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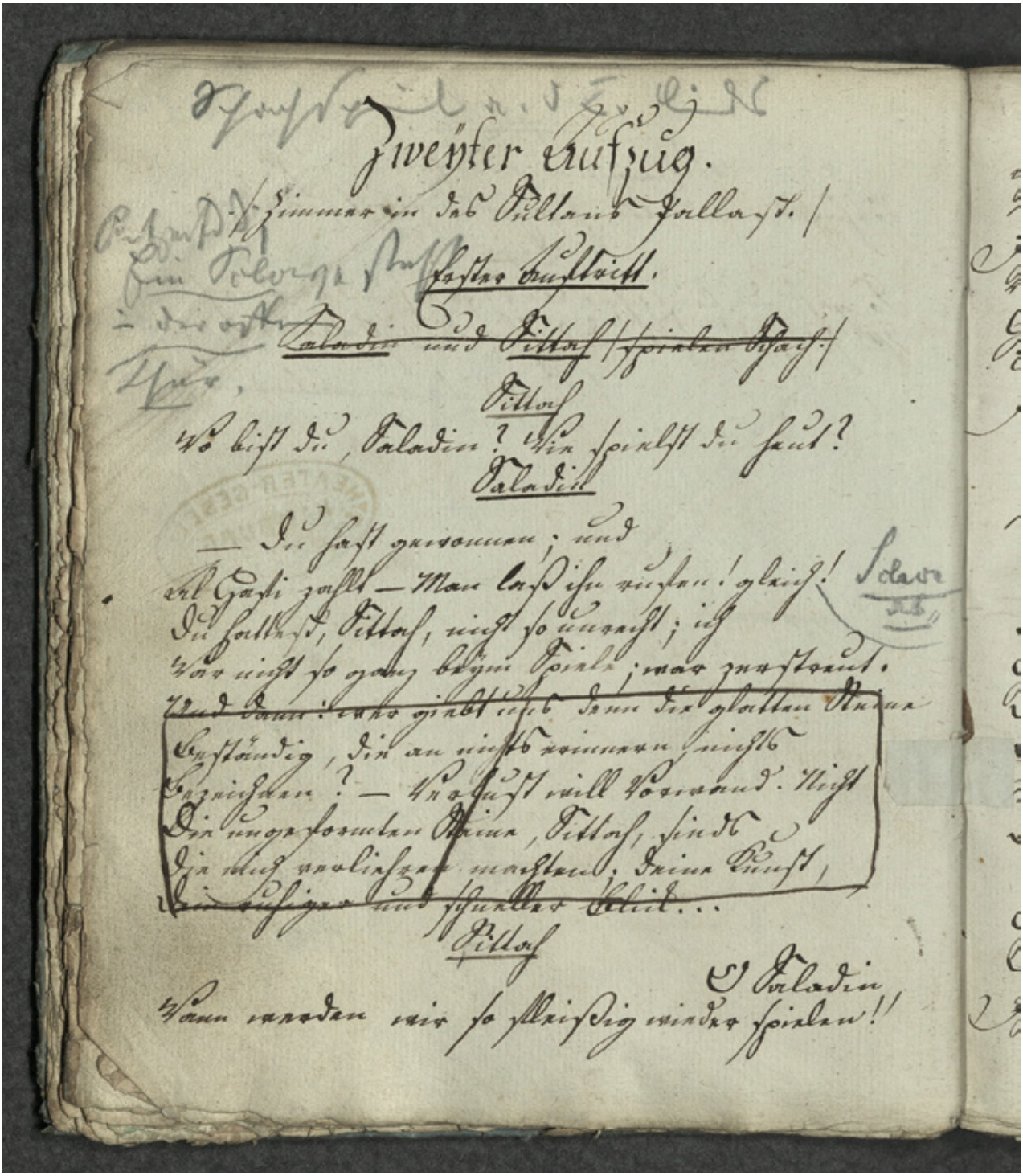

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SECTION I: MULTILAYERED WRITTEN ARTEFACTS AND THEIR INTERNAL DYNAMICS

Edited by Thies Staack, Janine Droese, and José Maksimczuk

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Hamburg, State and University Library Carl von Ossietzky, Theater-Bibliothek: 1988a, fol. 23^{v}. 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.

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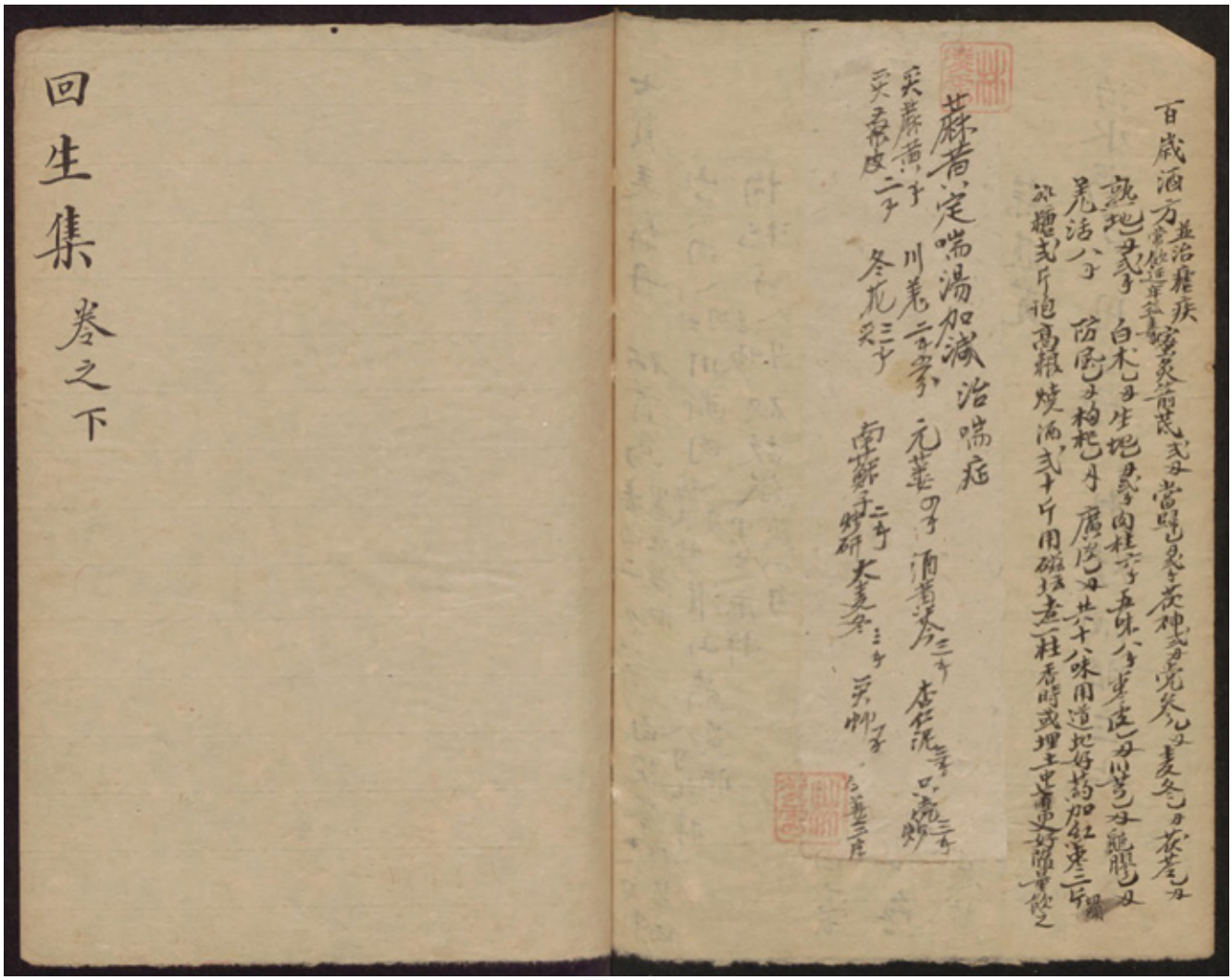

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Slg. Unschuld 8161, paper with thread binding, 18.0 × 13.0 cm, late nineteenth/early twentieth century. The multilayered manuscript contains a copy of the *Huisheng ji* 回生集 (Collection [of knowledge] to return to life), a compilation of medical 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* 麻黄定喘湯加減) 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 7r.

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.

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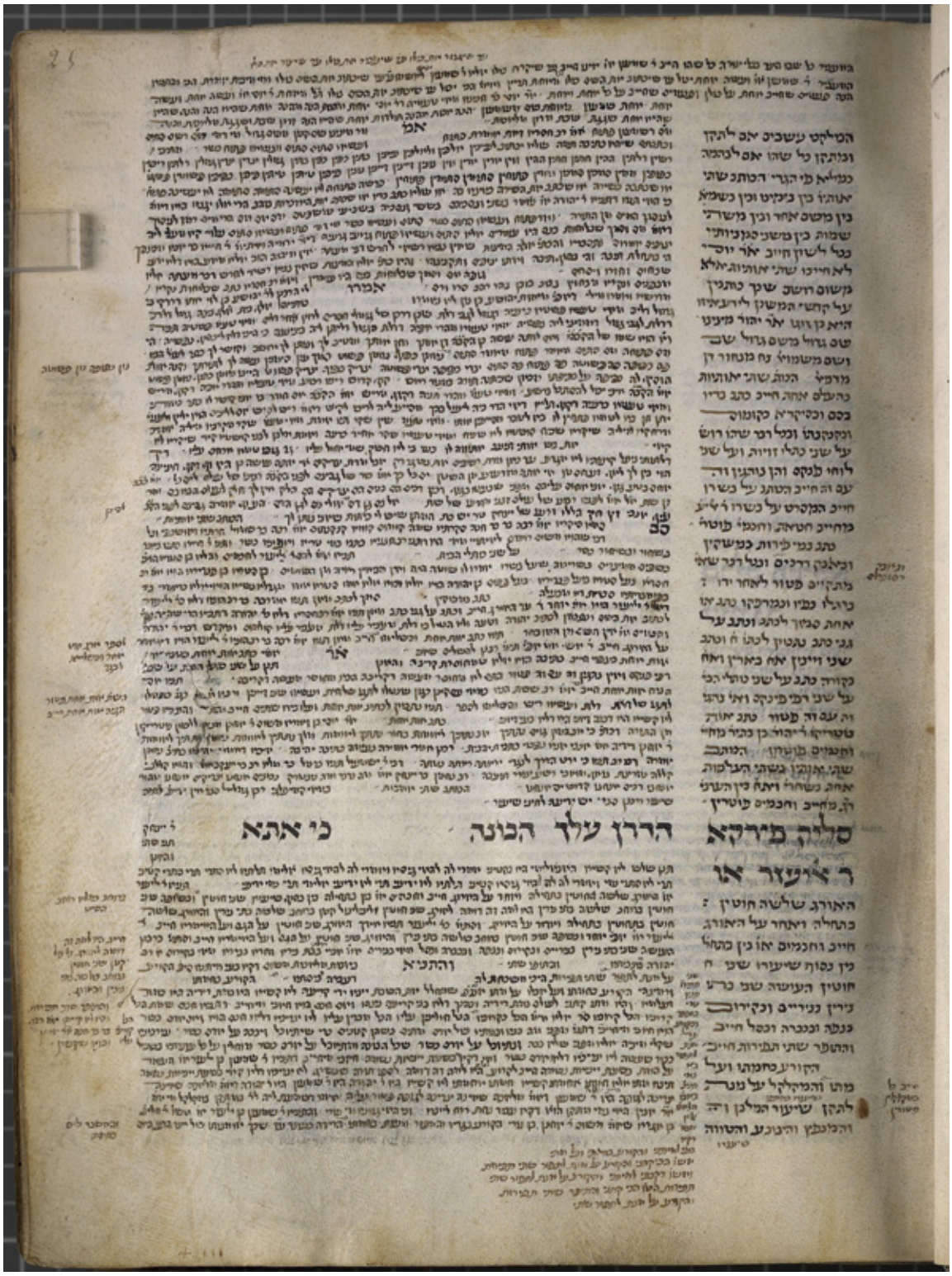

Fig. 2: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 95, parchment, 27 × 41 cm, France 1342. This medieval Hebrew manuscript is the only one known today that contains the Babylonian Talmud almost in its entirety. The Talmud consists of two texts, the *Mishna* (right-hand column in bigger script) and 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).

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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).

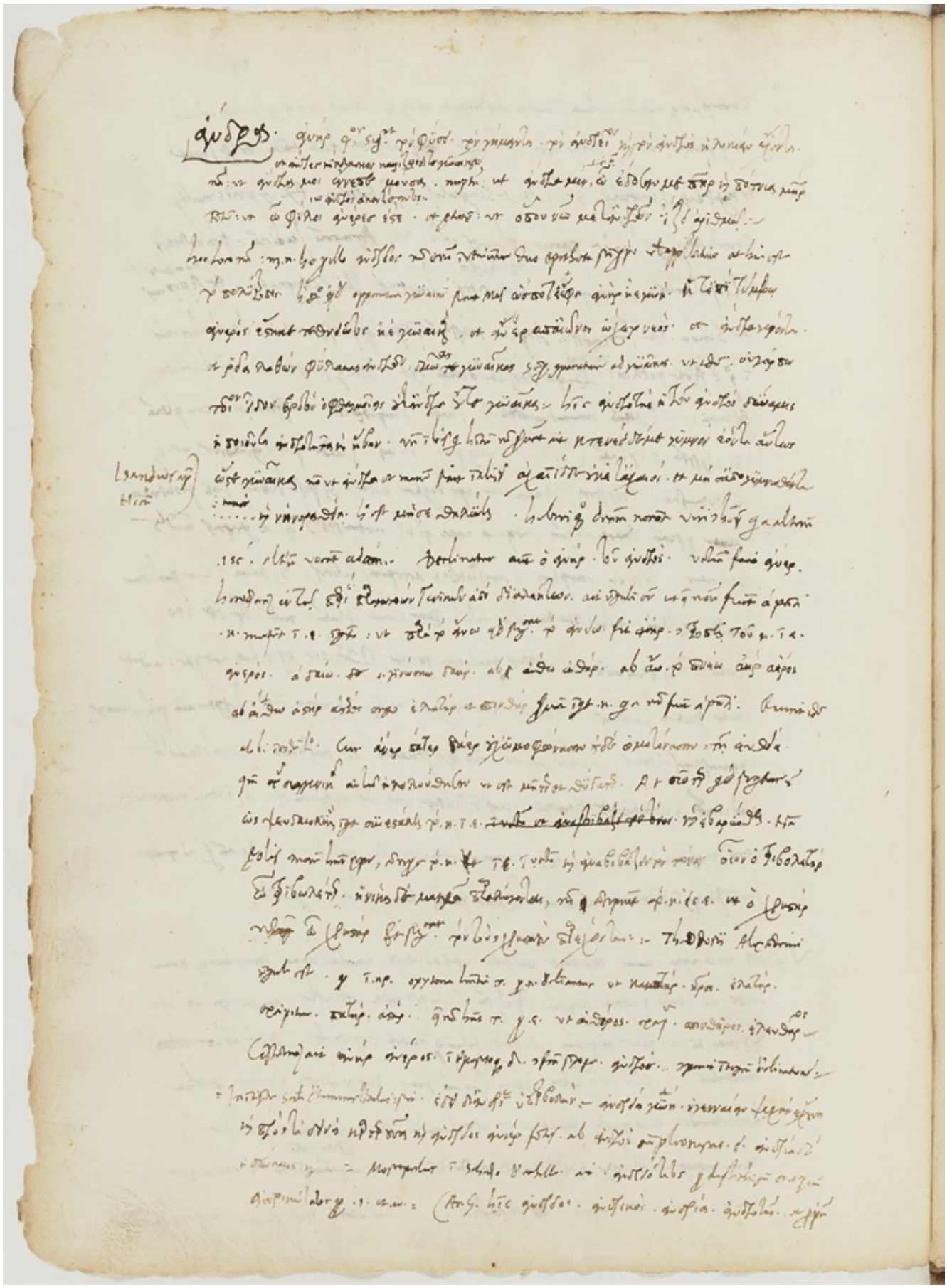

Fig. 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 3069, fol. 53ᵛ: An example from a *zibaldone*: the beginning of Poliziano's commentary on the *Odyssey*.

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. 90^{v} ('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 ἁμαδονάδων νυμφῶν, but ἁμαδονάδων 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 ἁμαδονάδων, 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, 43^{v}. 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.

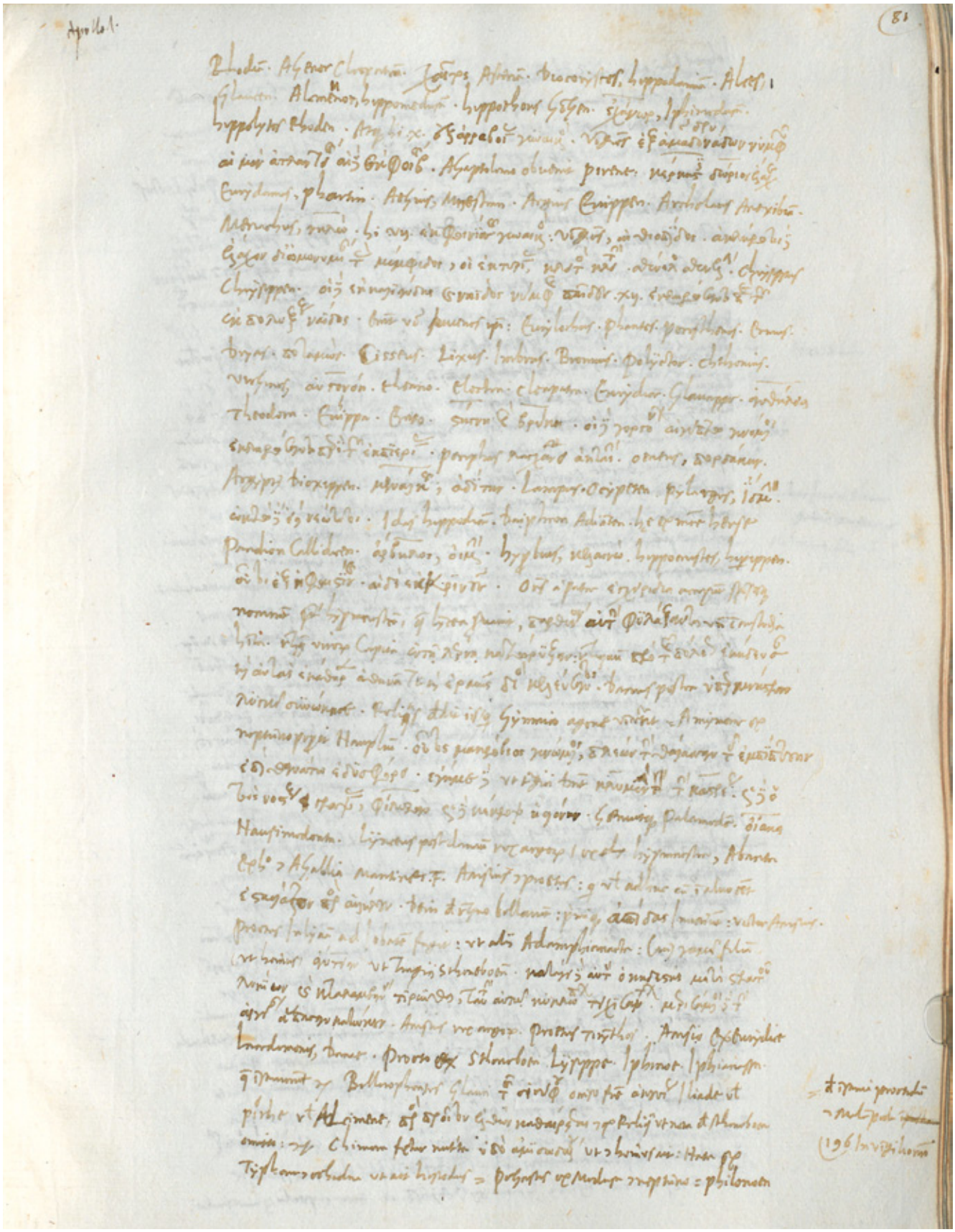

Fig. 2: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Cod.graec. 182, fol. 81r: Apollod. 2.26–29 and Poliziano's marginal note on the Proetides.

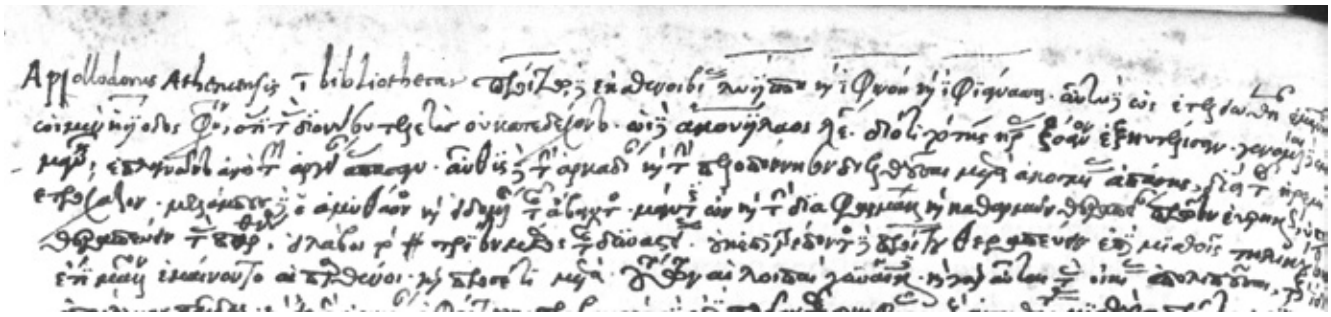

Fig. 3: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés g. Yc. 236, fol. 196ᵛ: Apollod. 2.26–29 in 'our Virgil'.

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. 25ᵛ (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. 196ᵛ, which was originally blank, Poliziano copied Apollod. 2.26–29 (Fig. 3); it seems the passage was too long to be included on fol. 25ᵛ, 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. 196ᵛ 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 169ᵛ–217ᵛ and is still unpublished, Verg. *Ecl*. 6.48 is not commented. In fact, in fol. 215ᵛ, 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. 196ᵛ to the *constitutio textus* of Ps. Apollodorus' *Library* (Cattaneo 2022b).

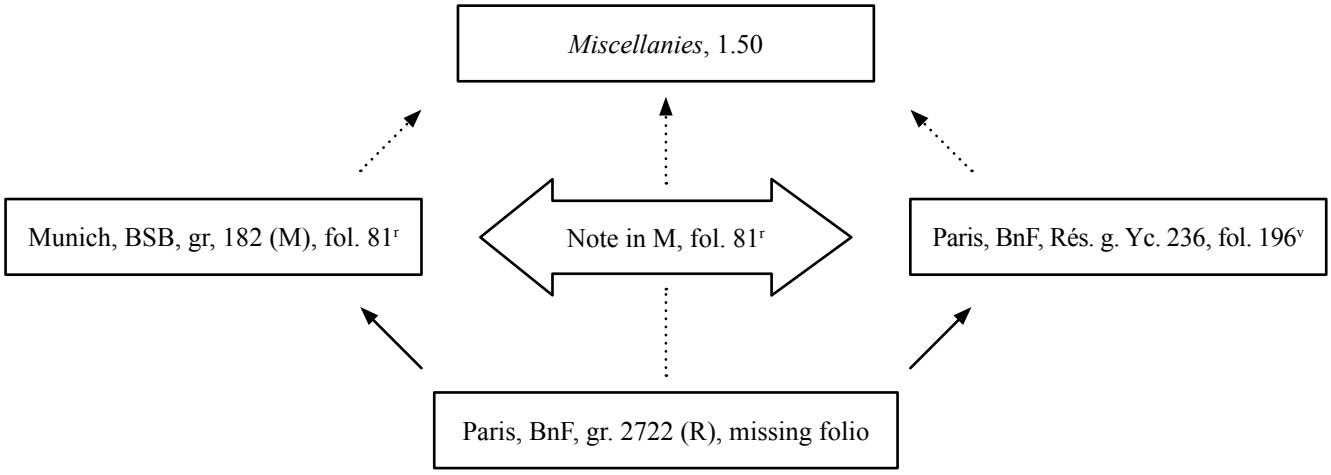

Fig. 4: Diagram of the sources.

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. 196v. Since Poliziano did not have enough space to include it on fol. 25v, 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. 81r, 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. 25v, so he wrote it on fol. 196r 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. 81r).

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. Αὗται 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.

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Article

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

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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:

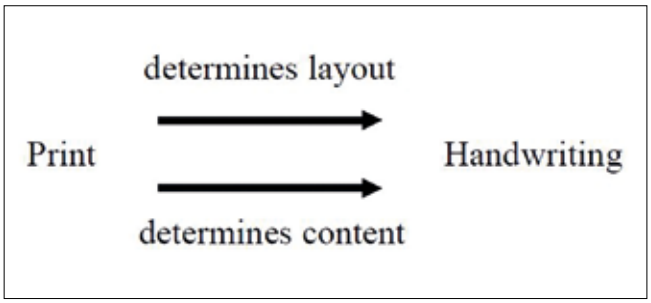

Fig. 1: Fittingness of a calendrical diary.

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:

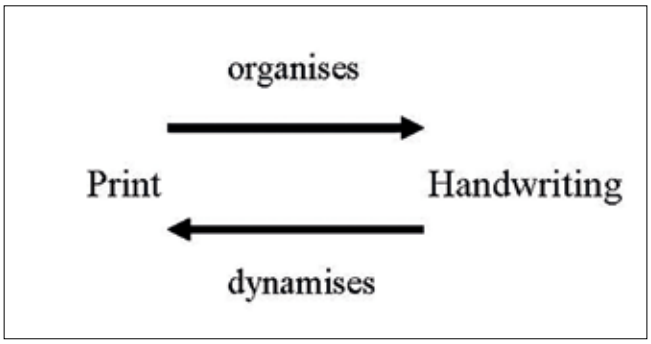

Fig. 2: Depiction of the interrelationship between handwriting and print in calendrical diaries.

[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.

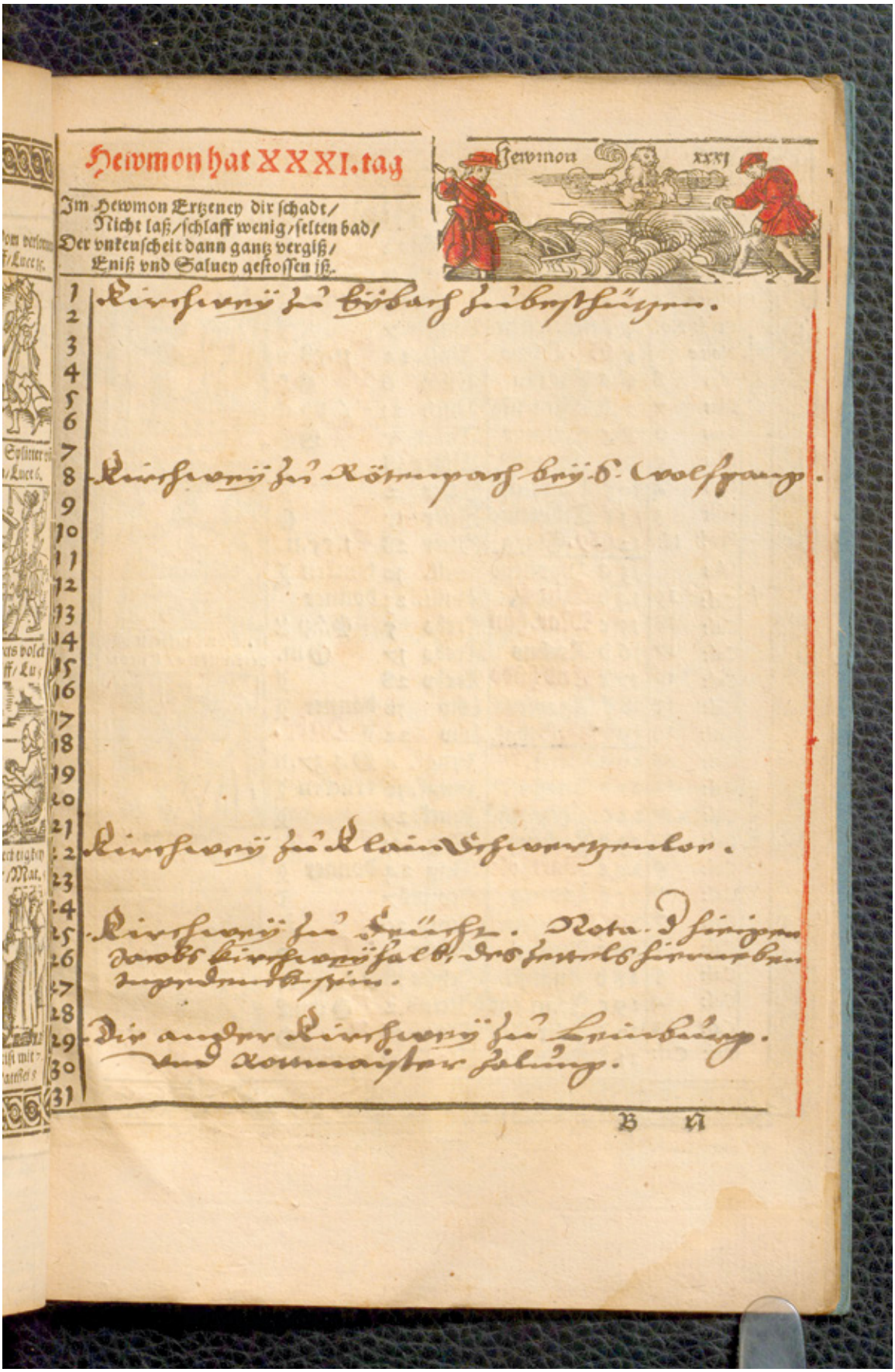

Fig. 3: How a printed layout frames handwritten entries in a calendar. *Schreybkalender auff das 1571*. Jar [. . .], fol. B_1^r.

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. C2^{v}.

[16] Nuremberg, GNM, 8º Nw2407 [1578], Merkel D 4036a, fol. F2^{v}.

[17] Cf. Brockstieger 2021, 571.

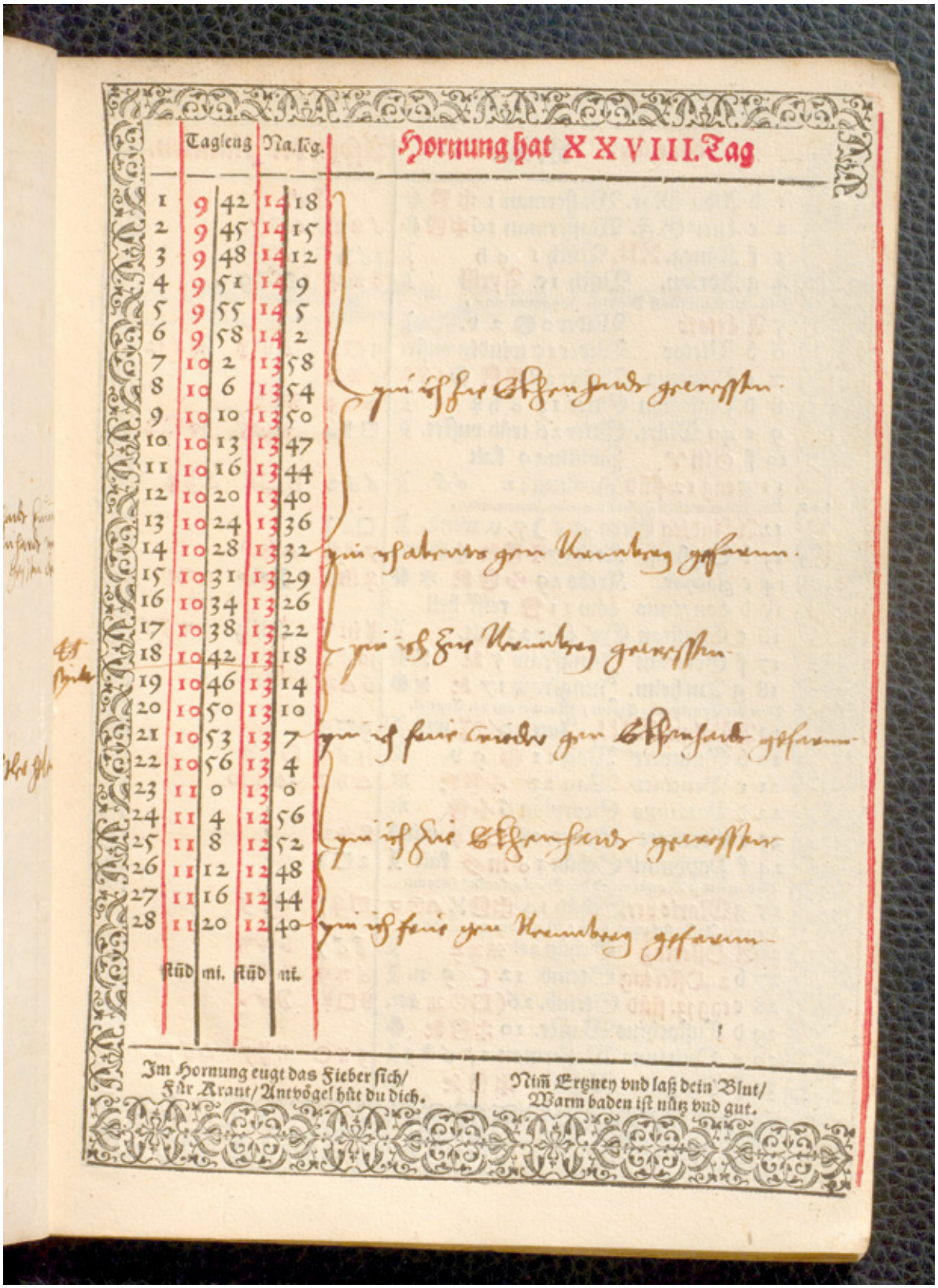

Fig. 4: Use of brackets to separate sections corresponding to specific periods. *Schreibkalender* [. . .] *Auff das Jar 1581* [. . .], fol. A3r.

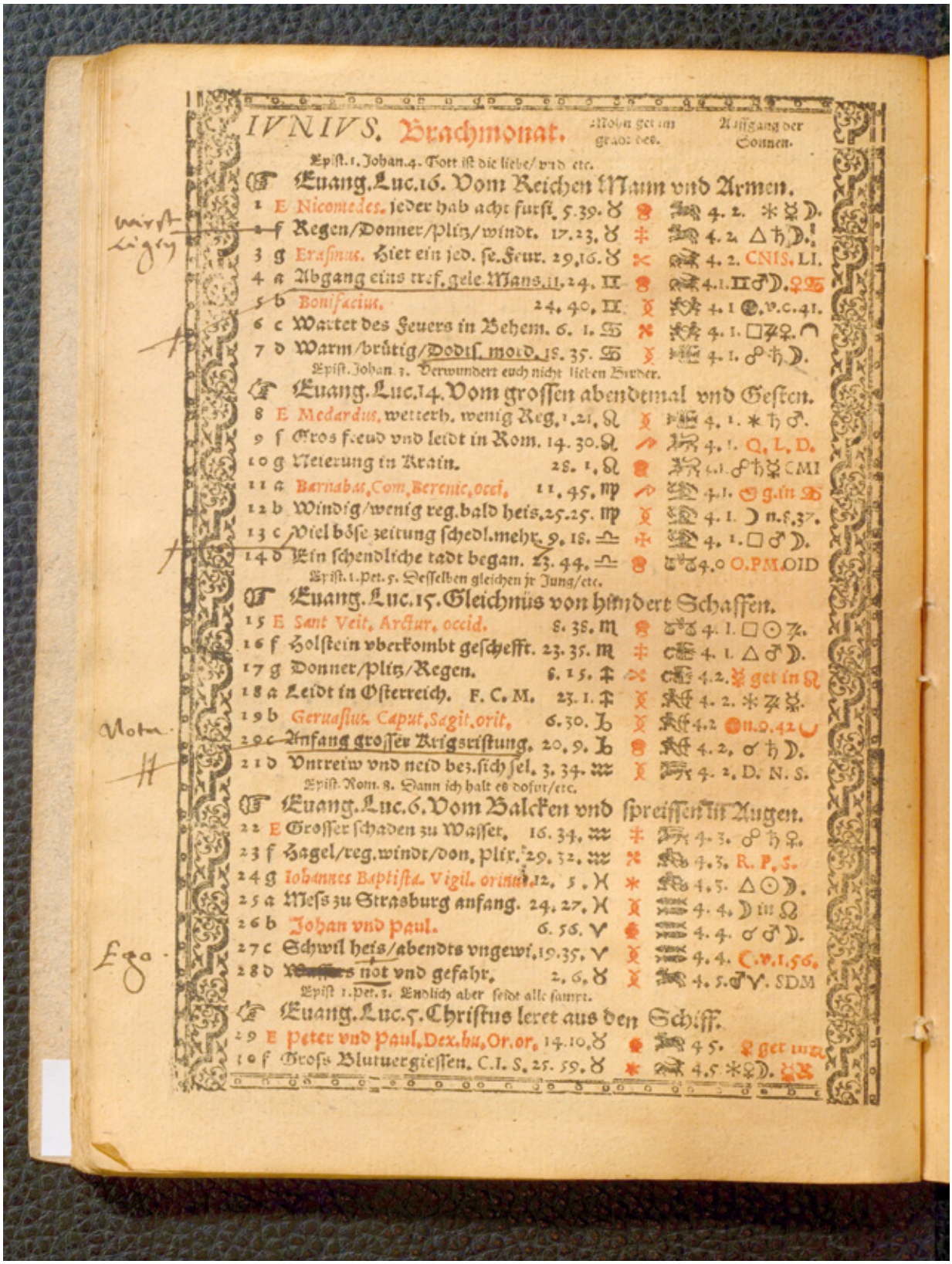

Fig. 5: Examples of handwritten comments about the printed text. *Allmanach vnd schreibkalender* [. . .] *auff das Jar 1578* [. . .], fol. D_1^v.

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 $C1^v$–$C2^r$.

[19] Cf. Brendecke 2005.

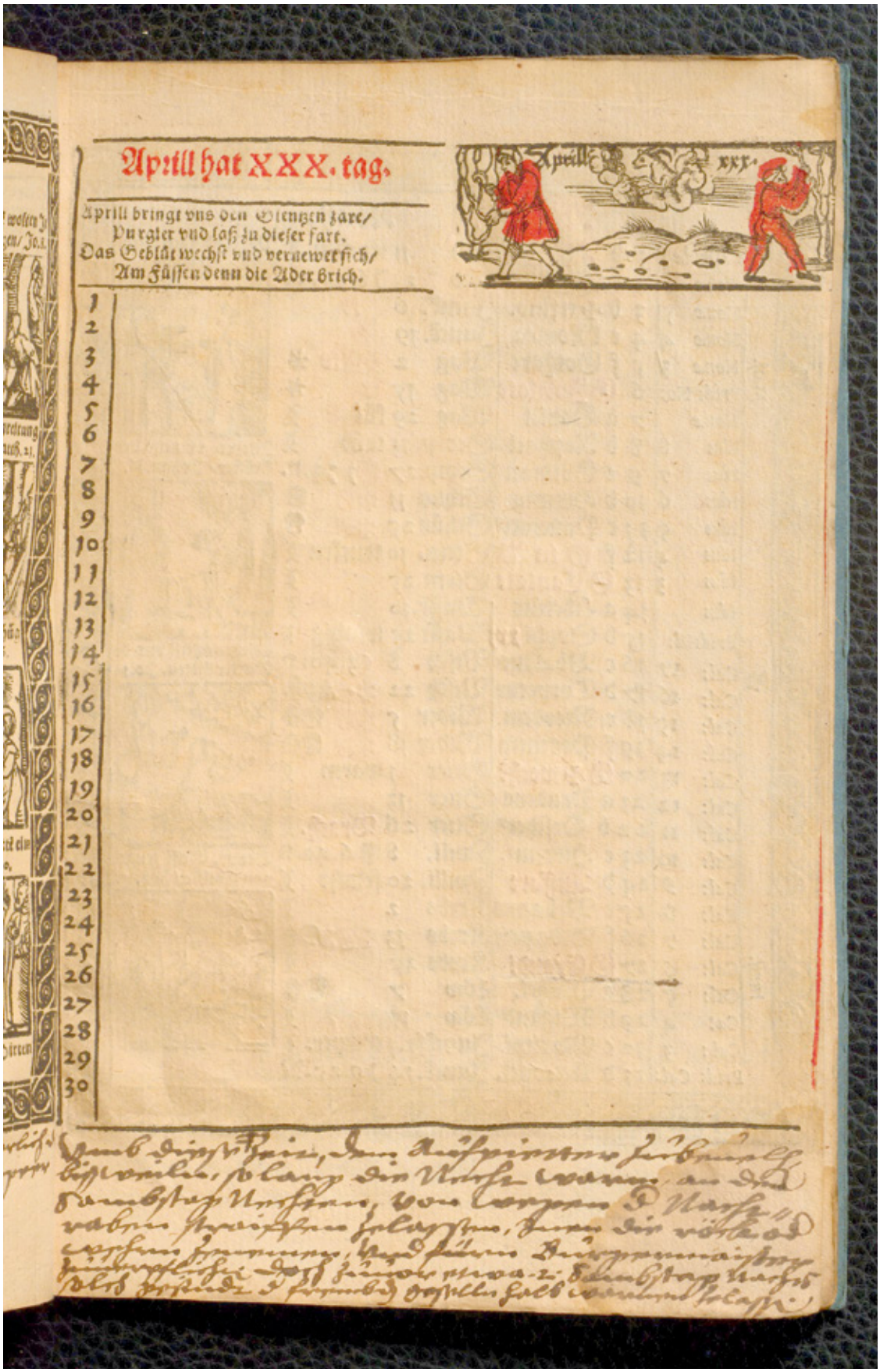

Fig. 7: Changing the predefined rules. *Schreybkalender auff das 1571. Jar* [. . .], fol. B_2^r.

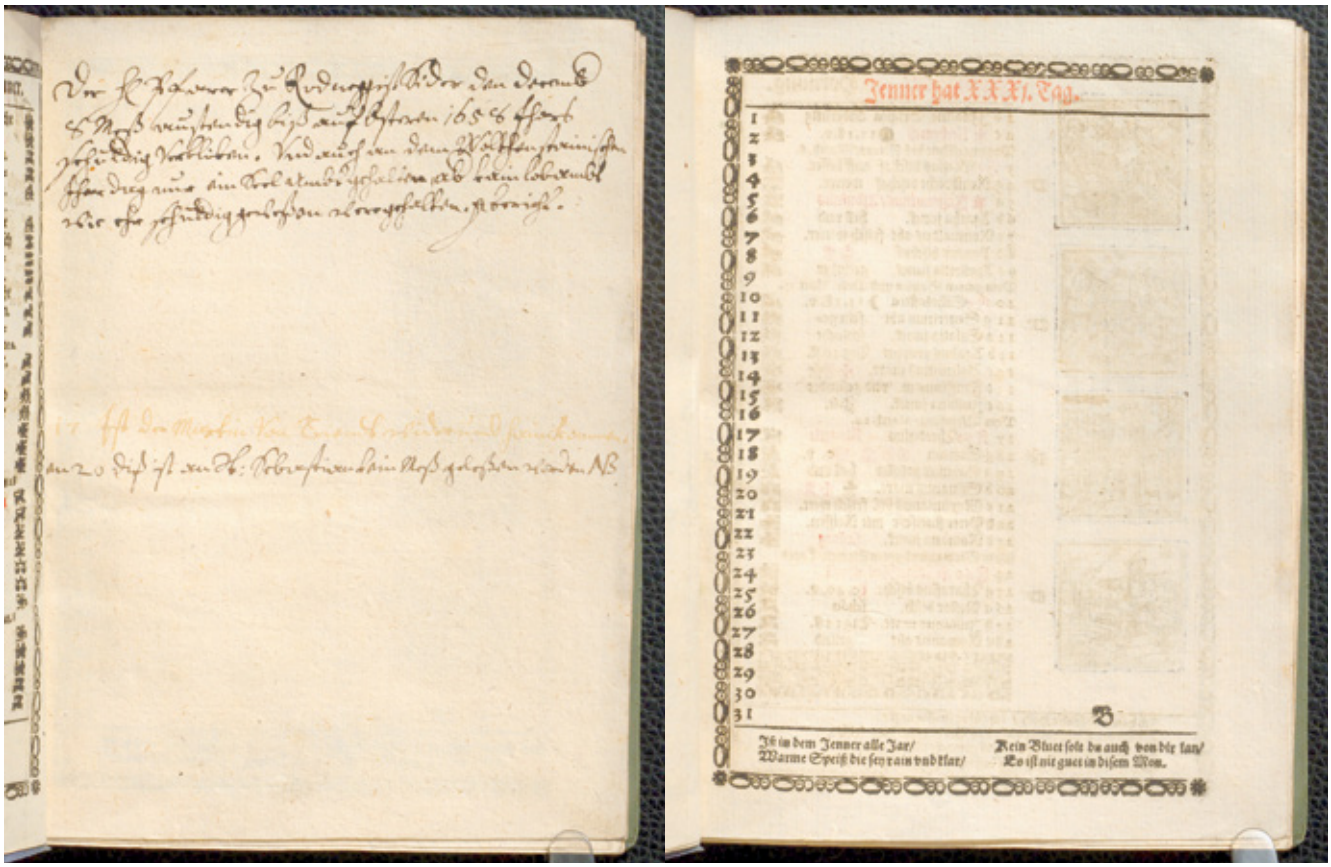

Fig. 8: Handwritten notes on a specially inserted page for them. *Almanach auff das Jahr* [...] *1658* [...], fols A_2^r and B_1^r.

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], A2v.

[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.

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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

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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.

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*

[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.

[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.

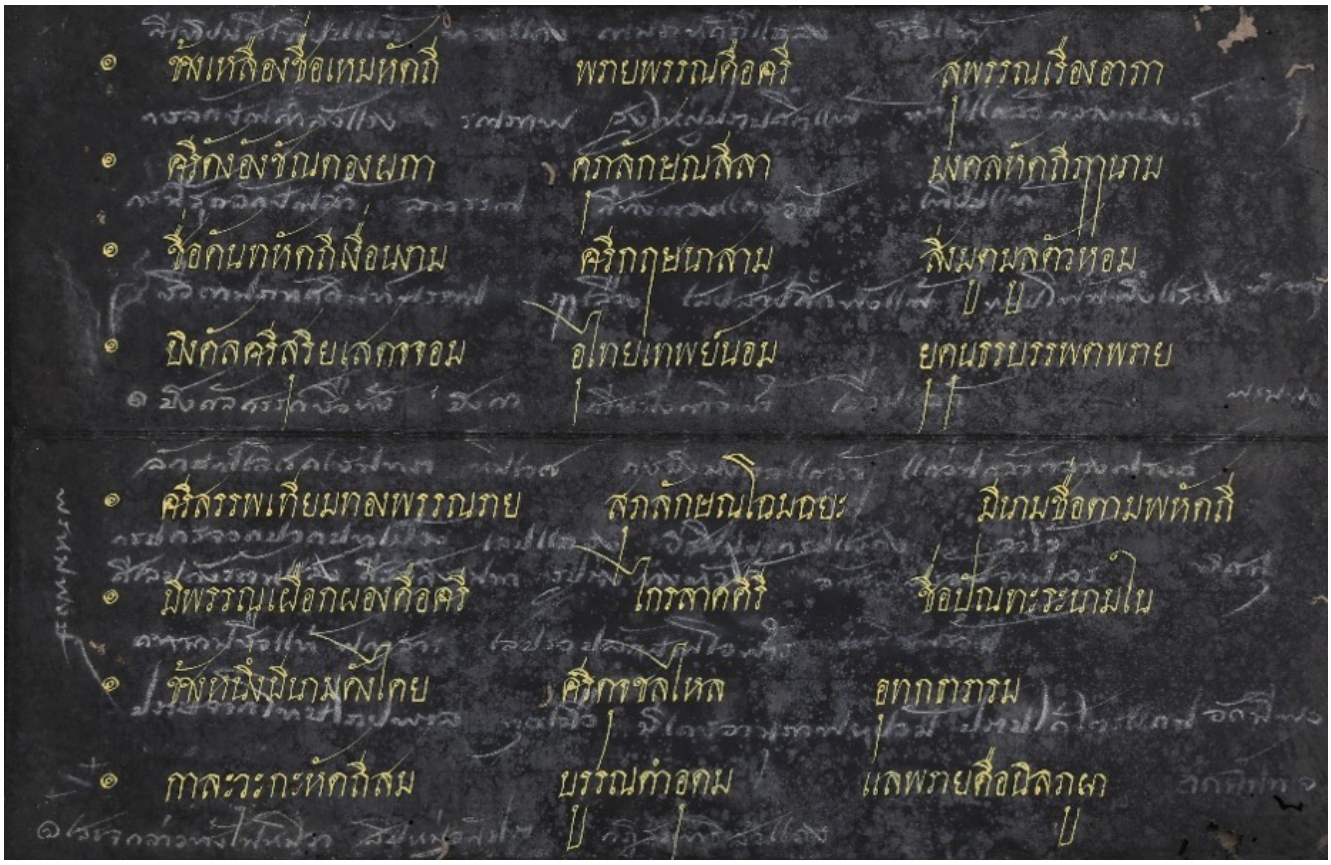

Fig. 1: Paracontents between the lines and in the page margins written in white chalk from the multilayered manuscript of *The Collection of Old Elephant Treatises*, contrasting with the core content written in yellow ink. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, pp. 51–52.)

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.

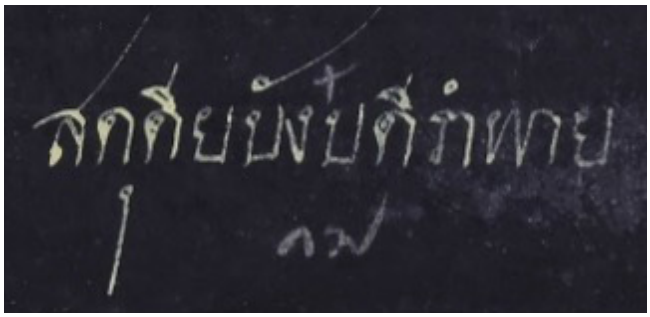

Fig. 2: An example of an interlinear correction from text I, in which a cross sign has been drawn above the core content. The omitted word was added underneath the line. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 13, line 4.)

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.)

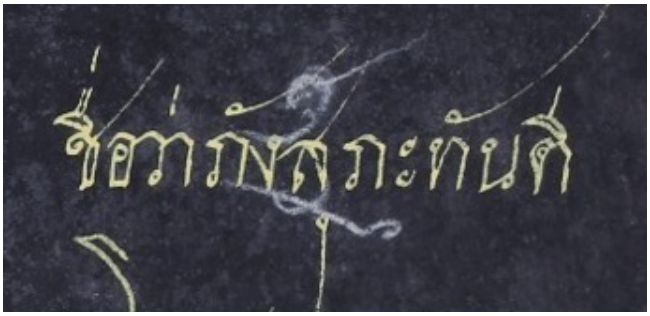

Fig. 4: An example of an interlinear correction from text III. The error was underlined and the corrected word written above it. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 21, line 3.)

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.

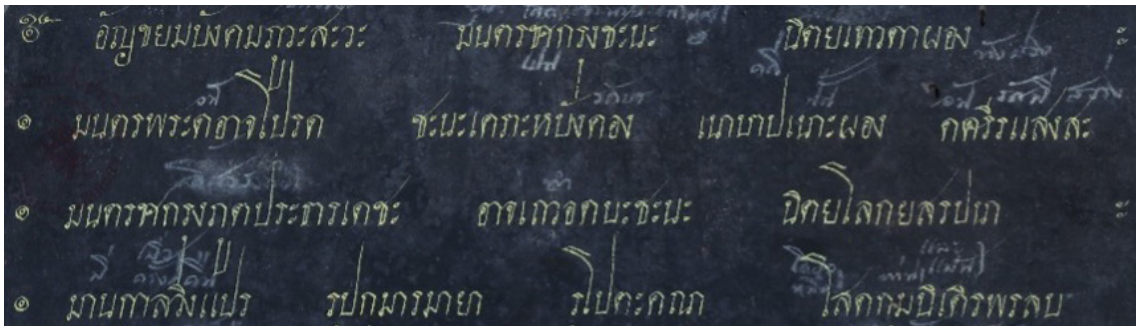

Fig. 5: An example of the extensive glosses written above or below the lines of the core content found in text I of the manuscript. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, pp. 3–4.)

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 สืน	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.

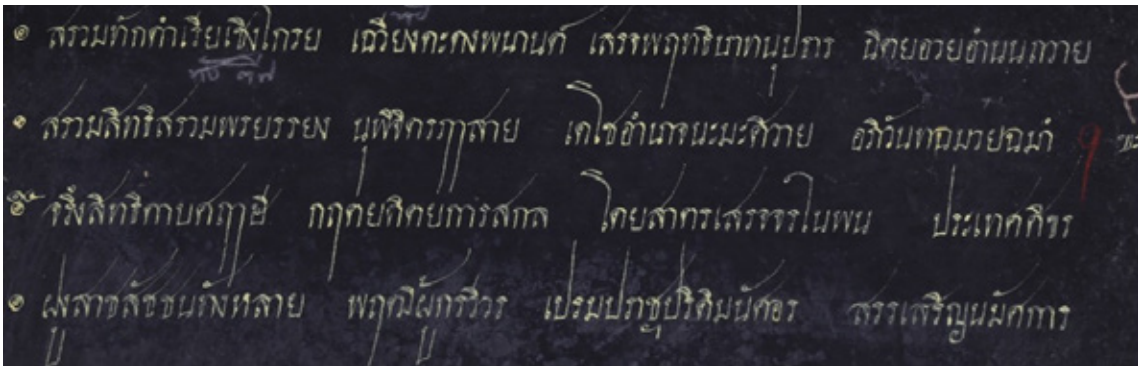

Fig. 7: An example of the interlinear glosses from the latter part of text I (stanzas 45–48), in which only a few words in stanza 45 (line 1 above) are annotated, namely *damria* (annotated as 'elephant'), *choeng* ('foot') and *chawiang* ('left [hand]'). (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 14.)

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).

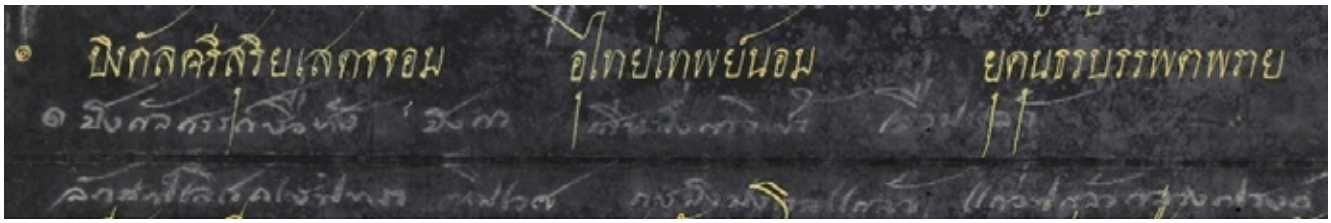

Fig. 8: The interlinear paracontents cited from stanza 8 of *Khlong Khotchalak* and written below the line of the core content (stanza 26 of text III) was presumably added to compare the different details in the two texts. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, pp. 51–52.)

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	ศรีหนึงตาวิฟ้าร์	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.

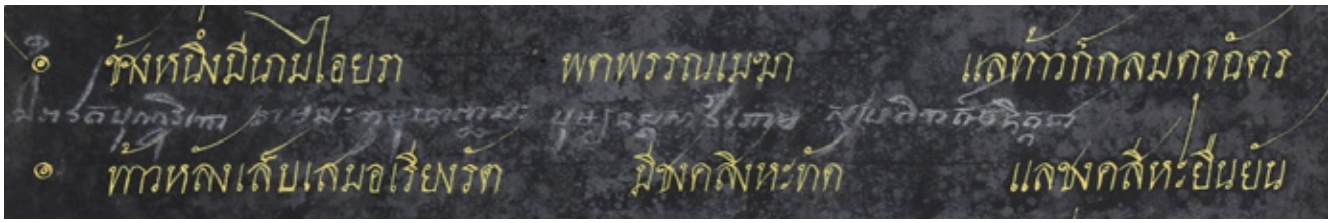

Fig. 9: Interlinear citation (Pali verse in Khòm script) summarising the description of the eight elephants of the eight directions. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 53, lines 2–3.)

This interlinear paracontent in Khòm script reads 'erāvata-puṇḍariko 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', 'dwarf-fish'), *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. *puṣyadanta*).

[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 →

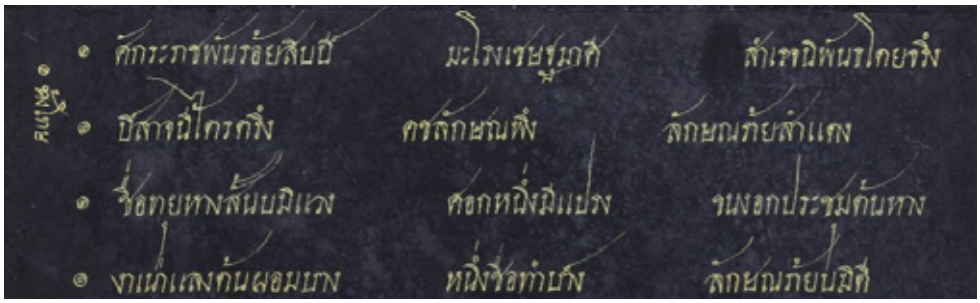

Fig. 10: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin added by the original scribe in yellow ink. It reads **ช้างโทษ** ('inauspicious elephants'), giving the category of the content of the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 24.)

Vertical heading →

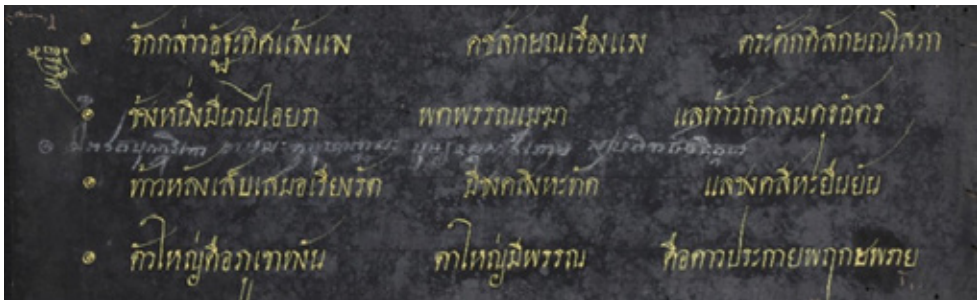

Fig. 11: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin added by the original scribe in yellow ink. It reads **อัฐทิศ** ('[elephants of] eight directions'), giving the category of the content of the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 53.)

Additional vertical heading →

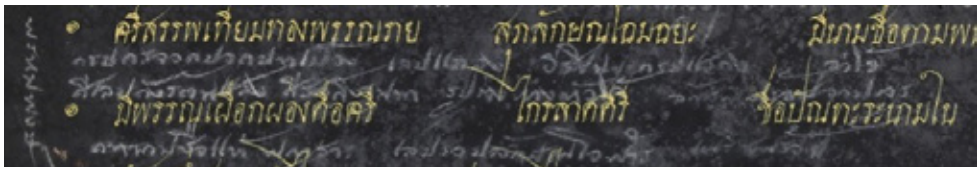

Fig. 12: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin, possibly added later. It reads **พรหมพงษ์** ('Brahma family'), labelling the family of the elephants described in the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: recto, p. 52.)

Additional vertical heading →

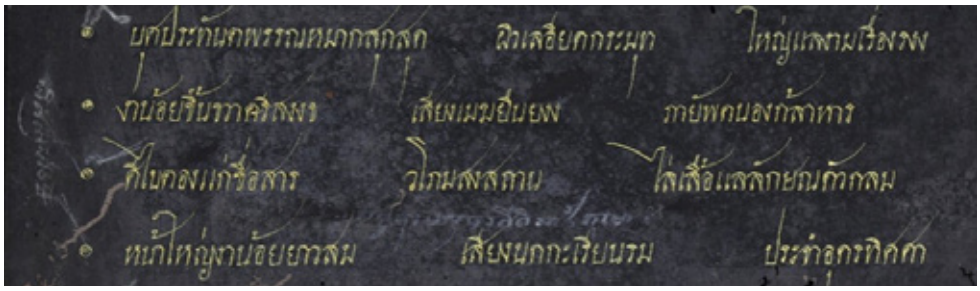

Fig. 13: An example of a vertical heading in the left-hand margin, possibly added later. It reads **พิศณุพงษ์** ('Vishnu Family'), labelling the family of the elephants described in the core content as its heading. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 3)

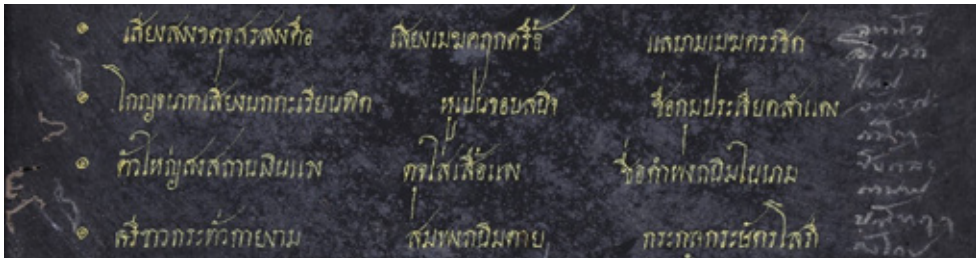

Fig. 14: A list of the ten elephants in the Brahma family written as a note on the right-hand margin of the manuscript folio. (NLT: ChSs: Kò: Ms no. 16: verso, p. 13.)

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

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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

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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.

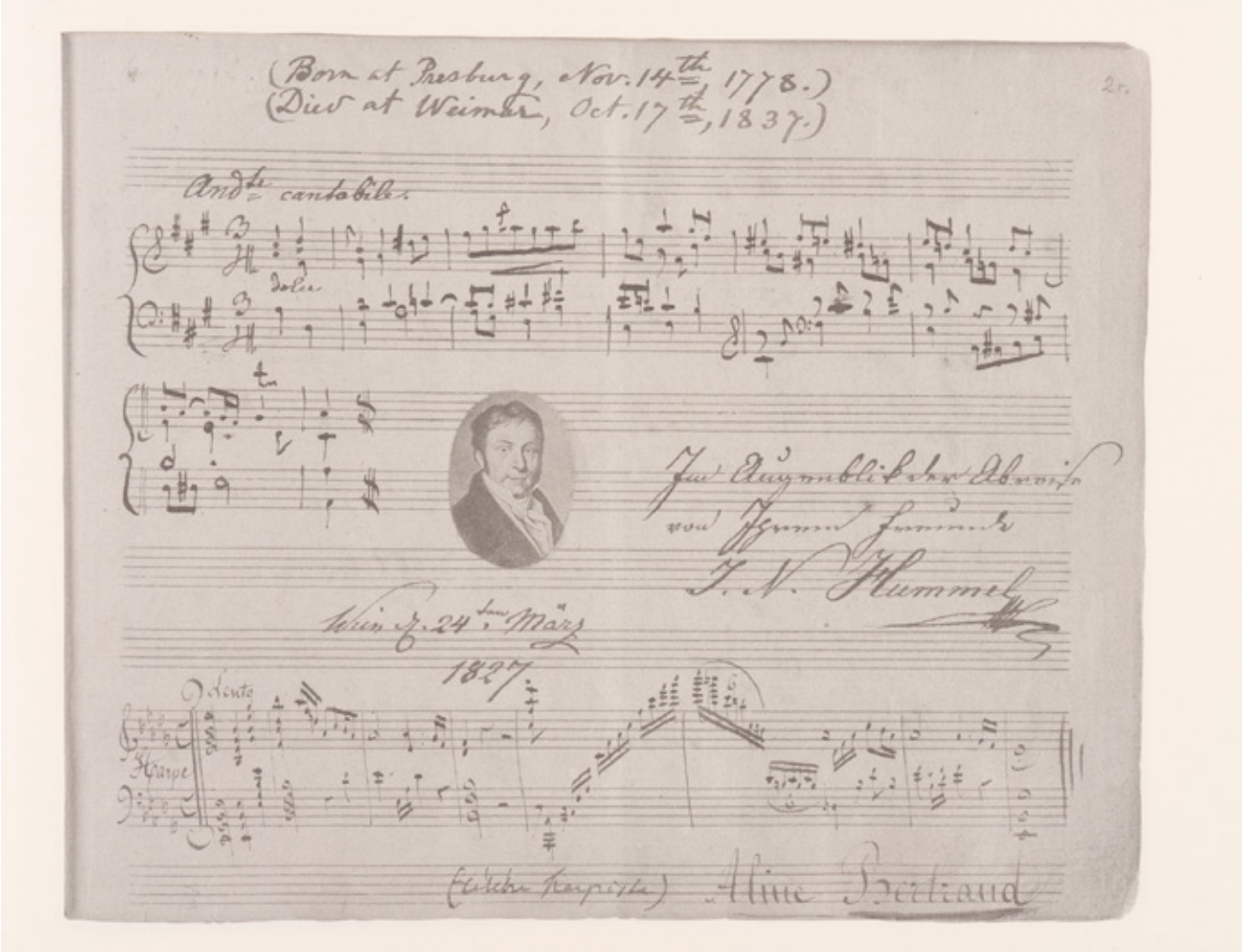

Fig. 1: Entries by Johann Nepomuk Hummel and Aline Bertrand in the music album of Heinrich Panofka and Alfred Corning Clark, DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014, fol. 2r.

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.

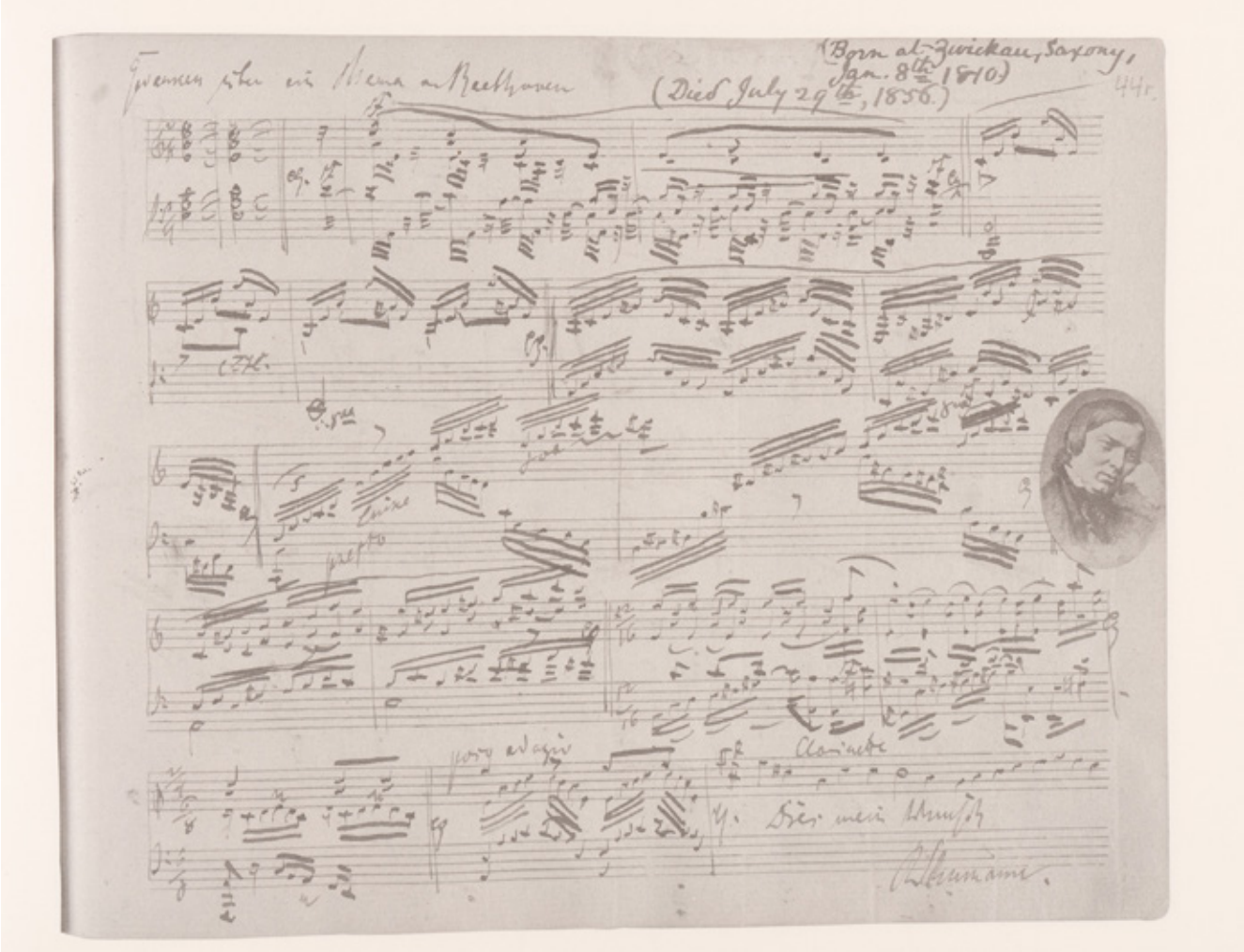

Fig. 2: Entry by Robert Schumann in Heinrich Panofka's and Alfred Corning Clark's music album, DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014, fol. 44r.

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.

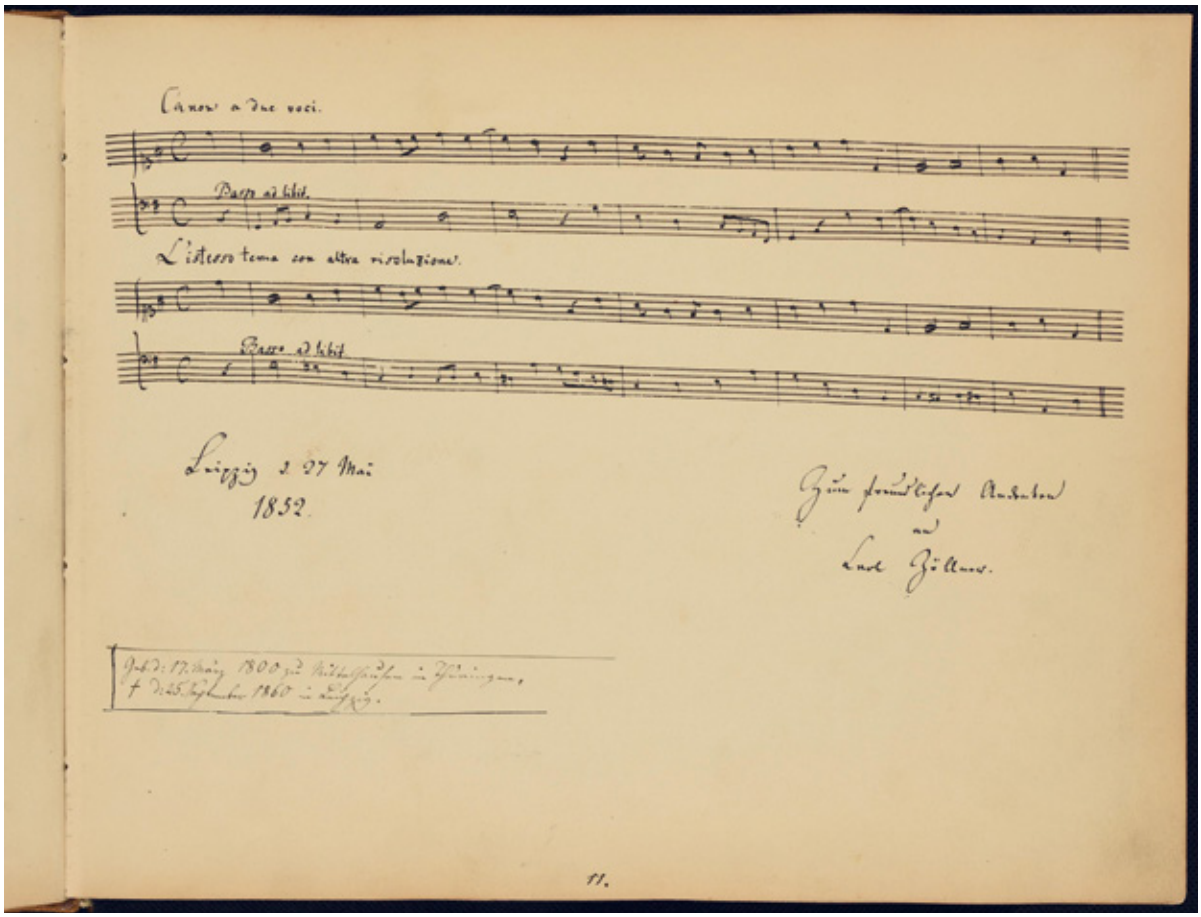

Fig. 5: An entry by Carl Zöllner in Volkmar Schurig's album, D-DI Mus.1-B-617, p. 11.

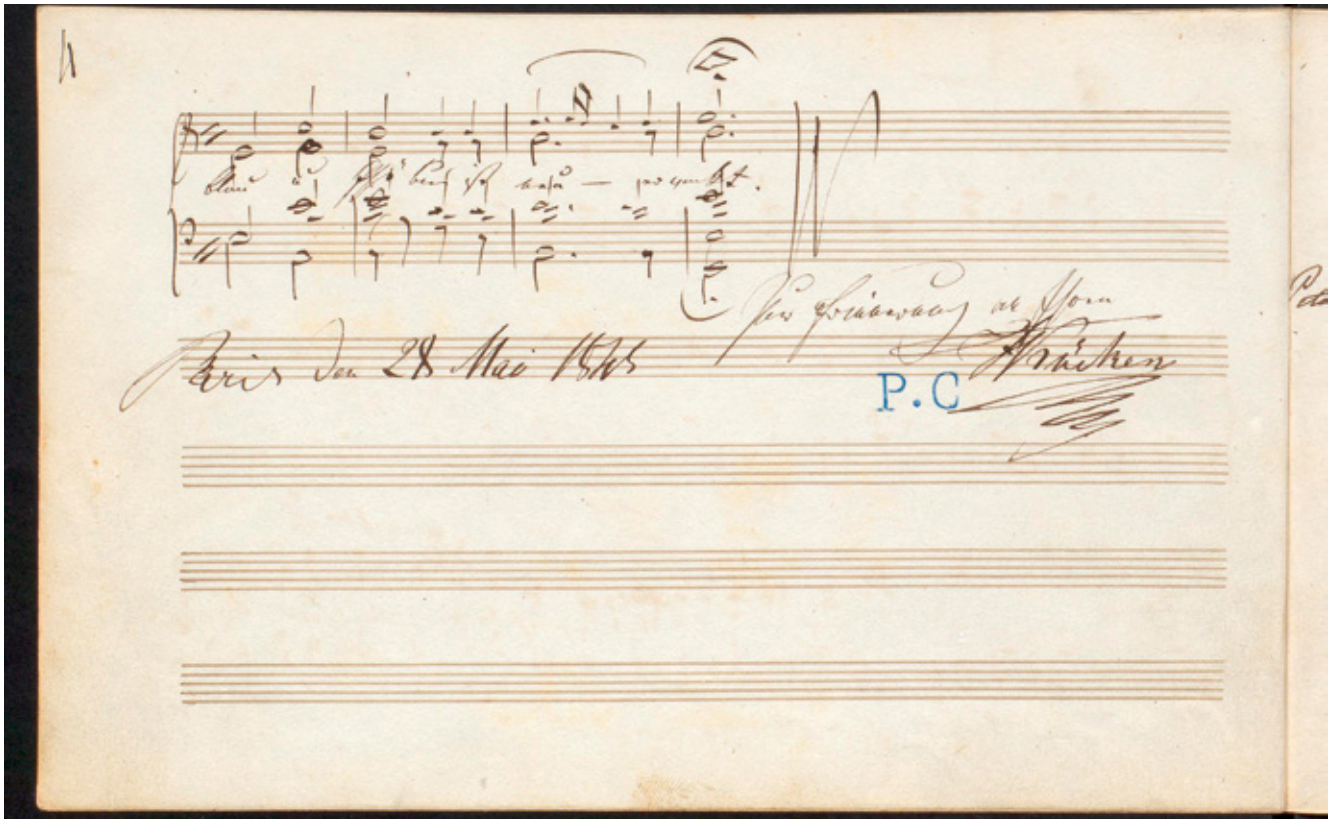

Fig. 6: The end of Friedrich Wilhelm Kücken's entry in Johann Peter Cavallo's music album, GB-Lbl Hirsch.IV.1455, p. 4.

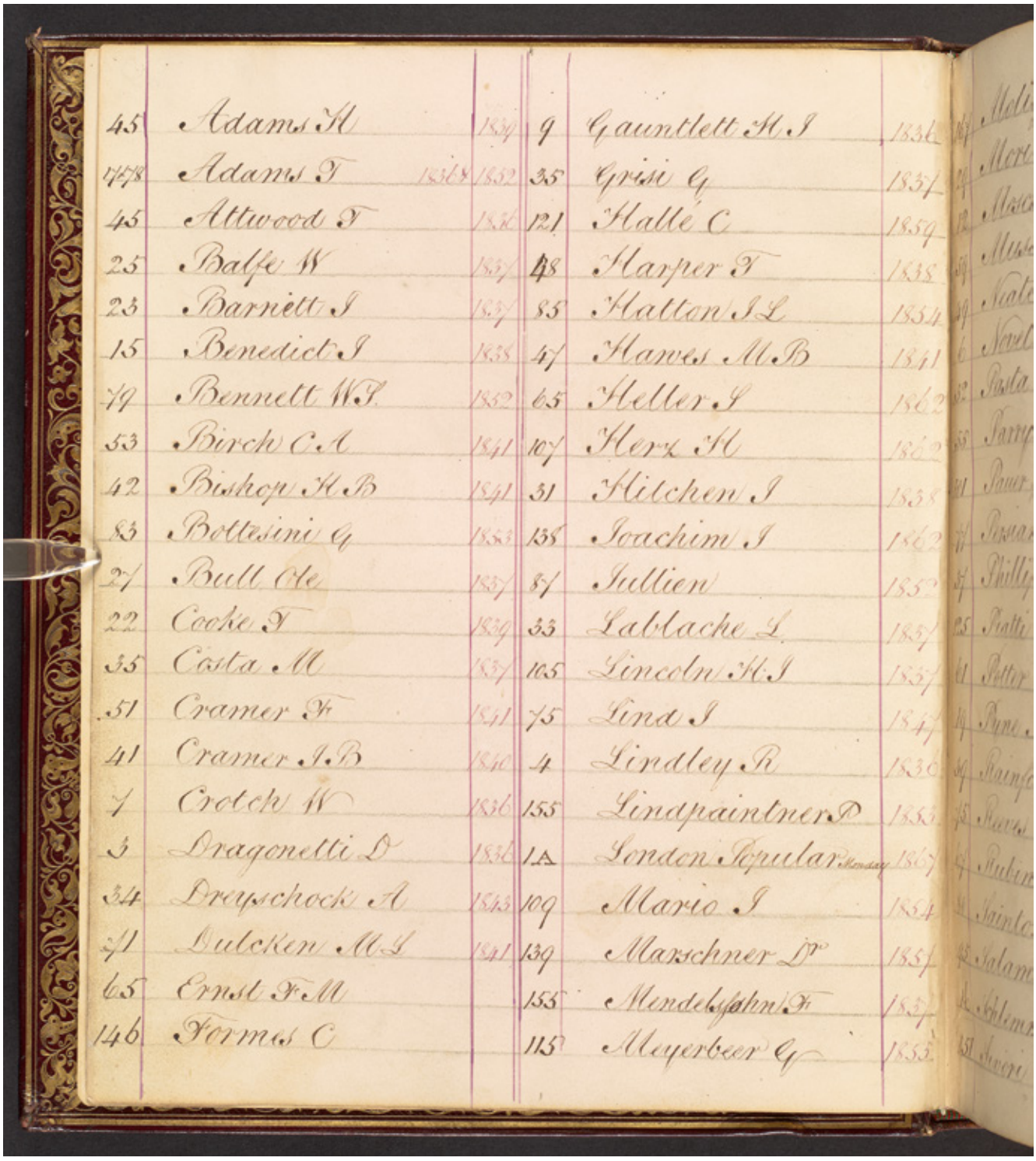

Fig. 7: Eliza Wesley's album, GB-Lbl Add MS 35026, showing the first page of the index.

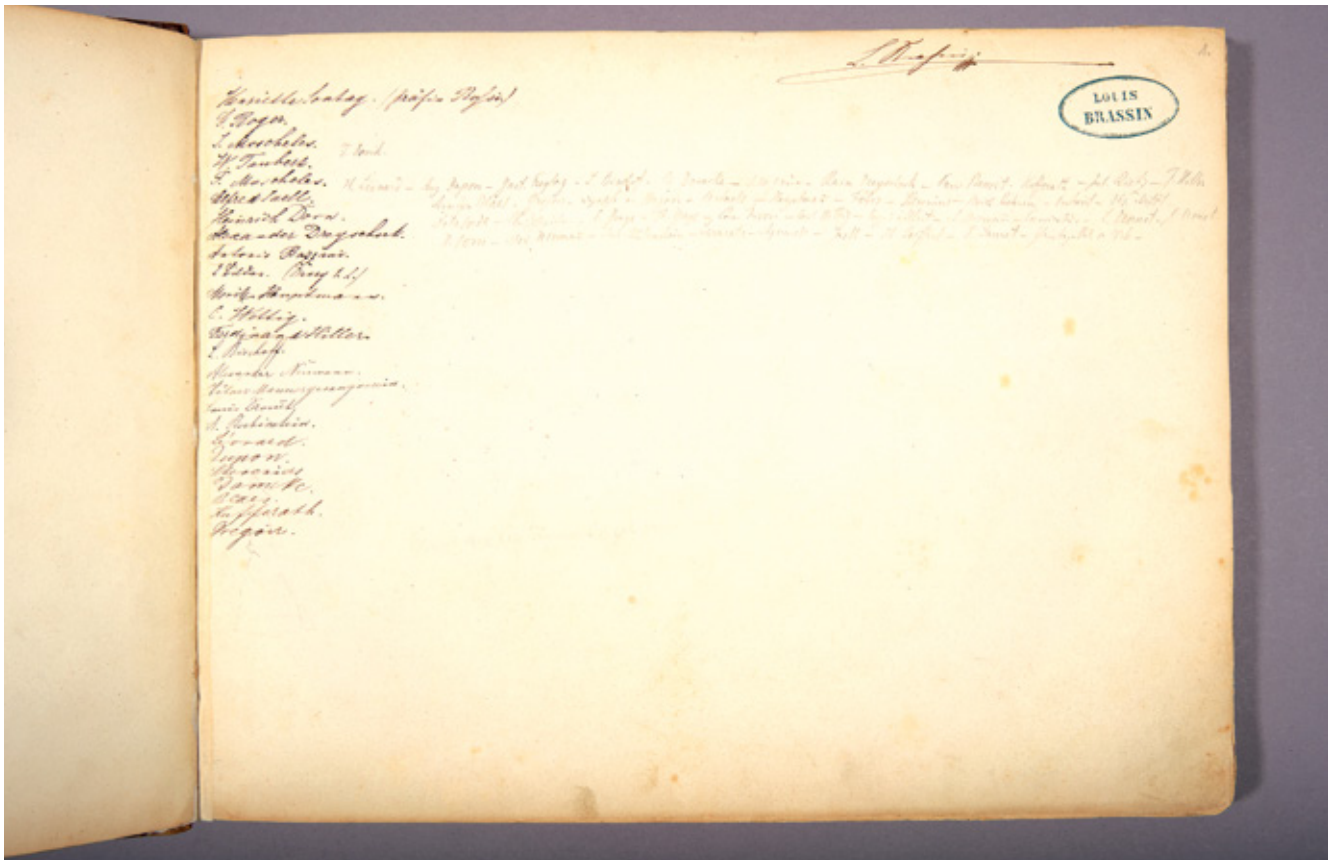

Fig. 8: Louis Brassin's album, D-LEsm A/2013/392, page 1 showing the index of the album.

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]

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

[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.

[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

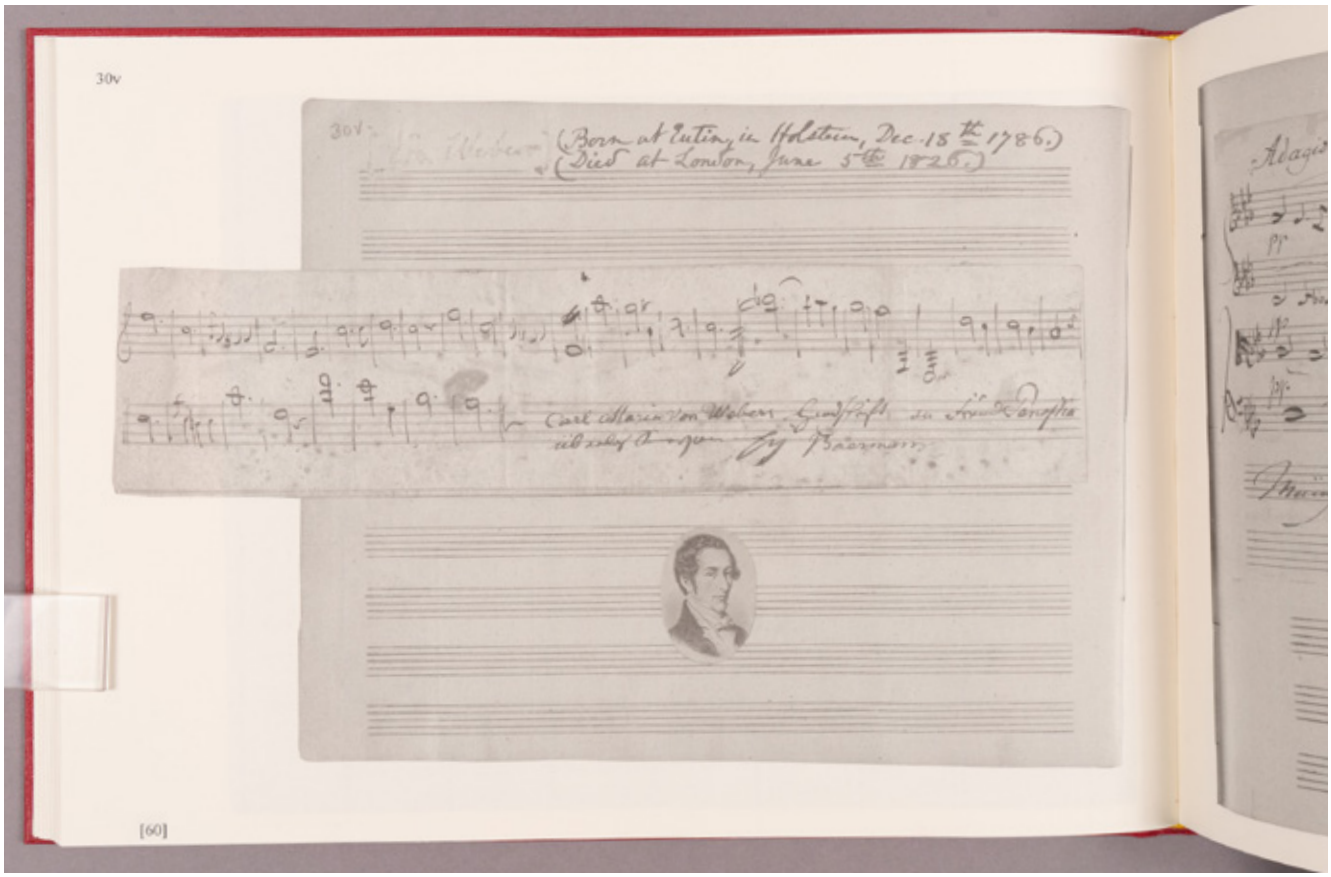

Fig. 10: Autograph by Carl Maria von Weber with a note by Heinrich Baermann in the music album kept by Heinrich Panofka and Alfred Corning Clark, DK-Kk Box A 4.6001, *olim* C I,5 mu 7205.1014, fol. 30^{v}.

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.

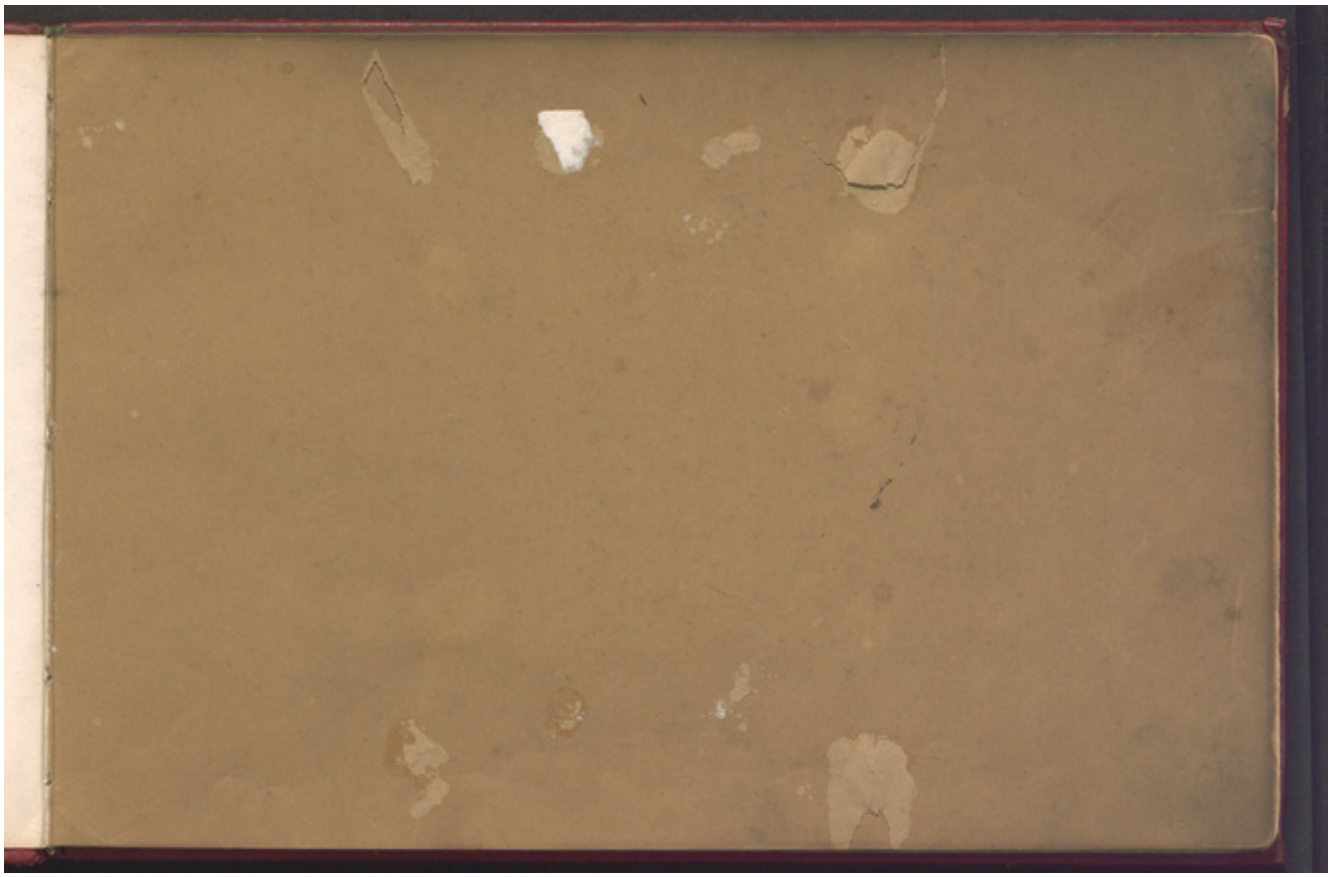

Fig. 11: Traces of the removal of a glued-in entry in Joseph Dupont's album, D-F Mus Hs 2630, fol. 1r.[21]

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.*

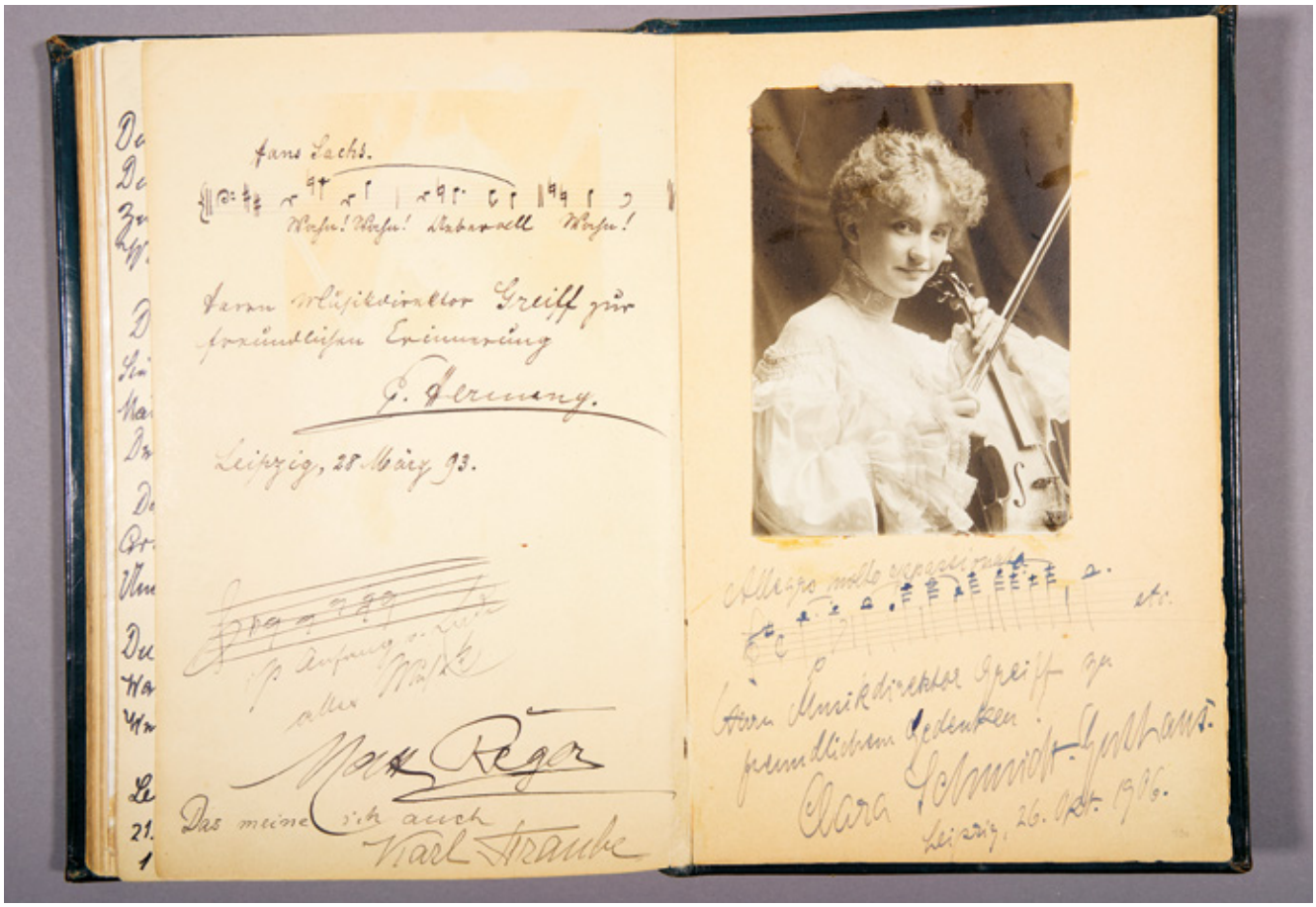

Fig. 12: Inscriptions by Max Reger and Karl Straube in the album of Leopold Greiff, D-LEsm A/2013/377.

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 Worzischek ('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]

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

[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).

[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. 4r.

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. 5r.

[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).

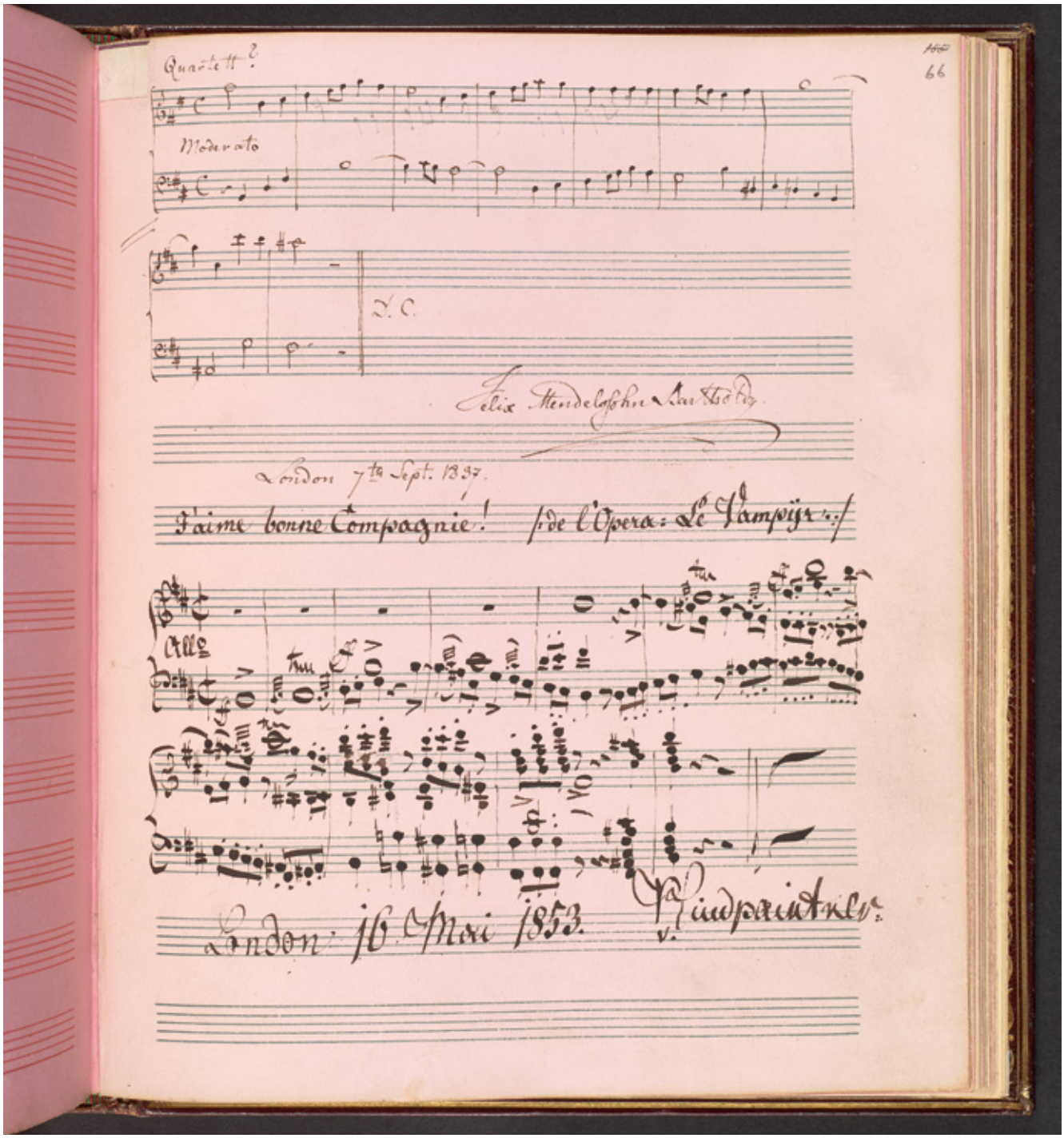

Fig. 14: The entries by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Peter von Lindpaintner in Eliza Wesley's album, GB-Lbl Add MS 35026, fol. 66r.

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

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[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.

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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.

Thomas Selle
Ich schlafe (D2.01)

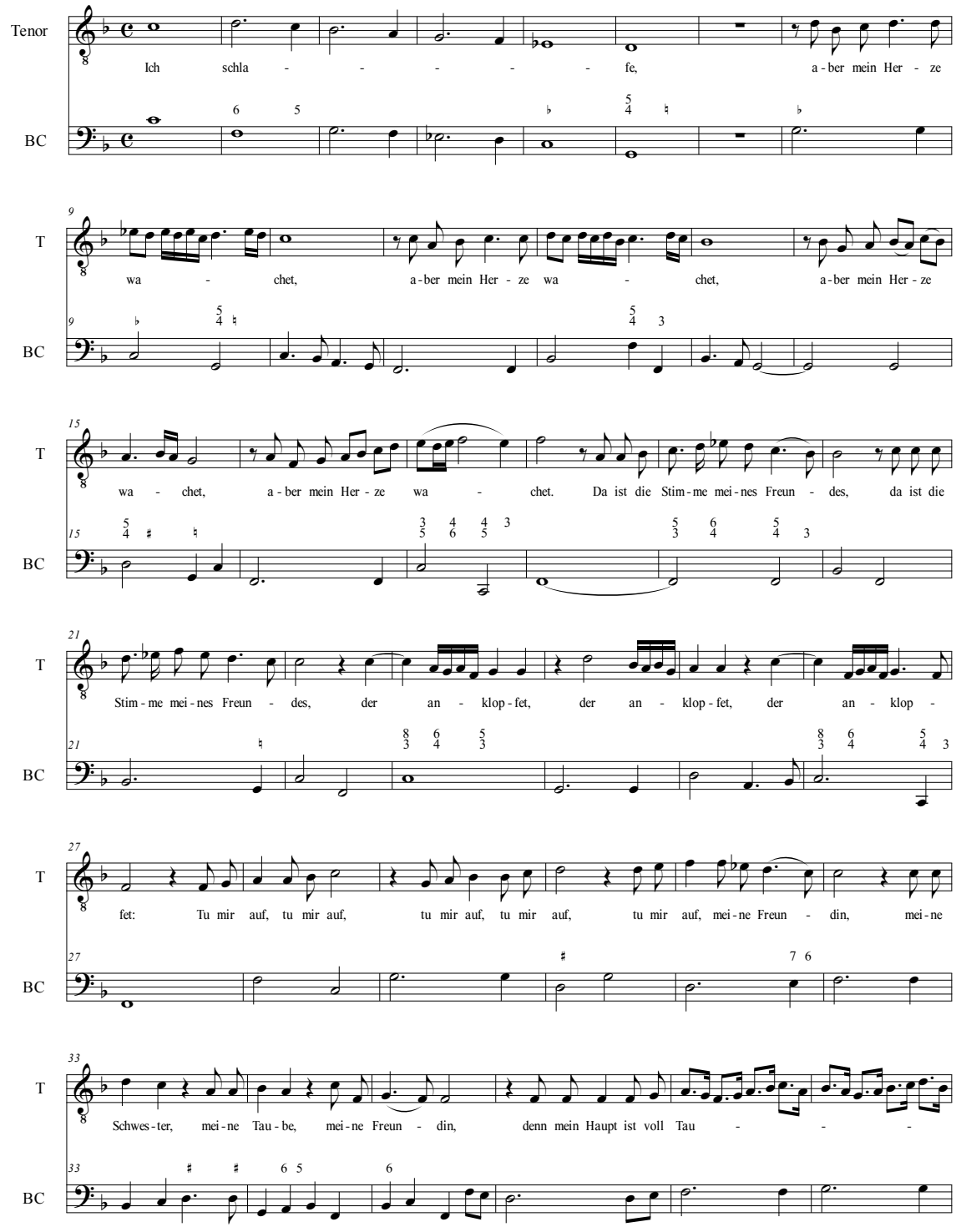


Fig. 2: Thomas Selle, *Ich schlafe*, 1632, measures 1–14 (beginning). The vocal part of the tenor above (T), the *basso continuo* in the lower system (BC). Selle, *Ich schlafe* (D.2.01), eds Rentsch and Pöche, 2017–2018.

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 'gobble-degook',[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.

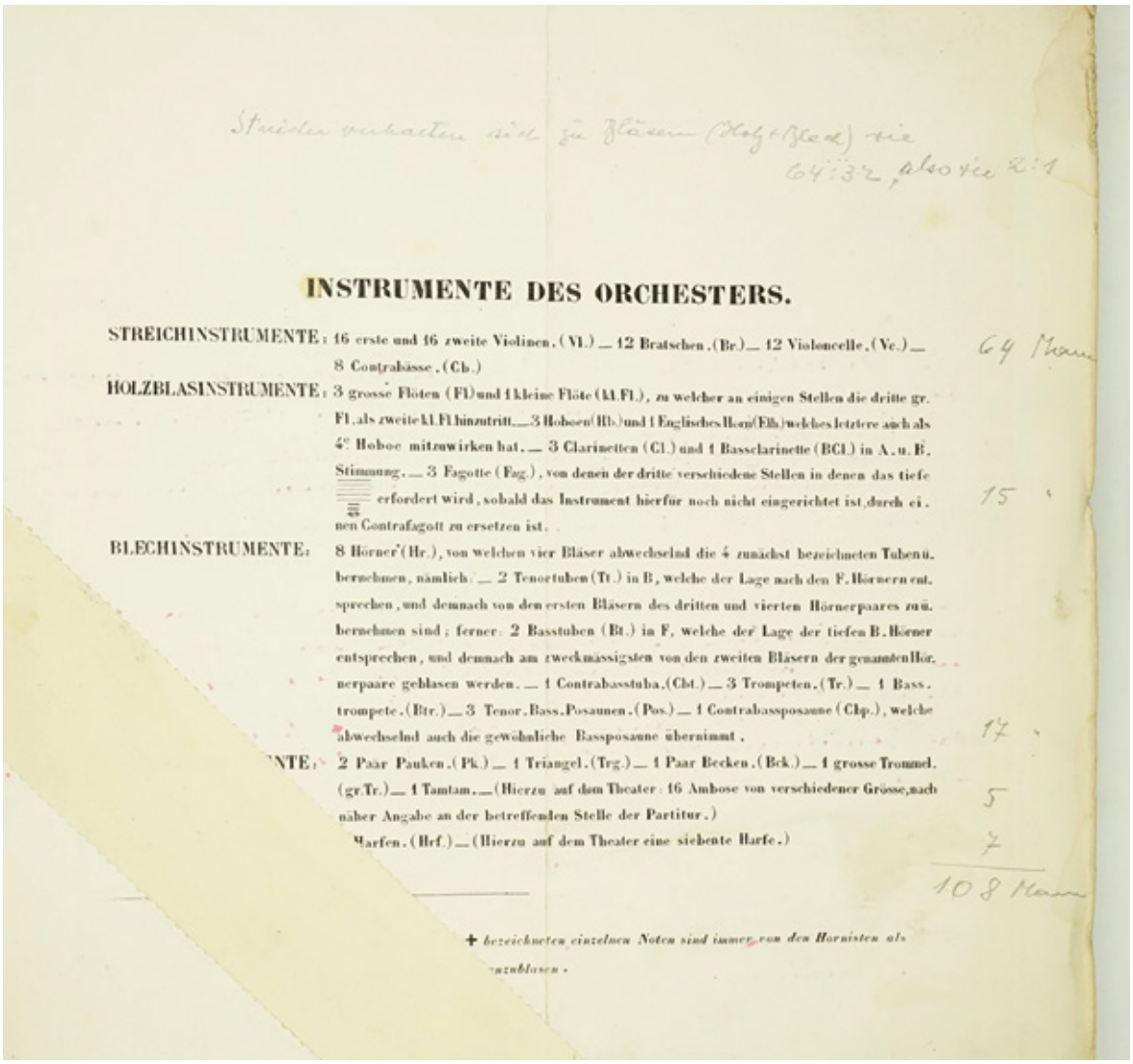
[17] Adorno 2006, 181.

[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.



INSTRUMENTE DES ORCHESTERS.

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

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 (Engl. Hn.) welches letztere auch als 4te 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 [illegible] erfordert wird, sobald das Instrument hierfür noch nicht eingerichtet ist, durch ei. nen Contrafagott zu ersetzen ist.

BLECHINSTRUMENTE: 8 Hörner (Hr.), von welchen vier Bläser abwechselnd die 4 zunächst bezeichneten Tuben ü. bernehmen, nämlich: — 2 Tenortuben (Tt.) in B, welche der Lage nach den F. Hörnern ent. sprechen, und demnach von den ersten Bläsern des dritten und vierten Hörnerpaares zu ü. bernehmen 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 Hör. nerpaare geblasen werden. — 1 Contrabasstuba. (Cbt.) — 3 Trompeten. (Tr.) — 1 Bass. trompete. (Btr.) — 3 Tenor. Bass. Posaunen. (Pos.) — 1 Contrabassposaune (Cbp.), welche abwechselnd auch die gewöhnliche Bassposaune übernimmt.

[illegible]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.)

[illegible]arfen. (Hrf.) — (Hierzu auf dem Theater eine siebente Harfe.)

+ bezeichneten einzelnen Noten sind immer von den Hornisten als [illegible]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.

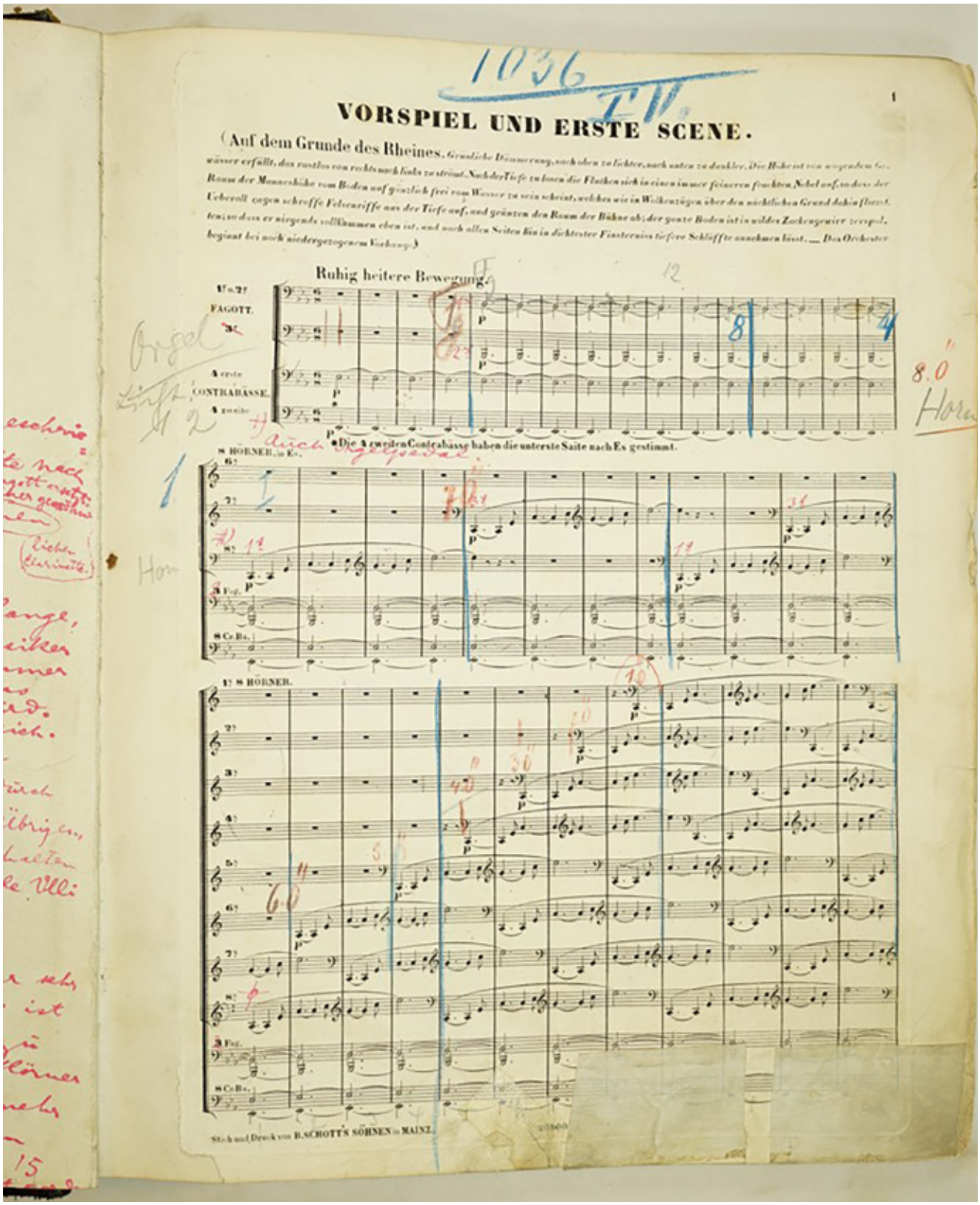


Fig. 4: Richard Wagner, *Das Rheingold*, Mainz: Schott, Conductor's score, annotated copy Prague, Národní divadlo, Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', p. 1.

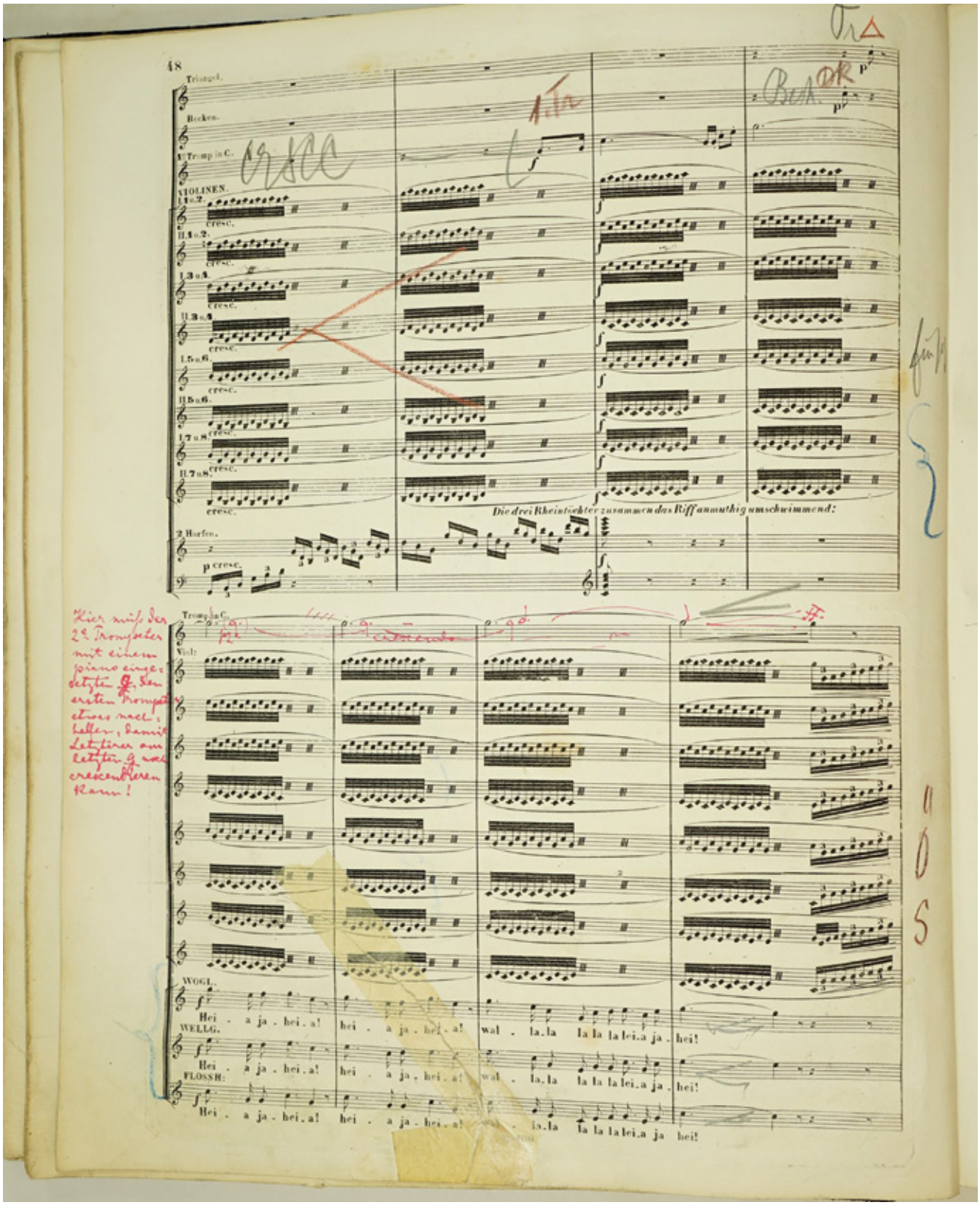


Fig. 5: Richard Wagner, *Das Rheingold*, Mainz: Schott, Conductor's score, annotated copy Prague, Národní divadlo, Archive 'Neues Deutsches Theater', p. 48.

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.

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