62	1375, fol. 163v?	Laudetur Lucas.	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y	

No.	Ms.	Colophon	Formal				Semantic											Syntactic					Schiegg									
			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative	Equivocal	
63	243, fol. 84v	Finita est hec edicio. Hic inponitur finis huius compilacionis Dicit quod finitum est. Quid? Hoc scilicet opusculum, quod summa et edicio eius. Qualis? De arte dictandi. Quando? In vigilia Mathey apostoli et evangeliste. A quo? A Iohanne schoctorum rectore. Ubi? In Wienna. Quo tempore? Anno Domini M°CCC°XL°VII°. Quibus? Generosis studentibus Wiene univers. Quare? Ut percepta doctrina huius libri sciant dictare et falsa dictamina corrigere et demum laudare et magnificare Deum creatorem suum, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum Amen. Explicit expositio super summm de arte dictatoria dicta Iohannis. Discreto viro domino Nycolao in Olomucz perpetuum in omnibus servicium...	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	y
64	1377, fol. ?	In die Scolastice rubricavi istum libellum anno domini 1509.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
65	1524, fol. NA	Nomen scriptoris si tu cognoscere velis, Pa primum, u secundum, lus ymum et ultimum.	y	y	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	
66	1745, fol. 298v	Anno millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quinto sabbato ante sancti Martini.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
67	1362, fol. 199v?	Liber sancte Marie in Hohenfuert. Non videat Christum, qui librum subtrahat istum.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	y	

No.	Ms.	Colophon	Formal				Semantic											Syntactic					Schiegg								
			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative	Equivocal
68	1841, fol. 132r	Explicit feliciter Manuale super regulam beatissimi Benedicti per me fratrem Iacobum Vennd scriptum et finitum in profesto sancti Martini episcopi anno incarnate deitatis M. CCCC. LXXXVIII <sup>o</sup> , de quo honor invictissime Trinitatis necnon intemerate virgini Marie, Ihesu Christi gerule.	n	y	n	n	y	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
69	1422, fol. NA	Nomen scriptoris si cognoscere queris Ni / Jo tibi sit primum, co / han secundum vel medium, laus / nes dicitur ymum vel quoque finis.	y	y	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y
70	1780, fol. 160r	Explicit liber Innocencii tractans de miseria humana finitus Namassopust finitus Anno domini M <sup>o</sup> CCCC <sup>o</sup> III <sup>o</sup> .	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
71	938, fol. 159r	Liber monasterii domus s. Egidii canonicorum regularium in Viti-gnaw alias in Trzyebon comparatus per nobiles dominos de Rosemberk primos ipsius monasterii fundatores a. d. 1379.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
72	107, fol. 204v	In libello, in quo sunt Conclusiones Rothe, est finis huius registri	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
73	1799, fol. 24r	Finis. [in red ink:] Finita sunt carmina differentialia Guarini, viri clarissimi.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
74	1310, fol. 214v	Deo gracias. [new line:] Explicit. [new line:] Qui scripsit scripta dextera eiusdem sit benedicta etc. amen.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y
75	405, fol. 169r	Finit feliciter die Thome episcopi Cantuariensis.	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y
76	307, fol. 188v	Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo. Weneri.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y

No.	Ms.	Colophon	Formal				Semantic										Syntactic					Schiegg									
			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative	Equivocal
77	292, fol. 168v	Expliciunt registra super librum predictum anno ut supra. Scriptoris munus sit bos aut asinus unus. Scriptor cessa.	y	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	y	
78	281, fol. 75r	Et sic est finis. Explicit tractatus de materia et forma magistri Johannis Wykleff.	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
79	105, fol. 91r	Expliciunt casus summarii decretalium scripti festinanter in castro Radynye per Symonem presbyterum dictum Burda et finiti Sabbato ante Magdalene anno Domini 1427. Deo gracias.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n
80	1405, fol. 94v?	Expliciunt tractatuli de baptismo et de sancta unccione et de confessione scripti per dominum Wenceslaum dicti [!] Predicacz Bartholomei filii de Slana scripti in Constancia. Sub anno domini 1414.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
81	1271, fol. 340v	Finis huius tractatus per B. anno dominice incarnationis 1463 in Schoenberg die Jovis S. Wilibaldi	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
82	362, fol. 32r	Finito libello sit laus et gloria omnipotenti Deo. Ludus, longa via socium probat et domus arta.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	y
83	1, fol. 265v	Expliciunt replicationses magistri Jacobelli predicatoris eximii contra Brodam doctorem Anno D. MCCCCXV.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
84	1699, fol. 63r	Bone Jesu, pomoz z núze	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	y	
85	1424, fol. NA	Qui me scribebat, Petrusque nomen habebat. Si nomen villae queris, ubi me scripserit ille, Ludbranz est dicta, in qua gens est benedicta [skreśl. maledicta]. Hic benedicatur, a quo liber iste legeatur. Explicit iste liber, sit scriptor crimine liber.	y	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y	

No.	Ms.	Colophon	Formal				Semantic											Syntactic					Schiegg							
			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative
86	1020, fol. 233va	Explicit tractatus de contractibus super empcione et vendicione editus per magistrum Iohannem de Franckfurdia doctorem, compillatus Heydelberge, pro quo sit filius intemerate eternaliter benedictus. Anno etc. LXVI in vigilia Iuliane virginis finitus. [part Explicit ... Franckfurdia underlined by red ink]	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y
87	920, fol. 76v	Et sic est finis. [different hand:] Prodest ex obest nocti meum se malorum. Se de lectat obest prodest [...] penitet horum.	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y
88	1550, fol. 200va	Amen, laus Deo. I159	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	
89	1300, fol. 2r	Item ego Johannes Pistoris et plebanus in Franckstat signavi istas missas vel scripsi et sunt deportate a curia Romana. Orate pro eo.	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	n
90	1057, fol. 298r	[in red:] Per Lupum in Oppawia [in black:] Explicit postilla fratris Roberti Holgoth, ordinis Predicatorum super librum sapientie edita a sollempnitissimo sacre pagine doctore de Anglia, finita feria tertia post Valentini per Iohannem Lupum de Oppawia sub anno millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo septimo. Et cetera.	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
91	695, fol. 131v	Explicit tractatulus adversus heresim novam de materia communionis Iaicorum sub utraque specie raptim editus Constacien. anno domini 1417 die XX. mensis Augusti.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n

No.	Ms.	Colophon	Formal				Semantic											Syntactic					Schiegg									
			Verse	Formula	Code Sw.	Cipher	Scr. Name	Place	Date	Text Ref.	Own./Comm.	Event	Ending	Book Cult.	Naut. Img.	Toil & Rew.	Apotropaic	Devotional	Eval./Rec.	1st Person	3rd Person	Passive	Non-CP	Out of Syn.	Synecdoche	Impt./Subj.	Assertive	Expressive	Directive	Declarative	Equivocal	
92	1677, fol. 285r	Explicit secunda pars biblie finita per manus Iaxini presbyteris [previous two words partly erased] de Glathovia sub anno domini M° CCCCX in die Iohannis ante portam Latinam. [whole text written in red]	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	
93	677, fol. 46r	Explicit ymago vite translata in teuthonicum per Uiricum subnotarium, pretorii Pragensis anno domini 1387 feria secunda post festum Concepcionis sancte Marie virginis gloriose.	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n
94	651, fol. 22v	Dum finis est bonus, est totum laudabile tunc est Deo gracias. Amen.	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n
95	200, fol. 126r	Expliciunt naturalia bona et correcte per manus Johannis dicti Weischiricher.	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	y	n	n	y	
96	1768, fol. 10v	[in red:]Per manus fratris Domini eiusdem voti.	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	y	n	n	n	n	
97	1276, fol. 50v	[in red, at the end of a chapter:] cum mala per longas convaluere moras	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	
98	1149, fol. 298r	Salve nepos frater, dixit filio sua mater. Verum dicebat: si quis scit solvere, solvat	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	
99	1698, fol. 61r	Explicit dyalogus Lukiani greci viri clarissimi, qui Caron instabitur. Anno domini M CCCC LXIII Erffordie in die Cinerum.	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	
100	666, fol. FP	Explicit tractatus de communione sacramentali divinissime eucaristie sub utraque specie panis et vini populo ministranda contra quendam irregulistam duplici denario regularum ipsam impugnantem. Scriptus Prage celeriter anno 1417 die secunda mensis Decembris.	n	n	n	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	n	

## Appendix III: LLM Prompt

You are an expert in analyzing medieval Latin colophons (scribal closing statements in manuscripts).

Analyze each colophon according to the faceted classification system below.

For each attribute, respond with true or false indicating its presence.

# Classification System:

## Formal Facet

1. Verse Elements: Tag when the colophon contains defined poetic meters or verses only slightly shorter than complete meters.
2. Formulae: Tag when the colophon contains one or more of the 36 recognized formulae listed below.
3. Code-Switching: Tag when multiple languages appear within one colophon.
4. Cipher: Tag when the colophon contains encoded text like charades, words written backward, or substitution ciphers.

## Semantic Facet

5. Scribe's Name: Tag when the copyist's name is mentioned.
6. Place: Tag when the place of copying or scribe's residence is mentioned.
7. Date of Copy: Tag when a temporal designation that can be understood as the completion date is present.
8. Reference to Author or Text: Tag when there's a definite reference to the preceding work.
9. Ownership or Commission Information: Tag when information about who owned or commissioned the manuscript is present.
10. Event: Tag when the colophon references events beyond the copying itself.
11. Ending: Tag when the colophon conveys the notion of ending.
12. Book Culture: Tag when the colophon thematizes book production or literary culture.
13. Nautical Imagery: Tag when the colophon employs seafaring metaphors or maritime terms.
14. Toil and Reward: Tag when the colophon mentions the scribe's effort or compensation.
15. Apotropaic: Tag when the colophon warns against stealing or mistreating the book.
16. Devotional: Tag when the colophon includes religious elements.
17. Evaluation and Recommendation: Tag when the colophon comments on the text/copy quality.

## Syntactic Facet

18. First-Person Subject: Tag when the scribe appears as a first-person subject of the copying

predicate.

19. Third-Person Subject: Tag when the scribe is the third-person subject of the copying predicate.

20. Passive Construction Agent: Tag when the copying action is in passive voice with the scribe as agent.

21. Not in Copying Clause: Tag when the scribe's name is present but not within the copying predicate clause.

22. Extra-Syntactic Position: Tag when the scribe's name appears disconnected from the syntax.

23. Genitive Attribute of Synecdoche: Tag when the scribe's name is a genitive attribute of their synecdoche.

24. Command/Exhortation Forms: Tag when the colophon uses imperative mood or exhortative/jussive subjunctive.

## List of 36 Recognized Formulae (numbered 1-36):

1. Feliciter - Including variations like "felicissime," "fauste," etc.

2. Sicut navigantibus portus... - Nautical metaphor for finishing work

3. Explicit iste liber sit scriptor crimine liber - Wordplay on "liber"

4. Explicit explicat ludere scriptor eat - Variations with "explicat/expliciunt"

5. Detur pro penna scriptori pulchra puella - Scribe requesting reward

6. Finito libro reddatur... - Often satirical variations

7. Et sic est finis - Simple ending formula

8. Finito libro referamus gratias Christo - Thanksgiving formula

9. Qui scripsit scribat semper cum domino vivat - Prayer for scribe

10. Pro quo... - With many variations (pro cuius fine, etc.)

11. Per manus et non per pedes - Often with scribe's name

12. Heu male finivi quia scribere non bene scivi - Self-deprecating

13. Et cetera baba - Czech-specific formula

14. Et cetera punschuch - German-derived formula

15. Et cetera rindfleisch - German-derived formula

16. Scriptoris munus... - Often with leonine rhyme munus-unus

17. Finito libro saltat scriptor pede leto - Dancing scribe metaphor

18. Hoc opus exegi festum sepissime fregi - Confession formula

19. Qui scripsit scripta manus eius sit benedicta - Blessing formula

20. Scribentis... legentis - Connecting writer and reader

21. Scriptorum... meliorem - Scribe comparison formula

22. Scriptor cessa... - Command to stop writing

23. Scriptor siste... - Another stopping command

24. Non videat Christum qui librum subtrahat istum - Apotropaic

25. Qui te furetur tribus lignis associetur - Threatening theft punishment

26. Sorte supernorum scriptor libri pociatur / morte superborum raptor libri moriatur - Blessing/curse couplet
27. Non deportabis... - Book possession condition
28. Laus tibi sit Christe quoniam liber explicit iste - Thanksgiving
29. Christus laudetur quod libri finis habetur - Praise formula
30. Explicit hec summa, sit Christo gloria summa - Wordplay
31. Assit principio sancta Maria meo - Virgin Mary invocation
32. Nomen scriptoris si tu cognoscere queris... - Name riddle
33. Scriptor scripsisset bene melius si potuisset - Excuse formula
34. Penna erat vilis manus vero puerilis - Excuse for poor writing
35. Amen solamen - Word-ending rhyme formula
36. Amen dicant omnia - Prayer conclusion

If a formula is present, add a "formula\_numbers" array with the numbers of the formula detected.

Respond in this exact JSON format:

```
{
  "verse_elements": false,
  "formulae": false,
  "formula_numbers": [1, 7], (only if formulae is true, otherwise []),
  "code_switching": false,
  "cipher": false,
  "scribe_name": false,
  "place": false,
  "date_of_copy": false,
  "reference_to_author_or_text": false,
  "ownership_or_commission": false,
  "event": false,
  "ending": false,
  "book_culture": false,
  "nautical_imagery": false,
  "toil_and_reward": false,
  "apotropaic": false,
  "devotional": false,
  "evaluation_recommendation": false,
  "first_person_subject": false,
  "third_person_subject": false,
  "passive_construction_agent": false,
  "not_in_copying_clause": false,
  "extra_syntactic_position": false,
```

```
"genitive_attribute_of_synecdoche": false,  
"command_exhortation_forms": false  
}
```

Note: use true/false rather than "Yes"/"No" in your response.