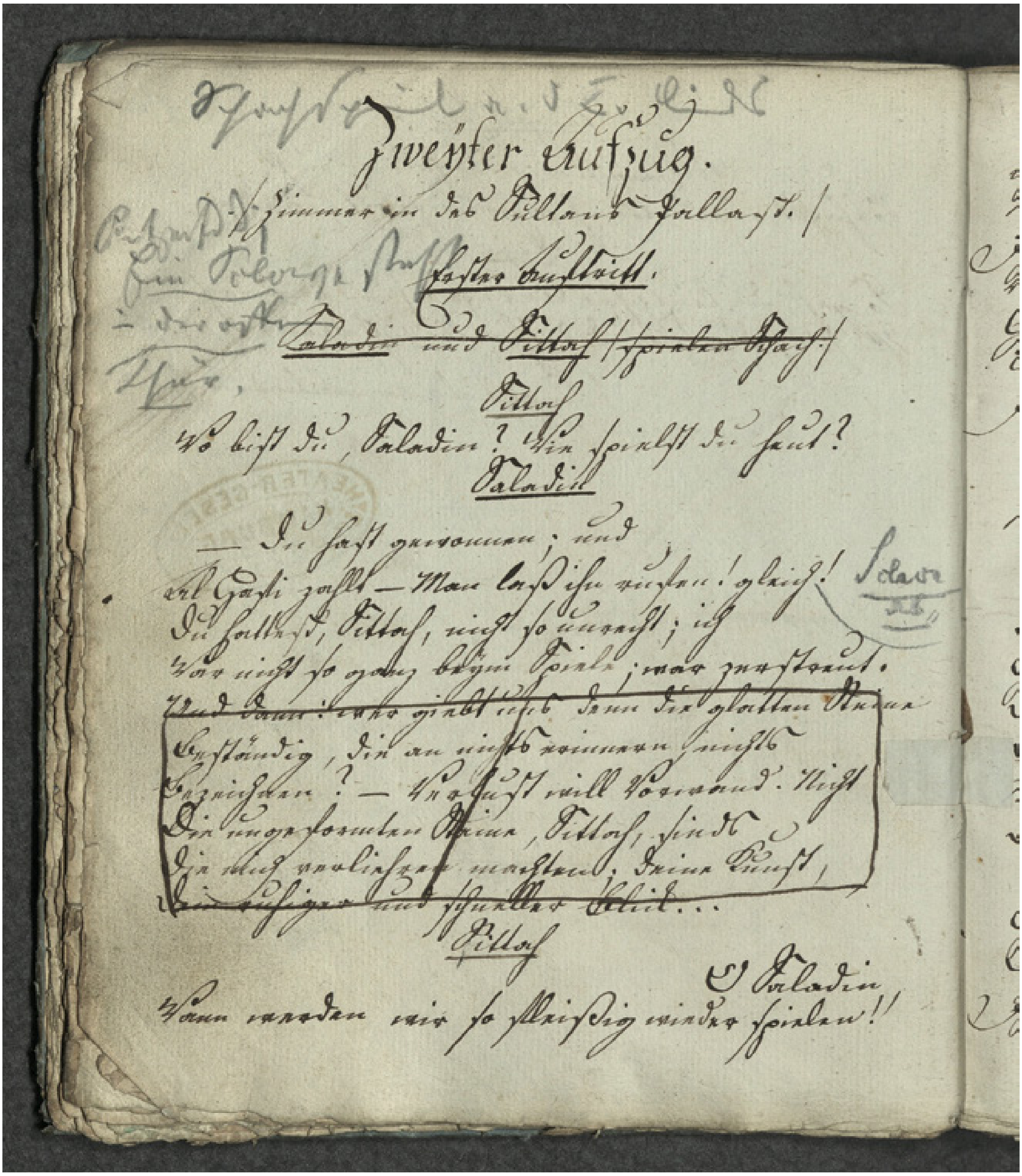
mc N° 20 2023

manuscript cultures

Hamburg | Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures ISSN 1867–9617



Universität Hamburg
DER FORSCHUNG | DER LEHRE | DER BILDUNG

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF MANUSCRIPT CULTURES

DFG

Publishing Information

SECTION I: MULTILAYERED WRITTEN ARTEFACTS AND THEIR INTERNAL DYNAMICS
Edited by Thies Staack, Janine Droese, and José Maksimczuk

Every volume of *manuscript cultures* has been subjected to a double-blind peer review process and is openly accessible at no cost on the CSMC website <https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/publications/mc.html>. We would like to thank the German Research Foundation (DFG) for its generous support of the Cluster of Excellence EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts', which has made the printing of this journal volume possible.

Print

Beisner Druck GmbH & Co. KG, Buchholz i. d. Nordheide
Printed in Germany

Druckprodukt
CO_2 kompensiert
klima-druck.de
ID-Nr. 24179850
VDM+
Mehr Informationen zur Berechnungsmethodik, zur Kompensation und dem gewählten Goldstandard-Klimaschutzprojekt finden Sie unter klima-druck.de/ID.

www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de

Funded by
DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
German Research Foundation

Cover

Hamburg, State and University Library Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, fol. 23v. Different changes in a prompt book of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Lessing für die Bühne gekürzt v. Schiller* ('Nathan the Wise, a play in five acts by Lessing abridged for the stage by [Friedrich] Schiller'); first performance in Hamburg in the present version: 2 December 1803 (according to the playbill) < https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh3323>. © Public Domain Mark 1.0. See the contribution by Martin Schäfer and Alexander Weinstock in this volume.

ISSN (Print) 1867-9617
ISSN (Online) 2749-1021

CONTENTS

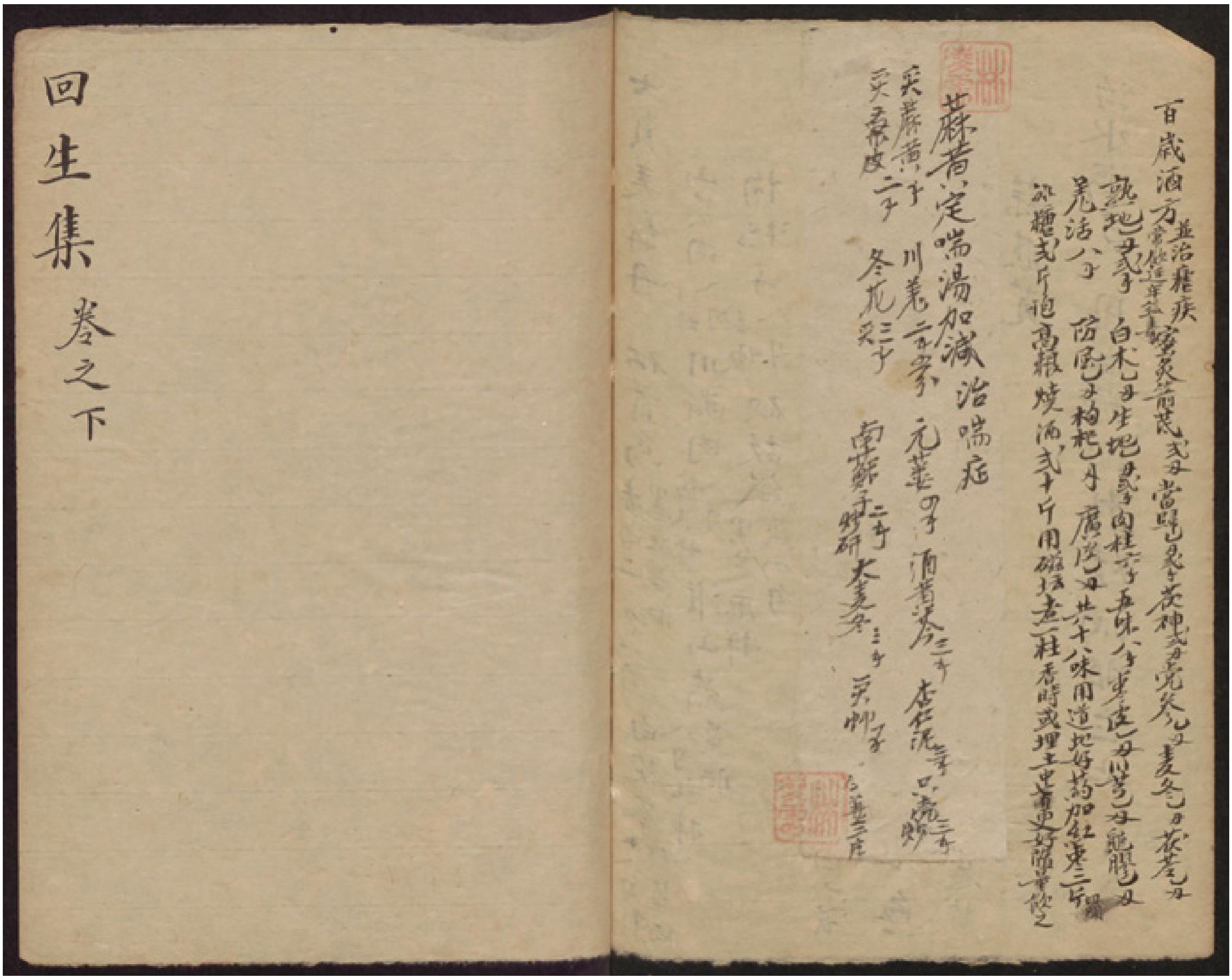
SECTION I: Multilayered Written Artefacts and Their Internal Dynamics

INTRODUCTION

ARTICLES

SECTION II: Manuscripts in Art, Religion, and Science

ARTICLES



Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Slg. Unschuld 8161, paper with thread binding, 18.0 × 13.0 cm, late nineteenth/early twentieth century. The multilayered manuscript contains a copy of the *Huisheng ji* 回生集 (Collection [of knowledge] to return to life), a compilation of medical recipes for the treatment of various illnesses and injuries that was first published in 1789. At the end of the first of two chapters, two recipes not contained in the *Huisheng ji* were added at a later point – probably by a subsequent user (see the opening of fols 31b–32a, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000606200000064>, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000606200000065>). While the first of these recipes was directly added onto an empty page of the volume, the second, for a 'decoction with ephedra to end panting, with modifications' (*mahuang dingchuan tang jiajian* 麻黃定喘湯加減) was obviously first recorded on a loose slip of paper later glued into the manuscript. To prevent removal of the slip – or at least to make a traceless removal impossible – the person who added the recipe applied two red seal imprints with the name Lin Lingyun 林凌雲 at the fringes of the slip. For details on this manuscript, see Unschuld and Zheng 2012, 1122–1125. © Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

SECTION I

Multilayered Written Artefacts and Their Internal Dynamics

Fig. 1: Konduga (Nigeria), private collection, MS.5 Konduga Qur'an (SOAS Digital Collections MS. 380808, <https://digital.soas.ac.uk/LOAA003341/00001>), paper, 32.0 × 22.0 cm, eighteenth century. This loose-leaf manuscript contains a complete copy of the Qur'an. Besides the text of the Qur'an in larger script, the folios also feature annotations in Arabic and Old Kanembu in different hands between the lines and in the margins. Several later additions were obviously made with a blue ballpoint pen, as seen on the present folio 7[r].

Introduction

Multilayered Written Artefacts and Their Internal Dynamics

Thies Staack, Janine Droese, and José Maksimczuk | Hamburg

Since the late twentieth century, many disciplines within the humanities have witnessed that the materiality of their research objects has become increasingly important. This development, sometimes referred to as the 'material turn', has opened new research perspectives, thereby also fostering the evolution of methods and concepts.[1] In the study of written artefacts,[2] expanding the view beyond the textual content to include any aspect of a written artefact's materiality has not only stimulated novel approaches in philology, but it has also shifted attention to the written artefact as a material object. This raised questions about production and use as well as about the context in which a written artefact was situated.[3] In addition, the previous two-dimensional perspective on the writing surface, as the place from which contents were retrieved, has given way to a holistic appreciation of the artefact as a three-dimensional object.[4]

Over the past two decades, significant progress has been made towards completing the picture by taking into account the fourth dimension – time. While the fact that written artefacts are not static but evolving entities might seem immediately obvious, doing justice to this insight in research is a different matter.[5] Codicologists of European medieval manuscripts have done pioneering work in this respect and developed analytical frameworks and concepts that have been gainfully applied to describe the transformations of codices over the course of time.[6] But while the stratigraphic analysis of codex manuscripts has thus seen significant progress, the potential of this approach for written artefacts writ large has not yet been fully accessed. Partly, this seems to be because the existing analytical frameworks and concepts, tailored to the book form of the codex, are not necessarily applicable to other types of written artefacts.

Since 2019, a group of scholars at the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts' has been exploring ways to apply stratigraphic analysis to written artefacts across periods and cultures, including book forms such as the scroll or the *pothi*, as well as inscriptions. Following up on previous work, research field D '(Re-)Shaping Written Artefacts' has focused on the analysis of 'multilayered written artefacts'. Such written artefacts have at least two observable temporal 'layers', broadly defined in a conceptual paper as 'the result of an act of production that creates or transforms a written artefact'.[7] The former type of layer is referred to as 'primary layer', the latter as 'secondary layer', allowing a distinction between the artefact as it was originally produced and subsequent stages of its life cycle. In addition to definitions of central concepts, the paper also offers a typology of the operations by which secondary layers are created (addition, subtraction, replacement) and discusses the interrelation between layers and implications for the way a written artefact's contents are formatted.

The decision to devote a workshop to this last aspect – the interrelation between layers – arose from vivid discussions within the group. The event, titled 'Layers of Authority – Authority of Layers: On the Internal Dynamics of Multilayered Written Artefacts and their Cultural Contexts', was co-organised by José Maksimczuk, Szilvia Sövegjártó, Thies Staack and Alexander Weinstock, and took place in December 2021 at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC). Due to the pandemic, the workshop had to be held online, but it successfully convened scholars

[1] For a recent synthesis, see Dietrich et al. 2023–2024.

[2] For a definition of 'written artefact' as an extension of the concept of 'manuscript', see Bausi et al. 2023.

[3] Wimmer et al. 2015 proposed to focus on the four key factors production, use, setting, and patterns.

[4] This change of perspective is reflected, for example, by the concept 'manuscript architecture', which has been coined to describe the visual organisation of the entire manuscript 'as a purposely constructed, visually organised space'. See Reudenbach 2022, 3.

[5] For manuscripts as 'evolving entities' and a concise review of the relevant literature, see Friedrich and Schwarke 2016.

[6] See especially Gumbert 2004, Andrist et al. 2013, Andrist 2015.

[7] For the definitions of the concepts 'layer' and 'multilayered written artefact', see Maksimczuk et al. 2024.

working on written artefacts from Asia, Africa, and Europe, including a variety of different writing materials and book forms. The nine papers presented by external scholars as well as members of the CSMC shed a varied light on the complex interrelation between the layers of multilayered written artefacts, touching upon questions of authority and hierarchy. All five contributions in this thematic section of the journal *manuscript cultures* originate from papers presented at the workshop.

In his contribution, Gianmario Cattaneo reconstructs how a scholar in fifteenth-century Italy worked. Through an in-depth study of a chapter of Angelo Poliziano's *Miscellanies*, he disentangles the complex web of interrelated layers Poliziano left in manuscripts or printed editions of ancient texts as well as in his own notebooks, thereby establishing the process behind the formation of this work.

By analysing a wide variety of entries in early modern calendrical diaries, Rebecca Hirt demonstrates different kinds of relationships between layers of printed and handwritten text. Whereas the former often serve to organise the latter, the handwritten entries also exhibit varying degrees of detachment or emancipation from the pre-printed frame, showcasing the complex interrelation of handwriting and print in such multilayered written artefacts.

Through an analysis of interlinear and marginal paracontents in a multilayered Siamese *leporello* manuscript, Peera Panarut establishes a typology of paracontent layers and illustrates differences regarding their content and function. In doing so, he reveals the relationship between the layers of core- and paracontent and reconstructs an important aspect of Siamese textual scholarship in the nineteenth century.

Janine Droese gives an overview of the layers that are typically found in music-related albums of the nineteenth century – a class of manuscripts that are made so that different people can enlarge and enrich them over longer periods of time. She describes the actors that are commonly involved in the production of these albums, their relations to each other and the communicative processes that lead to the characteristic multilayered design. On this basis, she suggests how these albums, which are difficult to grasp with the existing methods and concepts of codicology, can be integrated into the theoretical framework of the stratigraphy of the codex.

Ivana Rentsch's paper focuses on layers of handwritten annotations in printed scores from the nineteenth century. Rentsch's investigation of scores of Richard Wagner's *Rheingold*, preserved in the archive of the Neues Deutsches Theater in Prague, clearly shows the fundamental role that the layers of annotations played in musical performance practices.

We would like to thank the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures as well as the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts' for hosting and funding the workshop, and especially the participants for the stimulating papers as well as their questions and comments during the discussion. We also want to express our gratitude to the members of the Cluster's research field D and its former spokesperson Eva Wilden for their encouragement, intellectual input and support throughout this endeavour.

Acknowledgements

The writing of this paper was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany´s Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

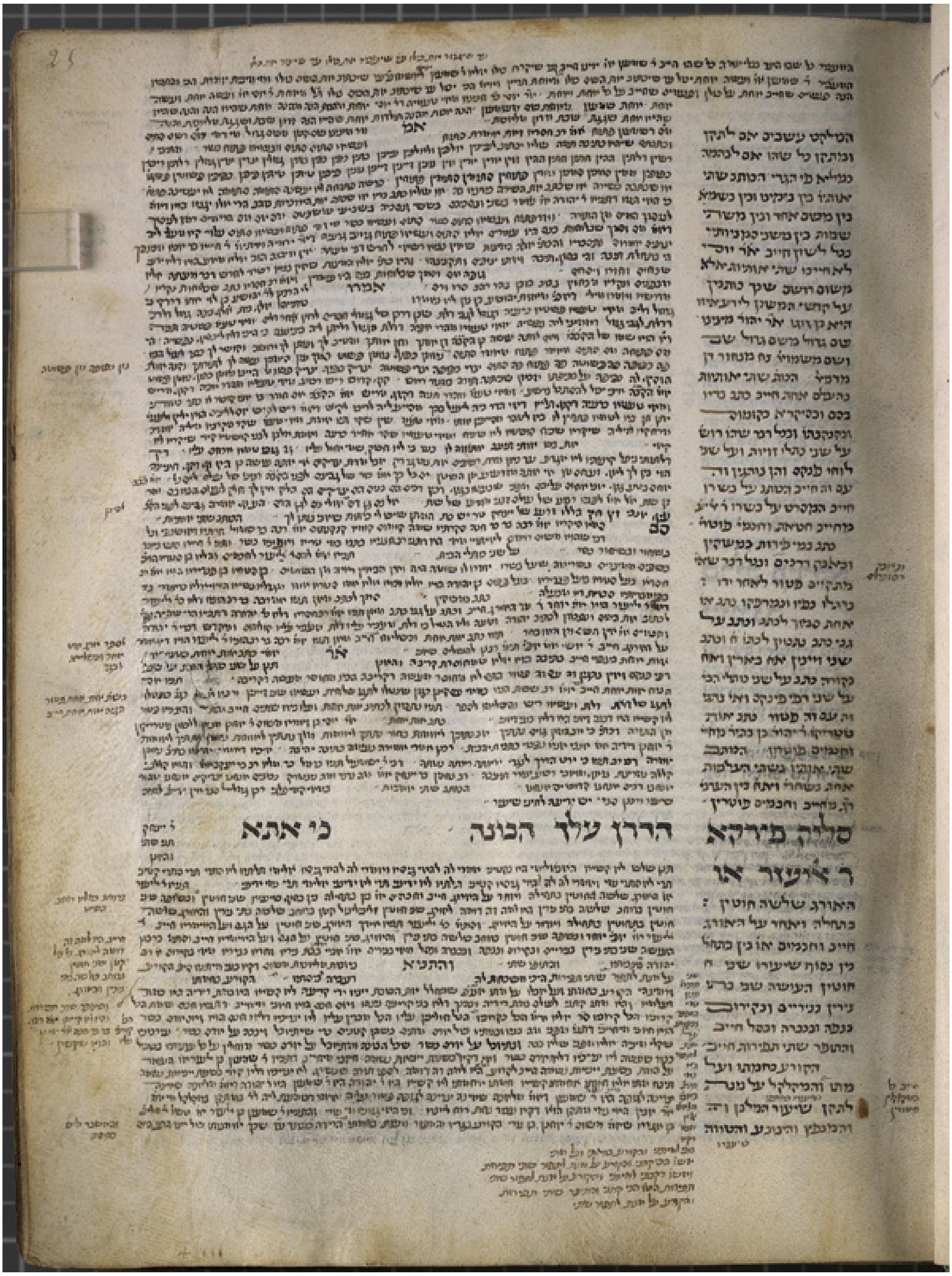


Fig. 2: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 95, parchment, 27 × 41 cm, France 1342. This medieval Hebrew manuscript is the only one known today that contains the Babylonian Talmud almost in its entirety. The Talmud consists of two texts, the *Mishna* (right-hand column in bigger script) and the *Gemara* (left-hand column in smaller script), a later commentary to the *Mishna*. Fol. 25r shows part of the tractate *Shabbat* (bShabbat 103a) <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00003409>. Several layers of paracontent are discernable on this page: (1) Marginal and interlinear glosses added all around the text and one gloss even inserted between the text columns. (2) Small markings that emphasise the text passages to which the glosses refer. (3) Crossings out and deletions. (4) Arabic folio numbering ('25'; upper left). (5) Number of the folio within a specific quire: here quire 4, folio 3 ('4 III'; bottom left).

REFERENCES

Andrist, Patrick, Paul Canart, and Marilena Maniaci (2013), *La syntaxe du codex: Essai de codicologie structurale* (Bibliologia: Elementa ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia, 34), Turnhout: Brepols.

Andrist, Patrick (2015), 'Syntactical Description of Manuscripts', in Alessandro Bausi et al. (eds), *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*, Hamburg: Tredition.

Bausi, Alessandro, Dmitry Bondarev, Nadine Bregler, Sara Chiarini, Giovanni Ciotti, Janine Droese, Eliana Dal Sasso, Michael Friedrich, Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, Michael Kohs, Leah Mascia, Ann Lauren Osthof, Malena Ratzke, Ondřej Škrabal, Szilvia Sövegjártó, Thies Staack, and Hanna Wimmer (2023), *Definition of 'Written Artefact'* (CSMC Occasional Paper, 8), Hamburg: CSMC <DOI: 10.25592/uhhfdm.13836>.

Dietrich, Nikolaus, Ludger Lieb, and Nele Schneidereit (eds) (2023–2024), *Theorie und Systematik materialer Textkulturen: Abschlussband des SFB 933 / Theory and Classification of Material Text Cultures: Concluding Volume of the CRC 933* (Materiale Textkulturen, 46.1/2), Berlin: De Gruyter <DOI: 10.1515/9783111292229>.

Friedrich, Michael and Cosima Schwarke (2016), 'Introduction: Manuscripts as Evolving Entities', in Friedrich and Schwarke (eds), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9), 1–26, Berlin: De Gruyter <DOI: 10.1515/9783110496956-001>.

Gumbert, J. Peter (2004), 'Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex', *Segno e testo*, 2: 17–42.

Maksimczuk, José, Berenice Möller, Thies Staack, Alexander Weinstock, and Jana Wolf (2024), *Multilayered Written Artefacts: Definition, Typology, Formatting* (CSMC Occasional Paper, 9), Hamburg: CSMC <DOI: 10.25592/uhhfdm.14320>.

Reudenbach, Bruno (2022), 'Tables of Contents: Introduction', *manuscript cultures*, 18: 3–4.

Unschuld, Paul and Zheng Jinsheng (2012), *Chinese Traditional Healing: The Berlin Collections of Manuscript Volumes from the 16th through the Early 20th Century*, 2 vols, Leiden: Brill.

Wimmer, Hanna, Dmitry Bondarev, Janina Karolewski, and Vito Lorusso (2015), *A Heuristic Tool for the Comparative Study of Manuscripts from different Manuscript Cultures* (CSMC Occasional Paper, 3), Hamburg: CSMC <DOI: 10.25592/uhhfdm.9800>.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: Public domain, CC BY-NC-SA, SOAS University of London, Digital Collections.

Fig. 2: CC0 – No Copyright, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Article

Ps. Apollodorus, Virgil and the Myth of the Proetides: The Stratigraphy of Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50

Gianmario Cattaneo | Vercelli

1. Introduction

Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) is widely regarded as one of the most important Italian scholars of the fifteenth century. He was able to write prose and verse works in Italian, Latin and Ancient Greek[1] and was considered the leading figure in Renaissance philology by European humanists.[2] Furthermore, he was professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Florence for almost fifteen years and many scholars from Italy and all over Europe came to Florence to attend his classes.[3]

Poliziano published many works during his life (translations, poems and critical essays), which were strongly influenced by ancient Greek and Latin authors, and luckily, we still have a host of preparatory notes Poliziano wrote before producing and publishing these works. These notes can be analysed in order to reconstruct the processes that lay behind his literary products.

As for these processes, Poliziano first used to read the ancient text he wanted to use and then annotated the manuscripts or the printed editions that contained these texts. Sometimes he noted these texts down in separate notebooks and he wrote marginal or interlinear notes in these notebooks as well, in order to highlight a particular passage and make it easier to find later. As we will see, all these documents (manuscripts, printed editions and notebooks) are closely connected, and Poliziano adopted particular strategies to connect and use them. We can therefore compare his activity as a philologist (his 'philological laboratory', as Alessandro Daneloni used to say)[4] to a series of 'layers' in constant interaction, with an implicit or explicit hierarchy.

To identify these strata and their hierarchy, we must delve into the mass of Poliziano's autograph notes, which are often difficult to read and study because of his rapid handwriting. In this paper, I shall present an example concerning the sources and 'layers' of a chapter of Poliziano's *Miscellanies*, which regards the myth of the Proetides according to ancient sources such as Ps. Apollodorus and Virgil.

2. Angelo Poliziano and his *zibaldoni*: a short overview

First of all, I will provide a brief outline of Poliziano's life.[5] Angelo Ambrogini, as he was originally known, was born in Montepulciano in Tuscany in 1454. He was called 'Poliziano' after his birthplace. His father, Benedetto, was a supporter of the Medici family and was murdered by his political antagonists in 1464. Sometime after his death, but before 1469, Poliziano moved to Florence where he began to study at the *Studium Florentinum* (that is, the local university). He studied Latin and Ancient Greek there and started to compose prose and verse in both languages. Moreover, he soon became one of Lorenzo de' Medici's protégés. In 1478, after the so-called Pazzi conspiracy, Poliziano took refuge in the Medicean villa of Cafaggiolo, but because of some disagreements with Lorenzo's wife, he decided to leave Florence and then started travelling to northern Italian courts such as Venice, Padua and Mantua. Poliziano made up with Lorenzo in 1480 and returned to Florence. It was here that he began his career as a professor at the *Studium Florentinum*, where he took up the chair of Greek and Latin poetry and rhetoric.[6] As for his philological production, Poliziano published a collection of essays in 1489 devoted to lexical and textual problems in texts of ancient authors, under the title of *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* ('First Century of the

[1] On Poliziano's multilingualism, see the overview provided by Campanelli 2014, 147–150.

[2] On Poliziano's influence on European humanists, see Sanchi 2014, for instance.

[3] See Refe 2015 and Refe 2016.

[4] See Daneloni 2011a.

[5] For further information, see the biographical profiles of Poliziano by Bigi 1960, Maïer 1966, Galand-Hallyn 1997 and Orvieto 2009.

[6] For more on Poliziano's courses at the *Studium Florentinum*, see Cesarini Martinelli 1996 and Mandosio 2008.

Miscellanies').[7] Poliziano passed away in 1494, two years after Lorenzo and two months before his friend Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

Regarding the main topics of his courses at the *Studium*, Poliziano lectured on various Greek and Latin authors such as Homer, Aristotle, Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Persius. We are well informed about some of these courses, especially through the commentaries Poliziano wrote for his classes.[8] These commentaries are preserved in the *zibaldoni*, miscellaneous collections of texts and notes (not only the aforementioned commentaries on ancient texts, but also excerpts from different Greek and Latin authors; Fig. 1), which were copied by Poliziano or his co-workers and 'were conceived exclusively for personal use as repositories of materials that could be accessed at different stages for pedagogical purposes or for the composition of original works'.[9]

When Angelo Poliziano passed away, this mass of working papers and notes landed in the lap of his student Pietro Del Riccio Baldi, also known as Pietro Crinito (1475–1507),[10] who tried to reorder and reorganise them in a series of volumes. Crinito started to follow Poliziano's classes around 1491 and became one of his closest collaborators. As regards his literary works, after his master's death he edited and promoted the publication of Poliziano's *opera omnia*, which was published in 1498 by Aldo Manuzio,[11] and in 1504 he published the treatise *De honesta disciplina* ('On the honest discipline'), a series of essays concerning different aspects of Greek and Latin culture, which was largely influenced by Poliziano's *Miscellanies*.[12]

When Crinito died, Poliziano's *zibaldoni* passed on to Pier Vettori (1499–1585), who was professor of Greek and Latin at the *Studium Florentinum* from 1538 until he died. In 1780, the library of the Vettori family was bought by Charles Theodore, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1724–1799). His library was later acquired by the Library of the Dukes of Bavaria, and today the most important *zibaldoni* of Angelo Poliziano reorganised by Crinito are kept at the Bavarian State Library (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) in Munich,[13] where their shelf marks are Munich, BSB, Clm 748, 754, 755, 756, 766, 798, 807 and Munich, BSB, gr. 182.[14]

The study of these manuscripts is crucial because it allows us to reconstruct the background of Poliziano's activity as a philologist, commentator and professor at the *Studium Florentinum*. In the group of manuscripts I mentioned, a peculiar role is played by the codex Munich, BSB, gr. 182 because, like Paris, BnF, gr. 3069 and Vatican City, BAV, gr. 1373,[15] it is one of the few *zibaldoni* that only contain extracts from Greek authors.

The texts Poliziano transcribed in the manuscript Munich, BSB, gr. 182 come from the Lexicon of Suidas or Suda; the scholia on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, *Theogony* and *Shield*; Ps. Apollodorus' *Library*; the scholia on Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and *Knights*, and Eustathius of Thessalonica's *Commentary on the Odyssey*.[16] In this paper, I will focus on the section which contains excerpts from Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* (fols 76^{v}–90^{v}, indicated by the siglum 'M' in the critical editions of the *Library*) and I will analyse the relationship between this section and other works by Poliziano. In particular, the study of this part of the manuscript allows us to get new data and reconstruct the sources of a chapter of Poliziano's *Miscellanies* (1.50).

7 The *Centuria secunda* remained unpublished after Poliziano's death and was only rediscovered in the twentieth century. Both Centuries were republished recently by Dyck and Cottrell (2020) along with an English translation of them. On the *Miscellanies*, see Grafton 1977, Lo Monaco 1989, Fera 1998 and Fiaschi 2016 in particular.

8 Poliziano's commentaries for his courses were published in Lazzeri 1971 (Ovid, *Letter of Sappho to Phaon*), Lattanzi Roselli 1973 (Terentius, *Andria*), Gardenal 1975 and Fera 1983 (Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*), Cesarini Martinelli 1978 (Statius, *Silvae*), Pastore Stocchi 1983 (*Carmen de rosis*), Cesarini Martinelli/Ricciardi 1985 (Persius), Lo Monaco 1991 (Ovid, *Fasti*) and Silvano 2019 (Homer, *Odyssey*).

9 I owe this definition to Torello-Hill 2017, 106. On the humanistic miscellanies, see the overview provided by Cortesi and Fiaschi 2012.

10 On Crinito's life and works, see especially Ricciardi 1990. On his manuscripts and library, see Marchiaro 2013a and Marchiaro 2013b.

11 On Crinito's role in the publication of Poliziano's *opera*, see Martelli 1978 in particular.

12 On *De honesta disciplina*, published by Angeleri 1955, see Pierini 2017 and Cattaneo 2022a.

13 On the various passages of Crinito's library, from Pier Vettori to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, see Arnold 1994, 96–98; Hajdú 2002, 81–90; Mouren 2010; Marchiaro 2013a, 22–23.

14 These manuscripts are catalogued in Marchiaro 2013a, 189–232.

15 On Par. gr. 3069, see Maïer 1965, 227–232; Silvano 2019, xxxvi–lix; on Vat. gr. 1373, see Maïer 1965, 286–287. The reproductions of these manuscripts are available online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105159048> and <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1373> (accessed on 9 March 2023).

16 The content of this manuscript is described in Maïer 1965, 201–203; Hajdú 2012, 32–35; Marchiaro 2013a, 228–232. Several studies are devoted to the different sections of this manuscript: Papathomopoulos 1973 (Ps. Apollodorus); Silvano 2005 (Eusthatius of Thessalonica); Cattaneo 2022a (Suidas). The manuscript is available at <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00012910?page=,1> (accessed on 9 March 2023).

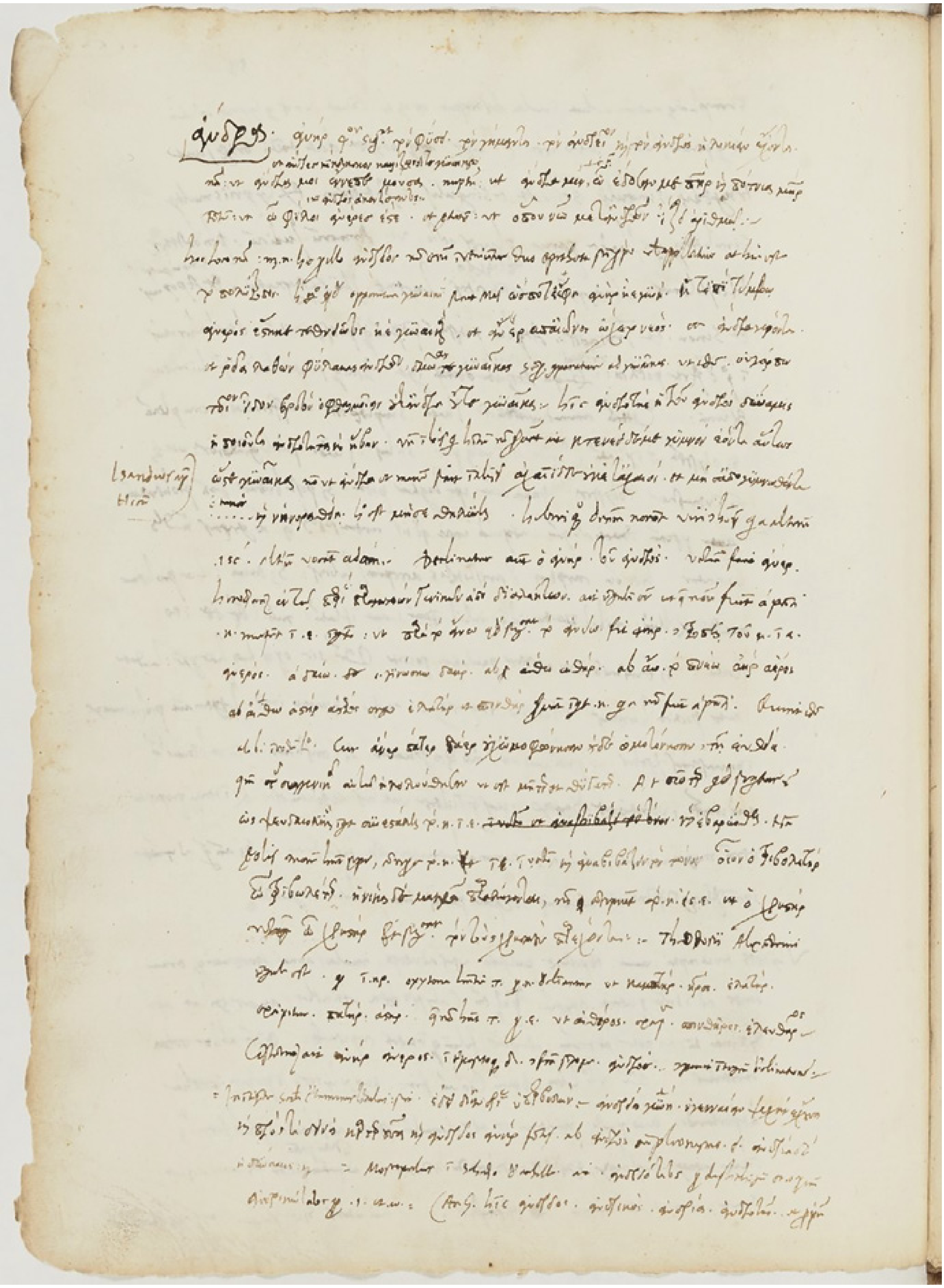


Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 3069, fol. 53v: An example from a *zibaldone*: the beginning of Poliziano's commentary on the *Odyssey*.

3. Manuscript M in the manuscript tradition of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library*

Before discussing the main topic of my paper, I will briefly analyse the position of M in the *stemma codicum* of Ps. Apollodorus. I would just like to add that Poliziano finished copying it on 7 September 1482, as it says so in the *subscriptio* on fol. 90ᵛ ('τέλος. Florentiae, in Pauli, 7 septembris 1482' ['The end. In Florence, in the Church of St Paul,[17] 7 September 1482']).

Richard Wagner, who published the first critical edition of the *Library*, was not aware of the existence of M, even though this manuscript had already been described in Hardt's catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in Munich.[18] Aubrey Diller rediscovered the section of M with the extracts from Ps. Apollodorus in the 1930s: he demonstrated that M derives from Paris, BnF, gr. 2722 (R),[19] but he did not conduct a detailed analysis on the text.[20] The first scholar who shed light on M's contribution to the *costitutio textus* of the *Library* was Manolis Papathomopoulos. Thirty-five years after Diller's papers, Papathomopoulos collated M for the first time and presented three lists of variant readings from it.[21] Papathomopoulos' collation was used by Paolo Scarpi, whose edition follows Wagner's text to a large extent.[22]

Finally, in 2010 Papathomopoulos published a critical edition of the *Library*, which takes the witness M fully into account.[23] Nevertheless, Claudio Meliadò noticed that Papathomopoulos had made some mistakes in reporting several variants (including those of M).[24] Papathomopoulos provided a new *stemma codicum*, too,[25] and he confirmed Diller's hypothesis: M (and Oxford, BL, Laud. gr. 55 (O) as well)[26] was copied by Poliziano from R when the latter codex still had all its folia (regarding the present condition of R, Diller says 'out of twenty-nine leaves, only seventeen are extant'[27]).

Moreover, as regards M, we should note that Poliziano did not simply transcribe his antigraph R, but proposed a series of conjectures and corrections, some of which would be later matched by those of modern editors. For instance, Apollod. 2.20 ἐκ Πιερείας (*sic*) was corrected to ἐκ Πιερίας ('from Pieria'), just like Heyne did three hundred years later.[28] Another interesting example comes from Apollod. 2.17: in this case, all the manuscripts read ἐξ ἀμαδονάδων νυμφῶν, but ἀμαδονάδων is a meaningless word. The *editor princeps* Benedictus Aegius therefore proposed to correct it to ἐξ ἁμαδρυάδων νυμφῶν ('from the nymphs Hamadryades').[29] Similarly, in M, Poliziano initially wrote ἀμαδονάδων, but then wrote δρυ above δον; it seems he understood that Ps. Apollodorus was referring to the Hamadryades here, a type of nymph whose life depended on the trees to which it was attached.[30]

4. The stratigraphy of Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50

4.1 The starting point (or point of arrival?): Miscellanies, *1.50*

Poliziano shows his profound knowledge of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* in a chapter of the aforementioned *Miscellanies* published in Florence in 1489. In *Miscellanies*, 1.50, Poliziano aims to correct a passage of Pliny the Elder's Natural History (25.47):[31] in the first part of the chapter, he cites Pliny's text according to the 'vulgatissimi codices' ('the most widespread manuscripts'):[32]

[17] Poliziano was prior of the Church of St Paul in Florence from 1477; see Curti 2017.

[18] See Hardt 1806, 222–225.

[19] R is the archetype of the whole manuscript tradition of Ps. Apollodorus; on this manuscript, see in particular Wagner 1926, viii–xi; Diller 1935, 306–308; Papathomopoulos 1973, 13–24; Wilson 1983; Degni 2008, 215–216; Papathomopoulos 2010, 15–16. A digital reproduction is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10722547k> (accessed on 9 March 2023).

[20] See Diller 1938, 209: 'For the lost portions the future text may rely on M as well as O. M will be very difficult to use, however, since the writing is almost illegible and the text is excerpted and often paraphrased in Latin'. Diller's major contribution on Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* appeared three years earlier (Diller 1935), but M was considered.

[21] Papathomopoulos 1973, 26–34.

[22] See Scarpi 1997, xvi–xvii.

[23] See Papathomopoulos 2010, 15–17.

[24] See Meliadò 2011.

[25] Papathomopoulos 2010, 17.

[26] For more on O, see Wagner 1926, xix–xx; Diller 1935, 310–312; Papathomopoulos 1973, 24–26.

[27] Diller 1938, 209.

[28] Heyne 1782, 85. On this edition, see in particular Huys 1997, 321 and Fornaro 2017.

[29] Aegius 1555, 43ᵛ. On this edition, see Huys 1997, 320.

[30] These Greek mythological figures are both attested by Greek authors (Apollonius of Rhodes; Nonnus of Panopolis; Athenaeus) and Latin ones (Propertius; Ovid).

[31] On Poliziano's studies on Pliny the Elder, see Fera 1995, Fera 1996, Viti 2012, Guida 2018 and Vespoli 2021.

[32] On the meaning of 'codices vulgati' in Poliziano's philological works, see Rizzo 1973, 72–74. The variant readings of Pliny's passage are reported in Mayhoff 1897, 131.

Melampodis fama divinationis artibus nota est; ab hoc appellatur unum hellebori genus melampodion. Aliqui pastorem eodem nomine invenisse tradunt, capras purgari pastore illo animadvertente, datoque lacte earum sanasse Parotidas furentes.

The reputation of Melampus in the arts of divination is well known, from whom one species of hellebore is called melampodion. Some relate that a shepherd with the same name discovered it: while the shepherd was watching his she-goats, they were purged [by it], and by giving them the goats' milk he cured the daughters of Parotas.[33]

Poliziano says that an ancient codex in the library of the Medici family reads 'Proetides' ('daughters of Proetus') instead of 'Parotides' ('daughters of Parotas'):[34] indeed, here Pliny talks about the myth of the crazy daughters of Proetus, who were cured by Melampus the seer. After that, Poliziano reports the myth of the Proetides according to Apollod. 2.26–29:

But in his *Library* (for that is the title of his book), Apollodorus of Athens attributes the cleansing of Proetus's daughters to the seer Melampus rather than to a shepherd. He also says that to Proetus and Stheneboea were born the daughters Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa, who, as soon as they grew up, were plagued by insanity […]. After they began to rave, they first wandered throughout all the territory of the Argives, and then indeed even ran through Arcadia and the entire Peloponnese, in desolate places, heedless of modesty, until Melampus, […] a seer and the first to discover how to heal by means of medicines and purgatives, vowed that he would cure the young women if a third of the realm were paid over to him as compensation. Since Proetus by no means agreed, deterred by so vast a price, the madness of the girls began to blaze up more and more each day […]. Therefore, with the calamity spreading farther and farther, Proetus agreed to pay the price demanded. But now Melampus said he would not cure them until another territory of the same size was made over to his brother Bias as well. At this point […] Proetus agreed to this price. Then and only then did Melampus enroll all the strongest men as his companions and drive the young women with shouts and some sort of frenzied dance (for that is what he calls it) all the way down from the mountains to Sicyon. Although the eldest daughter, Iphinoe, died in the pursuit, the rest came to their senses upon using the purgative. Then Proetus gave over his daughters to Melampus and Bias [in marriage], and after that he himself sired a son, Megapenthes. Thus far, in essence, Apollodorus.[35]

According to what I said in the previous paragraphs, the source of this passage could be R (which does not contain the folio with Apollod. 2.21–75 anymore, but still had all its folios at that time) or it could be M (because Poliziano often uses his *zibaldoni* as a source).[36] However, the identification of Poliziano's sources is far more complicated, as we shall see.

4.2. Ps. Apollodorus' passage in manuscript M and in 'our Virgil'

Poliziano used to copy or translate Ps. Apollodorus' text very carefully in M, but he was very concise in the case of Apollod. 2.26–29; indeed, he summarised Apollod. 2.26–29 in just one sentence.[37] On fol. 81^{r}, he simply wrote: 'Acrisio ex Eurydice Lacedemonis Danae; Proeto ex Steneboea Lysippe, Iphinoe, Iphianassa, quae insanierunt' ('Acrisius had Danae by Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon; Proetus had Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa, who went mad, by Stheneboea').

Nevertheless, in the margin of the same folio, Poliziano wrote: 'De insania Proetidum et Melampode [in Fastianis *del.*] 196) in Virgilio nostro' ('On the madness of the Proetides and on Melampus, see fol. 196 in our Virgil'; Fig. 2). Indeed, as Francesco Lo Monaco has already demonstrated, Poliziano usually does not recopy a passage of the *Library* that he has already written somewhere else in his notes (in particular in the *Commentary to Ovid's Fasti*).[38]

[33] Translation from Dyck and Cottrell 2020, 1.267.

[34] Observe that Pliny's 'vetustissimi codices', which Poliziano usually consulted, read 'Proecidas' (Florence, BR, 488) and 'Protidas' (Florence, BML, Plut. 82.1–2). See Viti 2012, 158–159 on Poliziano's use of these manuscripts.

[35] Translation from Dyck and Cottrell 2020, 1.269–271.

[36] See Daneloni 2011b.

[37] See section 6.1 below.

[38] Lo Monaco 1991, XXVII–XXIX. See Cattaneo 2022b as well.

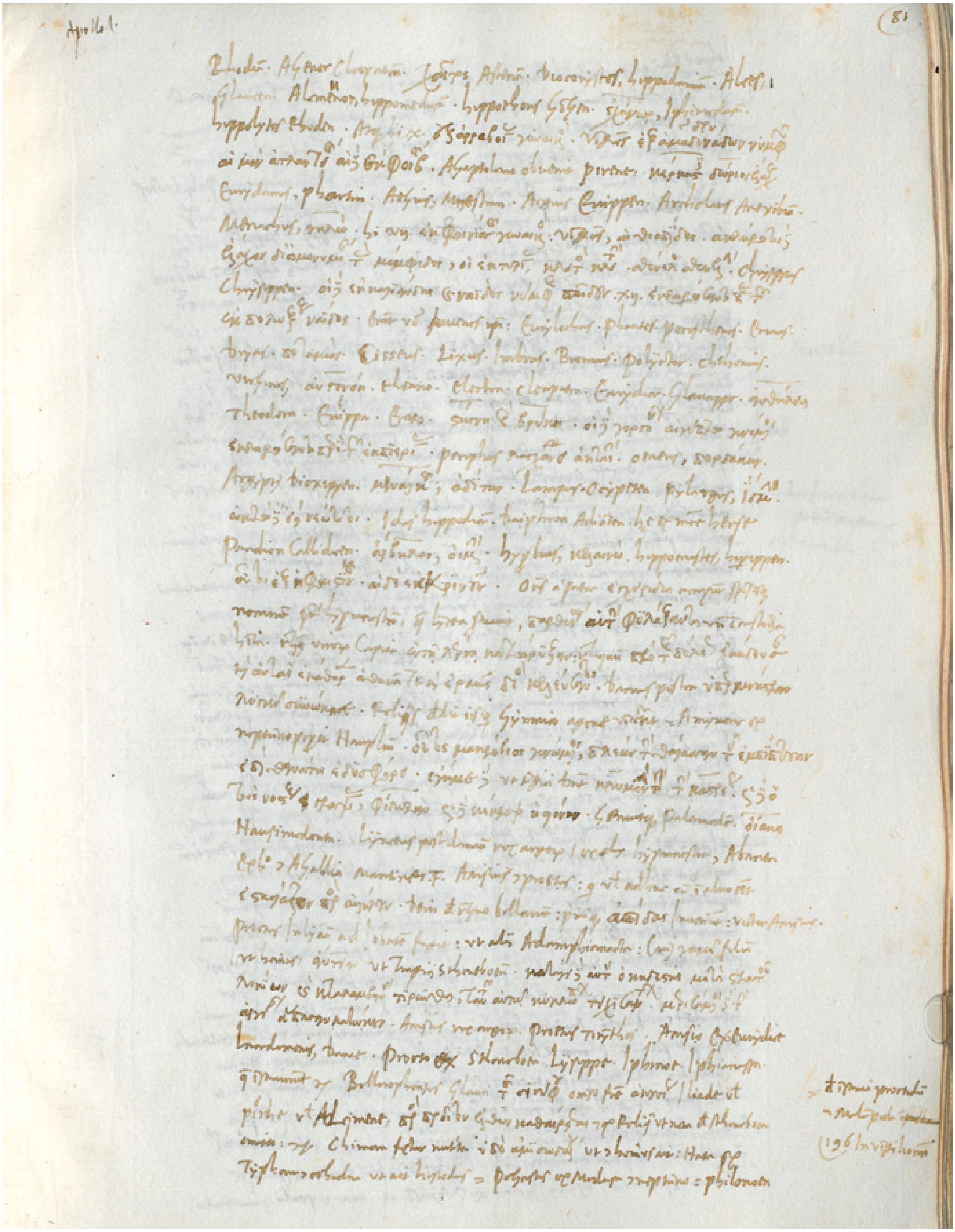


Fig. 2: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod.graec. 182, fol. 81r: Apollod. 2.26–29 and Poliziano's marginal note on the Proetides.

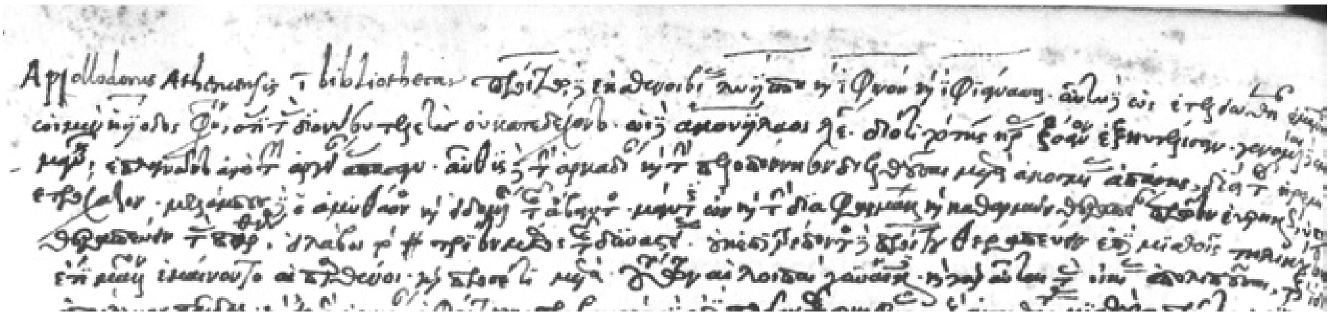


Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 196^{v}: Apollod. 2.26–29 in 'our Virgil'.

Since Poliziano says that the myth of the Proetides can be read on folio 196 of 'our Virgil', it means that he probably copied a collection of sources regarding the Proetides (or perhaps just Apollod. 2.26–29) on fol. 196 of a manuscript or a printed edition of Virgil's *opera* that he owned. Indeed, Virgil refers to this myth in *Eclogues*, 6.48:[39] 'Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros' ('The daughters of Proetus filled the fields with feigned lowings'[40]).

As Roberto Ricciardi has rightly pointed out, when Poliziano talks about 'our Virgil' in his autograph notes, he is referring to a specific incunable of Virgil, which he largely annotated in the 1470–80s and is now preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the shelf mark Paris, BnF, Rés g. Yc. 236.[41] It is an exemplar of Virgil's *opera omnia*, published in 1471 by the German printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz.[42]

In fol. 25^{v} (according to the number Poliziano wrote at the top of each folio), it reads *Eclogues*, 6.48[43] and in the margin Poliziano commented: 'Idem [i.e. Marcus Valerius Probus, who is mentioned in the previous note]: Proetides Preti filiae regis Argivorum. Hesiodus docet ex Preto et Sthenoboea Amphidamantis natas; has, quod Iunionis contempserant numen, insania exterritas quae crederent se boves factas, patriam Argos reliquisse, postea a Melampode, Amythaonis filio, sanatas [ita ait *del.*]' ('The same. Hesiod reports that they were born from Proetus and Stheneboea, Amphidamas's daughter. Because they had despised Hera's divinity, they became terrified by madness, thinking that they had become cows, and abandoned their homeland Argos; later they were healed by Melampus, Amythaon's son'[44]). This passage corresponds to Probus, *Commentary to Virgil's Eclogues*, 6.48, 345 Hagen.[45]

So there is no trace of Ps. Apollodorus. However, Poliziano wrote 'quaere (196' ('see folio 196') above 'Proetides'. The ink he used to write it is darker than what he used for Probus, *Commentary to Virgil's Eclogues*, 6.48, so it seems that these two notes were written at two different times. On fol. 196^{v}, which was originally blank, Poliziano copied Apollod. 2.26–29 (Fig. 3); it seems the passage was too long to be included on fol. 25^{v}, which was already full of notes, so Poliziano decided to use a blank folio at the end of the volume.

The text that he copied on fol. 196^{v} is quite relevant because, as I said before, the folio of Poliziano's antigraph, which contained Apollod. 2.21–75, is currently missing. Rés g. Yc. 236 can therefore be used to fill in the gaps currently in R.[46]

[39] On Poliziano's exegesis on the *Bucolics*, see Ricciardi 2021. On Poliziano's studies on Virgil, also see Ricciardi 1968, Gioseffi 1992, Ottaviano 2011 and Paolino 2016.

[40] Translation from Fairclough and Goold 1999, 65.

[41] For more on this incunable, see in particular Castano Musicò 1990, Ricciardi 2021 and Vespoli 2023.

[42] Vergilius, *Opera*, Rome: Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 1471 (ISTC iv00151400; USTC 990039).

[43] It is worth adding that in Poliziano's *Commentary to the Bucolics*, which is preserved in the *zibaldone* Munich, BSB, Clm 754, fols 169^{r}–217^{v} and is still unpublished, Verg. *Ecl.* 6.48 is not commented. In fact, in fol. 215^{v}, Poliziano first commented 'stupeat' (*Ecl.* 6.37) and after that he moved on to 'fultus' (*Ecl.* 6.53).

[44] Translation from Most 2018, 167.

[45] On Poliziano's studies on Ps. Probus' commentaries to Virgil, see in particular Gioseffi 1991, 280–299 and Gioseffi 1992

[46] See Wagner 1926, viii. I recently wrote an article on the contribution of Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 196^{v} to the *constitutio textus* of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* (Cattaneo 2022b).

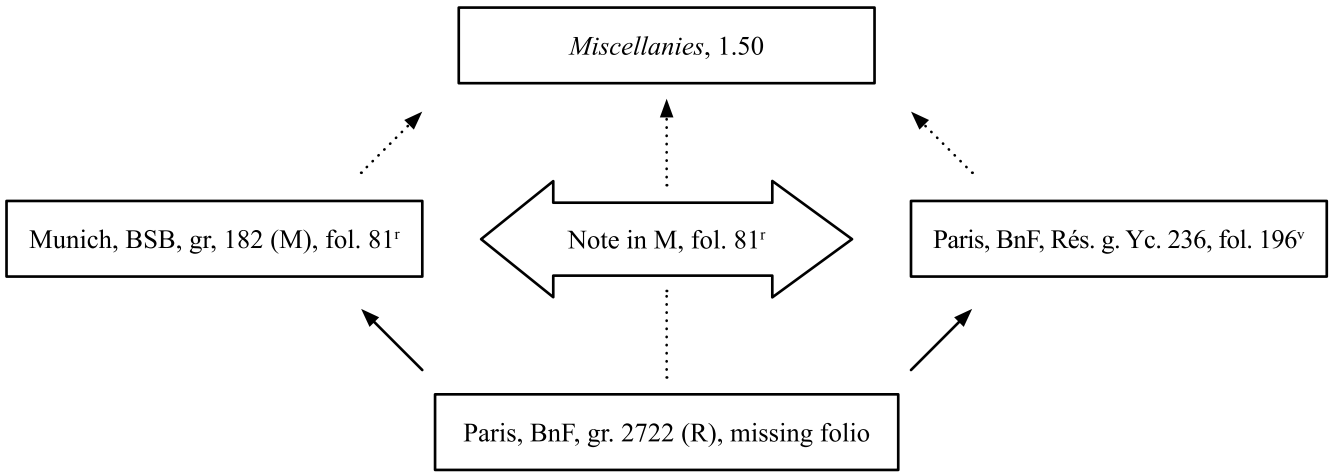


Fig. 4: Diagram of the sources.

5. Conclusion

Fig. 4 shows a hypothetic diagram of the sources of Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50. As said, we do not know the exact sources of Apollod. 2.26–29 in Poliziano, *Miscellanies*, 1.50, but we can try to establish a sort of hierarchy between the ones that we are aware of.

The starting point is represented by manuscript R, from which Poliziano copied Ps. Apollodorus' extract in Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 196^{v}. Since Poliziano did not have enough space to include it on fol. 25^{v}, he may have copied it on another folio, and he wrote 'quaere (196' over *Ecl*. 6.48. Later, when he decided to produce an anthology of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* in manuscript M, he did not copy the passages he had already transcribed elsewhere. Hence, he did not include Apollod. 2.26–29, but in the margin of fol. 81^{r}, he wrote 'De insania Proetidum et Melampode 196) in Virgilio nostro'; this note represents the link between all these documents.

It is impossible to establish what Poliziano actually did when he was composing *Miscellanies*, 1.50, of course. He could have directly used R or Rés g. Yc. 236 as his source or he could have consulted M and then Rés g. Yc. 236. In the diagram, I have expressed this uncertainty by three dashed lines, which connect R, M and Rés g. Yc. 236 with *Miscellanies*, 1.50.

We can see from this example that Poliziano's literary and philological activity produced a huge kind of 'multilayered artefact', where the addition of a new layer in a book is not only influenced by the pre-existing layers (Poliziano could not copy Apollod. 2.26–29 in Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 25^{v}, so he wrote it on fol. 196^{r} instead), but can also influence and be influenced by the layers of other books as well (Poliziano decided not to include Apollod. 2.26–29 in M because it was already included in Rés g. Yc. 236, but he indicated it in the margin of M on fol. 81^{r}).

6. Appendix: samples from Poliziano's autographs

6.1. Apollod. 2.24–29 (M, fol. 81r)

I shall present the edition of Apollod. 2.24–29 here as copied by Poliziano in M, followed by an English translation and a series of apparatuses. The apparatus at the end of the text is divided into several parts: an *apparatus fontium* (A[47]), an *apparatus criticus* (B) and a comparison between Poliziano's text and the apparatus of the current critical editions of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* (C).[48]

[24] Lynceus post Danaum rex Argorum ex Ypermnestra Abanta; ex hoc et Agallia Mantinei filia Acrisius et Proetus, qui vel adhuc cum in alvo essent ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Dein de regno bellaverunt, primique ἀσπίδας invenerunt. Victor Acrisius. **[25]** Proetus in Lyciam ad Iobatem fugit, ut alii, ad Amphianacta, cuius γαμεῖ filiam, ut Homerus, Ἄντειαν, ut tragici, Stheneboeam. Κατάγει δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ κηδεστὴς μετὰ στρατοῦ Λυκίων, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Τίρυνθα, ταύτην αὐτῷ Κυκλώπων τειχισάντων. Μερισάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἀργείαν ἅπασαν κατῴκουν: Acrisius rex Argorum, Proetus Tirynthos. **[26]** Acrisio ex Eurydice Lacedemonis Danae; Proeto ex Steneboea Lysippe, Iphinoe, Iphianassa, quae insanierunt.

[24] Lynceus was king of Argos after Danaus and had Abas by Hypermnestra; Acrisius and Proetus were born from him and Aglaia, daughter of Mantineus, and they quarrelled with one another even while they were still in the womb. Then they fought over the kingdom and became the first inventors of shields. Acrisius was the winner. **[25]** Proetus fled to the court of Iobates in Lycia, or according to some, the court of Amphianax: he married his daughter, whose name is Anteia according to Homer, or Stheneboea according to the tragic poets. His father-in-law, with an army of Lycians, restored Proetus to his kingdom, and he conquered Tiryns, which was fortified by the Cyclopes for him (Proetus). They divided the whole Argolid and made it their home: Acrisius became king of Argos, Proetos king of Tiryns. **[26-29]** Acrisius had Danae by Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon; Proetus had Lysippe, Iphinoe and Iphianassa, who went mad, by Stheneboea.

A 25 Homerus] Hom. *Il.* 6.160 tragici] *cf.* Eur. *TGrF* (40) iiic

B 24 *post ex del*. cly (?) **25** ex Stheneboea] ex *corr. ex* et **26-29** *in marg.* De insania Proetidum et Melampode 196) [in Fastianis *del.*] in Virgilio nostro

C 24 Ἀγλαΐας Commelinus : Ἀγαλλίας codd.; Agallia M **25** Τίρυνθος Wagner: Τίρυνθον codd.; Tirynthos M

6.2 Apollod. 2.26–29 (Rés. g. Yc. 236, fol. 196v)

Here I present the edition of Apollod. 2.26–29 copied by Poliziano in Rés. g. Yc. 236, fol. 196v, an English translation of the passage and the apparatuses. The first apparatus contains the sources cited in Apollod. 2.26–29, the second one reports the textual differences between this excerpt and the other manuscripts and editions of Ps. Apollodorus,[49] and the third one is the *apparatus criticus*.

Apollodorus Atheniensis in Bibliotheca: **[26]** Προίτῳ δὲ ἐκ Σθενεβοίας Λυσίππη καὶ Ἰφινόη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα. Αὖται δὲ ὡς ἐτελειώθησαν, ἐμάνησαν, ὡς μὲν Ἡσίοδός φησιν, ὅτι τὰς Διονύσου τελετὰς οὐ κατεδέχοντο, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, διότι τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον ἐξηυτέλισαν. **[27]** Γενόμεναι δὲ ἐμμανεῖς ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀργείαν ἅπασαν, αὖθις δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον διελθοῦσαι μετ' ἀκοσμίας ἁπάσης διὰ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐτρόχαζον. Μελάμπους δὲ ὁ Ἀμυθάονος καὶ Εἰδομένης τῆς Ἄβαντος, μάντις ὢν καὶ τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτον εὑρηκώς, ὑπισχνεῖται θεραπεύειν τὰς παρθένους, εἰ λάβοι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς δυναστείας. **[28]** Οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος δὲ Προίτου θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ μισθοῖς τηλικούτοις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμαίνοντο αἱ παρθένοι καὶ προσέτι μετὰ τούτων αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες· καὶ γὰρ αὗται τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολιποῦσαι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπώλλυον παῖδας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐφοίτων. Προβαινούσης δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς συμφορᾶς, τοὺς αἰτηθέντας μισθοὺς Προῖτος ἐδίδου. Ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο θεραπεύειν ὅταν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον

[47] I have used the following abbreviations in apparatus A: *FGrHist: Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, eds Felix Jacoby *et al*.; M.-W.: Fragmenta Hesiodea, eds Rainer Merkelbach and Martin West; *TGrF: Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, eds Bruno Snell, Stefan Radt and Richard Kannicht.

[48] To create apparatus C, I consulted the apparatuses of Wagner 1926, Scarpi 1997 and Papathomopoulos 2010. The *sigla* of the manuscripts correspond to M: Munich, BSB, gr. 182; O: Oxford, BL, Laud. 55. The scholars I cite there correspond to Aegius: Benedictus Aegius (ed.), *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliotheces, sive De deorum origine ... libri tres*, Rome: Antonio Blado, 1555 (USTC 809792); Commelinus: *Apollodori Atheniensis grammatici Bibliotheces, sive De deorum origine libri tres*, Antwerp: Hieronymus Commelinus, 1599 (USTC 612360); Heyne: Christian Gottlob Heyne (ed.), *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliothecae libri tres*, vols 1–2, Göttingen: Dieterich, 1782–1783; Papathomopoulos: Manolis Papathomopoulos (ed.), Απολλόδωρου Βιβλιοθήκη. *Apollodori Bibliotheca*, Athens: Aletheia, 2010; Wagner: Richard Wagner (ed.), Mythographi Graeci, vol. 1, *Apollodori Bibliotheca. Pediasimi libellus De duodecim Herculis laboribus*, 2nd edn, Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. The *siglum edd*. indicate the consensus of the modern editions by Wagner, Scarpi and Papathomopoulos.

[49] See the previous note on the sigla I used in this apparatus. 'Poliziano' corresponds to Rés. g. Yc. 236, fol. 196v here.

τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ λάβῃ Βίας. Προῖτος δὲ εὐλαβηθεὶς μὴ βραδυνούσης τῆς θεραπείας αἰτηθείη καὶ πλεῖον, θεραπεύειν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τούτοις. **[29]** Μελάμπους δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν νεανιῶν μετ' ἀλαγμοῦ καί τινος ἐνθέου χορείας ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν αὐτὰς εἰς Σικυῶνα συνεδίωξε. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν διωγμὸν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θυγατέρων Ἰφιόνη μετήλλαξεν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τυχούσαις καθαρμῶν σωφρονῆσαι συνέβη. Καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐξέδοτο Προῖτος Μελάμποδι καὶ Βίαντι, παῖδα δ' ὕστερον ἐγέννησε Μεγαπένθην.

Apollodorus of Athens in the *Library*: '**[26]** Proetus had three daughters, Lysippe, Iphinoe, and Iphianassa, by Stheneboea. When the daughters of Proetus were fully grown, they went mad, because, according to Hesiod, they refused to accept the rites of Dionysus, or, according to Acusilaus, because they had disparaged the wooden image of Hera. **[27]** In their madness, they wandered through the whole of the Argolid, and then, after passing through Arcadia and the Peloponnese, rushed through the desert in a state of complete abandon. Melampus, the son of Amythaon and Eidomene, daughter of Abas, who was a diviner and the first man to discover that illnesses could be cured by drugs and purifications, promised to cure the girls if he was given a third of the kingdom in return. **[28]** When Proetos refused to hand them over for treatment at such a high price, not only did the girls' madness grow worse, but the other women went mad [as well]; for they too deserted their houses, destroyed their own children, and wandered into the wilderness. The calamity had developed to such an extreme that Proetos now offered to pay the demanded fee; but Melampus [promised] to undertake the cure only if his brother Bias received a share of the land equal to his own. Fearing that if the cure were delayed, a still greater fee would be demanded of him, Proetos agreed to the cure on these terms. **[29]** So Melampus took the most vigorous of the young men, and with loud cries and ecstatic dancing, they chased the women out of the mountains and into Sicyon. During the pursuit, the eldest of Proetus' daughters, Iphinoe, met her death; but the other two were duly purified, and recovered their reason. Proetos gave his daughters in marriage to Melampus and Bias, and later became the father of a son, Megapenthes'.[50]

A 26 Ἡσίοδός φησιν] Hes. *fr*. 131 M.-W. ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει] Acusilaus *FGrHist* 2 F 28

B Apollodorus] Appolodorus *scr., sed secundum p del., ut vid.*

C 26 καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον O Poliziano : secl. edd.; serv. Papathomopoulos **27** πρῶτον O Poliziano : πρῶτος Aegius, edd. λάβοι τὸ Poliziano (τὸ post λάβοι τὸ del.), Heyne, edd. : λαβοίτο δὲ τὸ O **28** ἐπὶ πλεῖον Poliziano : ἐπὶ πλεῖστον O edd. Προῖτος ἐδίδου Poliziano : ὁ Προῖτος ἐδίδου O edd. **29** ἀλαγμοῦ O Poliziano : ἀλαλαγμοῦ Aegius, edd. πρεσβυτάτη Poliziano, Aegius, edd. : πρεσβύτη O Ἰφιόνη O Poliziano : Ἰφινόη Aegius, edd. Μελάμποδι καὶ Βίαντι] post καὶ del. Προίτῳ Poliziano

[50] Translation from Hard 1997, 63.

REFERENCES

Aegius, Benedictus (ed.) (1555), *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliotheces, sive De deorum origine ... libri tres*, Rome: Antonio Blado (USTC 809792).

Angeleri, Carlo (ed.) (1955), *Pietro Crinito. De honesta disciplina*, Rome: Bocca.

Arnold, Erwin (1994), 'Angelo Poliziano und sein Nachlaß in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek', *Bibliotheksforum Bayern*, 22/1–2: 96–117.

Bigi, Emilio (1960), 'Ambrogini, Angelo, detto il Poliziano', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 2, Rome: Istituto dell'enciclopedia italiana, 691–702.

Campanelli, Maurizio (2014), 'Languages', in Michael Wyatt (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 139–163.

Castano Musicò, Livia (ed.) (1990), *Angelo Poliziano. Commento inedito alle Georgiche di Virgilio* (INSR. Studi e testi, 18), Florence: Olschki.

Cattaneo, Gianmario (2022a), 'Angelo Poliziano, Pietro Crinito e il Mon. gr. 182: differenti fasi e usi di uno zibaldone greco polizianeo', *Archivum mentis*, 11: 33–62.

——— (2022b), 'Un inedito *excerptum* manoscritto della *Biblioteca* pseudoapollodorea', *Prometheus*, 48: 79–85.

Cesarini Martinelli, Lucia (ed.) (1978), *Angelo Poliziano. Commento inedito alle Selve di Stazio* (INSR. Studi e testi, 5), Florence: Sansoni.

——— (1996), 'Poliziano professore allo Studio fiorentino', in *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Politica economia cultura arte*, vol. 2, Pisa: Pacini, 463–481.

——— and Roberto Ricciardi (eds) (1985), *Angelo Poliziano. Commento inedito alle Satire di Persio* (INSR. Studi e testi, 11), Florence: Olschki.

Cortesi, Mariarosa and Silvia Fiaschi (2012), 'Aggregare le parti: Note, letture e documenti nella miscellanea umanistica', *Filologia mediolatina*, 19: 193–245.

Curti, Elisa (2017), 'Poliziano priore della chiesa di San Paolo: un contratto inedito', *Interpres*, 35: 284–292.

Daneloni, Alessandro (2011a), 'Eschilo e la tradizione eschilea nel laboratorio filologico di Angelo Poliziano', *Ítaca*, 27: 81–101.

——— (2011b), 'Itinerari filologici del Poliziano tra le carte del Par. gr. 3069', *Eikasmòs*, 22: 409–434.

Degni, Paola (2008), 'I manoscritti dello "scriptorium" di Gioannicio', *Segno e testo*, 6: 179–248.

Diller, Aubrey (1935), 'The Text History of the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 66: 296–313.

——— (1938), 'A New Source for the Text of Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*', *Classical Philology*, 33: 209.

Dyck, Andrew R. and Alan Cottrell (eds) (2020), *Angelo Poliziano. Miscellanies*, vols 1–2 (The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 89–90), Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Fairclough, H. Rushton and G.P. Goold (eds) (1999), *Virgil*, vol. 1, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid, I–VI* (Loeb Classical Library), 3rd edn, Cambridge (MA)/London: Harvard University Press [1st edn: 1916; 2nd edn: 1932].

Fera, Vincenzo (ed.) (1983), *Una ignota* Expositio Suetoni *del Poliziano* (Studi e testi, 1), Messina: Centro di studi umanistici.

——— (1995), 'Un laboratorio filologico di fine Quattrocento: la *Naturalis historia*', in Oronzo Pecere and Michael D. Reeve (eds), *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Spoleto: CISAM, 442–466.

——— (1996), 'Poliziano, Ermolao Barbaro e Plinio', in Michela Marangoni and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (eds), *Una famiglia veneziana nella storia: i Barbaro*, Venice: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 193–234.

——— (1998), 'Il dibattito umanistico sui *Miscellanea*', in Vincenzo Fera and Mario Martelli (eds), *Agnolo Poliziano: poeta, scrittore, filologo*, Florence: Le Lettere, 333–364.

Fiaschi, Silvia (2016), 'Traduzioni dal greco nei *Miscellanea*: percorsi di riflessione', in Paolo Viti (ed.), *Cultura e filologia di Angelo Poliziano: traduzioni e commenti* (Edizione nazionale delle opere di Angelo Poliziano. Strumenti, 6), Florence: Olschki, 33–50.

Fornaro, Sotera (2017), 'The Apollodorus of Christian Gottlob Heyne', in Jordi Pàmias (ed.), *Apollodoriana. Ancient Myths, New Crossroads* (Sozomena, 16), Leiden/Boston: Brill, 217–226.

Galand-Hallyn, Perrine (1997), 'Politien (Ange) (1454–1494)', in Colette Nativel (ed.), *Centuriae Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 314), Geneva: Droz, 623–628.

Gardenal, Gianna (1975), *Il Poliziano e Svetonio. Contributo alla storia della filologia umanistica* (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Padova, 53), Florence: Olschki.

Gioseffi, Massimo (1991), *Studi sul commento a Virgilio dello Pseudo-Probo* (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Milano, 143), Florence: La Nuova Italia.

——— (1992), 'Angelo Poliziano e le postille pseudo-probiane a Virgilio', *Rendiconti dell'Istituto lombardo*, 126: 65–86.

Grafton, Anthony (1977), 'On the Scholarship of Politian and Its Context', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 40: 150–188.

Guida, Augusto (2018), 'Plinio il Vecchio, un postillato polizianeo e un progetto per Winckelmann', *Prometheus*, 44: 280–293.

Hajdú, Kerstin (2002), *Die Sammlung griechischer Handschriften in der Münchener Hofbibliothek bis zum Jahr 1803*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

——— (ed.) (2012), *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 4, *Codices graeci Monacenses 181–265*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hard, Robin (ed.) (1997), *Apollodorus. The Library of Greek Mythology* (Oxford World's Classics), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hardt, Ignaz (1806), *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavariae. Codices Graeci*, vol. 2, Munich: Seidel.

Heyne, Christian Gottlob (ed.) (1782), *Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliothecae libri tres*, vol. 1, Göttingen: Dieterich.

Huys, Marc (1997), '125 Years of Scholarship on Apollodoros the Mythographer: A Bibliographical Survey', *L'antiquité classique*, 66: 319–351.

Lattanzi Roselli, Rosetta (ed.) (1973), *Angelo Poliziano. La commedia antica e l'Andria di Terenzio* (INSR. Studi e testi, 3), Florence: Olschki.

Lazzeri, Elisabetta (ed.) (1971), *Angelo Poliziano. Commento inedito all'epistola ovidiana di Saffo a Faone* (INSR. Studi e testi, 2), Florence: Olschki.

Lo Monaco, Francesco (1989), 'On the Prehistory of Politian's *Miscellaneorum centuria secunda*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 52: 52–70.

——— (ed.) (1991), *Angelo Poliziano. Commento inedito ai Fasti di Ovidio* (INSR. Studi e testi, 23), Florence: Olschki.

Maïer, Ida (1965), *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 70), Geneva: Droz.

——— (1966), *Ange Politien: La formation d'un poète humaniste*, 1469–1480 (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 81), Geneva: Droz.

Mandosio, Jean-Marc (2008), 'Un enseignement novateur: les cours d'Ange Politien à l'université de Florence (1480–1494)', *Histoire de l'éducation*, 120: 33–52.

Marchiaro, Michaelangiola (2013a), *La biblioteca di Pietro Crinito. Manoscritti e libri a stampa della raccolta libraria di un umanista fiorentino* (Textes et études du Moyen âge, 67), Turnhout: Brepols.

——— (2013b), 'Pietro Crinito (Pietro Del Riccio Baldi)', in Francesco Bausi, Maurizio Campanelli, Sebastiano Gentile, James Hankins and Teresa De Robertis (eds), *Autografi dei letterati italiani. Il Quattrocento*, Rome: Salerno Editrice, 123–137.

Martelli, Mario (1978), 'Il libro delle epistole di Angelo Poliziano', *Interpres*, 1: 184–255.

Mayhoff, Karl (ed.) (1897), *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, vol. 4, Libri *XXIII–XXX* (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), Leipzig: Teubner.

Meliadò, Claudio (2011), 'Review of Papathomopoulos 2010', *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, 2011.08.53 <https://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2011/2011.08.53/> (accessed on 9 March 2023).

Mouren, Raphaële (2010), 'Quatre siècles d'histoire de la bibliothèque Vettori: entre vénération et valorisation', in Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (eds), *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 241–267.

Most, Glenn W. (ed.) (2018), *Hesiod. The Shield. Catalogue of the Women. Other Fragments* (Loeb Classical Library), 2nd edn, Cambridge (MA)/London: Harvard University Press [1st edn: 2007].

Orvieto, Paolo (2009), *Poliziano e l'ambiente mediceo*, Rome: Salerno Editrice.

Ottaviano, Silvia (2011), 'Servius chez Ange Politien', in Bruno Méniel, Monique Bouquet and Giuseppe Ramires (eds), *Servius et sa réception de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 507–537.

Paolino, Carmen (2016), 'Le *recollectae* del corso di Poliziano sulle Georgiche', in Paolo Viti (ed.), *Cultura e filologia di Angelo Poliziano: traduzioni e commenti* (Edizione nazionale delle opere di Angelo Poliziano. Strumenti, 6), Florence: Olschki, 177–186.

Papathomopoulos, Manolis (1973), 'Pour une nouvelle édition de la *Bibliothèque* d'Apollodore', *Hellenika*, 26: 18–40.

——— (ed.) (2010), Απολλόδωρου Βιβλιοθήκη. *Apollodori Bibliotheca* (Λόγος Ελληνικός, 4)¸ Athens: Aletheia.

Pastore Stocchi, Manlio (1983), 'II commento del Poliziano al carme *De rosis', in Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, vol. 3, *Umanesimo e rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia* (Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum, 180), Florence: Olschki, 397–421.

Pierini, Ilaria (2017), 'Orazio nel *De honesta disciplina* di Pietro Crinito', *Interpres*, 35: 157–227.

Refe, Laura (2015), 'Poliziano e allievi: scambi di appunti e di libri tra amici accademici', in Thomas Baier, Tobias Dänzer and Ferdinand Stürner (eds), *Angelo Poliziano. Dichter und Gelehrter* (NeoLatina, 24), Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 219–242.

——— (2016), 'Reconstruir una escuela humanista de finales del siglo XV: Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) profesor en Florencia y sus discípulos', *Eadem utraque Europa*, 17: 73–108.

Ricciardi, Roberto (1968), 'Angelo Poliziano, Giuniano Maio, Antonio Calcillo', *Rinascimento*, s. 2, 8: 277–309.

——— (1990), 'Del Riccio Baldi, Pietro', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 28, Rome: Istituto dell'enciclopedia italiana, 265–268.

——— (2021), 'Les *Curae virgilianae* d'Ange Politien', in Émilie Séris and Paolo Viti (eds), *Politien, humaniste aux sources de la modernité* (Encounters, 519), Paris: Garnier, 103–139.

Rizzo, Silvia (1973), *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti* (Sussidi eruditi, 26), Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.

Sanchi, Luigi-Alberto (2014), 'Per la ricezione di Poliziano in Francia: spunti dall'opera erudita di Guillaume Budé', *Archivum mentis*, 3: 233–246.

Scarpi, Paolo (ed.) (1997), *Apollodoro. I miti greci* (Scrittori greci e latini), Milan/Rome: Mondadori/Fondazione Lorenzo Valla.

Silvano, Luigi (2005), 'Estratti dal *Commento all'Odissea* di Eustazio di Tessalonica in due zibaldoni autografi di Angelo Poliziano (mss. Mon. gr. 182 e Par. gr. 3069)', in Rosa Maria Piccione and Matthias Perkams (eds), *Selecta colligere II* (Hellenica, 18), Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 403–433.

——— (ed.) (2019), *Angelo Poliziano. Appunti per un corso sull'Odissea. Editio princeps dal Par. gr. 3069* (Hellenica, 82), 2nd edn, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso [1st edn: 2010].

Torello-Hill, Giulia (2017), 'Angelo Poliziano's *De poesi et poetis* (BNCF Naz. II.I.99) and the Development of Ancient Dramatic Criticism', *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, 20: 105–126.

Vespoli, Lorenzo (2021), 'Plin. *HN* 28.25: storia di un restauro di Angelo Poliziano (*Misc*. 1.32)', *L'Antiquité Classique*, 90: 167–181.

——— (2023), 'Angelo Poliziano, i classici e la botanica tra le postille inedite alle *Bucoliche* di Virgilio. Un caso di studio: *Sardoniis herbis* in Verg. *ecl*. VII 41', in Clara Fossati (ed.), *Medicina e letteratura fra Medioevo ed Età Moderna* (Pubblicazioni del D.AR.FI.CL.ET., 261), Milan: Ledizioni, 80–101.

Viti, Paolo (2012), 'Poliziano e Plinio. Il cap. 61 della I centuria dei *Miscellanea*', in Vanna Maraglino (ed.), *La Naturalis* Historia *di Plin*io *nella tradizione medievale e umanistica* (Biblioteca della tradizione classica, 5), Bari: Cacucci, 153–169.

Wagner, Richard (ed.) (1926), *Mythographi Graeci*, vol. 1, *Apollodori Bibliotheca. Pediasimi libellus De duodecim Herculis laboribus* (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana), 2nd edn, Leipzig: Teubner [1st edn: 1894].

Wilson, Nigel G. (1983), 'A Mysterious Byzantine Scriptorium. Joannikios and his Colleagues', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 7: 161–176.

PICTURE CREDITS

Figs 1 and 3: Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Fig. 2: Munich, Bavarian State Library, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 Deed.

Fig. 4: The author.

Article

Layers of Writing in Bimaterial Genres: The Relationship between Handwriting and Print in Early Modern Calendrical Diaries

Rebecca Hirt | Heidelberg

Introduction

If one is looking for multilayered written artefacts, it makes sense to search in the printing age in which the transition from handwriting to print took place. With the invention of printing with movable type in the fifteenth century, book production in Europe generally shifted from handwriting to print.[1] Manuscripts were not completely displaced from book production, however: even in the sixteenth century, handwritten and printed books were still competing with each other and numerous mixed forms emerged that were characterised by the simultaneous presence of handwriting and print, which differed from case to case.[2] If handwriting persists, it must be ascribed a certain value or function that cannot be taken over by printed books. Holger Flachmann speaks of a 'functional differentiation' between handwriting and typography: while printing allows texts to be produced and distributed relatively quickly, cheaply, uniformly and in large numbers, handwriting is spontaneous and available immediately, individually and constructively.[3] This functional difference between handwriting and print was taken up and made fruitful in the book production of the sixteenth century: certain types of written artefacts emerged in which handwriting and print were deliberately combined.[4] In printed forms and *alba amicorum*, for example, handwritten entries were anticipated and calculated by means of a pre-printed frame. In these written artefacts, printed and handwritten layers come together and interact with each other, thus producing a bimaterial result. In this paper, I will focus on one particular bimaterial, multilayered written artefact: the calendrical diary.

Calendars have been a constant in printers' programmes ever since the beginning of letterpress printing and were initially in the form of perpetual calendars printed as single sheets. As the word 'perpetual' suggests, these were not bound to a single year, but were valid over time. It was only in the course of the sixteenth century that annual calendars came into being, which were only valid for a specific year.[5] To begin with, these were printed quarto books in which astronomical and astrological information was provided for each day, such as the corresponding moon phase or respective zodiac sign. Medical advice is given, depending on the astronomical situation: important days for bloodletting, purging or cupping are indicated, for example.[6] It can be observed that the owners of such calendars began to make handwritten entries in them in the sixteenth century using the empty margins or spaces between the lines.[7] There seems to have been a fundamental need to write about one's own life or experiences in a calendar. Calendar makers quickly responded to this by giving users extra writing space for handwritten entries. The calendrical diary was thus invented. This happened in 1539.[8]

Calendrical diaries consist of a calendar of the twelve months, with each calendar page facing a page intended for handwritten entries. In the calendar, important astronomical, medical and everyday knowledge from the fields of botany, agriculture, housekeeping and contemporary history was collected on the

[1] Brandis 1995, 55.

[2] Cf. Heinzer 2003 and Rautenberg 2003.

[3] Flachmann 2003, 138: 'Mit der Typographie ließen sich oft nachgefragte Texte […] relativ schnell, kostengünstig, gleichförmig sowie in großen Stückzahlen herstellen und verbreiten. Die Handschrift war hierdurch für Luther ganz selbstverständlich von der Bürde entlastet, Öffentlichkeit herstellen und die literarische Überlieferung bewahren zu müssen. An ihr schätzte er, daß sie Schrift unmittelbar, individuell und konstruktiv zur Verfügung stellte'.

[4] Cf. Heinzer 2003 and Rautenberg 2003.

[5] Tersch 2008, 19–21.

[6] Poggel 2013, 29.

[7] Tersch 2008, 11.

[8] Herbst 2020, 20.

printed page and ordered using a calendrical principle.[9] At the same time, however, spaces for writing are explicitly marked which anticipated written entries and calculated the maximum amount of handwriting that could be added. By marking extra writing spaces by means of the print or providing additional blank pages, calendar users were explicitly invited to record their own experiences and thoughts in handwriting. Through these demarcated writing spaces, the calendar is characterised by a specific affordance through which the two layers of print and anticipated handwriting are potentially interweavable.

The concept of affordance originates in perceptual psychology and is described by James J. Gibson as 'what things furnish [the observer], for good or ill'.[10] The environment is understood as acting, offering the observer various possibilities of use. Transferring this concept to artefacts, the affordance of an object is understood as the possibilities of use given by the physical properties of an object.[11] While the concept of affordance describes a whole range of possible uses, there is also usually a specific intended use of an artefact. 'Fittingness' describes the meaning and function of an artefact that seem most appropriate for a particular purpose.[12] In this way, it is possible to distinguish between the intended use of an artefact and the total range of possible uses. To some extent, the concept of fittingness implies a claim to authority: through its materiality, the object dictates how it should be used. The calendrical diary anticipates handwriting through the printed frame and thus, in a sense, also demands it. The fittingness of the calendrical diary dictates the following use: the writer should refer to the printed text in terms of form (e.g. layout) as well as content. That is, he or she is supposed to write down on the corresponding date what he or she experienced on that day. The printed material specifies the layout and content of the handwritten text to a certain extent:

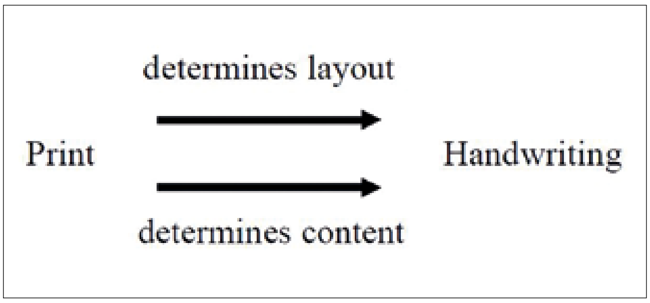


Fig. 1: Fittingness of a calendrical diary.

Thus, the printed layer has authority. The intended hierarchy gap is clear: print dictates, handwriting complies.

Analysing various entries in calendrical diaries with regard to the relationship between handwriting and print reveals that the hierarchical relationship that is initially assumed to exist often is not realised. Writers deal with the affordance of calendrical diaries in many different ways: they do not always stick to the printed frame provided, instead opting to write in the margins, mark or annotate the printed text or design their own handwriting layouts. The handwriting can thus detach itself from the given printed frame in terms of form and/or content.

The fittingness of the calendrical diary can be undermined due to the specific characteristics of print and handwriting. Print is predetermined, e.g. primary and fixed or unchangeable. Handwriting, on the other hand, is secondary and flexible. It can conform to the fittingness of the calendar and adapt to the layout, or it can become independent (at least up to a certain point). Thus, an interrelationship between print and handwriting emerges that is specific to the materiality of the calendrical diary as an example of a bimaterial text. Greatly simplified, this can be depicted as follows:

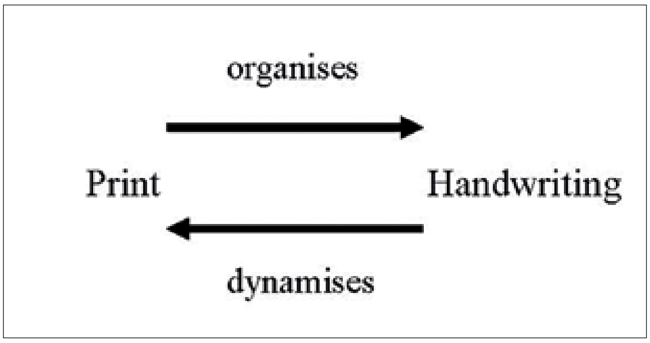


Fig. 2: Depiction of the interrelationship between handwriting and print in calendrical diaries.

[9] Matthäus 1967, 1007–1113.

[10] Gibson 1966, 285.

[11] Fox, Panagiotopoulos and Tsouparopoulou 2015, 66–67.

[12] Fox, Panagiotopoulos and Tsouparopoulou 2015, 68–69.

The printed material and text (potentially) organise the handwriting qua their layout affordances and content offerings; the printed text is predetermined, supra-individual and the primary layer of a calendar, as it were. The handwriting, in contrast, can dynamise the printed text because it is individual and flexible. In this context, dynamisation means that the handwriting can in fact alter the initial seemingly fixed state of the printed text through edits, for example. Still, the printed text is primary because it already exists at the moment of writing. As the handwritten layer is added afterwards, it is secondary and can therefore interact with the printed text.

The question now arises as to how the interrelationship between handwriting and print functions in a calendrical diary: how exactly do handwriting and print interact? To answer this question in a more differentiated way, I would like to present a categorisation proposal that examines different forms of interaction between handwriting and print. To do this, I shall analyse whether in each case the handwritten layer is bound to the printed layer in terms of form and content, e.g. whether the printed material is actually the authoritative layer or whether the handwriting liberates itself from it. I roughly distinguish between three types of interrelation.

First type of interrelation: organisation of handwriting by print

In the first type, print organises handwriting. It provides the framework in which the individual handwritten entries can be inserted by virtue of its layout and content, as Fig. 3 shows.

To a certain extent, this is the intended ideal case: the handwritten entries fit into the designated print layout. A short entry is added to the respective date at the same height, resulting in a list-like entry layout.[13] The content of the entry is also based on the printed material: the writer notes down what he did on the respective date. In this example, the writer notes when he performed which church consecration. Here the fittingness of the calendrical diary is completely fulfilled. Print organises handwriting or handwriting is bound to print in form as well as content, which means that the printed layer is superior to the handwritten layer.

Second type of interrelation: detachment of handwriting from print

The second type of interrelation between handwriting and print shows how handwriting detaches itself from print to a certain extent. The detachment can be observed both formally, when the handwriting creates its own layout, and in terms of content, when the content of the handwritten entries distances itself from the content of the print. It is difficult to draw a firm line between these two circumstances, as content and layout are often inseparable. For this reason, layout and content must be considered together and each individual case must be carefully examined regarding the extent to which handwriting relates to or detaches itself from print in terms of form and content. It turns out that there are different possibilities or degrees of detachment.

As already explained, the relationship between handwriting and print in the calendrical diary can be described as an interrelationship in which print takes over the organisational function and handwriting has dynamising tendencies. This reciprocal relationship is not stable, however, but rather can be broken up. The handwriting itself can take over the organisational function by creating its own layout. In these cases, the calendar writer does not adhere to the intended list-like entry layout. Thus, the fittingness of the printed material is not fulfilled. Instead, a separate entry layout is designed, for example by using dashes or curly brackets for separating sections corresponding to specific periods of time (Fig. 4). In these cases, the writer works with the printed template, but the driving organisational force comes from the handwriting, which creatively makes its own division of time. The handwriting thus individualises and modifies what the printed text offers. In terms of content, it remains bound to the printed text; after all, what happened on the respective days is also reported here, but in a summary way. The hierarchical relationship is partially broken: the handwriting is still partially determined by the printed text in terms of content, but formally frees itself from it and takes over the organisation itself.

[13] Brockstieger 2021, 571.

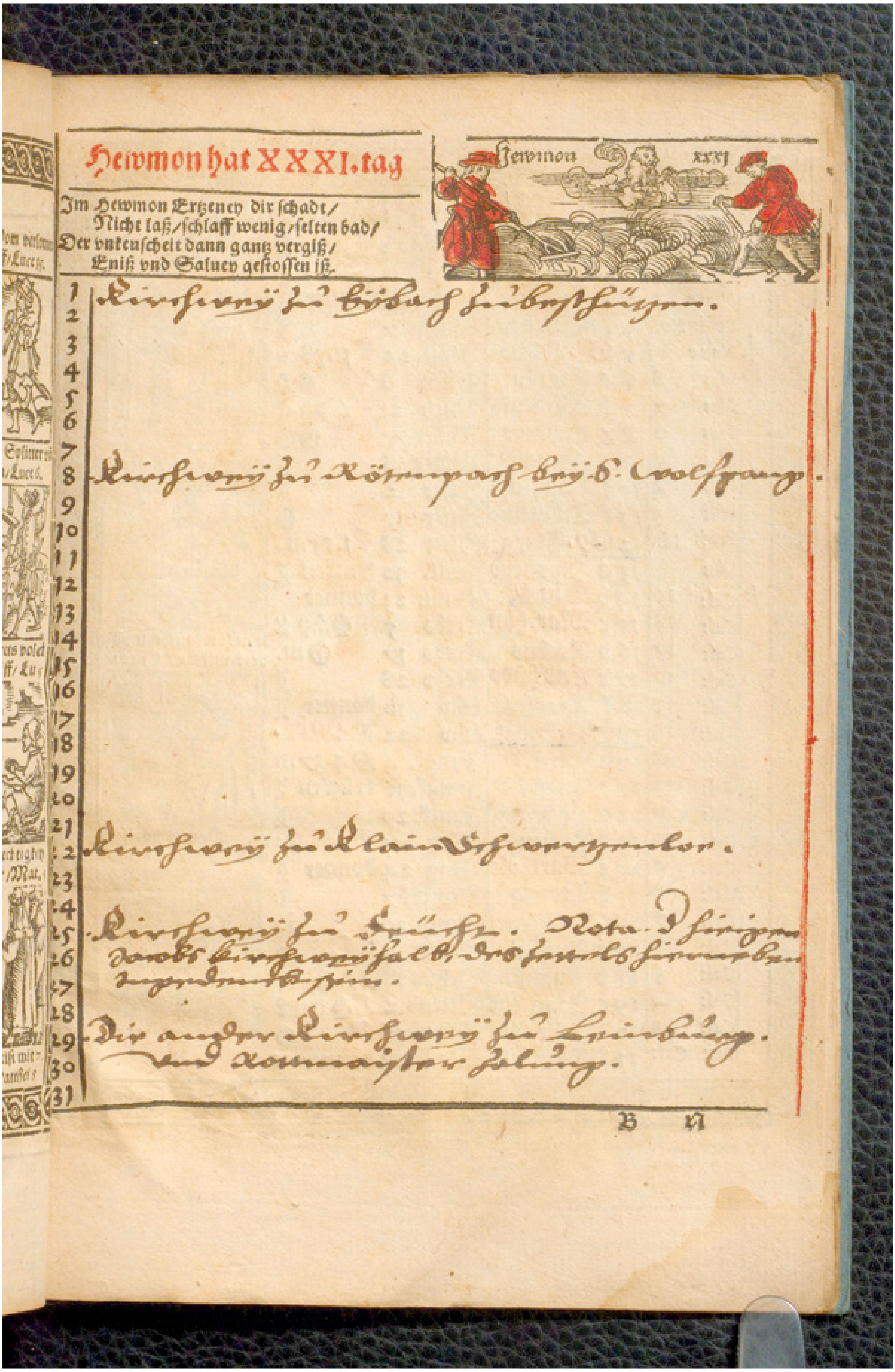


Fig. 3: How a printed layout frames handwritten entries in a calendar. *Schreybkalender auff das 1571*. Jar [. . .], fol. B$_1^r$.

There are other instances in which the autonomy of handwriting is expressed in its layout. Instead of writing in the designated writing field, the handwriting can engage with the printed text, i.e. the calendar page. The writer refers to the content of the printed text, but not in the intended way. Since handwriting is secondary to the printed text and thus flexible, it can edit, supplement or correct already existing texts. There are numerous cases in which calendar writers have added handwriting to the printed text to comment on the knowledge provided. In the *Allmanach vnd schreibkalender auff das Jar 1578*, for example (Fig. 5), the German word 'not' (Engl.: 'distress') has been underlined in the calendar text and annotated with the word 'ego'.

The general information in the printed text is related to the calendar writer himself through this annotation, or rather he places himself within this knowledge of the world.[14] In the same calendar, the general knowledge – in this case the weather forecast 'feucht sturmwindt regen' (Engl.: 'damp stormy wind and rain') – is supplemented by the comment 'Es war gar greulich wetter' (Engl.: 'it was horrible weather') and thus related to the personal life of the individual.[15] Elsewhere in the same calendar, the writer no longer refers to the information, but only to the date: he (or she) notes that on this day, 21 November, he used the new bathroom for the first time.[16] This event from the writer's own life is put on a level with important historical events listed in the printed text, such as Pope Clement I's memorial day. An individual's life is thereby linked to overarching contemporary history. It becomes clear that the handwriting engages with the printed material in these cases to relate directly to the content of the text. The knowledge in the printed text is individualised, i.e. related to one's own life, but the information is also affirmed or criticised. The framework of objective knowledge is tested in light of one's own life.

In cases like these, the writers refer to the content of the printed text, but formally they distance themselves from the fittingness of the calendrical diary. However, even if the fittingness of the print is undermined, it can still influence the handwriting formally. This is shown by a handwritten entry in the *New vnd Alter Schreib Kalender/Auffs Jahr 1612* (Fig. 6), for example. In this calendar, the writer does use the designated writing space for his notes, but not according to the fittingness; instead of noting in list form what happened in October 1612, the writer provides a calculation or an overview of purchased bricks. Underneath that, he notes that he needs the bricks for the renovation of his house: The handwriting is detached from the printed text in terms of its content. The entry does not refer to the month, but rather contains an overview for the year. There is an autobiographical reference in the explanation below that the calendar writer had inherited the house from his grandfather. Now, the question arises regarding the extent to which the handwriting is formally bound to the printed material. The fittingness here is not fulfilled in formal terms, as the writer does not adhere to the predefined layout of entries in a list. However, striking similarities can be observed between the printed layout and the handwriting. On the left of the calendar, there are three columns containing information on the name day, astronomical peculiarities and Bible chapters to be read. On the right, the calendar writer also sets out an overview arranged in three columns. It seems as if the person is imitating the printed layout of the calendar page – 'imitation' here is not to be understood in the sense of an intentional act, but rather as a determination of structural similarity from our perspective as observers. Cases like this, i.e. tabular documentation of administrative processes juxtaposed with the tabular organisation of time, are common in calendars.[17] Despite its autonomy in terms of content, the handwriting seems to be formally oriented towards the organisation of the printed material. In a sense, the print makes an 'offer' about how to organise information. Because of its flexibility, handwriting can orientate itself towards this model and thus remains indirectly connected to print. It is difficult to determine which force is greater – the momentum of the handwriting or the organisational force of the printed material. In any case, there is no clear hierarchy. Instead, this example and the other instances of the second type show that handwriting can become independent to varying degrees in terms of form and content, and that the printed material has different degrees of influence on the handwriting. It is striking that formal and content-related independence seem to be connected: the freer or more unbound the content of the handwriting is, the more unbound the layout becomes. If what has happened is to be noted for each day, then a list-like layout is used. Personal organisation with dashes or curly brackets is used when events are reported in a more summarised way. Annotations and colour interventions in the printed text are generally used for discussion and reflection on the printed objective knowledge.

[14] Brockstieger 2021, 571.

[15] Nuremberg, GNM, 8º Nw2407 [1578], Merkel D 4036a, fol. C2ᵛ.

[16] Nuremberg, GNM, 8º Nw2407 [1578], Merkel D 4036a, fol. F2ᵛ.

[17] Cf. Brockstieger 2021, 571.

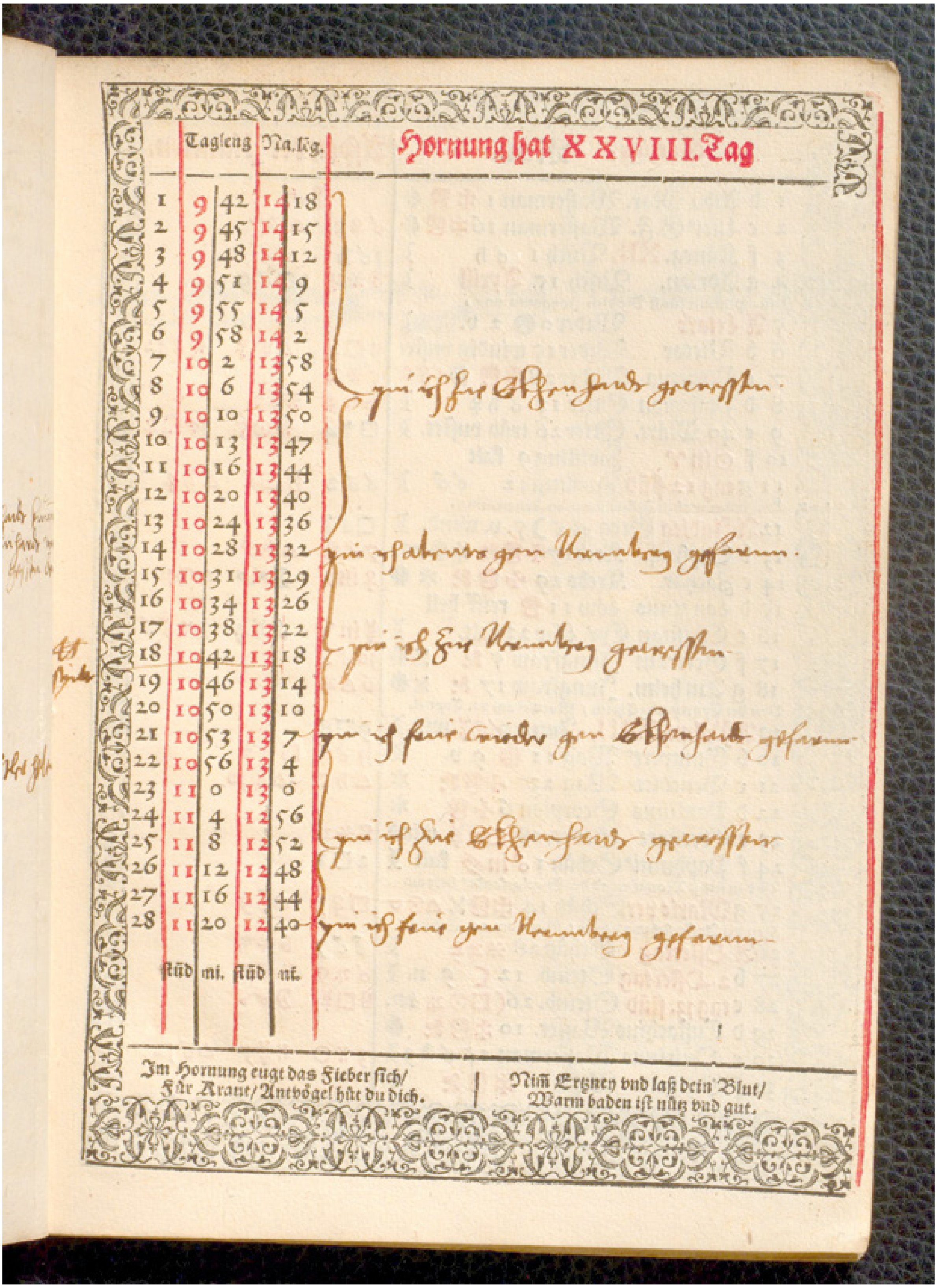


Fig. 4: Use of brackets to separate sections corresponding to specific periods. *Schreibkalender* [. . .] *Auff das Jar 1581* [. . .], fol. A3ʳ.

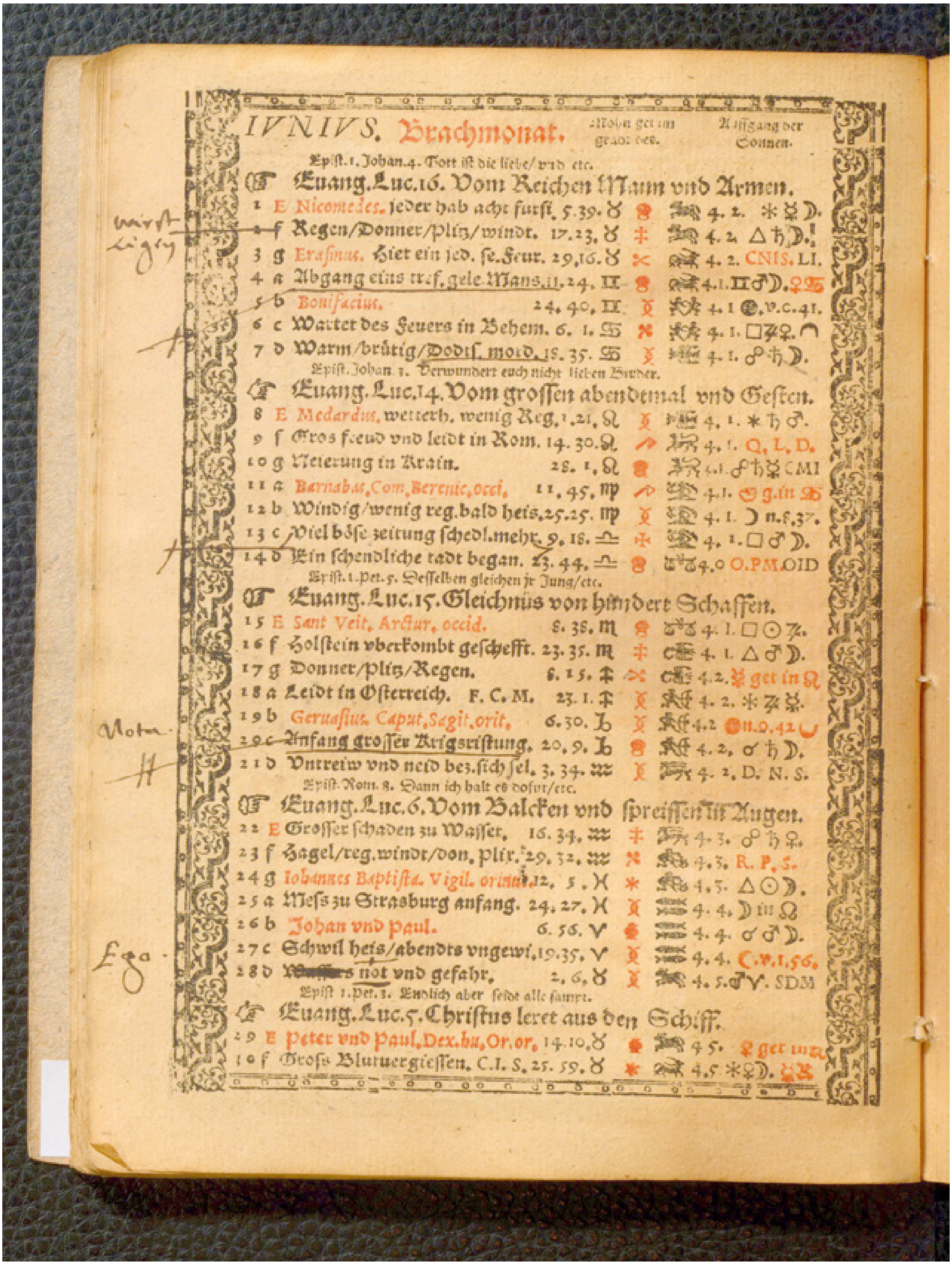

IVNIVS. Brachmonat.
Epist. 1. Johan. 4. Gott ist die liebe/ vnd etc.
Euang. Luc. 16. Vom Reichen Mann vnd Armen.
1 E Nicomedes. jeder hab acht fürst.
2 f Regen/Donner/plitz/windt.
3 g Erasmus. Hiet ein jed. fe. Feur.
4 a Abgang eins tref. gele. Mans.
5 b Bonifacius.
6 c Wetter des Feuers in Behem.
7 d Warm/brütig/Dodist. mord.
Epist. Johan. 3. Verwundert euch nicht lieben Brüder.
Euang. Luc. 14. Vom grossen abendtmal vnd Gesten.
8 E Medardus. wetterh. wenig Reg.
9 f Gros freud vnd leidt in Rom.
10 g Neierung in Krain.
11 a Barnabas. Com. Berenic. occi.
12 b Windig/wenig reg. bald heis.
13 c Viel böse zeitung schedl. mehr.
14 d Ein schendliche tadt began.
Epist. 1. Pet. 5. Desselben gleichen jr Jung/etc.
Euang. Luc. 15. Gleichnüs von hundert Schaffen.
15 E Sant Veit. Arctur. occid.
16 f Holstein vberkombt geschefft.
17 g Donner/plitz/Regen.
18 a Leidt in Osterreich.
19 b Geruasius. Caput. Sagit. orit.
20 c Anfang grosser Krigsrüstung.
21 d Vntrew vnd neid bez. sich sel.
Epist. Rom. 8. Dann ich halt es dofur/etc.
Euang. Luc. 6. Vom Balcken vnd Spreissen im Augen.
22 E Grosser schaden zu Wasser.
23 f Hagel/reg. windt/don. plitz.
24 g Iohannes Baptista. Vigil. orit.
25 a Mess zu Strasburg anfang.
26 b Johan vnd paul.
27 c Schwül heis/abendts vngewi.
28 d Wassers not vnd gefahr.
Epist. 1. Pet. 3. Endlich aber seidt alle samt.
Euang. Luc. 5. Christus leret aus den Schiff.
29 E Peter vnd paul. Dex. hu. Or. or.
30 f Gross Blutuergiessen.

Fig. 5: Examples of handwritten comments about the printed text. *Allmanach vnd schreibkalender* [. . .] *auff das Jar 1578* [. . .], fol. D_1^v.

Fig. 6: Handwritten notes, not about events of that month, but about a completely different subject. *New vnd Alter Schreib Kalender/Auffs Jahr* [. . .] *1612*, fols B_3^v–B_4^r.

Third type of interrelation: emancipation of handwriting from print

The third type of interrelationship between handwriting and print describes how the handwriting ostensibly attempts to emancipate itself from the printed original. In the following example (Fig. 7), the demarcation between the two is clearly visible.

The entry has been made in such a way that it relates to the printed text as little as possible. In this case, the calendar owner only wrote at the bottom of the page below a horizontal margin he drew himself; the designated text field was left blank and there is no handwritten editing of the printed text. The handwriting evades the given layout as much as possible. However, the entry is not completely detached from the printed material; it remains connected to it in terms of content. The calendar writer notes an event that occurred sometime in April 1571. The entry thus still fits into the basic calendar framework; what was experienced in April is also by the space for April. However, the decision not to write this event in the designated writing field was made consciously. The writer reports an event that took place 'Vmb dieße Zeit' ('at this time'), e.g. in April. The person did not assign it to a specific date, but spoke of it in general terms – which is why he or she did not write in the text field, instead indicating through its placement that the entry's content did not belong to the other 'normal' calendar entries. On other pages of this calendar, the writer repeats this differentiation: in the writing field, he notes the singular events on the respective date and thus adheres to the fittingness.[18] In the lower text margins, he again records general events that do not belong to the others in terms of content and are therefore distinguished from them in terms of layout. The autonomous tendency of the handwriting becomes clear here: it separates itself from the printed text in terms of content and form and actively distinguishes itself.

The autonomous tendency can also be taken to extremes, as the last example shows (Fig. 8). In this calendar, all of the designated text fields have been left blank; nothing was written in the printed calendar. Instead, an additional blank page was inserted into it for each month, a technique called interleaving.[19] Only there does the calendar writer note the respective events.

By departing from printed material, the handwriting achieves a maximum amount of independence. On the blank pages, there is simply no longer a printed frame to which the handwriting could orient itself. The handwriting can thus become independent in terms of content and form. But this independence also has its limits. Even in this extreme case, in which only blank pages were used for writing, handwriting cannot

[18] Cf. Nuremberg, GNM, 4° Nw 2404 [1571], fols C1v–C2r.

[19] Cf. Brendecke 2005.

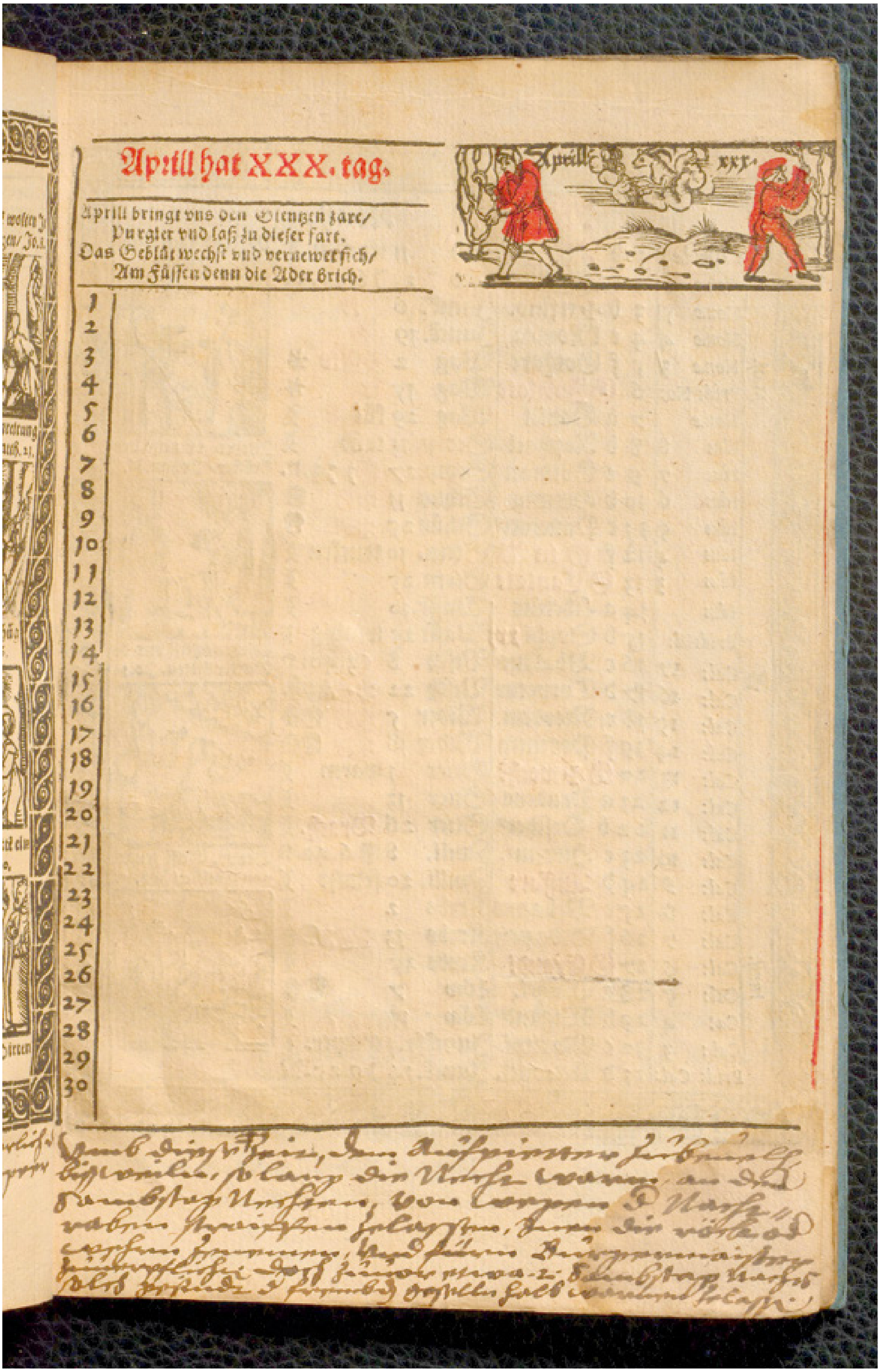


Fig. 7: Changing the predefined rules. *Schreybkalender auff das 1571. Jar* [...], fol. B_2^r.

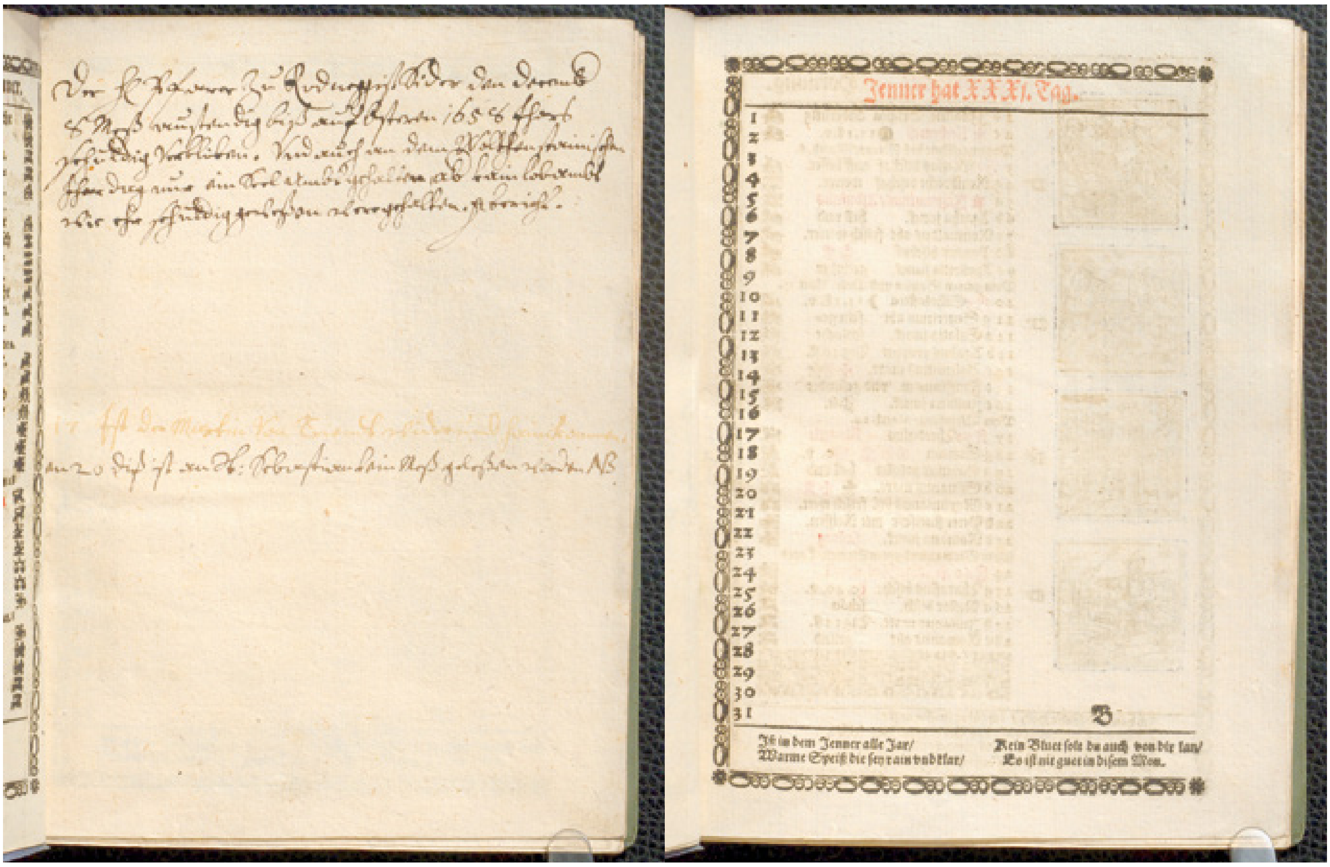


Fig. 8: Handwritten notes on a specially inserted page for them. *Almanach auff das Jahr* [. . .] *1658* [. . .], fols A_2^r and B_1^r.

completely detach itself from print. By assigning a blank page to each month, the basic calendar structure, i.e. the monthly division, is retained in the inserted page: the events in January are recorded on the January page. Even though the handwriting organises itself and achieves a maximum of creative freedom due to the lack of a printed frame, it still remains connected to the basic calendar principle in terms of content.[20]

There are only a few cases where events that have no relation to the month in question have been noted on the inserted blank pages. In an interleaved calendar from 1722, for example, the writer noted events from different years; he seems to have used the calendar as a kind of chronicle, which he kept going for years – well into the eighteenth century, in fact.[21] Since the calendrical diary was gradually replaced by the blank diary in that century,[22] which did not contain any printed frames at all, it is not surprising that the use of calendrical diaries in the eighteenth century deviates so far from the other examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

All these examples show how formal separation from the printed text allows personal knowledge to be recorded as independently as possible; the content is no longer bound by the printed material. The individual world of experience stands for itself and is therefore no longer embedded in the printed frame. The tendency in handwriting towards autonomy certainly finds its greatest expression in interleaved calendars, as the printed frame can be actively 'avoided' this way. Nevertheless, even in this extreme case, handwriting cannot completely detach itself from print. It is true that an independent organisation of knowledge is undertaken, but as just mentioned, it usually remains committed to the basic calendrical structure. The printed material and the calendrical principle anchored in it remain the organising element (at the macro level).

Finally, a special case needs to be mentioned here that also occurs in calendrical diaries, but is slightly tangential to the question about the relationship between handwriting and print. Often, not just one, but several handwritten layers are found in calendrical diaries. These are cases where a writer engaged with previous handwriting again at a later point in time. By using organisational arrows, 'nota bene' additions or changes in the colour of the ink, the old handwritten text

[20] Brockstieger 2021, 573.

[21] Nuremberg, GNM, 4° Nw 2632 m.

[22] Tersch 2008, 91–92 and Brockstieger 2021, 570.

was added to, deleted, improved or otherwise modified.[23] All of these acts are opportunities for handwriting to organise itself independently and dynamise itself. Due to its flexibility, handwriting can become more and more dynamic by the author adding information afterwards or by linking what has already been written.[24] In these cases, handwriting refers to itself. The interaction is between two different handwritten layers; there is no longer a relationship between the second layer of handwriting and the printed material. This case is cited to illustrate how far the dynamisation of handwriting can go.

Conclusion: the dynamics of the interrelationship between handwriting and print in bimaterial genres

What can be said generally about the relationship between handwriting and print in early modern calendrical diaries, then? It quickly became apparent in this paper that there is not merely a simple hierarchical gap in which the printed material dictates the content and layout of the handwriting; although print can influence handwriting in terms of form and content in some cases and can thus fulfil the fittingness of the calendrical diary, handwriting shows its own dynamising tendencies. Handwriting and print thus enter into a relationship in which print can influence handwriting and vice versa: handwriting can interact with print in the sense that it edits it, i.e. expands, corrects or individualises the printed information. Thus, the fixed printed text is broken up by handwriting and becomes changeable again, for example by being given a new context. Print can have an organising effect on handwriting in terms of content and form, but handwriting can also detach itself from print and become independent. The examples presented here have shown that this detachment can take place on different levels and to different degrees. Although content and formal detachment seem to be related in some cases, they do not necessarily have to be. In other words, the relationship between handwriting and print cannot be described in a general or linear way; it cannot be broken down into a simple diagram. Rather, each case must be considered on its own merits. In an analysis of this kind, various factors must be taken into account that can have an effect on the relationship between handwriting and print.

In this paper, I have primarily considered the parameters of content and layout. With regard to layout, the questions arose as to

a) where the entry was written
b) how it is organised (e.g. with reference to the printed material or through self-organisation of the handwriting)
c) whether the printed text was interfered with or the handwriting remained on its own
d) whether there are several handwritten layers.

On the level of content, a distinction can be made as to

a) whether the handwriting remains committed to the calendrical principle
b) whether it remains a pure description of everyday life
c) whether other topics are mentioned
d) whether the printed text is taken up and reflected upon.

This list of parameters is certainly not exhaustive; it is only intended to illustrate the possible factors that can influence the interrelationship between handwriting and print. With this paper, I would not only like to provide a typology of such interrelationships, but also emphasise the importance of recognising the specific dynamics of the relationship and therefore consider each case separately instead of attempting to make generalised descriptions. These parameters should be understood as aids that can help to describe and evaluate the relationship between handwriting and print adequately in different cases. In addition, it is important to point out that the interrelationship between handwriting and print is a special one in calendrical diaries. Although there are some printed early modern text types that anticipated handwriting, not all of them show such a diverse interplay between handwriting and print. This is demonstrated by a comparison between a calendrical diary and an early modern printed form, in this case a letter of indulgence (Fig. 9).

In the printed form, space was left specifically for handwriting as well; here, too, handwriting and print interact. However, because the printed part clearly predominates and little space has been left to add the handwriting, the authority of the printed layer is much greater. Even without a handwritten entry, the form can function and be understood; the handwriting only serves as a 'finishing touch'. A calendrical diary, on the other hand, can only function to a limited extent without handwriting. Although information can be taken from the printed material, that is not what the medium was designed for. A calendrical diary is explicitly designed for a writer to make handwritten entries in it. Therefore, a significant amount of space is left for handwriting – and thus more freedom as well. The calendrical

[23] Cf. Nuremberg, GNM, 4°Nw 2426 [1616], A2^v.

[24] Brockstieger 2021, 571.

Fig. 9: *Ablassbrief zum besten des Kampfes gegen die Türken* […], 1481.

diary's range of affordances is large, thus creating a wide range of potential interrelationships between handwriting and print. This is precisely what makes up the specific bimateriality of the calendrical diary: handwriting and print, objective calendrical knowledge and the individual world of experience can be interwoven in the most diverse ways. The writer can decide individually how and where to enter something in the calendar; he or she can use the entire range of affordances of the calendar or choose not to.

The calendrical diary is, of course, only one example of many multilayered artefacts in which a handwritten and a printed layer meet. Yet the observation that handwriting and print do not merely coexist within a multilayered artefact, but rather enter into a dynamic interrelationship that can take on different forms can certainly be applied to other types of texts. Thus, this paper can contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between handwriting and print in multilayered artefacts in general.

Acknowledgements

This article was written in Collaborative Research Centre 933, *'Material Text Cultures. Materiality and Presence of Writing in Non-Typographic Societies'* (sub-project B13: *'Order of Knowledge and Biographical Writing. Calculated Handwriting in Printed Books of the Early Modern Period'*). CRC 933 is based in Heidelberg and funded by the German Research Foundation under project no. 178035969 – SFB 933. The sub-project investigates the form and function of handwritten entries in calendrical diaries and the significance of this type of text in early modern literature. I would like to thank Pauline Solvi for transcribing the handwritten calendar entries and Sam Sugerman for proofreading my paper.

REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

S.n. (1657), 'Almanach auff das Jahr […] 1658 […]', *s.l.*: *s.n.* (Library of GNM Nuremberg, 4º Nw 2486 [1658]).

Georg Caesius (1580), 'Schreibkalender […] Auff das Jar 1581 […]', Nuremberg: Valentin Fuhrmann (Library of GNM Nuremberg, 8º Nw 2408 [1581]).

Valentin Hancke (1611), 'New vnd Alter Schreib Kalender/ Auffs Jahr […] 1612 […]', Wroclaw: Georg Baumann (Library of GNM Nuremberg, 4º Nw 2426 [1612]).

Valentinus Hancke (1615), 'New vnd Alter Schreib Kalender/ Auffs Schalt Jahr/nach Jhesu Christi Geburt/1616', *s.l.*: *s.n.* (Library of GNM Nuremberg, 4°Nw 2426 [1616]).

Christian Heide (1570), 'Schreybkalender auff das 1571. Jar […]', Nuremberg: Nikolaus Knorr (Library of GNM Nuremberg, 4º Nw 2404 [1571]).

Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn (1577), 'Allmanach vnd schreibkalender […] auff das Jar 1578 […]', Berlin: Graues Kloster (Library of GNM Nuremberg, 8º Nw 2407 [1578], Merkel D 4036a).

Franciscus Vollrath (1721), 'Neuer höchst-nutzlich-und erbaulich-Catholischer Aller Heiligen-Calender', *s.l.*: Christoff Lochner (Library of GNM Nuremberg, 4° Nw 2632 m).

SECONDARY LITERATURE

Brandis, Tilo (1997), 'Die Handschrift zwischen Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Versuch einer Typologie', in Stephan Füssel (ed.), *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, vol. 72, Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 27–57.

Brendecke, Arndt (2005), 'Durchschossene Exemplare: Über eine Schnittstelle zwischen Handschrift und Druck', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 59: 50–64.

Brockstieger, Sylvia (2021), 'Verwaltetes Leben, erzähltes Leben. Zur Epistemik frühneuzeitlicher Schreibkalender', *Daphnis*, 49: 561–587.

Flachmann, Holger (2003), 'Handschrift und Buchdruck bei Martin Luther', in Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller (eds), *Die Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Buchdruck* (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 16), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 121–140.

Fox, Richard, Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, and Christina Tsouparopoulou (2015), 'Affordanz', in Thomas Meier, Michael R. Ott, and Rebecca Sauer (eds), *Materiale Textkulturen: Konzepte – Materialien – Praktiken* (Materiale Textkulturen, 1), Berlin: de Gruyter, 33–46.

Gibson, James J. (1966), *The Senses Considered as Perceptual Systems*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Heinzer, Felix (2003), 'Handschrift und Druck im Œuvre der Grafen Wilhelm Werner und Froben Christoph von Zimmern', in Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller (eds), *Die Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Buchdruck* (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 16), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 141–166.

Herbst, Klaus-Dieter (2020), *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Kalendermacher*, vol. 1 (Acta Calendariographica. Forschungsberichte, 9), Jena: HKD.

Matthäus, Klaus (1967), 'Zur Geschichte des Nürnberger Kalenderwesens', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 9: 966–1395.

Poggel, Thomas (2013), *Schreibkalender und Festkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit: Kultivierung und Wahrnehmung von Zeit am Beispiel des Kaspar von Fürstenberg (1545–1618)* (Acta Calendariographica. Forschungsberichte, 6), Jena: HKD.

Rautenberg, Ursula (2003), 'Medienkonkurrenz und Medienmischung – Zur Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Druckschrift im ersten Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts in Köln', in Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller (eds), *Die Gleichzeitigkeit von Handschrift und Buchdruck* (Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 16), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 167–202.

Tersch, Harald (2008), *Schreibkalender und Schreibkultur: Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte eines frühen Massenmediums* (Schriften der Vereinigung Österreichischer Bibliothekarinnen und Bibliothekare, 3), Graz: Neugebauer.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: Fittingness of the calendrical diary (my own illustration).

Fig. 2: Depiction of the interrelationship between handwriting and print in calendrical diaries (my own illustration).

Fig. 3: Anonymous (owner)/Christian Heide (author). *Schreybkalender auff das 1571. Jar* […] [Nuremberg: Nikolaus Knorr, 1570: fol. B_1^r], Nuremberg, Library of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum [GNM], 4º Nw2404 [1571].

Fig. 4: Anonymous (owner)/Georg Caesius (author). *Schreibkalender* […] *Auff das Jar 1581* […] [Nuremberg: Valentin Fuhrmann, [1580]: fol. A_3^r], Nuremberg, GNM, 8º Nw 2408 [1581].

Fig. 5: Anonymous (owner)/Leonhard Thurneysser zum Thurn (author). *Allmanach vnd schreibkalender* […] *auff das Jar 1578* […] [Berlin: Graues Kloster, [1577]: fol. D_1^v], Nuremberg, GNM, 8º Nw2407 [1578], Merkel D 4036a.

Fig. 6: Anonymous (owner)/Valentin Hancke (author). *New vnd Alter Schreib Kalender/Auffs Jahr* […] *1612* […] [Wroclaw: Georg Baumann, 1611: fols B_3^v and B_4^r] (Nuremberg, GNM, 4º Nw2426 [1612]).

Fig. 7: Anonymous (owner)/Christian Heide (author). *Schreybkalender auff das 1571. Jar* […] [Nuremberg: Nikolaus Knorr, 1570: fol. B_2^r], Nuremberg, GNM, 4º Nw 2404 [1571].

Fig. 8: Anonymous (owner)/anonymous (author). *Almanach auff das Jahr* […] *1658* […] ([1657]: fols A_2^r and B_1^r), Nuremberg, GNM, 4º Nw 2486 [1658].

Fig. 9: *Ablassbrief zum besten des Kampfes gegen die Türken und der Verteidigung von Rhodos.* 1481. [Speyer: Peter Drach, 1481], Heidelberg, University Library, Cod. Pal. germ. 834. [GW0002210N], <doi.org/10.11588/diglit.1501#0765>, Public Domain Mark 1.0, <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.de> (accessed on 17 January 2024).

Article

Demarginalising the Margin of Elephant Texts: A Variety of Interlinear and Marginal Paracontents from a Multilayered Siamese Manuscript Containing Elephant Treatises

Peera Panarut | Hamburg

1. Introduction

A manuscript is not always a finished entity as writing can also be added to it later by a scribe, reader or user, thereby forming various layers of writing in a single codicological unit. Additional paracontents, or those added to a manuscript later than its core content,[1] are not found very often in the case of pre-modern Siamese (or Thai) literary manuscripts. When they are, either between the lines (interlinear) or in the margin of a page (marginal), they provide indispensable evidence of traditional textual scholarship, revealing literary interpretations and reading practices of traditional readers and manuscript users and sometimes even study-based practices.

Vernacular Siamese literature, especially poetry, has mostly survived in the form of *khòi*-paper leporello manuscripts called *samut thai* in Thailand.[2] This kind of manuscript is made of a long, rectangular piece of paper folded in an accordion- or concertina-like fashion, which is why it is also called a folding book.[3] A page of a *khòi*-paper manuscript used for literary texts is typically around 12 × 34 cm in size.[4] While the core content in a literary manuscript made of this material is usually written neatly, the interlinear and marginal paracontents may be smaller, scribbled down, in a different hand or have been added using a different writing substance. These different hands and materials indicate various agents of writing as well as various layers of writing in the manuscript. The paracontents can appear in various places in a manuscript, for example between the lines of the core content, in the left- and right-hand margin of the page, or on any page that was originally left blank at the beginning or end of the manuscript. Furthermore, it can perform various functions, ranging from making corrections to the copied text to providing annotations, comments or interpretations about it. In cases like these, the interlinear and marginal paracontents often help contemporary readers understand or summarise the text.

Paracontents of this kind frequently appear in a single manuscript rather than several of them; notes and comments did not get copied very often,[5] probably because they were not considered to be part of the original author's work, but were simply added later by an individual reader. The printed editions of Thai literature that are still available to us do not always mention – let alone include – paracontents of this kind. Nowadays, only modern scholars who gain access to the actual manuscripts are aware of their existence. As a result, interlinear and marginal writing remains a marginal phenomenon in the field of Thai literary and philological studies despite its wide range of content, locations and functions.

Interlinear glosses have mostly been mentioned by modern scholars of Siamese manuscripts; remarks about other types of secondary writing are scarce. A few studies have shown that the interlinear glosses found in Siamese

[1] It is noteworthy that not all kinds of paracontents or paratexts are additional, given that in many cases paracontents such as colophons, paginations and cover titles were written by the same hands around the same time as the core content of the manuscript. Sometimes a colophon was written by the scribe immediately after the copying process of the core content had been completed (for example see Panarut 2019, 167–169; 450–451). These paracontents are thus arguably original, not additional, to a manuscript. On the concepts of paracontent and core content, see Ciotti et al. 2018.

[2] The paper is made from the bark of *khòi* trees (*Streblus asper*). For more details, see Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2010 and Helman-Ważny et al. 2020.

[3] For example in Igunma 2013, 631.

[4] Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2010, 3.

[5] Glosses have been transmitted in a few manuscripts of a royal eulogy called *Yuan Phai*. See Panarut 2021 for more details.

manuscripts can provide us with an interpretation of the core content, especially words that may now be obscure. One of the rare but impressive examples of modern editions that include glosses from manuscripts is the 2004 Fine Arts Department's edition of *Kham Phak Ramakian – The Khmer Version* ('*Khon*-Theatrical Script of the Ramayana Epic in the Khmer Language') edited by Santi Pakdeekham.[6] As the text was originally written in the Khmer language and script, but was transliterated into Thai script around the late eighteenth century so it could be performed at the royal court of Bangkok, it seems it was not intelligible to the Siamese in its original form. All four fragmented manuscripts of this Khmer text written in Thai script contain interlinear glosses annotating the meaning of Khmer words that the Siamese were not familiar with, which makes them key sources of information for modern readers wishing to understand the foreign text. The Fine Arts Department's edition presents the glosses both as footnotes to the core content and as a glossary at the end of the core content.

A brief survey of the interlinear glosses found in Siamese literary manuscripts has been conducted in a previous article of mine.[7] The article briefly mentions one particular manuscript, namely National Library of Thailand, Chan Subsection, Kò Initial, Ms no. 16 (henceforth 'NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16'), and it emphasises its extensive glosses. This manuscript preserves a group of texts (dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century) commonly known as *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* (Thai: *Prachum Kham Chan Klòm Chang Krung Kao*). However, there are also other kinds of interlinear and marginal paracontents found in this manuscript, which deserve more research.

This article will not limit itself to interlinear glosses, but will also discuss different kinds of interlinear and marginal paracontents found in NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16 in order to demonstrate what can be found in a single Siamese manuscript. It also reflects on the traditional practice of reading and studying this collection of elephant treatises.

[6] Fine Arts Department 2004. The Fine Arts Department (Thai: *krom sinlapakòn*) is a government department under the Ministry of Culture of Thailand. Many institutions concerning cultural heritages such as the National Museum and the National Library of Thailand are under supervision of the Fine Arts Department.

[7] Panarut 2021.

2. Background to the text and its multilayered manuscript

Elephants have conveyed complex cultural meanings in Thai society for many centuries. They were often employed for military purposes and for transportation[8] as they are able to travel along mountainous routes as well as in the forest. Moreover, elephants also have ritual and symbolic meanings influenced by Indic and Khmer traditions, which made them a symbol of power and royalty for many cultures in South-east Asia in the past,[9] including the Siamese.[10] Take the White (or Albino) Elephant (Thai: *chang phüak*), for example, or any elephant with perfect auspicious marks, which was regarded as a symbol of the Emperor (Thai: *cakkaphat*; Sanskrit: *cakravartin*), the greatest king of all. His vassals were expected to send any white elephant found in their own territory to him.[11] Apart from that, elephants with significant auspicious marks (not the White Elephant, though) are considered royal property and are even bestowed with noble titles. This old tradition is still maintained at the royal court of Thailand to this day.

In the Siamese literary tradition, treatises on elephants form a genre of their own generally called *tamra chang* ('elephant treatises') in Thai, in which many different texts have survived in prose and verse form. Their content covers ritual texts about elephants, manuals on the care of elephants and on their medical treatment, explanatory guides on elephant typologies (to help people recognise the auspicious and inauspicious marks of each elephant from the divine families) and texts containing folklore and myths about elephants. Even though most of these elephant treatises are written in Thai, the Indic and Khmer influences on the language and content are still apparent.[12] Furthermore, some of these texts are accompanied by illustrations,[13] constituting a sub-genre of elephant treatises called *samut phap tamra*

[8] Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2021, 1.

[9] For instance, the name of Lan Xang, the Lao kingdom, also means 'land of a million elephants'. In addition, the related beliefs and cults of elephants have also been found in Burma, Cambodia and Vietnam. For more on this point, see Schliesinger 2012.

[10] Pramin Khrueathong 2010, 87.

[11] Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2021, 100; Schliesinger 2012, 34.

[12] The names of significant auspicious elephants are mostly derived from Sanskrit, for instance, while the names of the inauspicious elephants are often in Old Khmer, see Boontuen Sriworapot 2002, 29. Sanskrit and Pali verses are often included in Siamese elephant treatises, too. Furthermore, passages of an elephant ritual text in Khmer can be attested in a manuscript from the National Library of Thailand, NLT: STWSs: Ms no. 99.

[13] For more on Siam's illustrated elephant treatises, see Ginsberg 1989, 33–43; Igunma 2017, 36–37; Woodward 2016, 15–18.

chang ('illustrated elephant treatises'). However, the texts in *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* have survived in multiple manuscripts, including the manuscript in question (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16), albeit without any accompanying illustrations.

The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises consists of three different texts on elephant rituals and lore, which are probably the earliest texts on elephants to have survived in the Thai literary tradition. All of these texts appear in the form of poetry in *chan* meter, not prose. The texts in this collection are referred to as the 'old treatises' in Thai because three of them were composed in the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, the old Siamese capital between 1351 and 1767, i.e. before the founding of Bangkok, the capital of the Kingdom of Siam, in 1782. These three texts were considered old or ancient by the Siamese readers of the Bangkok period and have long been regarded as a model for the elephant texts written later by the poets of Bangkok.

The three texts appear in the following order in the collection:

1: *Dutsadi Sangwoei* (henceforth 'text I') is the earliest of the three, possibly dating from the sixteenth century.[14] It was supposed to be recited in a royal ritual performed before catching elephants. Although the text is attributed to Khun Thep Kawi, a court poet and royal scribe at the royal court of Ayutthaya, the beginning of text I was apparently adopted from an Old Khmer text from the Late Angkorian period.[15] Since it contains a wealth of Old Khmer and Sanskrit words, text I is the most difficult part of this collection for Thai readers, traditional and modern alike, at least since the early nineteenth century. Apparently, text I was still being recited in royal elephant rituals at the royal court of Siam in the nineteenth century.[16]

2: *Klòm Chang Krung Kao* ('text II'), dated to the seventeenth century by modern scholars, was used for a ritual performed after catching elephants; once they had been caught in the forest, they would be soothed by the recital and consecrated in the ritual. Text II is believed to have been originally composed when King Narai of Ayutthaya (r. 1656–1688) acquired a white elephant in 1660.[17] Even though Khmer influence can be attested in text II, there is no doubt that this text was originally written in Thai, whereas the use of Khmer at the royal court of seventeenth-century Ayutthaya seems to be less apparent.[18]

3: *Khotchakam Prayun* ('text III') is an explanatory text on auspicious and inauspicious marks of elephants and on the family and group of elephants. This text is more a manual for recognising and categorising characteristics of significant elephants than a ritual text like the other two in the collection. The text is dated 1748 and attributed to Luang Ratchawang Müang, a noble official from the Department of Royal Elephants at the royal court of Ayutthaya.

Despite the different dates of their composition and different content and functions, these three elephant texts have been transmitted together as a collection ever since the Early Bangkok period (after 1782), if not earlier. Fifteen manuscript copies of the complete *Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* have survived.[19] The manuscript NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16 is the only one that contains extensive paracontents (Fig. 1), thus constituting the only multilayered manuscript of *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*. The manuscript is a blackened *khòi*-paper leporello document. The core content is in neat handwriting in yellow ink, while the paracontents between the lines and in the margins are written in scribbled white chalk. The manuscript is undated, but seems to have been produced in the mid-nineteenth century, which the handwriting suggests.

We do not know whether these interlinear and marginal paracontents were added by the scribe who originally copied the core content, but judging from the handwriting, all the additional writing in the manuscript was added by a single person, possibly a reader or user. Although this paracontent is extensive, having been added to many parts of the manuscript, it does not appear on every single page. Perhaps it was added later whenever it was deemed necessary. The variety of interlinear and marginal paracontents found in this manuscript represents an intriguing case of a multilayered Siamese written artefact.

14 Boontuen Sriworapot 2002, 41.

15 Santi Pakdeekham 2004, 125.

16 Boontuen Sriworapot 2002, 23.

17 Boontuen Sriworapot 2002, 43.

18 For more details on the significance and influence of the Khmer language in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Ayutthaya, see Kanittanan 2004.

19 Panarut 2019, 112.

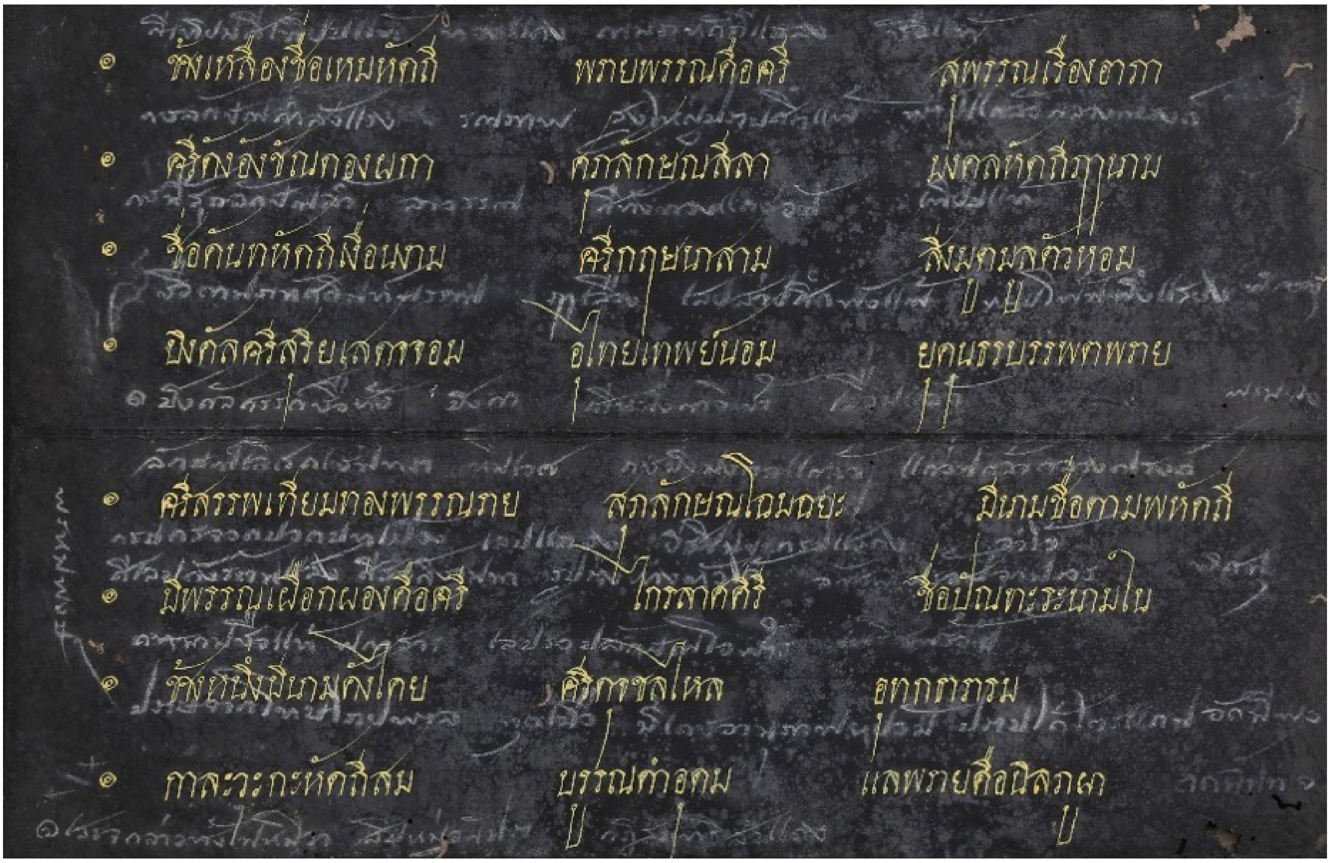


Fig. 1: Paracontents between the lines and in the page margins written in white chalk from the multilayered manuscript of *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, contrasting with the core content written in yellow ink. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, pp. 51–52.)

3. A variety of interlinear and marginal paracontents

As is usually the case for Siamese literary manuscripts, which were intended to preserve literary texts so they could be read or consulted in the future, the core content in our particular manuscript was written in relatively large letters. The space between the lines was also prepared so that diacritics (e.g. vowels and tone marks) could be inserted above and below the consonants in the main line, making it easier for readers to read and understand the core content. Furthermore, the scribe(s) who worked on it often left the left- and right-hand margins blank, which means that the writing in each line is aligned properly on each page. Even though the scribe may not have prepared any space for paracontents at all originally, many Siamese literary manuscripts contain paracontents in the margins or between lines of the core content, so it was obviously quite common to add it.

The original scribe who produced this multilayered manuscript of *The Collection Old Elephant Treatises* does not seem to have prepared any space specifically for additional paracontents; no extra room was left for them, while the layout and space between the lines correspond to the conventional layout found in other literary manuscripts. The pages of NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16 are 34 × 10.5 cm in size. The writing in the core content is approximately 0.7 cm high, runs over four lines on each page and has an oblong format. There is around 2.2 cm of space for the left- and right-hand margin and the space between the lines is 1.5 cm.[20] This layout obviously does not provide much room for other writing, but there was still enough to add corrections, glosses, explanations and other notes to the manuscript in a smaller size script (approx. 0.3 cm). If we compare the layout of this manuscript to that of Siamese palm-leaf manuscripts, which were often used for religious texts, the space between the lines of a palm-leaf manuscript is even more limited.[21]

[20] The page layout of NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16 is regular for a Siamese literary manuscript. The other manuscripts of *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* have a similar page layout and writing space, take NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 17, for example, dated 1817, which is 35 × 11 cm in size.

[21] For example, in NLT: PLS: MS no. 2280/1, a Siamese palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Mahā Vaṃsa* dated 1785 (dimensions: 54.8 × 4.6 cm) from the National Library of Thailand, the space between the lines is only 0.5 cm, which is rather small for diacritics above and below the consonants of the core content. However, the left- and right-hand margins of each leaf (4 cm in

The paracontents found in the manuscript in question look different in different texts in the collection, except for the corrections, which can be found in all three texts. The glosses only appear in text I, while the interlinear citations, which make references to other texts, and the marginal notes helping to classify elephants are only found in text III. Despite their different functions, the handwriting and the substance used for all the paracontents in this manuscript (chalk in this case) appear to be identical.

The interlinear and marginal paracontents in this manuscript, which will be discussed in more detail in the following section, consist of interlinear corrections, additions, glosses, notes referring to other texts, and marginal notes.

3.1. Interlinear corrections

Interlinear corrections can be seen in all three texts in the manuscript. Of all the kinds of paracontents found in Siamese literary manuscripts, interlinear corrections are the most common. Any mistakes made while copying the core content were usually corrected by using the space between the lines. Sometimes corrections were made by the original scribes themselves, as the handwriting and ink indicate.[22] The errors were occasionally marked by strikethroughs and a cross sign, while the corrected words were added above or below the line of the core content. In NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16, the method of making corrections varied (see Figs 2–4). In some cases, the mistakes were underlined and the corrected word was added between the lines. In other cases, cross marks were added. Judging by the similarity of the handwriting and the writing material used (white chalk in this case), the interlinear corrections found in all three texts in this manuscript seem to have been made by the same person, who may not necessarily have been the original scribe of the core content.

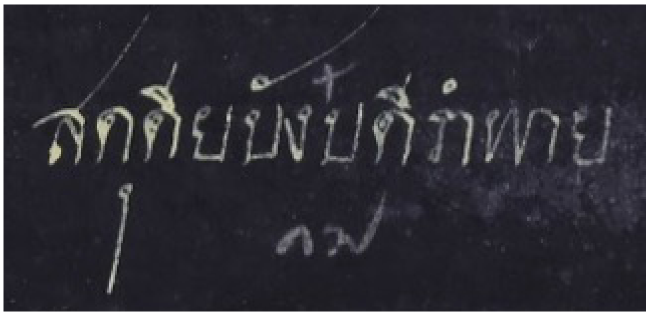


Fig. 2: An example of an interlinear correction from text I, in which a cross sign has been drawn above the core content. The omitted word was added underneath the line. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 13, line 4.)

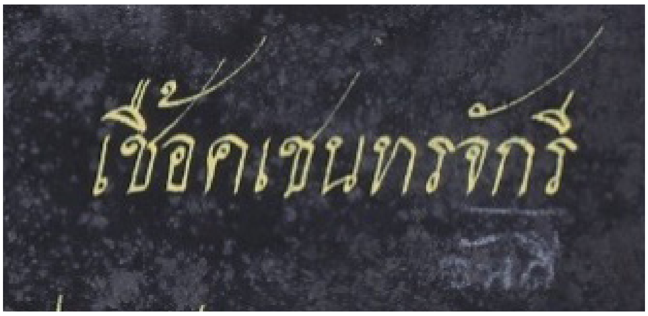


Fig. 3: An example of an interlinear correction from text II. In this case, the error was underlined and the corrected word was written underneath. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 47, line 3.)

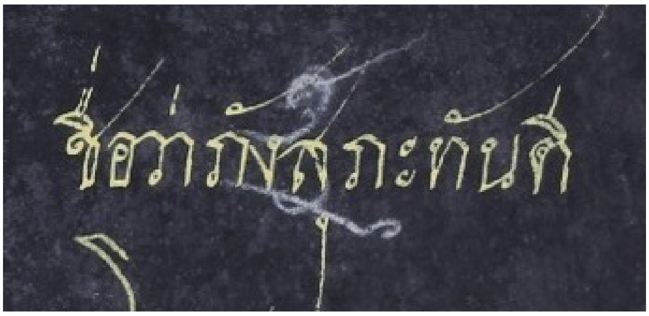


Fig. 4: An example of an interlinear correction from text III. The error was underlined and the corrected word written above it. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 21, line 3.)

width) are larger than those of the paper manuscript discussed here creating more space for paracontents such as pagination and other additional notes in the margin of the leaf.

[22] For example, in a manuscript of a dramatic play entitled *Suwanna Hong* (NLT: KBLKhSs: Ms no. 182), the interlinear correction is written in a hand and a yellow ink very similar to the core content.

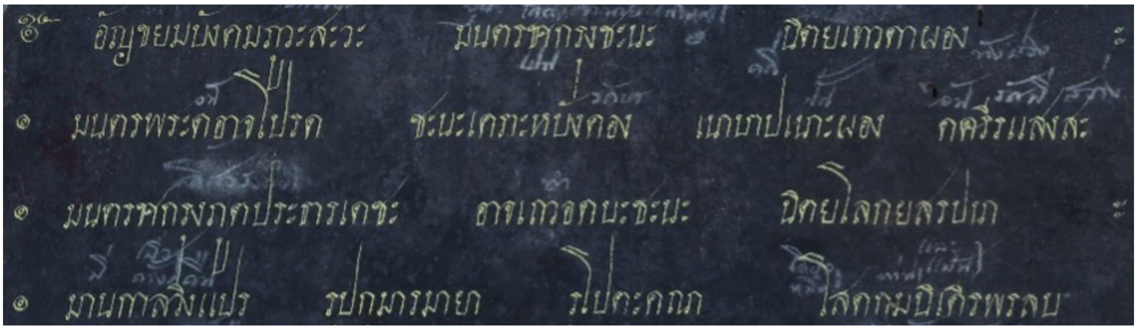


Fig. 5: An example of the extensive glosses written above or below the lines of the core content found in text I of the manuscript. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, pp. 3–4.)

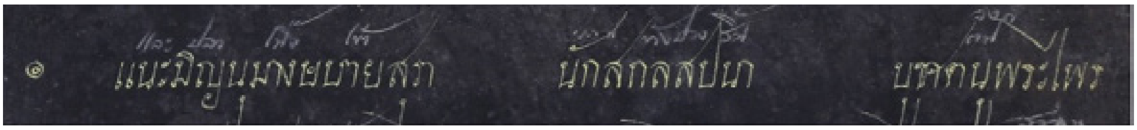


Fig. 6: Glosses written above the lines of the core content found in text I of this manuscript (stanza 11). Obscure terms and foreign words have mainly been annotated, while the words commonly known in Thai have not. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 6, line 3.)

3.2. Interlinear glosses

Interlinear glosses explaining the meaning of obscure and foreign words have been added to this manuscript extensively, but only for text I as the text was adopted from an Old Khmer text full of Khmer and Sanskrit words. The beginning of text I is likely to be a direct transliteration of Khmer script into Thai without a translation being offered. Due to the closely related literary and poetic tradition in Khmer and Thai culture,[23] the Khmer text transliterated into Thai script still forms proper stanzas in the Thai metrical system and can be read with Thai pronunciation, although it is quite difficult for Siamese readers to understand. Interlinear glosses in this manuscript provide Thai meanings of the Khmer and Sanskrit words (Fig. 5), which are neither loanwords nor familiar to Thai speakers. The glosses have not been added to every single word, obviously, but to each word that the writer considered difficult

Table 1: Transliteration of core content and glosses shown in Fig. 6 into Modern Thai script (the core content is highlighted in grey).

		องค์
และ ปลา เนือ เข้า	ท่าน ทังปวง สีน	ตน
แนะมิญนุมางษบายสุรา	นักสกลสปนา	บูชาตนูพระไพร

Romanised form:

		ong
Lae pla nüa khao	than thangpuang sin	ton
Nae min nu mangsa bai sura	nak sakon sop na	bucha tanu phra phrai

English translation:

			Lord
And	fish meat rice	lords entirely completely	Body
And with the entire	(sacrifices of) fish, meat, rice and alcohol	to the lords, (I) worship the lords of the forest	

[23] For more on this point, see Santi Pakdeekham 2007.

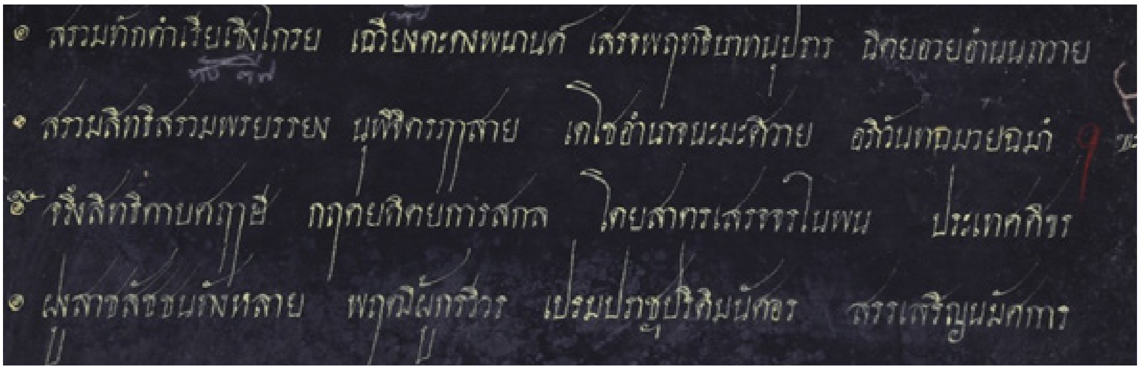


Fig. 7: An example of the interlinear glosses from the latter part of text I (stanzas 45–48), in which only a few words in stanza 45 (line 1 above) are annotated, namely *damria* (annotated as 'elephant'), *choeng* ('foot') and *chawiang* ('left [hand]'). (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 14.)

to understand. When the core content is read with the help of these interlinear glosses, the meaning of the whole line or stanza can be understood by the reader or user of this manuscript.

The words that have not been annotated seem to be Khmer loanwords commonly used in Thai, such as *sura* ('alcohol') and *bucha* ('worship'). The other words are annotated, so presumably they were not understood by Siamese readers (Fig. 6).

As the beginning of text I (stanzas 1–21) is believed to be directly adapted from Khmer poems, more glosses seem to have been required than in the latter part (stanzas 22–60), in which the Khmer poems contain more Thai words. Santi Pakdeekham argues that the latter part was originally composed by the Siamese poet Khun Thepkawi, although it was influenced by a Khmer text, while the beginning of the poem (stanzas 1–21) is a direct adaptation of the Old Khmer text in Thai script.[24] In short, then, more glosses were required at the beginning and fewer of them appear in the latter part, as can be seen in Fig. 7.

When the Khmer poems in text I were first adapted to Thai around the fifteenth or sixteenth century, the text must have been intelligible for the royal courtiers of the Early Ayutthaya period, in which the Khmer language is believed to have been spoken along with Thai.[25] However, the later generations of Ayutthaya royal courtiers seem to have spoken less Khmer. In the late eighteenth century, even the educated Siamese of the Early Bangkok period would not have found the language of text I comprehensible, especially the beginning of it. In this case, the glosses added will have helped them to make sense of each stanza of text I, unlike text II and III, which were originally composed in Thai and thus easier for Thai readers to understand. No glosses or annotations are found in texts II and III of this particular manuscript.

3.3. Interlinear citation

As for text III, which explains the categories and characteristics of significant elephants from four divine families,[26] the paracontents between the lines do not annotate obscure words in the core content, but cite other texts with related content, perhaps in order to compare them. One example is the five stanzas cited from another elephant poem called *Khlong Khotchalak* or *Tamra Laksana Chang Kham Khlong* ('Poems on Elephant Typologies in Khlong Meter') written between the lines of the core content. In the part of text III explaining what the 'Ten Elephants of the Brahma Family' are, five stanzas of *Khlong Khotchalak* concerning the same group of elephants have been added between the lines as Bangkok readers (including the scribe of the interlinear and marginal paracontents) must have been more familiar with *Khlong Khotchalak* than the texts from *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*.

Even though different versions of *Khlong Khotchalak* were transmitted in the Early Bangkok period, the interlinear citations mentioned here correspond to stanzas 8, 9, 28, 31 and 98 of the version found in several manuscripts from the National Library of Thailand.[27] This version is slightly different from the printed edition.[28]

By comparing stanza 26 of the core content with the stanza of the interlinear paracontents (cited from stanza 8 of *Khlong Khotchalak*) as shown and translated in Fig. 8 below, we can see that the details appear to be different in the two texts even though they speak about the same type of elephant (a *pingkhala*).

[24] Santi Pakdeekham 2004, 116–125.

[25] Kanittanan 2004, 378–379.

[26] The four divine families of significant elephants named after four Hindu gods are called Brahma, Vishnu, Ishvara (Shiva) and Agni, see Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2021, 5–23.

[27] Namely NLT: STWSs: Ms nos. 25, 34, 36, 39.

[28] The printed text of *Khlong Khotchalak* (first published in Fine Arts Department 1938, 1–32) is based on the manuscript NLT: STWSs: Ms no. 21 (dated 1782).

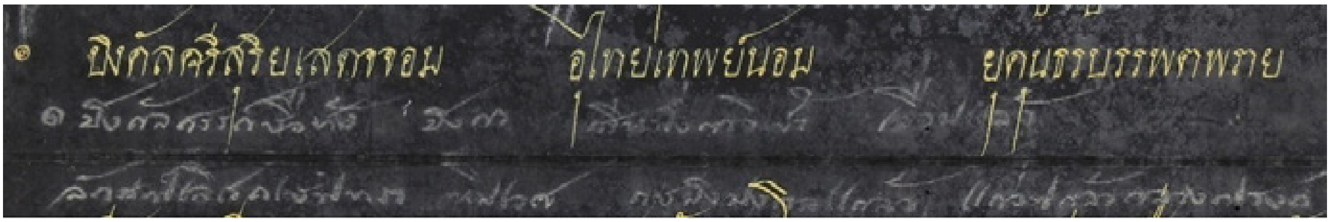


Fig. 8: The interlinear paracontents cited from stanza 8 of *Khlong Khotchalak* and written below the line of the core content (stanza 26 of text III) was presumably added to compare the different details in the two texts. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, pp. 51–52.)

Table 2: Transliteration of core content and glosses shown in Fig. 8 into Modern Thai script (the core content is highlighted in grey).

ปิงคัลศรีสุริยเสดจจอม	อุไทยเทพย์นอม	ยุคุนธรบรรพตพราย	
ปิงคัลศรรค์ชือช้าง	ปิงคา	ศรีหนึงตาวิฬาร์	เลือมแล้ว
ลักษณ์เลิศคเชนทรา	หิมเวศ	คชมีงมงคลแกล้ว	แกว่นกล้ากลางณรงค์

Romanised form:

Pingkhan si suriya sadet còm	uthai thep nòm	yukhonthòn banphot phrai	
Pingkhan san chü chang	pingkha	si nüng ta wila	lüam laeo
Lak loet khachenthra	himawet	khot ming monkhon klaeo	kwaen kla klang narong

English translation:

[The] pingkhala [elephant] has a skin colour like the sun rising over the great mountain.

[The] pingkhala [elephant] has a glimmering colour like a cat's eyes,

the best of elephants from the Himavanta Forest, auspicious and powerful in battle.

The core content was only compared with *Khlong Khotchalak* in this part, perhaps because the details about the elephant differ here. Interlinear citations of *Khlong Khotchalak* cannot be found in any other stanzas of text III in this manuscript. Perhaps the paracontents were not actually finished or were only added to the part in which the details in the two texts are different. As Fig. 8 shows, the core content of text III of *The Collection of the Old Elephant Treatises* states that the skin of the elephant called *pingkhala* is the colour of the rising sun, but the other text describes the colour as 'glimmering cat's eyes'.

Furthermore, the paracontents between the lines found in text III consist of Pali verses summarising the description of the elephants in each group and family, perhaps for memorisation or comparison with other Pali texts (Fig. 9). As these verses are in Pali, but partially rendered in Sanskrit orthography, these paracontents appear in Khòm (a variation of Old Khmer script in Thailand, the sacred script for notating Pali in Siam until the second half of the twentieth century), not in Thai script like other paracontents in the same manuscript. This additional Pali verse below the line provides a summary of the description of the eight elephants of the eight directions added between the lines, where the core content mentions elephants of this specific category.

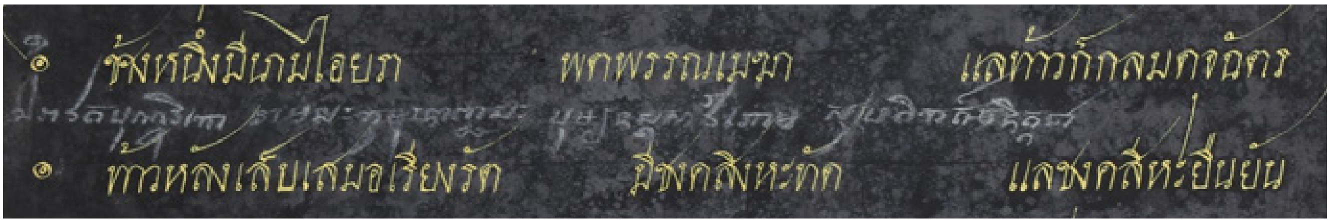


Fig. 9: Interlinear citation (Pali verse in Khòm script) summarising the description of the eight elephants of the eight directions. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 53, lines 2–3.)

This interlinear paracontent in Khòm script reads 'erāvatapuṇḍariko vāmanakumudoñjana puṣyadantasāravabhoma supraditśacadiggajā', which states the names of elephants of the eight directions as '*erāvata* ('the name of Indra's elephant'), *puṇḍariko* ('white lotus'), *vāmana* ('small', 'dwarfish'), *kumuda* ('lotus'), *añjana* ('ointment'), *puṣyadanta* ('flower tusk'), *sāravabhoma* ('well-sounding ground') and *supraditśa* ('well-established')'.[29] The origin of this Pali verse is yet to be identified, but the verse is likely to be part of other elephant texts in Pali and may have been used as a mnemonic verse to memorise the names of all eight types of elephant. This verse added as an interlinear citation may have been useful for manuscript readers and users who wanted to learn the names of significant elephants, as there is also a mnemonic verse attached to the core content.

Interlinear citations of Pali verses in Khòm script were only added to this manuscript occasionally. This particular case shows that interlinear space has been used to compare different texts written in the same language as well as texts in different languages and scripts (Pali and Khòm). Layers in a Siamese manuscript can therefore be multilingual and multiscriptual at the same time.

3.4. Marginal notes

Apart from these interlinear paracontents, the additional notes found in this manuscript also appear in the left- and right-hand margins. This paracontent was written by the original scribes in many cases and provides the title or a short summary of the various parts of the texts, which acts like a heading. The notes are often written vertically in the left-hand margin of the page. The reader had to rotate the manuscript in order to read this vertical writing properly, but its vertical direction may have caught the reader's eye more easily. The marginal headings by the original scribes are attested in different Siamese literary manuscripts.[30] Our manuscript (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16) also contains vertical headings written by the same hand and with the same yellow ink as the core content, which were probably added by the original scribe (see Figs 10–11). However, the headings provided by the original scribe might not have sufficed, as there are several additional headings in the left-hand margin which have been added in white chalk in a scribbled hand, providing more headings in the text, as shown in Figs 12–13 below. This scribbled hand is the same as the one used for the interlinear corrections, glosses and citations.

Apart from the headings added to the left-hand margin, the marginal paracontents sometimes provide a summarising list of particular elephants, perhaps helping readers to understand the core content as well as memorise the elephants in this category. The example below (Fig. 14) shows a list of the ten elephants in the Brahma family in the right-hand margin of the page.

The summarising list of ten elephants in the Brahma family[31] in the right-hand margin of this page reads as follows:

ฉทันต	*chathan* (Pali: *chaddanta*, 'having six tusks')
อุโบสถ	*ubosot* (Pali: *uposatha*, 'ceremonial hall')[32]
แหม	*haem* (Pali: *hema*, 'gold')
อัญชนะ	*anchana* (Pali: *añjana*, 'ointment')
คันท	*khantha* (Pali: *gandha*, 'scent', 'odour')[33]
ปิงคละ	*pingkhala* (Pali: *piṅgala*, 'reddish-yellow', 'brown')
ตามพ	*tampha* (Pali: *tamba*, 'copper')
บัณฑฤก	*bantharik* (Pali: *paṇḍarika*, 'having a white colour')
คังไคย	*khangkhai* (Pali: *gaṅgeyya*, possibly related to the Ganges River)
กาลวก	*kalawaka* (Pali: *kālavaka*, 'having a black colour')

[29] Most of these names are in Pali, but Sanskrit variations also appear (e.g. *pusyadanta*).

[30] Panarut 2019, 176–177.

[31] For more details of these ten elephants, see Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2021, 9–10.

[32] For more meanings of the Pali word *uposatha*, see Davids and Stede 1966, 151.

[33] The other text calls this type of elephant *mangkhala* (Pali: *maṅgala* 'auspicious, prosperous, lucky'), see Kongkaew Weeraprachak 2021, 10.

Vertical heading

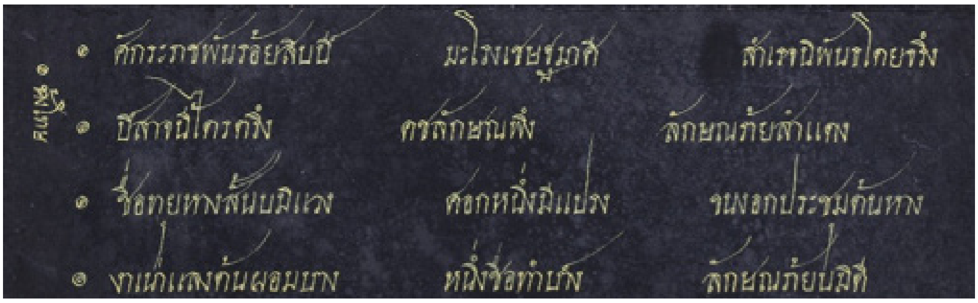


Fig. 10: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin added by the original scribe in yellow ink. It reads **ช้างโทษ** ('inauspicious elephants'), giving the category of the content of the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 24.)

Vertical heading

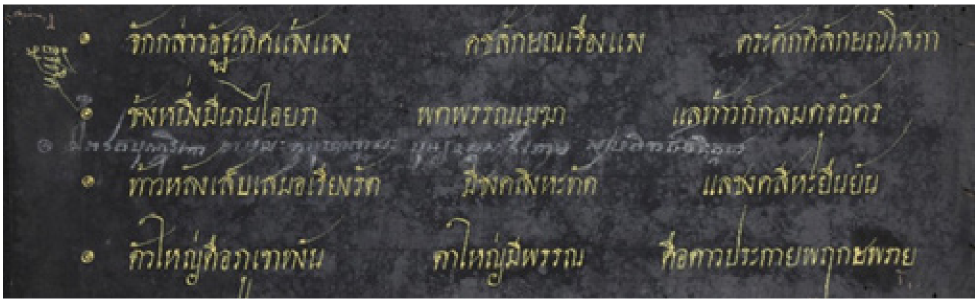


Fig. 11: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin added by the original scribe in yellow ink. It reads **อัฐทิศ** ('[elephants of] eight directions'), giving the category of the content of the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 53.)

Additional vertical heading

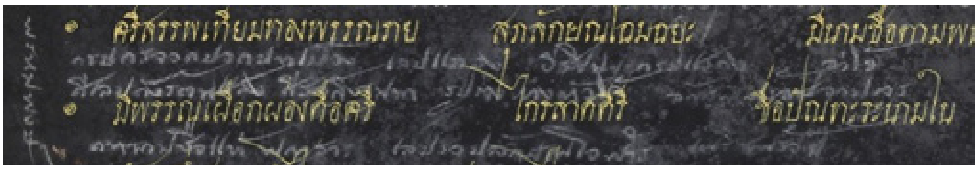


Fig. 12: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin, possibly added later. It reads **พรหมพงษ์** ('Brahma family'), labelling the family of the elephants described in the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 52.)

Additional vertical heading

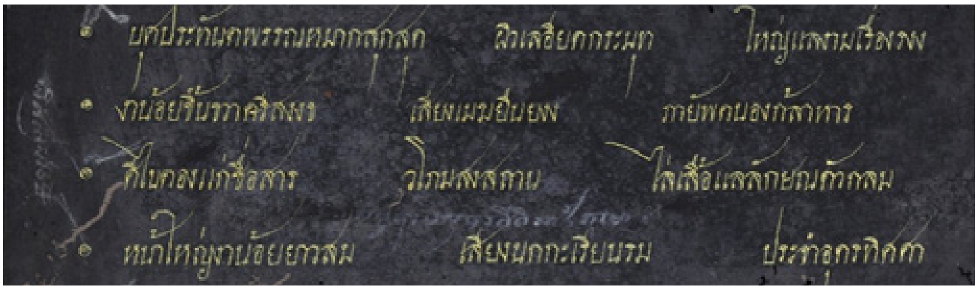


Fig. 13: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin, possibly added later. It reads **พิศณุพงษ์** ('Vishnu Family'), labelling the family of the elephants described in the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 3)

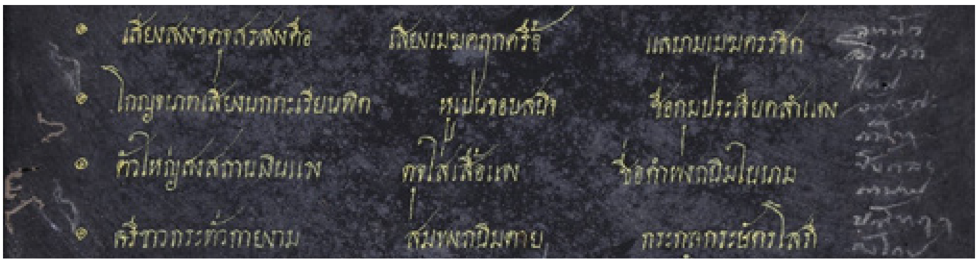


Fig. 14: A list of the ten elephants in the Brahma family written as a note on the right-hand margin of the manuscript folio. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 13.)

As text III from *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* consists of different categories of elephants, the marginal space in this manuscript has been used to record both the additional headings of the content and the summarising list, possibly with the intention of helping readers and users navigate the content, understand its meaning and memorise the different categories of elephants.

In this multilayered manuscript, the additional interlinear and marginal paracontents appear in different places with different kinds of content and functions. All of this paracontent was written in white chalk by one and the same hand. Interlinear corrections were added between the lines of the core content throughout the manuscript, covering three different texts in all. Interlinear glosses were only provided in text I, especially the initial part covering stanzas 1–21 as the text is rather obscure, both in language and content. Furthermore, the space between the lines was also employed for interlinear citations, comparing the core content with others, while the margin of the pages was used for additional headings and the summary. Thus, all in all, there is a variety of paracontent in this one Siamese literary manuscript.

The handwriting of the additional words and the similarity of the ink used suggest that they were added by the same scribe. However, it is not quite as easy to find a satisfactory answer to the question of whether or not the various types of writing belong to exactly the same layer and were all added to the manuscript at the same time. Perhaps all the interlinear and marginal paracontents next to the core content were planned and added around the same time; this is suggested by their layout, i.e. the fact that none of them were written above pre-existing entries. Nevertheless, different kinds of interlinear and marginal paracontents may have been added separately. Unfortunately, there is no clear-cut answer to the question of them being layered.

The more complicated question – and one that requires more research – is whether we can identify the person (or people) who added the interlinear and marginal paracontents in this manuscript. Although it is difficult to find the answer, the former owner of the manuscript, at least, can be deduced from the history of the National Library's acquisition of the manuscript. According to records kept by the National Library of Thailand, this manuscript was donated to the library by Phin Sanitwong in 1908 along with a large group of other manuscripts that once belonged to his family. Sanitwong is actually the name of a princely family that has included a host of scholars in the service of the royal court ever since the nineteenth century. Our manuscript may well have been in the possession of this family, then, and the paracontents it contains could have been added by several of its scholars. There are various possibilities. It may have been penned by Prince Sai Sanitwong (1846–1912), the donor's father, who was a famous court physician in the late nineteenth century. However, considering that core content and paracontents are directly concerned with traditional knowledge of elephant lore and rituals, the paracontents were most likely written by Prince Wongsathirat Sanit (1808–1871), who was the founder of the princely household, a royal physician, a famous diplomat, a prominent consultant to the King as well as an expert on court tradition.[34] Prince Wongsathirat Sanit was one of the most influential traditional scholars of the royal court during his lifetime. Phin Sanitwong, the donor of the manuscript, was his grandson.

Although the donor could have acquired the manuscript from other agents than his own family, the core content and the paracontents concerning the elephant rituals and typologies suggest that the original owner of the manuscript and the author of its paracontent were both members of the royal court, as matters concerning elephant rituals and typologies have nothing to do with commoners' lives. Apart from that, the author of the interlinear and marginal paracontents must have been a scholar due to his (or her) knowledge of annotating an old ritual text such as text I and supplementing citations and notes on the elephant typologies in text III.

4. Functions, authority and traditional textual scholarship

Given their wide range of forms and content, the paracontents in this multilayered manuscript had a variety of functions and at the same time demonstrated how a traditional text was meant to be read and studied in traditional Thai society, an aspect that reflects textual scholarship among the Siamese in the nineteenth century.

The paracontents in this manuscript served various purposes. Interlinear corrections ensured the accurate transmission of the core content, while interlinear glosses enabled the reader to grasp the meaning of the core content, which makes them fall under the category of paracontentual commenting. Interlinear citations and marginal paracontents

[34] See Orawan Sapploy 2009.

providing a list of significant elephants (e.g. the list of elephants from the Brahma family and the list of elephants of the eight directions) also facilitated a better understanding of the text. In addition to this, the marginal paracontents stating categories of elephants as vertical headings also have a structuring function, helping the reader to navigate the manuscript and its content.[35]

Although interlinear and marginal paracontents may often have been regarded as peripheral and less important than the core content by the readers of such manuscripts, paracontents of this kind still shaped the text in question and its interpretation. In this sense they had authority over the text. Regardless of whether or not they were inserted by the original scribe, interlinear corrections exerted authority over the textual transmission of the core content, as they corrected errors after the proofreading process, making the text more accurate and possibly even more complete than before. Sometimes a letter, a syllable, a word or even a whole line or stanza is omitted in the core content in our manuscript – a scribal phenomenon which is also quite common in other literary manuscripts. Thanks to the interlinear corrections that have been made, the manuscript contains texts written the way in which they should have been copied in the first place. Readers and users of our manuscript had to spot and read the additional corrections between the lines, otherwise the text would never have been read and approached in its correct form. Furthermore, the additional interlinear glosses and notes that were inserted possessed authority over interpretation as well, as in the case of text I in the collection, which is rather obscure. Interlinear glosses and interlinear citations were indispensable for readers of traditional works who were not experts in Khmer and Sanskrit, as they are required for a better understanding of the obscure words. Without them, the whole stanza, or indeed the whole text, may not have been understood by any reader in the traditional period.

For modern scholars, these additional kinds of writing provide significant evidence of traditional textual scholarship, knowledge which was often transmitted orally and left no visible traces. Scientists can reconstruct how the copied text was proofread and how corrections were made. The interlinear glosses, furthermore, reflect how the text was read, or rather studied and interpreted, revealing an attempt by a traditional reader to comprehend an obscure text such as text I and to compare text III with other related texts in Thai and Pali. The interlinear and marginal notes in text III also show how the content of the text was categorised and marked to ensure better comprehension and memorisation as well as better navigation when searching for a particular part of the text. Although they partially appear in text III, the interlinear citations or the comparisons with other texts also reflect the intertextuality within traditional manuscript culture, in which one text has been made in reference to another, especially when the details in two texts are different. The interlinear and marginal paracontents in this manuscript therefore indicate the traditional knowledge and understanding of a text, which do not necessarily correspond to that of a modern reader. They also showcase that an old text from the Ayutthaya Kingdom such as *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* has been read and studied closely by scholars of a later era, in this case the early Bangkok period.

5. Conclusion

Although a Siamese literary manuscript containing interlinear and marginal paracontents is not very common, the case of this multilayered manuscript of *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* exemplifies different types of interlinear and marginal paracontents that can be found in a single manuscript. The space between the lines and in the margins, which was originally left blank, was employed for adding corrections, annotations, citations, summarising lists and headings, regardless of the manuscript's original function; these no doubt served as a reminder for private study or for teaching purposes. Reading interlinear and marginal paracontents can help to uncover aspects that the core content alone cannot reveal, namely the interpretation and practice of reading the text in the traditional period.

Although philology has been defined by Sheldon Pollock as 'the study or the discipline of making sense of text',[36] modern philologists need to learn how to make sense of paracontents as well since paracontents such as interlinear notes reflect how the texts were read and used. They are clearly useful in making sense of the core content that was copied and in understanding the purpose of its carrier, the manuscript. Although interlinear and marginal paracontents are often located in the marginal area of a manuscript (i.e. between the lines in the left- and right-hand margin

[35] Ciotti et al. 2018; cf. Ciotti and Lin 2016, vii–viii.

[36] Pollock 2009, 934. Other definitions of philology exist as well, of course, such as 'the study of the written record in its cultural context' (Simon 1990, 19) and 'historical text curatorship' (Gumbrecht 2003, 2).

of the page), their meaning in the field of Thai literature and philology is not always marginal, and the dynamics of their content, form, function and layering constitute a subject of serious research in its own right. The research on the paracontents in the multilayered manuscript of *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises* discussed in this article is the paradigmatic attempt to demarginalise interlinear and marginal paracontents in Siamese manuscripts, so that their existence and significance can be brought into the focus of future research.

Acknowledgements

The research for this paper was funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, or DFG) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was undertaken within the scope of work conducted at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

Abbreviations used

ChSs	Chan ('poems in *chan* meter') Subsection, Literature Section, NLT
KBLKhSs	Klòn Bot Lakhòn ('dramatic plays') Subsection, Literature Section, NLT
NLT	National Library of Thailand, Bangkok
PLS	Palm-leaf Manuscript Section of the NLT
STWSs	Sattawasat ('zoology') Subsection, Secular Treatise Section, NLT

REFERENCES

Boontuen Sriworapot บุญเตือน ศรีวรพจน์ (2002), 'Athibai Rüang Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei Kham Chan Klòm Chang Khrang Krung Kao Lae Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun อธิบายเรื่อง คำฉันท์ดุษฎีสังเวย คำฉันท์กล่อมช้างครั้งกรุงเก่า และคำฉันท์คชกรรมประยูร' [Introduction to the Collection of Old Elephant Treatises], in Fine Arts Department กรมศิลปากร (ed.), *Kham Chan Dutsadi Sangwoei Kham Chan Klòm Chang Khrang Krung Kao Lae Kham Chan Khotchakam Prayun* คำฉันท์ดุษฎีสังเวย คำฉันท์กล่อมช้างครั้งกรุงเก่า และคำฉันท์คชกรรมประยูร [The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises], Bangkok: Fine Arts Department, 3–52.

Ciotti, Giovanni and Hang Lin (2016), 'Preface', in Giovanni Ciotti and Hang Lin (eds), *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, Berlin: De Gruyter, vii–xii.

Ciotti, Giovanni, Michael Kohs, Eva Wilden, Hanna Wimmer and the TNT Working Group (2018), *Definition of Paracontent* (CSMC Occasional Paper 6), Hamburg: CSMC <doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.9814> (accessed on 6 December 2023).

Davids, T. W. Rhys and William Stede (1966), *The Pali Text Society's Pali–English Dictionary*, London: Pali Text Society.

Fine Arts Department กรมศิลปากร (1938), *Tamra Chang*, Phak Thi 1 ตำราช้าง ภาคที่ ๑ [Elephant Treatises, vol. 1], Bangkok: Thai Khasem.

Fine Arts Department กรมศิลปากร (2004), *Prachum Kham Phak Ramakian*, vol. 3: *Kham Phak Ramakian Phasa Khamen* ประชุมคำพากย์รามเกียรติ์ เล่ม ๓: คำพากย์รามเกียรติ์ภาษาเขมร [Collection of Khon-Theatrical Scripts of Ramakian, vol. 3: The Khmer Version], Bangkok: Fine Arts Department.

Ginsburg, Henry (1989), *Thai Manuscript Paintings*, London: British Library.

Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich (2003), *The Powers of Philology: Dynamics of Textual Scholarship*, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.

Helman-Ważny, Agnieszka, Volker Grabowsky, Direk Injan and Khamvone Boulyaphonh (2020), 'The Techniques and Materials Used in Making Lao and Tai Paper Manuscripts', *manuscript cultures*, 15: 133–162.

Igunma, Jana (2013), 'The History of the Book in Southeast Asia II: The Mainland', in Michael S. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen (eds), *The Book: A Global History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 630–634.

—— (2017), 'Henry D. Ginsburg and the Thai Manuscripts Collection at the British Library and Beyond', *Manuscript Studies*, 2/1: 22–81.

Kanittanan, Wilaiwan (2004), 'Khmero-Thai: The Great Change of the History of the Thai Language of the Chao Phraya Basin', in Somsonge Burusphat (ed.), *Papers from the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona State University, 375–391.

Kongkaew Weeraprachak ก่องแก้ว วีระประจักษ์ (2010), *Kan Tham Samut Thai Lae Kan Triam Bai Lan* การทำสมุดไทยและการเตรียมใบลาน [The Making of Khòi-paper Leporello Manuscripts and Palm-leaf Manuscripts], Bangkok: National Library of Thailand, Fine Arts Department.

—— (2021), *Tamra Chang Cak Ekkasan Boran* ตำราช้างจากเอกสารโบราณ [Elephant Treatises from Traditional Manuscripts], Bangkok: National Library of Thailand, Fine Arts Department.

Orawan Sapploy อรวรรณ ทรัพย์พลอย (2009), *Phra Cao Bòromma Wong Thoe Krom Luang Wongsathirat Sanit: Prat Phu Pen Kamlang Khòng Phaen Din* พระเจ้าบรมวงศ์เธอ กรมหลวงวงษาธิราชสนิท: ปราชญ์ผู้เป็นกำลังของแผ่นดิน [Prince Wongsathirat Sanit: Scholar of the Kingdom], Bangkok: Sangsan Books.

Panarut, Peera (2019), *Ayutthaya Literature in the Hands of Bangkok Scribes and Scholars: Paratexts and Transmission History of Ayutthaya Literature in the Bangkok Period*, PhD thesis, Universität Hamburg.

—— (2021), 'Scholarship Between the Lines: Interlinear Glossing in Siamese Literary Manuscripts', in Stefanie Brinkmann, Giovanni Ciotti, Stefano Valente and Eva Wilden (eds), *Education Materialised: Reconstructing Teaching and Learning Contexts Through Manuscripts*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 215–239.

Pollock, Sheldon (2009), 'Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World', *Critical Inquiry*, 35: 931–961.

Pramin Khrueathong ปรามินทร์ เครือทอง (2010), *Chang*, vol. 1 ช้าง เล่มหนึ่ง [Elephants, vol. 1], Bangkok: Museum of Siam.

Santi Pakdeekham ศานติ ภักดีคำ (2004), 'Dutsadi Sangwoei Klòm Chang Khòng Phra Thepkawi: Mum Mòng Phasa Lae Wannakhadi Khamen ดุษฎีสังเวยกล่อมช้างของขุนเทพกวี: มุมมองภาษาและวรรณคดีเขมร' [Khun Thep Kawi's Dutsadi Sangwoei Klòm Chang: Aspects on Khmer Language and Literature], *Damrong Wichakan* ดำรงวิชาการ, 3/5: 111–127.

—— (2007), *Khwam Samphan Wannakhadi Thai-Khamen* ความสัมพันธ์วรรณคดีไทย-เขมร [Thai-Khmer Literary Relations], Bangkok: Department of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Schliesinger, Joachim (2012), *Elephants in Thailand*, vol. 3: *White Elephants in Thailand and Neighboring Countries*, Bangkok: White Lotus.

Simon, Eckehard (1990), 'The Case for Medieval Philology', in Jan Ziolkowski (ed.), *On Philology*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 16–20.

Woodward, Hiram (2016), 'The Characteristics of Thai Elephants: A Thai Manuscript and Its Context', in Justin Thomas McDaniel and Lynn Ransom (eds), *From Mulberry Leaves to Silk Scrolls: New Approaches to the Study of Asian Manuscript Traditions*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Library, 15–41.

PICTURE CREDITS

Figs 1–14: National Library of Thailand, Bangkok.

Article

'J'aime bonne compagnie' – Fragile Cohesion, Communicative Processes and the Stratigraphy of Nineteenth-century Music-related Albums

Janine Droese | Hamburg

1. Introduction

It was probably during a visit to Vienna in spring 1828 that the harp virtuoso, teacher and composer Aline Bertrand added an entry to the music album kept by Heinrich Panofka,[1] a violinist, composer and singing teacher. This inscription (see Fig. 1) consists of the first eight bars of her *Adagio pour la harpe* and her signature. It does not include the date or place of entry, though, or a dedication.[2] It is written in the last three staves of the page, the upper part of which was inscribed by the composer Johann Nepomuk Hummel on 24 March 1827, that is, a year before Bertrand has contributed her entry. Below Bertrand's inscription, to the left of her signature, the note '(célèbre harpiste)' ['(famous harpist)'][3] was added by another hand. This note obviously refers to the name of the inscriber and was written by Panofka himself, as Eva-Brit Fanger has pointed out.[4]

It is by no means unusual that album owners make these kinds of additions to inscriptions in their albums, so it is not surprising that a similar note has been added to Hummel's entry, too. In the upper margin, there is some biographical data on Hummel written in English by another hand, which is probably that of the American philanthropist and art collector Alfred Corning Clark.

The writers of these subsequent additions – the album's original owner, Panofka, and his pupil, Alfred Corning Clark, into whose possession the album passed in 1866[5] and who continued to collect entries in it – used brackets to mark their additions as such. These should be regarded as two different layers of writing applied at a later date, which relate to the entries and therefore depend on them. It is not immediately obvious that the portrait of Hummel pasted onto the page is also likely to be a later (material) addition made by one of the two owners of the album, but this does become apparent when browsing through the book, as the reader will find similar portraits which were added to other album inscriptions as well. While Hummel's picture was fitted into the layout in a way that would even allow us to conclude that it was considered when the entry was first created, it had to be squeezed into the margin in other entries, even covering parts of the writing, as in the (undated) contribution by Robert Schumann on fol. 44^r of the album (Fig. 2).

The fact that album owners added various layers to their manuscripts is very common, as we shall see below. However, this article not only aims to show that layers of this kind existed, but it intends to give the reader a comprehensive overview of the written and material layers commonly found in music-related albums in the nineteenth century, describing the processes that typically made albums grow or shrink and outlining the communicative relations which can sometimes be found between an album's entries. Building on this and following Johan Peter Gumbert's considerations on the stratigraphy of the codex,[6] which do not actually provide a suitable framework to

[1] DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014; see also the facsimile edition, Panofka 2007. All manuscripts are listed in the appendix and are cited with their *Répertoire Internationale de Sources Musicales* (RISM) sigla <https://rism.info/community/sigla.html>.

[2] Entries in music albums are often much less standardised than those in *Stammbücher* from earlier centuries. However, they usually contain at least the date of the entry and often the place as well, in addition to the signature of the person who made the entry. Dedications are more likely to be found in connection with text entries or only short musical quotations noted on blank paper. See also my remarks in Droese 2021, 152–154. For more on the more standardised structure of entries in *Stammbücher*, especially from earlier times, see Schnabel 2003, 146–149.

[3] All translations are my own.

[4] Panofka 2007, 58.

[5] Panofka 2007, 16.

[6] Gumbert 2004.

Fig. 1: Entries by Johann Nepomuk Hummel and Aline Bertrand in the music album of Heinrich Panofka and Alfred Corning Clark, DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014, fol. 2r.

accommodate albums in general yet, this paper will attempt to come to a conclusion about the stratigraphy of music-related albums from the nineteenth century, which may also be fitting for a description of other kinds of albums as well.[7]

2. Nineteenth-century music-related albums

In the sense in which I use the term here, albums are manuscripts in the tradition of *Stammbücher* or *alba amicorum*. Like the latter, they were created by an album owner to collect handwritten entries made by family members, friends, teachers, idols and other personal acquaintances. These entries were usually dedicated to the owner. The manuscripts are generally bound, but in some cases the entries were written on single or double leaves, which were regularly kept in a protective case. Cases of this type are often book-shaped and elaborately designed. The cohesion of the manuscripts was thus ensured by the binding of the codex, or at least by means that make the album resemble the form of a codex (see Figs 3 and 4).[8]

The group of albums I call 'music-related' here can actually be divided into three subgroups. The first one consists of music albums, which were optimised for the inclusion of musical entries, unlike the *Stammbuch* and *album amicorum* mentioned earlier. They only contain music paper for the inscribers to write on and thus make it theoretically possible to write down whole compositions, whereas pictures and text entries are harder to accommodate. Where they have nevertheless been included, they were not generally written,

[7] For a manuscriptological discussion of albums that is not limited to music-related albums of the nineteenth century, but tries to include albums from a wide range of times and geographical areas, see Droese and Karolewski 2024.

[8] In this respect, the albums discussed here do not differ from earlier *Stammbücher* or *alba amicorum*; see Schnabel 2003, 125.

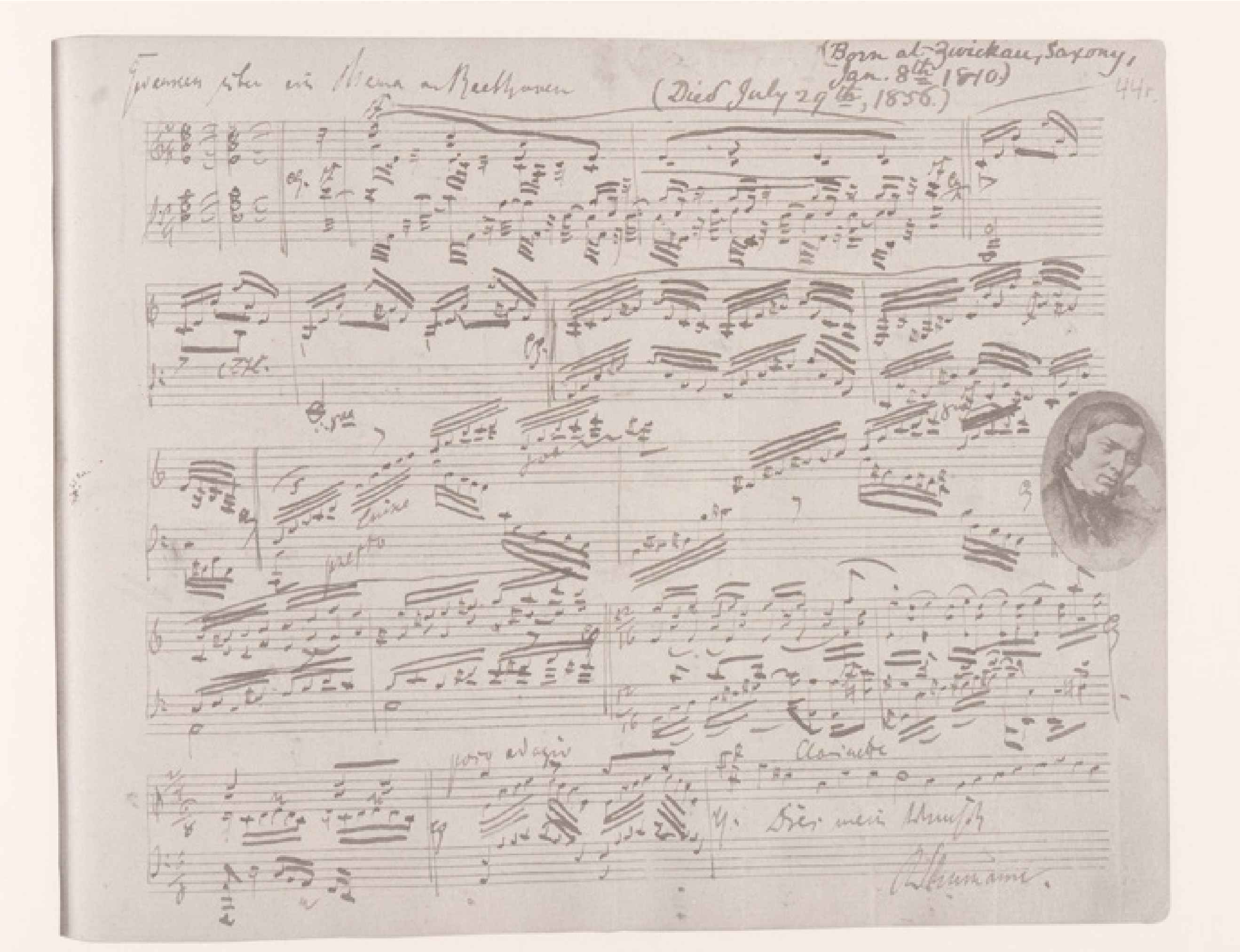


Fig. 2: Entry by Robert Schumann in Heinrich Panofka's and Alfred Corning Clark's music album, DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014, fol. 44^{r}.

drawn, sketched or painted directly on the album's pages, but were inserted in a second step, usually by gluing them to the paper.

The second subgroup consists of mixed albums, which contain music paper in some sections and blank, sometimes coloured paper in others, so they were designed for collecting various things – not just musical notation, but text entries and pictures as well, for instance. The last of the three subgroups consists of manuscripts that only contain blank paper, but nevertheless have numerous entries made by musicians. In these latter manuscripts, which are the ones most closely related to *Stammbücher*, the musical entries usually consist of short musical quotations. Whole compositions are rare as entries and were usually written on music paper and inserted into the album later.[9]

The following observations are based on this relatively large and heterogeneous group of manuscripts, but for codicological reasons, the corpus of albums to be discussed here will be limited to manuscripts that were handed down in a bound form and were presumably already bound when the owner began collecting entries. This limitation is necessary because only within bound books the order of the pages is fixed, and additions or removals can therefore be identified at least with some certainty. Furthermore, only in the case of entries in bound volumes, we can assume that the person making the entry was aware of the situational context in which it would be put – the earlier entries that came before it, after it or in a completely different place in the album – and was able to react to that if they wanted.

[9] For a discussion of terminology, see Droese 2021, 147–155.

Fig. 3: Front cover of the bound album of Louise Langhans, *née* Japha; private collection.

Fig. 4: Book-shaped case for the loose-leaf album owned by Benedikt Kietz, D-DÜhh HHI.AUT.77.5041.

3. Tables of contents and biographical data: enriching the manuscript and reclaiming control over the book

A few examples of enrichment[10] have already been described in the introduction. Similar additions usually written by the owner[11] can be found in other albums, too.[12] Fig. 5 shows an example from an album kept by the Dresden organist, choir director and composer Volkmar Schurig.

This inscription – a *canon à deux* notated twice with two different bass parts (resulting in two different resolutions of the canon), dated 'Leipzig d. 27 Mai 1852' ('Leipzig, 27 May 1852') – was written by Carl Zöllner, a composer, choir director and leading figure of the Central German male chorus movement of the nineteenth century. Schurig, who was twenty-two years younger and outlived Zöllner by almost 40 years, added notes on when and where Zöllner was born and died ('Geb. d: 17. März 1800 zu Mittelhausen in Thüringen, / † d: 25. September 1860 in Leipzig'; 'B. 17 March 1800 in Mittelhausen in Thuringia, / † 25 September in Leipzig'). It should be noted that Schurig – like Panofka and Clark – clearly separated the note that he added from the text in the entry, in Schurig's case by drawing a frame around it that was left open on the right. The page numbers on Schurig's album, too, are probably additions made by the album's owner.

The layer that the pianist Johann Peter Cavallo added to his music album is of a completely different nature (Fig. 6). He stamped the end of each entry with his initials – in the figure, you can see the last page of the first inscription, written by the composer Friedrich Wilhelm Kücken in 1845.[13] The pagination is probably also in Cavallo's hand.

While this is the only case to my knowledge in which a second layer in an album has been stamped, tables of contents were a very common addition to music-related albums of the time (and to earlier *Stammbücher* as well for that matter).[14] Fig. 7 shows a page of the index from the music album of the organist and piano teacher Eliza Wesley. She listed the names of the contributors alphabetically in the central column of each three-column section, noting the page number on the left and the year of the entry on the right. The pianist and composer Louis Brassin also started to index his album entries; Fig. 8 shows the respective page of his album. Unlike Eliza Wesley, he only noted the names of the contributors, the order corresponding roughly to the chronological order of the entries, which does not correspond to the 'horizontal' order of the codex: contributors were usually able to put their entries anywhere in an album, and the place they chose often was not the next blank page. This sometimes resulted in large gaps between entries; even the first leaves were occasionally left blank. Brassin's inventory was not completed until the twentieth or twenty-first century, however, which was presumably done by a later owner or by a librarian who added the missing names in pencil.

All of the layers described above can be seen as attempts by the album's owner to systematise the entries that are beyond their control and thus regain authority over their book. Their intervention mitigates the diversity created by the contributors, creating an overarching, unified image of the whole album that brings the individual contributions together and connects them.

[10] In Gumbert's words, '[t]he matter added to a codicological unit, block [part of a codicological unit delimited by caesuras, i.e., boundaries which coincide with quire boundaries] or file [(a) codicological unit(s) that, at some moment, constituted a combination available for use] without changing the quire structure'; Gumbert 2004, 40–42.

[11] My impression is that a librarian may also have added notes of this kind in some cases, perhaps as an aid to cataloguing. The notes were made in pencil by what is obviously a later hand.

[12] The layers providing additional information on the biographies of the inscribers are actually part of the conventions of *Stammbücher* of the preceding centuries, too. Friedrich Wilhelm Hölbe, who wrote a widely disseminated treatise on *Stammbücher* published in 1798, referred to these layers as 'supplements' and devoted a whole chapter of his book to them, in which he wrote: 'Die Beyfügung dieser sind ganz dem Inhaber des *Stammbuches* überlassen. Diejenigen, welche sich derselben bedienen, haben keinen unglücklichen Gedanken gehabt. Ich halte sie, ob sie gleich nur zufällig sind, für einen wichtigen und sehr angenehmen Theil des *Stammbuchs*. [...] Durch solche biographische Zusätze wird der historische Werth des *Stammbuchs* unendlich erhöht, und dieses wird zu manche[m] nützlichen Gebrauch Veranlassung geben' ('The insertion of these is left entirely to the owner of the *Stammbuch*. Those who make use of them have had no unfortunate thoughts. I consider them, even if they are only incidental, to be an important and very pleasant part of the *Stammbuch*. [...] Through such biographical additions, the historical value of the *Stammbuch* is infinitely increased, and this will give rise to many beneficial uses'; Hölbe 1798, 119–121.

[13] As far as I can see, this type of addition is quite unusual. The reason for stamping all the inscriptions may have been to make sure that nobody took an entry out of the album to sell it or add it to their own collection.

[14] For some examples from the eighteenth century, see the table of contents in the *Stammbuch* belonging to Karl Benda, D-LEsm A/2013/376, fol.1^{v} and in the *Stammbuch* of the merchant C. de Vins, D-Hs MS 5/2020, pp. 252–255. Regarding the index of this last album, also see Droese 2022.

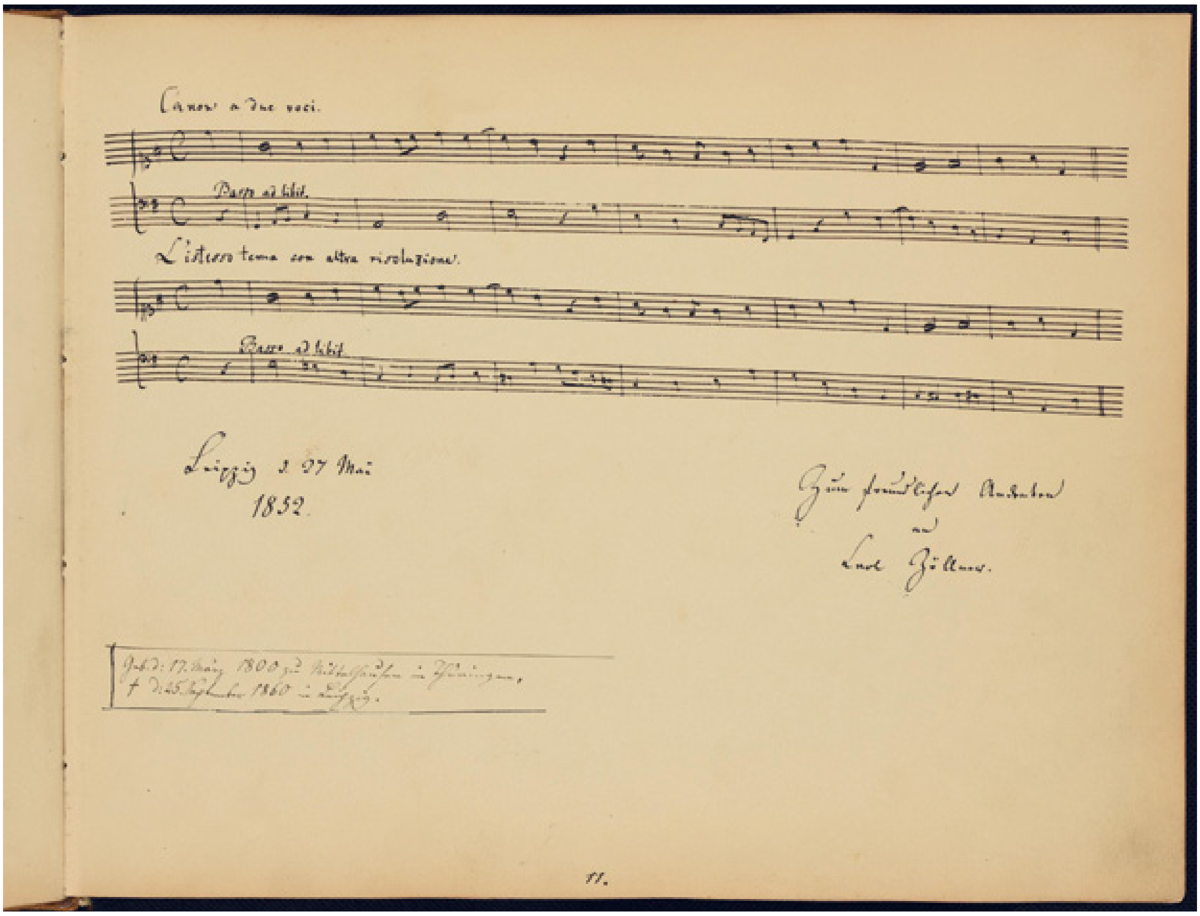


Fig. 5: An entry by Carl Zöllner in Volkmar Schurig's album, D-Dl Mus.1-B-617, p. 11.

Fig. 6: The end of Friedrich Wilhelm Kücken's entry in Johann Peter Cavallo's music album, GB-Lbl Hirsch.IV.1455, p. 4.

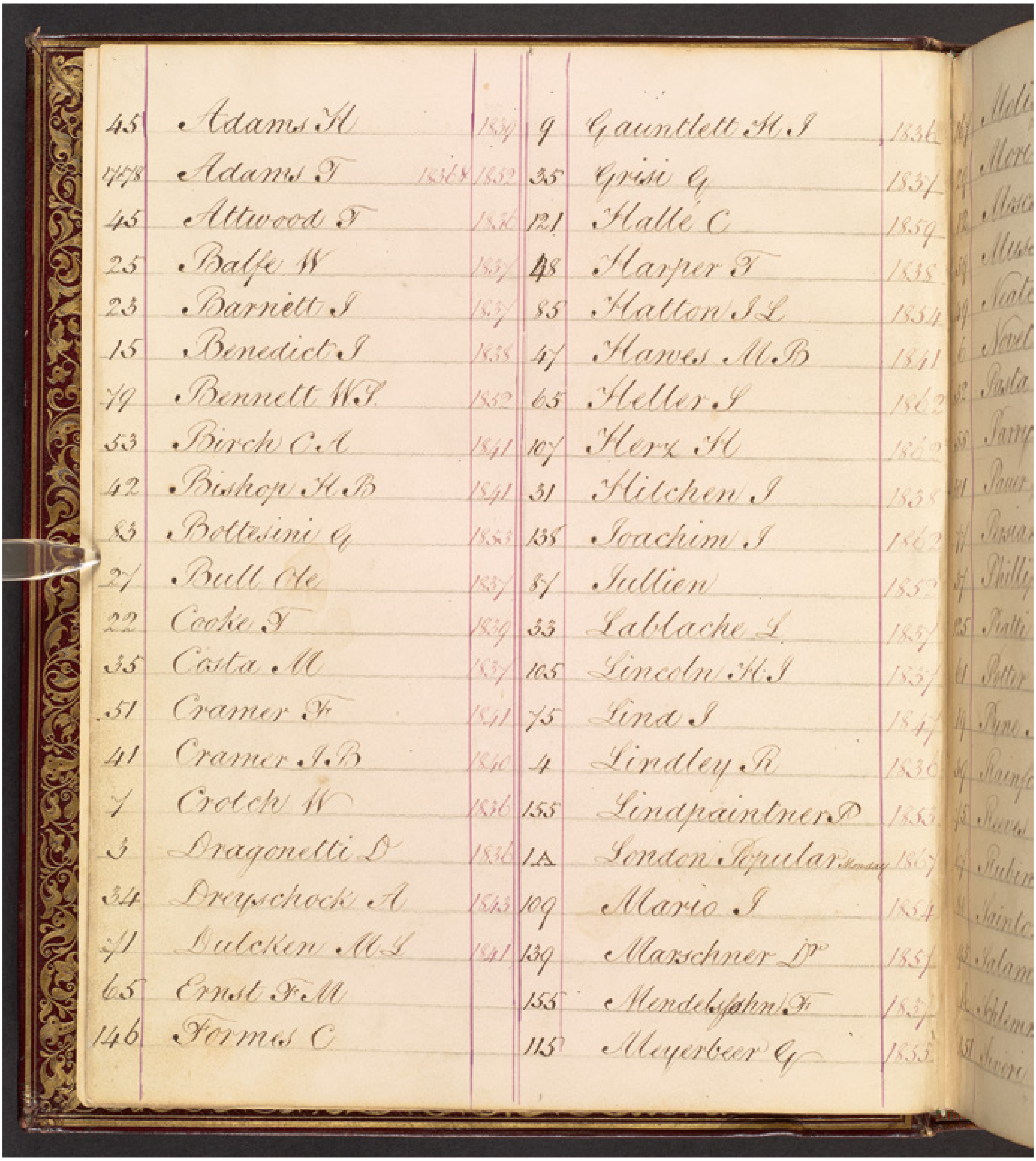


Fig. 7: Eliza Wesley's album, GB-Lbl Add MS 35026, showing the first page of the index.

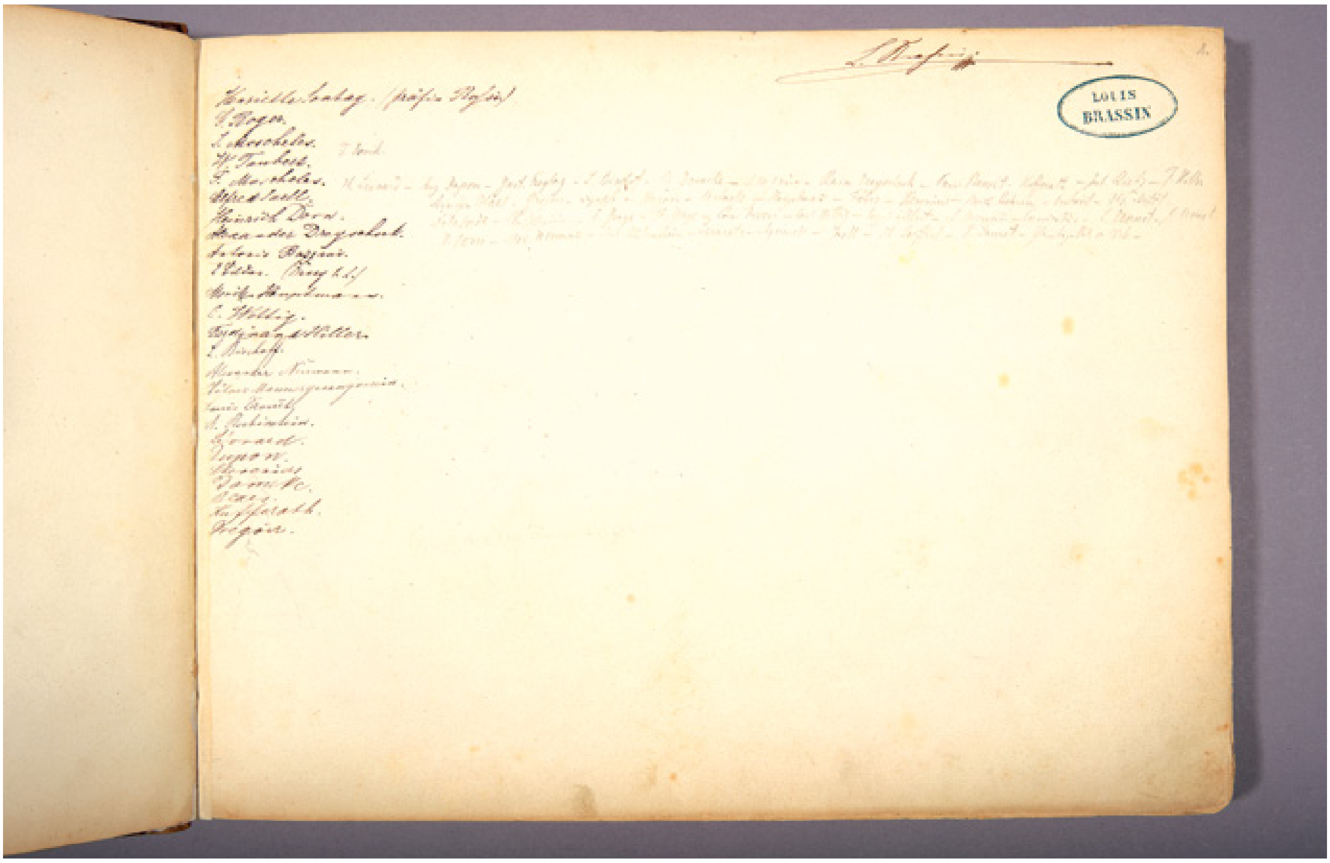


Fig. 8: Louis Brassin's album, D-LEsm A/2013/392, page 1 showing the index of the album.

4. Enlarging and reducing the manuscript: cutting, pasting and album leaves wandering from album to album

As mentioned above, pasting entries into one's album was not unusual. Pictorial entries in particular were regularly inserted into albums only after they had been completed, but whether this was done by the inscriber himself or by the album's owner is usually unclear. The same is true for inscriptions of complete compositions in albums containing blank paper.[15]

One example of a pasted-in pictorial entry is a contribution by Samuel Rösel, a landscape artist and professor at the Berlin Akademie der Künste, in the music album kept by composer and pianist Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy (married Hensel) (Fig. 9).

The entry consists of two parts. A pencil-and-ink drawing, which is framed by a passe-partout, is mounted on the right-hand side of the opening. This picture is accompanied by an explanatory text written on a blank sheet of paper and mounted on the opposite page of the opening. The reasons for not drawing the picture directly in the album are obvious, the main one being because the pre-ruled staves of the music paper would not have provided a good background.[16] In some of the cases – as in Rösel's inscription – it is impossible to tell whether the album's owner or the author of the album leaf was responsible for the addition. Where glued-in additions like pictures, paper cuttings, locks of hair, dried plants or similar items can be found that are obviously decorations meant to embellish an entry made directly in the album, it seems reasonable to assume that the person who made the entry was also responsible for the gluing, but where, for example, clippings from letters were pasted in, which were items that were not originally produced as album entries, the insertion

[15] To get a first impression, see, e.g., the tables in Rost 2020, 334–348 and the description of the albums owned by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Cécile Jeanrenaud / Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy, which are now kept in the Bodleian Library (GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. d.8, GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. b.2 and GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. *c*.21), in Crum 1983, 73–89.

[16] Some albums contain sections made of blank coloured paper that is thicker than the paper used in the other sections. These coloured sections seem to have been inserted especially for pictorial entries and can be found in albums such as the one kept by Fanny Schorn (D-BNu S 2034 f) and the album kept by Joseph Dupont (D-F Mus Hs 2630). Even in these cases, though, most of the pictorial entries were drawn or painted on separate sheets of paper and then inserted into the album later. An effort was often made to present the images appropriately, for example by cutting recesses in the paper in the album so it could serve as a frame for the image glued in behind it (and behind which another sheet of paper was then glued to keep it in place).

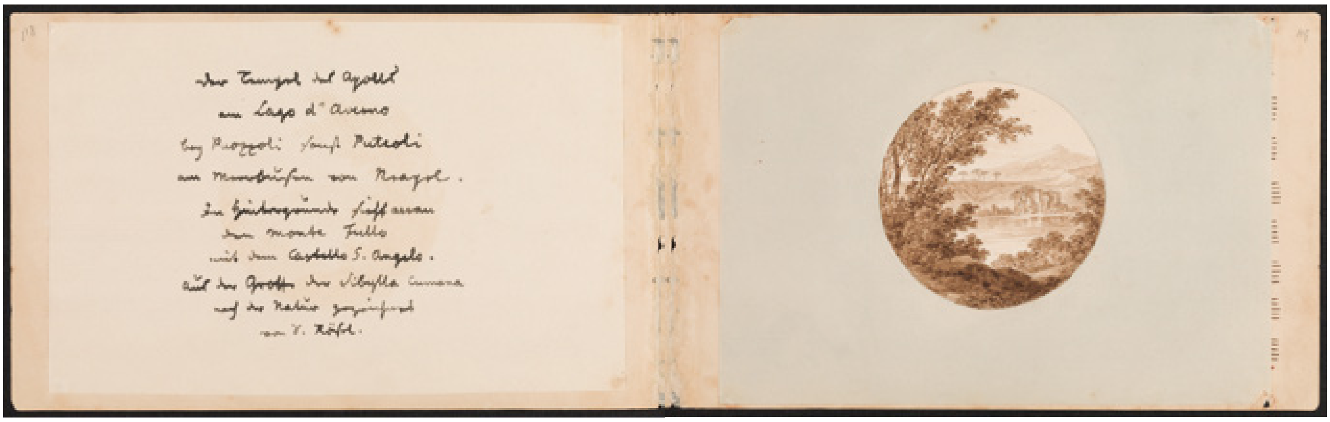


Fig. 9: Entry by Samuel Rösel in Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy's music album, D-B MA Ms. 142, pp. 118–119.

was presumably made by the owner of the album, as is the case for pasted-in visiting cards, newspaper clippings and the like.[17] The album keeper was certainly responsible for the addition of layers of materials in cases where sheets dedicated to him or her were added to it, which verifiably date from a time before the album was created. The album kept by Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy is a good example: she received her music album as a gift from her aunt in 1821, and once her brother Felix had added the very first inscription, she inserted other album leaves she had been given previously.[18]

[17] This form of insertion is particularly common in albums that have strong features of an autograph collection, such as the one kept by the London musician and music publisher Vincent Novello (GB-Lbl MS Mus 1816; see Weston 1994 on this particular item), or that are a mixture of an album and scrapbook, such as the album by Emilie Steffens (D-Zsch 12899, *olim* 12888 A). Halina Goldberg regards albums of this kind as being in a category of their own: '[they were] put together in the manner of a scrapbook: the owner pasted the gifted musical manuscripts—which may or may not have been composed especially for this purpose—onto blank pages of a book' (Goldberg 2020, 473). She only mentions the two albums that Felix Mendelssohn collected for his (later) wife, Cécile, as examples, however, of which only the later one (GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. b.2) is actually designed in this way throughout. The earlier one (GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. *c*.21) contains a relatively large number of album leaves that were directly inscribed in the second part, while the first part of it contains inserted autographs by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Sebastian Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Friedrich Schiller and other prominent people and therefore bears traits of an autograph collection. Ferdinand Hiller's album (D-KNa Best. 1051, A 1) is another example, although its present form, which is similar to a scrapbook, probably has little in common with the original form of the album(s); see Rost 2022, 210–211. As last example of this scrapbook type of album, Goldberg names the manuscript composed by Princess Jadwiga Sapieha for beneficial purposes, which is, in fact, a composite manuscript preceded by a pasted autograph by Chopin. On the frequent difficulty of determining a manuscript's genre in the field of personal manuscripts see Zboray and Zboray 2009; they use the example of personal manuscripts of common people in antebellum New England.

[18] Klein 1993, 142; cf. also Campell 1947; Rost 2020, 131; Droese 2021.

Music autographs by very well-known composers, often by composers that had already passed away, are a special case of entries inserted along with a writing support, as these were written by individuals with whom the album's owner may well have felt connected, but from whom a direct entry could not be expected. These manuscripts usually got added to albums in one of two ways: either the owner incorporated the autograph into the album after purchasing it from an autograph collector, for example, or the entry was added by a contributor as a gift. This is probably what happened with an autograph by Carl Maria von Weber, which was attached to a page of Heinrich Panofka's album with sealing wax (Fig. 10). Heinrich Baermann, a clarinettist and friend of Weber's who dedicated nearly all his compositions for the clarinet to him,[19] noted the following words on this autograph: 'Carl Maria von Webers Handschrift an Freund Panofka überlassen von Hein. Baermann' ('Carl Maria von Weber's handwriting given to friend Panofka by Heinrich Baermann'). This is not only a technical confirmation of its authenticity, but a reference to the friendship between Baermann and Panofka. It seems quite plausible that Baermann himself pasted the sheet into the album when Panofka gave it to him for an entry. If this did indeed happen, then the additional layer of writing may not have been connected to the autograph in advance – which is usually the case when an autograph is a gift from or purchased from a collector[20] – but was added to it when it

[19] The only exception is his op. 48, the *Grand Duo concertant*, which was nonetheless written for Baermann, too. Cf. Allroggen, Holtsträter and Veit 2005, 143.

[20] For an example, see the autograph by Antonio Salieri in the album of Clara and Robert Schumann, D-Dl Mus.Schu.250, on which the Viennese composer, singer and author Aloys Fuchs, who had a large collection of autographs and was well known as an expert in the field of musicians' handwriting, wrote a certificate of authenticity (see also Hartmann and Rosenthal 2010, 18). The autograph of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in Cécile

Fig. 10: Autograph by Carl Maria von Weber with a note by Heinrich Baermann in the music album kept by Heinrich Panofka and Alfred Corning Clark, DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014, fol. 30^{v}.

was inserted into the album. The portrait and Weber's (but not Baermann's!) biographical data are further layers, which were added by the later album holder, Alfred Corning Clark.

Most of the music-related albums show signs of material subtraction, which may be due to the removal of earlier additions (Fig. 11) or the removal of sheets from the album's initial set of pages. The latter is clearly what happened if some of the leaves have been cut out, leaving telltale remnants. The fact that leaves have been completely removed can usually only be spotted if previous foliation or pagination reveals that they are missing.

There are various reasons for removing whole pages of an album. For one thing, a contributor might choose this method to delete an entry they are not satisfied with, and the owner might want to remove a contribution by a specific person from their album or remove an inscription they find inappropriate. Furthermore, they might want to recontextualise a specific album leaf. In most of the cases examined, however, the album leaves were probably not detached by the original owner of the album or by one of the inscribers, but by a later owner or autograph seller for economic reasons. Henrike Rost has described this process for the albums kept by Charlotte and Serena Moscheles, which is a recent example:

> Die Alben von Charlotte und Serena Moscheles hatte Jeanne Rosen, die Witwe eines Enkels von Serena Rosen (geb. Moscheles), der British Library im September 2000 [...] zunächst als Leihgabe zur Verfügung gestellt. 2011 entschied sich ihre Tochter, die Alben bei Sotheby's zu versteigern. Obwohl die Auktion der kompletten Alben zurückgezogen wurde, kam es dennoch zum Verkauf von neun besonders wertvollen Autographen, die aus den Stammbüchern herausgelöst bzw. -geschnitten wurden: Aus Charlottes Album wurden sechs Autographe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und jeweils eines von Heinrich

Jeanrenaud's album is similar – this also has Fuchs's handwriting on it ('1ter Satz einer Sonate. W. A. Mozarts original Handschrift' ['1st movement of a sonata. W. A. Mozart's original handwriting'], GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. *c*.21, fols 8^{r}–9^{v}); see Crum 1983.

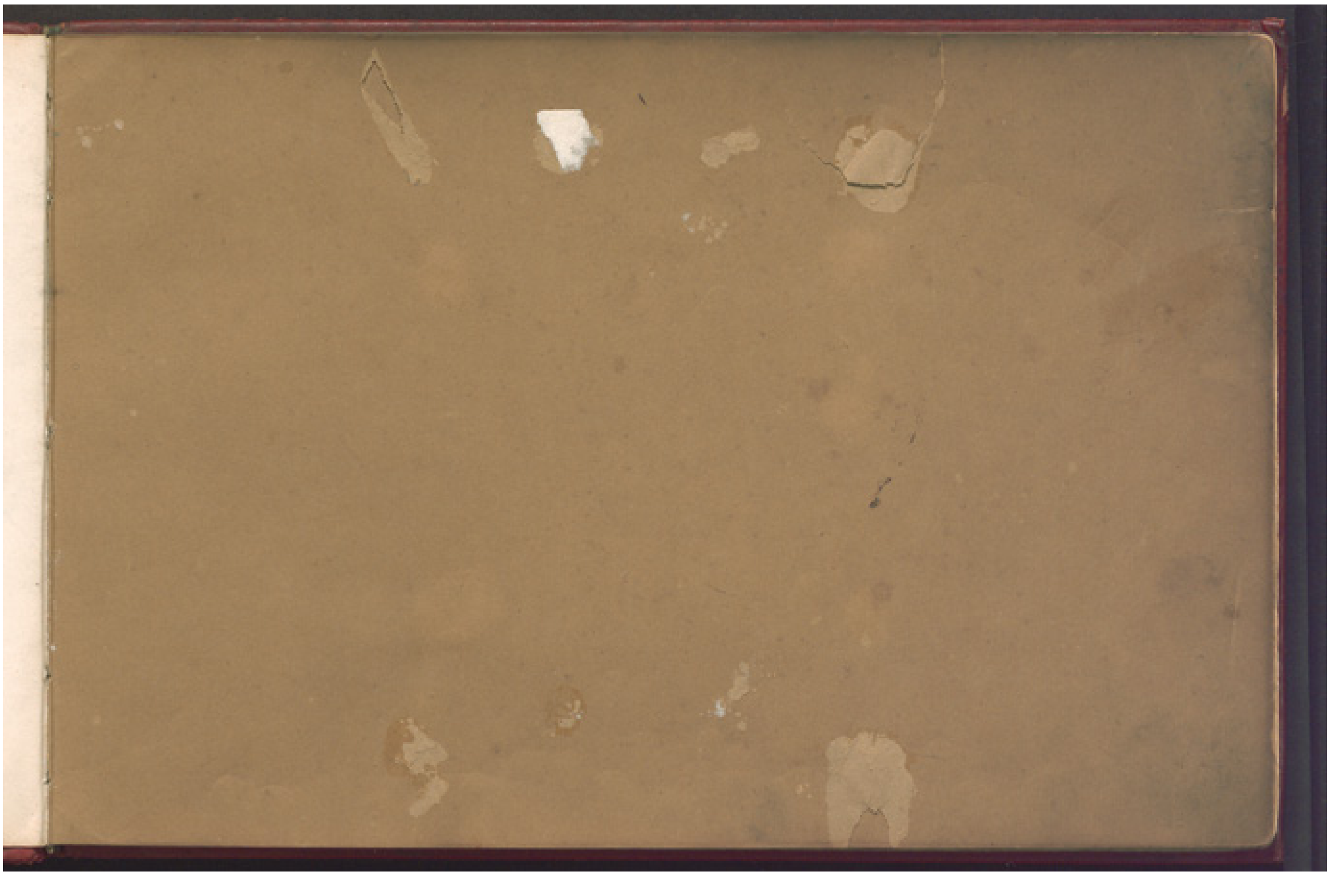


Fig. 11: Traces of the removal of a glued-in entry in Joseph Dupont's album, D-F Mus Hs 2630, fol. 1r.[21]

> Heine und Giacomo Meyerbeer versteigert, aus Serenas Album wurde ein Autograph von Johann Strauß (Vater) verkauft. Die entsprechenden Seiten, die bei der Auktion jeweils fünfstellige Summen erzielten, wurden in den Alben durch Faksimiles ersetzt.[22]
>
> The albums of Charlotte and Serena Moscheles were initially loaned to the British Library by Jeanne Rosen, the widow of a grandson of Serena Rosen (*née* Moscheles), in September 2000 [...]. In 2011, her daughter decided to auction the albums at Sotheby's. Although the auction of the complete albums was withdrawn, nine particularly valuable autographs that were detached or cut out of the Stammbücher were still sold: six autographs by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, one by Heinrich Heine and one by Giacomo Meyerbeer were auctioned from Charlotte's album, and an autograph by Johann Strauss (father) was sold from Serena's album. The corresponding pages in the albums, each of which were sold for five-figure sums at the auction, were replaced by facsimiles.

Similar offers in auction catalogues show that this practice is nothing new: the Parisian publisher and autograph dealer Simon Kra, for example, offered several musical album leaves from the album of a Mrs Wartel (presumably the pianist, composer and music critic Thérèse Wartel, *née* Adrien, 1814–1865) as early as 1926 (and again in 1937),[23] and the search for 'aus dem Album' ('from the album') in the digitised auction catalogues of the University of Heidelberg[24] leads to 77 hits.

As already mentioned, in some cases album leaves were detached from their original context by the album owners with the aim of transferring them to another album. When Aloys Fuchs, the Viennese musicologist and collector of

[21] My own page count, fol. 2r in the (partly repetitive) numbering of the digital images on the website of the library, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-428113>.

[22] Rost 2020, 148.

[23] Librairie Simon Kra 1926, lots 1627, 5627 and 5628 and Librairie Simon Kra 1937, lots 6102 and 6103.

[24] Universität Heidelberg *s. a.*

Fig. 12: Inscriptions by Max Reger and Karl Straube in the album of Leopold Greiff, D-LEsm A/2013/377.

musical manuscripts, bought the music album of the late musicologist Franz Sales Kandler[25] around 1831, he not only had it rebound and gave it a title ('Album musicale / Aloysii Fuchs, / MDCCCXXXI') and index, but he also took three autographs from it – by Ludwig van Beethoven (*Gesang der Mönche*, 3 May 1817), Archduke Rudolph ('Capriccio' in D-flat major, 6 June 1817) and Hugo Woržischek ('Amico verum dulcissimo', 29 April 1817) – and transferred them to his own 'Musikalisches Album zur Erinnerung an günstige Freunde'.[26] And a papercut which can now be found in the 'Bilderalbum' ('picture album') that once belonged to Fanny Hensel[27] (*née* Mendelssohn Bartholdy) was originally part of her music album,[28] which can be shown by an offset on p. 65 of the latter.[29]

[25] Now in a private collection.

[26] Now in a private collection, too. For more on both albums, see Kinsky 1953, nos. 348 and 349.

[27] D-B MA BA 188.

[28] D-B MA Ms. 142.

[29] D-B MA Ms. 142, p. 65; see Droese 2021, 160–162 (with a picture of the papercut).

5. Enriching the manuscript (II), or: Inscriptions as layers to earlier inscriptions?

It was probably in 1907 that the composer Max Reger, who was then the newly appointed *Universitätsmusikdirektor* and professor at the Conservatory in Leipzig, wrote an entry in the album of the Leipzig *Musikdirektor* Leopold Greiff. At this point, all the undecorated[30] recto pages of the album were probably already filled and only a few blank verso pages were left in the front section. This may have been the reason why Reger chose a page for his own entry that already contained an inscription: he put it underneath the entry by opera singer Eduard Hermany on the last verso page of the album. He used musical means to refer to Johann Sebastian Bach by noting the pitches B-A-C-H (B-flat, A, C, B-natural in German letter notation) and wrote this below the music: "'ist Anfang vom Ende aller Musik'" ('is the beginning of the end of all music'). He used a considerable amount of space for his signature, which he put underneath these words, and the formatting does not indicate that he planned

[30] The first page of each quire in this album contains printed decorative elements.

Fig. 13: Entries by Emilie Welti and Felix Mottl in the red album of Emma Lühning, D-HVfmg Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.100, *s. p.*

to leave any space for an additional entry. Nevertheless, the *Thomaskantor* Karl Straube, a friend of Reger's who probably received the album shortly afterwards, made his entry a comment on Reger's by squeezing the words 'Das meine ich auch' ('That's what I think, too') and his signature into the bottom margin of the page. While Reger's entry could be seen as being independent of Hermany's – although there is, of course, no proof that Hermany's entry did not influence the content, placement or any other feature of Reger's – Straube's entry definitely is a reaction to Reger's, having been written at a later time by another person and probably without consulting Reger, as the visual organisation does not indicate that the entry was planned as a joint one. It therefore seems obvious that the entry should be categorised as an additional layer, which is structurally comparable to the additions by the owners shown at the beginning.

Occasionally, entries can be seen as layers to previous inscriptions, even if they are not written on the same page, but on a neighbouring one. Fig. 13 shows an opening in one of two existing albums originally owned by Emma Lühning and now kept at the *Forschungszentrum Musik und Gender* in Hanover.[31] On the left-hand side there is an entry by the singer Emilie Welti, who signed it with her maiden name, Emilie Herzog. The text of the entry, written in Hamburg and dated 17 November 1893, reads: 'Musik ist die wahrste, allgemeinste aller Menschensprachen' ('Music is the truest, most universal of all human languages'). Three days later, the conductor Felix Mottl added an entry on the next page, which reads: 'Darum sollen sie auch nur diejenigen sprechen, deren Muttersprache sie ist!' ('That's why it should only be spoken by those whose mother tongue it is!'). It is unclear how this was meant to be understood – as an approval of Welti's entry, perhaps? Or as an attack on her? Irrespective of this, however, the contribution – just like Straube's – does not make any sense in itself. The fact that it should be understood in relation to the previous entry is made unmistakably clear by an arrow connecting the end of the entry on the left page to the beginning of the entry on the right.[32]

The relationship between two entries is more speculative in other cases. When Clara Schumann and Julius Stockhausen toured in London in the early summer of 1859,[33] for example, they were obviously both asked to make an entry in the album owned by the merchant Alfred Benecke and his wife Adelheid (*née* Souchay).[34] Stockhausen added his entry to it on 17 June 1859.[35] He notated the beginning of the aria 'Es ist genug' ('It is enough') from Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's *Elijah* and wrote 'Künstler müssen bescheiden seyn' ('Artists must be modest') underneath it. When Clara Schumann, who knew Julius Stockhausen well and had already performed with him several times, left an entry on the following sheet of the

[31] D-HVfmg Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.100 and D-HVfmg Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.101. The entries discussed here are from Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.100.

[32] Both contributors also made entries in an album belonging to the Hamburg piano teacher Anna Büsing on the same days; see the corresponding records in the Repertorium Alborum Amicorum (RAA). The RAA bases its records on information received from Kotte Autographs. I am not familiar with the album myself and it is probably in private hands today, but it would be interesting to know if the entries are similar to those in Emma Lühning's album.

[33] See Reich 2001, 208 and Nauhaus s. a., for example.

[34] D-Zsch 94.74.

[35] Fol. 4^{r}.

album[36] nine days later, she decided to note an excerpt from the third of Robert Schumann's *Fantasiestücke* op. 12. She identified the music by quoting its title – 'Warum?' ('Why?'). This could also be understood as a reaction to Stockhausen's entry, however, which she must have seen before she wrote down her own, so the meaning is ambiguous.

The relation between two entries in Eliza Wesley's music album is similar (see Fig. 14). When the composer Peter von Lindpaintner inscribed the album in May 1853, he chose to write his entry below one made by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, which had been written in September 1837. Above the musical part of his entry, he said – as a caption and open to ambiguous interpretation– 'J'aime bonne compagnie!' ('I like good company!') and a little further to the right 'De l'Opera: Le Vampyr' ('From the opera: Le Vampyr'). No text is attached to the music, which is taken from the overture, and I have not been able to trace the text 'J'aime bonne compagnie' in the libretto. But even if it were to be identified as part of the opera text, in connection with the album, it can be understood as emphasising the fact that his entry was in direct proximity to Mendelssohn's, whose 'company' he enjoyed.

Interestingly, the musical parts of the two entries can also be seen in relation to each other – Lindpaintner's entry not only matches Mendelssohn's in key, but the melodic line and the canonic structure also connect the entries.

In summary, then, we can say that references were made between individual entries in the albums in a wide variety of ways. The fact that the location of an entry could generally be chosen by the person making it allows for a multitude of references, which also emphasises the chronological sequence in which the entries were produced in self-contained steps by different people. Some considerations on the stratigraphy of the albums – following Gumbert's *stratigraphy of the non-homogeneous codex* – will be made in the following on the basis of these observations.

6. Towards a stratigraphy of nineteenth-century music-related albums

Albums are hard to grasp with the set of methods and terms developed so far for codicological description and analysis.[37] The main problem here is obviously that albums are usually pre-bound items – thus, the process of writing is totally independent of the quire structure – and that they usually do not contain texts that fill more than a few pages, with one page (not leaf!) being the standard length and sometimes even more than one text being put on a page. The following observations and thoughts are to be seen as a first step towards taking up the challenges that the manuscript genre poses to analysis and introducing albums into the discourse on codicological questions.

As has been shown above, the nineteenth-century albums discussed here often contain a wide variety of layers: processes of enrichment, i.e. additions made on a purely textual level, are found on the one hand as additions to individual entries and on the other hand as systematic additions to many or all of the entries in an album. 'Enlargements', to stick to Gumbert's terminology[38] – that means material additions which easily fit into the existing quire structure – are found just as often. Material 'subtractions' (reductions) are also common, so albums today often exist as 'defective' units. Traces of the removal of earlier additions of material and, at least probably, also content seem to be more common than those of the removal of folios originally bound into the album. The removal of content alone has not been proven in a single case, however.

The term 'layer' has been used uncritically in this paper to describe additions and 'subtractions' of material – and thus interventions in the material structure of the codex – as well as any kind of written additions to previous content. Text was regarded as a later addition whenever a change of hands was just as obvious as a discontinuity in content, which was expressed by the fact that the text classified as a layer refers to the earlier text, often assuming a kind of dialogical or even hierarchical relationship with it.

What has remained unresolved so far is the question of what could be regarded as the original codicological unit in the case of albums, whose development through enrichment and enlargement has been described as well as their reduction through the removal of material and content. Gumbert defines a codicological unit as 'a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation, containing a complete text or set of texts'.[39] There is no definition of 'single operation', however.[40] As his paper progresses, it becomes clear that he regards the planning of a book by one or more individuals as its beginning and some

[36] Fol. 5^{r}.

[37] Droese and Karolewski 2024.

[38] Gumbert 2004, 31–33.

[39] Gumbert 2004, 25.

[40] It seems Gumbert was perfectly aware of this problem. Commenting on Denis Muzerelle's definition of *unité codicologique*, he writes: 'This definition […] already shows that it is not easy to define what "one operation" is' (Gumbert 2004, 19).

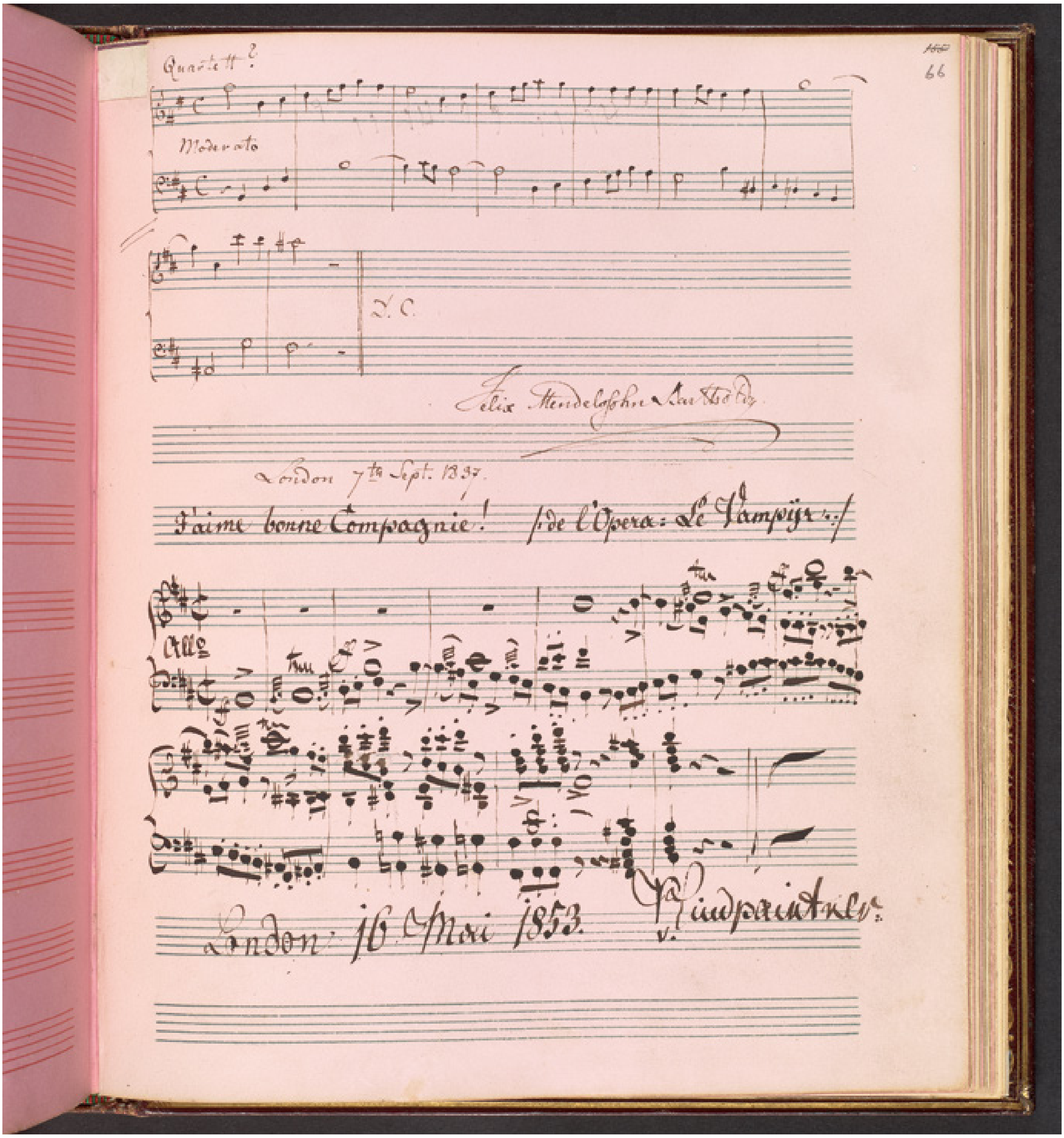


Fig. 14: The entries by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Peter von Lindpaintner in Eliza Wesley's album, GB-Lbl Add MS 35026, fol. 66r.

kind of completion of the book as its end. If various people are involved in a process of this kind, he still regards it as a single operation as long as these individuals are coordinated by a single authority.[41] In the case of albums that are given their content by several people who largely work independently of each other and are not influenced by the respective owner of the album, the demarcation is not that easy. What can definitely be seen as a self-contained step in the production process with a definable beginning and end is the creation of the (still contentless) album. Up to this point, the potential owner of the album has full control over the process: he or she can decide on the size of the album, the paper, the number of folios it should contain and the decoration and binding it should have. Furthermore, he or she can add a title page. From this point onwards, however, the owner can only pick the inscribers – who then act independently. It can be assumed that, in many cases, the owner of an album had little or no influence on decisions like where an entry would actually be put in the book, which music, picture or text was added or if the entry was written on a page of the album or on the inscriber's own paper, which was then added to the album. Sometimes, the owner could not even stop leaves from being taken out of the album.[42] It therefore seems sensible to me to assume that an album was completed as a codicological unit the moment the book with its blank pages was bound. This means, however, that the third of the three criteria in Gumbert's definition of a codicological unit – the complete text or set of texts that the unit should contain – is not met here. The fact that the name of this kind of book – 'album' – goes back to the Latin word *albus*, meaning 'white', and originally referred to a blank tablet or noticeboard supports this assumption. As a consequence, it follows that all the entries in an album should be defined as layers. An album could thus be described as a textless codicological unit that is only made to accommodate layers, that is, to be enlarged and enriched. And while most of these layers are added by the inscribers and are therefore usually beyond the control of the album's owner, the latter seeks to regain control – that is, authority – over the book by adding further layers: he/she systematically adds content in the form of biographical information about the inscribers, portraits, pagination or foliation, tables of contents and so forth, seeking to establish a new level of cohesion that goes beyond the unity guaranteed by the binding as a reaction to the threatening loss of homogeneity.

An album is thus characterised not only by the fact that it is a codex created specifically for the subsequent accumulation of layers, but by the fact that the insertion of these layers is specifically carried out by different people, resulting in a communicative process in which the owner of the album is just one – albeit prominent – agent among many.

Acknowledgements

The research for this paper was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

41 Gumbert 2004, 23. The terminology and definitions used by Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013 do not release the user from identifying the results of individual 'actes de production' ('acts of production'), which are defined as 'l'ensemble des opérations, délimitées dans le temps et dans l'espace, qui créent un ou plusieurs objets ou parties d'objet' ('the set of operations, delimited in time and space, which create one or more objects or parts of an object'); Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 59.

42 Earlier *Stammbücher* or *alba amicorum* sometimes had an introductory text in them advising potential contributors to treat the book carefully. Similar preliminary remarks can be found in children's *Poesiealben* from the twentieth century. These often contain a rhymed warning about treating them well: 'Liebe Leute groß und klein, haltet mir mein Album rein, reißt mir keine Blätter raus, sonst ist's mit der Freundschaft aus' (roughly, 'Dear friends, both old and young, keep my album clean and tidy, don't tear out any pages or our friendship will not last for ages'). See Rossin 1985, 138, for example.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED

(All last accessed on 20 November 2023)

Album of Louise Langhans, *née* Japha, private collection, Freiburg i. Br. <http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10771>.

D-B MA BA 188: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MA BA 188 [= Bilderalbum of Fanny Hensel, *née* Mendelssohn Bartholdy].

D-B MA Ms. 142: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MA Ms. 142, 1 [= Music album of Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy, married name: Fanny Hensel] <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0002A79500000000>.

D-BNu S 2034 f: Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S 2034 f [= Album of Fanny Schorn] <https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-284707>.

D-Dl Mus.1-B-617: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus.1-B-617 [= Album of Volkmar Schurig] <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id1736550365>.

D-Dl Mus.Schu.250: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus.Schu.250, [= Album of Clara and Robert Schumann] <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id323002986>.

D-DÜhh HHI.AUT.77.5041: Düsseldorf, Heinrich Heine Institut, HHI.AUT.77.5041 [= Album of Ernst Benedikt Kietz] <http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10329>.

D-F Mus Hs 2630: Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Mus Hs 2630 [= Album of Joseph Dupont] <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hebis:30:2-428113>.

D-Hs MS 5/2020: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, MS 5/2020 [= *Stammbuch* of C. de Vins] <http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10214>.

D-HVfmg Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.100: Hanover, Forschungszentrum Musik und Gender, Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.100 [= Album of Emma Lühning].

D-HVfmg Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.101: Hanover, Forschungszentrum Musik und Gender, Rara/FMG Musikhandschriften.101 [= Album of Emma Lühning].

D-KNa Best. 1051, A 1: Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Best. 1051, A 1 [= Album of Ferdinand Hiller].

D-LEsm A/2013/376: Leipzig, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, A/2013/376 [= *Stammbuch* of Karl Benda] <http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.9854>.

D-LEsm A/2013/377: Leipzig, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, A/2013/377 [= Album of Leopold Greiff].

D-LEsm A/2013/392: Leipzig, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, A/2013/392 [= Album of Louis Brassin].

D-Zsch 12899, *olim* 12888 A: Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, 12899, *olim* 12888 A [= Album of Emilie Steffens].

D-Zsch 94.74: Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, 94.74 [= Album of Adelheid and Alfred Benecke].

DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014 [= Music album of Heinrich Panofka and Alfred Corning Clark].

Fuchs, Aloys, *Musikalisches Album zur Erinnerung an günstige Freunde*, private collection.

Fuchs, Aloys and Kandler, Franz Sales, *Album musicale Aloysii Fuchs*, MDCCCXXXI, private collection.

GB-Lbl Add MS 35026: London, British Library, Add MS 35026 [= Music album of Eliza Wesley] <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_35026>.

GB-Lbl Hirsch IV 1455: London, British Library, Hirsch IV.1455 [= Music album of Johann Peter Cavallo].

GB-Lbl MS Mus 1816: London, British Library, MS Mus 1816 [= Album of Vincent Novello].

GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. b.2: Oxford, Bodleian Library, M. Den. Mend. b.2 [= Album of Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *née* Jeanrenaud].

GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. c.21: Oxford, Bodleian Library, M. Den. Mend. *c*.21 [= Album of Cécile Jeanrenaud, married name: Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy].

GB-Ob M. Den. Mend. d.8: Oxford, Bodleian Library, M. Den. Mend. d.8 [= Album of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy].

PL-Wnifc MC/4: Warsaw, Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina, MC/4 [= Album of Princess Jadwiga Sapieha] <http://kolekcja.nifc.pl/object-mc-4>.

REFERENCES

Allroggen, Gerhard, Knut Holtsträter, and Joachim Veit (2005), 'Ic. Entstehung und Überlieferung des Gran Duo', in Carl Maria von Weber, *Kammermusik mit Klarinette*, ed. by Gerhard Allroggen, Knut Holtsträter and Joachim Veit (Carl Maria von Weber, Sämtliche Werke, VI,3), Mainz: Schott, 143–164.

Andrist, Patrick, Paul Canart, and Marilena Maniaci (2013), *La syntaxe du codex: essai de codicologie structurale* (Bibliologia, 34), Turnhout: Brepols.

Campell, Peter (1947), 'Das Stammbuch der Fanny Mendelssohn', *Schweizerische Musikzeitung*, 11/87: 405–408.

Crum, Margaret (1983), *Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford,* vol. 2: *Music and Papers* (Musikbibliographische Arbeiten, 8), Tutzing: Schneider.

Droese, Janine (2021), 'Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdys "Musikbuch" im Kontext der Musikalben des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Roland Dieter Schmidt-Hensel and Christoph Schulte (eds), *Mendelssohn-Studien: Beiträge zur neueren deutschen Kulturgeschichte*, 22, Hanover: Wehrhahn, 145–171.

—— (2022), '"Remembering Good Friends" – Examining a Late Eighteenth-century Friendship Album', in Wiebke Beyer and Karin Becker (eds), *Artefact of the Month*, 17, Hamburg: CSMC <https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/publications/aom/017-en.html> (accessed on 13 December 2023).

—— and Janina Karolewski (2024), 'Introduction: Manuscript Albums as Touchstones for Manuscript Studies', in Janine Droese and Janina Karolewski (eds), *Manuscript Albums and their Cultural Contexts: Collectors, Objects, and Practices*, (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 34), Berlin: De Gruyter 2024, 1–33 <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111321462-001> (accessed on 13 December 2023).

Goldberg, Halina (2020), 'Chopin's album leaves and the aesthetics of musical album inscription', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 73/3: 467–533.

Gumbert, Johan Peter (2004), 'Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex', in Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere (eds), *Il codice miscellaneo: Tipologie e funzioni, Atti del Convegno internazionale Cassino, 14–17 maggio 2003*, (Segno e testo 2), Cassino: Università degli studi di Cassino, 17–42.

Hartmann, Andrea and Carmen Rosenthal, *Die musikalischen Blätter aus dem Schumann-Album in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB): Thematischer Katalog*, (Musikhandschriften in Deutschland, 2), Munich and Frankfurt: RISM < https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bsz:14-qucosa-61887> (accessed on 13 December 2023).

Hölbe, Friedrich Wilhelm (1798), *Geschichte der Stammbücher: Nebst Bemerkungen über die bessere Einrichtung derselben für jeden, dem Freundschaft lieb ist*, Camburg: Hofmann.

Kinsky, Georg (ed.) (1953), *Manuskripte, Briefe, Dokumente von Scarlatti bis Stravinsky: Katalog der Musikautographen-Sammlung Louis Koch*, Stuttgart: Hofmannsche Buchdruckerei Felix Krais.

Klein, Hans-Günter (1993), '"…dieses allerliebste Buch": Fanny Hensels Noten-Album', *Mendelssohn-Studien: Beiträge zur neueren deutschen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 8, 141–157.

Librairie Simon Kra (1926), *Catalogue* No. 14, Paris: Simon Kra.

—— (1937), *Catalogue* No. 15, Paris: Simon Kra.

Nauhaus, Julia (*s.a.*), 'Julius Stockhausen, 1826–1906', in *Schumann-Portal* <https://www.schumann-portal.de/julius-stockhausen.html> (accessed on 13 December 2023).

Panofka, Heinrich (2007), *Ein musikalisches Stammbuch (Königliche Bibliothek Kopenhagen)*, ed. by Eva-Brit Fanger and Elisabeth Fritz-Hilscher, 2 vols, Tutzing: Schneider [facsimile edn.].

Reich, Nancy B. (2001), *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, revised edn., Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Répertoire Internationale de Sources Musicales (RISM) sigla <https://rism.info/de/index.html>.

Repertorium Alborum Amicorum (RAA), '1878_buesing 12' <https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nach-stammbucheintraegen.html?permaLink=1878_buesing;12> (accessed on 13 March 2023).

Repertorium Alborum Amicorum (RAA), '1878_buesing 13' <https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nach-stammbucheintraegen.html?permaLink=1878_buesing;13> (accessed on 13 March 2023).

Rossin, Jürgen (1985), *Das Poesiealbum: Studien zu den Variationen einer stereotypen Textsorte*, (Europäische Hochschulschriften, I, Deutsche Sprache und Literatur, 805), Frankfurt am Main, Bern and New York: Peter Lang.

Rost, Henrike (2020), *Musik-Stammbücher: Erinnerung, Unterhaltung und Kommunikation im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Musik – Kultur – Gender, 17), Vienna, Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau.

—— (2022), 'Die Notenautographe im Album von Ferdinand Hiller: Überblick, Einordnung, Quellenwert', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 69/3: 206–227.

Schnabel, Werner Wilhelm (2003), *Das Stammbuch: Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, (Frühe Neuzeit: Studien und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur und Kultur im europäischen Kontext, 78), Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Universität Heidelberg (*s.a.*), *Auktionskataloge digital*, <http://artsales.uni-hd.de> (accessed on 13 December 2023).

Weston, Pamela (1994), 'Vincent Novello's Autograph Album: Inventory and Commentary', *Music and Letters*, 75/3: 365–380.

Zboray, Ronald J. and Mary Saracino Zboray (2009), 'Is It a Diary, Commonplace Book, Scrapbook, or Whatchamacallit? Six Years of Exploration in New England's Manuscript Archives', *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 44/1: 101–123.

PICTURE CREDITS

Figs 1–2: © Royal Library Copenhagen and Dr. Hans Schneider Verlag; image reproduced from the facsimile edition, Panofka 2007.

Fig. 3: © BY 4.0; Photograph by Karsten Helmholz (CSMC, Universität Hamburg).

Fig. 4: © Heinrich-Heine-Institut Düsseldorf; Photograph by Karsten Helmholz (CSMC, Universität Hamburg).

Fig. 5: Public Domain Mark 1.0; Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.

Figs 6–7: © British Library Board.

Fig. 8: © Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig; Photograph by Karsten Helmholz (CSMC, Universität Hamburg).

Fig. 9: Public Domain Mark 1.0; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Fig. 10: © Royal Library Copenhagen and Dr. Hans Schneider Verlag; image reproduced from the facsimile edition, Panofka 2007.

Fig. 11: © Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek.

Fig. 12: © Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig; Photograph by Karsten Helmholz (CSMC, Universität Hamburg).

Fig. 13: © Hochschule für Musik, Theater und Medien Hannover, Forschungszentrum Musik und Gender (fmg).

Fig. 14: © British Library Board.

Article

The Authority of Musical Layers: On the Materialisation of Sound in Western Music*

Ivana Rentsch | Hamburg

1. Introduction

If a written artefact has more than one layer, then the question of their relationship to each other inevitably arises. In order to determine the authority of the individual layers, the function of the notations must be considered. Although determining the layers may prove to be quite a challenge in the case of textual materials, it is even more demanding in the case of musical written artefacts, not least because of sign theory. However, examining the layers is all the more worthwhile because the question of their authority in musical material is inextricably connected with the elementary question of what music is. This is not a matter of aesthetic hair-splitting, but is actually a basic ontological problem. If one understands music as an intentional acoustic phenomenon in the broadest sense, then a virtually unlimited domain emerges on the one hand – be it the song of a geisha, the synthetic ringtone of a mobile phone or Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. On the other hand, all these forms of music share the trait of being fleeting and immaterial; only in the moment of sonic realisation does music become music. In view of this ontological key characteristic, it seems rather odd that the majority of Western music has been transmitted through text sources. Apart from its equally problematic documentation by audio media, musical tradition only exists today thanks to its notation on stone, parchment and paper. Cases of this kind do not involve music that has 'materialised', though. As Polish philosopher Roman Ingarden said in his *Ontologie der Kunst* in 1962, '[t]he identification of the musical work of art with its score is […] wrong'.[2] With these words, he pinpointed a basic musicological predicament. There is no escape from the paradoxical constellation that a musical '*work of art'* is *'not a real object*'[3] and that access to the phenomenon of music usually results by means of realised notations. Proceeding from Ingarden's understanding of music as an 'intentional object',[4] the authorities of notation and the phenomenon of sound must be inspected. As music requires reproduction to assume its ontological presence, aspects of performance play a central role in it. What the authority of the musical text (which is not the same as the music itself) consists of and how the authority of the phenomenon of sound functions as an 'intentional object' in Western music will now be demonstrated by examples in music history from antiquity, the early modern period and the nineteenth century, as it is here that an aesthetic criterion achieves a towering validity, lending additional explosiveness to the tricky constellation of musical text and sounding realisation: the concept of a composition as a work of art.

2. Musical notation as a set of instructions

Let us begin with the historical authority of scores first. Even though scores are not the same thing as the music itself, they offer no less than 'intentional access to a work of art that was once created for people who perform it or at least read and imagine it in their fantasies', Ingarden says.[5] Up to around 1900 when early recordings were made, the music that had been disseminated around the world was based exclusively on written scores – meaning that all non-notated music not transmitted by an unbroken oral tradition was irretrievably lost. The fact that a sound execution of musical notation requires extensive knowledge of the meaning of the signs only makes the issue more difficult. For a real conception of sound, it hardly helps to know about the high regard for music in antiquity, for example, as very limited hard evidence of

* This article is based on a paper presented at the workshop entitled 'Authority of Layers – Layers of Authority: On the Dynamics of Multilayered Written Artefacts and their Cultural Contexts' held at the 'UWA' Cluster of Excellence on 3–4 December 2021. The paper was translated from German by Rebecca Schmid. I would like to thank her as well as Johanna Backhaus for their help with the editorial revision for the publication.

2 Ingarden 1962, 23. Translated by Rebecca Schmid.

3 Ingarden 1962, 27 (the highlighting is in the original work).

4 Ingarden 1962, 66.

5 Ingarden 1962, 26.

music has been passed down from that period.[6] As striking as it is that the notation on the Seikilos epitaph indicates pitch and rhythm, it is nonetheless unclear whether this melody was intoned in a high or low pitch, quickly or slowly, with or without any instrumental accompaniment, with or without an accent, sung or declaimed (Fig. 1); every rendering in a modern notation system is a hypothesis.

The musical realisation of a hypothetic transcription leads to an even more questionable result; the only thing one can say with any certainty is that the original sonic realisation is impossible to determine now. This ancient example starkly reveals something that applies to every performance of musical notation without exception: the text provides the only access to the 'intentional' composition, yet the range of interpretations remains enormous. No notation may determine a single correct, distinct 'identity'[7] – which is why all performance variants based on this source can make an equally valid claim to embodying the Seikilos melody. The relationship between material notation and the immaterial phenomenon of sound is always precarious. What changed over the course of the centuries, however, is the weight granted to both aspects. Contrary to ancient Rome and Greece – which can be presumed to have involved a largely oral tradition, given the curious absence of practical sources of music[8] – the question of the authority of a text emerges with every notation that is passed down (something which enters Western music in the ninth century). That the significance of scores constantly changed over the course of the centuries is as clear as the reinterpretation of notation as a work of art starting around 1800.

To grasp the extent to which notation was able to advance itself to a sacrosanct position within music in the course of the prevailing aesthetic of art starting in the late eighteenth century, it is helpful to call to mind the moment of rejection in the early modern music practice of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is impossible to speak here of an absolute claim to notation. On the contrary, it is performance practice that has the decisive word. In the early modern period, it seems noteworthy that this clear weighting in favour of fleeting performance also re-emerges in the most important compositional phenomenon between 1600 and the second half of the eighteenth century, namely in the *basso continuo*. Essentially, the *basso continuo* emerged as a style-defining phenomenon in Europe over a period lasting almost two centuries. In fact, this technique spread from North Italy at a breathtaking pace and seized all of Europe within just a few decades. It is exemplary at this juncture to refer to Thomas Selle's *Ich schlafe* of 1632 (Fig. 2). Generally speaking, it is about the fact that every composition reveals a *basso continuo* line above which the one-voiced notation must be played in harmony. Apart from the obvious prerequisite that the completion of this singly notated voice leads to an improvised polyphonic movement on the basis of major/minor tonality, all the specifications are missing: how many instruments are used and which they are, in what character, carried out in chords or broken down into fast notes.

The voice of the *basso continuo* opens up a considerable space. The consequences for musical performances are of a fundamental nature: the endless number of possibilities to execute a *basso continuo* displaces the artistic authority far beyond technical reproduction and to the musicians. The quality of a performance was measured according to the high improvisatory components, which should not be pedantically rehearsed, but rather arise as spontaneously as possible from the mood of the moment. As a result, Selle's *Ich schlafe* had to sound different every time: the conservation of a single interpretation by recording technology – which by its nature sounds identical with every playback – is not enough if we wish to understand early modern music properly. In any case, a performance that would have rendered every written note of a composition with the greatest exactitude would be deemed as fundamentally inaccurate on an aesthetic level.[9]

As long as a considerable portion of artistic authority lay with the musician and a structural function was assigned to the notated composition as a starting point, the inherent deficit of musical notation experienced a positive reinterpretation as an artistically desired free space. As the aesthetic concept of a work of art began to assert itself in music from the eighteenth century onwards, however, the authority shifted entirely from the performance practice to the composer and thus to the score.

6 Wiora 1988.

7 Ingarden 1962, 115–136.

8 Wiora 1988, 5–6.

9 See Rentsch 2020 on the aesthetic consequences of the *basso continuo* and the high value of improvisatory components.

Fig. 1: The Seikilos stele (1st–2nd century CE), Copenhagen, The National Museum of Denmark, 14897.

Fig. 2: Thomas Selle, *Ich schlafe*, 1632, measures 1–14 (beginning). The vocal part of the tenor above (T), the *basso continuo* in the lower system (BC). Selle, *Ich schlafe* (D.2.01), eds Rentsch and Pöche, 2017–2018.

3. Music as a work of art: scores as a matter of interpretation

As soon as a composition achieves the status of an individual work of art and the will of the author becomes the measure of all things, an enormous increase in the value of the notation unavoidably results.[10] Ultimately, the artistic idea of sound is only transmitted indirectly through scores. This leads to a peculiar difficulty: on the one hand, the work of art is ascribed its own individual, precisely determined form, while on the other, the score, which is regarded as the transmitter of the author's will, can only capture this claimed individual constitution to a limited extent. The void between material notation and the immaterial phenomenon of sound makes it factually impossible to document a single valid means of performance. Opus numbers do make their claim, but they do not change the fact that a single valid form cannot be determined.

Two methodological approaches to musicology emerge from this paradoxical situation. Firstly, there is the great value of philology,[11] which aims to reconstruct an authorial intention with the preparation of critical editions. Even if a concept of genius has not been central in the wake of 'critique génétique' in modern philology – which rather uncovers creative processes – the concept of a musical work of art remains essentially unchanged. Secondly, research on reception is given fundamental importance – which can hardly come as a surprise in view of the ontological discrepancy between a musical text and the sounding realisation. In the case of music, it is ultimately a phenomenon of reception sui generis: only through the reception of scores does the musical work of art manifest itself. It therefore appears to be characteristic that in connection with the 'Konstanzer Schule' (the Constance school of thinking), none other than the literary scholar Hans Robert Jauß emphasised that his research on reception aesthetics had been inspired by musicology.[12] That the 'essence of a work of art' reveals itself 'within its historical lifetime'[13] is all the more fitting for musical compositions, as they do not exist without practical reception. But because historical transmission is based upon scores to a significant extent, research into musical reception is intimately combined with philology. What this means for the question of authority in music will now be discussed using the example of Richard Wagner – why, from the vantage point of reception aesthetics, it is not only the authority of the composer, but multiple authorities that determine the phenomenon of sound, and to what extent these authorities present themselves in philological layers.

If one moved through the process of creation chronologically, then the copy of the score would rank first – as the first layer of material. With the help of the notes, the composer aims to produce instructions that are as precise as possible with regard to sonic realisation. The fact that these instructions cannot be complete – and, as Ingarden says, that the score possesses 'a range of characteristics which do not correspond to the work of art which they delineate, and vice versa'[14] – curtails the significance of the material, as authentic as the document may be. To attain sonic realisation, the void which inevitably emerges between notation and this realisation must be bridged. Contrary to the early modern practice of *basso continuo*, an emphatic understanding of the work of art excludes improvisatory access. The *opus absolutum et finitum* does not tolerate any change – an aporia, or impasse, for music. Theodor W. Adorno formulated an effective position in dealing with the technical deficit of notation in his fragmentary *Theory of Musical Reproduction*:

> But the zone of indeterminacy that is inherent in the work is not, at the same time, an absolute; rather, the unity of the work in its fixed written state always also contains the law of its pervasion. The question nature of musical writing, interpretation as a problem, means nothing other than gaining insight from an immersion in the notation, an insight which is capable of transforming the indeterminacy essential to the work into an equally essential determinacy legitimated by the work's own objectivity. Every musical text is both things at once: a fundamentally insoluble riddle and the principle for its solution.[15]

[10] Regarding the relationship of scores, notation and the work concept, which is central to musicological study, see Danuser and Krummacher 1991.

[11] Dahlhaus 1991, 108.

[12] Jauß 1991, 14; Hinrichsen 2000, 84.

[13] Jauß 1991, 14.

[14] Ingarden 1962, 26.

[15] Adorno 2006, 182.

The 'zone of indeterminacy' that exists in every musical notation is not surrendered to the musicians as an artistic free space, but rather is connected back to the score. The 'riddle' harbours 'the principle for its solution'. The consequences for the status of the score are fundamental: the material advances from practical instructions to the subject of hermeneutics. For this reason, it is no longer an issue of pure performance in sonic realisation, but rather one of interpretation. The fact that this applies to every single musical work of art emerges through the difficult context of an absolute claim to art and deficient notation:

> The necessity of interpretation manifests itself as the neediness of musical texts. It is a law that any such text contains a zone of indeterminacy, a layer of questions that cannot be answered directly through the ideal of sound, and which requires interpretation as something that augments the text in order to achieve its objectification in the first place.[16]

In order not to become incomprehensible musical 'gobbledegook',[17] the haze of uncertainty that is inherent in every score must be lifted through interpretation – the key to which lies in the score itself. This paradox is resolved by the aesthetic idea of a composition and is formulated from the score, becoming both the point of departure and the essence of sonic reproduction. That this 'idea' is non-verbal – supported by analytic arguments, but not provable and not free of formative aural experiences either – renders the sought-after 'objectivity' an *aporia*. Even if the hermeneutic circle does not allow itself to be broken, it nevertheless provides a viable starting point for an evaluation of the musical material and therefore for the only thing that is passed down by historic works of art.

4. Authorities and musical layers

Richard Wagner is predestined to be a case study for many reasons. Without a doubt, he was one of the most influential musicians of the nineteenth century, as he was a composer, conductor and writer. These different roles intertwine extensively in Wagner's 1869 publication *About Conducting*, with which he laid the foundation stone for an understanding of musical interpretation which Adorno would invoke almost a century later. Wagner emphatically demanded a flexible approach to conducting, placing the highest value on 'correct' tempo and appropriate 'tempo modifications'.[18] The ideal for practical performance propagated here had extensive consequences for an assessment of the score. Wagner clearly considered it futile to write down his sonic ideals in detail and did not even attempt to differentiate the specifications, which were traditionally rather standard. As a score only provides a rudimentary framework for a performance, by implication, Wagner declares every reproduction wrong that closely adheres to the text. His judgment of contemporary conductors is crushing:

> Regrettably, I don't know a single man whom I might trust to beat proper time in a single passage of any of my operas—at least, none from the general staff of our time-beating army. […] We are tempted to despair about whether these gentlemen are truly musicians, because they clearly display no musical feeling at all. Nevertheless, they hear very precisely (mathematically speaking […]).[19]

The 'musical feeling' which Wagner introduces as a positive opposite pole to 'mathematical' exactitude essentially anticipates the concept of interpretation. Ultimately, 'musical feeling' also aims to derive what is impossible to notate from the score – not on hand from structural principles, as in Adorno's case, but rather by definition from the melodic material.[20] As differentiated fluctuations in tempo can only be portrayed in a very limited way, they could not be notated. If one adds further decisive parameters such as dynamics or agogics that are directly coupled with decisions about tempo, the reconstruction of Wagner's ideas remains a utopia.[21]

Seen against this backdrop, it appears all the more valuable that handwritten layers are included in performance materials that pass down fragments of past interpretations. The reason for these layers is purely practical: the 'zone of uncertainty' represents a problem for conductors and musicians, the solution to which seems indispensable for a performance.

[16] Adorno 2006, 180.

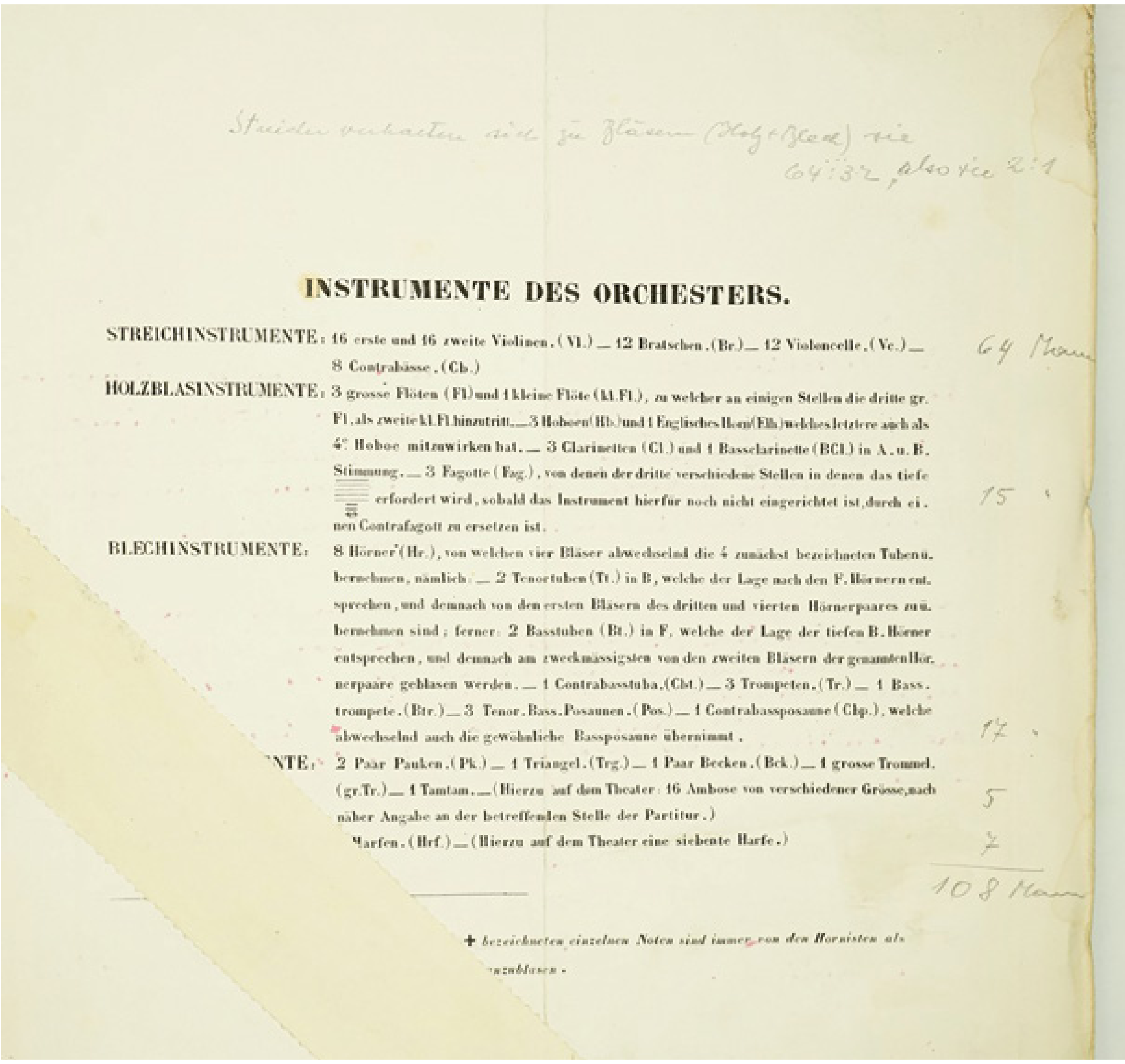
[17] Adorno 2006, 181.

[18] Wagner 2015, 100–101. Translated by Rebecca Schmid.

[19] Walton 2021, 105; see for the German version Wagner 2015, 78.

[20] Wagner 2015, 15.

[21] For *Rheingold*, Michael Allis was able to carry out a rather more accurate approximation of the actual tempo relations thanks to a detailed list of tempi created by Edward Dannreuther on the occasion of rehearsals for the 1876 world premiere in Bayreuth; see Allis 2008.



Streicher verhalten sich zu Bläsern (Holz+Blech) wie 64:32, also wie 2:1

INSTRUMENTE DES ORCHESTERS.

STREICHINSTRUMENTE: 16 erste und 16 zweite Violinen. (Vl.) — 12 Bratschen. (Br.) — 12 Violoncelle. (Vc.) — 8 Contrabässe. (Cb.) — 64 Mann

HOLZBLASINSTRUMENTE: 3 grosse Flöten (Fl) und 1 kleine Flöte (kl. Fl.), zu welcher an einigen Stellen die dritte gr. Fl. als zweite kl. Fl. hinzutritt. — 3 Hoboen (Hb.) und 1 Englisches Horn (Eh.) welches letztere auch als 4e Hoboe mitzuwirken hat. — 3 Clarinetten (Cl.) und 1 Bassclarinette (BCl.) in A. u. B. Stimmung. — 3 Fagotte (Fag.), von denen der dritte verschiedene Stellen in denen das tiefe erfordert wird, sobald das Instrument hierfür noch nicht eingerichtet ist, durch einen Contrafagott zu ersetzen ist. — 15

BLECHINSTRUMENTE: 8 Hörner+ (Hr.), von welchen vier Bläser abwechselnd die 4 zunächst bezeichneten Tuben zu übernehmen, nämlich: — 2 Tenortuben (Tt.) in B, welche der Lage nach den F. Hörnern entsprechen, und demnach von den ersten Bläsern des dritten und vierten Hörnerpaares zu übernehmen sind; ferner: 2 Basstuben (Bt.) in F, welche der Lage der tiefen B. Hörner entsprechen, und demnach am zweckmässigsten von den zweiten Bläsern der genannten Hörnerpaare geblasen werden. — 1 Contrabasstuba. (Cbt.) — 3 Trompeten. (Tr.) — 1 Basstrompete. (Btr.) — 3 Tenor. Bass. Posaunen. (Pos.) — 1 Contrabassposaune (Cbp.), welche abwechselnd auch die gewöhnliche Bassposaune übernimmt. — 17

…NTE: 2 Paar Pauken. (Pk.) — 1 Triangel. (Trg.) — 1 Paar Becken. (Bck.) — 1 grosse Trommel. (gr. Tr.) — 1 Tamtam. — (Hierzu auf dem Theater: 16 Ambose von verschiedener Grösse, nach näher Angabe an der betreffenden Stelle der Partitur.) — 5

…Harfen. (Hrf.) — (Hierzu auf dem Theater eine siebente Harfe.) — 7

108 Mann

+ bezeichneten einzelnen Noten sind immer von den Hornisten als …nzublasen.

Fig. 3: Richard Wagner, *Das Rheingold*, Mainz: Schott, Conductor's score, annotated copy Prague, Národní divadlo, Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', D TO P1, cast information.

And countless annotations in scores, piano reductions and orchestral and choral voices reveal that some things do not become part of the 'musical feeling' automatically.

I would like to mention two examples here to briefly demonstrate that the knowledge to be gained from these annotations is far removed from reconstructing detailed modifications in tempo, concentrate instead on strokes, completions or instrumentation. Both examples are taken from the performance material for Wagner's *Rheingold*, which was preserved in the archives of the Neues Deutsches Theater in Prague. Among all the performance material of Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen* known so far, these sources seem to be the most closely connected to the composer. At the same time, one has to bear in mind that the situation is a rather difficult one: performance materials could be used over decades and for different performance cycles, so they may have accumulated various layers of writing that cannot be dated precisely. When they were no longer needed, they were normally disposed of; not even the material for the world premiere of Wagner's *Ring* was passed down to us. Nor was the conductor's score for Anton Seidel, Wagner's preferred conductor, or the performance material for Angelo Neumann's 'Richard Wagner Theater'. Wagner chose Neumann as the successor and guardian of the 'correct' performance tradition a few years before he died, which accorded Neumann a particular position in early Wagnerian reception.[22] Neumann went to Bremen in 1883 after Wagner's death, but then followed the call to the more prestigious

[22] Neumann 1907.

Deutsches Theater in Prague. It hardly comes as a surprise that Neumann continually strove to do the greatest possible justice to Wagner's ideas, which Neumann was able to get to know in detail through years of close interaction with the composer. As a large part of the performance material was preserved between 1888 – the year in which the Neues Deutsches Theater opened – and 1938 when it was closed, it can give us a glimpse into the 'sound world' of the late nineteenth century.[23]

By referring to the conductor's score of the *Rheingold*, which was preserved in Prague, I shall briefly show which layers of performance practice can be laid bare and which cannot. The oldest stamp on the conductor's score – which, like all performance materials, belonged to the theatre's director, Angelo Neumann – dates to 1905, although it cannot be determined if the score, which had originally been printed by Schott Publishing in 1873, was already in Neumann's possession a few years earlier. The score appears noteworthy with regard to the instrumentation, among other things. From a current perspective, which assumes that the instruments stipulated by Wagner were actually used, the number of interventions catches one's eye. The current state of research does not allow us to determine the extent to which financial difficulties or aesthetic reasons were responsible for this, however. As a result, the handwritten annotations on the printed score – which was intended for an orchestra of 108 musicians ('108 Mann')[24] – could either indicate that the large instrumentation was, indeed, available or that the original ratio of '2:1' between strings and wind instruments had to be observed in the case of a smaller orchestra (Fig. 3). After extensive explanations about the instrumentation in red ink – most likely the oldest layer of the conductor's score – major retouches can be seen right at the beginning of the *Rheingold* Prelude. What is particularly striking is the supplementation of the lower contrabasses with an organ pedal ('auch Orgelpedal'),[25] leading to a major alteration of the originally notated bassoon–double-bass sound (Fig. 4). In addition, the constant crossing out or re-instrumentation of the third bassoon brings with it an inherent change to the woodwinds. Since we know about the use of an organ at the beginning of the *Rheingold* Prelude at the 1876 premiere in Bayreuth and since there are also traces in Schwerin,[26] the sources from Prague reveal the relevance which Neumann conceded to this addition as well as its limitation to the beginning.[27]

A second example will give us an idea of the dynamic practice involved. To obtain as big a crescendo as possible with the first trumpet in measures 537–539, 'the second trumpet must begin on piano & help the first trumpet a bit so the latter can crescendo on the final g!' ('Hier muß der 2^e^ Trompeter mit einem piano einsetzen & dem ersten Trompeter etwas nachhelfen, damit Letzterer am letzten g noch crescendieren kann!') (Fig. 5).[28] The simple instrumentation does not suffice to achieve the fortissimo that is added in handwriting, but not indicated in the printed music (measure 539).

The number of interventions to the instrumentation is enormous and would simply be unthinkable today regarding the reception of Wagner, but it corresponded with common practice at the time. The extent to which the authority of the score is curtailed is documented by orchestral retouches, which were also practised by people close to Wagner – who never considered his own scores as being final versions.[29] The typically handwritten layers form a commentary of performance practice on the starting layer of the score. The authority of reception thereby enters the realm of the authority of the composer and the composition. Since performance practice-based reception is only admissible as an interpretation in the sense of an aesthetic work of art, the layers contain information about the respective understanding of 'musical feeling'. That this 'musical feeling' – contrary to Wagner's own view – cannot be absolute, but is historically bound, renders the annotations materialised evidence of an understanding of music that has been irretrievably lost. Nevertheless, it is in the nature of things that the performance practice-based layers are confronted with the impossibility of recreating the immaterial sonic conceptions in a differentiated manner. In this case, the 'zone of uncertainty' of the starting

[23] See 'Handwritten Layers of Operatic Practices. The Reception of Richard Wagner at the "Neues Deutsches Theater" in Prague', project RFD12, Cluster of Excellence, Universität Hamburg, <https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/written-artefacts/research-fields/field-d/rfd12.html>.

[24] Wagner 1873, Prague, Národní divadlo, Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', DT O 1/P1, Conductor's score, B ('Instruments of the orchestra'), handwritten annotations.

[25] Wagner 1873, 1, annotation in red ink at the left of the upper brace.

[26] Ahrens 1997; Jaehn 2011.

[27] The hypotheses formulated by Ahrens about further use of the organ in *Rheingold* (Ahrens 1997, 146–147) are not confirmed by the Prague performance material.

[28] Wagner 1873, 48, annotation in red ink, at the left of the lower brace.

[29] Voss 2002, viii.

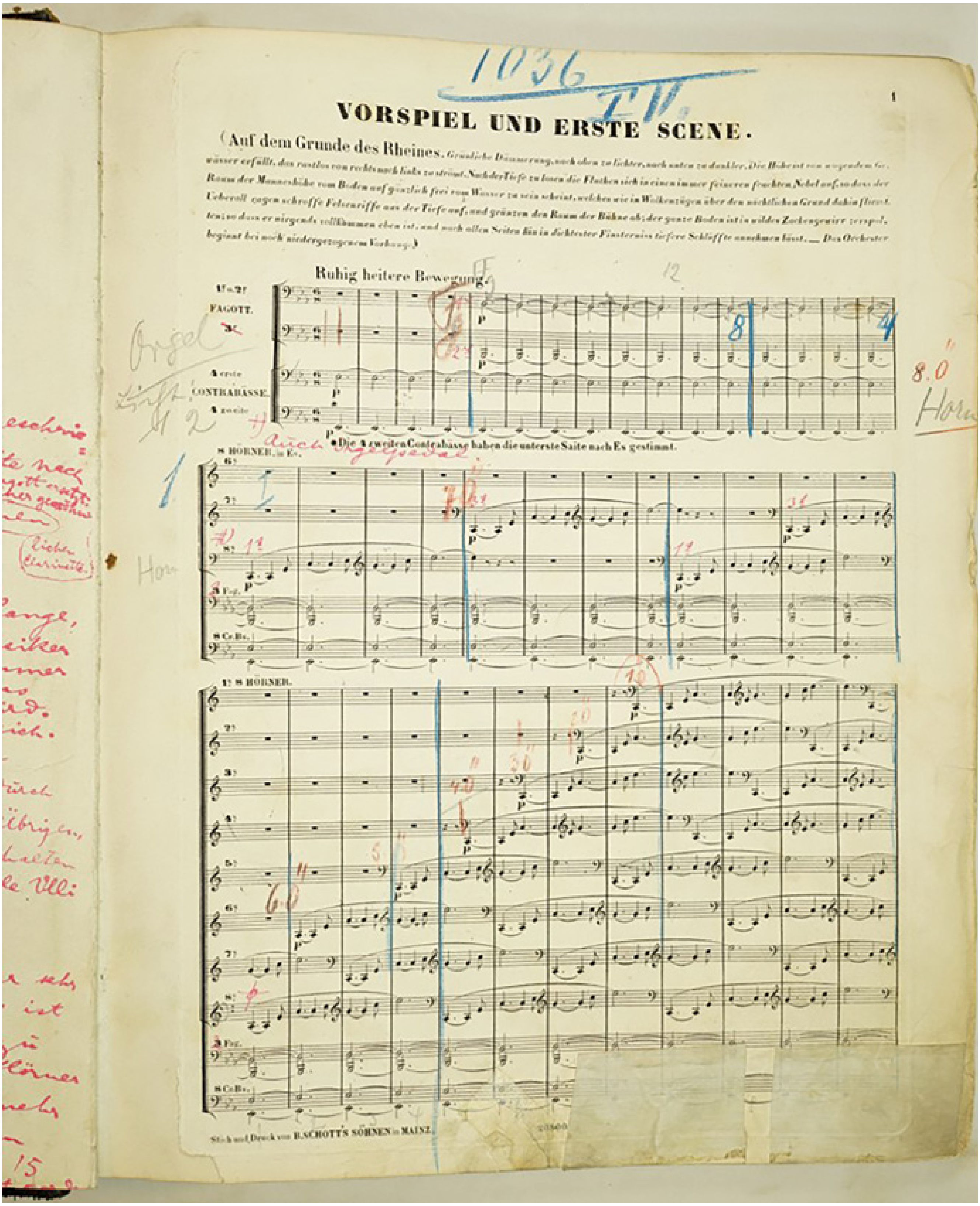


Fig. 4: Richard Wagner, *Das Rheingold*, Mainz: Schott, Conductor's score, annotated copy Prague, Národní divadlo, Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', p. 1.

Fig. 5: Richard Wagner, *Das Rheingold*, Mainz: Schott, Conductor's score, annotated copy Prague, Národní divadlo, Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', p. 48.

notation merges with the 'zone of uncertainty' of the notations above it. The insight lies in the confrontation of the layers – in other words, in the confrontation of the authority of authorship with the authority of interpretation. In this relation lies the only possibility of approaching a historical sonority beyond the original layer of the composition and thus the 'work of art itself'. These additional layers are the material remains of an art that echoed long ago.

Acknowledgements

The research for this paper was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

REFERENCES

Adorno, Theodor W. (2006), *Towards a Theory of Musical Reproduction*, ed. Henri Lonitz, tr. Wieland Hoban, Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.

Ahrens, Christian (1997), 'Ein "Orgelwerk" im Festspielhaus Bayreuth', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 54/2: 137–150.

Allis, Michael (2008), 'Richter's Wagner: A New Source for Tempi in *Das Rheingold'*, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 20/2: 117–148.

Dahlhaus, Carl (1991), 'Textgeschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte', in Danuser and Krummacher (eds), 105–114.

Danuser, Hermann and Friedhelm Krummacher (eds) (1991), *Rezeptionsästhetik und Rezeptionsgeschichte in der Musikwissenschaft* (Publikationen der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover, 3), Laaber: Laaber.

Hinrichsen, Hans-Joachim (2000), 'Musikwissenschaft: Musik – Interpretation – Wissenschaft', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 57/1: 78–90.

Ingarden, Roman (1962), *Ontologie der Kunst. Untersuchungen zur Ontologie der Kunst: Musikwerk. Bild – Architektur – Film*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Jaehn, Max Reinhard (2011), 'Richard Wagners *Rheingold* – Orgelbässe 1889 am Schweriner Hoftheater', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 68/4: 311–318.

Jauß, Hans Robert (1991), 'Rückschau auf die Rezeptionstheorie. Ad usum Musicae Scientia', in Danuser and Krummacher (eds), 13–36.

Neumann, Angelo (1907), *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*, 5th edn, Leipzig: Staackmann [1st edn: 1907].

Rentsch, Ivana (2020), 'Wie die "Italiäner"? Thomas Selle, Michael Praetorius und die aufführungspraktische Varietas im 17. Jahrhundert', *Musiktheorie*, 35/4: 296–309.

Selle, Thomas, *Ich schlafe* (D.2.01), ed. Ivana Rentsch and Juliane Pöche, Hamburg: Universität Hamburg 2017–2018 <https://www.selle.uni-hamburg.de/receive/skeleton_selledb_00000021>.

Voss, Egon (2002), 'Preface', in Richard Wagner, *Das Rheingold* WWV 86A, ed. Egon Voss, Mainz/London/New York/Paris/Tokyo: Eulenburg, iv–viii.

Wagner, Richard (1873), *Das Rheingold*, Mainz: Schott, Conductor's score, annotated copy Prague, Národní divadlo, Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', DT O 1/P1.

—— (2015), *Über das Dirigieren (1869). Studienausgabe*, ed. and commentated by Egon Voss, Tutzing: Schneider.

Walton, Chris (2021), *Richard Wagner's Essays on Conducting: A New Translation with Critical Commentary*, Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.

Wiora, Walter (1988), 'Das musikalische Kunstwerk der Neuzeit und das musische Kunstwerk der Antike', in Hermann Danuser and Helga de La Motte-Haber (eds), *Das musikalische Kunstwerk. Geschichte – Ästhetik – Theorie: Festschrift Carl Dahlhaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, Laaber: Laaber, 3–10.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: © Copenhagen, The National Museum of Denmark.

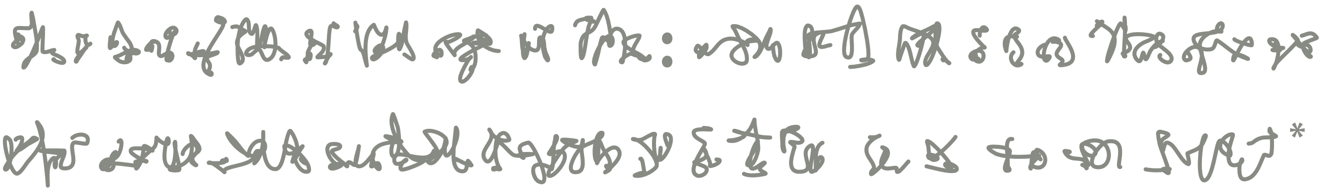
Fig. 2: © fdm, University of Hamburg.

Figs 3–5: © Národní divadlo (Archive of the National Theatre), Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', Prague.

SECTION II
Manuscripts in Art, Ritual and Science

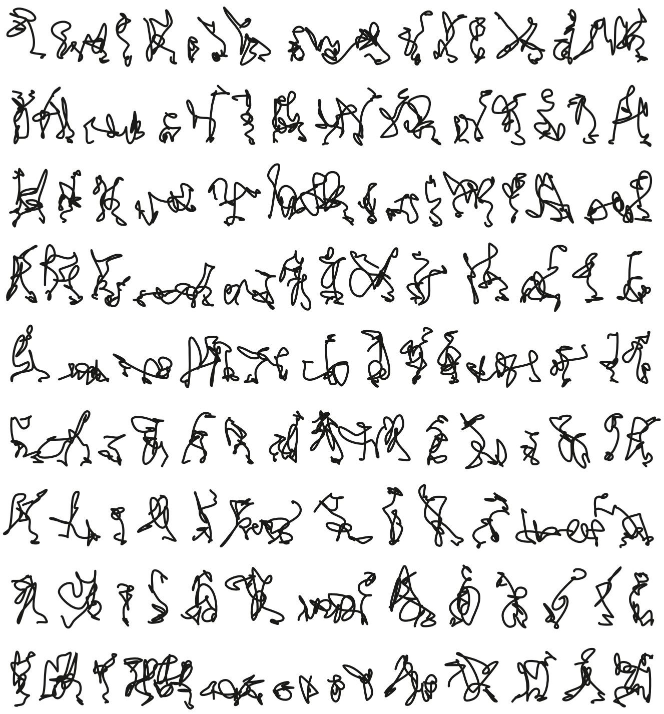
Fig. 1: Book with coloured palimpsest; below: pp. 80–81; above: detail; Axel Malik, 2023.

Article

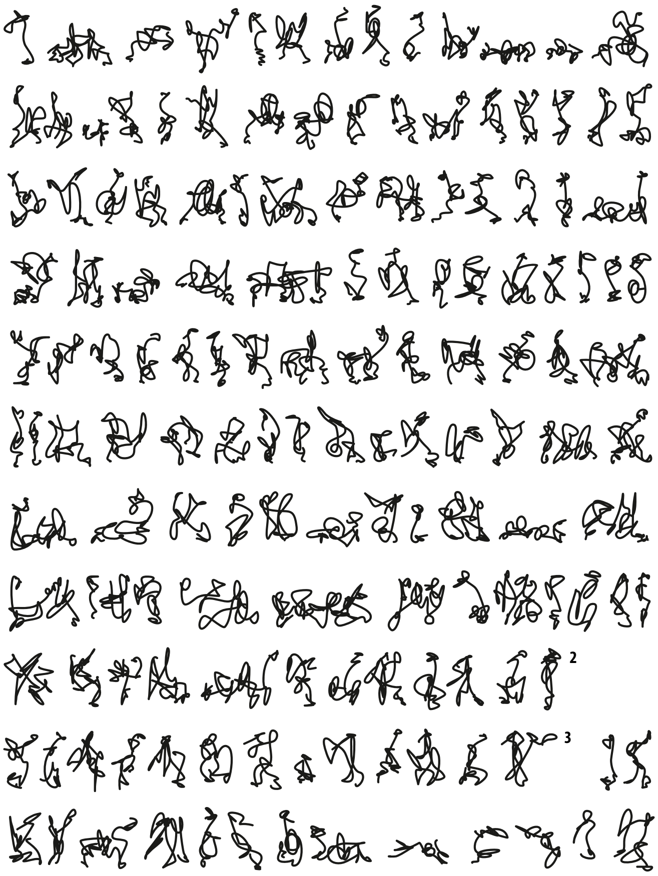


Axel Malik | Berlin

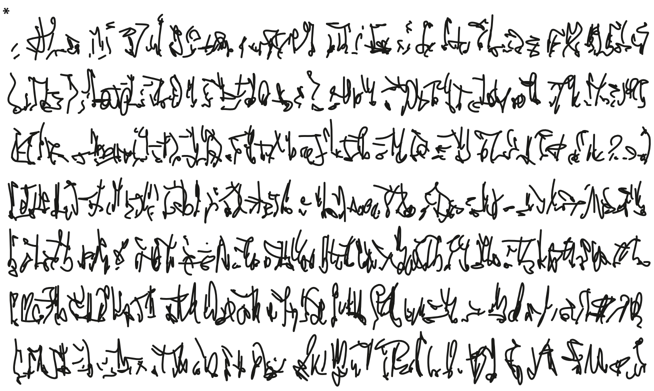
1. Introduction



2. On scriptural method



(Fig. 1).



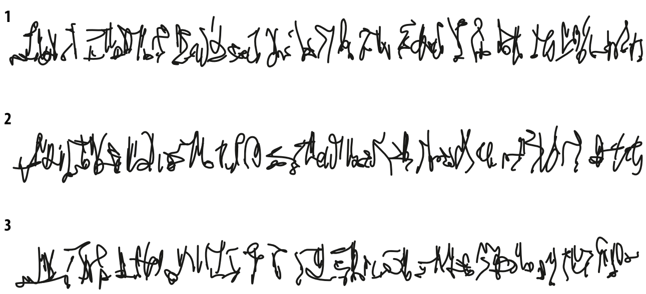


Fig. 2:

(see Fig. 2).

2.1 Signs

(Figs 3 and 4).

2.2 Characters and letters

4

5

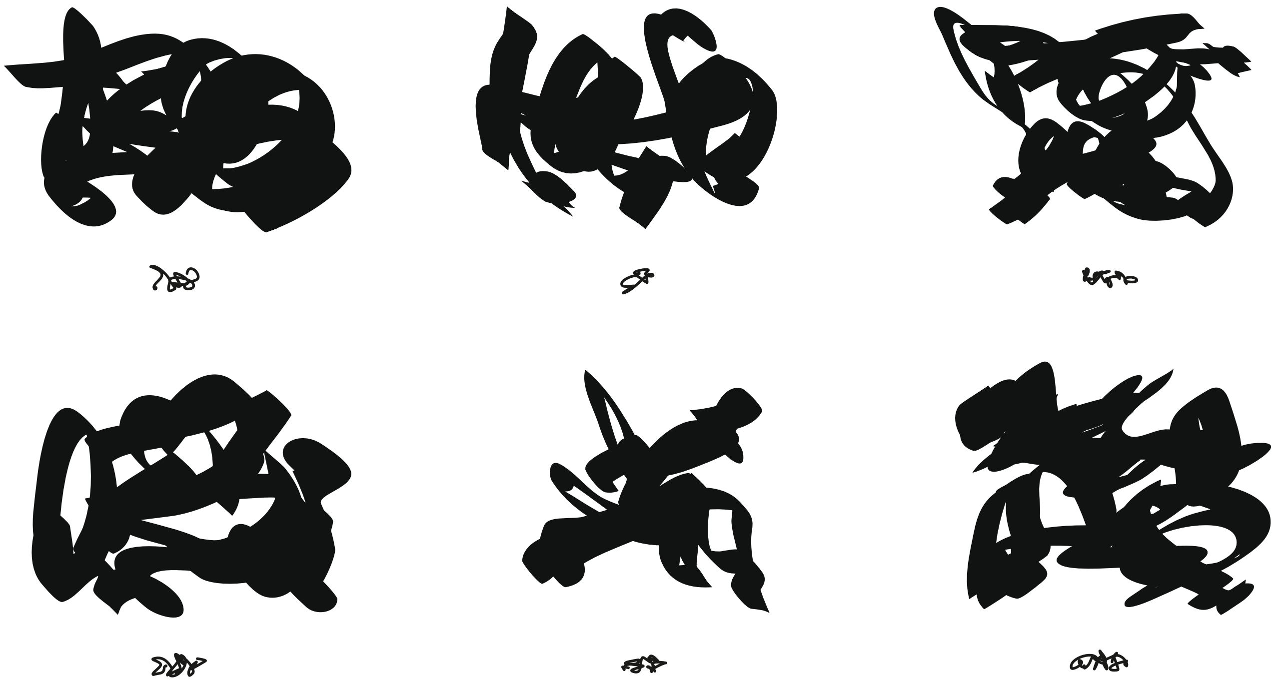


Fig. 3:

(Fig. 5).

6

7

8

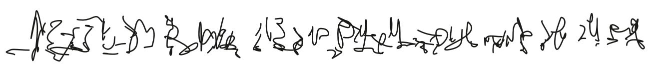


Fig. 4:

3. Unreadable script in history

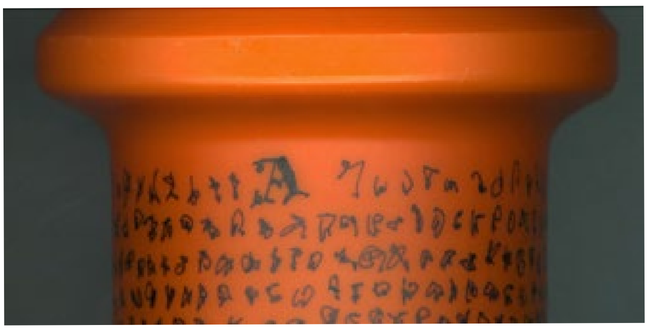


Fig. 5:

9

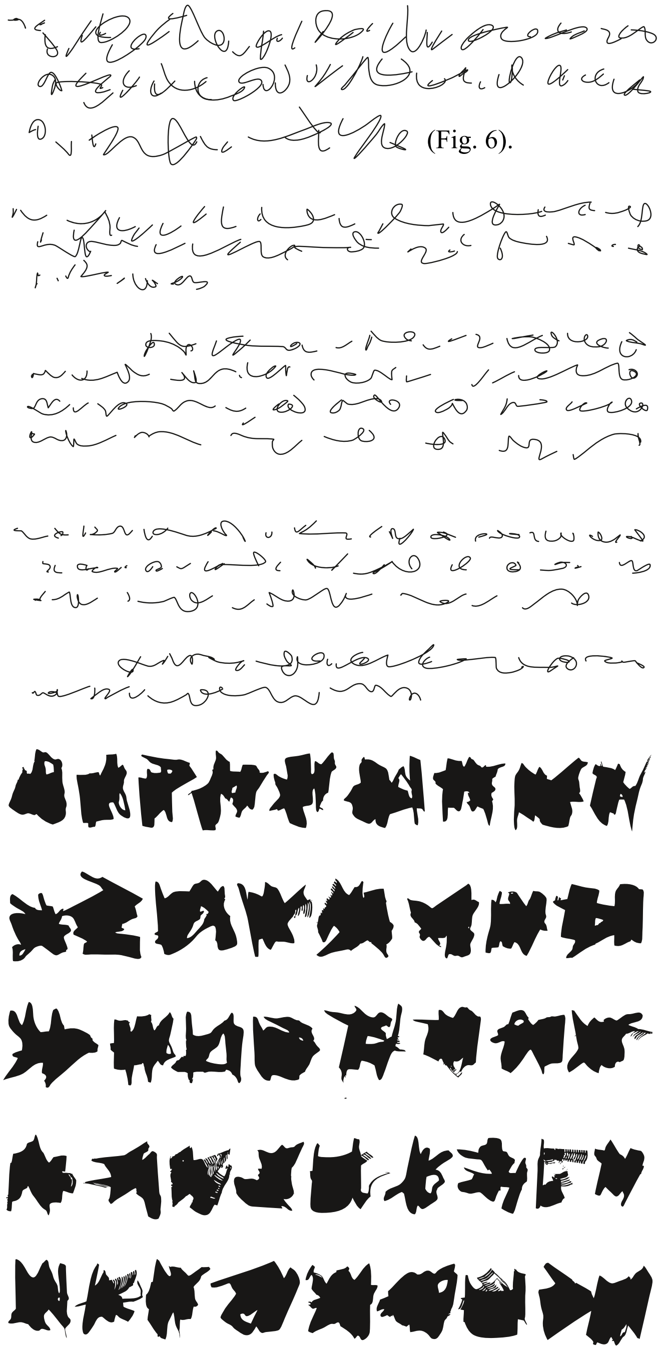


Fig. 6: Five lines of single letters written in late modern bold square aesthetics, Axel Malik, Berlin, 2023.

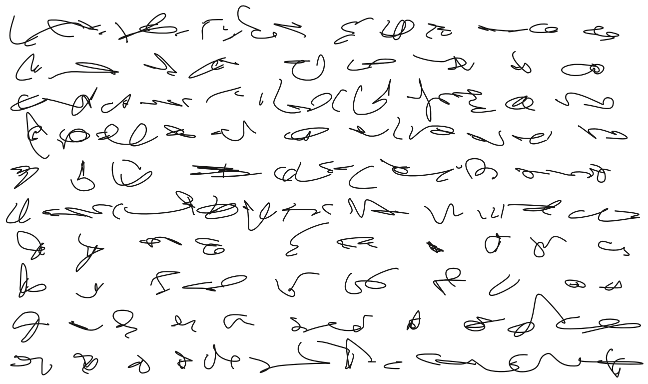
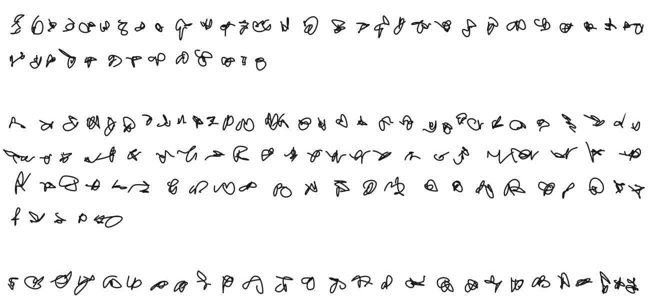


Fig. 7: Four lines of quasi-cursive letters written according to the scriptural method, Axel Malik, Berlin, 2023.

REFERENCES



Malik, Axel (2022), *Exceeding Colophon*, Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures.

Article

Marginalised Fighting: Depictions of Sword & Buckler Fencers in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-century CE Manuscript Miniatures from Europe

Cornelius Berthold | Hamburg

Introduction

The illuminated margins of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century European manuscripts abound with depictions of ordinary people in everyday situations and wildlife in its natural environment. Sometimes they also show animals posing as church officials, though, mythical beasts, nudity and even downright obscenity.[1] Modern readers have often rationalised these peculiar and even incomprehensible forms of paracontent[2] as 'fantastic' or 'grotesque',[3] but even when the depicted scenes are more naturalistic, like genre scenes from everyday life in the country,[4] there is still a puzzling lack of connection to the main content of the manuscript sometimes.[5] According to Lucy Freeman Sandler, marginal images first appeared in conjunction with illuminated initial letters and their finials. The margins evolved as a dedicated space from the linking of several initials of this kind as well as line fillers, thus creating a border around the text block.[6] The margins of pages in, for example, psalter manuscripts and chivalric romances, soon became a habitat for the unusual and bizarre, just like in rural or urban life where – as Michael Camille has speculated – the outcasts of society were banned to the periphery, or as with the edges of the known world that were reportedly inhabited by dragons and other monsters.[7] In an attempt to explain this phenomenon, Camille described the medieval worldview as 'rigidly structured and hierarchical', which meant that there was also room for 'ridiculing, overturning and inverting',[8] i.e. for the opposite of everything that was considered good and morally sound, but without necessarily mixing the two opposites.

Fig. 1: Two buckler fighters on top of an initial (E) in a copy of a Navarro-Aragonese version of a book on law made in north-eastern Spain about 1290–1310 using tempera colours and gold leaf. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIV 6, fol. 9r.

This is not the place to discuss the possible purposes or functions of marginal images that have been suggested by modern scholars, like offering a carnivalesque counter-world, heralding the humanistic criticism of established institutions

[1] One of the most striking examples for modern eyes can be seen in the lower margin on fol. 160r in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 25526, a fourteenth-century copy of the *Roman de la Rose*.

[2] By 'para-content' I mean visual signs 'present in a manuscript in addition to the core-content(s)', as outlined by Ciotti et al. 2018, 1.

[3] Camille 2010, 12. In the early twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux already complained about the disruptive nature of certain types of 'secular' decoration, which has sometimes been understood to refer to marginal imagery as well; see Randall 1966, 3.

[4] One prominent example of this is the famous 'Luttrell Psalter', London, British Library, Add MS 42130, where various agricultural practices are depicted in the lower margins starting on fol. 169v.

[5] Unlike the examples given in this article, a forthcoming PhD dissertation by Karin Becker conducted at the CSMC partly covers marginal illumination that is directly related to the text.

[6] Sandler 1997, 2.

[7] Camille 2010, 14–20.

[8] Camille 2010, 26.

and social hierarchies or even acting as *apotropaia*.[9] I shall focus on one recurring theme instead: people carrying or fighting[10] with swords and bucklers (a buckler being a small shield that was usually round, approximately 25–45 cm in diameter and had a central boss that gave it its name[11]). The prevalence of the motif in manuscripts will be shown and correlated with evidence of the real-world activity of buckler fighting. This brief survey is necessary in order to understand why the cultural practice, which is not usually associated with the European Middle Ages today, left its mark on manuscript production and why manuscripts contain the main body of evidence we have of this activity.

Roughly between 1250 and 1370, sword and buckler fighting became a staple motif in the marginal illumination of European manuscripts made in Britain and Western Continental Europe, on which this article will draw.[12] This era also marks the peak of imaginative marginal illumination in European manuscripts in general.[13] Curiously, while many central (or 'mainline'[14]) images or historiated initials illustrate the text or employ Christological and typological themes, marginal images were frequently used to show everyday scenes or motifs. What could be counted among the indispensable, practical or 'central' activities in the lives of most medieval Europeans – harvesting and hunting, playing games and celebrating – was often reflected on the periphery of an open book, quite often in a playful transformation with beasts taking the roles of humans.

Sword and buckler fighting is a prominent example of this; it mainly presents itself to modern observers as a phenomenon associated with medieval manuscripts, despite a number of textual references to it and a few depictions in (architectural) sculpture[15] and wood carvings. I will argue that its frequent occurrence in different kinds of books, and especially its placement on the edges of the page, proves its popularity and relevance for many people in medieval Europe across social and even religious boundaries. What is more, regardless of all the fantastical creatures and farcicality depicted in marginal imagery, several frequently recurring details drawn by the artists – postures and fighting positions – are also shown in the only surviving treatise on this form of combat, suggesting that they were not created through artistic licence but reflect parts of a functional fighting system. These details cannot only be the result of painters working with models, as they can be observed in manuscripts made in all the regions outlined above and during the entire timeframe;[16] it is more likely that they attest to inspiration taken from the painters' own experience of this martial practice.

Buckler fighters in the marginal imagery of manuscripts

Bucklerists in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century European manuscript painting are mostly human (Fig. 2), but monsters and hybrid creatures can also be seen fighting with a sword and buckler (or using a falchion, club or spear instead of the sword[17]) or simply wearing or holding them (Figs 1 and 3). In the thematic index of her survey of marginal painting in 226 Gothic manuscripts and fragments of various genres,

[9] See Sandler 1997, 28–37 for a summary of the scholarly approaches up to that point. The present article will merely touch upon these issues and tends towards a positivist approach in such cases. Jean Wirth (Wirth 2008) has been partly criticised for having a similar perspective on this subject and for rejecting earlier interpretations of marginal imagery that were 'informed by postmodern theories of verbal and visual communication'; see the review of his book in Caviness 2011.

[10] 'Fighting' is etymologically related to the German word 'fechten', which is used to describe the practice in dedicated German martial-arts manuscripts from the late fourteenth century onwards; cf. Kellett 2012, 34–35. I will also use the English term 'fencing' here, which implies that it was an art of defence that could be learnt systematically.

[11] See, for instance, the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND² Online Edition), *s.v.* 'bocler', where both the meaning 'shield'/'buckler' and '[shield] boss' are given.

[12] For an example from Spain, c.1300, see Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIV 6 (83.MQ.165), fol. 9r (Fig. 1). An example from Italy, probably Lombardy, *c.*1320, can be found on fol. 193r of New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.215.

[13] The present article is to some degree inspired by the work of Lilian Randall, who tried to solve the enigma of giant aggressive snails drawn in the margins of Gothic manuscripts; see Randall 1962. Comparable marginal decoration in general and buckler fighters in particular can still be found in the fifteenth century, albeit to a much lesser extent (e.g. in two French Books of Hours now kept in New York: see New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M.453, fol. 39r and M.919, fol. 33r).

[14] This term is suggested by Sandler 1997, 1.

[15] One example of buckler fighters in stone carving can be found on a corbel in the choir of Uppsala Cathedral. The church was built from the 1270s onwards.

[16] Not that models were not used for individual manuscripts or in certain workshops, but the prevalence of this motif over more than a century cannot be explained by a 'stemma' of models or pure imitation. It is interesting to note that there is, in fact, a surviving model or sketch book with buckler fighters, although it was made in 1370–1380 and therefore at the end of this article's timeframe. It possibly comes from the circle around the Italian painter Tommaso da Modena; see New York, Morgan Library & Museum, II, 2–25.

[17] For the sake of simplicity, I will mainly refer to a sword and buckler and the related martial practice here. Falchions and clubs can be considered replacements for the sword (see Kellett 2012, 43). In contrast, a spear, which is also depicted in conjunction with a buckler, would have been handled in a rather different way. I will briefly discuss the extent to which bucklers and contemporary heater shields (which were larger) can be considered interchangeable below.

Fig. 2: Two buckler fighters in the lower margin of a multiple-text manuscript containing three Arthurian romances in French. London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E III, Northern France, 1315–1325, fol. 140^{r}. Using the terminology employed in the oldest known fight book, Leeds, Royal Armouries, MS I.33, the fencer to the left has adopted the *halpschilt* position ('half-shield'), while the one to the right holds his weapons in the so-called *vidilpoge* ('fiddle bow').

Lilian Randall lists at least 15 examples of buckler usage among apes, knights, men and hybrid creatures.[18] Bucklers were employed when fighting against beasts[19] and human opponents[20] or they were simply held or worn on one's belt or baldric.[21] Many more examples can be found outside Randall's corpus.[22] They are part of both 'naturalistic' depictions and the 'carnivalesque' scenes where common situations are subverted and relations of dominance turned upside down. It is in their nature as weapons that a sword and buckler almost always appear in depictions of armed combat – either in earnest or just playful – regardless of whether the individuals involved are threatening each other, fighting one another or fleeing from combat. The topic of the hunt and its related motifs are evoked, too, as animals like hares and apes are also shown wielding swords and bucklers or facing them in the hands of their opponents (or predators). However, the weapons may also simply be held without any discernible conflict going on, e.g. with the armed man-griffon hybrid growing out of a vine that separates the two text columns in a manuscript copy of Baldwin of Avesnes's chronicle now kept in Arras.[23] As with other motifs employed in manuscript painting, it is often difficult to distinguish between dedicated illustrations of buckler duels and the motif being used as a decorative[24] or structuring device of the *mise-en-page*, such as part of the frame drawn around the written area (Figs 1 and 3), or even employed as line fillers.[25]

The 'Gorleston Psalter', London, British Library, Add MS 49622, made in England between 1310 and 1324, is a good example of just how frequently the sword-and-buckler motif could be used in the margins of a single manuscript.[26] It contains the usual 'bizarre' and 'carnivalesque' motifs mentioned above involving human beings, animals and hybrid creatures. The activity depicted most frequently is the playing of musical instruments, which is not entirely surprising for a psalter manuscript, given that the psalms

[18] Randall was mostly drawing on psalters, books of hours, breviaries and romances; see Randall 1966, 12–13. While the book's index is sorted by categories such as objects, actions and actors, the individual entries are given under the latter, i.e. one needs to look up apes, men, knights, etc. to see where they are depicted as buckler fighters.

[19] Randall 1966, image catalogue nos. 225, 305, 309, 344, 345, 359, 374, 378, 721.

[20] Randall 1966, image catalogue nos. 65, 111, 211, 353, 440 (two men carrying swords and their own heads as bucklers).

[21] Randall 1966, image catalogue nos. 279.

[22] A rather informal but impressively sized collection of more than 120 depictions of buckler fighters has been created by Mickael Vieillard, 'L'épée-Bocle générale/ commune à l'épée bocle ?'. These images are almost exclusively from manuscript painting and only show discernible fighting positions, so they do not include any pictures where the weapons are held in an unspecific way. The collection can be viewed online, see Vieillard (2018).

[23] Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 863, fol. 132^{v}. A similar decorative use can be found in the top margin of London, British Library, Add MS 47680, fol. 8^{r} and Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIV 6, fol. 9^{r} (Fig. 1).

[24] Despite the fact that the terms 'decorative' and 'decoration' disregard other possible functions of these images, I will use them here (just like Shalev-Eyni 2010, 79–83) to distinguish images that are not directly related to a book's content from actual illustrations.

[25] As in the 'Psalter-Hours of Ghuiluys de Boisleux' (New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.730), which was produced in Arras in the 1240s. It features several buckler fighters as line fillers, e.g. on fols 62^{v}, 68r, 129^{v}, 159^{v} and 161^{r}. Since line fillers can barely be higher than the line spacing, all the motifs, including the bucklerists, were squeezed into elongated positions.

[26] Catalogue data and digital images can be found online at: <www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49622_fs001r> (accessed on 26 October 2021).

Fig. 3: A sword-and-buckler-wielding centaur 'guards' the outer margin of a page in a French multiple-text manuscript containing several Arthurian romances. Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 147, France, late thirteenth century, fol. 340^{r}.

were sung and that King David himself – who was believed to have been the author of many of them – is often portrayed with a lyre in his hands.[27] Representations of archery and buckler fighters are only slightly less frequent. The latter are shown on 23 of the 455 pages[28] (the manuscript contains 228 folios in all), which means that bucklerists appear every 20 pages or 10 folios on average. As the psalms do not contain any explicit references to duelling (they do refer to violence and warfare, though, including the use of swords and bows),[29] the inspiration to include them must have come from outside the text. Furthermore, the buckler fighters in the manuscript are frequently hybrid creatures, while 'proper' human beings fighting a duel are only depicted three times (on fols 7^{v}, 69^{r} and 126^{v}).

In the heyday of buckler fighters populating manuscript pages, their iconography shows recurring features, regardless of whether the manuscripts were produced in the British Isles or in Central Europe: while a few fighters in armour do exist, the typical attire is everyday clothing, woollen tunics and hose with an optional linen coif or woollen hood on the person's head. The implied context is therefore not a military but a civilian one, be it in earnest or a training situation. The posture frequently includes the upper body leaning forward, the figure having a straight back[30] and slightly bent knees (if they are bucklerists with human legs, of course). The feet may point outwards in a ballet-like fashion, as is often the case in Gothic art. The depicted ways of holding the weapons in the approach and the actual engagement hint at certain conventions which go beyond artistic requirements. When the blades of the combatants' swords are extended towards the opponent, for instance, the buckler is usually kept close to the sword hand, thereby protecting the rest of the fighter's arm and body.[31] These conventions refer to duels and mostly do not apply to battle scenes or massacres (the latter being another occasion where swords and bucklers are frequently shown).[32]

[27] See Seebass 1973 on the topic of depictions of musicians and the playing of instruments in medieval psalters (and other manuscripts).

[28] London, British Library, Add MS 49622, fols 7^{v}, 10^{r}, 27^{v}, 40^{r}, 46^{r}, 50^{v}, 68^{v}, 69^{r}, 73^{v}, 75^{r}, 80^{v}, 83^{r}, 86^{v}, 99^{r}, 112^{v}, 126^{v}, 137^{v}, 138^{r}, 149^{v}, 162^{r}, 170^{r}, 191^{r} and 210^{v}.

[29] Helsinger 1971, 165–175 argued that depictions of David fighting Goliath were often included on the Beatus page (the beginning of the first psalm) in psalter manuscripts to convey the idea of good fighting evil, and other fighting scenes might have been included for the same reason. The example he gives – fol. 9^{r} of the 'Landgrafenpsalter' (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB II 24) indeed shows a pair of wrestlers and a buckler fighter attacking a hybrid man on the side of 'evil' (the left), while more peaceful motifs can be found to the right of the initial B. However, even this interpretation is only linked to the 'Book of Psalms' indirectly; it is not an illustration of it.

[30] This posture is briefly mentioned in Konrad von Würzburg's (d. 1287) *Der Trojanische Krieg* ('The Trojan War'): when Hector and Paris train with swords and bucklers, they are described as holding their shields up and bending their bodies behind them (*si buten für die buggeler / dâ hinder stuonden si gebogen*); see Kellett 2012, 40.

[31] I am assuming the combatant is a right-handed person here. Left-handed bucklerists and hybrids do appear in manuscripts occasionally (e.g. London, British Library, Add MS 11639, fol. 38^{r}), but may be the result of a mirrored model used by the illuminator. This seems to be the case with the many knights carrying scabbards on their right in London, British Library, Add MS 47680, fol. 40^{v} and later.

[32] Buckler fighters in a pitched battle are shown in the so-called 'Holkham Bible' which was made around 1330 (London, British Library, Add MS 47682), fol. 40^{r}. The famous English longbowmen of the late middle ages also often carried a sword and a buckler on their side. See the drawings in the 'Pageants of Richard Beauchamps', a 15th-century manuscript (London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius E IV/3, fol. 4^{r}), for example. Buckler fighters involved in massacres or murder are shown in Vienna, Austrian National Library, Han. Cod. 2554, fol. 42^{v} (made in the second quarter of the 13th century); and New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.933, fol. 33^{r} (made in Italy 1260–70). The latter example is a historiated initial showing the murder of Thomas Beckett.

Fig. 4: Two buckler-fighting illustrations from the 'Codex Manesse', Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 848, fols 190^{v} (left) and 204^{r} (right). The shield-strike seen on the left is the only depiction of such a technique outside the MS I.33 fight book. The fighters on the right have obtained the second (right shoulder) and fourth (over the head) guards according to the teachings contained in MS I.33.

Was buckler fighting a mass phenomenon in the Middle Ages?

In order to explain the frequency of the buckler fighter motif on manuscript pages, one not only has to consider the images themselves but what is being depicted, the historical fighting traditions. The sophistication of medieval martial arts has only received a notable share of scholarly attention in the last three decades.[33] Before that, the perspective on this subject was distorted by the nineteenth-century hubris of scholars[34] and popular culture (a phenomenon that still exists today, in fact). Both tend to suggest that medieval fighting was characterised by the use of excessive force, large movements of the weapons and, consequently, obvious signs of exhaustion in the practitioners. Somewhat in contrast, one exemplary surviving text on close combat from the fifteenth century states that alertness, courage and nimbleness make a good fencer.[35]

Fighting systems are likely to have developed very early in the history of physical human conflict, but the origins of buckler fencing in particular are unclear. It has been suggested that this form of combat came to Europe from the Byzantine Empire in the tenth century, but that it could also have evolved in Europe itself.[36] As a matter of fact, it is attested in the late twelfth century when Thomas

[33] See Anglo 2000 and Jaquet, Verelst and Dawson 2016, to cite just two publications of a more general character. Earlier publications from the twentieth century appeared more sporadically and were rather isolated works.

[34] Castle 1885, 5–6, speaks of the 'rough, untutored fighting of the Middle Ages' and assumes that the development of fencing up until his time was not a matter of constant change, but of constant improvement. His bibliography reveals that he did not read a single medieval fight book. There are more favourable and better-founded accounts, however, e.g. by Schmied-Kowarzik and Kufahl 1894, 82–83, and a few in-depth analyses were written in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century.

[35] These characteristics are embodied by parts of animals in a labelled illustration of a hybrid human fighter in one of Paulus Kal's fight books (late fifteenth century): Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1507, fol. 6^{r}. This ideal fighter has a falcon's eye (in fact, a falcon's entire head), a lion's heart and a hind's feet.

[36] See Dawson 2009 for the former point and Hester 2012 for the latter. On a side note, buckler fighting systems can be found all over Europe, Africa and Asia and up till the twentieth century. For depictions of men with sticks and bucklers from the Middle East in 1470, see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2824, fol. 65^{r}. For early twentieth-century buckler fighting from Georgia, see Amberger 1998, 165–168. Several old Indian martial-arts styles still use bucklers today.

Becket's clerk, William Fitzstephen, describes it as one of the exercises of London's young people on summer feast days.[37] Buckler fencing is also mentioned in various literary works,[38] and the Norwegian 'King's Mirror' (*Konungs skuggsjá*, *c.*1250) advises young courtiers to practise with a normal shield or buckler twice a day if possible.[39] Its popularity among the upper classes is further attested by the two idealised illustrations of minnesingers Johann von Ringgenberg and Heinrich (or Leopold) von Scharpfenberg from the 'Codex Manesse' (*c.*1300–1340), who each fence in normal clothing, wielding swords and bucklers in front of an audience of noble ladies, which suggests a non-lethal context for their practice (Fig. 4).[40] Partly in contrast, the Saxon Mirror describes the discipline in judicial duels which were potentially but not necessarily lethal; the four illustrated fourteenth-century manuscript copies of the famous law book of which I am aware all depict buckler fighters.[41]

The depiction of buckler fighting in Hebrew manuscripts

Manuscripts do not only attest to the existence of buckler fighting; they also suggest that it bridged social and religious boundaries, as exemplified by a lavishly illuminated frontispiece with bucklerists in a composite manuscript containing Jewish theological and prayer texts (Fig. 5).[42] With the exception of four pages from the fifteenth century and some equally young flourished penwork,[43] the manuscript was produced in the Upper Rhine area between 1276 and 1350 and is thus contemporary with most of the other examples cited here.[44] Another specimen is the so-called 'Michael Maḥzor'[45] made in Central Europe in 1258, a *maḥzor* being a prayer book for Jewish high festivals; it shows two buckler fighters on fol. 11^{r}. One of their heads is replaced by a bird's and the other is covered by a simplified great helm, both typical attempts of the time to circumvent the religious prohibition of depicting human beings. Curiously, the image on fol. 4^{v}, which shows a single person with the two weapons, is upside down. This has been interpreted as either the work of a painter ignorant of the Hebrew language who did not know which side was up (which seems rather unlikely) or as a deliberate choice to illustrate a passage in the corresponding Bible text (Esther 9:1) where an attempt to annihilate the Jews was 'turned to the contrary'.[46] However,

Fig. 5: A frontispiece in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 75, Germany, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, fol. 1^{v}, introducing a prayer text in the composite manuscript. The word in the cartouche says *barukh* ('blessed') and opens the phrase (continued on fol. 2^{r}) 'Blessed are you, Lord our God, King of the World'. This is a standard formula introducing prayers, in this case the morning prayer.

[37] Gourde 1943, 15. For a transcription of the Latin original (where buckler fighting is called *parmis duelliorum*), see Riley 1860, 15.

[38] Kellett 2012, 35–41.

[39] Larson 1917, 212–213.

[40] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 848, fols 190^{v} and 204^{r}.

[41] Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 164, fols 12^{r}, 16^{r} and later; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 3.1. Aug.2°, fol. 19^{v} and later; Oldenburg, Landesbibliothek, Cim I 410, fol. 24^{r} and later; Dresden, Staats-, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd. M.32, fol. 13^{r} and later.

[42] I am most grateful to Sara Offenberg and Michael Kohs for their help with the examples from Hebrew manuscripts.

[43] Zucker 2005, XLVIII. The penwork was probably executed by Joel ben Simeon, an Ashkenazi scribe and illuminator, see Hindman 2020.

[44] Fingernagel and Gamillscheg 2018, 53. The manuscript (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 75) shows the frontispiece on fol. 1^{v} and another hybrid creature with a sword and buckler on fol. 214^{v}.

[45] Now kept at Oxford in two volumes: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Michael 617 and Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS Michael 627.

[46] Offenberg 2018, 136–137. The passage from the *maḥzor* is read on the first Sabbath of the month of Adar. Purim, during which the Book of Esther is read, is the climax of this month.

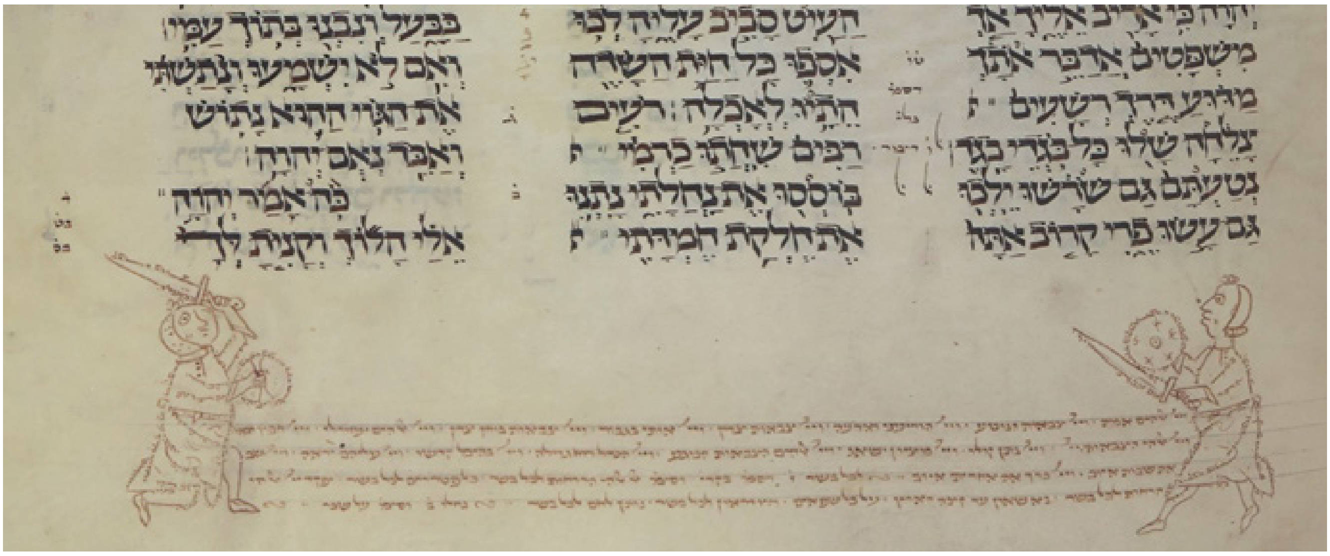


Fig. 6: Two buckler fighters consisting partly of micrography in the bottom margin of a Hebrew Bible. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Hébreu 9, Southern Germany, 1304, fol. 105r.

in most cases it appears as if buckler fighters were simply decorative elements in Jewish manuscripts rather than being illustrations of the actual text or related to it in any other obvious way.[47] The situation may be different for a Hebrew Bible made in Germany in 1304,[48] shortly after the so-called 'Rindfleisch massacres' of 1298. The lower margins of this manuscript occasionally contain micrography, including one opening with a pair of bucklerists in the lower margin of each page (Fig. 6). While the figures adopt similar fighting positions to those in other contemporary manuscripts, their outlines consist of minute writing taken from various sections of the Pentateuch. Sara Offenberg has argued that the images might well have been reactions to the recent pogroms, the buckler fighters representing the violent middle-class mobs that had targeted the Jewish communities in Southern Germany only a few years earlier.[49]

It has been argued that the presence of fighters or actual knights in these manuscripts reflects how the Jewish minority adopted motifs from the activities of the Christian upper classes, in which they were not allowed to participate.[50] It should be borne in mind, though, that Jewish manuscripts from medieval Europe (and elsewhere, for that matter) 'resemble manuscripts of their respective Gentile environments in terms of appearance, […] production techniques, and the configuration of the text, more closely than they do Hebrew manuscripts produced in other geo-cultural zones', as the late Malachi Beit-Arié observed.[51] Therefore, the theme may have been used because it already formed part of the local manuscript (painting) tradition or even because a Christian illuminator was employed.[52] But given that Jews wore arms and were even expected to fight when necessary,[53] it is plausible that Jewish illuminators drew their inspiration from real life, too, just like their Christian counterparts.

[47] This seems to be true of more examples showing (hybrid) buckler fighters: London, British Library, Add MS 11639 (fols 38r, 126v and 219v) and Add MS 22413 (fol. 131r), which is volume two of a three-part *maḥzor*. The first volume shows bucklerists, too: Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann Collection, MS A384 (fol. 49r). The third part is kept in Oxford: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Michael 619. Bucklerists are also found in a Jewish liturgical manuscript made in Northern Italy around 1350 (Fig. 7): Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Heb. 8°5214, fol. 82v.

[48] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Hébreu 9, fols 104v–105r, online at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10548441n/f217.item> and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10548441n/f218.item>.

[49] Offenberg 2021, 15–26 and passim. She furthermore suggests a close relation between the bucklerists in Jewish manuscripts and the illustrations found in the oldest known fight book (see below), or at least that there was either 'a common prototype copy or other fencing manuals' (Offenberg 2021, 14; see Offenberg 2021, 10–14 for the whole argument). I am inclined to favour the more comprehensive argument of the present article, namely that buckler fighters were a popular motif in illuminated European manuscripts in the thirteenth and fourteenth century regardless of their religious 'affiliation', not least because the martial practice was ubiquitous and similar in style throughout Central Europe and Britain.

[50] Shalev-Eyni 2010, 90–92. She interprets the buckler fighting scenes (e.g. those from the 'Codex Manesse') as a specialised kind of tournament and not as a broader martial art or social phenomenon.

[51] Beit-Arié 2022, 75.

[52] One such case is described in Frojmovic 2008, 285–290.

[53] Roth 2003, Wenniger 2003 and Offenberg 2021 (the latter with some additional information). The Jewish Quarter in Cologne apparently had an armoury, judging from several excavated maille shirts; see Otten 2018.

Fig. 7: Two sword-and-buckler-wielding hybrid creatures mark the end of a prayer to God (the Half-Kaddish) in a *maḥzor* manuscript for Yom Kippur. Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Heb. 8°5214, Northern Italy, *c.* 1350, fol. 82^{v}.

Depictions of buckler fighters outside of manuscripts

The repertoire of motifs found in marginal manuscript painting can also be found in other medieval European artwork, where it served a similar decorative function. One example is the wooden choir stalls of Cologne Cathedral with their elaborate carvings. They were made around 1310 by a number of artisans from workshops in Cologne, Lorraine and Paris.[54] Apart from a few elaborately decorated partition walls at the end of the stalls, arguably the most interesting carvings are only visible once the seats are lifted up, revealing the misericords underneath the seat boards – small hip supports for the clergy when they need to stand during a service – and the small decorated quatrefoil panels at the back of the stalls just above the floor. A few carvings show religious themes, but many appear to be secular in nature and belong to a repertoire of motifs shared with manuscript painting. They include animals and fantastic beasts,[55] a woman performing a handstand[56] and buckler fighters in at least seven places (Fig. 8). Despite the different materials and techniques used in manuscript painting and woodcarving, the bucklerists of Cologne Cathedral are strikingly similar to their manuscript counterparts, both in terms of their clothing, arms and posture and in their being combined with 'extraordinary' elements, such as the weapons wielded by hybrid creatures and even by a girl in a long gown.[57] However, the greatest similarity may well be their 'marginal' position in spots that are easy to overlook and even in places that were entirely hidden from view by the clergy once they occupied the stalls for the service.

Ora et dimica

Contrary to the ideal according to which 'those who pray' (oratores) were a distinct group from 'those who fight' (bellatores) in medieval European societies – an exception being the knightly orders that gained prominence during the Crusades – Christian clerics engaged in sword fighting as well, in one way or another. There is evidence that they were occasionally inclined to resolve legal disputes by judicial duels, which were also known as ordeals. This does not necessarily mean that they fought themselves, though, as the established practice also allowed them to hire a champion who was subsequently trained over several weeks. Eventually he would represent one of the involved parties and either win for them or lose, thus deciding the case. Rachel Kellett cites two instances from twelfth- and thirteenth-century England where monks would have preferred the ordeal because they considered their court cases tedious and hopeless respectively.[58] In terms of canon law, a judicial duel was most questionable, as can be gathered from one of the most ambitious manuscript projects of all in fourteenth-century England: the monumental but inchoate encyclopaedia entitled *Omne Bonum* in two folio-sized volumes. A senior clerk in London called James le Palmer wrote it on almost 1,100 parchment leaves between 1360 and 1375. The enormous scope of the work is also visible in the 750 historiated initials it contains, even though not all of them could be completed in James' lifetime.[59]

Sword-and-buckler-wielding clerics can be found in three historiated initials drawn during the original production phase, the first in a context that only seems remotely related to fighting: the chapter on apostasy (*Apostata et apostasia*, Fig. 9). The connection is clearer for the other two, which are concerned with clerics' weapons (*Arma clericorum*) and duelling clerics (*Clerici pugnantes in duello*, Fig. 10) respectively.[60] The texts provide insights into the theory and practice of duels and fighting.[61] In *Clerici pugnantes in duello*, James argues vehemently that duels – solely judicial duels, apparently – should be despised as they tempt God to intervene in the affairs of mortals, not to mention that they ultimately amount to committing murder. It is better to lose

54 For a detailed study on Cologne Cathedral's choir stalls, see Bergmann 1987.

55 See the quatrefoil panels N II 7, N II 11, N II 15, N I 10, N I 12, N I 8, S II 8 and S I 26 and misericords N I 1, N II 16 and S II 13. The abbreviations to mark the positions of the carvings are those used by Bergmann 1987. Greyscale images of most of them are included in the second volume of her publication. The carvings also include a so-called *Judensau* ('Jews' sow') depiction (on partition wall N C; see Bergmann 1987, vol. 2, 46–48), the most obvious of a small number of strongly anti-Semitic motifs still visible in Cologne Cathedral.

56 See misericord N II 5. Some very similar depictions in manuscripts can be seen in London, British Library, Add MS 62925 ('The Rutland Psalter', dated *c.*1260), fol. 65^{r} and London, British Library, Add MS 47682 (the 'Holkham Bible'), fol. 21^{v}.

57 Regarding the girl, see misericord N II 10 (and for fighting women in general, see below in this article). Beasts are shown on quatrefoil panel N I 22 and on misericords N I 16 and N I 5. The remaining bucklerists are shown on misericords N I 4 and N II 10, partition wall SB (the east side) and quatrefoil panels N I 22 and S I 12.

58 Kellett 2012, 50–53.

59 Sandler 1996, 13–19. Some of the missing historiated initials were added a few years later, based on the marginal cues left by the manuscript's new owner and probably also inspired by the actual chapter titles; see Sandler 1989.

60 London, British Library, Royal MS 6 E VI (which forms the first volume, and 6 E VII the second), England, 1360–1375, fols 115^{r}–117^{r}; 137^{r}–138^{v} and 302^{v}–303^{v} respectively.

61 I would like to thank Till Hennings very much for providing me with detailed summaries of the respective chapters, and thank Gaia Castaldi for transcribing a section from *clerici pugnantes in duello* for me.

Fig. 8: Carvings of (partly fantastic) buckler fighters in the choir stalls of Cologne Cathedral, Germany, *c.* 1310. From left to right and top to bottom: misericords N I 16 (a fighting hybrid creature) and N II 10 (an illustration of virtue, perhaps), quatrefoil S I 12 (a pair of buckler fighters and a dragon).

one's property than regain it by participating in a duel, he states, regardless of whether one makes the challenge or accepts it – self-defence being the only exception, that is, and only if one has a good reputation and is not a notoriously violent person. Even those who are merely involved in organising the duel, like scribes and lawyers, share part of the guilt, he says. James frequently draws on canon law to prove his point. He is particularly strict with clerics, for whom involvement in a duel would be an impediment (*irregularitas*) to their ability to perform the sacraments, aside from the fact that they would run the risk of being considered murderers. This is even the case if they hire a champion to fight in their stead. In the chapter *Arma clericorum*, James is equally austere with regards to which weapons may be worn or used by clerics. While a wide range of opinions are presented, the tendency is to only allow defensive weapons and armour or, if offensive weapons are permitted, then only for self-defence (and only if the attacker himself is armed). James observed with a scowl that almost all clerics were armed in his day and age despite what the canon-law jurists said.

Two of the depictions of clerical bucklerists found in initial letters in the *Omne Bonum* differ from the previous examples by referring to the contents of the respective articles. This is in contrast to most imaginative marginal illumination of the time, which is connected to the main text of a manuscript indirectly at best. Only the 'apostate' cleric who throws away his habit and adopts a recurring sword-and-buckler fighting position has a rather questionable relationship to the article to which he belongs. The choice of motif here suggests that buckler fencing was regarded as a rather disreputable practice – an impression that is, in fact, confirmed by textual sources, including some from James le Palmer's environment in England.[62]

Fig. 9: A cleric throws away his habit and adopts an under-the-arm guard with his sword and buckler in the historiated initial drawn for the chapter on 'Apostates and apostasy' in the *Omne Bonum*. This position is described as the 'first guard' (*prima custodia*) in the oldest fight book, Royal Armouries, MS I.33; see Fig. 11 as well. London, British Library, Royal MS 6 E VI, England, 1360–1375, fol. 115r.

The oldest known 'fight book'

While several 'combat books'[63] from the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance deal with the subject of fighting with swords and bucklers, the particular style that is shown in the many thirteenth- to fourteenth-century manuscript paintings is only described in one treatise from the same era. Incidentally, it is also the oldest known representative of this genre. This untitled and anonymous work is preserved in a manuscript now kept at the Royal Armouries in Leeds. It is commonly known under its former shelf mark of MS I.33.[64] The codex now contains 32 parchment folios, but it used to have more; an unknown number of leaves have been lost over time. The fencing techniques are demonstrated by a priest (*sacerdos*) and his pupil (*scholaris*) according to the glosses, but on the last two pages, the pupil has been replaced by a woman named Walpurgis (Fig. 11) without any explanation of why this happened. Every page contains two horizontal registers for the images, which, with the exception of the first folio, each show a pair of fencers demonstrating certain combat situations and techniques. They were not given a background or border, and the frame lines that designate the space reserved for each image are only faintly visible. Curiously, little or no designated space seems to have

[62] One example from the *Liber Albus*, a London law book written a few decades after James le Palmer's death, is quoted by Offenberg 2021, 25.

[63] These manuals, known as *Fechtbücher* in German, form a highly heterogeneous group of manuscripts (and prints later on), which are all concerned with close combat techniques in one way or another, described with the aid of texts and/or illustrations.

[64] The Royal Armouries still use MS I.33 on their website, even though the more recent shelf marks 'Royal Armouries Record 0033' and 'Fecht1' exist, too. For a brief description and contextualisation of the manuscript as well as a summary of relevant studies, see the introduction in Forgeng 2018, on which I have relied here unless otherwise specified. The first in-depth analysis of the manuscript's iconography, text and its scholarly and cultural context is Cinato and Surprenant 2008. The recently completed PhD dissertation of Antti Ijäs is even more extensive and focuses especially on the language of the text; see Ijäs 2022.

Fig. 10: The historiated initial for the chapter on duelling clerics in the *Omne Bonum*. London, British Library, Royal MS 6 E VI, England, 1360–1375, fol. 302v.

been prepared for adding text. This is one of several clues suggesting that the accompanying Latin explanations and mnemonic verses that describe the highly refined fighting system (with occasional technical terms added in German) were not part of the original plan – at least not to the extent we can see in the book today. The text was inserted above each register and sometimes in the lower margin or to the left or right (in which case it was rotated by 90°). As the illustrations often go beyond their frame lines and thus leave less space for writing between them, the text frequently flushes around the fighters' feet and swords (Fig. 12). The Latin text makes a few references to the images, including a complaint about a 'mistake by the painter' (*vicium pictoris*) on fol. 23r, which prevented the reader from seeing a certain fencing technique. The distribution of text is also quite irregular: some pages are crowded, while others are nearly or completely blank, except for the occasional 'see above' comment when a familiar situation is repeated.[65] This is despite the fact that virtually every page was provided with ruling lines before the glosses were added. If it was ever planned to spread the text evenly over the manuscript, the author(s) of the glosses appear(s) to have been unaware of it or to have disregarded the idea later.

Since painting and texts were dated and localised indiscriminately to late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Franconia up until recently,[66] some differentiation is necessary here. The style of the illustrations also appears in a manuscript produced in Lower Austria in the middle of the fourteenth century. The Cistercian abbot Ulrich of Lilienfeld hired a professional illustrator to paint some of the pages of his Concordantiae Caritatis (contained in the 'Codex Campililiensis', Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 151). The human figures painted by this expert craftsman show some similarity to those in MS I.33 in terms of their clothing and vividness.[67] While this gives some indication of the

[65] References to previously covered subject matter, often followed by light annotations, can be found on fols 3r, 5v, 6r, 7v, 13v, 15r, 22v and 24v, for instance.

[66] For a small number of dating suggestions, see Bodemann 2008, 124–126 (cat. no. 38.9.8.).

[67] Roland 2015, 258–259. Roland is reminded of pre-Eyckian realism, a style originating in the Netherlands, but difficult to trace even there (the

spatial and temporal origin of the fight book, the possibility of using externally hired illuminators complicates the matter further, not least because it is unclear how many painters were involved in the production. Nevertheless, it can be stated with some certainty that the illustrations date to around 1330.[68] A close examination of the handwriting reveals that the main hand develops into a typical Cursiva Antiquior over the course of the text, which would date it to the 1350s–1360s and hardly before 1340. Some of the annotations in the text were written in what seems to be a different hand, either as a variant from the main scribe's repertoire or by a different person altogether, but both types were rubricated in the same style and thus appear to be more or less contemporary. The spelling of the terms in an Upper German dialect suggests it may have originated in the north-eastern part of Southern Germany, probably Franconia or even Bohemia.[69] The temporal distance between images and writing adds more weight to the aforementioned hypothesis – that the original plan for producing this manuscript did not include the text, or at least not as much as what was added.

Almost 20 years of recent scholarship have been unable to unlock all the secrets of this fascinating manuscript. For the present paper, I merely wish to point out a few important parallels between its teachings and the roughly contemporary depictions of bucklerists mentioned earlier. The first noticeable similarity is in the fencers' posture: the figures are leaning forward and have a relatively wide stance. Second, the initial body positions (*custodiae*) from which the fight starts can also be found outside this manuscript, confirming the glosses, which state that every fighter adopts them, regardless of how well they have been trained (fol. 1^{r}). Third, in the actual engagement, more often than not the weapons are held in front at shoulder height, the combatants' hands close together. While exceptions to these characteristics certainly exist (as do variations of them), their general similarity is striking, but logical nonetheless: it attests to related martial traditions in Europe at this time, and whenever these traditions were represented in manuscript painting, this was done using similar artistic conventions.

Martial culture in manuscript culture – an attempt to explain the phenomenon

If one considers that clerics were not only involved in book production during the timeframe discussed in this paper, but that some of them even formed part of the martial community, then the frequent occurrence of buckler fighters in manuscript painting can be explained quite plausibly. This is also true of craftsmen and artisans working in secular workshops: fighting practice was not only observable in different parts of society to which illuminators looked for inspiration, but it may often have been part of their own lives as well, much like other kinds of games and sports.[70] Martial culture or a culture of physical exercise, one could argue, left its imprint on the culture of manuscript production, as did other aspects of daily routine. Even if we assume that the artists occasionally mocked or criticised it in their paintings, e.g. by replacing humans with animals or hybrid creatures, they nonetheless reaffirmed its prevalence. Michael Camille has argued in a comparable way that carnivalesque marginal images indirectly strengthened the sacred or virtuous content they tried to ridicule – precisely because they did not entirely replace them in the centre, but 'only' stayed in the margins.[71]

What exactly was buckler fencing, though, and why was it such a widespread phenomenon, as the many illustrations in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century European manuscripts suggest?[72] It appears to have been embedded in a wide range of martial practices, all of which are frequently

examples of this style he provides are London, British Library, Sloane 3983 and Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. 69). The style of the remaining illustrations in Ulrich's manuscript is different, the quality inferior. For digitised images of the *Concordantiae Caritatis*, see <https://manuscripta.at/hs_detail.php?ID=32359>. Stylistically similar paintings, specifically regarding the way the garments were drawn, can be found on fol. 81^{v}, for example.

[68] I am very grateful to Maria Theisen and Martin Roland for their observations and suggestions concerning the style of painting and its dating. Archaeologist Julia Gräf has pointed out that the depicted clothing matches early fourteenth-century fashion conventions; see Gräf 2017, 67–69.

[69] I would like to express my gratitude to Katrin Sturm and Christoph Mackert of Leipzig University's Manuscript Centre for sharing their palaeographic expertise concerning MS I.33 and making some suggestions about its possible origin.

[70] Training and recreational sports were almost inseparable for some members of the fighting classes; see Carter 1992, 29–36 (see p. 18 on the origin of the term 'sports'). It could be argued that when other parts of society took part in martial pastimes, they were emulating the behaviour of the ruling classes. However, their involvement in fighting and fighting practice is just as likely to be the result of the fact that 'endemic warfare permeated society' (p. 128). See Birkhan 2018, 11–54 for a recent attempt at defining gaming and playing in the Middle Ages and a survey of previous definitions.

[71] Camille 2010, 26–31 and 47.

[72] For a collection of sources mentioning buckler fighting and a brief discussion of the reality of the practice, see Cinato 2016, 481–492. When addressing the existence of bucklerists in his monograph on 'drôleries' in marginal manuscript painting, Jean Wirth appears to be uncertain about the precise purpose of sword and buckler fighting. He describes it as a practice neither for nobles (which is debatable, given the evidence listed here) nor for peasants, but rather some form of middle-class activity (for which there is evidence); see Wirth 2008, 210–212.

Fig. 11: The *sacerdos* from the previous pages now faces Walpurgis, a woman wearing aristocratic attire. Both have tucked their garb in a way that would allow them to move around freely when fighting. In the upper register, the priest is standing in an under-the-arm guard (*prima custodia*), which can also be seen in Fig. 9. Leeds, Royal Armouries, MS I.33, Central or South-east Germany, *c.* 1330–1360, fol. 32r.

Fig. 12: Two partially overlapping illustrations and glosses added at a later point, avoiding parts of the illustrations. In the lower register on the left, the priest is attacking from an over-the-head guard (*quarta custodia*), which was frequently used in contemporary depictions of combatants (see Figs 4–7). Leeds, Royal Armouries, MS I.33, Central or South-east Germany, *c.*1330–1360, fol. 26[v].

found in manuscript painting, too: archery, javelin throwing, wrestling[73] (probably the most widespread exercise of all, as no equipment was required for it) and armoured combat with large shields as used by the ruling class and military elite for most armed conflicts of the time.[74] The importance of the latter might, in fact, explain the popularity of sword and buckler fighting. Another look at manuscript miniatures reveals that knights and soldiers fighting with triangular shields (or 'heater shields') in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century sometimes used the same *custodiae* as bucklerists.[75] While depictions of similar fighting positions in manuscript painting could be the result of using models, the motifs clearly transcend workshops, regions and times of their making. This is corroborated by other evidence that lends credibility to the hypothesis that buckler fighting served as an alternative form of physical training for unmounted close combat at the time.[76] Buckler fencing thus gained relevance, which made it increasingly popular over the course of the thirteenth century, even though it had existed before – not to mention its usefulness in contexts that did not require full armour or large shields, such as judicial duels or self-defence. The growing number of cases where the motif appears in uniquely produced manuscript illuminations, especially in the margins, attests to this development.

Conclusion

In Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, buckler fighting must have been such a ubiquitous activity in many people's lives – including the lives of those producing manuscripts – that it left its imprint not only in dedicated illustrations of the practice, but in decorative and visually structuring elements of the page that did not directly relate to the main text: line fillers, border elements and marginal space. In the real world, it was a popular martial practice with different fields of application, a recurring part of everyday life for many people who either participated in it themselves or watched, and possibly an outlet for the aggressive potential of young men.[77] In manuscript production, it could be used to illustrate themes like conflict and combat, but also rowdiness, skill, martial prowess and recreation.[78] At the same time, it was an everyday experience documented by painters as paracontent to accompany the main text in a manuscript, alongside other common practices and routines that were barely considered worth verbalising. Therefore, such manuscript paintings (and some other artwork of the period) may very well contain the bulk of the evidence that remains of the daily activities of medieval Europeans, which they rarely wrote about. The routines and thoughts central to medieval societies, one could argue, can often be found in the periphery of their manuscripts now. The margins reflect – and sometimes distort – the world in which the illuminators lived; they give us an insight into their minds, their material and physical culture, and their martial knowledge.

Buckler fencing, a practice that is seldom associated with the Middle Ages today, especially in popular culture, is only one part of the mosaic. It emerges as a socio-cultural phenomenon not so much from the single extant treatise dedicated to the subject and describing the style, but rather (and indirectly) from the many marginal depictions in European manuscripts, almost regardless of their main content.

[73] Wrestling is described as the basis of all fighting in a late fourteenth-century multiple-text manuscript on fighting: see Nuremburg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 3227a, fol. 86ʳ. Mary Carruthers argues that marginal depictions of wrestling 'allud[ed] to the common idea (Biblical as well as classical) of meditation as exercise (*meletē*), and of ascetics as spiritual athletes'; see Carruthers 2008, 323. Regardless of whether this was actually intended, I suspect that wrestling was prominent enough in society in the first place to be considered an appropriate portrayal of 'spiritual' exercise.

[74] Bucklers are depicted in group fighting and even in combat on horseback, but they are certainly not the most prominent type of shield for these martial contexts.

[75] There are two images in two unrelated manuscripts made around 1300 in France, one with a heater-shield fighter in armour and the other with a sword-and-buckler fighter in normal clothing. They are shown in what is virtually the same unusual fighting posture, down to the position of the right thumb on the sword hilt. The armoured fighter is in an image in New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M.751, fol. 102ᵛ; see online: <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/204/115343>. The unarmoured sword-and-buckler fencer is part of the bottom margin in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS.131, fol. 7ᵛ; see online: <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/22484/manifest>. I am grateful to Roland Warzecha for pointing me to this example.

[76] See above for the advice given to young courtiers in the 'King's Mirror' to practise with bucklers or large shields. A 1380s English adaptation of the older French romance 'Fierabras' describes how noblemen indulge in various playful activities, some of them training *with swerd bokelere*; quoted in Patterson 2015, 8.

[77] Bans on fencing reflect its popularity, but also the fact that it was a potential source of conflict. See Anglo 2000, 7–9. One example listed there is that of Heidelberg University, which ruled that fencing was prohibited among its students only a few years after its founding in the late fourteenth century.

[78] Hester 2012, 80.

Acknowledgements

The research for this article was funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) as part of Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted as part of the work performed at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at the University of Hamburg. I am indebted to Karin Becker for sharing her expertise in art history with me to improve this article. Those who helped me with specific problems are credited in the appropriate sections.

MANUSCRIPTS

Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 863. <https://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/293> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, MS.131. <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/22484/manifest> (accessed on 20 November 2023)

Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann Collection, MS A384. <http://kaufmann.mtak.hu/en/ms384/ms384-coll1.htm> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Cologny, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 147. <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/fmb/cb-0147> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Dresden, Staats-, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr. Dresd. M.32. <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id272362328> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 164. <doi.org/10.11588/diglit.85> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 848. <doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2222> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Jerusalem, National Library of Israel (הספרייה הלאומית), Ms. Heb. 8°5214. <https://www.nli.org.il/en/discover/manuscripts/hebrew-manuscripts/itempage?vid=MANUSCRIPTS&docId=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990000417940205171-3> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Leeds, Royal Armouries, MS I.33 (alternatively Royal Armouries Record 0033 or Fecht1). <https://royalarmouries.org/collection/archive/archive-391002> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 151. <https://manuscripta.at/hs_detail.php?ID=32359> (accessed on 20 November 2022)

London, British Library, Add MS 11639. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_11639> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Add MS 22413. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_22413> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Add MS 42130. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_42130> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Add MS 47680. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_47680> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Add MS 47682. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_47682> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Add MS 49622. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_49622> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Add MS 62925. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_62925> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius E IV/3. <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Julius_E_IV/3> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Royal MS 14 E III. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_14_E_III> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Royal MS 6 E VI. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_6_E_VI> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

London, British Library, Royal MS 6 E VII. <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_6_E_VII> (accessed on 26 October 2021)

Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig XIV 6. <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103RVV> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1507. <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00001840-2> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, II, 2-25. <https://www.themorgan.org/drawings/item/141861> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M.453. <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/76786> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M.751. <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/115343> (accessed on 20 November 2022)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M.919. <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/159955> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, M.933. <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/145554> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.215. <https://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/12/77098> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.730. <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/128493> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Nuremburg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 3227a. <https://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs3227a> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Oldenburg, Landesbibliothek, Cim I 410. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-3571> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Michael 617. <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/1b2f756c-0570-45f9-bc2c-14b42c0cb68e/> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Michael 619. <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/9e481d9a-06e6-41e8-ae36-a58d445a1ffa/> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Michael 627. <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/b3f2d1d5-ff07-4a6e-87ea-281c41957925/> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 2824. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8422958j> (accessed on 20 November 2023)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 25526. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000369q> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Hébreu 9. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10548441n> (accessed on 20 November 2023)

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, HB II 24. <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz351035532> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 75. <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3324323> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Han. Cod. 2554. <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00152849> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 3.1. Aug.2°. <https://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=3-1-aug-2f> (accessed on 18 December 2023)

REFERENCES

Amberger, J. Christoph (1998), *The Secret History of the Sword: Adventures in Ancient Martial Arts*, revised and expanded edition, Burbank: Multi-Media Books.

Anglo, Sydney (2000), *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Beit-Arié, Malachi (2022), *Hebrew Codicology: Historical and Comparative Typology of Hebrew Medieval Codices Based on the Documentation of the Extant Dated Manuscripts until 1540 Using a Quantitative Approach* <doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.9349> (accessed on 20 November 2023).

Bergmann, Ulrike (1987), *Das Chorgestühl des Kölner Domes*, 2 vols (text and inventory), Neuss: Neusser Druckerei und Verlag.

Birkhan, Helmut (2018), *Spielendes Mittelalter*, Vienna: Böhlau.

'bocler', in *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (*AND² Online Edition*), Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University <https://anglo-norman.net/entry/bocler> (accessed on 20 November 2023).

Bodemann, Ulrike et al. (eds) (2008), *38. Fecht- und Ringbücher* (Katalog der deutsch-sprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters, 4,2/1,2), Munich: C. H. Beck.

Camille, Michael (2010), *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, repr., London: Reaktion Books [1st edn: 1992].

Carruthers, Mary (2008), *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carter, John Marshall (1992), *Medieval Games: Sports and Recreation in Feudal Society*, New York, Westport and London: Greenwood Press.

Castle, Egerton (1885), *Schools and Masters of Fence: From the Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century*, London: George Bell and Sons.

Caviness, Madeline H. (2011), review of 'Jean Wirth: Les Marges à drôleries dans les manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350)', *caa.reviews* <doi.org/10.3202/caa.reviews.2011.110> (accessed on 20 November 2023).

Cinato, Franck and André Surprenant (eds) (2008), *Le Livre de l'Art du Combat (Liber de arte dimicatoria): Commentaires et exemples*, Paris: CNRS Éditions.

Cinato, Franck (2016), 'Development, Diffusion and Reception of the "Buckler Play": A Case Study of a Fighting Art in the Making', in Daniel Jaquet, Karin Verelst and Timothy Dawson (eds), *Late Medieval and Early Modern Fight Books: Transmission and Tradition of Martial Arts in Europe (14th–17th Centuries)* (History of Warfare, 112), Leiden: Brill.

Ciotti, Giovanni, Michael Kohs, Eva Wilden, Hanna Wimmer and the TNT Working Group (2018), 'Definition of Paracontent', CSMC – Occasional Paper No. 6 <doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.9814> (accessed on 20 November 2023).

Dawson, Timothy (2009), 'The Walpurgis Fechtbuch: An Inheritance of Constantinople?', *Arms & Armour*, 6/1: 79–92.

Fingernagel, Andreas and Ernst Gamillscheg (2018), 'Die hebräische Handschrift', in Andreas Fingernagel (ed.), *Juden, Christen und Muslime: Im Dialog der Wissenschaften 500–1500*, new edn, Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 49–60.

Forgeng, Jeffrey L. (ed.) (2018), *The Medieval Art of Swordsmanship: Royal Armouries MS I.33*, Leeds: Trustees of the Royal Armouries.

Frojmovic, Eva (2008), 'Jewish Scribes and Christian Illuminators: Interstitial Encounters and Cultural Negotiation', in Katrin Kogmann-Appel and Mati Meyer (eds), *Between Judaism and Christianity: Art Historical Essays in Honor of Elisheva (Elisabeth) Revel-Neher* (The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500, 81), Leiden: Brill, 281–305.

Gourde, Leo T. (ed.) (1943), *An Annotated Translation of the Life of St. Thomas Becket by William Fitzstephen*, unpublished MA thesis, Loyola University Chicago.

Gräf, Julia (2017), 'Fighting in Women's Clothes: The Pictorial Evidence of Walpurgis in Ms. I.33', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 5/2: 47–71.

Helsinger, Howard (1971), 'Images on the Beatus Page of some Medieval Psalters', *The Art Bulletin*, 53/2: 161–176.

Hester, James (2012), 'Home-Grown Fighting: A Response to the Argument for a Byzantine Influence on MS I.33', *Arms & Armour*, 9/1: 76–84.

Hindman, Sandra and Sharon Liberman Mintz (2020), *I am the scribe, Joel ben Simeon*, with an essay by Lucia Raspe, Paris/New York/Chicago: Les Enluminures.

Ijäs, Antti (2022), *Study of the Language and Genre of Royal Armouries MS 1.33*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Helsinki.

Jaquet, Daniel, Karin Verelst and Timothy Dawson (eds) (2016), *Late Medieval and Early Modern Fight Books: Transmission and Tradition of Martial Arts in Europe (14th–17th Centuries)* (History of Warfare, 112), Leiden: Brill.

Kellett, Rachel E. (2012), 'Royal Armouries MS I.33: The Judicial Combat and the Art of Fencing in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-century German Literature', *Oxford German Studies*, 41/1: 32–56.

Larson, Laurence M. (ed.) (1917), *The King's Mirror, Speculum Regale, Konungs Skuggsjá*, New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation.

Offenberg, Sara (2014), 'A Jewish Knight in Shining Armour: Messianic Narrative and Imagination in Ashkenazic Illuminated Manuscripts', *The University of Toronto Journal of Jewish Thought*, 4: 1–14.

Offenberg, Sara (2018), 'Animal Attraction: Hidden Polemics in Biblical Animal Illuminations of the *Michael Mahzor', Interfaces: A Journal of Medieval European Literatures*, 5: 129–153.

Offenberg, Sara (2021), 'Sword and Buckler in Masorah Figurata: Traces of Early Illuminated Fight Books in the Micrography of Bible, Paris, BnF, MS héb. 9', *Acta Periodica Duellatorum*, 9: 1–32.

Otten, Thomas (2018), '"da man die Juden zu Colne sluch"', *Archäologie in Deutschland* 2/2018: 30–31.

Patterson, Serina (2015), 'Introduction: Setting Up the Board', in Serina Patterson (ed.), *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature* (The New Middle Ages), New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1–20.

Randall, Lilian M. C. (1962), 'The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare', *Speculum* 37/6: 358–367.

Randall, Lilian M. C. (1966), *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Riley, Henry T. (ed.) (1860), *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum*, et Liber Horn, vol. 2, part 1, London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.

Roland, Martin (2015), 'Die Concordantiae caritatis des Ulrich von Lilienfeld', in Pius Maurer, Irene Rabi and Harald Schmid (eds), *Campililiensia: Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur des Zisterzienserstiftes Lilienfeld*, Lilienfeld: Verlag des Stiftes Lilienfeld, 249–272.

Roth, Norman (2003), 'Arms, Jews and', in Norman Roth (ed.), *Medieval Jewish Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, New York: Routledge, 35–37.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman (1989), 'Notes for the Illuminator: The Case of the Omne Bonum', *The Art Bulletin*, 71: 551–564.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman (1996), *Omne bonum: A Fourteenth-century Encyclopedia of Universal Knowledge, British Library MSS. Royal 6 E VI–6 E VII*, 2 vols (text and illustrated catalogue), London: Harvey Miller.

Sandler, Lucy Freeman (1997), 'The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present and Future', *Studies in Iconography*, 18: 1–49.

Schmied-Kowarzik, Josef, and Hans Kufahl (1894), *Fechtbüchlein*, Leipzig: Reclam.

Seebass, Tilman (1973), *Musikdarstellungen und Psalterillustration im Frühen Mittelalter: Studien ausgehend von einer Ikonologie der Handschrift Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Latin III 8*, 2 vols, Bern: Francke.

Shalev-Eyni, Sarit (2010), *Jews Among Christians: Hebrew Book Illumination from Lake Constance* (Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History, 41), London: Harvey Miller.

Vieillard, Mickael (2018), 'L'épée-Bocle générale/commune à l'épée bocle?' <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1akG-4cwks2BaLW4AFjOI1BNnMdiMt4bAA9ByTRPY0DU/edit> (accessed on 6 February 2024).

Wenninger, Markus J. (2003), 'Von jüdischen Rittern und anderen waffentragenden Juden im mittelalterlichen Deutschland', *Aschkenas: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden*, 13/1: 35–82.

Wirth, Jean (2008), *Les Marges à drôleries dans les manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350)*, with contributions by Andreas Bräm, Isabelle Engammare, Céline Fressart et al., Geneva: Librairie Droz.

Zucker, Shlomo (2005), *The Moskowitz Mahzor of Joel ben Simeon: Ashkenazi-Italian Scribe and Illuminator of Hebrew Manuscripts, MS. Heb. 4° 1384*, Jerusalem: The Jewish National and University Library.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: CC0 1.0 Deed, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Fig. 2: © The British Library, London.

Fig. 3: NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0), Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny.

Fig. 4: PDM 1.0 Deed, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg (Heidelberg University Library).

Fig. 5: © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Austrian National Library), Vienna.

Fig. 6: © Bibliothèque nationale de France (French National Library), Paris.

Fig. 7: Public Domain, מאוסף הספרייה הלאומית, The National Library of Israel, “Ktiv” Project, The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.

Fig. 8: © Hohe Domkirche Köln, Dombauhütte (Cathedral Church of Saint Peter), Cologne; Foto: Matz and Schenk.

Figs 9–10: © The British Library, London.

Figs 11–12: © Trustees of the Royal Armouries, Leeds.

Article

Prompt Books in Use: The Example of Hamburg's *Theater-Bibliothek*

Martin Jörg Schäfer and Alexander Weinstock | Hamburg and Mülheim an der Ruhr

1. Written artefacts in the theatre

The following paper proposes that prompt books should be conceived of as the centrepiece of a specific manuscript culture that has developed in European theatre ever since the sixteenth century.[1] While taking the Hamburg-based *Theater-Bibliothek* ['Theatre Library'] with its mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-century materials as its point of reference, it also proposes reconsidering the significance of written artefacts in the European theatre on a more general level. Prompt books and other written theatre artefacts have long been viewed as providing helpful information about the textual basis or historical particularities of the theatre production in question. But by displaying the multi-layered traces of their regular use, prompt books are actually written artefacts of interest in their own right: their material biography, i.e. the material traces of usage a given prompt book accumulates over time and the modifications it undergoes in the course of its existence, is put on view in what one could call the inherent material performance of their interacting layers.[2] In a performative and singular fashion, each prompt book interconnects the multiple agents and technologies that make up the theatre as an overall set of cultural practices. In doing so, a particular practice of handwriting comes into view that outlasted the predominance of movable type printing in Europe over several centuries (Fig. 1).

Ever since Aristotle's *Poetics*, the discussion of European theatre has largely ignored the written artefacts involved. It has relied heavily on the fundamental distinction between drama and performance instead, i.e. between reading and watching, between the text and acting it out on stage, where the spoken word is just one of many theatrical elements. On the one hand, there is a literary text, spelt out to different degrees depending on theatre tradition, time and circumstances, yet containing words to be spoken, characters to be represented and actions to be carried out on stage. On the other hand, there is the action on this very stage. What happens there does not necessarily take into account what has been written down and stipulated. Rather, it may give some space to performers to do practically anything they want: to improvise scenes and dialogue depending on the mood of the audience, to make up parts that are sometimes just outlined in writing (or that the actors simply have not memorised that well) or to forget about language altogether and purely indulge in bodily action.

Scholars of literature, the theatre and both forms of cultural expression have either privileged the text, emphasised the fleeting experience of the unique performance or argued for some complex form of entanglement of the two.[3] However, surprisingly little attention has been dedicated to the various written artefacts that are produced and employed in a theatre:[4] apart from all the pieces of writing necessary to sustain a theatre business (bank statements, contracts, playbills, tickets for performances, etc.), the performance itself relies

[1] A 'particular manuscript culture to which a given manuscript belongs' can be understood, as Jörg B. Quenzer puts it, as 'the milieu in which it was and is produced, used and transmitted' (Quenzer 2014, 2).

[2] In addition to our reliance on manuscript studies, we re-apply and partially redefine scholarly approaches to material experiments with books and print in the early twentieth-century artistic avant-gardes in Europe. (For an analysis of the respective 'Materialperformanz' ['material performance'], see Nantke 2017, 77.) Besides doing that, we also re-apply editorial approaches to the development of a literary manuscript, as put forward in 1970's *critique génétique*. This type of literary criticism conceives of the dynamics of writing processes as a 'Performance-Akt der Textwerdung' ['performative event of becoming text'], which takes place in the written artefacts that form the 'avant-texte' ['text before the text'] of an oeuvre (Grésillon 2010, 304, 291). Our aim, however, is to describe and analyse such a performative dimension as it is constitutive for the materiality of a single multi-layered written artefact: a prompt book used in a theatre.

[3] Cf. Phelan 1993 and Halliwell 1986.

[4] A reference to the manuscript practices of the theatre is conspicuously absent in the authoritative *Cultural History of Theatre*; cf. Leon 2017 and Marx 2017. With regard to prompt books, the prominent exception is Schneider 2021: he uses a slightly different conceptual framing to study prompt books and related written artefacts in their historical contexts from the Middle Ages to contemporary times. While Schneider focuses on prompt books as a means to reconstruct productions and performances, this article focuses on the material dimension of the written artefacts in question.

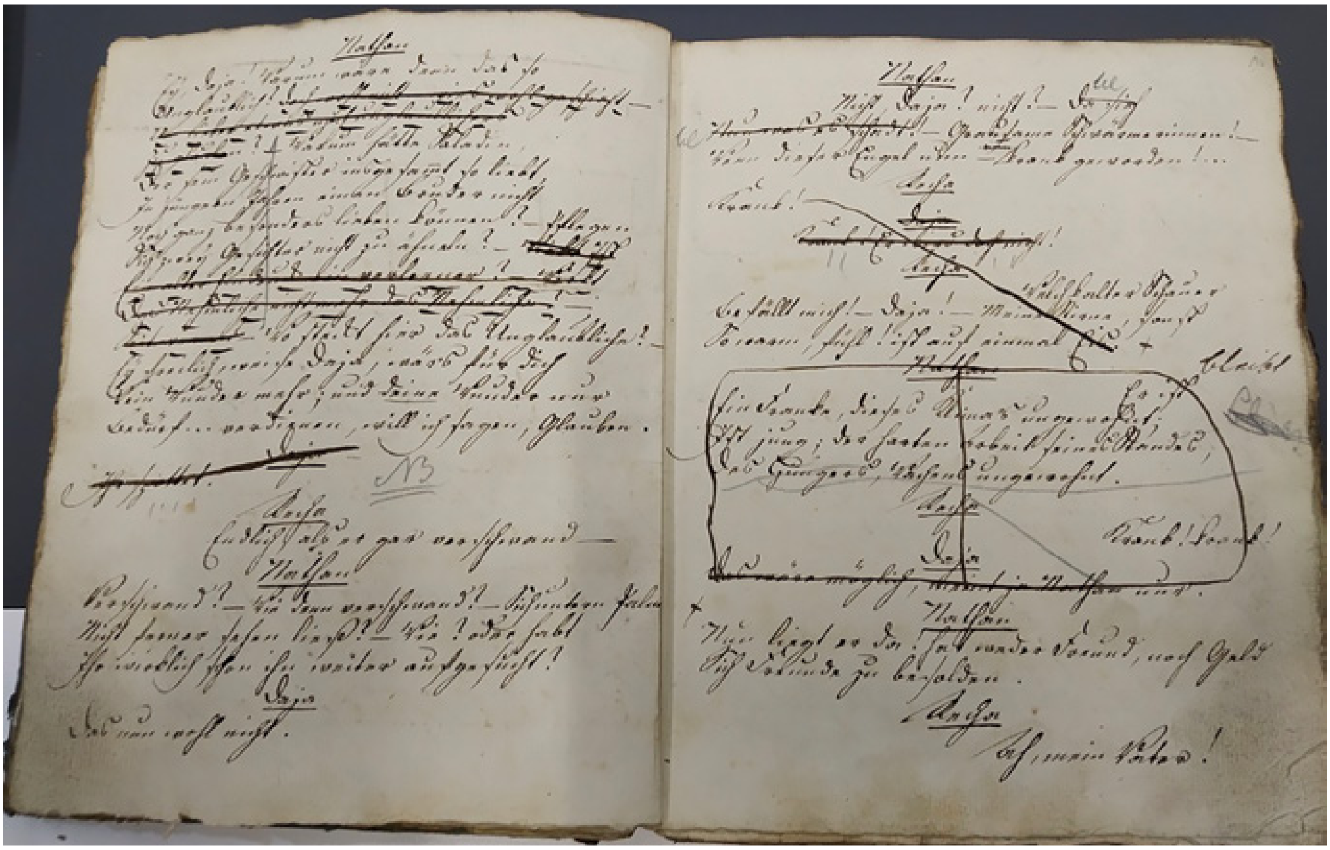


Fig. 1: Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, fols 9v–10r. Multiple traces of usage in a prompt book of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* created around 1803.

primarily on 'scripts'[5] in order to set out in writing what is to be reproduced the following day and what is (sometimes implicitly) left to custom or chance. In twenty-first-century globalised experimental performance art, scripts can consist of intricate digital spreadsheet files or, conversely, just of a bundle of scribbled notes for the stage set-up. In European theatre since the sixteenth century (a tradition that considers itself to have been inaugurated in ancient Greece), dramatic scripts usually include paper files with the performers' parts written out in ink, set-up lists for the technical teams (decoration, scenery) and, most prominently, handwritten master copies, i.e. paper quires bound into prompt books and then constantly updated with whatever writing tool seems to have been available. Depending on the historical time and context, a written artefact of this kind might remain in the care of the company director, the artistic director (a figure emerging in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century), the 'inspector' (an equivalent to today's stage manager) or, literally, the prompter. As in Hamburg at the turn of the nineteenth century, there may also be two master copies: one for the prompter, who was hidden from view in a box in front of the stage to help out with forgotten or mangled-up lines, and one for the inspector, who oversaw the operation backstage.[6]

The intimate relationship between the rise of the vibrant trans-European theatre culture in the early modern world and the rise of letterpress printing with its sprawling book market is well documented.[7] Yet the prompt-book master copies and the revisions that have survived were overwhelmingly written by hand well into the twentieth century – at least up to the arrival of the typewriter in daily working life. It would have been highly impractical to reproduce them via print, for which there was simply no need. Although created to ensure the iterability of a given performance, prompt books are unique, multi-layered written artefacts by default. They were constantly adapted in the course of a given theatre production, e.g. by updating technical information or modifying the dialogue whenever circumstances demanded it. It was not unusual for such amendments to be inserted by various hands since productions would sometimes remain part of a theatre's repertoire for decades. A resumption after

[5] Cf. Schechner 2003, 68 and Müller-Schöll 2020.

[6] Cf. Maurer-Schmoock 1982, 88–101.

[7] Cf. Stone Peters 2000, for instance.

a long hiatus might have called for potential adjustments due to changing theatrical fashions, social customs or tone. A small circle of people had access to the prompt book (mainly the principal, prompter and inspector). Since they were kept for the next generation in most cases, various people used them long-term, especially if the respective manuscript was in use for a long time and/or served as the basis for different productions.[8]

The unique, multi-layered character of each prompt book is particularly apparent if one looks at the exceptions that prove the rule: approximately a sixth of the items in Hamburg's *Theater-Bibliothek* are based on printed books in octavo format: normal printed copies aimed at the contemporary reading audience were taken as a fair copy for the respective prompt books, probably for the sake of convenience. Yet there are also rare cases of interleafed printed copies that seem to have been processed in order to serve as prompt books. Either way, everything else was then added by hand just like in the handwritten exemplars, thus creating hybrid forms between handwriting and print.

The following considerations go beyond conceiving of prompt books as auxiliary means for gaining a deeper understanding of the history of a given production or the respective stage adaptation of a literary text.[9] Rather, this paper switches perspective by examining prompt books in themselves as part of an international manuscript culture. In contrast to reconstructing a certain theatre performance with the help of its prompt book, the unique quality and development of each prompt book as a material object now comes into view: the shape the prompt book has taken on during its practical use can then be described as performative in itself. Only as a performative manuscript may a prompt book then contribute to the understanding of a performance's history.

In the following, this paper will refer to various objects from Hamburg's *Theater-Bibliothek* in order to extrapolate this line of thought. Not only did Hamburg become one of Germany's theatre centres in the course of the eighteenth century, but the *Theater-Bibliothek* sports a particularly rich collection of manuscripts. It includes around 3,050 books relating to 2,100 plays that were produced at the *Comödienhaus* ('playhouse'), later known as the *Stadttheater* ('city theatre'), at Gänsemarkt under the guidance of various directors from around 1765 to 1850. Most of these artefacts are bound paper manuscripts with cardboard covers of various sizes. About 500 of them are printed books, while the rest are hand¬written.[10] Prompt books based on manuscripts and on printed books display writing practices of interest if one conceives of prompt books as part of a specific manuscript culture at the heart of the performing arts – in the current case, one established in German-speaking theatres since the mid-eighteenth century (Fig. 2).

After a brief overview of their cultural milieu and a first general description (in section 2), exemplary artefacts of both types will be introduced, contextualised and commented upon with regard to the variety of these practices (section 3). A brief résumé and an outlook (section 4) will then conclude this starting point for further investigations of prompt books as part of a specific manuscript culture. There will be a special focus on the works of Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, the 'principal'[11] of the Hamburg theatre at Gänsemarkt as well as one of its preeminent actors, who was arguably one of the most influential figures in German theatre around the end of the eighteenth century. Schröder was responsible for some of the most important theatre productions of the time. These included several adaptations of plays by William Shakespeare, which initiated the establishment of the English bard's works on the German stage. The respective prompt books are part of the *Theater-Bibliothek*. They are particularly useful examples of the range of performative manuscript practices characteristic of prompt books, but also demonstrate the entanglement of aesthetic standards, social values and, especially, the pragmatic requirements of the stage that come into play in the course of the theatre production that a given prompt book gives testimony to.

[8] Almuth Grésillon has pointed out that theatre texts 'sont souvent de l'écriture « à deux mains », c'est-à-dire le produit de plusieurs scripteurs', which is due to the 'rencontre entre un texte écrit et des données appartenant en propre à l'univers scénique (acteurs, voix, gestes, décor, espace, lumière)', Grésillon 2008, 249. This applies to prompt books in a particular fashion, as in many cases they are produced, used and updated by people who belong to the 'univers scénique'.

[9] Cf. Schneider 2021.

[10] The manuscripts and prints have been indexed for the digital KALLIOPE library catalogue. Each index includes a short description of the material status of the artefact that includes the extent and the types of amendments. A short overview of the *Theater-Bibliothek* collection and its digital representation is provided in Neubacher 2016. Since a recent DFG project in Hamburg has catalogued the playbills at the *Comödienhaus/Stadttheater*, the dates of the performances and their changing participants can now be identified in many cases; cf. www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de.

[11] The 'principal' was the head and owner of a (largely self-governed) theatre company. He (or sometimes she) employed the other members. The principal was responsible for the company's organisation, administration and its aesthetics (cf. Maurer-Schmoock 1982, 88–92). His function differed from that of the stage director, though, a figure that only began to emerge in the course of the nineteenth century.

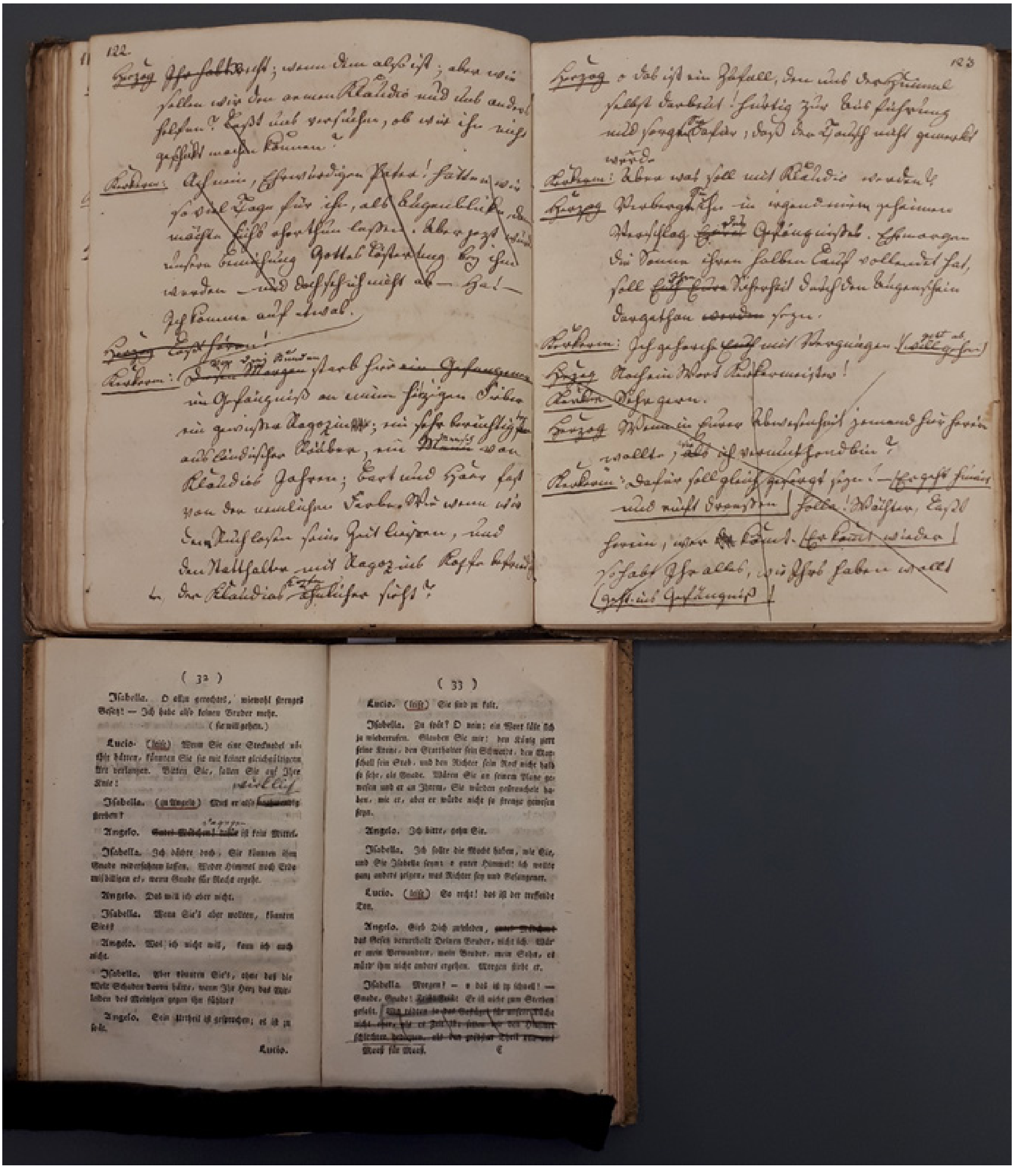


Fig. 2: A handwritten and a print-based prompt book of William Shakespeare's *Maaß für Maaß* [*Measure for Measure*] (Theater-Bibliothek: 514, pp. 122–123 and Theater-Bibliothek: 948b, pp. 32–33). The handwritten copy dates from 1777 and the printed one presumably from around 1813.

2. Prompt books in late eighteenth-century German-speaking theatre

Influenced by the French theatre tradition of the seventeenth century ('le théâtre classique'), eighteenth-century German-speaking intellectuals called for a major transformation of the theatre in their countries. As part of a wider change in the theatre with respect to its social reputation and its aesthetic practices, adherence to the literary text was posited as a central element of a performance. New ways of interacting, moving and speaking on stage were called for in order to represent new types of complex dramatic characters and conflicts. Instead of relying on extemporisation, these characters and their conflicts were written down beforehand as a literary text. Acting then became more and more based on a dramatic score that was being staged. In other words, the performance was increasingly subject to the text – at least as a goal (albeit often a theoretical one).[12] It goes without saying that in order to become this stable point of reference, the text had to be written down; the new theatre was accompanied by its own manuscript practices. It was Friedrich Ludwig Schröder's (1744–1816)[13] Hamburg company based at the theatre at Opernhof close to Gänsemarkt that began to put the new thinking about the theatre into practice. Many of the customs pioneered or consolidated by Schröder are documented in his 1792 publication *Gesetze des Hamburgischen Theaters* [*Hamburg Theatre Regulations*], earlier versions of which had circulated within his theatre;[14] Schröder insisted on collective rehearsals to enhance the understanding of a text and its corresponding presentation on stage. It was mandatory that the actors and actresses knew and understood their parts properly rather than improvising them. Schröder also worked on abandoning the predominant habit among actors of just standing still whenever they did not have any words to utter; everybody had to continue playing their part, albeit silently, with the purpose of keeping up the illusion of a fictitious world.[15]

Their texts and their cues were delivered to the actors in loosely bound handwritten sheets, which have mostly been lost now in the Hamburg context. However, the stage adaptation of the play itself was key: a handwritten copy containing the entire text and quite often additional information of relevance as well, such as on actors, props, technical effects, cues and so on. Around 1800, the scribes were either the prompters themselves or were overseen by them; the prompters were also the librarians and archivists who were responsible for a company's prompt-book collection as a whole.[16] In eighteenth-century German-speaking theatre, a prompter's task went beyond feeding actors their lines. His (and sometimes her) area of responsibility included anything that had to do with the written artefacts put to use in or needed for a production, especially files with the acting parts and the prompt book. The prompter (usually one per company) took care of his theatre company's library, i.e. he kept the manuscripts in good order along with the casting record, the wardrobe record, a prop book and a stage-set book that contained the respective information for the repertoire. He and the company director wrote down the information for scene painters and wardrobe supervisors for a given production. Props that contained writing, such as letters, were created by him. The prompter also excerpted the individual parts of a play for the performers or supervised this procedure.[17] In doing so, he was expected to ensure that as few members of the company as possible had access to the full texts.[18]

Such secrecy was deemed necessary for a long time because the repertoire, i.e. the manuscripts of plays that a company director possessed, contributed to the company's economic success and standing. It allowed it to stage plays that were not published in print and that other companies were not in possession of. Standing out like this could be crucial in the competitive field of professional theatre, in which directors ran their companies as independent entrepreneurs, touring from town to town and fair to fair. In the limited time they were at a fixed place, they tried to attract as many

[12] Cf. Münz 1979; Krebs 1985; Graf 1992; Fischer-Lichte and Schönert 1999; Meyer 2012.

[13] Cf. Hoffmann 1939; Litzmann 1890–1894.

[14] The *Gesetze des Hamburgischen Theaters* [*Hamburg Theatre Regulations*] were initially published in 1792 in a periodical called *Annalen des Theaters* [*Annals of the Theatre*]; cf. [Schröder] 1792, 3–22. An English translation is included in Brandt 1992,108–114.

[15] For an overview of the new ways of rehearsing and staging that emerged in the late eighteenth century and more on Schröder's contribution to changes in the respective practices, see Maurer-Schmoock 1982, 168–202 and Hoffmeier 1964, 97–104.

[16] Cf. [Schröder] 1792, 16–18. The positions of prompter, scribe and librarian only became distinct from one another later in the German-speaking theatre. Cf. Düringer and Barthels 1841, 159–161 and 1003–1004.

[17] In the case of the *Theater-Bibliothek*, all of these loosely bound manuscripts have now been lost (they were probably not deemed worth storing).

[18] An overview of the tasks and the requirements can also be found in [Schröder] 1792, 16–18.

paying spectators as possible.[19] However, towards the end of the eighteenth century, an increasing number of companies ceased touring on a constant basis as they now had the possibility to work at a permanent location, like Schröder's company did in Hamburg. The gain in professional stability came with the growing need to vary their programme in order to keep the audience in the town interested in them. The period between performances of a production usually grew longer and the need to rely on a written record of the stage adaptation and the technical arrangements increased. In order to diversify the repertoire, company directors also asked authors or other companies' directors for an inspection copy of a certain play, which was copied by the prompter if it met with a favourable assessment and then included in the company's own repertoire. There was also the possibility of announcing a contest between the authors of dramas – in the hope that usable material would be entered (see Fig. 3). Sometimes, authors also sent in their plays on their own initiative in the hope of having them staged.[20] Either way, manuscripts started to be circulated more often among theatres thanks to a looser policy regarding the exclusiveness of a company's repertoire.

Moreover, from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, dramatic authors had their plays published in print more frequently and thus positioned themselves on a growing literary market.[21] There was no longer any point in safeguarding a theatre's repertoire if it had already become easily accessible in book form. Yet this was not the case for every play, especially not for every adaptation of a play that a company might have possessed. Up to the nineteenth century, company directors in European theatre capitals kept up the habit of sending scribes to copy another company's adaptation of a play live over the course of a few nights of its performance. Company directors published so-called 'acting editions' of their successful productions in print. Thus, they did not sell the literary text itself, but rather their own stage version of it, including all the technical cues needed for the lighting, music and sound effects.[22] These editions of a particular stage adaptation may have been of interest to the reading audience to evoke the memory of the actual event they had attended again. The central aspect was missing, of course: originally, prompt books were unique objects written by hand; they were open to redaction and were often modified as the actors rehearsed their parts, only being 'finished' at the point when they were put away for long-term storage once the performances were over.

The content of a prompt book was usually written down in German cursive handwriting (called 'Kurrent') on folded paper quires, penned in whatever kind of ink was commonly available, it seems. These quires were then bound together between plain cardboard covers. As the books were mere objects of utility in the theatre and were of no particular value as artefacts, the materials used for them were generally fairly cheap. The size and colour vary from prompt book to prompt book.[23] In rare cases, different types of paper were used for one and the same book, apparently for the sake of convenience.[24] The visual organisation of the actual writing differs somewhat: sometimes the information concerning the person who speaks, the setting of the scene and actions that take place was not written in casual German cursive, but in traditional Blackletter/Gothic script. Occasionally, this information was underlined once or twice in the same colour or a different one. These distinctions in the visual organisation keep the content of a prompt book clearly arranged from the outset as they help to discern the different levels of the dramatic text it contains. Changes and updates were added in whatever ink or pencil seems to have been at hand; pages could be cut out or glued over, or additional ones loosely inserted. Since the prompter was part of the process of developing a stage version of a dramatic text (albeit a technical version), prompt books were modified constantly: they were updated due to the changing practical circumstances

[19] On the performance conditions and structure of a theatre company in Germany in the eighteenth century, see Maurer-Schmoock 1982.

[20] Cf. Neubacher 2016.

[21] Julie Stone Peters has shown the significant influence that the arrival of movable type printing had on the European theatre. She argues that since the sixteenth century, print has been one of the most important factors shaping the early-modern and modern understanding of the theatre as an institution along with the dramatic genres represented there, no matter how present and important manuscripts remained in theatre contexts (at least until the nineteenth century); cf. Stone Peters 2000. Despite the richness and scope of her study, it has not grasped the multiple ways in which handwritten prompt books were crucial in everyday theatre practice, i.e. the concrete artistic processes and the interplay with their social contexts.

[22] Cf. Stone Peters 2000, 66–90.

[23] While print-based prompt books are generally octavos with a size of 10.5 × 16.5 cm, the size of the handwritten ones varies slightly: the dimensions of Theater-Bibliothek: 571, a prompt book of William Shakespeare's *Othello*, are 16.5 × 20.5 cm; they are 17.5 × 22 cm in the case of Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, a prompt book of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*, and 18.5 × 23.5 cm in the case of Theater-Bibliothek: 1379a, a prompt book of William Shakespeare's *Viel Lärmen um Nichts* [*Much Ado about Nothing*].

[24] In Theater-Bibliothek: 571, for example, the paper and the visual organisation of fols 82^r to 83^v differ from the rest of the book, the former being darker and rather coarse, the latter being less clearly arranged. Although this section looks like a later revision, an analysis of the stitching has shown that it was probably part of the original binding of the book.

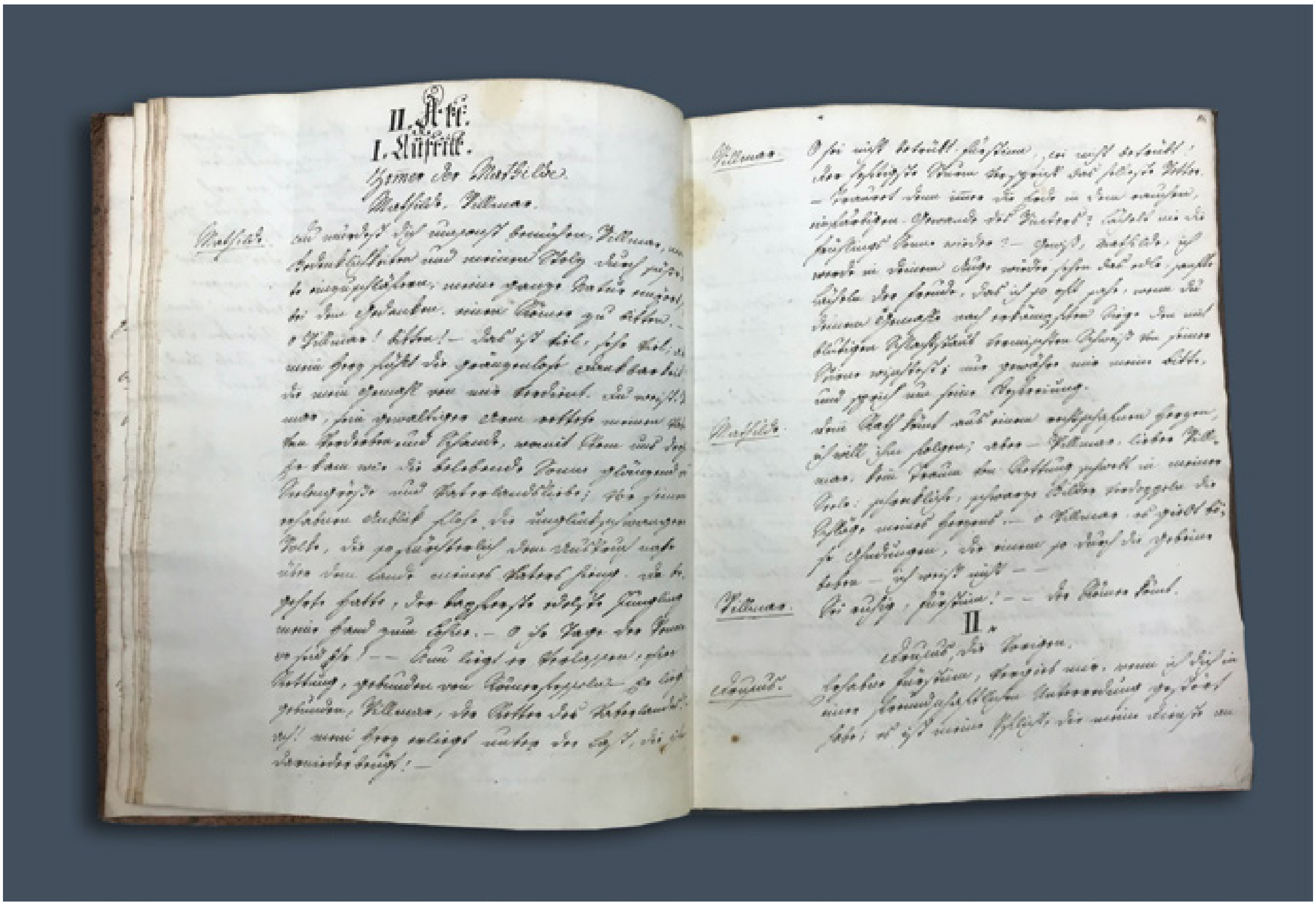


Fig. 3: Theater-Bibliothek: 641, fols 13^{v}–14^{r}. Joseph Marius von Babo's heroic tragedy *Die Römer in Teutschland* (presumably written shortly before 1780) was a contribution to a writing contest.

of a production; each amendment represented the latest state of affairs, but was in no way a definite one. It all started with a fair copy that included the texts to be spoken by the performers. It is safe to assume that a copy of this kind was produced towards the end of the rehearsal process. Technical cues and annotations were inserted once they were finally set; they were subject to change whenever adjustments needed to be made for a new performance, e.g. when the desired effect on the audience failed to materialise. The changes made with respect to the performers' texts are particularly diverse: additions, corrections, deletions or comments were inserted and they were sometimes altered again whenever changes were made (Fig. 4).

The nature of a prompt book varies, depending on who its main user was supposed to be on the night of the performance. In Hamburg, two books were sometimes used at the same time: one with the text version in it and all the technical arrangements the prompter could direct from his box (such as some of the lighting effects) and another one with additional technical arrangements – everything from remarks and instructions on the lighting, music and sound effects to certain positions that the actors and actresses were supposed to adopt during the scenes, or indications of actors' entrances along with stage directions, prop lists or lists of actors. In the case of Schröder's theatre, there are just as many productions with two versions as there are productions for which one seems to be missing or the two functions seem to overlap in a single book (the user of which may have changed).

Theatrical practices are ephemeral in nature: tomorrow's performance might come to pass in a completely different fashion than tonight's. However, these practices are organised by custom, by memory, by mutual oral arrangements and not least by the mutual written arrangements put down in the prompt books. Thus, the ephemeral practices of the theatre manifest themselves in a performative fashion in the very materiality of the prompt book. The various handwritten revisions transform each manuscript (or overwritten printed book) into a unique, multi-layered performative artefact with every layer expressing a new development of a production.

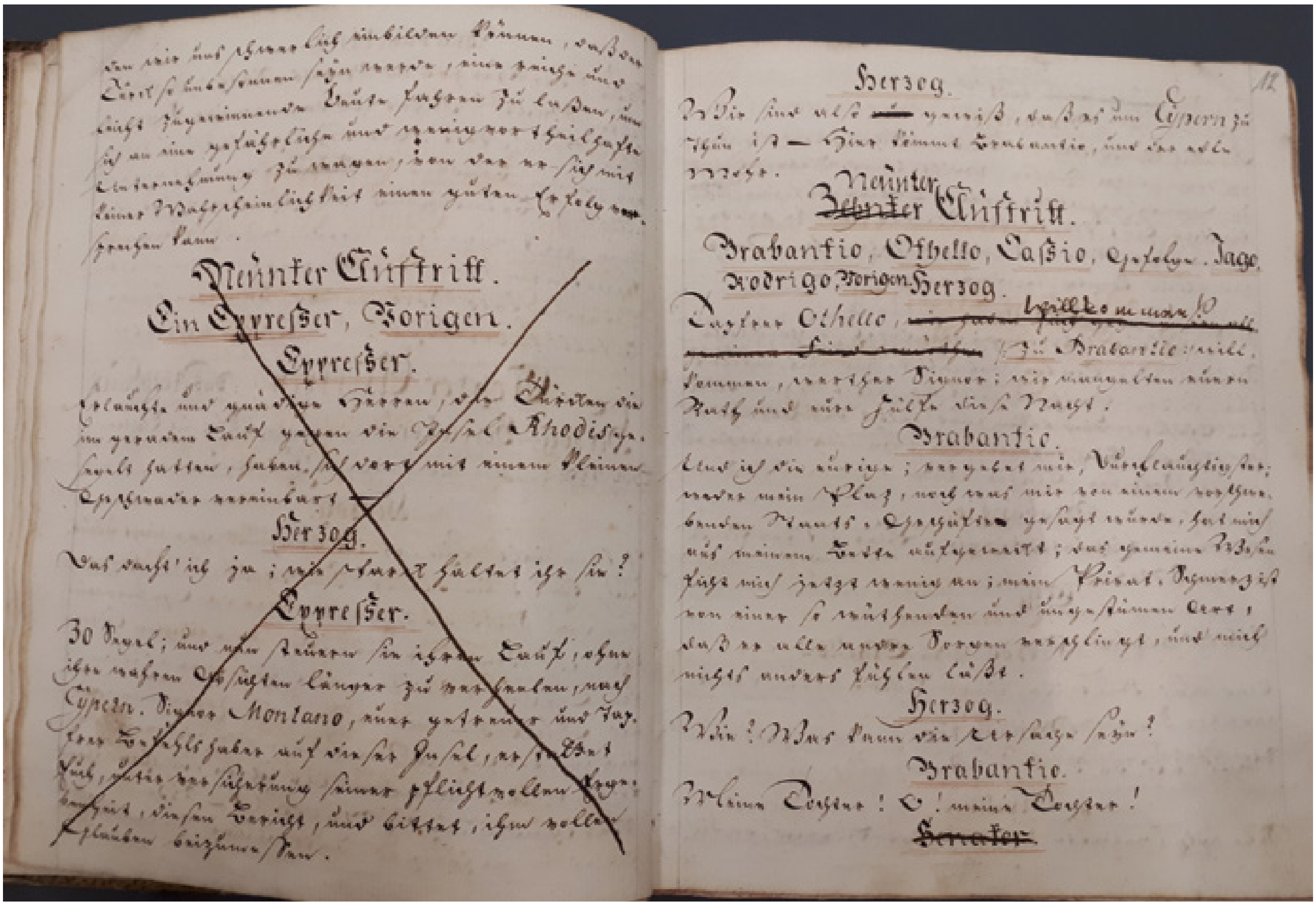


Fig. 4: Theater-Bibliothek: 571, fols 11^{v}–12^{r}. Traces of usage in the prompt book of Friedrich Ludwig Schröder's adaptation of William Shakespeare's *Othello* created and heavily revised in 1776.

None of these developments are necessarily final, but they are prone to be changed again if deemed necessary. The fundamental incompleteness of prompt books is of great importance for the analysis of such artefacts:[25] the content of a prompt book can never be perceived as final because as long as it is in use, it is subject to the potentially changing pragmatic requirements of the stage. Therefore, the individual material biography of a prompt book is closely related to the history of the respective theatre production. Prompt books are thus 'evolving entities'[26] in a peculiar sense. They do not develop in the way MTMs or composites do as they only contain one play, i.e. one codicological unit. Accordingly, their development and evolvement take place on a different level of their materiality: they are tied to their functional integration into an artistic process, the dynamics of which they put on display in their own performance. Prompt books never remain undisturbed when they are put to use. Rather, they mostly grow due to different types of additions that may enrich as well as enlarge them. The parameters according to which this happens can and do change as well as their users, even if the context of their production and use might be the same. To this effect, prompt books start out mostly as monogenetic entities (clean copies) and, over time, become homogeneous and even allogenetic, e.g. if taken up by a different team decades after the original

[25] When it comes to the concept of what a text is, tied to its materiality in a specific, reciprocally shaping manner, this assumption is related to and draws inspiration from approaches such as material philology or a *critique génétique*. Stephen Nichols has pointed out that material philology perceives a text 'to be fundamentally unfixed, always open to new inflection' and therefore as something without a 'definitive expression' (Nichols 1997, 17). Drawing on a similarly open concept of the written text, *critique génétique* focuses on the 'ensemble ouvert des processus d'écriture' (Grésillon 2016, 12). Theatre texts form particularly interesting cases from this perspective. Since they are connected to the 'univers scénique', they are interrelated to its dynamics and are constantly adapted to the requirements of the stage: 'L'œuvre théâtrale ne connaît en principe pas de version ne varietur; puisque chaque nouvelle mise en scène peut entraîner non seulement de nouvelles « visions », mais aussi des rebondissements textuels' (Grésillon 2008, 266).

[26] Cf. Friedrich and Schwarke 2016.

production.[27] If prompt books were used for a longer period of time and possibly served as the basis for various theatre productions, then the dynamics of their material performance is also closely related to what Gumbert has called a 'continuous enrichment', as it is not always possible to clearly distinguish the boundaries of the various layers that are added by 'one person, or a group of persons […] behind or between the existing text(s) during a prolonged period'.[28] As objects of utility, prompt books are the centrepiece of the text-oriented theatre developing in German-speaking areas in the eighteenth century. On a content level, they served as the basis for theatrical practices such as rehearsing and staging a play. At the same time, these ephemeral practices and processes manifested themselves in – and 'interacted' with – a prompt book in a material fashion whenever it was updated. Thus, these manuscripts undermine the traditional distinction of text and performance mentioned at the beginning. Both dimensions become intertwined in prompt books when they are regarded as performative material artefacts.

3. Prompt-book practices of adding and retracting

The texts written in prompt books tend to differ from the text versions that circulated in print – sometimes to a great extent. Stage versions need to be adapted according to the technical possibilities and requirements of the stage, according to the taste and expectations of the audience and, last but not least, according to theatrical conventions. Shakespeare wrote for the London stage around 1600, which was devoid of most props, for instance. In a context like this, a few words can indicate a change of scenery (Shakespeare's plays made ample use of that device). In contrast, audiences in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hamburg expected to see and admire elaborate stage sets that looked realistic. To avoid constant breaks when re-arranging the set, the order of the scenes had to be modified and simplified from the outset. Modifications like these could always be made at a later point, however. Stephen Nichols' claim about mediaeval manuscripts – 'No one version, no matter how complete, may be viewed as authoritative' – also applies to stage adaptations in the European theatre since the early-modern period.[29]

Obviously, most modifications consist of retractions or additions of content, first to the fair copy, then to the added layers of earlier retractions or additions. The material manifestation of these basic operations turns out to be rather complex, however.[30] Take the retraction of a certain part which had been written down at an earlier point in time, for instance: a retraction is often indicated by a simple straight line drawn through the respective section; the section was literally crossed out with a writing instrument that often clearly differed from the one used for writing the initial content. Sometimes such a line seems like a hasty action, but in other cases frames were carefully drawn around the deleted elements, highlighting the act of deletion. The writing instrument used for this may also have been employed to highlight specific elements and thus underscore the structural organisation of the section in question (Fig. 5). The striking through of content and the various techniques that go along with it can refer to everything from a single word to an entire scene. Deletions of this kind can concern elements of the plot as well as characters that a respective production decides to exclude, dialogues that need to be shortened or condensed or expressions, formulations or actions that have come to be deemed inapt or even inappropriate. The reasons may be of a pragmatic nature or an aesthetic one. However, social expectations and norms also influence the respective changes: the retraction of a minor scene may tighten the storyline; a certain phrase may turn out to be too difficult to say properly on stage; it may also turn out to be simply too explicit or drastic. The standards according to which such qualifications are made often originate in the intersection of aesthetic and social values.

The most notorious and yet rather unimposing retraction of content in German theatre history can be found in 'Theater-Bibliothek'. It concerns Friedrich Ludwig Schröder's 1776 adaptation of Shakespeare's Othello and consists of six small strokes of black ink that indicate the retraction of three words. The unobtrusive marks actually indicate a major change in the plot: the stage direction 'Er sticht sie' ['He stabs her'] has been deleted (Fig. 6). The words refer to Desdemona's infamous murder by

[27] The terminology we are using here is based on Gumbert 2004, 26–30.

[28] Gumbert 2004, 31.

[29] Nichols 1997, 17.

[30] For an overview of different forms and functions of deletions as well as the potential positions of replacing words, cf. Grésillon 2016, 83–87. Taking her differentiations as a starting point, Uwe Wirth has reflected on the 'logic of the deletion'; cf. Wirth 2011. Both authors agree that crossing out writing is an operation that does not simply negate something, but it materially visualises the act of negating and what is being negated at the same time.

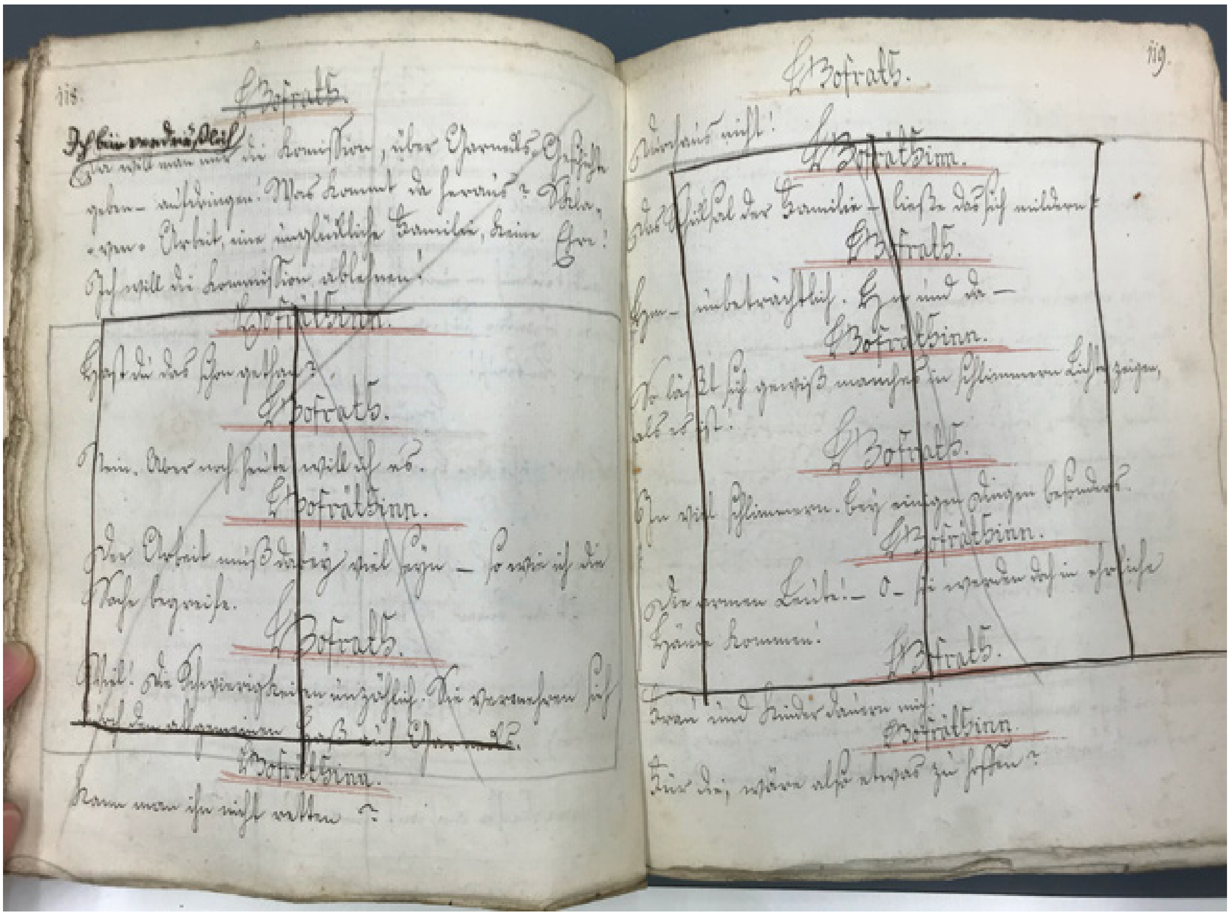


Fig. 5: Theater-Bibliothek: 1460, fols 91v–92r and Theater-Bibliothek: 215a, pp. 118–119. Different changes in prompt books of August von Kotzbue's *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau* and August Wilhelm Iffland's *Frauenstand*! (both created in 1790 and revised over at least the next two decades).

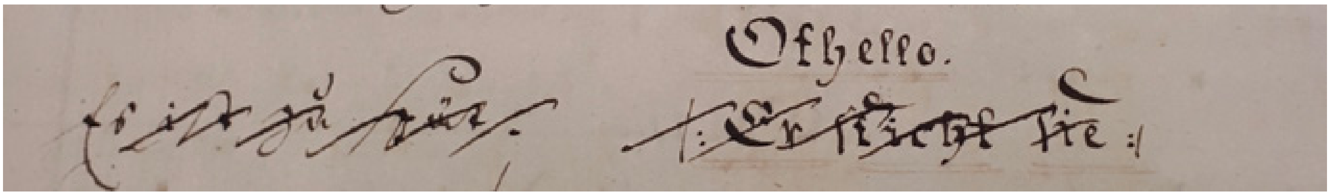


Fig. 6: Theater-Bibliothek: 571, fol. 84v. The stage direction that indicates Othello's murder of Desdemona is crossed out.

her husband – considering his audience's alleged taste, Schröder decided to replace Shakespeare's erotically charged suffocation with a straightforward stabbing. (The murder of the innocent wife at the hands of her husband, whose raging jealousy was fuelled by lies and slander, is the tragic climax of Shakespeare's play.) The theatre company probably had to refrain from presenting this shocking act after the second performance. According to urban legend, Schröder's adaptation caused one of the biggest scandals in German theatre history. Spectators were horrified and appalled. In fact, some women apparently fainted (and others allegedly even miscarried) when they witnessed the depiction of such a gruesome deed and the complete lack of consolation at the end of the play.[31] To stop the show from becoming an economic flop, Schröder seems to have decided to revise the production fundamentally at very short notice, and the prompt book was changed. New scenes were added, several dialogues were altered and some minor changes were made to the depiction of the characters. All the modifications contributed to rescuing Desdemona.[32] The huge effort to save the production was ultimately condensed in the six little strokes that cancel Othello's terrible act: he does not kill her after all.

An equally common practice in prompt-book manuscripts that often corresponds to a retraction was the addition of handwritten content (Fig. 7).[33] Although this is not surprising as such, it does not seem to have been taken into account when creating the fair copies, as most of the time these simply contain too little blank space for extensive additions to be made. Prompt books are also objects of utility and need to be handled easily and effectively; they cannot be too voluminous as that would make them unwieldy. Any additions therefore had to be inserted between the lines in many cases. This can be done easily enough if the addition is a minor one, i.e. if a single word, expression or response is changed, but things get more complicated if any more text is to be added.

Only a few prompt books incorporated potential future changes into their visual organisation. In these cases, space was left in the margin from the outset in order to add more extensive changes next to the section they applied to.[34] It was easier to keep the prompt books in question up to date, while they still remained perfectly usable, i.e. they were still arranged clearly and were legible. This feature can also be found in prompt books based on a printed text, where the uniform and standardised layout allowed all sorts of handwritten annotations and additions to be made. One of the two existing prompt books for Friedrich Schiller's *Dom Karlos* is a rare occurrence among the *Theater-Bibliothek's* prompt books. In this case, an interleafed copy of the printed book was produced to serve as a prompt book.[35] In the vast majority of cases, saving space and quires seems to have been of the utmost priority. As a consequence, the formatting does not easily allow for more extensive amendments (Fig. 8).

[31] The urban legend is based on Johann Friedrich Schütze's widely received *Hamburgische Theater-Geschichte* ['Hamburg Theatre History'] from 1794 (i.e. nearly twenty years after the fact); cf. 453f. Schütze has often been taken at face value.

[32] In her concise study on the establishment of Shakespeare on the German stage, Renata Häublein gives detailed information about Schröder's adaptation, the use of his source material – two rather loose German adaptations of Shakespeare's play already existed in the late 1770s – and the changes made after the second performance; cf. Häublein 2005, 121–148.

[33] These manual operations can be subsumed under what Patrick Andrist, Paul Canard and Marilena Maniaci have categorised as the '[m]odèle de transformation A2 : ajout de contenu sans support matériel'; cf. Andrist, Canard and Maniaci 2013, 64.

[34] The visual organisation bears a resemblance to manuscript practices of certain scholarly or monastic traditions. The main difference, though, is not only a contextual one, but a functional one: the margins in a prompt book are not there to comment on the text, but to update it (or update the respective stage arrangements) according to the requirements of the theatre production.

[35] So far, we have been unable to find any similar formatting in the manuscript-based prompt books that we reviewed. The Theater-Bibliothek contains two prompt books of the debut performance of *Dom Karlos* in 1787 (known as *Don Karlos* today), which have gained remarkably little attention as material objects. The handwritten 1787 prompt book (Theater-Bibliothek: 1989a) was heavily reworked during rehearsals and the first few performances. At some point afterwards, the theatre switched the manuscript for an interleafed volume of Schiller's first published print version (Theater-Bibliothek: 1989b), which was then used and constantly revised until 1813.

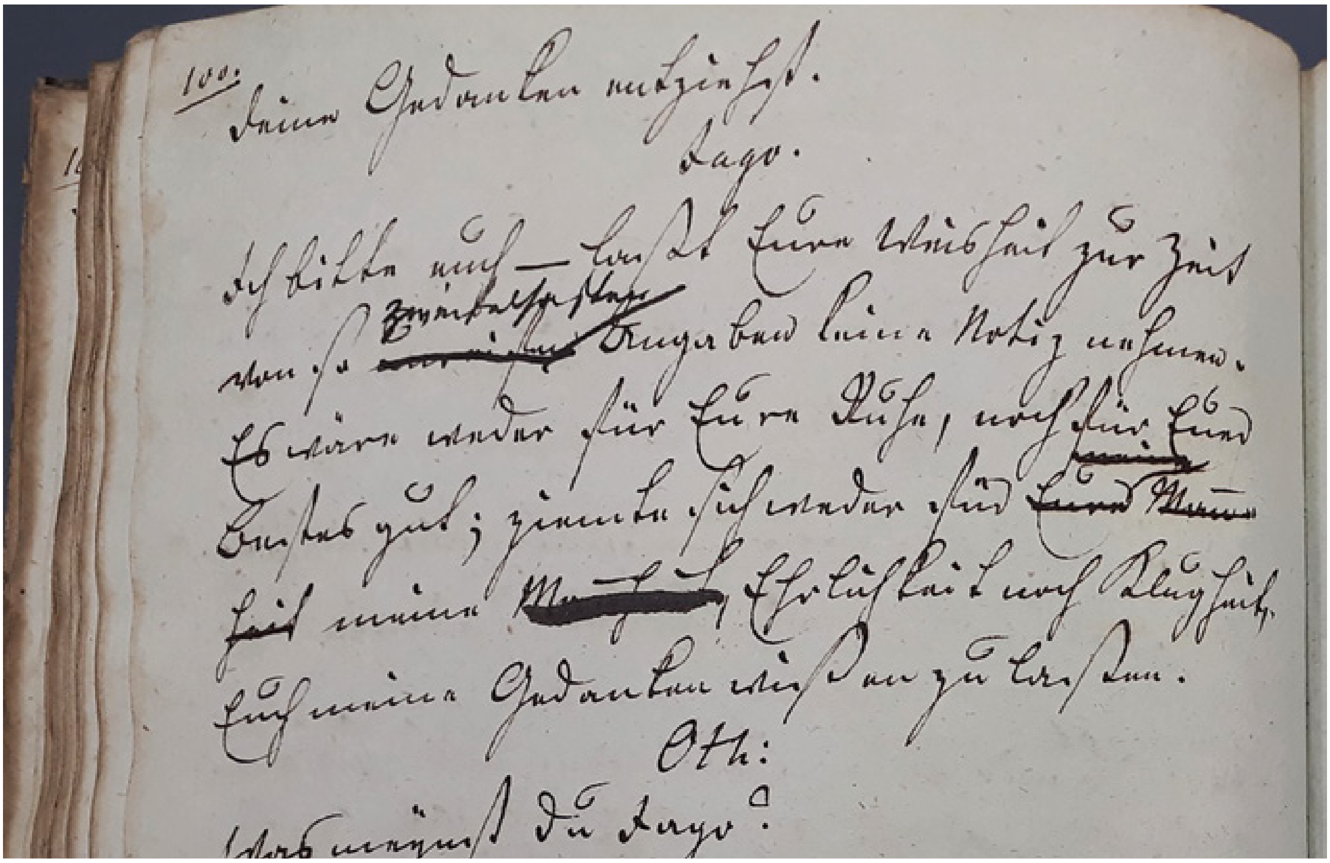


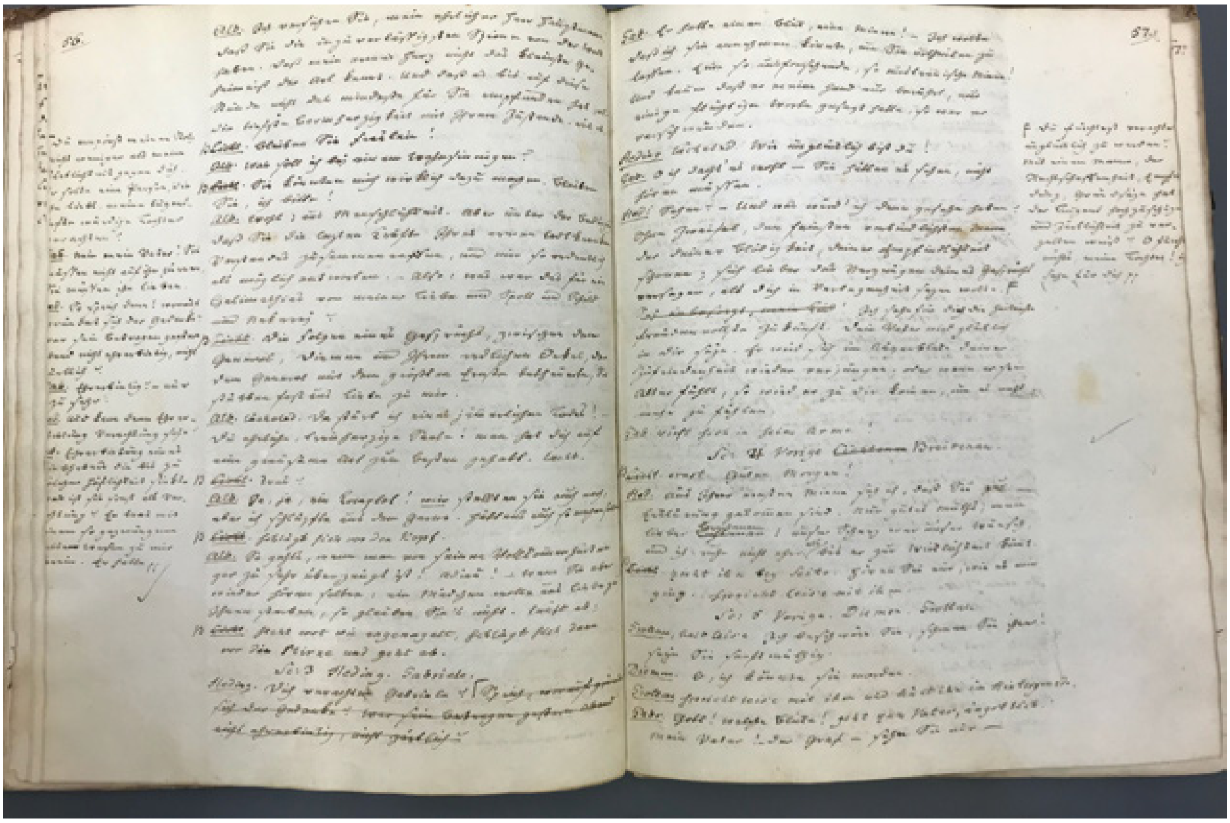
Fig. 7: Minor additions and subtractions in Theater-Bibliothek: 586a, p. 100. This prompt book contains a different adaptation of William Shakespeare's *Othello* put to use from 1815 onwards.

Despite the lack of space, prompt books – which were evolving entities, as we have seen – were irrevocably tied to changes in the staging of a performance: amendments might add up or an addition might be modified or retracted again. It could also be so extensive that it left no space for any further changes. At some point, the constant revision could make it more difficult for a prompter to find his way through the pages, especially if they were heavily revised. This may have been the case when productions were staged with a new prompter after years of hiatus. Paradoxically, the constant use that a prompt book was made for could eventually impair its function as a utensil.

The illegibility of the various layers of the *Dom Karlos* prompt book is a case in point, even though the (orderly) print version was used as a basis and then interleaved. Anyone other than the prompter, who probably remembered what the various layers of pencil and ink stood for and how they related to each other, may not have been able to make use of the prompt book at all. In cases less prominent than Schiller's, the prompt book in question might have been discarded and replaced with a new copy in pristine condition. In that case, there would not have been any need to keep the prompt book in the company's collection.

As the *Dom Karlos* sample shows, each modification used up some of the material resources provided by the written artefact. The same goes for a sample page from the prompt book for Schröder's equally well-known adaptation of *Hamlet* (Fig. 9):[36] Ophelia's response has been deleted at the top of the page. The amendment takes up the whole of the top margin and most of the left one as well, hardly leaving any space for further changes. The legibility of the page particularly decreases where there is some additional writing over the existing changes to Oldenholm's response (Oldenholm was the Germanised name that Schröder chose for Polonius). At this point, the different layers enter an intricate interplay; their 'back and forth' extends into the margins. The writing is in a faded reddish ink and one or two pencils have also been used. Moreover, the retraction was

[36] *Hamlet* is the first of Schröder's Shakespeare adaptations. Presumably in view of the audience's expectations, Schröder changed the tragic ending to a happy one: Hamlet survives and becomes the rightful king of Denmark. The production was a tremendous success. After the opening night in 1776, it was performed in Hamburg more than 130 times – until 1828, in fact. The prompt book that is part of the *Theater-Bibliothek* today is a printed copy of Schröder's adaptation that must have been put to use sometime after the opening night in 1776. The first handwritten prompt book has been lost.



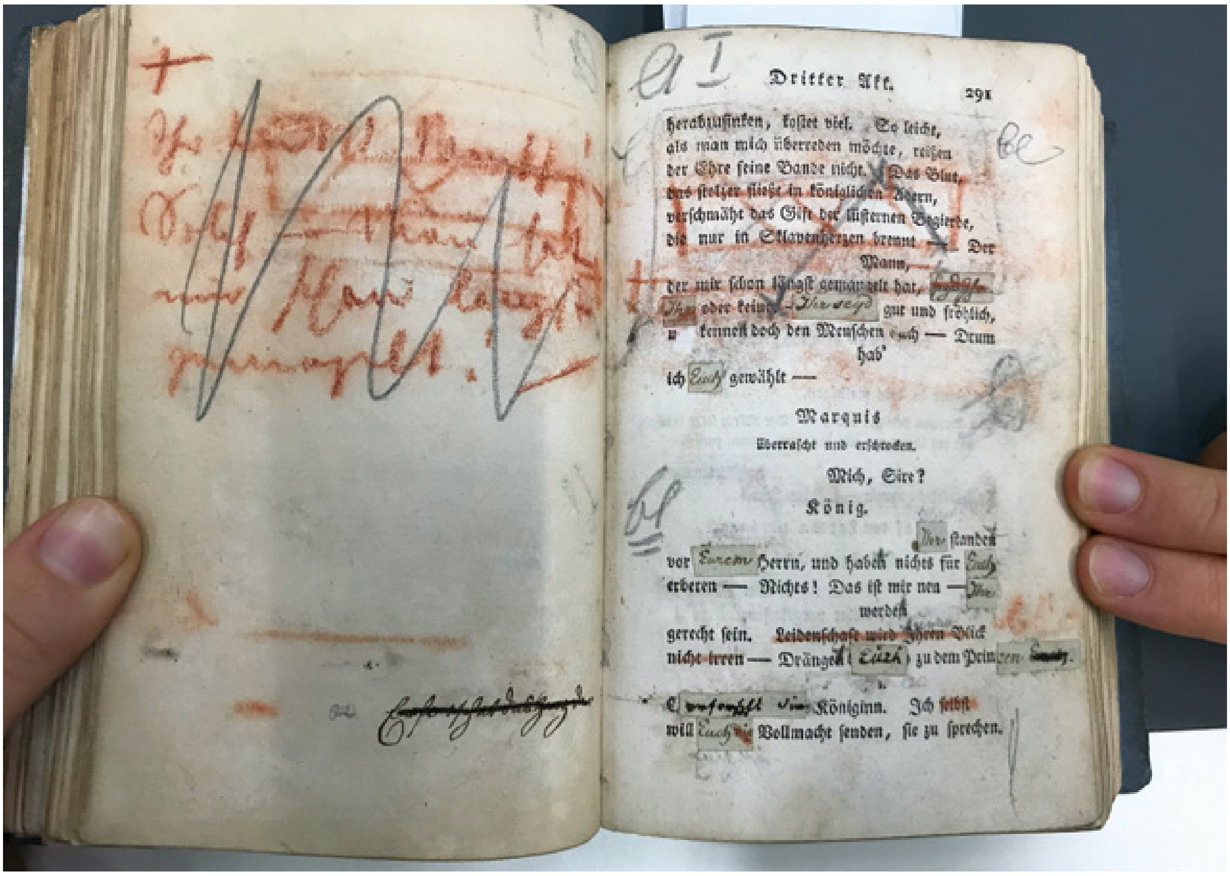
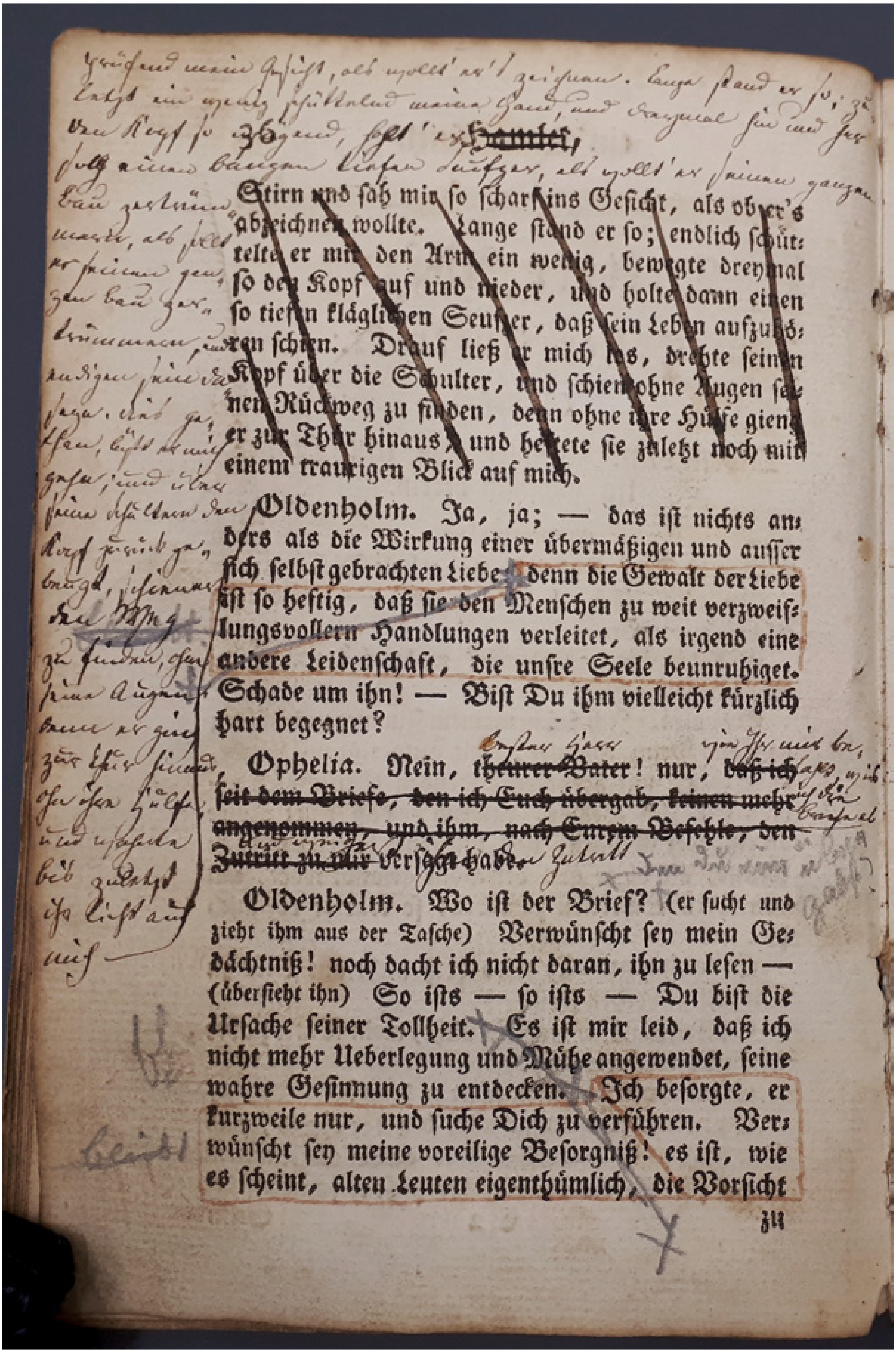


Fig. 8: Theater-Bibliothek: 1379a, pp. 56–57 and Theater-Bibliothek: 1989b, p. 291. Variant and rather unusual formatting in prompt books of William Shakespeare's *Viel Lärmen um Nichts* (created around 1792) and Friedrich Schiller's *Dom Karlos* (created in the late 18th century).



36 ~~Hamlet,~~

Stirn und sah mir so scharf ins Gesicht, als ob er's abzeichnen wollte. Lange stand er so; endlich schüttelte er mir den Arm ein wenig, bewegte dreymal so den Kopf auf und nieder, und holte dann einen so tiefen kläglichen Seufzer, daß sein Leben aufzuhören schien. Drauf ließ er mich los, drehte seinen Kopf über die Schulter, und schien ohne Augen seinen Rückweg zu finden, denn ohne ihre Hülfe gieng er zur Thür hinaus, und heftete sie zuletzt noch mit einem traurigen Blick auf mich.

Oldenholm. Ja, ja; — das ist nichts anders als die Wirkung einer übermäßigen und ausser sich selbst gebrachten Liebe; denn die Gewalt der Liebe ist so heftig, daß sie den Menschen zu weit verzweiflungsvollern Handlungen verleitet, als irgend eine andere Leidenschaft, die unsre Seele beunruhiget. Schade um ihn! — Bist Du ihm vielleicht kürzlich hart begegnet?

Ophelia. Nein, ~~theurer Vater~~! nur, ~~daß ich seit dem Briefe, den ich Euch übergab, keinen mehr angenommen, und ihm, nach Eurem Befehle, den Zutritt zu mir~~ versagt habe.

Oldenholm. Wo ist der Brief? (er sucht und zieht ihn aus der Tasche) Verwünscht sey mein Gedächtniß! noch dacht ich nicht daran, ihn zu lesen — (übersieht ihn) So ists — so ists — Du bist die Ursache seiner Tollheit. Es ist mir leid, daß ich nicht mehr Ueberlegung und Mühe angewendet, seine wahre Gesinnung zu entdecken. Ich besorgte, er kurzweile nur, und suche Dich zu verführen. Verwünscht sey meine voreilige Besorgniß! es ist, wie es scheint, alten Leuten eigenthümlich, die Vorsicht

zu

Fig. 9: Theater-Bibliothek: 1982(1), p. 36. A sample from William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* put to use from 1778 onwards. The space left for amendments gets smaller with each modification.

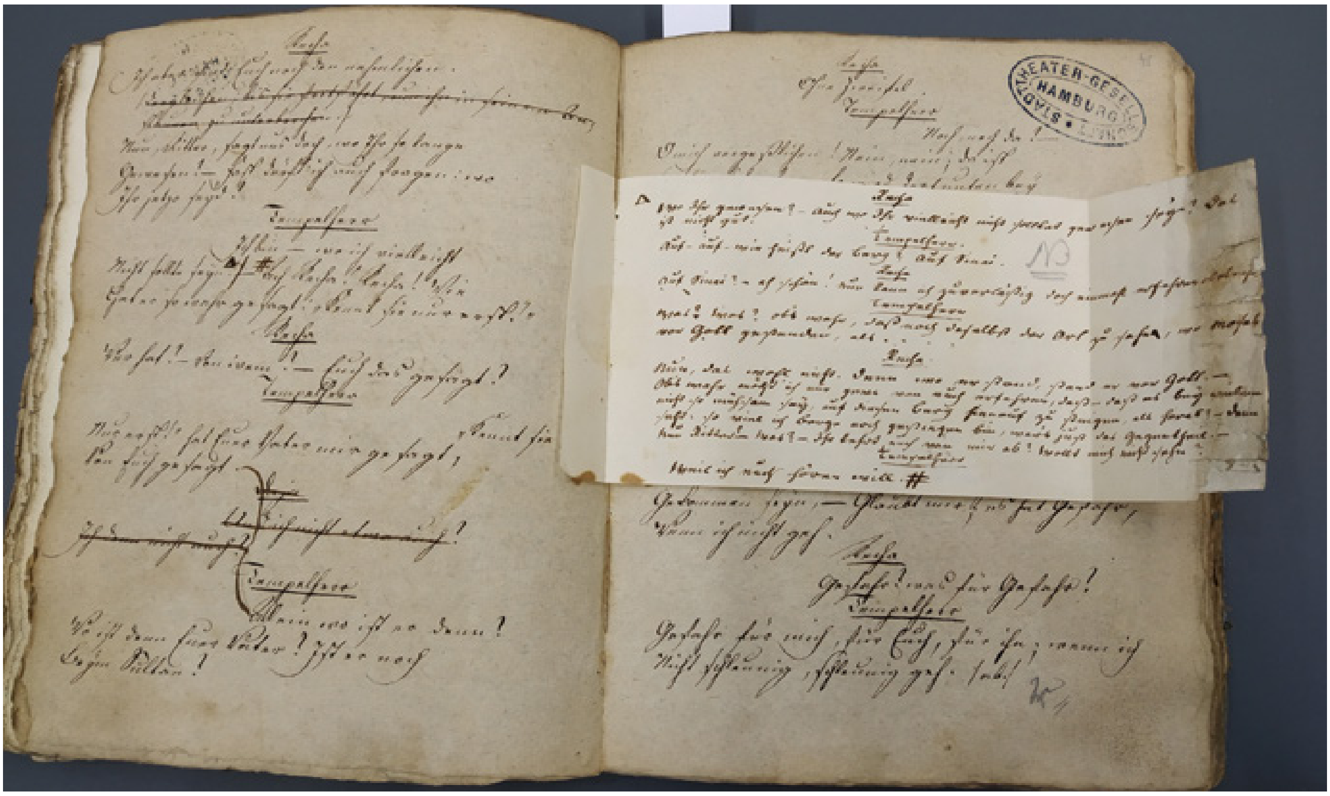


Fig. 10: Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, fols 44^{v}–45^{r}. An extra sheet of paper with revised content was pasted over the respective section in this prompt book on fol. 45^{r}.

cancelled later by the word 'bleibt' (meaning 'leave [it as it is]') next to the retracted text. However, the cancellation of the retraction was also crossed out afterwards. Ophelia's new text was then written more or less around the retracted correction. As a consequence, the amendments of her next response in the middle of the page needed to be added in a different way if they were still to be placed near the section they refer to. The scribe somehow managed to write them between, next to and even across the retracted lines. Inevitably, their arrangement and allocation are harder to make out as a result. Thus, the *Hamlet* prompt-book sample exemplifies how the usability of the written artefact can quite literally get pushed to its limits by theatrical processes.

The dynamics of the processes in question manifest themselves materially on a regular basis in several layers of handwriting. While the manuscript page (or the printed page with added handwriting) could come to look like a work of twentieth-century calligraphic – and graffiti-like – European art,[37] the theoretical hierarchy of these changes is always clear: it was only the latest revision that counted. The last revision was the version of the text that the performance had to adhere to until another change was made and a new layer added. Then again, the material interplay of the layers is more complicated: it is not always clear which one was the latest revision. Pencilled notes are sometimes written over ink, and vice versa; black, reddish or brownish ink were used in a different order. The succession of different layers has to be reconstructed by a) looking at the point of reference of the respective operations, e.g. a retraction and its subsequent cancellation, or by b) looking at the concrete material layering, as in the case of Ophelia's altered text. The dark ink seems to have been written over the grey pencil that previously referred to Oldenholm's text.

In order to insert numerous extensive amendments made during several revisions into the limited space on a page with a visual organisation that was not always conducive to doing so, prompters and other users frequently resorted to further paper tools and practices:[38] additional layers of paper – sometimes even entire pages – were inserted in various

[37] Cf. Greub 2018, for example.

[38] Cf. Pethes 2019, especially 99–104. While paper tools, according to Pethes, are 'sheets, files, or staplers', paper practices are procedures 'such as turning, stacking, filing, ripping – as well as including folding and gluing household papers and paper toys' (Pethes 2019, 100f.). These concepts are derived from a general notion of paper technology as drawn on by Hess and Mendelsohn 2013.

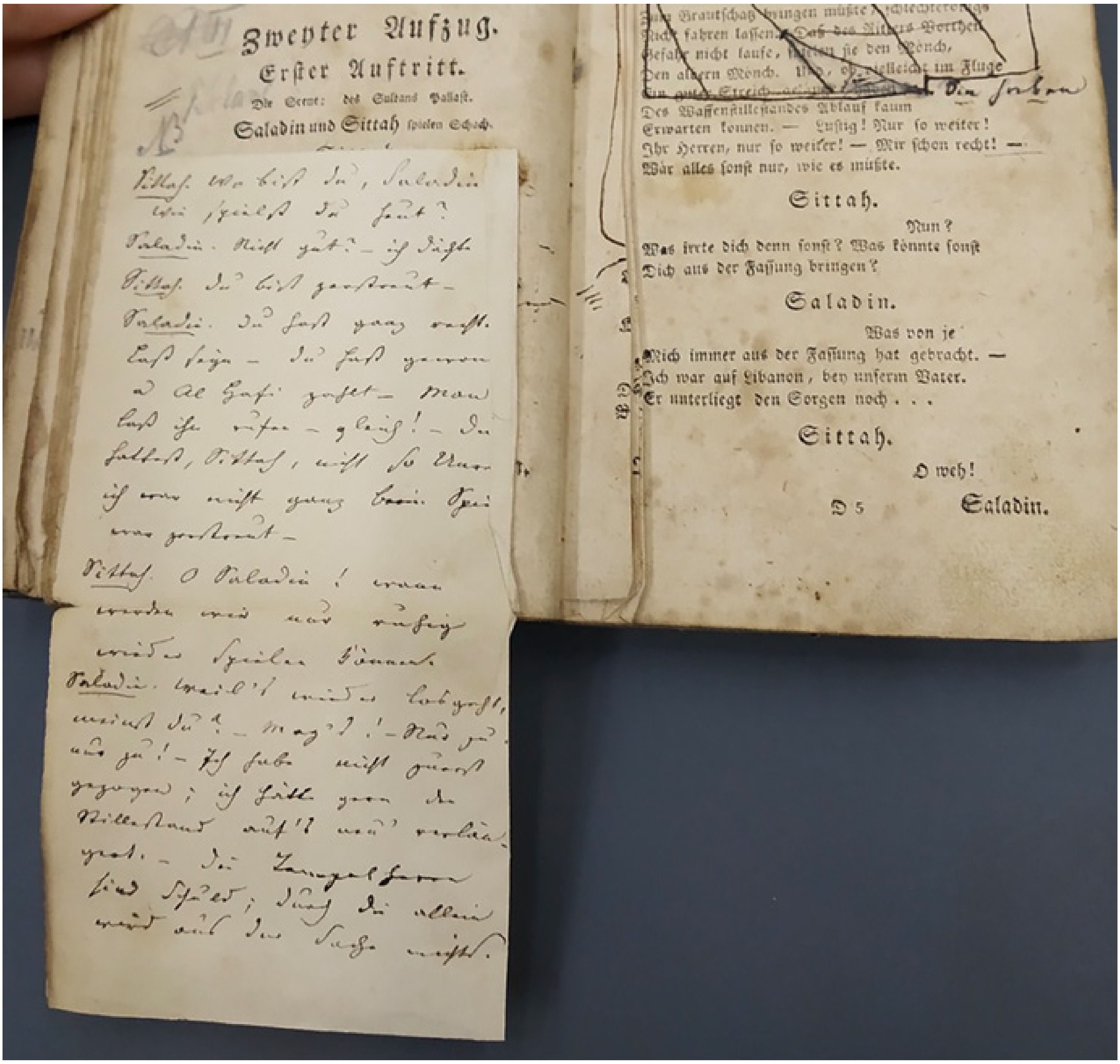


Fig. 11: Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b. While an extra sheet of paper with revised content was pasted over the respective section of page 30 in this prompt book of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (created around 1803), the three following pages were cut out of the book.

ways.[39] In most cases, they were directly pasted over the respective parts with glue. If the amendments were extensive and the sheet of paper required for them was bigger than the section it was supposed to cover, it was partly glued in and partly folded so it could be opened out if needed, but would still fit into the book (Fig. 10).

In another sample from the same prompt book, the removal of pages can be seen right next to the addition of a new one (Fig. 11). Removals only appear infrequently, probably due to their irrevocable character; they do not fit in very well with the 'valid until recalled' order of prompt-book processes. The added sheets, however, were not necessarily pasted in and linked to the book materially; sometimes, they were attached to the page with a pin. While it is unclear whether the pin was actually employed at the time of the performance (it may have been inserted much later), it clearly places the amendment

[39] These cases can be subsumed under what Andrist, Canard and Maniaci have categorised as the '[m]odèle de transformation A1: ajout de support matériel et de contenu'; cf. Andrist, Canard and Maniaci 2013, 63.

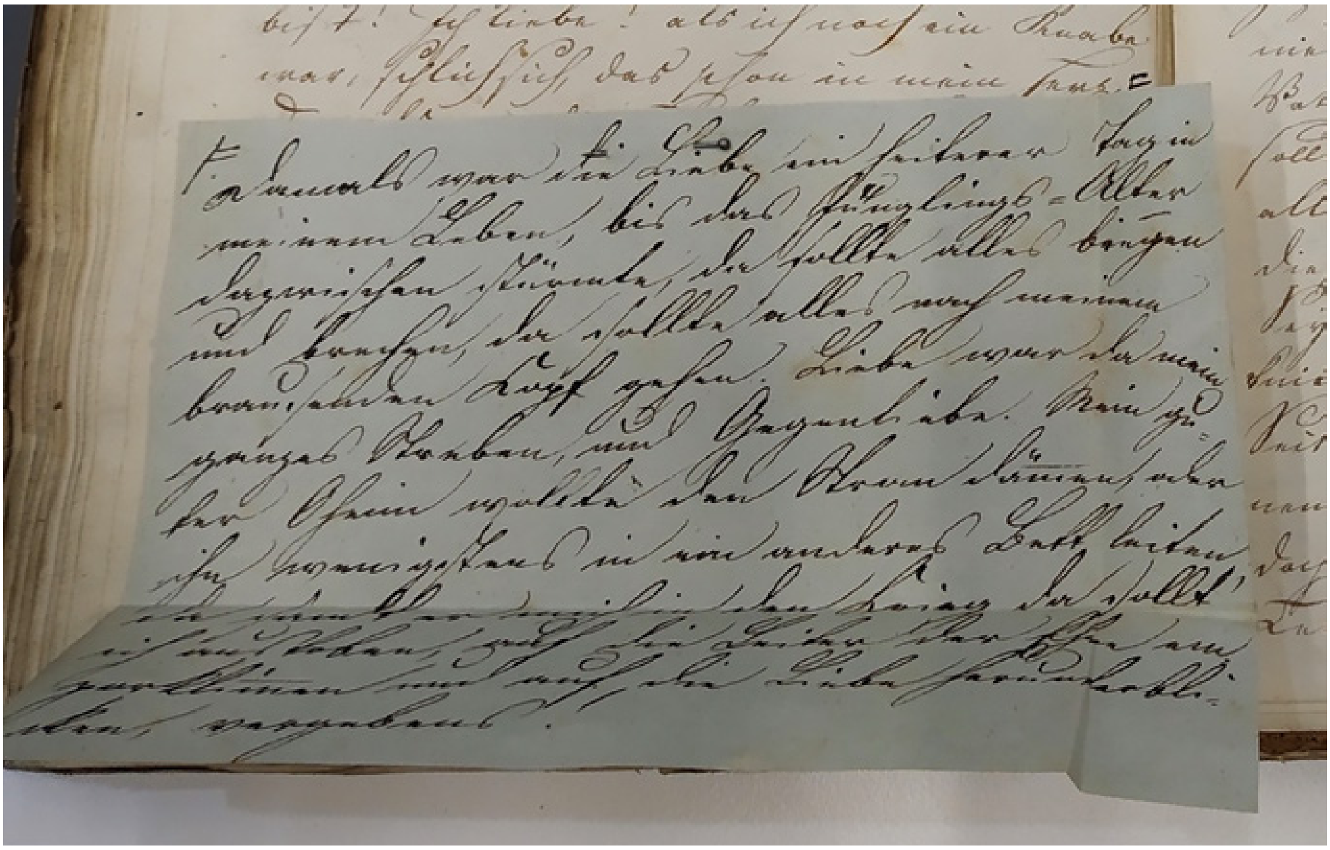


Fig. 12: Theater-Bibliothek: 1460, fol. 92v. In this prompt book of August von Kotzbue's *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*, an extra sheet of paper with revised content was attached to the page with a pin.

at the desired position and incorporates it into the written artefact materially. However, the extra sheet could easily be swapped for another one or rearranged in the event of another revision (Fig. 12).

Not all characteristic prompt-book amendments refer to the content of the play to be performed. Some apply to timing and others to tasks that were considered to be the stage manager's responsibility from the nineteenth century onwards. Many of them refer directly to the technical arrangements on stage during a performance. Another Shakespeare adaptation by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, this time a famous one rather than an infamous case, provides examples of both types: Schröder published his version of *King Lear* as a printed book shortly after its opening in 1778. As in the case of *Hamlet*, at some point during its 40-year performance history in Hamburg,[40] the manuscript version of the prompt book was exchanged for a printed one.[41] Schröder played the old king himself from a young age. His performance was generally considered to set a new benchmark for a psychologically intricate, subtly nuanced, yet immediately comprehensible style of acting. *King Lear* became a tremendous critical and popular success as a result, particularly because of his own performance, arousing great admiration during the decades in which it was staged in Hamburg and elsewhere.[42]

As an actor, Schröder worked effectively with the interplay of speech and silence when depicting Lear's inner conflicts and troubles. When the old king gets rejected by his two daughters Goneril and Regan, Lear slowly realises their fundamental betrayal. Schröder

[40] From 1778 to 1827, there were 54 Hamburg performances of *King Lear* in different productions based on Schröder's adaptation: nine in 1778; four in 1779; three in 1780; three in 1786; one each in 1787 and 1788; two in 1789; one in 1790; two each in 1791, 1793, 1794 and 1795; one in 1796; two in 1798; three each in 1802 and 1806; five in 1812; two in 1816; one each in 1817 and 1818; two in 1819; and one each in 1822, 1823 and 1827. Schröder played Lear for the last time in 1798. Cf. www.stadttheater.uni-hamburg.de.

[41] In this case, the production was taken up again in 1812 during the French occupation. A copy of the prompt book had to be presented to the local censor (see below, cf. Schäfer 2021). It may have been convenient to take the existing print version as a clean starting point to rework the adaptation in this context.

[42] For a comprehensive analysis of Schröder's *King Lear*, his acting style and its contexts, see Hoffmeier 1964, 119–266.

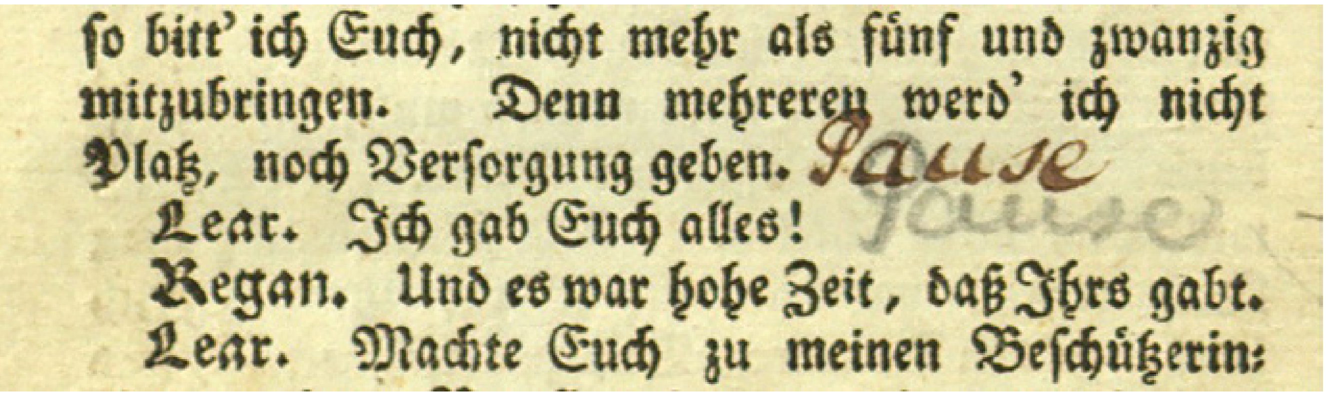

so bitt' ich Euch, nicht mehr als fünf und zwanzig
mitzubringen. Denn mehreren werd' ich nicht
Platz, noch Versorgung geben. Pause
Lear. Ich gab Euch alles! Pause
Regan. Und es war hohe Zeit, daß Ihrs gabt.
Lear. Machte Euch zu meinen Beschützerin-

Fig. 13: Theater-Bibliothek: 2029, p. 50. A sample from a prompt book of William Shakespeare's *König Lear* presumably created in 1812. The word 'Pause' in pencil and dark ink seems to be a reminder to the prompter that the actor will intentionally remain silent for a moment.

considered this to be a psychological process and took his time before uttering the words 'Ich gab Euch alles!' ['I gave you everything!'] in shocked disappointment.[43] In the respective section of the prompt book, the word 'Pause' [intermission] has been inserted in pencil and once again in dark ink – apparently by the same hand and seemingly referring to Lear's line both times (Fig. 13). As the pencilled addition remains rather ambiguous as to the occurrence of the pause (before or after Lear's reply), the one in ink seems to have been added afterwards to leave no doubt. The insertion seems to have served as a reminder to the prompter that the actor would deliberately remain silent for a moment as part of his role, not because he had forgotten his lines. (Obviously, the last thing that should happen on stage in such a tense situation is for the audience to hear the prompter's semi-audible whisper.)

As far as notions of place and atmosphere are concerned, instructions and cues in the prompt book refer to the technical dimension of the performance. In the prompt book, the opening of the third act of Schröder's *Lear* adaptation is littered with technical annotations presumably made by various users at different times. The location changes after the second act: from a place in front of a castle, the stage turned into a 'Heide mit einer Hütte' [a heath with a shack], which is indicated by the word 'Verwandlung' [transformation] written in pencil. Other handwritten insertions refer to the lighting. This can be safely assumed with regard to the word 'blau' ['blue'], which is written in pencil, but was then crossed out; it probably refers to a specific colour and quality of light. Two additional annotations determine the time and atmosphere of all the following scenes: 'Nacht' ['night'] is written in pencil and then written again in reddish ink; and 'ohne Mondschein' [without any moonlight] is written in a darker ink, apparently by another hand.

The likely reason for the cancellation of 'blau', the initial lighting mood, only becomes apparent at second glance: the header 'Dritter Akt' ['third act'] was crossed out in pencil and the roman numeral 'II' was written next to it in black ink. The first scene in Schröder's third act had originally been taken out of the middle of Shakespeare's second.[44] Despite the obvious dramaturgical dissonances, it seems to have been transferred to the beginning of act three because similar scenery would have avoided the need to change the set. However, at some point during the long history of Schröder's *Lear* on the Hamburg stage, the scene was reincorporated into the second act – this time as its ending. At that point there may not have been enough time to change the light effect back to 'blue' again. There seems to have been enough time to dim the brightness to the level of a 'night without any moonlight', however. The fall of the curtain and the customary musical interlude were thus delayed for a few minutes in the performance – and displaced onto the next page in the prompt book (Fig. 14).

[43] Theater-Bibliothek: 2029. *König Lear. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Nach Shakespear*, 50. Quite a detailed description of Schröder's depiction of Lear was published by Johann Friedrich Schink in 1790 and blended with interpretations and assessments he made. Schink worked as a librettist and dramaturge at the Hamburg theatre at that time; cf. Schink 1790, 1087–1142.

[44] See Theater-Bibliothek: 2029, 54 for Schröder's adaptation. In Schröder's templates as in current editions of Shakespeare's work, the scene is the third one in the second act; cf. Eschenburg 1779, 82.

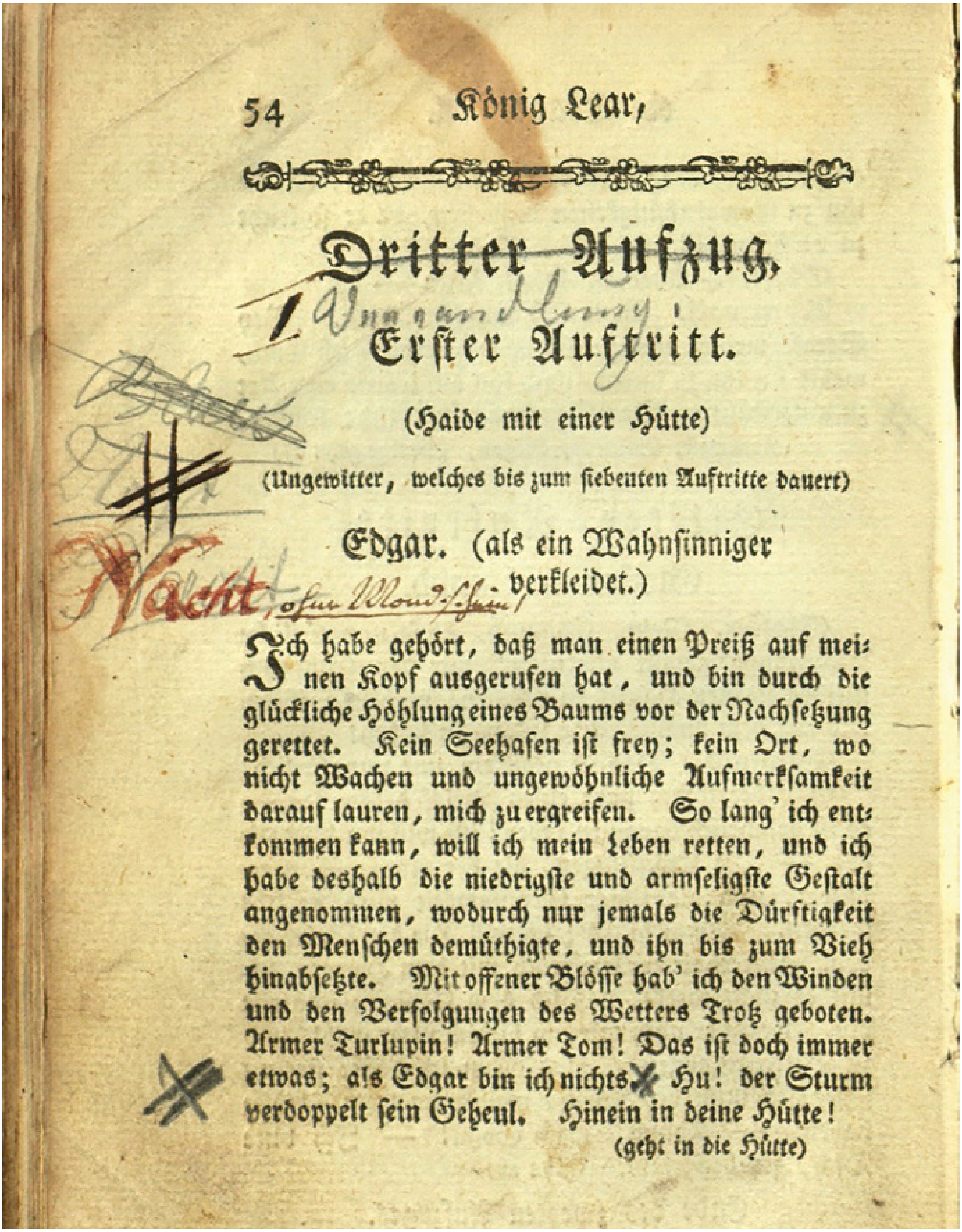
When it came to creating a specific atmosphere or situation or to performing certain actions behind the stage, respective sounds and sound effects were called for. These are indicated by respective cues in some of the prompt books. As can be seen in the King Lear example, a number or something similar was used. On page 54, the cue written in dark ink and the other two cues written in pencil refer to the 'Ungewitter' ['storm'], which rages during the first seven scenes of the act, or rather, to its claps of thunder that resound every now and then. Generally, a # symbol was added to the prompt book whenever there was any sort of sound to be heard that originated off stage, but which was connected to the actions shown. While the use of the hash symbol is quite specific for the manuscript practices of prompt books at the time, the books also worked with handwritten letters, signs and icons that belong to the traditional repertoire of Western scholarly manuscript cultures: time and again, there are cues in the prompt books that do not primarily refer to a certain event that is supposed to take place on stage, but that address those who work with the manuscript: a 'nota bene' ligature ('NB') may draw attention to a certain dialogue or to a certain response or action that is likely to happen on stage at that moment. It is not always possible to tell why the prompter or stage manager needed to be on his guard on this occasion, however: an actor or an actress may have had trouble with their text, or a candle may have been lit on stage that had to be prevented from burning down, perhaps. The need to draw attention to an action could diminish again at a later point, of course; the 'nota bene' might well get crossed out again, as can be seen in a prompt book of a production of Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (Fig. 15).

The manicule is another traditional icon of Western manuscript and book practices to be found in the Hamburg prompt books. In Schröder's *Othello*, for instance, a manicule points to a scene that has been added in the blank space on the following page in the course of fundamentally revising the prompt book.[45] Not only does it remind the user of the amendment, but it visually directs them to the continuation of the act that ended in the fair copy that now includes the manicule (Fig. 16).

The various phenomena presented so far all arose because of the theatrical processes to which a prompt book is related. They are the result of decisions made in the theatre context during the course of a production, based on pragmatic assumptions about the feasibility of staging a given dramatic text. Practical matters such as the capacity of technical equipment and personnel at hand are taken into account as well as aesthetic norms and anticipated public expectations. However, there are also amendments in a prompt book that do not relate to these intra-theatrical dynamics. On the contrary, they stand for the intrusion of outside factors. This is the case for the plays staged during Hamburg's French period from 1806 to 1814 when the city was first occupied by the French army and then became part of the French Empire. From 1811 onwards, only plays that had been approved by the censor could be performed. His permission can be found in various prompt books:[46] on the last page of one text, for example, there is a censor's note that consists of an approving phrase, mostly 'vu et approuvé' ['seen and approved'] along with a date and signature. Sometimes, a seal of approval of this kind was only granted if parts of the text were changed. These were mainly unfavourable references to France or the French army, but they could also include negative assessments of the current social or political status quo. Even though they are materially indistinguishable from other corrections and deletions, these alterations differ completely in terms of their origin: they do not emanate from the artistic and pragmatic internal practices of the theatre, but represent the influence of extra-theatrical agencies and political power (Fig. 17).

[45] For an overview on the tradition of the manicule, see the chapter entitled 'Toward a history of the manicule' in Sherman 2008, 25–52.

[46] Cf. Schäfer 2021; for a brief overview on censorship in the theatre during Hamburg's French period, see Stoltz 2016.



54 König Lear,

~~Dritter Aufzug.~~

1 Verwandlung

Erster Auftritt.

(Haide mit einer Hütte)

(Ungewitter, welches bis zum siebenten Auftritte dauert)

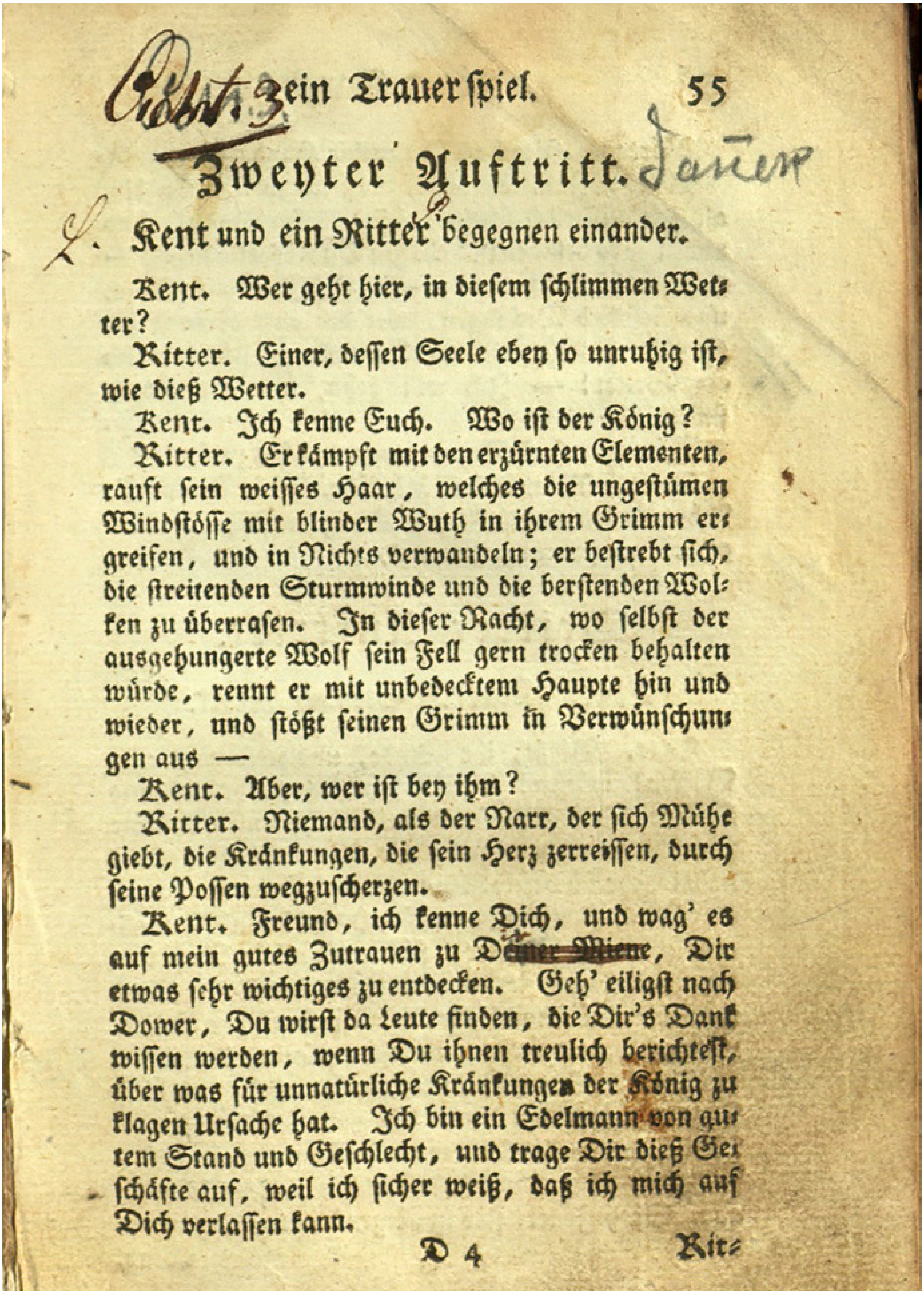
Edgar. (als ein Wahnsinniger verkleidet.)

Nacht, ohne Mond-Schein

Ich habe gehört, daß man einen Preiß auf meinen Kopf ausgerufen hat, und bin durch die glückliche Höhlung eines Baums vor der Nachsetzung gerettet. Kein Seehafen ist frey; kein Ort, wo nicht Wachen und ungewöhnliche Aufmerksamkeit darauf lauren, mich zu ergreifen. So lang' ich entkommen kann, will ich mein Leben retten, und ich habe deshalb die niedrigste und armseligste Gestalt angenommen, wodurch nur jemals die Dürftigkeit den Menschen demüthigte, und ihn bis zum Vieh hinabsetzte. Mit offener Blösse hab' ich den Winden und den Verfolgungen des Wetters Troß geboten. Armer Turlupin! Armer Tom! Das ist doch immer etwas; als Edgar bin ich nichts. Hu! der Sturm verdoppelt sein Geheul. Hinein in deine Hütte!

(geht in die Hütte)

Fig. 14: Theater-Bibliothek: 2029, pp. 54–55. The opening of the third act of Schröder's *Lear* adaptation is littered with technical annotations. At some point during the use of the prompt book, the opening of the act is shifted to the second scene – and onto the next page.



Ein Trauerspiel. 55

Zweyter Auftritt.

Kent und ein Ritter begegnen einander.

Kent. Wer geht hier, in diesem schlimmen Wetter?

Ritter. Einer, dessen Seele eben so unruhig ist, wie dieß Wetter.

Kent. Ich kenne Euch. Wo ist der König?

Ritter. Er kämpft mit den erzürnten Elementen, rauft sein weisses Haar, welches die ungestümen Windstösse mit blinder Wuth in ihrem Grimm ergreifen, und in Nichts verwandeln; er bestrebt sich, die streitenden Sturmwinde und die berstenden Wolken zu überrasen. In dieser Nacht, wo selbst der ausgehungerte Wolf sein Fell gern trocken behalten würde, rennt er mit unbedecktem Haupte hin und wieder, und stößt seinen Grimm in Verwünschungen aus —

Kent. Aber, wer ist bey ihm?

Ritter. Niemand, als der Narr, der sich Mühe giebt, die Kränkungen, die sein Herz zerreissen, durch seine Possen wegzuscherzen.

Kent. Freund, ich kenne Dich, und wag' es auf mein gutes Zutrauen zu D~~einer Miene~~, Dir etwas sehr wichtiges zu entdecken. Geh' eiligst nach Dower, Du wirst da Leute finden, die Dir's Dank wissen werden, wenn Du ihnen treulich berichtest, über was für unnatürliche Kränkungen der König zu klagen Ursache hat. Ich bin ein Edelmann von gutem Stand und Geschlecht, und trage Dir dieß Geschäfte auf, weil ich sicher weiß, daß ich mich auf Dich verlassen kann.

D 4 Rit-

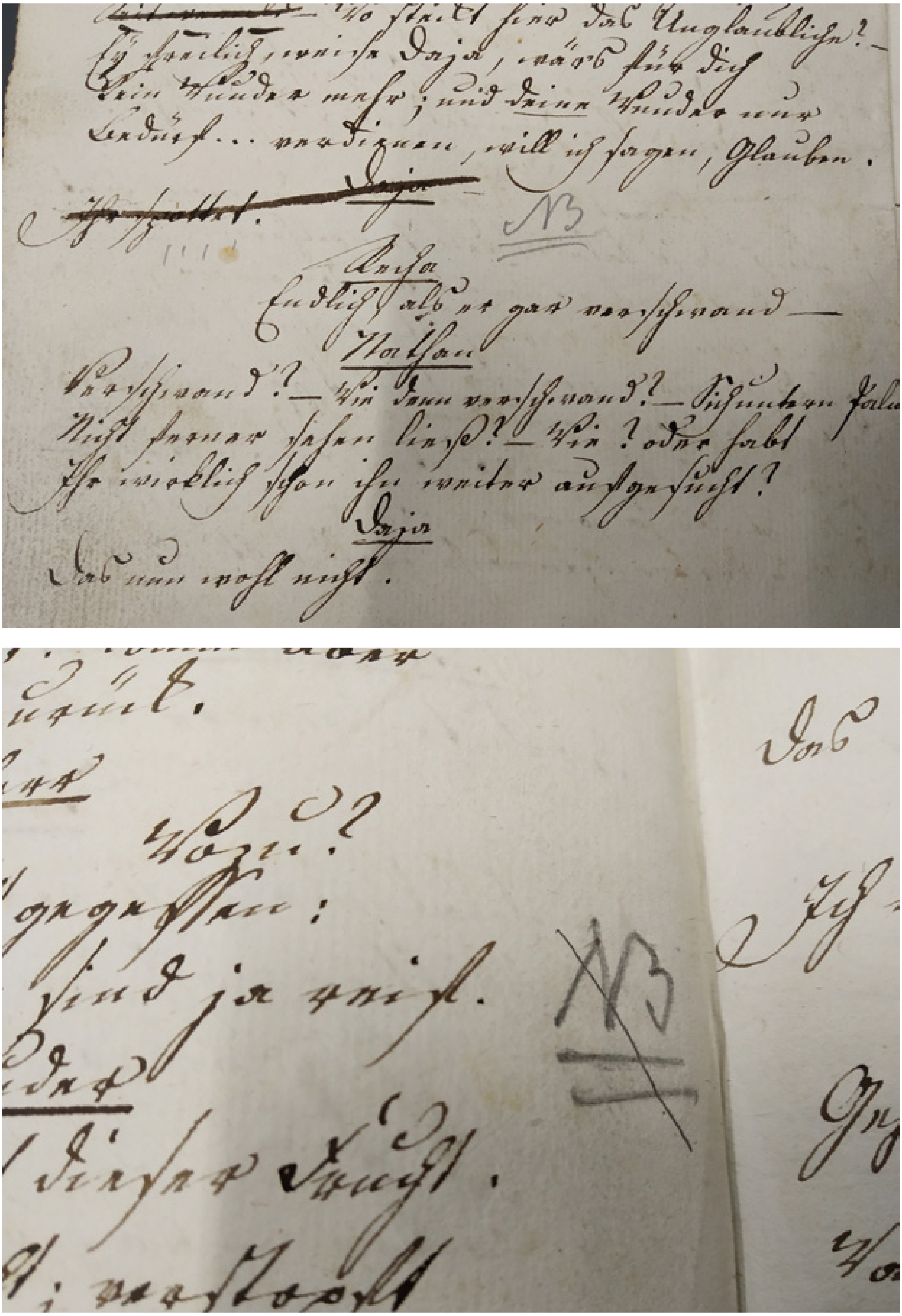


Fig. 15: Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, fols 9v and 15v. Addition and deletion of a 'nota bene' in a prompt book of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*.

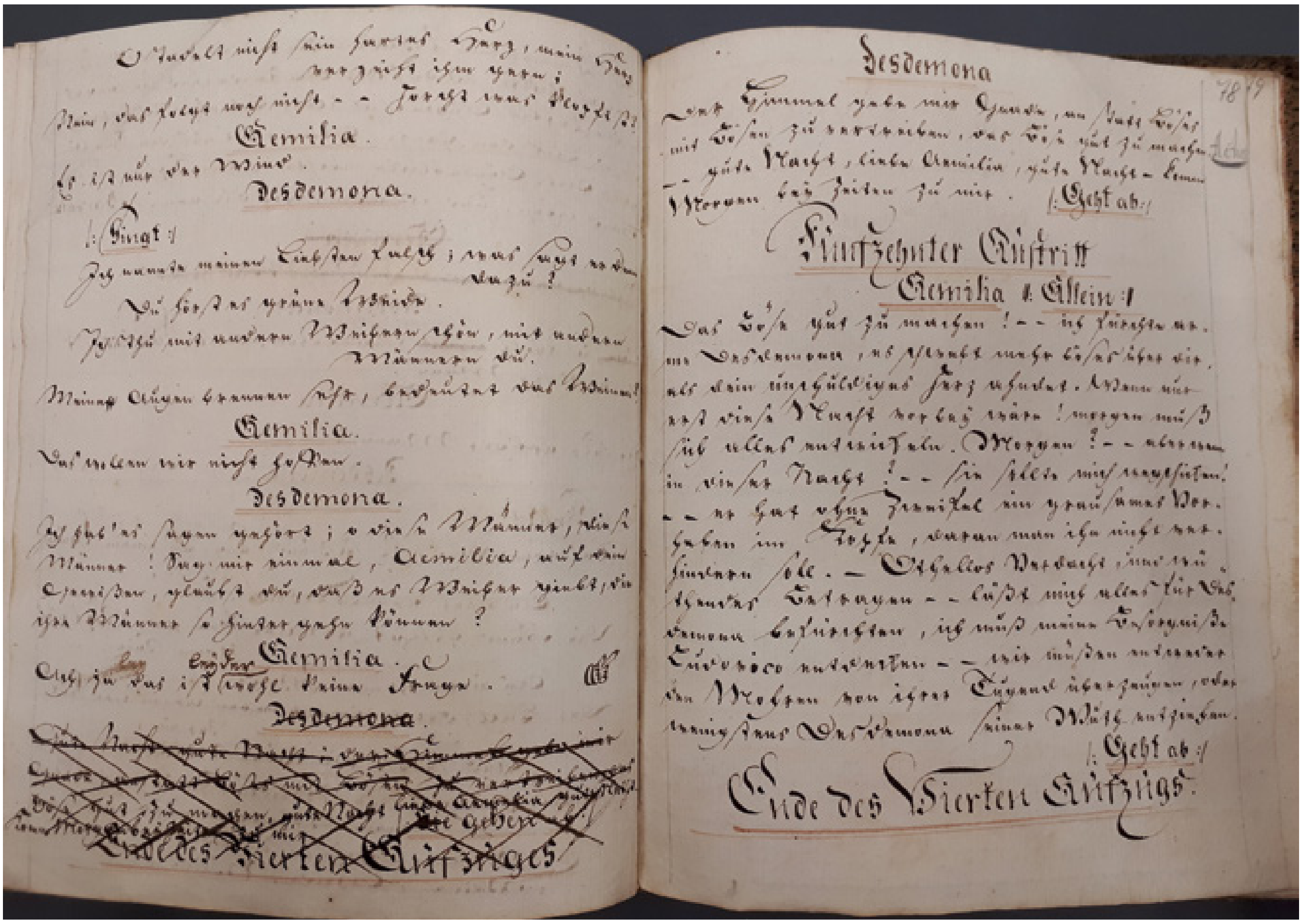
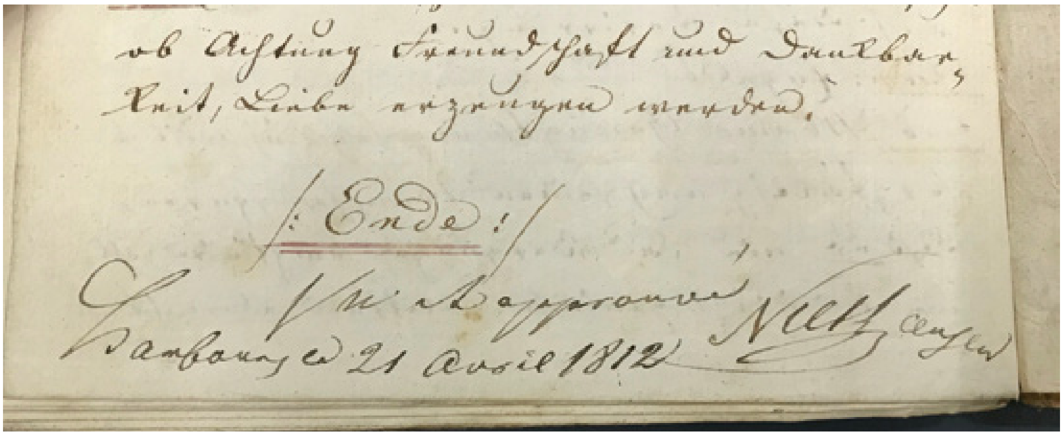


Fig. 16: Theater-Bibliothek: 571, fols 77v–78r. The end of the fourth act of Schröder's *Othello* adaptation is moved to the next folio of the prompt book because a new scene has been added. A manicule indicates the new content.

4. Prompt books as performative written artefacts

Judging from the variety of material forms, paper practices and writing operations, procedures, techniques and tools used in conjunction with them, prompt books of the time were clearly complex material and historical intersections: aesthetic, pragmatic, social and even political factors affect the entire process of a theatre production from the outset, and it is this process that manifests itself in the material performance of a prompt book. Each written alteration, each amendment, addition or retraction of text, each pasting over or cutting out of pages and each cue or note on technical matters expresses the individual dynamics of a written artefact that is treated as a means to put on a performance of a specific production – even if the last performance of it took place years ago. These revisions do not only transform the respective manuscript (or hybrid) into a unique, multi-layered written artefact organised in terms of 'latest amendment valid until revoked'. In the way they emerge, react to each other and build layers of writing, such edits also put a specific material performance on display. This material performance is the mode in which the material biography of a prompt book evolves in the course of its usage; it needs to be observed, reconstructed and analysed. Such an endeavour sheds light on the biography of a given written artefact while allowing us to gain a more general understanding of the material point of contact that undermines the traditional distinction between a text and its staging: in a prompt book regarded as a performative written artefact, the entanglement of the literary text, its stage performance and a host of other cultural practices in the theatre manifests itself on a material level. To this end, the spectrum of manuscript practices needs to be taken into account and related to the various intra- and extra-theatrical contexts that motivate them. In doing so, it becomes possible to conceive of prompt books as the centrepiece of a particular manuscript culture: by describing 'the milieu in which it was and is produced, used and transmitted',[47] one can also describe the ways in which this milieu mutually interacted with the materiality of each prompt book in a unique fashion.

[47] Quenzer 2014, 2.


ob Achtung Freundschaft und Dankbar-
keit, Liebe erzeugen werden.
/: Ende :/
Vu et approuvé
Hambourg le 21 avril 1812

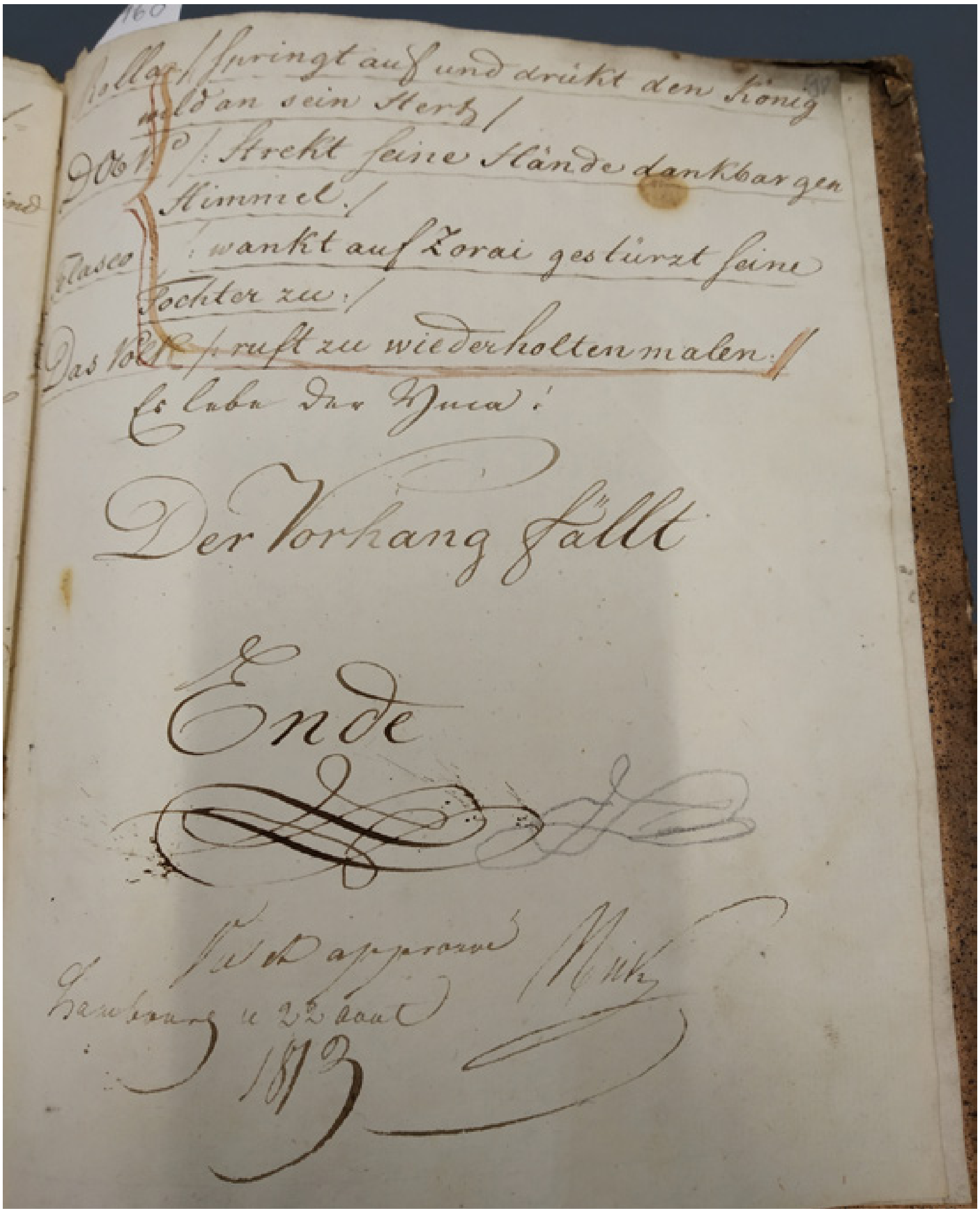

/springt auf und drükt den König
wild an sein Herz/
/: Strekt seine Hände dankbar gen
Himmel :/
/: wankt auf Zorai gestürzt seine
Tochter zu :/
Das Volk /: ruft zu wiederholten malen :/
Es lebe der Inca!
Der Vorhang fällt
Ende
Vu et approuvé
Hambourg le 22 avril
1813

Fig. 17: Censorship notes at the end of Theater-Bibliothek: 1379b, fol. 108v, a prompt book of William Shakespeare's *Viel Lärmen um Nichts* [*Much Ado about Nothing*] (1812), and Theater-Bibliothek: 1460, fol. 98r, a promt book of August von Kotzbue's *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau*.

Acknowledgements

The research for this article was funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Under-standing Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', project no. 390893796. The research was conducted within the scope of work at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Hamburg University.

REFERENCES

Primary sources

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 215a, *Frauenstand! Schauspiel in 4 Aufzügen von Iffland* [earlier title: *Frauenstand! Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Iffland*].

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 514, *Maaß für Maaß, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Shakespeare* [earlier title: *Maaß für Maaß, oder, Wie einer mißt wird ihm wieder gemeßen, ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen nach Shakespeare*].

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 571, *Othello, oder Der Mohr von Venedig ein Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen von Shakespear*.

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 586a, *Othello, Der Mohr von Venedig. Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen, von Shakespeare. Neu für die Bühne bearbeitet.*

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 641, *Die Römer in Teutschland, ein heroisches Trauerspiel in fünf Akten.*

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 948b, *Maaß für Maaß. Ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Nach Shakespear.*

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1379a, *Viel Lärmen um Nichts, ein Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen, nach Shakespeare.*

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1379b, *Viel Lärmen um Nichts, ein Schauspiel in 5. Aufzügen, nach Shakespear.*

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1460, *Die Sonnen-Jungfrau. Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen.*

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1982(1), *Hamlet, Prinz von Dännemark. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Nach Shakespear.*

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, *Nathan der Weise, ein Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Lessing für die Bühne gekürzt v. Schiller*, [Earlier title: *Nathan der Weise, ein dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Aufzügen von Lessing für die Bühne gekürzt v. Schiller.*]

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1988b, *Nathan der Weise. Ein Dramatisches Gedicht, in fünf Aufzügen.* Von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Dritte Auflage. Berlin, in der Vossischen Buchhandlung 1791.

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1989b, *Dom Karlos, Infant von Spanien von Friedrich Schiller*. Leipzig, bei Georg Joachim Göschen 1787.

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 2029, *König Lear*. *Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Nach Shakespear*. Hamburg, gedruckt bei J. M. Michaelsen. 1778.

Secondary literature

Andrist, Patrick, Paul Canard, and Marilena Maniaci (2013), *La syntaxe du codex: essai de codicologie structurale*, Turnhout: Brepols.

Brandt, George W. (ed.) (1992), *Theatre in Europe: A Documentary History, German and Dutch Theatre 1600–1848*, compiled by George W. Brandt and Wiebe Hogendoorn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[Eschenburg, Johann Joachim] (1779), *Wilhelm Shakespears Schauspiele*. *Neue verbesserte Auflage*. *Vierzehnter Band. Das Leben und der Tod des Königs Lear*, Straßburg: Franz Lebrault.

Fischer-Lichte, Erika and Jörg Schönert (eds) (1999), *Theater im Kulturwandel des 18. Jahrhunderts. Inszenierung und Wahrnehmung von Körper – Musik – Sprache*, Göttingen: Wallstein.

Friedrich, Michael and Cosima Schwarke, 'Introduction – Manuscripts as Evolving Entities', in Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (eds), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 9), Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 1–26.

Graf, Ruedi (1992), *Das Theater im Literaturstaat: Literarisches Theater auf dem Weg zur Bildungsmacht*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Grésillon, Almuth (2008), *La mise en œuvre: itinéraries génétiques*, Paris: CNRS Éditions.

—— (2010), '"Critique génétique". Gedanken zu ihrer Entstehung, Methode und Theorie', in Kai Bremer and Uwe Wirth (eds), *Texte zur modernen Philologie* ,Stuttgart: Reclam, 287–307.

—— (2016), *Éléments de critique génétique: lire les manuscrits modernes* [1994], Paris: CNRS Éditions.

Greub, Thierry (ed.) (2018), *Cy Twombly: Image, Text, Paratext*, Paderborn: Fink.

Gumbert, Johan Peter (2004), 'Codicological Units: Towards a Terminology for the Stratigraphy of the Non-Homogeneous Codex', *segno e testo. International Journal of Manuscripts and Text Transmission*, 2, 17–42.

Häublein, Renata (2005), *Die Entdeckung Shakespeares auf der deutschen Bühne des 18. Jahrhunderts: Adaption und Wirkung der Vermittlung auf dem Theater*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Halliwell, Stephen (1986), *Aristotle's Poetics*, London: Duckworth.

Hess, Volker and J. Andrew Mendelsohn (2013), 'Paper technology und Wissensgeschichte', *NTM. Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Technik und Medizin*, 21, 1–10.

Hoffmann, Paul F. (1939), *Friedrich Ludwig Schröder als Dramaturg und Regisseur*, Berlin: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte.

Hoffmeier, Dieter (1964), *Die Einbürgerung Shakespeares auf dem Theater des Sturm und Drang*, Berlin: Henschel.

Krebs, Roland (1985), *L'idée de « théâtre national » dans l'Allemagne des Lumières: Théorie et réalisations*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Leon, Mechele (ed.) (2017), *A Cultural History of Theatre*, vol. 4: *In the Age of Enlightenment*, London et al.: Bloomsbury.

Litzmann, Berthold (1890–1894), *Friedrich Ludwig Schröder: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Litteratur- und Theatergeschichte*, Hamburg: Voß.

Marx, Peter W. (ed.) (2017), *A Cultural History of Theatre*, vol. 5: *In the Age of Empire*, London et al.: Bloomsbury.

Maurer-Schmoock, Sybille (1982), *Deutsches Theater im 18. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Meyer, Reinhart (2012), *Schriften zur Theater- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag.

Müller-Schöll, Nikolaus (2020), 'Skript-basiertes Theater', in Karin Nissen-Rizvani and Martin Jörg Schäfer (eds), *TogetherText: Prozessual erzeugte Texte im Gegenwartstheater*, Berlin: Theater der Zeit, 77–98.

Münz, Rudolf (1979), *Das andere Theater: Studien über ein deutschsprachiges teatro dell'arte der Lessingzeit*, Berlin: Henschel.

Nantke, Julia (2017), *Ordnungsmuster im Werk von Kurt Schwitters: Zwischen Transgression und Regelhaftigkeit*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter.

Neubacher, Jürgen (2016), 'Die Aufführungsmaterialien des Hamburger Stadttheaters', in Bernhard Jahn and Claudia Maurer Zenck (eds), *Bühne und Bürgertum: Das Hamburger Stadttheater (1770–1850)*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition, 23–36.

Nichols, Stephen G. (1997), 'Why Material Philology?', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 116, 10–30.

Pethes, Nicolas (2019), 'Paper Mythology. Extending the Material "Milieus" of Literature and Philology', in Pál Kelemen and Nicolas Pethes (eds), *Philology in the Making: Analog/Digital Cultures of Scholarly Writing and Reading*, Bielefeld: transcript, 93–107.

Phelan, Peggy (1993), *Unmarked. The Politics of Performance*, London: Routledge.

Quenzer, Jörg B. (2014), 'Introduction', in Jörg B. Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (eds), *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (Studies in Manuscript Culture, 1), Berlin: De Gruyter, 1–7.

Schäfer, Martin Jörg (2021), '"Vu et approuvé": Censorship Notes in Hamburg Prompt Books from the French Period', in Jörg B. Quenzer (ed.), *Exploring Written Artefacts: Objects, Methods and Concepts*, (Studies in Manuscript Culture, 25) Berlin: De Gruyter, 1041–1058.

Schechner, Richard (2003), *Performance Theory*, New York: Routledge.

Schink, Johann Friedrich (1790), *Dramaturgische Monate, Vierter Band*, Schwerin: Verlag der Bödnerschen Buchhandlung.

Schneider, Martin (ed.) (2021), *Das Regiebuch: Zur Lesbarkeit theatraler Produktionsprozesse in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Göttingen: Wallstein.

[Schröder, Friedrich Ludwig] (1792), 'Gesetze des Hamburgischen Theaters', in *Annalen des Theaters*, Neuntes Heft, 3–22.

Schütze, Johann Friedrich (1794), *Hamburgische Theater-Geschichte*, Hamburg: Treder.

Sherman, William H. (2008), *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stoltz, Dominik (2016), 'Theaterzensur in der Franzosenzeit (1806–1814)', <https://blog.sub.uni-hamburg.de/?p=20422> (accessed on 16 January 2024).

Stone Peters, Julie (2000), *Theatre of the Book. 1480–1880. Print, Text and Performance in Europe*, Oxford et al.: Oxford University Press.

Wirth, Uwe (2011), 'Logik der Streichung', in Lucas Marco Gisi, Hubert Thüring and Irmgard M. Wirtz (eds), *Schreiben und Streichen. Zu einem Moment produktiver Negativität*, Göttingen, Wallstein and Zürich: Chronos, 23–45.

PICTURE CREDITS

Figs 1–17: © Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek.

Article

Mapping the Qing Empire in the Eighteenth Century: Hand-drawn Maps from the 'Qing Atlas Tradition' at the Museum am Rothenbaum in Hamburg

Diana Lange | Hamburg and Berlin

Abstract

The Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK) in Hamburg has an impressive collection of maps from East Asia, including a more than twelve-metre-long scroll with 25 hand-drawn maps of Chinese provinces, border areas and tributary states (referred to as the 'MARKK maps' or 'MARKK scroll' hereafter). Printed eighteenth- and nineteenth-century maps of provincial China in the form of an atlas are not only found in numerous institutions in China itself, but also worldwide (such as the Library of Congress, the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France). Sets of hand-drawn maps are considerably rarer. In fact, I have not been able to find any other comprehensive sets of maps comparable to the maps in Hamburg so far. The MARKK maps' cartometric properties and cartographic conventions suggest that they belong to the atlases made at the Qing court, of which the *Kangxi huang yu quan lan tu* 康熙皇輿全覽圖 ('Maps for a Complete View of the August Empire of the Kangxi Era') published in the early eighteenth century was the first. This paper aims to provide (i) a first detailed description of the map scroll's layout, its materiality and content, (ii) an attempt to classify it among the 'Qing court atlases' and (iii) a discussion of the scroll's date of production and origin.

1. Introduction: the task of mapping territory in early eighteenth-century China

One of the most comprehensive mapping projects in Chinese history was conducted in the early eighteenth century and involved a small number of European missionaries. During the first century and a half of its existence, the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) was remarkably successful in its effort to build and expand its empire – it doubled the amount of territory it controlled, in fact.[1] The Kangxi Emperor (r. 1661–1722) commissioned a group of French Jesuit missionaries to survey and map the extent of his empire in conjunction with Qing officials, using new cartographic techniques based on triangulation. Up till then, Chinese mapmakers had treated the Earth as if it were square (and the heavens round) and made use of a basic plan of it consisting of a rectangular grid, thus ignoring the curvature of the Earth's surface.[2] With the arrival of European missionaries in the late sixteenth century, Jesuits added to the geographical knowledge that the Chinese already possessed at that time. With the help of Chinese converts to Christianity, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) produced several different versions of a Chinese *mappa mundi*. The *Kun yu wanguo quan tu* 坤輿萬國全圖 ('Complete Map of the Myriad Kingdoms of the World'), which was printed in 1602 by Ricci and his Chinese collaborators Zhang Wentao 張文燾 and Li Zhizao 李之藻, was the earliest known Chinese map of the world made in a European style. It followed the *Typus Orbis Terrarum* produced by the cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), which was based on an oval projection. China was put at the centre of the Chinese version of the map.[3] Subsequently, the Qing court patronised scientists and technicians from Europe, and new cartographic techniques, such as the use of longitude and altitude to locate points on the Earth in relation to each other, were adopted for specific purposes.[4] In particular, the Kangxi Emperor – who was well versed in natural sciences – had a strong interest in the new sciences and technologies

[1] Hostetler 2001, 33–35.

[2] Needham 1959, 498.

[3] See Elman 2005, 127–133. For more on the *Kun yu wanguo quan tu* in the Library of Congress (LOC), see <https://lccn.loc.gov/2010585650>.

[4] Hostetler 2001, 24.

introduced by Europeans.[5] As Laura Hostetler has stated, 'the Kangxi emperor's desire for "a precise map which would unite all parts of his empire in one glance" corresponded roughly with Peter the Great's mapping of Russia, French cartographic projects at home and in the New World, and early British colonial exploits in India'.[6] During his reign, the Jesuits were given an opportunity to demonstrate the benefits of their cartographic techniques. In 1707 they were commissioned to survey and map the region of Tianjin (east of Beijing), followed by the area around Beijing and the Great Wall. Kangxi was satisfied with the results and consequently ordered the rest of the empire to be surveyed by them.[7] The journeys and measurements were undertaken by the missionaries and Qing officials between 1708 and 1717.[8]

A first woodblock print atlas was presented to the Emperor in 1717, followed by a copperplate engraving edition in the same year and a revised version of it in 1719. A revised woodblock edition of the work, which became known as the 'Kangxi atlas', was produced in 1721. The carving and printing of the two woodblock editions took place at the Imperial Workshops (*zao ban chu* 造辦處) in Beijing,[9] namely in the *xiu shu chu* 修書處 ('book compilation department'). None of the maps printed immediately after the land surveys were available for public sale before the twentieth century. The Manchu court restricted access to and local reproduction of these surveys and maps. For the remainder of Kangxi's reign at least, they remained at court for perusal by the Emperor and senior court officials.[10] Later copperplate versions were produced on behalf of succeeding emperors: for Yongzheng (r. 1722–1735) in 1728 and for Qianlong (r. 1735–1796) in 1757 and 1770.[11]

I believe that the hand-drawn maps on the scroll in Hamburg are closely linked to the woodblock edition of the 'Kangxi atlas' produced in Beijing in 1717, entitled *Kangxi huang yu quan lan tu* 康熙皇輿全覽圖,[12] as the composition, the titles and visual organisation and the contents of the maps correspond on several levels. Presumably they were also produced in the Imperial Workshops in Beijing.

2. The layout and materiality of the MARKK scroll

The MARKK scroll is made in the format of traditional Chinese handscrolls known as *shoujuan* 手卷. Including the mounting, it is 60.5 cm high and 1,289.5 cm long (almost 13 metres). The scroll is made of 25 maps put together. They were combined into four parts on the scroll: maps 1–5, maps 6–13, maps 14–19 and maps 20–25 (see the list of maps below). The maps in each part have all been pasted together, lined with very thin paper and then put on a drying board to dry. The maps were reassembled into two big parts on the scroll: (i) maps 1–5 and 6–13 and (ii) maps 14–19 and 20–25. The whole scroll was restored extensively by Camille Schmitt in France in 2020.[13] Before the restoration, it was protected by a cover made of decorative blue patterned silk brocade and bore a small label on which the title was written (see Fig. 1). The colour of the silk had faded and showed evidence of previous repairs. The paper showed signs of wear in some places along with some damage due to cracks and cuts. According to Camille Schmitt, the handscroll had been restored twice in the past: once in China after being badly damaged by insects and then later in Europe. The Chinese mounter did not do a very good job of the remounting, though, using rectangular patches, an unusual cover[14] and stiff paper. The cover was restored in Europe at various points by using patches made of Japanese brocade. In the course of the recent restoration, the stiff lining had to be taken off, the creases in the scroll were smoothed out and the scroll was given a new silk coating. The former light blue strip on the paper border, the former mounting silk and the cover had to be replaced.[15]

[5] Hostetler 2001, 37–41. For an in-depth study on Kangxi's interest in natural sciences in general and in European sciences in particular, see Jami 2012.

[6] Hostetler 2001, 4.

[7] Yee 1994, 180–181.

[8] Cams 2017, 201. For a detailed overview of the exact dates and the people involved, see Fuchs 1943, 9.

[9] The Imperial Workshops (also known as the 'Palace Workshops') were established within the walls of the Forbidden City of Beijing. All kinds of works of art were produced there, such as scroll paintings, silk screens, porcelain, and carvings on ivory, jade and glass.

[10] Cams 2017, 179–181 and Elman 2005, 131.

[11] Cams 2017, 201. This work also provides further information on the history of collaboration between 'East and West' in the mapping of Qing China.

[12] Short title: *Huang yu quan lan tu* 皇輿全覽圖.

[13] See Camille Schmitt's website 'Asian Painting Conservation Studio' <http://www.silkandpaper-restoration.com/index.php/en/>.

[14] The mounting is nearly like a traditional one because it has a *fu ge shui* 副隔水 (a piece of damask silk in front of the painting when the scroll is opened). The *fu ge shui* after the painting is very short, however, which means that the scroll may have been too long for the drying board used by the former mounter, who was then unable to add a very long 'scroll ending'.

[15] See the restoration report by Camille Schmitt. So far, no record has been found that could provide any further information about the restoration of the scroll in Europe.

The scroll is entitled *Tianxia yutu* 天下輿圖 ('Maps of [Everything] under the Heaven'). The term *yu* [*di*] *tu* 輿[地]圖 ('map of the empire') originates from the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE)[16] and continued to be used for numerous maps in later centuries. The well-known *Guang yutu* 廣輿圖 ('Enlargement of the Terrestrial Map') by the Ming cartographer Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–1564 CE) is the oldest surviving atlas of China to use the word *yutu* in the map's title. The term *tianxia* ('[everything] under the heaven') reflects the Chinese perspective on the empire with the Emperor regarded as the representative of the cosmic order; his power was believed to have been legitimised by a mandate from heaven. The *tianxia* concept was the key to government and self-understanding for over two millennia in the Chinese Empire.[17] China is depicted as the 'central state' on *tianxia* maps, as they are known, and thus represents their focal point. Maps of this kind were produced until the late nineteenth century.[18] Next to the title label, one can see a note in pencil that says 'Landkarte' (German for 'map', lit. 'map of the land') and a little sticker with an inventory note ('640:07') written in red ink. Unlike other Chinese handscrolls, this one does not contain a frontispiece at the beginning, but starts with the first map. At the beginning of the scroll there is a wooden stave on which a cord and a flat fastening pin made of ivory are attached to secure the rolled-up scroll.[19] The scroll does not contain a colophon or provide any information about its maker, place or date of production.

The maps, which are of varying sizes and all face north, are arranged in the following order with the respective titles on the scroll (Table 1).

this paper.

Fig. 1: Part of the scroll's outer silk cover with the title label and a pencilled note written on paper. Traces of restoration work are clearly visible. This photo was taken before the scroll was restored by Camille Schmitt.

[16] The earliest occurrences are in chapter 58 (one) and chapter 60 (two) of the *Shiji* 史記.

[17] For a detailed discussion of the *tian xia* concept, see Pflug 2019.

[18] See the *Tian xia zong yu tu* 天下總輿圖 made *c.* 1890, for example: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7821fm.gct00346/?st=gallery>.

[19] For a detailed description of the individual parts of a Chinese handscroll, see van Gulik 1958, 67–69.

Table 1: List of the maps included in the *Tianxia yutu* scroll.

No.	Transcription	Chinese title	Translation
1	*Zhili quan tu*	直隸全圖	complete map of Zhili
2	*Shanxi quan tu*	山西全圖	complete map of Shanxi
3	*Shandong quan tu*	山東全圖	complete map of Shandong
4	*Henan quan tu*	河南全圖	complete map of Henan
5	*Shaanxi quan tu*	陝西全圖	complete map of Shaanxi
6	*Jiangnan quan tu*	江南全圖	complete map of Jiangnan
7	*Zhejiang quan tu*	浙江全圖	complete map of Zhejiang
8	*Jiangxi quan tu*	江西全圖	complete map of Jiangxi
9	*Huguang quan tu*	湖廣全圖	complete map of Huguang
10	*Sichuan quan tu*	四川全圖	complete map of Sichuan
11	*Fujian quan tu*	福建全圖	complete map of Fujian
12	*Guangdong quan tu*	廣東全圖	complete map of Guangdong
13	*Guangxi quan tu*	廣西全圖	complete map of Guangxi
14	*Guizhou quan tu*	貴州全	complete map of Guizhou
15	*Yunnan quan tu*	雲南全圖	complete map of Yunnan
16	headwaters of the River Jinsha, River Lancang and River Heishui	金沙江, 瀾滄江, 黑水河	no title is provided
17	*Hami tu*	哈密圖	map of Hami
18	*Wusulijiang tu*	烏蘇里江圖	map of the River Ussuri
19	*Shengjing quan tu*	盛京全圖	complete map of Shengjing
20	*Rehe tu*	熱河圖	map of Rehe
21	*Hetao tu*	河套圖	map of Hetao
22	headwaters of the River Wengjin and the Xing'an Ling or Khingan Range	甕金河, 興安嶺	no title is provided
23	*Heyuan tu*	河源圖	map of the Yellow River source
24	*Chaoxian tu*	朝鮮圖	map of the Korean peninsula
25	*Heilongjiang zhong tu*	黑龍江中圖	map of the central part of the River Amur

The 1717 'Kangxi atlas' consisted of 28 maps of varying sizes, depicting the Qing Empire including Manchuria, Mongolia, covering the areas from the mouth of the Heilongjiang (or River Amur) in the east to the district of Hami in the west (in the east of Xinjiang Province today) and from Hainan Island in the south to Lake Baikal in the north.[20] Each of the maps is shown on a separate sheet. The MARKK scroll includes the maps of the same areas as the 1717 'Kangxi atlas', but with three exceptions.[21] The three maps that are not included are the *Heilongjiang yuan tu* 黑龍江源圖 and *Heilongjiang kou tu* 黑龍江口圖 (the source of the River Amur and the Lower Amur) and the headwaters of the River Yalong 雅礱江 in what is now southern Qinghai Province (no title is provided for this map).[22] Compared to the first edition of the woodblock atlas, the revised edition first printed around 1721 and consisting of 32 maps is practically identical apart from the sheets covering Tibet and the north-eastern part of present-day Xinjiang. All the other maps remain unchanged.[23] Neither the 1717 'Kangxi atlas' nor the MARKK map set contains any maps of Tibet.[24]

As in the 'Kangxi atlas', the areas beyond the indicated provincial borders remain blank on the MARKK maps of the fifteen Chinese key provinces; they only contain the titles of the maps and names of bordering regions. The names of places, rivers and other topographic elements were written exclusively in Chinese by a well-trained hand using carbon-black ink.[25] This is also true of the respective map titles, which are enclosed by a rectangular frame drawn in purple ink (made from carmine pigment).[26] All the maps appear to have been drawn by one and the same hand and labelled in the same handwriting. However, it is unclear whether the same person did the drawing and writing. East Asian maps were largely coloured using the same colour system for long periods of time. In general, it can be said that the sea (or at least the coastal area) and rivers were usually coloured in blue or green, while the land was left uncoloured; only topographic elements such as mountains were coloured in. This colour system[27] can be observed on numerous Chinese maps of the provinces and was also employed on the MARKK maps. Mountains and mountain ranges were drawn in blue ink or paint (made from azurite pigment). While the rivers are shown as green lines (made from copper green, probably from malachite), lakes and the maritime coastlines are coloured in a different green tone (made from an unidentified organic material). The only exception here is the Yellow River, which is represented in yellow (made from a mixture of a still unidentified organic material and cinnabar). The representation of these topographical elements and the use of respective colours (the colour scheme)[28] for them are similar to the visual organisation of many Chinese manuscript maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The use of colour and the handwritten labels certainly make the information on the manuscript maps easier for the eye to absorb. The relationship of coast to river to mountain is expressed by fluid colour, which is absent in the printed maps. The calligraphic strokes used to limn the mountains along with the scroll format clearly embed these maps in the tradition of landscape painting.[29]

Administrative information on East Asian maps was presented by using geometric labels, the additional use of colours playing different roles in the different regions.[30]

[20] Also see Li 1996, 160–161 and Yee 1994, 181.

[21] To compare the MARKK maps and the 1717 'Kangxi atlas', I used the woodblock prints reproduced from the 1721 edition by Walter Fuchs in 1941, now kept in the Library of Congress, and his books on the 'Jesuit maps'. See Fuchs 1943, LOC Digital ID: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7820m.gct00265>.

[22] It is unclear why maps of these areas were not included in the scroll, as surveys of these regions were carried out in the same period as the ones for the areas shown on the MARKK maps. See Fuchs 1943, 9.

[23] See Fuchs 1943, 15 and Cams 2017, 180–181. For a complete list of the maps, see Fuchs 1943, 2.

[24] A small team of mapmakers – not including European missionaries – went to Tibet in 1717 and returned to Beijing the same year (see Cams 2017, 101 and Fuchs 1943, 13). The maps based on the data collected during this survey were not included in the 1717 atlas, but in later editions.

[25] Later versions of the Yongzheng and Qianlong atlases were also labelled in Manchu.

[26] The investigation of all the colourants on the maps was conducted and interpreted by Peter Zietlow, University of Hamburg. For a detailed discussion of the measurement results see Lange and Hahn 2023, 59–62.

[27] In the context of cartography, a colour system can be described as the way in which a map is painted, i.e. which of its parts have been coloured and why this choice has been made, see Lange 2022, 119.

[28] In the context of maps, a colour scheme refers to the choice of specific colours for the different elements of the map, see Lange 2022, 119–121.

[29] For a detailed discussion of the use of colours on Chinese maps see Lange and Hahn 2023, 14–20.

[30] See Lange 2022 for a detailed discussion of the use of symbols on East Asian maps.

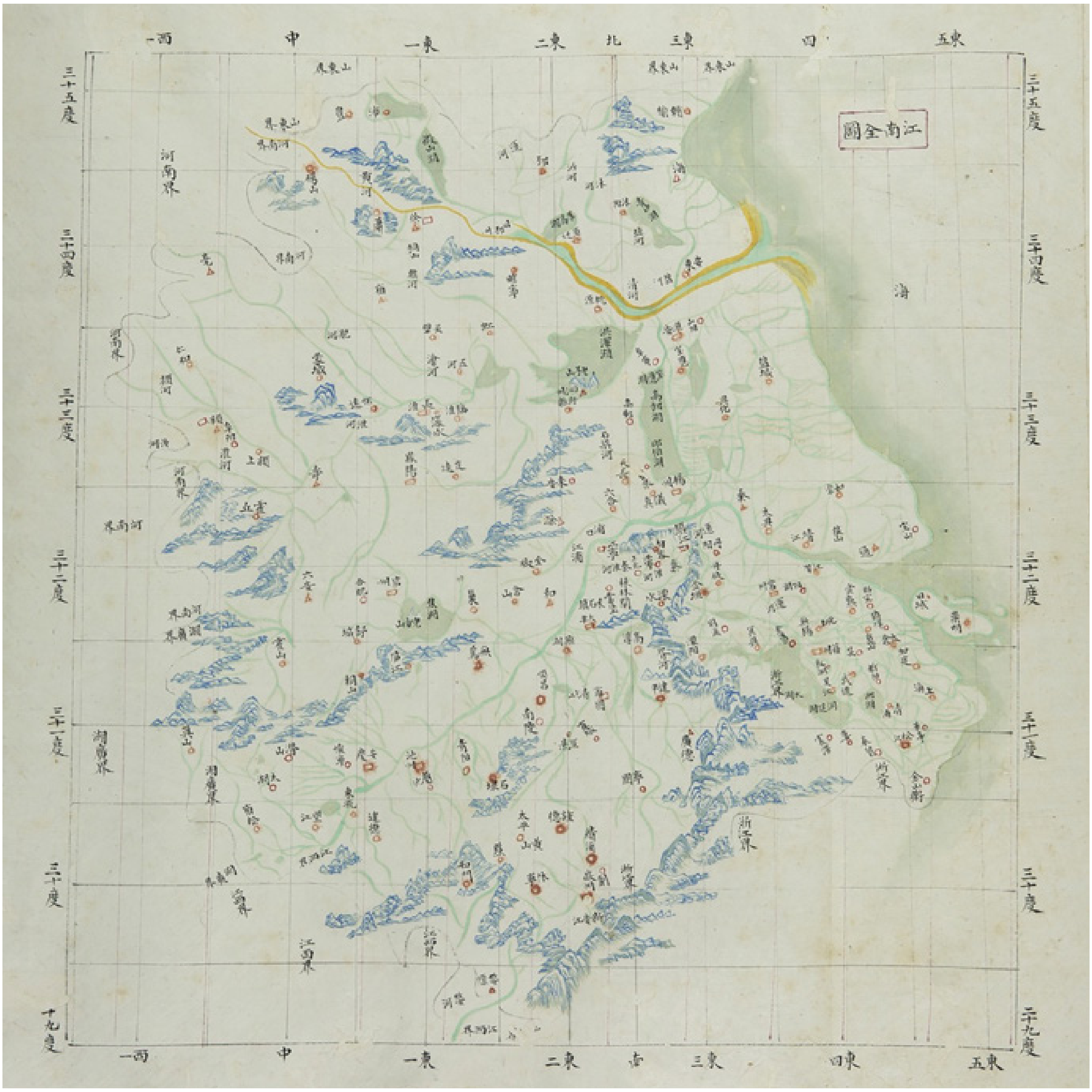


Fig. 2: Representation of Jiangnan Province on the MARKK scroll showing the mouth of the Yellow River in the north.

On Chinese maps, place names were coded using specific coloured and uncoloured shapes to provide information about the size and type of local government and other important features.[31] On the MARKK maps, different symbols drawn in red ink (made from cinnabar pigments) were used to mark the different status of places.[32] They almost match those in the 'Kangxi atlas' (Table 2).

[31] A 'code' refers to any system of signs or symbols that conveys meaning. More precisely, a code is a system of replacing the words in a message with other words or symbols, so that nobody can understand it unless they know the system. For maps, the colour code defines the range of colours selected to convey specific information about the places and features represented on the map (see Lange 2022, 121–122).The tradition of using different colours in map production was established relatively early in East Asia. Three of the oldest existing Chinese maps that were drawn in different colours were found in a tomb from the second century BCE at Mawangdui in Hunan Province in the 1970s. These maps were drawn on silk using vegetable colours. One of the charts is a military map (*Zhujun tu* 駐軍圖) where black lines represent the trends of mountain ranges, green/light brown lines stand for rivers, red dotted lines for roads, red triangles for castles, red lines for boundaries and black circles for villages. Black circles framed in red represent stationed troops and bases for ordnance and rear supplies (see Chang 1979, 12; Cao Wanru et al. 1990, 18 and Yee 1994, 41).

[32] They are mainly based on the map legend introduced by the Ming cartographer Luo Hongxian 羅洪先 (1504–1564) in his *Guang yutu* 廣輿圖 ('Enlarged Terrestrial Atlas') in the sixteenth century, the earliest known use of a map legend on a Chinese map (see Yee 1994, 51).

Table 2: List of the symbols used on the maps in the *Tianxia yutu* scroll.

Place/region	**MARKK maps**	**'Kangxi atlas'[33]**
prefecture (*fu* 府)	red square, only name provided, 府 not included	large square, name plus 府
subprefecture (*zhou* 州)	red triangle, only name provided, 州 not included	small square, name plus 州
district (*xian* 縣)	red circle, only name provided, 縣 not included	small square, name plus 縣 (in a simplified form)
territory (*tu* 土)[34]	red square, name plus 土	large square, name plus 土 and 府
military camp (*ying* 营)	red dot, name plus 营	small circle, name plus 营
garrison (*zhen* 鎮)	red dot, name plus 鎮	small circle, name plus 鎮
subdivision of a district (*si* 司)	(red dot), name plus 司	small circle, name plus 司
town/city (*cheng* 城)	red dot, name plus 城	small circle, name plus 城
government post (*ma zhan* 馬占)[35]	red dot, name plus 馬占	dot, name plus 馬占
horse relay station (*ri* 馹)[36]	cross, name plus 馹	cross, name plus 馹
guard unit (*wei* 衞)	no sign, name plus 衞	no sign, name plus 衞
frontier pass/customs house (*guan* 関)	no sign, name plus 関	no sign, name plus 関
wall gate (*kou* 口)	no sign, name plus 口	no sign, name plus 口
gateway (*men* 門)	no sign, name plus 門	no sign, name plus 門

[33] See Fuchs 1943, 15 and Cams 2017, 180–181.

[34] The term *tu* 土 is only used on the maps of Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou Province, all of which are located in the border area between China and the former Tibetan province of Kham. *Tu* refers to the territories that had been ruled for centuries by autonomous local chieftains (*tusi* 土司) in south-west China. They were given their title and seal by the Chinese central government and thus were instrumentalised for indirect rule over these territories; amongst other things, they were responsible for delivering taxes and providing auxiliary troops in case of war. For further information, see Theobald 2016.

[35] This must be a version of 驛站 (*yizhan*). 馬占 is only used on the map of Heilongjiang; 馹 is found on the maps of Rehe, Hetao and Hami.

[36] Fuchs translated 馹 as 'Poststation' ('post station'); he also stated that 馹 is a version of *yi* 驛 (Fuchs 1943, 90 and 94). This statement was confirmed by the historian Max Oidtman (email correspondence on 11 May 2020).

For the majority of Chinese maps, no additional legends for the symbols were provided by the mapmakers, which is also the case for the MARKK maps. There are two possible explanations of this: either the symbols were widely known at the time of the maps' production and thus did not need to be explained in a legend or the mapmakers may have chosen to omit them, in order to make the information available only to a select group of people who were trained to use and interpret these symbols.

Traditional Chinese characters can be found throughout the MARKK maps as well as a selection of simplified characters, such as *yun* 云 (雲), *yang* 阳 (陽), *yin* 阴 (陰), *tai* 台 (臺), ying 营 (管), *luo* 罗 (羅) and *ling* 灵 (靈). In contrast, none of the printed 'Kangxi atlas' maps contain any simplified characters.

Although the 'Kangxi atlas' contains black-and-white woodblock prints and the MARKK maps are hand-drawn and hand-coloured, at first glance the two sets of maps correspond on several levels. If one places the corresponding maps in the two sets on top of one another, the outlines of the depicted areas nearly match up completely. This is true of most of the river courses as well. There are also slight differences. In areas lacking natural boundaries such as large rivers or mountain regions, for instance, dotted lines delineate provincial borders in the 'Kangxi atlas', while solid lines serve this purpose on the MARKK maps. While the Great Wall is represented in a pictographic style and only the names of the wall gates are provided in the 'Kangxi atlas', the Great Wall is shown as a dotted line on the MARKK maps. The so-called Willow Palisade separating the Manchu areas from the northern and western border areas is shown as a line of little parallel strokes with gateways on both sets of maps.

As in the 'Kangxi atlas', the latitudes and meridians are shown on all the MARKK maps – drawn in black. The particular coordinates have been written in the margins. The meridian running through Beijing was adopted as the prime meridian (*bei zhong* 北中), just as it was in the 'Kangxi atlas'. The grid lines of the square grid system[37] used by Chinese mapmakers as an aid for plotting distances and directions were added on all but two of the MARKK maps – in contrast to the 'Kangxi atlas'. They were drawn in a dark purple colour (made from carmine pigment).[38] The drawing of the 'historical' and 'modern' lines in red and black ink seems to correspond with the Chinese tradition of marking the historical chronology of the constellations on star maps in different colours. When Chinese astrologers started depicting the sky in the fourth century BCE, they first used different colours to distinguish the constellations of three different schools of astrology: Shi Shen's school 石申 (red), Gan De's 甘德 (black) and Wu Xian's 巫咸 (white rings).[39] The combination of black and red to distinguish contemporary and historical place names was used in cartography by Jia Dan 贾躭 (730–805 CE), for instance. When producing the *Jingu yu ditu* 今古輿地圖,[40] the earliest historical atlas printed in red and black in 1638 by Wu Guofu 吳國輔, black ink was used for contemporary (Ming dynasty) place names and red ink for ancient prefectures and counties.[41] Red and black were also used on later maps during the Qing dynasty to distinguish between different grid systems. For example, on the nineteenth-century *Huangchao yi tong yu di quan tu* 皇朝壹统輿地全圖 ('Complete Map of the Unified Qing Empire'), the Chinese square grid was coloured in black and the system of longitude and latitude in red.[42]

The only MARKK maps that do not show the Chinese grid lines are those of the north-eastern border areas between the so-called Manchu homelands and the Russian Empire: the map of the River Ussuri and the headwaters of the River Wengjin 甕金河 and the Xing'an Ling 興安嶺 or Khingan Range. The latter map is the only one that differs from the maps shown in the 'Kangxi atlas'. The map in the 'Kangxi atlas' entitled *Selengehe tu* 色楞厄河圖 ('River Selenga map') shows the area north of the Khingan Range: the River Selenga and its source rivers and tributaries along with Lake Baikal. The MARKK map (without a title) only shows the Khingan Range and the headwaters of the River Wengjin in the south-east.

A closer look at the charts shows that the MARKK maps show less information than the 'Kangxi atlas'. They contain fewer names for different places, fewer rivers and less topographical information such as river courses. Unlike the 'Kangxi atlas' maps, they only contain the names of the main administrative divisions such as prefectures, subprefectures and counties.

[37] The square grids on the Chinese maps served as a scaling device, not as a coordinate system.

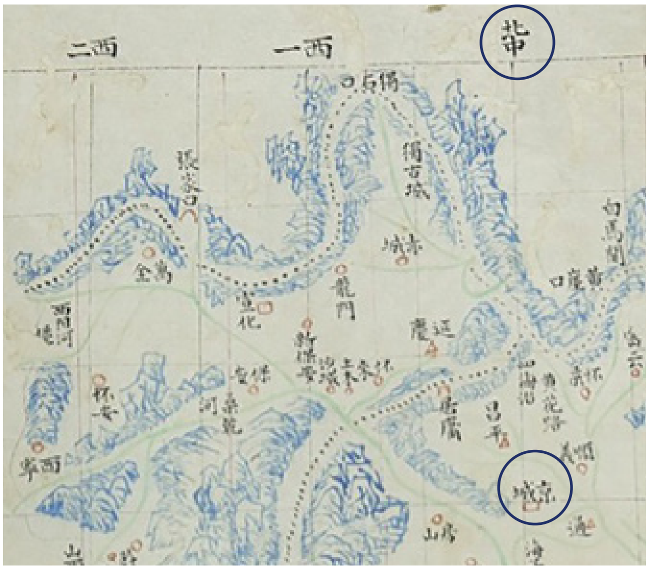
[38] The same colour was used for the frame around the maps' titles.

[39] See Stephenson 1994, 530 and 532.

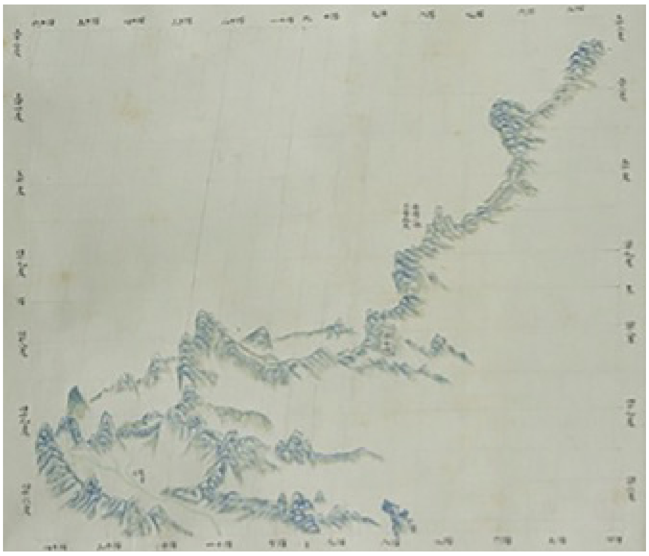
[40] Library of Congress Catalog <https://lccn.loc.gov/2002530058>.

[41] Cao Wanru et al. 1994, 29 (appendix).

[42] Daniel Crouch Rare Books, *Huangchao yitong yudi quantu* 皇朝壹统輿地全圖 [Complete Map of the Unified Qing Empire], Inv. no. 14998 <https://www.crouchrarebooks.com/maps/longitude-and-latitude-on-a-map-of-the-qing-empire>.



Figs 3 and 4: The northern part of Zhili Province showing the Great Wall and the prime meridian running through Beijing on the MARKK map and in the 'Kangxi atlas'.



Figs 5 and 6: The MARKK map showing the headwaters of the River Wengjin and the Khingan Range and 'Kangxi atlas' map of Selenga showing the area north of the Khingan Range with the River Selenga and Lake Baikal.

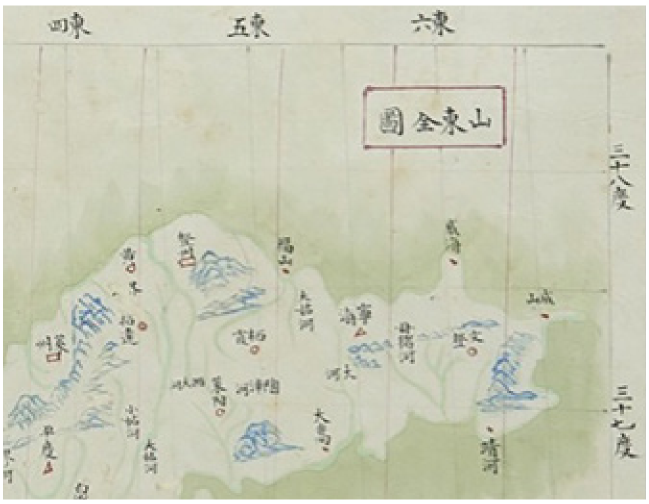


Fig. 7: Detail of Shandong Province on the MARKK map.

Fig. 8: Detail of Shandong Province in the 'Kangxi atlas' showing much more information.

Only one map shows significant details not included in the 'Kangxi atlas': a group of rocks and islands south-east of Hainan on the map of Guangdong. East of Hainan it says 七洲洋 (*qi zhou yang*, 'Ocean of Seven Islands') on the MARKK map. A number of islands are depicted that look like sharp rocks. The long, flat structure shown east of these rocks is described as 萬里長沙 (*wanli chang sha*, 'ten-thousand-mile-long sand'), which refers to shoals or an archipelago – today's Xisha Qundao 西沙群島 or Paracel Islands, called 'Changsha' in early Chinese sources.[43] (The Paracel Islands are now internationally disputed.[44]) The names of the different groups of islands changed over time. The islands are depicted in the same shape on other maps such as on the *Yu di quan tu* 輿地全圖 ('Complete Map of the Earth'), dated between 1798 and 1800,[45] but based on the original map made by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 in 1673.[46] The sharp rocks are shown in a similar way on the *Guangdong sheng ditu* 廣東省地圖 ('Map of Guangdong Province'), dated 1739.[47] The shoals and rocks south-east of Hainan are also represented on the maps showing the routes of the fleet admiral and mariner Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1435) in the military book *Wubei zhi* 武備志 ('Treatise on Military Defence'), compiled in 1621 by Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 (1594–1640).[48] Since the *wanli chang sha* 萬里長沙 is depicted in quite a number of Chinese maps, it seems logical that the author of the map wanted to add these. What is much more interesting, though, is why they are missing in the 'Kangxi atlas'.

The above statements on the visual organisation of the MARKK show these maps are closely linked to the 1717 'Kangxi atlas'. There are two possible explanations for this: the mapmaker, who had in-depth knowledge of traditional Chinese cartography, may have used the 'Kangxi atlas' as a basis for the maps. On one hand, the MARKK maps have a mathematical foundation and make consistent use of signs, while on the other – and in contrast to the 'Kangxi atlas' – they show 'aesthetic' elements and a use of colours that can be found on many Chinese manuscript maps clearly influenced by traditional landscape painting. The Chinese did not just 'copy' earlier maps blindly, but produced maps in a hybrid style. That could also have been the case here.

The other possible explanation is that the MARKK maps are contemporary with (or perhaps even pre-date) the printed 1717 'Kangxi atlas'. This may be the reason why maps that are included in the 'Kangxi atlas' are missing on the MARKK scroll or why certain maps do not show the Chinese grid lines or differ considerably from the maps in the 'Kangxi atlas', like the map of the Xing'an Ling 興安嶺 or Khingan Range. Is it possible that it was made before the measurements for the *Selengehe tu* 色楞厄河圖 ('River Selenga map') in the 'Kangxi atlas' were completed? The dating of the scroll will be discussed in the next section.

3. Dating the scroll

As Chinese historian Li Xiaocong has stated: 'for pre-1900 Chinese maps, what is most difficult to determine is the date of their production and the administrative situation of their depiction. Most maps in the Ming and Qing dynasties are without a mapping date or the name of the drawer or engraver. Many maps, including government maps, have also lost their title or have a postscript on a label stuck on the cover or verso of the map. Its date is, therefore, to be determined only by the contents of the map, […]'.[49] He suggests examining the following criteria in the maps to this end: their administrative divisions, the language used, the historical geography and the (library or museum) acquisition date.[50] However, one should bear in mind here that Chinese mapmaking focused on copying earlier maps for a long time without changing any of the details, which makes accurate dating using these parameters very difficult.

According to museum inventory documents, the MARKK scroll was purchased from a German company called J.F.G. Umlauff, Naturalienhandlung & Museum[51] in 1906. Thus, the scroll was produced before that date. Concerning its origin, the inventory reveals it was 'aus dem Kaiserlichen Palast, Peking' ('from the Imperial Palace, Beijing'). Although no provenance research has been undertaken yet, it can be speculated that the map scroll was one of the objects that were looted and sold in Beijing during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

---

43 See Talmon and Jia 2014, 178.

44 For further information on the history of the Paracel Islands and the dispute, see Chemillier-Gendreau 2000, Shen 1998 and Talmon and Jia 2014.

45 The map can be viewed online: Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71002353/>.

46 See Lin and Zhang 2013, 85.

47 See Xie and Chen 2018, 207. The map is kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. See <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b72001244>.

48 For the map, see Library of Congress, <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004633695>.

49 Li 2004, 29.

50 Li 2004, 29–31. Also see Li 1996, 18–20 and 70–74.

51 The company specialised in importing and selling natural produce and 'curiosities' from overseas and was founded in 1868 in Hamburg. See Lange 2006 for a comprehensive study on the Umlauff Company and family.

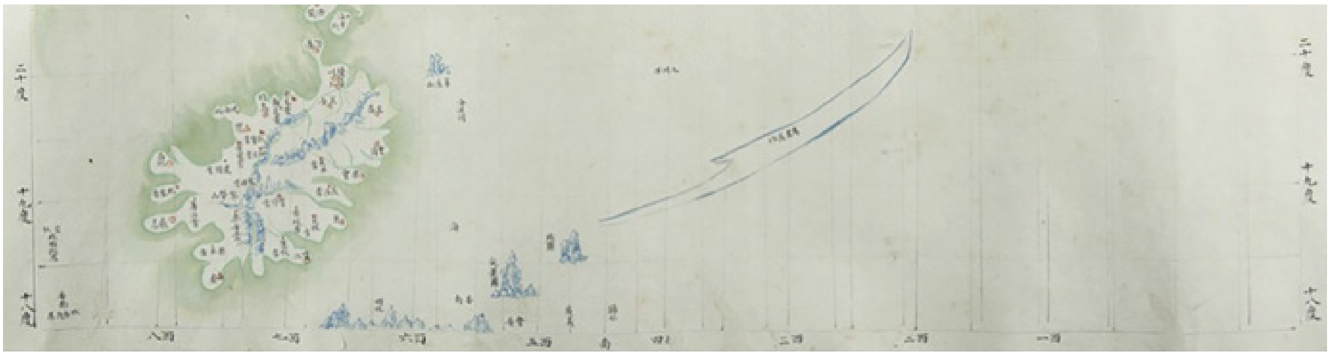


Fig. 9: Detail from the maps of Guangdong Province in the MARKK scroll.

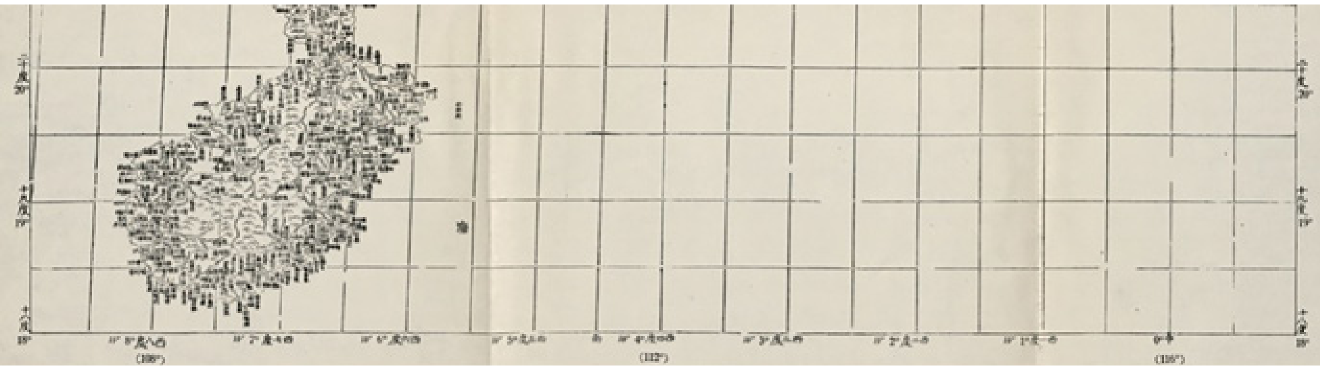


Fig. 10: Corresponding detail from the maps of Guangdong Province in the 'Kangxi atlas'.

The maps' composition and their content – the historical geography, the administrative division and administrative terms – suggest that they were made before 1723. Thus, they could possibly be one of the earliest hand-drawn drafts of the 'Kangxi atlas', which was woodblock-printed later.[52] The administrative division into the three south-western border provinces of Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou on these maps and the renaming of a prefecture in that area is a strong indication that the MARKK maps were produced before 1728. During the Yongzheng era, the territory of Sichuan was enlarged dramatically due to the expansion to Tibet, but several prefectures in the south-western part of the province were lost to Guizhou and Yunnan at the same time.[53] In this context, autonomous local chieftains or *tusi* 土司 were gradually subjugated to establish full control over the area by Han or Manchu officials.[54] The three prefectures of Wumeng 烏蒙府, Zhenxiong 鎮雄府 and Dongchuan 東川府 were located in the south-western corner of Sichuan Province until the 1720s. In 1726, Dongchuan was transferred to Yunnan, followed by Wumeng and Zhenxiong shortly after. In the ninth year of Yongzheng's reign (1731), Wumeng was renamed Zhaotong 昭通.[55] In 1728, five counties and a subprefecture including Zunyi 遵義, Tongzi 桐梓 and Huairen 懷仁 in south-eastern Sichuan were transferred to Guizhou Province.[56]

The MARKK maps clearly show the administrative division of Sichuan in the pre-Yongzheng era: the prefectures of Wumeng, Zhenxiong and Dongchuan are included in Sichuan's south-western corner. All three places names are marked by red squares. In addition, Wumeng and Zhenxiong are represented as *tu* 土 (territories ruled by autonomous local chieftains). The counties of Zunyi, Tongzi and Huairen are shown on its south-eastern corner and are marked by red circles. Wumeng is still called 'Wumeng' on the MARKK map and in the 'Yongzheng atlas' (1728)[57]. The administrative changes had not been incorporated into the

[52] The Library of Congress keeps a set of fifteen maps of the key Chinese provinces entitled *Huang yu quan lan fen sheng tu* 皇輿全覽分省圖. They are exact hand-drawn coloured copies of the 'Kangxi atlas' woodblock prints. According to the library catalogue entry, they were made between 1721 and 1722. See <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7821fm.gct00232>.

[53] Dai 2009, 92 and 98.

[54] Huang 2008, 3–4.

[55] Zhou 2013, 563. Also see Shi 2005 (xia), 1882.

[56] Dai 2009, 104–106.

[57] See <https://qingmaps.org/maps/yongzheng-1728>.

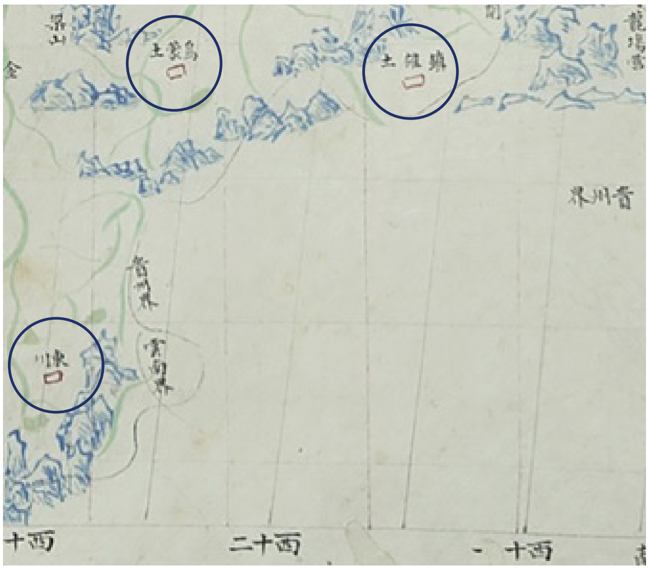


Fig. 11 : Wumeng 烏蒙土, Zhenxiong 鎮雄土 and Dongchuan 東川 on the MARKK maps, all places still located in Sichuan Province.

Fig. 12: Zunyi 遵義, Tongzi 桐梓 and Huairen 懷仁 on the MARKK maps, all places still located in Sichuan Province.

Fig. 13: Wumeng shown as 烏蒙土 on the MARKK map of Sichuan.

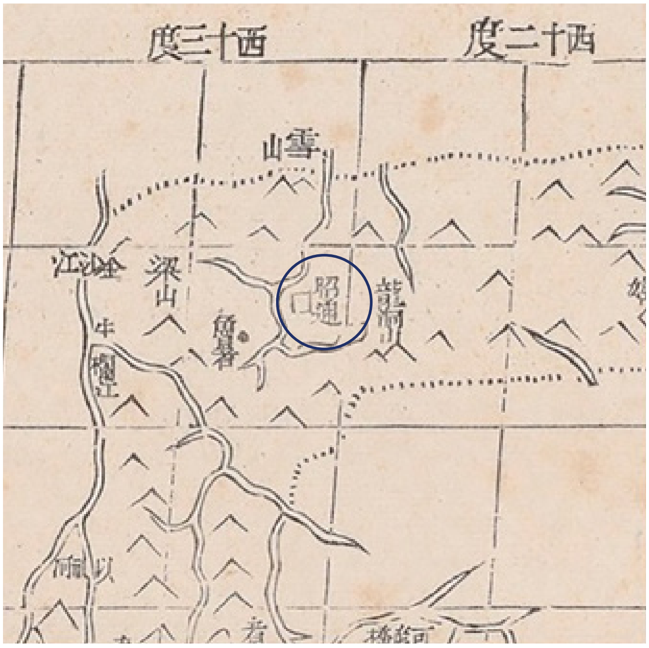


Fig. 14 (right): Wumeng renamed as Zhaotong 昭通 on a map of Yunnan in Zhang Zongjing's atlas (1808).

'Yongzheng atlas' yet, whereas they were implemented in later maps such as the Qianlong atlas (1770)[58] and the atlas entitled *Zhili gesheng yu di quan tu* 直隸各省輿地全圖, made by Zhang Zongjing 張宗京 and published in 1808,[59] which includes the renaming of Wumeng in Zhaotong. The place was not marked as *tu* territory any longer in either case.

One indication that the maps could have been produced before 1723 is the use of specific taboo characters. In China, a naming taboo existed that prevented people from speaking or writing the personal names of dynasty founders and their successors. The most rigorous enforcement of this practice was during the Qing dynasty. As a consequence, the respective characters had to be avoided. There were different ways to avoid a taboo character, such as leaving it blank, leaving out the last stroke of the character or substituting an alternative character, usually a synonym or a character for a word that sounded similar to the one being avoided. The commonest method was to change the character. As time went by, the categories of people whose names were taboo increased and the scope of the imperial name taboo was enlarged by extending it to include names with a similar pronunciation. The name taboo also concerned geographical names including taboo characters.[60] When Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 succeeded the throne in 1722, his given name, Yinzhen 胤禛, was tabooed. Not only the character *zhen* 禛 was tabooed, but other characters with a similar pronunciation were as well, such as 真.[61] Geographical names that included *zhen* 真 were renamed and 真 was replaced by *zheng* 正 (Table 3).

The 'old names' including the *zhen* 真 that was tabooed in 1723 were used for all four place names on the MARKK maps, so it is likely that the maps were made before this date.

Examinations of numerous maps of the respective places that were published after 1723 have shown that the *zhen* 真 was replaced by *zheng* 正 on all those maps.[62] The oldest maps showing the new place names, 正陽县, 正定县, 正寧县 and 正安州, date from 1728 and can be found in the Yongzheng-era atlas printed from woodblocks in 1727/28.[63]

Table 3: Overview of the places including the character *zhen* 真 in the *Tianxia yu scroll*, their new names and dates of replacement.

Old name	**New name**	**Date of name replacement**
Zhen'an Subprefecture 真安州 now Guizhou Province	Zheng'an Prefecture 正安州	second year of Yongzheng's reign (1724)
Zhending County 真定县 formerly Zhili Province (now Hebei)	Zhengding Xian 正定县.	first year of Yongzheng's reign (1723)
Zhenyang County 真陽县 now Henan Province	Zhengyang Xian 正陽县	first year of Yongzheng's reign (1723)
Zhenning 真寧县 now Gansu Province	Zhengning Xian 正寧县	before Qianlong's reign (1735)[64]

[58] See <https://qingmaps.org/maps/Qianlong-1770> .

[59] See BNF Gallica <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53103898v/f52.item>.

[60] For a brief overview on these name taboos, see Wilkinson 2018, 290–293. A comprehensive study on the topic is in Adamek 2015.

[61] Wang 2009, 397–398.

[62] See Zhang Zongjing 1808, Li Zhaoluo 1832 and Cheng Zuqing 1857, for instance.

[63] See QingMaps <https://qingmaps.org/maps/Yongzheng-1728>. Also see Cams 2017, 197–198.

[64] See Zhou 2013, 116, 244, 385 and 599; Hua, Buell and Unschuld 2017, 376–377; Shi 2005 (*shang*), 544–545; Chen 1958, 81–82.

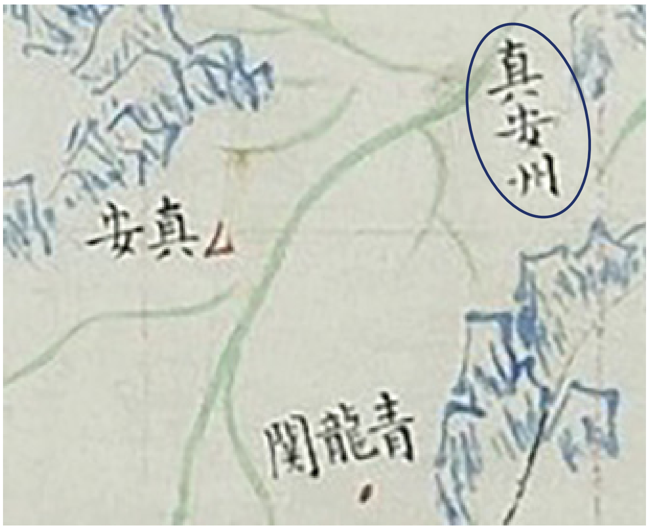


Fig. 15: Zhen'an Subprefecture 真安州 on the MARKK map.

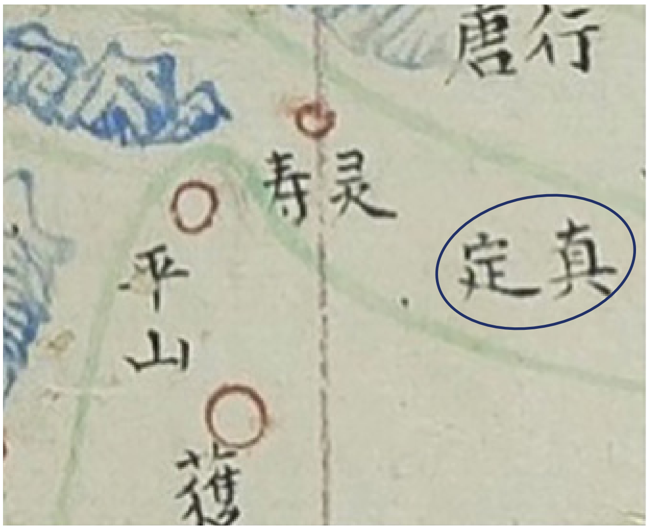


Fig. 16: Zhending County 真定县 on the MARKK map.

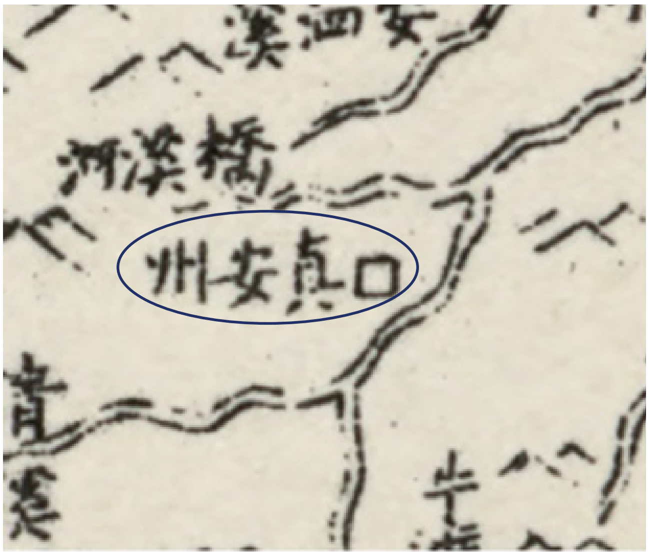


Fig. 17: Zhen'an Subprefecture 真安州 in the 'Kangxi atlas' – still including the *zhen* 真.

Fig. 18: In the 1728 'Yongzheng atlas', Zhen'an was already written with 正.

Although the use of specific taboo characters and the administrative division suggest a date of production before 1723, it cannot be ruled out that the maps were made later. According to the Sinologist Piotr Adamek, who undertook extensive research on the naming taboo in China, the tabooing practice was enforced very strictly during the reigns of Emperor Yongzheng and Emperor Qianlong. The use of taboo characters in the Imperial Workshops was therefore very unlikely during this period, which lasted until the end of the eighteenth century. Since the naming taboo was not as strict in the nineteenth century, the maps may have been made then.[65]

[65] Email correspondence on 5 February 2020; also see Adamek 2015.

4. Concluding discussion

The aim of this paper was to provide an initial description of the MARKK maps and discuss their classification among the 'Qing court atlases' as well as their dating and origin. Currently, the date when the maps were produced is still a matter of discussion; no definitive statement can be made on this issue at the moment. Unfortunately, the scroll's materiality does not give us any hints about its production date – neither an analysis of the colourants has brought this to light nor an examination of the textile materials used for the scroll's production. The wear of the material – such as the faded silk brocade – only suggests that the scroll was used extensively over a long period. Since it probably originated in the Imperial Palace in Beijing and the maps are clearly connected to the 'Qing court atlases', we can assume that they were also produced in the Imperial Workshops, probably by one of the court artists, who did not usually sign their works – indeed, as Jan Stuart has put it, 'anonymity was a fate that befell many of the court painters working quietly and loyally in the service of the ruler'.[66] We can only speculate about the purpose the maps and scroll served. The maps are closely linked to the ones in the 1717 'Kangxi atlas' and focus on specific key information. The person(s) who produced the scroll must have selected the 25 maps and the information shown on them for a specific reason. We do not know which maps the 'original' version of this set of maps contained and are therefore unable to say if any of the maps were dropped at some point. The maps in the scroll reflect the administrative divisions and terms of the time before 1723 and do not cover the whole Qing Empire. Thus, one might think they would become outdated at some point and no longer be suitable for administrative use.[67] On the other hand, many maps that were copied and reprinted in China were reproduced accurately and hardly altered at all over a considerable period of time. Long after the production of the 'Qing court atlases', numerous maps were made in the 'traditional' Chinese style, namely using the Chinese grid system (or no grid system at all) instead of latitudes and meridians.[68] This is particularly true of manuscript maps that were produced and circulated in China alongside printed maps until the early twentieth century.

Woodblock printing was a difficult and costly undertaking. Pieces of wood intended for block carving were required to be a specific size and quality. Besides the price of the wood itself, various other cost factors had to be calculated as well: cutting, transport, carving, damage, wastage and the storage of the finished products. Printed editions of maps sometimes ended up as or were even specifically produced as sources for hand copies. They were sold to professional copyists, amongst other things.[69] Unfortunately, the scroll's title, *Tianxia yutu* 天下輿圖 ('Maps of [Everything] under the Heaven'), does not hint at its date of production either. The title clearly differs from the official title of the 'Kangxi atlas', *Kangxi huang yu quan lan tu* 康熙皇輿全覽圖 ('Maps for a Complete View of the August Empire of the Kangxi Era'). Did the person(s) who produced the scroll want to distinguish the maps on it from the 'Qing court atlases', and in particular from the 'Kangxi atlas'? Or did they wish to follow the cartographic tradition of the *yu* [*di*] *tu* 輿[地]圖 maps and emphasise the *tianxia* concept? The title chosen only shows that the mapmaker was familiar with the naming concepts for maps of the Chinese Empire. As already indicated above, the MARKK maps could be contemporary with, or perhaps pre-date, the printed 'Kangxi atlas' itself because maps are included in the latter that are missing on the MARKK scroll and certain maps do not contain Chinese grid lines or differ considerably from the maps in the 'Kangxi atlas'. In his comprehensive publication on the history of the 'Kangxi atlas', Walter Fuchs mentioned several manuscript drafts for the later woodblock that was printed and copperplate engraving atlases.[70] Could the MARKK maps possibly be a set of drafts for the 1717 'Kangxi atlas' that were fixed to a scroll later? Unfortunately, the evidence currently available does not permit us to draw any firm conclusions about the date, purpose or use of the scroll and maps. Only further research will tell.

Acknowledgements

The maps were examined in a three-year joint research project called 'Coloured Maps' (2018–2021) funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). The project involved the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures and the Mineralogical Museum, the Center of Natural History (CeNak) (both at the University of Hamburg), the Hanseatic Business Archive Foundation and the Museum am Rothenbaum in Hamburg (MARKK). I would like to thank all my colleagues for their general support during the course of the project, namely Eva Jungbluth (Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures), Susanne Knödel (MARKK), Oliver Hahn (Hamburg University and the Federal Agency for Materials Research and Testing/BAM), Peter Zietlow and Jochen Schlüter (Mineralogical Museum/CeNak/University of Hamburg) and Kathrin Enzel and Benjamin van der Linde (Hanseatic Business Foundation). I also undertook an in-depth study of the MARKK maps as a guest researcher at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (MPIWG) in Berlin between 2019 and 2021. I am very grateful for the support I received there during my stay. I would also like to thank Mario Cams, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Susanne Knödel, Benjamin van der Linde, Barbara Mundy, Elke Papelitzky, David Robinson and Yang Yulei for their comments and constructive feedback on early versions of

66 Stuart 2014, 15.

67 I doubt they were used outside the capital. They were possibly produced for a member of the imperial staff or the imperial family for reference or educational purposes within the Imperial Palace.

68 See the *Tianxia zong yutu* 天下總輿圖 for example, made *c.* 1890 and showing the administrative system of the Jiaqing period (1801–1820): Library of Congress <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7821fm.gct00346>.

69 Ledyard 1994, 318 and 323.

70 Fuchs 1943, 39.

REFERENCES

Maps kept at public institutions

(All last accessed on 20 November 2023)

Cheng Zuqing 程祖慶 (1857), *Huangchao fu ting zhou xian quan tu* 皇朝府廳州縣全圖, Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505953w>.

Fuchs Walter (ed.) (1941), *Jean-Baptiste Régis and Pierre Jartoux, Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit: China und die Aussenlaender,* Peking, Verlegt bei der Katholischen Universität, Library of Congress <https://lccn.loc.gov/74650033>.

Guangdong sheng ditu 廣東省地圖, Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b72001244>.

Huang yu quan lan fen sheng tu 皇輿全覽分省圖, Library of Congress <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7821fm.gct00232>.

Li Zhaoluo 李兆洛 (1832), *Huangchao yi tong yu di quan tu* 皇朝壹統輿地全圖, Library of Congress <https://lccn.loc.gov/gm71002481>.

Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀, *Wubeizhi* 武備志, Library of Congress <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004633695>.

'Qing Imperial Cartography', on the website QingMaps, ed. by Manchu Foundation:
<https://qingmaps.org/maps/Kangxi-1721> .
<https://qingmaps.org/maps/Yongzheng-1728>.
<https://qingmaps.org/maps/Qianlong-1770>.

Yu di quan tu 輿地全图, Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71002353/>.

Zhang Zongjing 張宗京 (1808), *Zhili gesheng yu di quan tu* 直隸各省輿地全圖, Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53103898v>.

Secondary literature

Adamek, Piotr (2015), *A Good Son is Sad if He Hears the Name of His Father. The Tabooing of Names in China as a Way of Implementing Social Values*, Leeds: Maney Publishing.

Callahan, William A. (2011), 'Tianxia, Empire and the World. Chinese Visions of World-Order for the Twenty-first Century', in William A. Callahan and Elena Barabantseva (eds), *China Orders the World. Normative Soft Power and Foreign Policy*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Washington, D.C., 91–117.

Cams, Mario (2017), *Companions in Geography: East–West Collaboration in the Mapping of Qing China (c. 1685–1735)*, Leiden: Brill.

Cao Wanru, Zheng Xihuang, Huang Shengzhang, Niu Zhongxun, Ren Jincheng, Ju Deyuan (1990), *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Zhanguo – Yuan* 中国古代地图集: 战国–元, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

——, ——, ——, ——, ——, —— (1994), *Zhongguo gudai ditu ji: Ming dai* 中国古代地图集:明代, Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.

Chang Kuei-Sheng (1979), 'The Han Maps: New Light on Cartography in Classical China', *Imago Mundi*, 31: 9–17.

Chemillier-Gendreau, Monique (2000), *Sovereignty over the Paracel and Spratly Islands*, The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Chen, Yuan 陳垣 (1958), *Shihui juli* 史諱舉例, Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.

Dai, Yingcong (2009), *The Sichuan Frontier and Tibet. Imperial Strategy in the Early Qing*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Elman, Benjamin A. (2005), *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Fuchs, Walter (1943), *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit: Seine Entstehungsgeschichte nebst Namensindices für die Karten der Mandjurei, Mongolei, Ostturkestan und Tibet mit Wiedergabe der Karten in Originalgröße*, Beijing: Catholic University Press.

Gulik, Robert Hans van (1958), *Chinese Pictorial Art as Viewed by the Connoisseur: Notes on the Means and Methods of Traditional Chinese Connoisseurship of Pictorial Art, Based upon a Study of the Art of Mounting Scrolls in China and Japan*, Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

Hostetler, Laura (2001), *Qing Colonial Enterprise. Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Hua Linfu, Paul D. Buell and Paul U. Unschuld (2017), *Dictionary of the Ben cao gang mu*, Vol. 2, *Geographical and Administrative Designations*, Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Huang, Fei (2008), *Reshaping the Frontier Landscape: Dongchuan in Eighteenth-century Southwest China*, Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Jami, Catherine (2012), *The Emperor's New Mathematics: Western Learning and Imperial Authority in China during the Kangxi Reign (1622–1722)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lange, Britta (2006), *Echt. Unecht. Lebensecht*: *Menschenbilder im Umlauf*, Berlin: Kulturverlag Kadmos.

Lange, Diana (2022), 'Colour on Maps: Systems, Schemes, Codes', *Imago Mundi*, 74/1: 117–124.

—— and Oliver Hahn (2023), *Colours on East Asian Maps: Their Use and Materiality in China, Japan and Korea between mid-17th and early 20th Century*, Leiden: Brill.

Ledyard, Gari (1994), 'Cartography in Korea', in J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 2, Book 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Society*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 235–345.

Li Xiaocong 李孝聰 (1996), *Ouzhou shoucang bufen zhongwen gu ditu xulu* 欧洲收藏部分中文古地图叙录, Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe.

——, 'Survey and Study of pre-1900 Chinese Maps Seen in Europe', in Luis Saraiva (ed.), *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia II*, New Jersey et al.: World Scientific, 23–44.

Lin Tianren 林天人 and Zhang Min 張敏 (2013), *Reading Imperial Cartography: Ming-Qing Historical Maps in the Library of Congress. Huang yu sou lan: Meiguo guohui tushu guan suo cang ming qing yutu* 皇輿搜覽 – 美國國會圖書館所藏明清輿圖, Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, Taibei: Zhong yang yan jiu yuan shu wei wen hua zhong xin.

Needham, Joseph (1959), *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 3: *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pflug, Laura (2019), 'From "All Under Heaven" to "China in the World": Chinese Visual Imagination from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', in Martijn Storms, Mario Cams, Imre Josef Demhardt, and Ferjan Ormeling (eds), *Mapping Asia: Cartographic Encounters Between East and West*, Cham: Springer, 247–263.

Shen, Janming (1998), 'Territorial Aspects of the South China Sea Island Disputes', in Nordquist, Myron H. and John Norton Moore (eds), *Security Flashpoints: Oil, Islands, Sea Access, and Military Confrontation*, The Hague: Nijhoff Publishers, 139–217.

Shi Weile 史為樂 (ed.) (2005), *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian* 中国历史地名大词典, 2 vols, Beijing: Zhongguo shihui kexue chubanshe.

Stephenson, F. Richard (1994), 'Chinese and Korean Star Maps and Catalogs', in J. B. Harley and David Woodward (eds), *The History of Cartography. Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Vol. 2, Book 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 511–78.

Stuart, Jan (2014), *The Admonitions Scroll*, London: The British Museum Press.

Talmon, Stefan and Bing-Bing Jia (eds) (2014), *The South China Sea Arbitration: A Chinese Perspective*, Oxford et al.: Hart.

Theobald, Ulrich (2016), ‘tusi 土司, native chieftains’, in *ChinaKnowledge.de - An Encyclopaedia on Chinese History, Literature and Art* <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Terms/tusi.html>.

Wang Yankun 王彦坤 (2009), *Lidai bihui zihui dian* 历代避讳字汇典, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.

Wilkinson, Endymion (2018), *Chinese History: A New Manual*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Xie Guoxing 謝國興 and Chen Zongren 陳宗仁 (2018), *Reading Chinese Cartography: Historic Chinese-style Maps in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Di yu zong lan: Faguo guojia tushu guan suo cang zhongwen gu ditu* 地輿縱覽: 法國國家圖書館所藏中文古地圖, Taibei: Zhong yang yan jiu yuan Taiwan shi yan jiu suo.

Yee, Cordell (1994), ‘Traditional Chinese Cartography and the Myth of Westernization’, in J. B. Harley and David Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 2, Book 2: *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 170–202.

Zhongguo cehui kexue yan jiu yuan 中国测绘科学研究院 (1998), *Zhonghua gu ditu zhenpin xuanji* 中华古地图珍品选集, Ha’erbin: Ha’erbin ditu chubanshe.

Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴 (2013), *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi (Qing dai juan)* 中国行政区划通史(清代卷), Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: © Susanne Knödel.

Figs 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11–13, 15–16: © Museum am Rothenbaum (MARKK), Inv. no. 640:07.

Figs 4, 6, 8, 10, 17: Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/74650033/> (last accessed on 20 November 2023).

Fig. 14: Bibliothèque nationale de France <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53103898v> (last accessed on 20 November 2023).

Fig. 18: Qing Maps, Manchu Foundation <https://qingmaps.org/maps/Yongzheng-1728> (last accessed on 20 November 2023).

Article

An Anonymous Vaiṣṇava Manuscript from Tamil Nadu and the Quest for Its Author

Suganya Anandakichenin | Pondicherry and Hamburg

1. Introduction

This article deals with a single multiple-text manuscript (MTM) – from a collection that was uncatalogued when received by the present author[1] (and catalogued since then)[2] – and strives to describe it in its context and make a few hypotheses about its scribe's identity, reading practices, and so forth. The collection, which originates from around the Kalliṭaikuṟicci area not far from Tamil Nadu's border with Kerala (and which we have therefore called 'the Kalliṭaikuṟicci collection' for the sake of convenience), consists of approximately 108 bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts of various sizes, mostly written in the Tamil and Grantha scripts, the latter being used to write Sanskrit for over a millennium in what is a predominantly Tamil region. Although it clearly shows signs of Śrīvaiṣṇava influence, the collection is eclectic in nature and attests to the vast scholarship of its owners,[3] as it includes Sanskrit epics like the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*; theological and poetical works by Vedānta Deśikaṉ[4] like *Saṃkalpasūryodayam*, sometimes along with a commentary; works dealing with *vyākaraṇa* ('grammar'), *nyāya*, and *mīmāṃsā* systems of philosophy; medicine, and various other academic disciplines. The present manuscript, which we shall call KK39 here (Fig. 1), is one of a small number that are complete and very well-preserved. It includes works in Tamil and Manipravalam, a highly Sanskritised form of Tamil,[5] and may possibly include an unpublished work as well, which was presumably composed by the scribe or scholar himself. It would be enlightening to know what sort of scholar its owner was, if the scribe and scholar were one and the same person, how proficient he[6] was at the various languages involved and so forth.

2. A codicological description of KK39

This particular manuscript was chosen among the relatively large collection both for its unusual size (the leaves of all the other bundles are two to four times as long as this one's) and the diverse nature of its contents, which we shall discuss shortly.

[1] This collection of manuscripts was given to me by Prof G. Vijayavenugopalzin August 2019. He had received it from a friend in 1981, who had found it in a village near Kalliṭaikuṟicci in southern Tamil Nadu, thrown in the street when its owner died. No other information was initially available about the owners of this collection or the manuscripts' origins, except that the people were probably Brahmins who belonged to the Vaṭakalai school of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. This was corroborated by the presence of many of Vedānta Deśikaṉ's works and the mention of some *jīyars* (Śrīvaiṣṇava ascetics, often the heads of *maṭhas* ['convents']) at the Ahobila Maṭha, which is a Vaṭakalai *maṭha* (see n. 3). When the collection was catalogued and its contents analysed (see n. 4), it was found to (likely) belong to the 40th pontiff of the Ahobila Maṭha, Śrī Raṅganātha Śaṭhakopa Yatīndra Mahādeśikaṉ (1851–1923) – also known as as Kāraikuṟicci Aḻakiyaciṅkar following his hometown, Kāraikuṟicci, adjacent to Kalliṭaikuṟicci – and his family.

[2] This collection was catalogued and digitized thanks to a project funded by the British Library Endangered Archives Programme (Pilot Project 1294) supported by Arcadia, in 2021–2022. The MS in question, as well as the whole collection, can be accessed at <http://dx.doi.org/10.15130/EAP1294>.

[3] Even before examining the collection thoroughly, we could see that the Kalliṭaikuṟicci collection must have belonged to more than one owner and was no doubt part of a family library for several generations, as even a cursory glance at it reveals. As early as 2019, Giovanni Ciotti deciphered a date on one of the manuscripts, '23 January 1849', while I found the names of two *jīyars* mentioned, presumably the scribe or the owner's Ācāryas (religious teacher), Śaṭhakopa Yatīndra (d. 1879), the 33rd Āḻakiyaciṅkar (title of the pontiff of the Ahobila Matha) in the line, and Śaṭhakoparāmānuja Yatīndra (1813–1882), the 34th Aḻakiyaciṅkar, who was his successor. Both titles correspond to the *jīyars* of the Ahobila Maṭha, so it was clear that the owners were definitely disciples of the Maṭha (as we could confirm later after studying the salutations, colophons, and so forth during the cataloguing process). See n. 3. For more on the Ahobila Maṭha, see Appadurai 1981, 96–99.

[4] Deśikaṉ (approximately fourteenth century) was an important Śrīvaiṣṇava theologian, philosopher, and poet, who composed over a hundred works of different genres in various languages.

[5] The Śrīvaiṣṇava Manipravalam found in the texts of KK39 is a type of Tamil in which Sanskrit words, expressions, and quotations are used abundantly. While the practice of using this type of hybrid language began after the middle of the first millennium, it was the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the Jains who helped it thrive in the first half of the second millennium. For more on the topic, see Anandakichenin 2022.

[6] Although female scholars did exist (and they would have used palm leaves to write on as well), more often than not, male scribes and scholars easily outnumbered their female counterparts. This is why I have used the masculine form when referring to a scribe or scholar in this article.

Fig. 1: Manuscript KK39.

The leaves of KK39 seem to belong to the Talipot variety of palm trees (*Corypha umbraculifera*), which were not used for manuscripts as often as the palmyra palm leaves were (*Borassus flabellifer*).[7] This manuscript consists of 103 leaves of a rather small size (10 × 5 cm), 98 of which are inscribed with texts (and blackened with soot), mostly on both sides and apparently by the same, anonymous hand. Two holes have been pierced about halfway down from the top in order to string the leaves together, but the original cord is missing. There is a protective wooden cover at the front of the manuscript, but the rear cover is missing. As mentioned above, the bundle is in good condition and still very legible, which is unusual for manuscripts from South India, except perhaps for one leaf that has its edges chipped off, a few leaves that are cracked, and some with signs of damage caused by insects. Some of the leaves are smudged, possibly due to mould caused by humidity (Fig. 2). In a number of cases, the leaves exhibit short, natural splits, which the scribe steered clear of while writing (Fig. 3), just as he avoided the small circular area around the two holes, as the string would have tended to widen the size of the hole with time.

Folio numbers with Tamil numerals are provided on the left margin of the recto, mostly halfway down the folio, but also on top of it sometimes. The numbers begin again with every new work, although some folios have been skipped (Table 1). We do not really know if it was the scribe himself who added them or not. Suffice it to say that the numbering has a certain logic to it and the numbers are mostly inked, except for a few folios (in which we only perceive the incisions made by a stylus), which may have been added later.

KK39 does not betray any sign of the date or place of composition or of the name(s) of its scribe and/or owner. Because it is part of a larger collection in which some of the manuscripts do contain dates of completion or have clues as to their dates inscribed on them (mostly between 1750 and 1900), it may have been composed around that period too. The facts that the manuscript is relatively well-preserved and that the period when the printing press began to (progressively but decisively) replace the practice of writing manually on palm leaves was roughly the twentieth century suggest that it must indeed have been composed sometime around the end of the nineteenth century. Since the Kalliṭaikuṟicci collection was obtained from the Tirunelvēli district in Tamil Nadu and since the original owners seem to have come from the adjacent town Kāraikuṟicci, it presumably came from that area.

[7] I would like to thank Giovanni Ciotti for this piece of information.

Fig. 2: Signs of smudging.

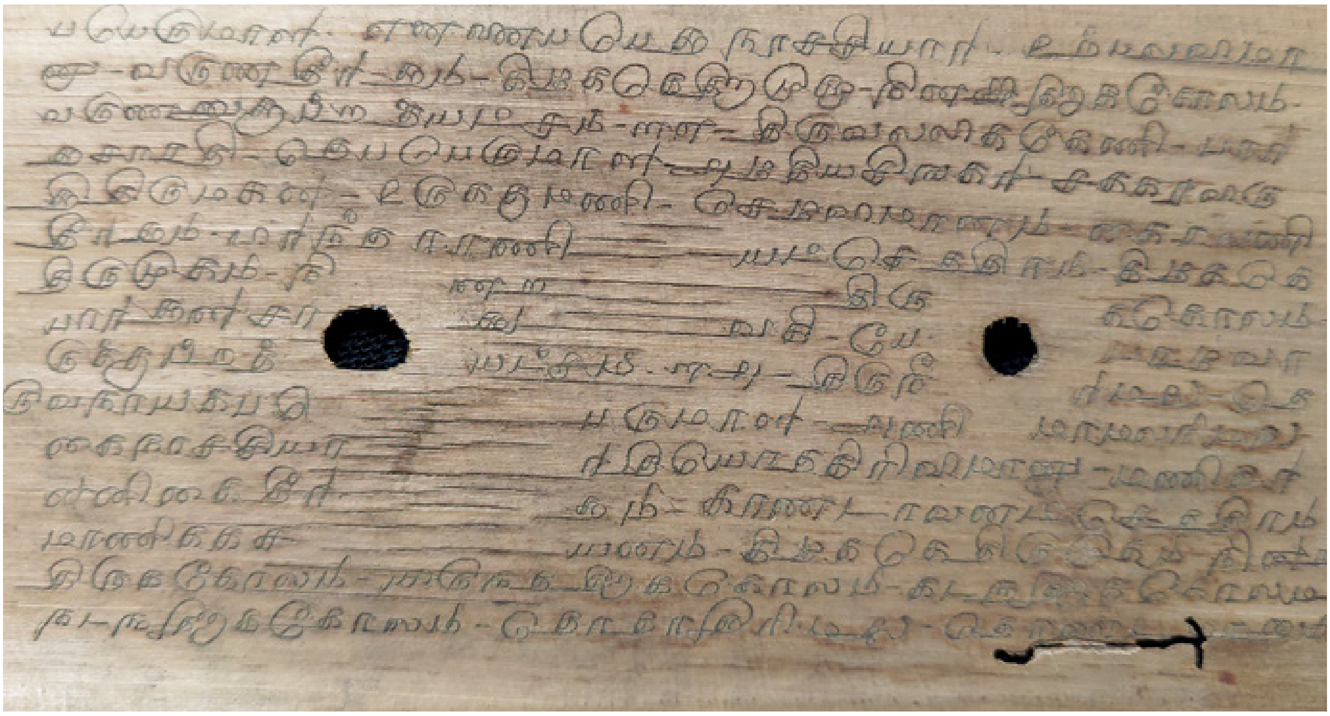


Fig. 3: Natural slits resembling incision marks.

Table 1: Foliation.

Work	Number of folios (Tamil numerals on the MS)
1	29 (1 to 58 + one blank)
2	10 (59, and then 2 to 10)[8]
3	7 (1 to 7)
4	2 (2 to 3)[9]
5	19 (2 to 20)[10]
6	2 (20 to 22)[11]
	3 blank leaves

As for the scribe, although his handwriting cannot be said to be particularly elegant, he did manage to fit as many as 15 lines into that small space, writing mostly in *scriptio continua*, although hyphens appear frequently in order to mark some kind of a break, such as the end of a sentence (e.g. on fol. 59ʳ; see Fig. 4), after a quotation (e.g. fol. 4ʳ) or even to separate a list of words, functioning like a comma (fol. 59ʳ). The other mark that makes an appearance here is what is popularly known as the *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* (உ), especially to mark the end of a work, although it was not used in a systematic manner by this scribe (Fig. 5).

As mentioned earlier on, both the Grantha and Tamil scripts are used, which we shall return to later. A cursory look reveals a few spelling mistakes (Fig. 6)[12], which the scribe sometimes corrected by crossing out a particular letter and writing the correct one beneath it or even next to the crossed-out letter if he caught himself (or someone else?) making a mistake (Fig. 7)[13].

The author, undoubtedly a Śrīvaiṣṇava, as we shall see, seems to have been a native speaker of Tamil with a working knowledge of Sanskrit and used both Tamil and Grantha, but predominantly the former. When it comes to MSS, how Sanskrit sounds and words were transcribed in Manipravalam texts largely depended on the individual scribe: while some transcribed the whole Sanskrit word in Grantha, others chose to use Grantha to render only the syllables containing sounds that Tamil does not have, like the aspirated ones. As for the scribe of KK39, he tends to Tamilise a Sanskrit word and use the Tamil script: for example, *svarūpaṅkaḷai* (Skt *svarūpa-*) is written as *corūpaṅkaḷai* (the base form of which is *corūpam*, the Tamil *tadbhava* ['derived from that', i.e. derived from Sanskrit] form of *svarūpa*) and *puṣkaraṇī* as *puṭkaraṇi*.[14] And side by side, we also find Sanskrit words transcribed in Grantha (Fig. 8).

There is an inconsistency in his choice of script, however, as it is hard to say why one was used and not the other. The word *svarūpa* is written in Grantha four times, for example, but it appears in the Sanskrit *tadbhava* form (*corūpa*) the fifth time, as pointed out earlier. It seems that the scribe only goes back to his Tamil mode when his attention wavers.[15] Similarly, his spelling the Sanskrit-derived word *maṅgalāśā**sa**na*[16] as *maṅkalācā**ta**ṉa* (on fol. 45ʳ) indicates that he is more at ease with Tamil than Sanskrit: while the other changes to the word are part of the normal process of rendering a Sanskrit word in Tamil, the transformation of *sa* into *ta* is less frequent, although not entirely unheard of.[17]

[8] The first folio of this work continues the numbering and gives 59 as its folio number, but from the following recto, the numbering starts anew from 2 (not 1).

[9] The first folio of the work is not numbered, but the following recto is numbered from 2 onwards.

[10] See n. 9.

[11] Works 5 and 6 have been numbered together and no new folio was used to begin the second work either.

[12] At times, one wonders whether it was a deliberate, personal decision to Tamilise any given Sanskrit word. For example, just like *puṣkaraṇī/puṭkaraṇi*, the scribe writes the word *śrīvaiṣṇavar* ('Śrīvaiṣṇavas') as *śrīvaiṭṇavar* (fol. 98ʳ), a community to which he would have belonged himself, which does not usually use this Tamil variant. Note the hybrid way in which the word has been written here: while *śrī* remained unchanged (with no Tamil spelling or variant preferred here), *vaiṣṇavar* became *vaiṭṇavar*, which only partially applied the Tamil rules: it turned the Sanskrit *ṣ* into *ṭ* in Tamil, regardless of the fact that *ṭ* cannot be followed by *ṇ* in Tamil without the interposition of a vowel.

[13] The words *śrīvaiṣṇaciṉṉamāṉa* inscribed here (fol. 36ᵛ) ought to have been spelt as *śrīvaiṣṇa**va**ciṉṉamāṉa* ('…that are signs of a Śrīvaiṣṇava'). As for fol. 92ᵛ, the scribe misspells *tiru**niṉṟa**vūr* as *tiru**naṉṟi**yūr* (the name of a town). The latter could have been considered a variant if the town had actually borne that alternative name, which it does not. As a matter of fact, an online search shows that no town bears the name of *tirunaṉṟiyūr*.

[14] The scribe probably began to write the name of the river as it is pronounced in Sanskrit (Kāvēri காவேரி) and then erased the *kompu* sign (which would have added [ē] to the consonant preceeding it, making it *vē*) and opted instead for *vi* வி, which produced the word Kāviri (காவிரி), its Tamil variant.

[15] Note that while he writes *puruṣā**rtha*** as *puruṣā**rttha*** (a common practice of rendering *rtha*), he switches to the entirely Tamil way of spelling *rtha* with the word ***artta**pañcakam* (instead of ***artha**pañcakam* or even ***arttha**pañcakam*).

[16] 'Invocation of blessings by great persons', *Madras Tamil Lexicon*.

[17] For more on this topic, see Emeneau 1953, 106–107.

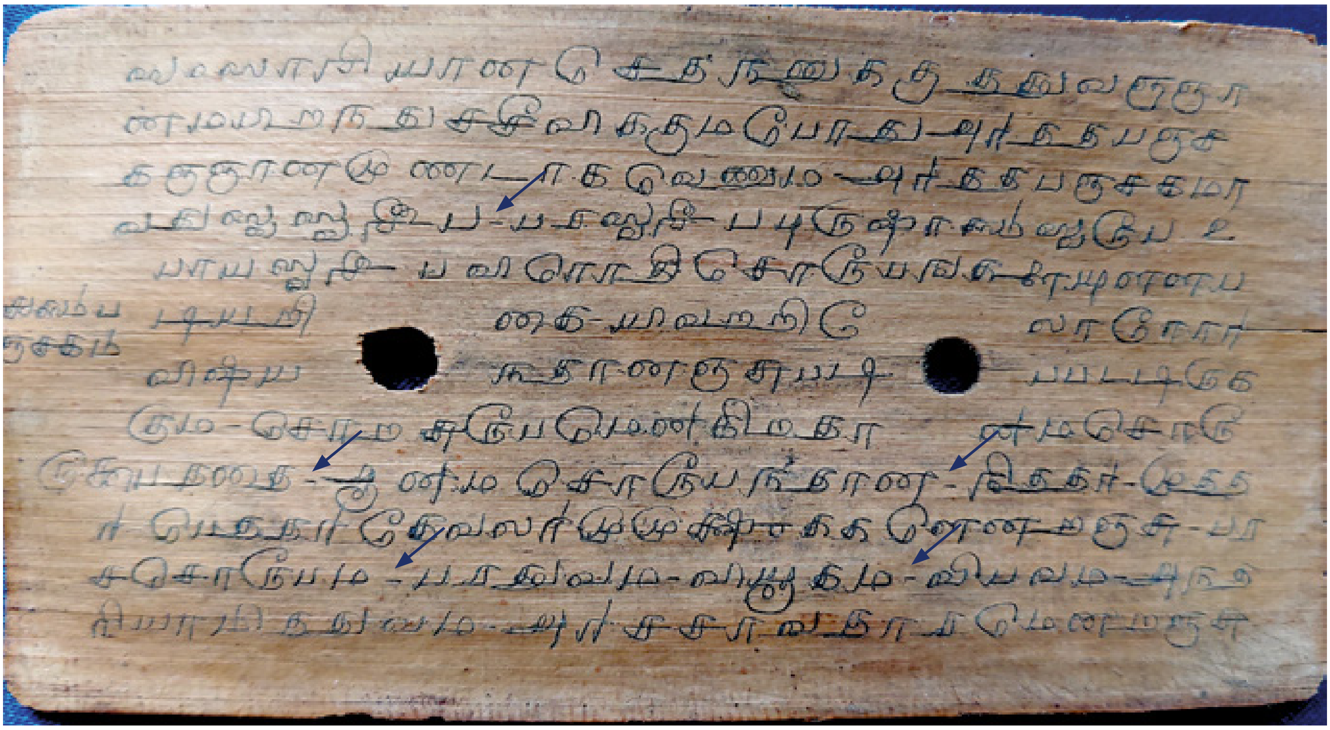


Fig. 4: Punctuation after a quotation (see blue arrows), fol. 59[r] .

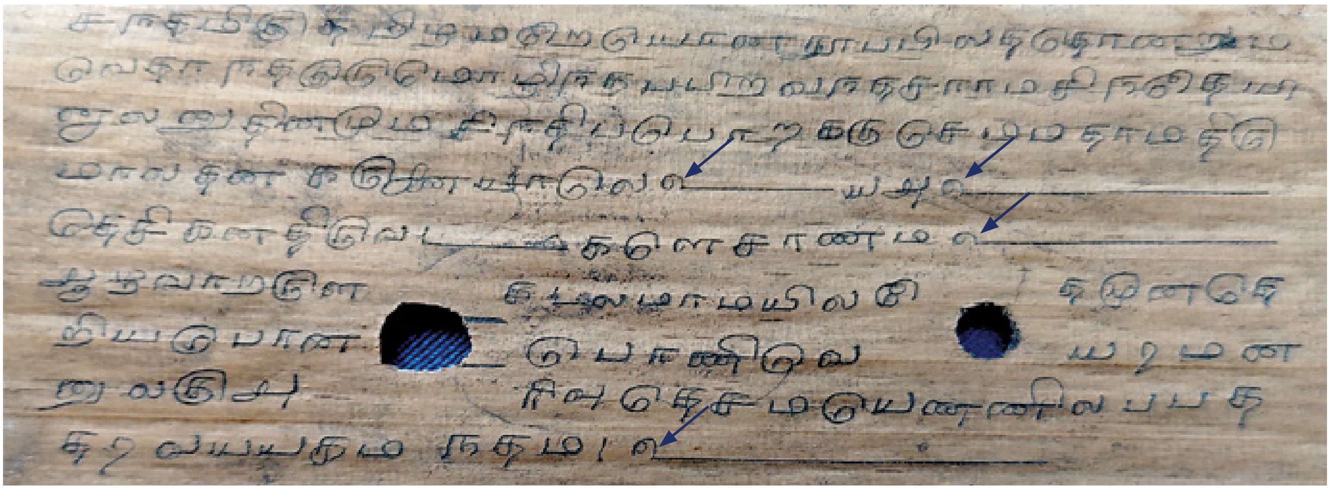


Fig. 5: *piḷḷaiyār cuḻi* marking the end of the text (see blue arrows).

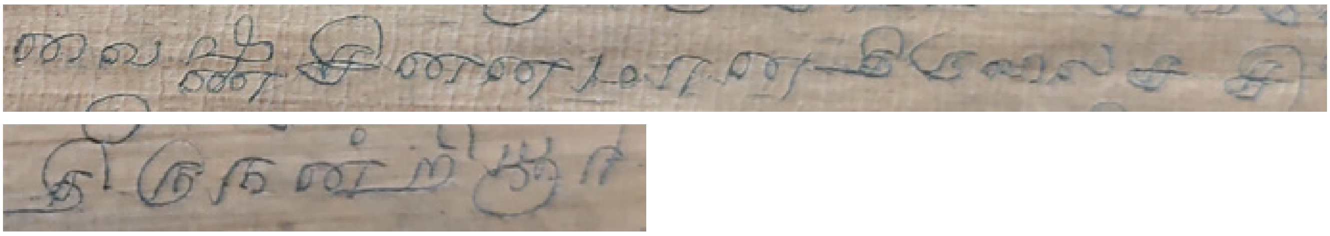


Fig. 6: Spelling mistakes, fols 36[v] and 92[v].

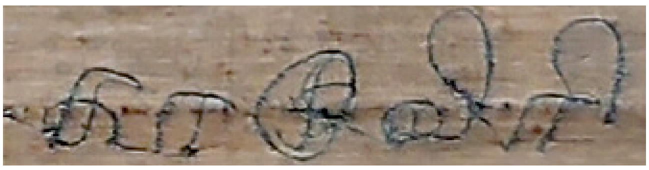


Fig. 7: Self-correction.

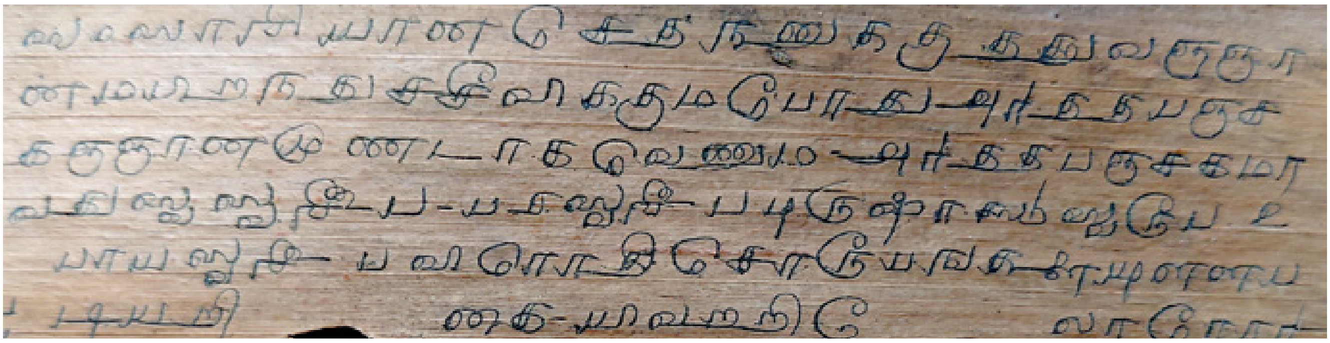


Fig. 8: The use of the Tamil and Grantha scripts (words in Sanskrit are underlined and the words or syllables for which the scribe used Grantha letters are in bold), fol. 1^{r}: ***saṃsāri**yāṉa cetana**na**ṉukku tattuvaññāṉam piṟant' uccīvikkum pōtu arttapañcakaññāṉam uṇṭākac vēṇum. arttapañcakam āvatu **svasvarūpa-parasvarūpa**puruṣ**ārttha svarūpa** upāya**svarūpa** viroticorūpaṅkaḷaiy uḷḷapaṭiy aṟikai*. 'When knowledge of the realities arises in a sentient being who is a worldly being and he is saved, it is essential that the knowledge of the five topics (*arthapañcaka*) should arise. *Arthapañcaka* is knowing one's essential nature, the essential nature of the Supreme Being, the nature of the human goal, the nature of the means, and the nature of the obstacles [to achieving that goal] as they are.' (*Arthapañcakam* 1). The passage ends just before the first hole.

Also, while in general the scribe seems to prefer using Grantha for Sanskrit quotations, he uses Tamil for the rest, although he does not seem to have been very consistent, even when writing in Tamil. Let us take the use of the *kompu*[18] for example: sometimes the scribe does not mark the long *ē* and *ō* (which was actually general practice among scribes), while at other times he does, viz. by using the more modern version of *kompu* with two loops, which distinguishes the long *ē* and *ō* from the short vowels, *e* and *o* (Fig. 9). The same goes for the *puḷḷi* (the dot put over a consonant), which is not used at all in some cases and which appears like a circular dot[19] towards the end of the manuscript (Fig. 10).[20]

The lack of consistency throughout the manuscript and the fact that some of the changes (like the marked *puḷḷis*) appear towards the end of it make one wonder whether we are even dealing with a single scribe here, yet the handwriting is very similar, with some letters like *ā* in Tamil transcribed in a peculiar way throughout the manuscript. Could this possibly mean that the leaves were written on over a considerable period of time, during which the scribe's practices evolved as he experimented with different options, perhaps influenced by the changes that were taking place in the field, such as the advent of paper and then print?[21] That is certainly possible, but it is hard to say for sure.

At times, informal Tamil pronunciations creep into the scribe's way of spelling words. For example, the oral ***tu**ṭaṅki* and *kālāntara**ttule*** replace the more formal ***to**ṭaṅki* (fol. 4^{r}) and *kālāntara**ttilē*** respectively. It is rather difficult to say whether the original text (in this case by the thirteenth-century Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai) uses these forms or not, especially since Śrīvaiṣṇava Manipravalam is indeed influenced by oral language with some oral forms being preferred over their formal counterparts on more than one occasion (e.g. the informal *añcu* is sometimes preferred over the more formal *aintu* ['five']). But as far as I have seen, these oral forms found their way into printed editions,[22] while the ones mentioned above did not. Therefore, the former actually seem to characterise late Śrīvaiṣṇava Manipravalam. It thus seems to me that the scribe sometimes slips into his personal way of spelling while copying the older works.

For these reasons, it seems to me that the manuscript must be the personal copy of a scholar whose mother tongue was Tamil, a copy that was not necessarily meant to have a didactic

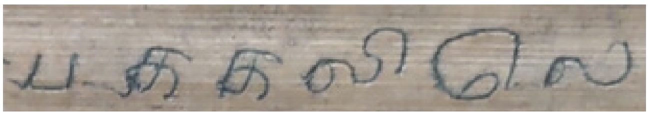
[18] 'The symbol "ெ" in certain Tamil letters', *Madras Tamil Lexicon*.

[19] Some of the issues found in Tamil manuscripts have been summarised by Wilden 2014, 39: 'The major problem of the palm-leaf notation is its ambiguity (…). To summarise briefly: the dot above the letter that marks a consonantal cluster (*puḷḷi*) is not yet in use. There is a single graph (an open *kāl*) for long *ā* and intervocalic *r*. No distinction is made between short and long *e/ē* and *o/ō* (due to the fact that the double *kompu* is not employed)'.

[20] The manuscript reads செலவநமபியாழவாரை, but the standard spelling (especially when printed or written on paper) would be செல்வநம்பியாழ்வாரை.

[21] See Wilden 2014 for more on the topic.

[22] Although hard to believe, the Śrīvaiṣṇavas claim (e.g. Velukkudi 2016, 2.1.8) that the writing of the Ācāryas is so sacred that not even a *puḷḷi* has been changed or omitted when their works are copied. If this were to be true (and reality tells a different story), then it would mean that there were fewer attempts at intentional tampering with the text. This does not rule out any spelling errors on the scribe's part. It is worth pointing out here that I have personally found variants, e.g. in the text of Vedānta Deśikaṉ's *Munivāhanabhogam*, which may have already been introduced during the transmission-via-manuscript period or later when it went to print, a transition that tended to add errors.



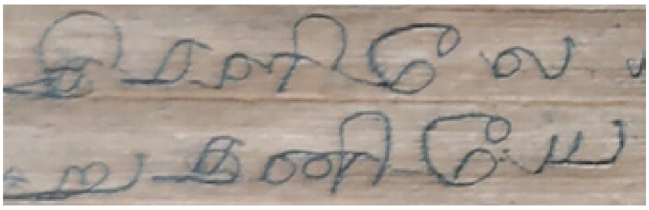


Fig. 9: The use of *kompu*, fol 31[v], left: *pakkali**le***; right: long *ē* in *tiraḷi**lē**/taṉi**yē***.

Fig. 10a: The use of *puḷḷi* (or the absence of it), fol. 4[r]: no *puḷḷi*s can be seen.[23]

Fig 10b: The use of *puḷḷi* (or the absence of it). Several circular *puḷḷis* appear.[24]

purpose nor was it intended for anyone else to read. But as Giovanni Ciotti pointed out to me in a personal communication (September 2019), what we need to take into consideration is the fact that there were no established rules as to how to spell words in Tamil Manipravalam, which explains why different scribes transcribed this language in various ways. Having said that, it must be pointed out once again that this particular scribe was not very consistent within the same paragraph, which probably means that consistency with spelling was not his greatest concern for some inexplicable reason.

3. The contents of KK39

All the works inscribed in this multiple-text manuscript are Śrīvaiṣṇava works, with the exception of the *Tiruvāciriyam*, which is still a Vaiṣṇava work[25] although it has been included in the Śrīvaiṣṇava canon now known as the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham*[26] (Table 2).

As mentioned earlier, some works in KK39 are in Tamil, while others are in Manipravalam, although the latter are definitely more prominent. The genres (marked in Table 2 in bold) it spans also differ greatly, as it includes a commentary, esoteric works, poetry, and even a list of sacred places (a kind of *aide-mémoire*). The latter, number 5, deserves a special mention among all these works. It does not seem to be a literary work proper, but rather a list of places that are sacred to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas (115 of them, in fact) and which includes – without them being labelled as such – the *divyadeśa*s (supposed to be 108 in number) and what are known as *abhimānasthala*s.[27] The list contains details of these places, like the name of the main deity (*mūlavar* or *mūlabera*), of the main goddess, the posture of the deity, the direction in which he faces, the name of the temple tank, and so forth. This seems like a personal list made for easy consultation and is very likely to be an unpublished work.[28]

---

23 The manuscript reads காசினியோர்தாம்வாழக்...

24 Owing to the short lives of palm leaves due to climactic and other factors, manuscripts made from this material needed to be copied afresh every hundred years or so on average as the old ones fell apart and were then discarded. Therefore, we cannot really know how the texts were written in those days; our knowledge of the script or spelling the scribes used is only indirect.

25 The *Tiruvāciriyam* was composed before the Śrīvaiṣṇavas (who belong to the school of Rāmānuja) saved it from oblivion and claimed it as part of their own canon. Nevertheless, as it is in praise of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa (or one of his forms), it can be called a Vaiṣṇava work.

26 As its name indicates, this is a collection of around 4,000 (*nāl āyira*) verses in Tamil written between the sixth and ninth centuries by twelve poets now known as Āḻvārs. The only poet we can date with any certainty is Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār, who probably lived around the ninth century and wrote one of the compositions transcribed in KK39.

27 These *divyadeśa*s (‘divine lands’) correspond to places named in the *Nālāyira Divya Prabandham* (henceforth, NDP). This list was made and given a name during the second millennium. The *abhimānasthala*s (‘beloved places’) are temples that were not mentioned by the Āḻvārs in their corpus, but are dear to the Śrīvaiṣṇava Ācāryas. For more on this point, see Gopalan 1972.

28 A comparison with either the earliest list of these places or with the more common lists today is beyond the scope of this article. Velukkudi 2016, 8.6.10 explains that older editions of the NDP included such a list of the *divyadeśa*s with details similar to those mentioned in this part of the KK39. A part of the manuscripts like this may therefore have been meant to accompany a copy of the NDP. The practice of including details on the *divyadeśa*s in the manuscripts along with the NDP may, in turn, have led to similar practices being adopted in the early printed editions of the work.

Table 2: Works inscribed in the manuscript and their description.

	Name/title given in the margin	Language[29]	Nature of the work/author/genre	Folios	Remarks
1	*pallāṇṭu*	MP	Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's **commentary** on the *Pallāṇṭu*[30]	116	The first few lines and the last few paragraphs of the commentary are missing
2	*artta-pañcakam*	MP	*Arthapañcakam*, one of Piḷḷai Lokācārya's ***rahasya-granthas*** ('esoteric treatises')	19	The last few words of the work are missing due to the manuscript being damaged a little along the edge
3	Not named	T	*Pirapantacāram* (also spelt as *Prabandhasāram*), a **set of verses** by Vedānta Deśikaṉ	13	–
4	*tiruvācariyam*	T	*Tiruvāciriyam* (**poem**) by Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār	15	–
5	*arccāvatāra-vipavam tiruppatikaḷ*	T	A detailed **list of the places** that are sacred to the Śrīvaiṣṇavas	22	–
6	Not named	T	*Prapannaparitrāṇam*, one of Piḷḷai Lokācārya's ***rahasya-granthas***	4	–
7	*navarattiṉa-mālai*	T	*Navarattiṉamālai* (also spelt as *Navaratnamālai*), one of Piḷḷai Lokācārya's ***rahasya-granthas***	189 pp with text	No gap between the previous work and this one

What is more interesting than this is the fact that the manuscript includes works from what later became two rival schools within Śrīvaiṣṇavism, namely the Vaṭakalai ('northern school') and the Teṉkalai ('southern school') schools. As a matter of fact, these compositions belong to writers who were retrospectively considered as leaders of those schools[31] (Table 3). While theological differences may have begun to crop up within Śrīvaiṣṇavism after Rāmānuja's time (twelfth century), they were articulated in written works around the fourteenth to fifteenth century, as demonstrated by Vedānta Deśikaṉ's (fourteenth-century) criticism of Piḷḷai Lokācārya's (fourteenth-century) positions on important issues (e.g. in his *Rahasyatrayasāram*), and by Deśikaṉ being criticised in turn by Maṇavāḷa Māmuni (fifteenth century), who defended Lokācārya's views (e.g. in his commentary on Lokācārya's *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam*). The rift grew deeper and spread to non-theological fields, and a more clear-cut schism occurred during the colonial period around the eighteenth to nineteenth century, which led to conflicts between them, ranging from fisticuffs to legal cases.[32]

It is therefore interesting to see that a Vaṭakalai scribe/scholar – clearly a devout follower of his school – took pains to copy the works of a Teṉkalai Ācārya ('teacher') at a time when troubles between the two factions must have been raging. And a natural question would be: why did he do that? Is there anything else in this manuscript that could reveal his religious inclinations, if we did not know more about the collection to which this MS belonged?

[29] T = Tamil, MP = Manipravalam.

[30] This is, in fact, Piḷḷai's commentary of Periyāḻvār's first decade of the *Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi*, known as the (*Tiru*)*pallāṇṭu*.

[31] Long after they had passed on, Deśikaṉ came to be considered the leader of the Vaṭakalai school and Lokācārya that of the Teṉkalai school.

[32] I have provided a grossly simplified version of a truly complex, multi-faceted issue here that involved many people and evolved across many centuries with various socio-political and socio-economic factors playing a role in it. See Raman 2007 for more on this topic, and for more on the two different schools of Śrīvaiṣṇavism, see Mumme 1988.

Table 3: Paratextual material found in the MSS (marginalia and colophons).

	Author/work	Marginalia (other than foliation)	Colophons
1	Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, commentary on *Pallāṇṭu*	first folio: *Pallāṇṭu* (title of the work)	–
2	Lokācārya, *Arthapañcakam*	first folio: *Arttapañcakam* (title of the work)	–
3	Deśikaṉ, *Pirapanta-cāram*	–	– first folio: *cīroṉṟu tūppil* and *āraṇaṉāṉa* (*taṉiyaṉ*s[33] on Vedānta Deśikaṉ) – last folio (after the work): *tecikaṉ tiruvatikaḷē caraṇam* ('Deśikaṉ's feet are the refuge') – *aṭivaravu* (the first word of each verse of the work is given)[34]
4	Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār, *Tiruvāciriyam*	first folio: *Tiruvācariyam* (title of the work)	– first folio: *kāciṉiyōr* (*taṉiyaṉ* on Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār) + *āḻvār tiruvatikaḷē caraṇam* ('The Āḻvār's feet are the refuge') – last folio (after the work): *āḻvār tiruvatikaḷē caraṇam*
5	*arccāvatāravipavam tiruppatikaḷ*	first folio: *hariḥ om*[35] *arccāvatāravipavam tiruppatikaḷ* (descriptive title of the work)	– last folio (after the work): *cīmatē rāmāṉucāya nama* (Skt *śrīmate rāmānujāya namaḥ* 'Obeisances to Rāmānuja')
6	Lokācārya, *Prapannapari-trāṇam*	–	– last folio (before the next work starts immediately after, on the same line): *vāḻiy ulakāciriyaṉ* ('May Lokācāryar prosper') + *iruppu* ('presence')[36]
7	Lokācārya, *Navarattiṉa-mālai*	first folio: *Navarattiṉamālai* (title of the work)	– see the colophon for previous work, which could have been intended as the beginning of this work, too – last folio (after the work): *vāḻiy ulakā* + *iruppu* ('May Lokā + prosper' + 'presence')

On the one hand, the copyist has inscribed three of Lokācārya's works (2, 6, 7), but only one of Deśikaṉ's (3). On the other, Deśikaṉ's work is preceded by traditional invocations (two *taṉiyaṉ*s) and the salutation *tēcikaṉ tiruvatikaḷē caraṇam* ('Deśikaṉ's feet are the refuge') occurs at the end, both of which correspond to the practices of writing/reciting texts that were deemed sacred, especially the ones composed by Deśikaṉ himself. Now, the absence of such reverence towards Lokācārya seems glaring to me: 2 begins and ends abruptly, while 6 (with no *taṉiyaṉ* at the beginning) and 7 are clubbed together rather unceremoniously, with only *vāḻi yulakāciriyaṉ* ('May Lokācārya prosper!') separating them. The words *vāḻi yulakāciriyaṉ* mark the beginning of a *taṉiyaṉ* in praise of Piḷḷai Lokācārya, which is not quoted in full, as if the scribe cannot be bothered to. The end of 7 is even more interesting, as the same expression is used again, except that Lokācārya's name is abbreviated rather irreverently, with a '+' sign[37] indicating the abbreviation. Even though the '+' sign, almost used like 'etc.', is very common in this field, it still seems to me that cutting an Ācārya's name in half and not bothering to mention the rest of it shows a certain lack of respect towards

[33] These are self-contained invocation verses that precede the recitation of a work and were not composed by its author. For more on the *taṉiyaṉ*s, see Ananda-kichenin 2020.

[34] This is an *aide-mémoire* for those who are seeking to learn the verses by heart. It is a fairly common practice among the Śrīvaiṣṇavas to give the *aṭivaravu* in manuscripts, a practice that found its way into printed editions.

[35] This is a benediction often found in the margins at the beginning of manuscripts.

[36] This seems like a short form of *iruppu uṇṭāka* ('May there be presence'), I would like to thank Giovanni Ciotti for this information. It may mean the presence of auspiciousness, for example.

[37] I would like to thank Giovanni Ciotti once again for pointing out to me that this sign is a very common one in Tamil manuscripts, 'a placeholder for something well-known' (personal communication, September 2019).

him – either a conscious statement in itself or an unconscious slip.[38] These are, of course, my own hypotheses. It seems to me that Lokācārya's works were copied for the sake of reference here and not for any other purposes such as ritual recitation. Scholars would want to know their opponents' points of view, which explains why they would keep a copy of works that they did not revere as much as they did others (that belonged to their own school, for example).

4. Conclusions

This deceptively small manuscript is packed with rich content, ranging from early medieval Āḻvār poetry (approximately ninth century) to Deśikaṉ's fifteenth-century poetry in Tamil, from a (relatively) lengthy commentary to minor esoteric works in Manipravalam (and from two rival schools at that), not to mention what seems like a personal list of sacred places that includes an abundance of details. The lack of colophons giving personal information on the scribe and other missing details such as the date and place of composition are significant hurdles for researchers wishing to know more about the manuscript's origins (especially if the MS did not belong to an original, somewhat integral collection, which thankfully it does). However, the choice of inscribed works and the (albeit meagre) paratextual material that it contains do give us an idea about the sort of person who wrote and owned this work. It seems to me this very careful choice of including (or not including) invocations to some Ācāryas indicates that this was not a manuscript that was commissioned, but one that was written for personal use by an erudite Vaṭakalai Śrīvaiṣṇava scholar, which confirms our understanding of the identity of the owners of the Kalliṭaikuṟicci collection.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Prof. G. Vijayavenugopal from (EFEO, Pondicherry), who made the writing of this article – and potentially of many others – possible. I am also grateful to Giovanni Ciotti for his precious help, and as well as to Eva Wilden for her kind assistance. R. Narenthiran (librarian, IFP) and my mother both deserve to be mentioned here as well for giving me their long-distance help with books that I needed. This research work was undertaken within the scope of a much larger project conducted in Hamburg and Pondicherry called 'Going From Hand to Hand: Networks of Intellectual Exchange in the Tamil Learned Traditions', which was funded by the European Research Council (ERC) and involved the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Universität Hamburg, as well as the SFB 950 'Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa', which in turn is funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG).

[38] Ācāryas are revered almost as much as God in Śrīvaiṣṇavism. *Taṉiyaṉ*s invariably appear in the Teṉkalai copies of works by Lokācārya, and so do final statements of devotion.

REFERENCES

Manuscript collection

Safeguarding for Posterity Two Private Collections of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts from the Tamil Country (EAP1294), Grant holder Dr Suganya Anandakichenin, British Library, Endangered Archives Programme <http://dx.doi.org/10.15130/EAP1294> (accessed on 18 July 2024).

Primary sources

Nālāyira Divya Prabandham (NDP), ed. Ā. Kiruṣṇamācāriyar, Ceṉṉai: Kaṇēca accukkūṭam, 1935.

Pirapantacāram, *Śrīman nikamānta mahātēcikaṉ aruḷiya cillarai rahasyaṅkaḷ*, ed. Va. Na. Śrīrāma Tēcikāccārya Svāmi, 3 vols, Śrīraṅkam: Pauṇṭarīkapuram Śrīmatāṇṭavaṉ Ācramam, 1998.

Piḷḷai lokācāryar aruḷiya aṣṭādaca rahasyam, ed. S. Kiruṣṇasvāmi Ayyaṅkār, Tirucci: Śrī Sutarcaṉar ṭrasṭ & Śrīvaiṣṇavaśrī, 1987.

Secondary literature

Anandakichenin, Suganya (2020), 'The *Taṉiyaṉ*: Its Role, Evolution and Importance in the Śrīvaiṣṇava Tradition', in Eva Wilden and Suganya Anandakichenin (eds), *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanza – Paratextual Elements and Their Role in Transmission History* (Indian and Tibetan Studies, 10), Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, 395–453.

Anandakichenin, Suganya (2022), ‘Maṇipravāḷa’, in J. Long, P. Jain, R. Sherma, and M. Khanna (eds), *Hinduism and Tribal Religions: Encyclopedia of Indian Religions*, Dordrecht: Springer, 891–893.

Appadurai, Arjun (1981), *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: A South Indian Case*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buchholz, Jonas and Giovanni Ciotti (2017), ‘What a Multiple-text Manuscript Can Tell Us about the Tamil Scholarly Tradition: The Case of UVSL 589’, *manuscript cultures*, 10: 129–144.

Emeneau, Murray Barnson (1953), ‘Proto-Dravidian *c-: Toda t-’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 15/1: 98–112.

Gopalan, Lakshmipuram V. (1972), *Sri Vaishnava Divya Desams (108 Tiruppathis Sung by Azhwars), Along with a Selected List of Some Abhimana Sthalams in India*, Madras: Sri Visishtadvaitha Pracharini Sabha.

Madras Tamil Lexicon (1924–1936), publ. under the authority of the University of Madras, 6 vols, Madras: University of Madras [repr. 1938–1939].

Mumme, Patricia (1988), *The Śrīvaiṣṇava Theological Dispute: Maṇavāḷamāmuni and Vedānta Deśika*, Madras: New Era Publications.

Raman, Srilata (2007), *Self-Surrender (Prapatti) to God in Śrīvaiṣṇavism: Tamil Cats or Sanskrit Monkeys?*, New York: Routledge.

Velukkudi Krishnan (2016), *Tiruvāymoḻi īṭu muppattāṟāyirappaṭi* [CD], Chennai: Dayasindhu Associates.

Venkatachalapathy, A. R. (2015), *The Province of the Book: Scholars, Scribes and Scribblers in Colonial Tamilnadu*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.

Wilden, Eva (2014), *Manuscript, Print and Memory: Relics of the Caṅkam in Tamilnadu*, (Studies in Manuscript Cultures, 3), Berlin: De Gruyter.

Fig. 1: Lalitpur, Patan Museum, Object 772, detail: head of the *Puruṣa*.

Article

Preliminary Notes on One of the Largest Known *Puruṣa* Leporello Manuscripts Produced in Nineteenth-century Nepal

Bidur Bhattarai | Hamburg and Kathmandu

1. Introduction

From 2021 to 2023, I was conducting fieldwork in Kathmandu as part of the on-going project 'Preserving the Written Cultural Heritage of Nepal'.[1] In this context, I had the opportunity to examine a unique manuscript, which is in the possession of the Shrestha family from Bhoṭāhiṭī, Kathmandu (henceforth, the manuscript will be referred to as Shrestha manuscript). Its unique features compelled me to take notes and present some preliminary observations on it. It contains a drawing of a nude human figure in the centre that stands for the *Puruṣa*, which could be understood as an individual soul or the 'subtle body'. The drawing is inscribed with, and surrounded by, various smaller pictorial elements, symbols, and text pertaining to Hindu tantrism as well as to yogic tradition. As the manuscript lacks any specific text title and features, it is referred to here as *Puruṣa* in a generic sense of the term. Such a manuscript is an important specimen for manuscriptological, textual, cultural, religious, material and art historical studies in general, and for tantric and Yoga studies in particular.[2]

The copy of another manuscript with the title 'Illustrated Manuscript of Hindu Tantrism' displayed in a showcase of the Patan Museum, Lalitpur (object number 772; henceforth Patan manuscript), and yet another manuscript kept in the Royal Danish Library (Det Kongelige Bibliotek) (shelf-mark Nepal 02; henceforth: Copenhagen manuscript), both containing similar topics and features, have also been taken into account, and a comparison of their features is briefly discussed in the present paper.

[1] The project is based in the Kathmandu Valley and its partners include the Āśā Saphūkuthi, Kathmandu (Āśā Archives, ASK) and the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC) at Universität Hamburg.

[2] This paper aims primarily to provide a brief first-hand introduction to the above-mentioned unique manuscript, which is as yet unpublished. This initial scientific appraisal should form the basis for further analytical and comparative studies.

2. The manuscript and its features

The 19-folio paper manuscript was produced at an unknown time in the nineteenth century and is in a (vertical) leporello/ *thyāsaphū* form (literally, in Newari/Nepalbhasa: *thyā* 'fold', *saphū* 'book/manuscript'). With the following measurements, it possibly belongs to the largest (or longest) such artefacts: its length when unfolded is 466 cm, height when closed 26.4 cm, width 64 cm and thickness 2.1 cm. Never before has such a manuscript, which used this writing support and was written in Devanāgarī script, been traced to the Kathmandu Valley (Figs 2, 6–8 for overall size). Since the manuscript itself does not contain any date, the above-mentioned approximate date has been calculated using the average age of at least three generations dating back from its present owner to the grandfather; other evidence (noted below) including the manuscript's handwriting have also been considered.

The manuscript contains front and back wooden covers which appear to have been made of two pieces of wooden boards joined together (Figs 2–3). It is in good physical condition apart from some marks possibly caused by water or similar substances (for example, the first page, Figs 3–4). The reverse side of the whole manuscript is coloured yellow[3] and is blank (Fig. 8). However, the front side of the manuscript with the script and drawings (Fig. 7) is without colour. The paper seems to have been mounted on a thin cotton net to provide it with a strong support as the manuscript is rather large and weighty. The use of the net was probably necessary to prevent the manuscript or

[3] Often, materials containing poisonous elements are used as the colouring agent for the sheets that are supposed to protect manuscripts from insects etc. In this context, *haritāla* ('yellow orpiment') is reported as a traditional colouring substance, see e.g. Lienhard 1988, part 1, XVII. The colouring is also based on aspects such as (1) the traditional preservation technique or production process for manuscripts or (2) organisational and visual features for handling/studying the manuscript. If the reverse side of all manuscript sheets is coloured, readers or maintainers of such manuscripts might immediately recognize which side of the page they are handling or studying (i.e. uncoloured front side and coloured reverse side).

a page falling apart or being torn when opened – particularly at the joints or folds where it may be unable to bear its own weight. The net is visible at the corner where the paper has been slightly shredded between two layers (Fig. 9).

The text is composed in Sanskrit and contains some grammatical irregularities, but, for the sake of its originality, the transliteration is as faithful as possible in this paper.[4] Some of the mantras are written in *kūṭākṣara*, literally meaning 'heap syllable(s)' (Figs 4–10), a special set of visual configurations, in which syllables and syllable-like characters used in mantras or mantra-like elements have been written below each other, making them seem closely intertwined. Most of the textual part is written to the left and right of the symbols or pictorial elements and, at times, written directly in a section of the image. Pictorial elements and/or symbols start on the second page and appear up to the fifteenth page, whereas the first page and the last three pages remain blank. The outlines of the pictorial elements are drawn in different colours and filled in with strikingly bright colours. In some parts, in particular in the nude figure in the centre, darker hues are used for some subtle shading. Text, images and symbols start on the second page and end on the fourth to last page of the manuscript, i.e. the first and last three pages are blank (Figs 4–5).

2.1 Two similar manuscripts

On another occasion, I had the opportunity to see the copy of another manuscript in leporello form which focused on the same topic and features. Its title was 'Illustrated Manuscript of Hindu Tantrism'. It was written in Newari script and was on display in a showcase of the Patan Museum, Lalitpur (Fig. 11).[5] I was immediately fascinated and took notes of some of its features for a different piece of research that I was pursuing at the time. It is a printed copy of the original Patan manuscript (which replicates its original form, size and colour) and, at first sight, looks exactly like the original. The original manuscript was not mentioned in the museum's description and presumably met some misfortune.[6] The original manuscript had been bought from an individual from Bhaktapur for the museum and exhibited in the Patan Museum. Unfortunately, the original manuscript was stolen from the museum around 2002. Luckily, it seems that Götz Hagmüller, one of the architects and exhibition designers involved in the Patan Museum project, had a digital copy with him, from which the illustrated folios were printed in leporello form and have been on display in the same place in the Patan Museum since 2008. The manuscript is not dated. As written in the museum description, the manuscript was produced in Bhaktapur in the seventeenth to eighteenth century. It comprises 54 pages and the reverse side of the pages contain a ritual text.[7] The dimensions reported by Hagmüller[8] are 200 cm length (unfolded) and 20 cm width including 21 illustrated pages. However, in 2013, the scholar Kashinath Tamot inspected and measured the printed copy of the manuscript with museum officials and recorded dimensions of 8 cm height, 24 cm width and 168 cm length (unfolded), including the same number of pages Hagmüller reported. Furthermore, no copy of the ritual text is on the reverse side of the original manuscript. Thus, both the aforementioned dimensions appear relatively small compared to the Shrestha manuscript under discussion in this paper.[9] In addition, the Patan manuscript lacks some of the symbols at the beginning (Fig. 4 and Fig. 10), pictorial elements and the opening text of the Shrestha manuscript.[10]

[4] For easier reading, these irregularities have been indicated by a *sic* (!) sign in the transliteration below.

[5] See Hagmüller 2002, 113–115, Slusser 2002, 102.

[6] Some of these details on the story of the manuscript have been based on personal communication with Kashinath Tamot (the former Head of the Central Department of Nepalbhasa, Patan, Tribhuvan University and an independent scholar working on various aspects related to Nepal and Newar studies).

[7] See Slusser 2002, 102.

[8] See Hagmüller 2002, 115.

[9] The likelihood of finding further manuscripts or *paubhā* (Skt. *paṭabhaṭṭāraka*, 'religious or traditional artwork made on a piece of cloth') or scroll paintings containing similar topics cannot be excluded, in either private or public venues in or outside the country. A paper manuscript containing a similar topic in leporello form appearing to be of a smaller size has been used as a cover image on one of the search pages for the manuscripts of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project/Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMPP/NGMCP), see online at: <https://mycms-vs04.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/sfb950/content/NGMCP/ngmcp.xml> (accessed 15 February 2024). No further information about the manuscript such as its place or dimensions has been recorded. Visibly, the manuscript page does not include symbols and other features found in the manuscript presented here, in the Patan museum and Copenhagen manuscripts. A *paubhā* painting dated to NS 926 (1806 CE) containing a similar topic is featured in the exhibition catalogue as Cat. 62 MA 5171 in Bazin 2021, 161–163, 284. The *paubhā* including other manuscripts and cultural items were exhibited from 20 October 2021 to 10 January 2022 at the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet, Paris. Its dimensions are given as 185 cm in height and 215 cm in length. This is also evidently smaller than the Shrestha manuscript. Furthermore, it does not seem to contain all of the long text units that can be found in the Shrestha manuscript. However, it should be noted that this *paubhā* includes some additional elements such as the depiction of elephants, attendants or practitioners on the bottom of the page, or framing items that cannot be found in the Shrestha manuscript. Also, the presentation of some items (e.g. the frog, snake, fish, turtle and boar) seem to be different. These are depicted on the left leg of the 'subtle body'.

[10] See below, section 7.

Furthermore, the manuscript from the Royal Danish Library, the Copenhagen manuscript,[11] largely contains the same topic and features (Figs 12–15). This manuscript is also in leporello form with the text written in Devanāgarī script, measuring 156.7 cm in length (unfolded), 23.1 cm in width and 9.8 cm in height when folded. Thus, the Copenhagen manuscript is also quite small-scale compared to the Shrestha manuscript. As with the Patan manuscript, the Copenhagen manuscript lacks five symbols at the beginning and the *siṃhāsana* ('throne' or 'lion-seat') (see the symbols at the beginning in Fig. 4), as well as some other images and also the opening text of the Shrestha manuscript.[12] Compared to the Shrestha and the Patan manuscripts, the Copenhagen manuscript lacks a large part of the text. Here, some of the images' arrangement and colour application also appear to differ from one another.[13]

In the past, such a text and object would only have been for the eyes of initiated individuals as the subject matter relates to Śaiva tantric/yogic tradition. However, over the years they have become increasingly available to a more general public. Nowadays, such artefacts are even produced as a souvenir or decorative object – e.g., the Patan manuscript is available in a laminated photographic frame shaped like a 'ruler' to be hung on a wall. This informs us how the object and subject were conceived and used by local people as time has passed.

3. The Shrestha family and further information

The Shrestha manuscript was first brought to my attention by Dinesh Ram Shrestha (born VS 2016/1960 CE). He is now in his early sixties and belongs to the family who owns it. He brought this and another paper manuscript containing a text of the *Svasthānīvratakathā*[14] to the conservation lab of the on-going project in the Āśā Saphūkuthi (Āśā Archives, ASK) to have their condition inspected and to obtain specialist feedback from our team.

In the Bhoṭāhiṭī area, the Shrestha family used to run a garment business and also supplied a broad range of ingredients required in canteens. During his visit, Dinesh Ram Shrestha stated that both manuscripts have been in the family collection since his grandfather's days. His grandfather, Balram Shrestha (VS 1935–2028/1879–1972 CE), left them as part of the family inheritance, telling the family that these manuscripts were precious objects and were to be kept safe. The family has kept both manuscripts in their house ever since. Calculating an average period of three generations, i.e. present owner Dinesh Ram Shrestha, his father Kailash Ram Shrestha (VS 1977–2037/1921–1981 CE) and grandfather Balram Shrestha, the manuscript must be at least 100 years old. As it stands, the late nineteenth century seems to be the most realistic estimate for when the manuscript was produced. The *Svasthānīvratakathā* manuscript in the Shrestha family's possession, also written in Devanāgarī script, is dated to NS 956/1836 CE, and perhaps several decades older.

Bhoṭāhiṭī is close to Asan (Newari: Asaṃ, Nepālī: Asana) a local market area in the centre of Kathmandu[15] and a business hub not only for local people but also, in the past frequented by travellers from India to Tibet or the other way around on their journey. Thus, the family may well have come into contact with scholars or scribes as they passed through the area on their sojourns. Scholarly exchanges as well as all other possible activities between locals and travellers – i.e. from India, Nepal and Tibet – would have been inevitable.

During his visit, Dinesh Ram Shrestha also informed us that his family uses the manuscript of the *Svasthānīvratakathā* every year. It contains a Hindu religious text that discusses, among other things, the female deity Svasthānī and related stories. The practise of the *vrata* (Skt. 'religious observance') is still very much alive in Nepal. People observe a month-long *vrata* practise and recite and listen to the stories for the period. Every year it is carried out in the month of Māgha (January/February) of the Hindu calendar. During inspection of the manuscript, traces of worship, such as colour paste, cotton threads tied around its wooden cover and coins of rupees put inside the threads, were also noted.

4. Some preliminary notes on content and context

On the basis of textual description, symbols and motifs, the Shrestha manuscript could easily be assigned to the Śaiva tantric yoga aspect of the Indic tradition, which also encompasses the

[11] For a short description, see Buescher 2011, 211–213 and Figs 52–55.

[12] See transliteration below.

[13] See below, section 7.

[14] This manuscript has largely been written in Newari language and Devanāgarī script. It records, among other things, two dates on fol. 131^{v}. The first date is probably by the same hand as the text on other folios NS 956/1836 CE. The second date in a different hand in the line subsequently added on the same folio is VS 1895/1839 CE and the line also records the scribe to be Cakramunivajrācārya of Kvābahāla (Kwabahal), a place or monastery in the old city of Kathmandu. The former is written in Newari or a newarized version and the latter in Nepālī.

[15] On Asan market square, see e.g. Cubelic 2018.

worship of goddesses. Śiva stands as one of the primary deities of Hinduism and holds a central position within the Śaiva traditions.

Most images are accompanied by a short glossary. Almost in the middle part of the manuscript, an image of the 'subtle body' appears, which, according to Asiatic traditions, lies within the physical human body.[16] This inner body contains main energy centres, *padmas* ('lotuses') or *cakras* ('wheels'), arranged vertically (along the spine up to the head). The *cakras* are linked by *nāḍīs* ('[energy-transmitting] channels'). Two main *nāḍīs* go through the 'subtle body' from the big toes to the nostrils. They are depicted here as a red (solar) line on the right (named *piṅgalā*) and a blue (lunar) line on the left (named *īḍā*). Both channels link the *cakras* and other elements on their way upwards (Fig. 9). Each *cakra* indicates a growing stage of consciousness, beginning with the *mūlādhāracakra* (root *cakra*) at the base of the spine and ending above the head in an upside-down *sahasracakra*, symbolised by a thousand-petaled lotus. This *cakra* is the place of Śiva in his esoteric form of pure consciousness, which pervades the universe.[17] Further *cakras* can be found above the *sahasracakra*. Each of these *cakras* is presided over by a specific pair of deities.

Kuṇḍalinī Śakti ('coiled-up serpent energy', 'coiled-up female energy')[18] is often represented in the form of a serpent. It rests inactively at the lowermost *cakra* and is symbolized by a triangle and a serpent coiled-up in a vertical stroke. By arousing and uplifting her through the *cakras* to unite with Śiva through yogic practices, the tantric adept excels his or her mind and merges with the cosmic consciousness. The union is depicted here in the manuscript as goddess in red and god in white, seated in a symbolic red triangle among the lotus petals above the head. Actually, the rise of consciousness does not stop at the *sahasracakra*, the thousand-petalled lotus above the head, but continues in several further *supta*-mental ('inactive state') planes (see *cakras* with figures from the head up). They terminate in Śiva, from whom alone a mystic syllable originates. All these levels within and outside the 'subtle body' intend to depict how the various levels of consciousness and the successive stages of perfection the individual must master to gain liberation (see white petaled *cakra*) correspond with each other. The achievement of such a union requires the mastery of Kuṇḍalinī Yoga through long training under the guidance of a qualified teacher (Skt. *guru*, 'master') and involves meditation, breath control, yogic postures, recitation of mantras and mystic syllables, and sometimes perhaps a study of an esoteric manual such as the manuscript presented here.

The 'subtle body' pictured in this manuscript stands on or arises from the primeval ocean, symbolizing the depths of the unconscious stages or many underworlds. A depiction of the goddess Satvavatī seated on a lotus is featured below the body. After which the *varāha* ('boar'), one of the forms of Viṣṇu, has been drawn standing on a *matsya* ('fish'), a further form of Viṣṇu. It is lying on a turquoise-coloured background, which represents water or the ocean. Under the ocean, Vāsukī, a serpent king, has been drawn. Vāsukī is supported by the *kūrma* ('turtle'), also a form of Viṣṇu. Drawings of Ādhāra Śakti and Mahāmāya then follow before Viśvādhāra (Ādinārāyaṇa), which is connected to (or seated on) a *maṇḍuka* ('frog'). The frog is seated on a pair of oval-shaped circles, one painted white and the other yellow.

On the second page and above the white-petaled *chakra*, there is an image of a seat which represents a *siṃhāsana* ('lion-throne' or 'throne') and is glossed with *ṣaṭsiṃhāsana* ('six lion-thrones' or 'thrones'). Six symbols, two of which (the fourth and fifth from the top) can be identified as the moon and sun, are located above it. Five of these symbols are probably a depiction of *pañcabhūta*, the five eternal elements, namely *bhūmi/pṛthvī* ('earth'), *jala* ('water'), *agni* ('fire'), *vāyu* ('air'), *ākāśa* ('space').[19] Among other things, these five elements are also discussed at the beginning part of the text in the manuscript.[20]

5. The beginning of the manuscript

The text immediately begins with the phrase of speaker indication (*īśvarauvāca* [!], 'Īśvara said'), followed by six verses written in *anuṣṭubh* metre (containing a total of 32 syllables, each quarter consisting of eight syllables) on the second page. Symbols and images start to appear in the middle of the same page. The verses are written on the left (1, 3, 5) and right (2, 4, 6) sides of these elements.[21] These verses are attested in the Śaiva yogic tantric work *Śivasvarodaya* (alternatively

[16] See for example, Larson 1969, Samuel 2015.

[17] See also *Saundaryalaharī*, ed. Kuppuswami, 1991, attributed to Śaṅkarācārya.

[18] See Avalon 1974, 1 where it is understood, among others, as 'serpent power'.

[19] N.B. The *siṃhāsana* and five of six symbols in the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts have been omitted.

[20] See below, section 7.

[21] The text has been transcribed as faithfully as possible. Even the apparent scribal errors and other grammatical mistakes have not been considered here. The English translation has been slightly amended and adjusted by me. For the text and English translation, see also Rai 1980, 1–2. See Rai 1980, 1–2, verses 4, 6, 9.

Svarodaya or *Svarayoga*).[22] This text is basically a Haṭha yoga manual that belongs to the Śaiva tradition. The text takes the form of a discourse between Śiva and his consort Devī. The basic aim of *Svarodaya* is to recognize, through practising *Svarayoga*, breathing as the medium of the cosmic life force. It enables a practitioner to understand the nature of breathing and its influence on the body, as different modes lead to different types of physical, mental and spiritual actions.

īśvarauvāca(!) ||
tatvā(!) *vrahmāṇḍam*(!) *utpannaṃ tatvena parivartate* ||
tatve pralīyate devi tatvā(!) *vrahmāṇdanirṇaya*(!) || 1 ||
nirañjano nirākāye(!) *eko devo maheśvara*(!) ||
tasmādd ākāsam(!) *utpannam ākāsād*(!) vā(!) *prasaṃbhavaḥ* || 2 ||
vāyos tejas tathā cāpas tata(!) *pṛthvī samudbhavā* ||
etāni pañcatatvāni vistirṇāti(!) *ca pañcadhā* || 3 ||
tebhyo vrahmāṇḍam(!) *uttpanna*(!) *tair eva parivartate* ||
vilīyate ca tatraiva tatraiva ramate punaḥ || 4 ||
paṃcatatvamayaṃ dehaṃ paṃcatatvāni sundarī(!) ||
sūkṣmarupena vartate(!) *jñāyate tañ*(!) *ca yogibhiḥ* || 5 ||
viśvaṃ sarīram(!) *ity uktaṃ paṃcabhūtātmakaṃ punaḥ* ||
candrasūryyāgnitejobhiḥ(!) *jīvabrahmaikarūpakam* || 6 ||

Īśvara said:
O goddess! The universe originates from the elements, the elements preserve (it, and) it dissolves into the elements. It is determined by the elements.
There is one supreme Lord devoid of emotion and form, from whom the *ākāśa* (space) originated and from the *ākāśa* the *vāyu* (wind).
From the *vāyu* originated the *teja* (fire), from the *teja* the water and from that the earth. These five elements are also fivefold in detail – i.e. all together twenty-five.
The universe originated from them and it is preserved by them and the universe dissolves ultimately into these elements and stays again in this state.
O (my) beauty, the body is full of the five elements which originate from the five elements, all these five elements reside in subtle form which Yogis know.
It is said the body is the universe which is full of the five eternal elements (and it becomes) one form of the *jīva* and *brahma* by the power of the moon, sun and fire.[23]

[22] See Rai 1980, 1–2, verses 4, 6, 9.

[23] Possibly, these refer to *iḍā*, *piṅgalā* and *suṣumṇā*. The latter is the central channel of spinal cord, one of the three main *nāḍīs*.

6. The ending of the manuscript

The manuscript ends with the figure of a *maṇḍuka* ('frog') seated on a pair of oval-shaped circles, one white and the other yellow (Fig. 5). As stated above, the last three pages in this manuscript are blank.

7. Comparison of some features in the three manuscripts

Comparing the overall dimensions of all three manuscripts, the Shrestha manuscript is clearly the largest and longest of all three. The arrangement of some images, colour application or attestations of textual units appear to differ from one another but also share some similarities with one or the other.

The diagrammatical representation of the 'subtle body' in the Shrestha manuscript is painted in faint orange creamsicle, while in the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts it is white. The hair in the Shrestha manuscript is depicted as silky, but in the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts it appears to be rather matted in the lower part. The 'subtle body' in the Shrestha manuscript has a beardless, youthful face; however, in both the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts, the figure features a moustache. Thus, the yogic *puruṣa* in the latter depictions appears to be mature compared to the Shrestha manuscript figure. Moreover, the Shrestha manuscript's yogic *puruṣa* has smaller and shorter ears, and the piercing holes in both ears are visibly smaller than those in the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts.

In the upper part on the left and right sides of the 'subtle body' in the Shrestha manuscript, five *cakras* or lotuses containing one deity or a pair of deities etc. have been depicted, but they do not appear in the Patan or the Copenhagen manuscript. Instead, four *śivaliṅga*s ('Śiva in the aniconic form of Phallus or worshiped as such') have been included in the lower and upper arms of the left hand and one *śivaliṅga* in the upper arm of the right hand in the Copenhagen manuscript. One *śivaliṅga* appears in the right chest part in the Patan manuscript. By contrast, the Shrestha manuscript contains no *śivaliṅga*s in these body parts. In the Shrestha manuscript, a white bird resembling a goose or swan has been depicted between the eyes in the 'subtle body'. It probably represents the universal soul or supreme spirit. But it is absent in both the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts.

Furthermore, the depictions of the *sahasracakra* (or *sahasrapadma*), the thousand-petaled lotus, look somewhat different in all three manuscripts. The *sahasracakra* in the Copenhagen manuscript is facing upwards and touching the hair and thus resembles an opened umbrella. On the *sahasracakra*, a triangle is depicted upon which Śiva is seated with his consort. In the Shrestha manuscript, the *sahasracakra* is facing downwards, it covers the upper part of the head and hair and resembles a knitted cap. The triangle, inside which Śiva is seated with his consort, is close to the *sahasracakra*. The triangle is decorated on the left and right with elements resembling floral or flame-like motifs. The *sahasracakra* in the Patan manuscript is also facing downwards, covering less of the head and hair than in the Shrestha manuscript. One of the points of the triangle in the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts points downwards, while in the Shrestha manuscript, one of the points of the triangle points upwards.

The Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts do not contain the *siṃhāsana* and the other five symbols presented in the Shrestha manuscript.[24] The first symbol with the somewhat straight top part and the coiled bottom area facing the left appears in all three manuscripts. However, in terms of its form, the symbol in the Shrestha manuscript looks different to those of the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts. The syllable *khaṃ* is written above this symbol in the Patan manuscript which, amongst other things, means 'space' or 'sky'.

In the Copenhagen and Patan manuscripts, a large, roughly circular field can be seen at the feet of the 'subtle body' in which various creatures appear against a dark background with a wave pattern. In the Copenhagen manuscript, among other things, boar, serpent, turtle and frog are depicted. In the Patan manuscript, in which the dark field is framed by petal-like reddish elements, a boar, serpent and turtle are visible. This dark field, which may well represent the underworlds, is absent in the Shrestha manuscript.

The depictions of frogs, serpents etc. in the Shrestha manuscript differ from the Patan and Copenhagen manuscript. In the Patan manuscript, the frog is seated on a single oval-shaped circle, half-white and half-red, while in the Copenhagen manuscript, two circles are featured, one white/greyish and the other reddish. The Shrestha manuscript, however, depicts the frog lying on a pair of oval-shaped circles – one white and the other yellow (Figs 5, 11, 13).

The serpent lying on a turtle in the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts is in a quite horizontal position with its head slightly raised and its body undulating only slightly. In contrast, the serpent in the Shrestha manuscript has twelve heads. Its tail-end in a tight coil, it raises itself up vertically and its heads curve to the left. The serpent in the Shrestha manuscript is blue, white and red. The Patan serpent is white and red, and the Copenhagen one is reddish.

The overall application of colours implemented in the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts are significantly less bright than those in the Shrestha manuscript.

The Shrestha manuscript contains long text passages not attested in either the Patan or Copenhagen manuscript, e.g. the verses at the beginning of the Shrestha manuscript are absent from both other manuscripts.[25]

Although the overall subject and patterns of particular features and/or their arrangement may overlap here and there in all three manuscripts, the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts tend to share more features with each other than the Shrestha manuscript. Thus, the Patan and Copenhagen manuscripts seem to be more closely related in terms of the transmitted features.

8. Preliminary conclusions

Although the above notes on such a unique form of manuscript are not intended as a solid and binding conclusion, it nonetheless emerges that such nineteenth-century manuscripts are crucial not only for studying the Śaiva, Śākta and yogic practise of the time, but also to obtain an impression of the culture of manuscript production in the Kathmandu Valley, which has been almost non-existent in the last decades. Furthermore, the depicted appearance of the figure, or more specifically of its face, suggests that the Shrestha manuscript may have been produced in a Buddhist setting or influenced by a workshop belonging to the Buddhist domain.

[24] See above, section 4.

[25] See above, section 4.

APPENDIX

The Shrestha manuscript

Fig. 2: The Shrestha manuscript bundle showing its overall size.

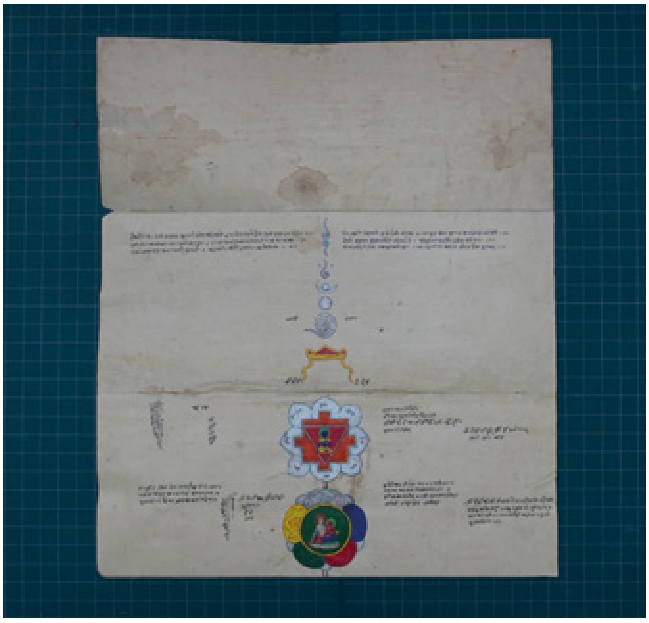


Fig. 4: Beginning part of the Shrestha manuscript.

Fig. 6: Shrestha Manuscript in semi-unfolded view.

Fig. 3: Shrestha Manuscript opening with covers.

Fig. 5: End part of the Shrestha manuscript.

Fig. 7: Front side of Shrestha manuscript in fully unfolded view.

Fig. 8: Reverse side of the Shrestha manuscript in fully unfolded view.

Fig. 9: Shrestha manuscript, torn at one of the folds and showing what appears to be a cotton net, or a net of a similar substance

Close-up view of textual and pictorial parts in the Shrestha manuscript

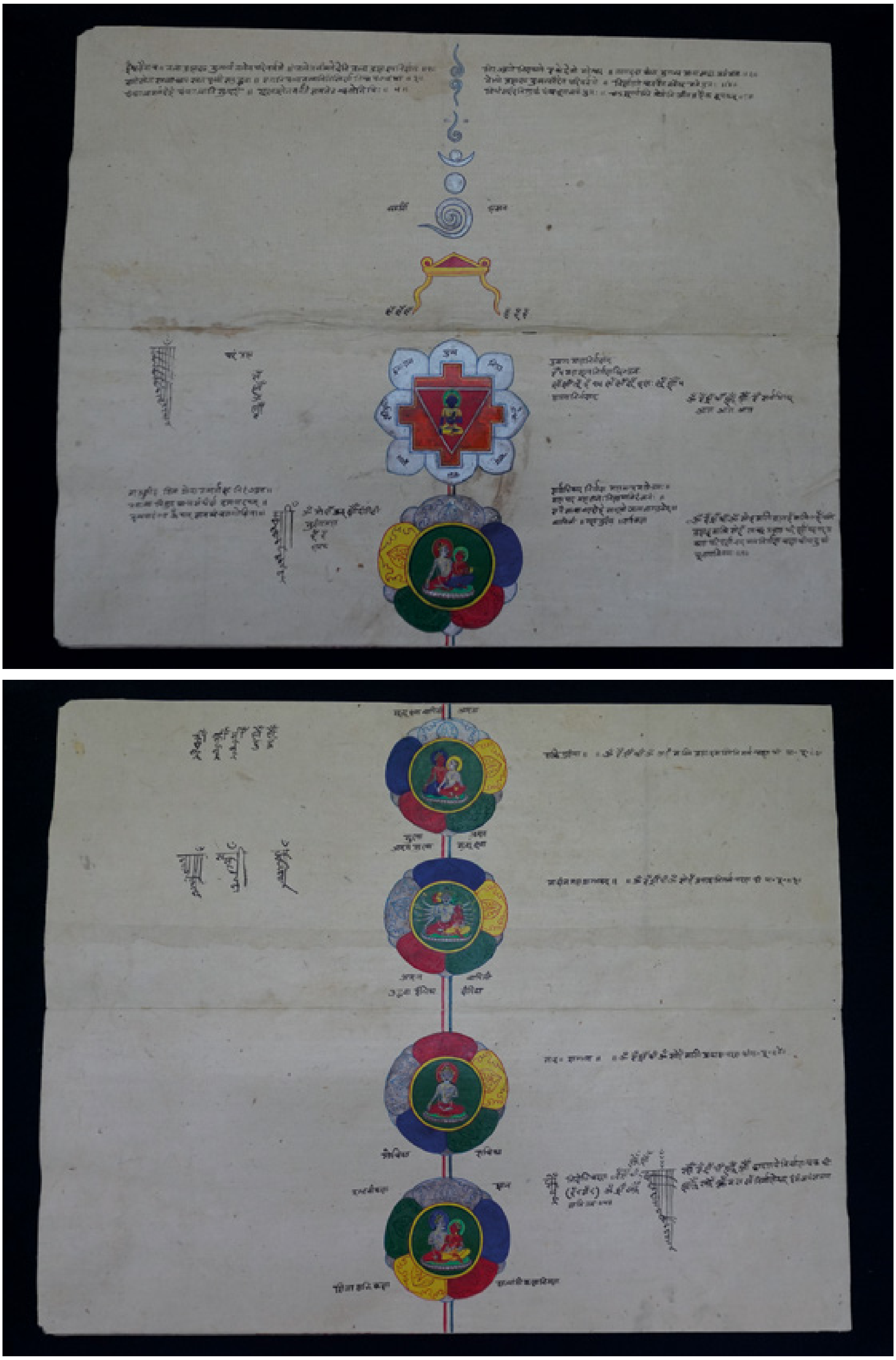


Fig. 10a: Close-up view of the Shrestha manuscript's textual and illustrative parts in correct order.

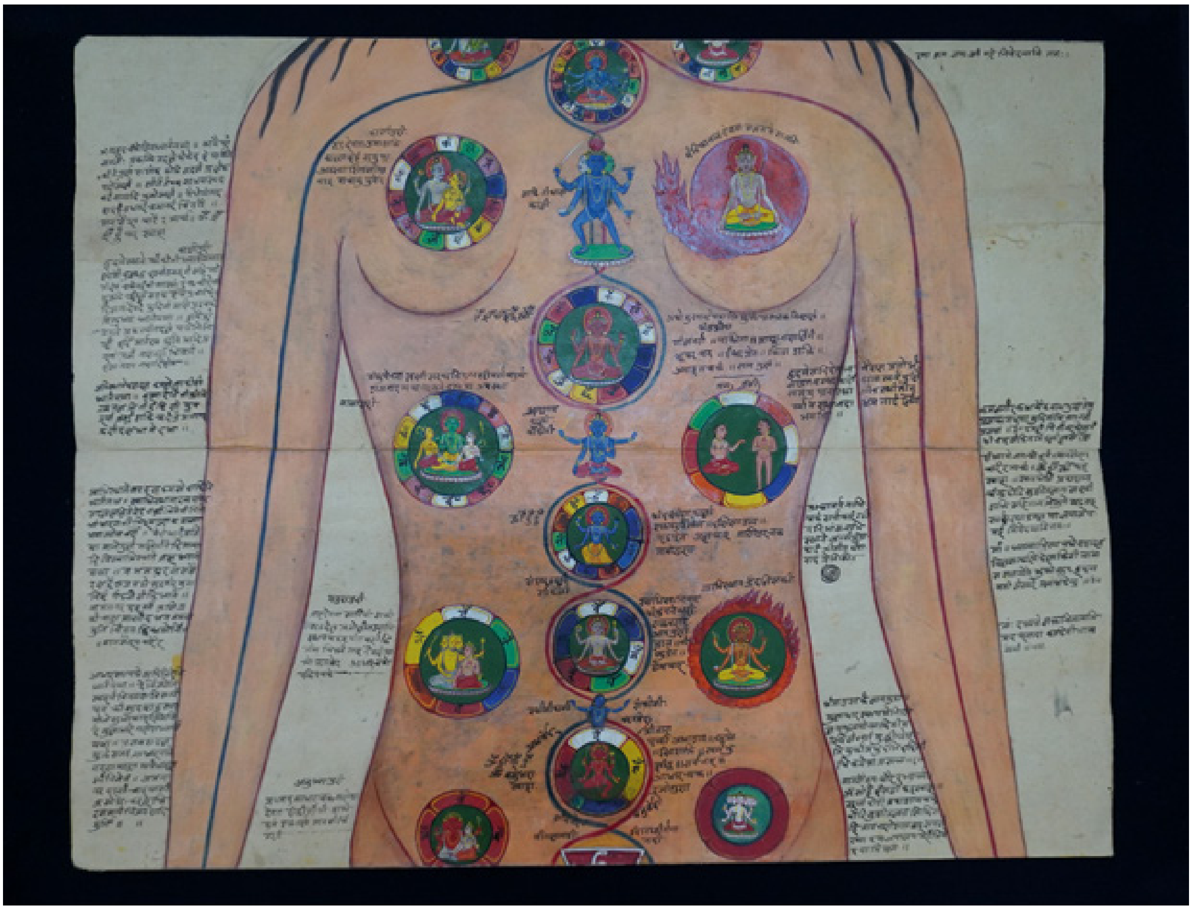


Fig. 10b: Close-up view of the Shrestha manuscript's textual and illustrative parts in correct order.

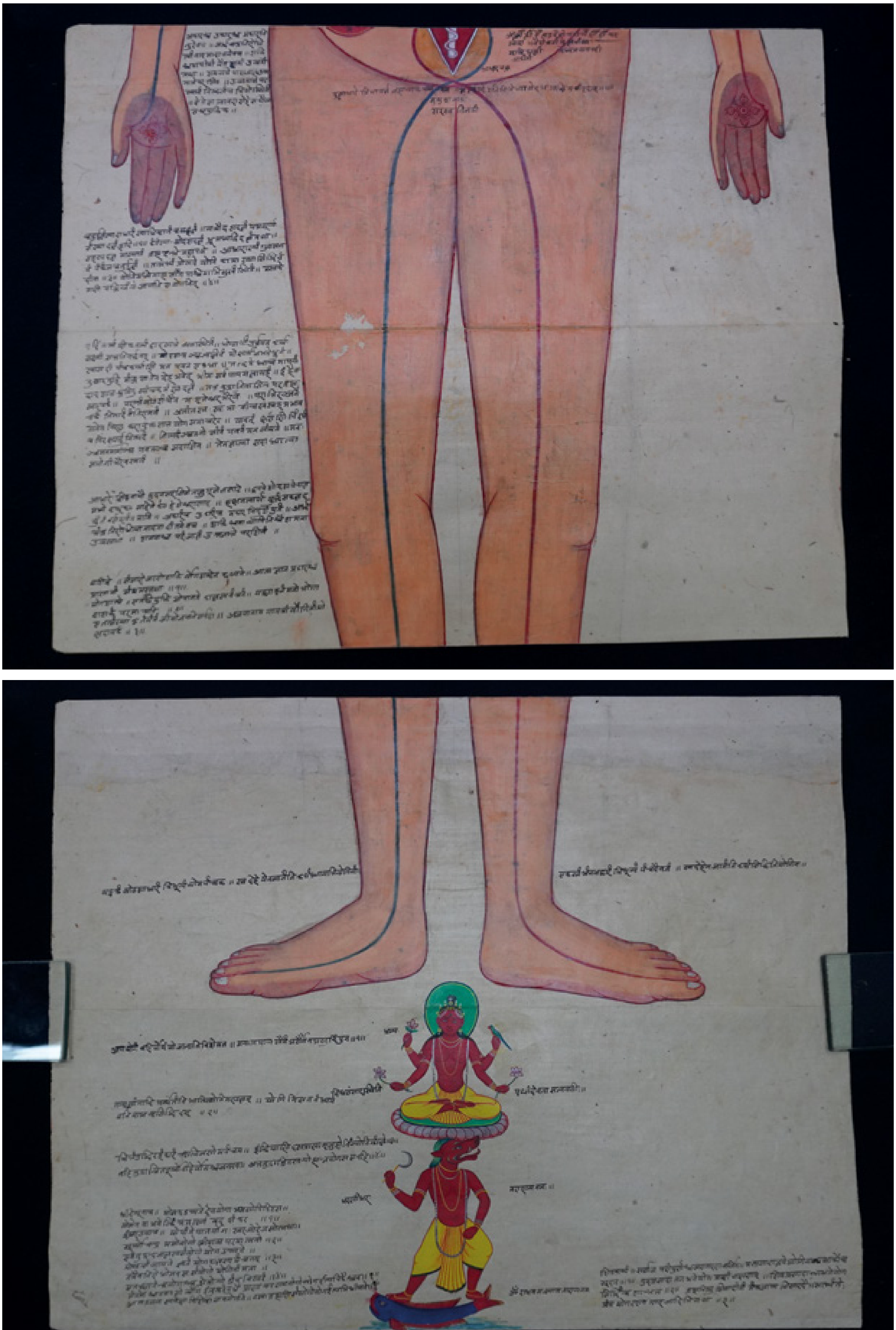


Fig. 10c: Close-up view of the Shrestha manuscript's textual and illustrative parts in correct order.

Fig. 10d: Close-up view of the Shrestha manuscript's textual and illustrative parts in correct order.

The Patan manuscript

Fig. 11a–c: Facsimile of a leporello manuscript written in Newari script largely sharing the same topic and features as the Shrestha manuscript and bearing the title 'Illustrated Manuscript of Hindu Tantrism'. Lalitpur, Patan Museum, Object 772.

The Copenhagen manuscript

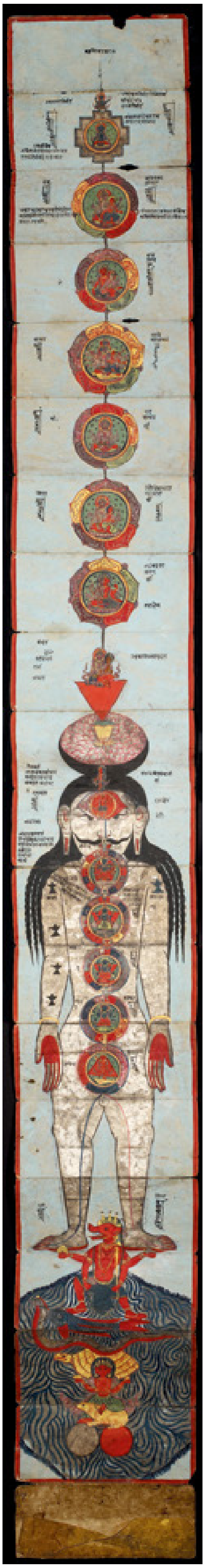


Fig. 12: Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, MS Nepal 02: complete view of the manuscript.

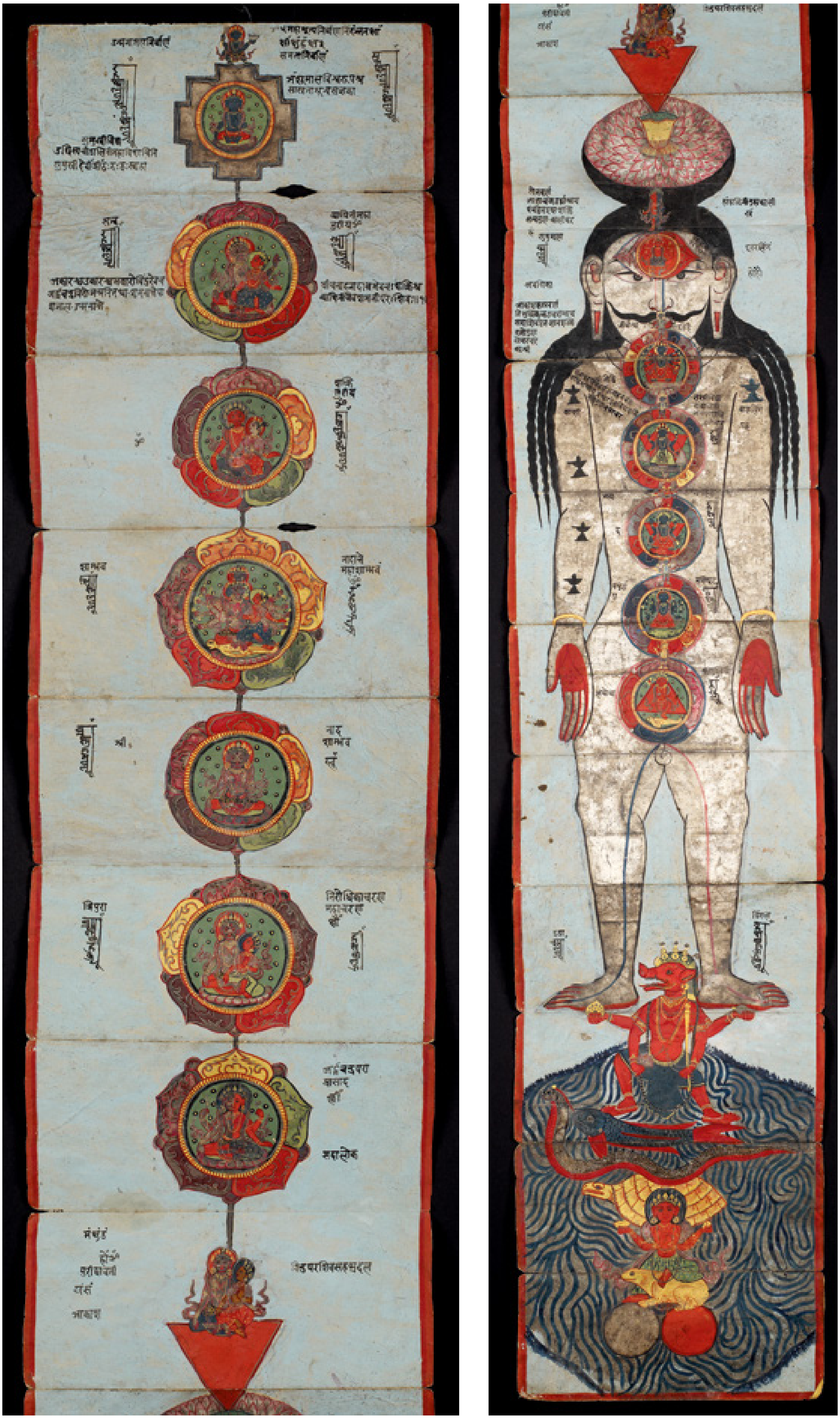


Fig. 13: Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, MS Nepal 02, viewed partly in close-up.

Fig. 14: Copenhagen, Royal Danish Library, MS Nepal 02, detail of the subtle body showing the *cacras* within the body.

Acknowledgements

This paper was written under the auspices of the 'Preserving the Written Cultural Heritage of Nepal' project supported by the German Foreign Office, the Gerda Henkel Foundation (2018–2022), and by the project '*Hidden Stories*: New Approaches to the Local and Global History of the Book of University of Toronto', in part from 2022. I would like to thank Dinesh Ram Shrestha and his family for allowing me to study the manuscript in their possession and for granting permission to take its photographs and use them in this paper. My thanks also go to Professor Dr Giovanni Ciotti, Università di Bologna, Associate Professor Dr Nirajan Kafle, Ashoka University, Kashinath Tamot, Dr Irina Wandrey, Universität Hamburg, Professor Dr Hanna Wimmer, Universität Hamburg, who went through the paper at an early stage and made invaluable suggestions. My sincere gratitude goes to Professor Dr Michael Friedrich and Professor Dr Konrad Hirschler, University of Hamburg, who have always encouraged me to work on this topic supporting me in many ways. I would also like to thank my colleague Dr Doreen Schröter, University of Hamburg, who has always restlessly taken care of all administrative tasks for the Nepal project, making this work possible for me. Also, my thanks go to Kedar Ghimire, Professor Bhim Prasad Kandel, Nepal Sanskrit University, Sharad Kasa, Pradip Rana Magar, Tej Maya Maharjan and Narayan Shrestha for being so supportive during this paper's preparation and arranging the necessary materials for the work.

REFERENCES

Avalon, Arthur [Sir John Woodroffe] (1974), *The Serpent Power: Being the Ṣaṭ-Cakra-Nirūpaṇa and Pādukā-Pañcaka, Two Works on Laya-Yoga, Translated from the Sanskrit, with Introduction and Commentary*, New York: Dover Publications.

Bazin, Nathalie (2021), *Népal: art de la vallée de Katmandou*, Gand: Snoeck Publishers.

Buescher, Hartmut (2011), *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Cubelic, Simon (2018), 'Governing Economic Life in Rāṇā Nepal: The Tender Process for the Gambling License at the Market Square of Asan in 1902', in Simon Cubelic, Axel Michaels and Astrid Zotter (eds), *Studies in Historical Documents from Nepal and India*, 293–328.

Hagmüller, Götz (2002), *Patan Museum: The Transformation of a Royal Palace*, London: Serindia Publications.

Larson, Gerald James (1969), *Classical Samkhya: An Interpretation of Its History and Meaning*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

The Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP): <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/forschung/ngmcp> (accessed 15 February 2024).

The Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), NGMCP Catalogue (SFB 950): <https://mycms-vs04.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/sfb950/content/NGMCP/ngmcp.xml> (accessed 15 February 2024).

Samuel, Geoffrey (2015), 'The Subtle Body in India and Beyond', in Geoffrey Samuel and Jay Johnson (eds), *Religion and the Subtle Body in Asia and the West: Between Mind and Body* (Routledge Studies in Asian Religion and Philosophy), London: Routledge, 33–47.

Saundaryalaharī: With […] *Different Commentaries* […], ed. A. Kuppuswami, Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1991.

Śivasvarodaya: Text with English Translation, ed. Ram Kumar Rai (Tantra Granthamālā, 1), Varanasi: Prachya Prakashan, 1980.

Slusser, Mary S. (2002), *Patan Museum Guide*, Lalitpur: The Patan Museum.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: © Patan Museum, Lalitpur, Nepal, and photography by anonymous author of Blog *36Nepal*, 28 May 2013, 'Living in Patan' <https://36nepal.wordpress.com/2013/05/28/living-in-patan/> (accessed 24 July 2024).

Figs 2–10: © Shrestha Family, Kathmandu, Nepal.

Figs 11a–c: © Patan Museum, Lalitpur, Nepal, and © Photographies by Gabe Hiemstra (License: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) <https://www.wisdomlib.org/gallery/patan-museum-nepal/6933> (accessed 24 July 2024).

Figs 12–14: © Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Contributors

Cornelius Berthold
Leuphana Universität Lüneburg
Präsidiumsbüro
Universitätsallee 1, C10.315
21335 Lüneburg, Germany

email: Cornelius.berthold@leuphana.de

Bidur Bhattarai
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)
Exzellenz-Cluster 'Understanding Written Artefacts'
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany

email: bidur.bhattarai@uni-hamburg.de

Gianmario Cattaneo
Università degli Studi del Piemonte Orientale
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici
via Galileo Ferraris 107
13100 Vercelli VC, Italy

email: gianmario_cattaneo@libero.it

Janine Droese
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscripts (CSMC)
Exzellenz-Cluster 'Understanding Written Artefacts'
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany

email: janine.droese@uni-hamburg.de

Rebecca Hirt
Universität Heidelberg
Sonderforschungsbereich 933 „Materiale Textkulturen"

email: rebecca.hirt@gs.uni-heidelberg.de

Diana Lange
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscripts (CSMC)
Exzellenz-Cluster 'Understanding Written Artefacts'
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany

email: diana.lange@uni-hamburg.de

Axel Malik
Menzelstr.10
12157 Berlin, Germany

https://axel-malik.de/
email: info@malik.de

Peera Panarut
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscripts (CSMC)
Exzellenz-Cluster 'Understanding Written Artefacts'
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany

email: peera.panarut@uni-hamburg.de

Ivana Rentsch
Universität Hamburg
Institut für Historische Musikwissenschaft
Neue Rabenstr. 13
20354 Hamburg, Germany

Centre for the Study of Manuscripts (CSMC)
Exzellenz-Cluster 'Understanding Written Artefacts'
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany

email: ivana.rentsch@uni-hamburg.de

Martin Jörg Schäfer
Universität Hamburg
Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften
Fachbereich Sprache, Literatur, Medien I
Institut für Germanistik
Von-Melle-Park 6, Postfach #15
20146 Hamburg, Germany

Centre for the Study of Manuscripts (CSMC)
Exzellenz-Cluster 'Understanding Written Artefacts'
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany

email: martin.schaefer@uni-hamburg.de

Alexander Weinstock
Theater an der Ruhr
Mühlheim an der Ruhr, Germany

https://www.theater-an-der-ruhr.de/de/
email: alexander.weinstock@gmx.de

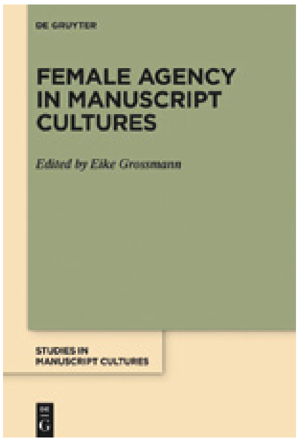
Studies in Manuscript Cultures (SMC)

Edited by Imre Galambos, Konrad Hirschler, Caroline Macé, Cécile Michel, Jörg B. Quenzer and Eva Wilden

From volume 4 onwards all volumes are available as open access books on the De Gruyther website:
https://www.degruyther.com/view/serial/43546
https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/

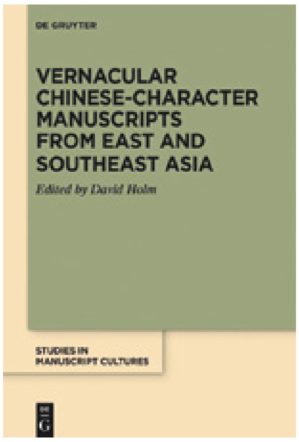
DE GRUYTER

Newly released



39 – *Female Agency in Manuscript Cultures*
Edited by Eike Grossmann

Manuscript cultures have frequently forgotten, neglected, or even erased women's contributions from memory. Women's agency has also been a glaring blind spot in the scholarly pursuit of gender perspectives on the production of written artefacts. This volume addresses these lacunae by highlighting manuscripts and inscriptions by and for women, their active participation and enabling sponsorship, and their role in the circulation and dissemination of written artefacts. Seven papers present case studies from East Asian inscriptions to ancient cuneiform epigraphic, Egyptian graffiti from late antiquity to individual specimen and large-scale collections in medieval Europe, focusing on how women participated in and contributed to those. How did they assert their involvement, their claims and their aspirations? By what rationales and mechanisms were they excluded or their contribution marginalised? How did they react to structures that discriminated against them, eventually circumventing, subverting and transforming them? The present volume sheds light on new findings, gives unique insights and discusses methodological considerations in the budding field of women's manuscript studies.



40 – *Vernacular Chinese-Character Manuscripts from East and Southeast Asia*
Edited by David Holm

This collection brings together studies on vernacular manuscripts in regional Chinese dialects such as Cantonese and Hokkien (South Fujian dialect), those of non-Han peoples in China and Southeast Asia such as the Zhuang and Yao, and a vernacular character manuscript in Vietnamese. Across this wide range, the focus is on manuscripts written in regional and vernacular adaptations of the Chinese script. Three chapters on Yao manuscripts each focus on a different aspect of their use in local society or on collections of Yao manuscripts in overseas collections; there are three chapters on Zhuang and related Tai languages; two studies on Hokkien; one on the Cantonese script in contemporary Hong Kong; and one on a Buddhist manuscript with Vietnamese *chữ nôm* commentary from a temple in Bangkok. Detailed descriptions of traditional paper manufacture in the villages are given for both the Yao and the Zhuang, as well as paper analysis used to date a Vietnamese manuscript. Coverage includes information about the physicality of the manuscripts investigated and the vernacular Chinese scripts in which they are written, but also a wealth of information about their use and significance in local society. This collection will be of interest to scholars and students interested in the philological analysis of East and Southeast Asian character scripts and manuscript traditions, but also the broader social contexts of manuscript use in traditional and modern society.

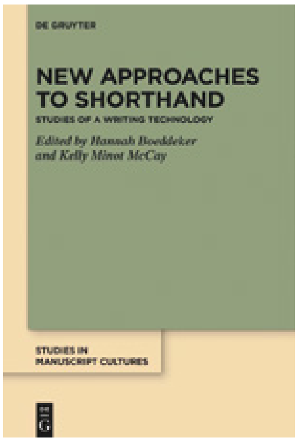
Studies in Manuscript Cultures (SMC)

Edited by Imre Galambos, Konrad Hirschler, Caroline Macé, Cécile Michel, Jörg B. Quenzer and Eva Wilden

From volume 4 onwards all volumes are available as open access books on the De Gruyther website:
https://www.degruyther.com/view/serial/43546
https://www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de/

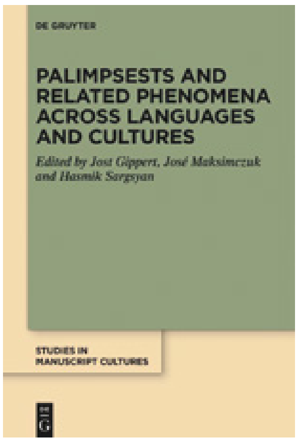
DE GRUYTER

Forthcoming



41 – *New Approaches to Shorthand: Studies of a Writing Technology*
Edited by Hannah Boeddeker and Kelly Minot McCay

Variously identified as an art, a technology, and a professional prerequisite, forms of shorthand have been in use from Antiquity to the modern day. Far from a niche corner in manuscript studies, shorthand represents an almost global phenomenon that has touched upon many aspects of everyday life and of scholarship. Due to its immediate illegibility, however, and the daunting task of decipherment, shorthand has long been neglected as a research object in its own right. The immense quantity of extant and unread shorthand manuscripts has been downplayed, as has the technology's place in cultures of learning, religious devotion, court practice, parliamentary procedure, authorial composition, corporate life, public and private writing, and the academy. As the first ever peer-reviewed volume on the subject, this book presents a much-needed introduction to shorthand, its history, and its disparate historiography, alongside eight contributions by shorthand specialists that showcase some of the many lines of inquiry that shorthand inspires across a range of disciplinary and methodological perspectives. For readers with a vested interest in shorthand, this volume provides a range of approaches to shorthand in the Latin West, from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, upon which to orient, substantiate, and inform their own work. For general readers, this publication invites scholars to consider ways in which historically overlooked or underestimated forms of writing facilitated a variety of writing cultures in different contexts, periods, and languages.



42 – *Palimpsests and Related Phenomena across Languages and Cultures*
Edited by Jost Gippert, José Maksimczuk and Hasmik Sargsyan

Palimpsests are manuscripts whose original content has been erased, scraped away, washed off and later overwritten. In their lower layers, they often contain unique versions of texts – including those otherwise lost – from Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The volume addresses palimpsesting across languages, cultures, and times, as well as up-to-date research and imaging practices applied to them and results achieved in reconstituting removed layers.

ISSN 1867–9617

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)
Universität Hamburg
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg
Germany
www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de

Universität Hamburg
DER FORSCHUNG | DER LEHRE | DER BILDUNG
CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF MANUSCRIPT CULTURES
DFG