

manuscript cultures

Hamburg | Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures

ISSN 1867-9617



Publishing Information

Originators: Transformation and Collaboration in the Production of Original Written Artefacts

Edited by Janine Droese, Ulla Kypta, Uta Lauer, and Jörg B. Quenzer with the assistance of Laura Schmalfuß

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

Editors

Prof. Dr Michael Friedrich
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7127
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 4899
michael.friedrich@uni-hamburg.de

Prof. Dr Jörg B. Quenzer
Universität Hamburg
Asien-Afrika-Institut
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 / Flügel Ost
20146 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. no. +49 (0)40 42838 7203
Fax no. +49 (0)40 42838 6200
joerg.quenzer@uni-hamburg.de

Translations and Copy-editing

Liz Carey Libbrecht, Traductions Savantes; Joe MacIntyre,
Hamburg; Peter James Pritchard, Lüneburg

Editorial Office

Dr Irina Wandrey
Universität Hamburg
Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures
Warburgstraße 26
20354 Hamburg, Germany
Tel. No.: +49 40 42838 9420
Fax No.: +49 40 42838 4899
irina.wandrey@uni-hamburg.de

Layout

Nora Harms

Cover

William Forsythe and Kendall Thomas, *Human Writes*, Performance view, 2010, Radialsystem, Berlin. Photography by Dominik Mentzos.



www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de

Funded by



Deutsche
Forschungsgemeinschaft
German Research Foundation

ISSN (Print) 1867-9617

ISSN (Online) 2749-1021

© 2023

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)

Universität Hamburg

Warburgstr. 26

20354 Hamburg

Germany

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

2 | On the Concept of 'Originators'

Jörg B. Quenzer

ARTICLES

11 | Divine Authorship in the Mesopotamian Literary Tradition

Szilvia Sövegjártó

23 | A Two-Line Letter Fragment and its many Originators

Uta Lauer

39 | Images of the Four Evangelists: Visual Discourses on the Originators of the Word of God

Bruno Reudenbach

53 | From one Cast and yet with Many Contributors: Medieval Bronze Baptismal Fonts and their Originators

Jochen Hermann Vennebusch

75 | Nichiren's *Daimandara*: Originators and Originating Factors in the Serialised Production of Written Artefacts

Steffen Döll

94 | Creating Multiple Originals of Estate Inventories in Fourteenth-century Jerusalem

Said Aljoumani and Anna Steffen

119 | Creating, Confirming, Reconstructing Authority – The Originators of the *Hanserezesse*

Ulla Kypta

135 | One *Miserere* – Many Originators: Manuscripts of 'Allegri's *Miserere*' as Originals

Oliver Huck

159 | A 'Fake' Original and an 'Original' Fake – Two Cases in the Mackenzie Collection

Neela Bhaskar

173 | Abu Bakar, the Temenggong of Johor, and the Creation of a Unique Type of Malay Land Deed

Elsa Clavé

187 | The Scribe, the Speaker, and the Political Body: Parliamentary Minutes and their Originators in Nineteenth-century Germany

Hannah Boeddeker

197 | James Last's *Instrumentals Forever* – Autographs of Popular Music and the Network of Originators

Janine Droese and Knut Holtsträter

224 | Written Artefacts in Performance, Writing as Performance: Origination and Dissemination

Franz Anton Cramer

233 | Contributors

236 | Index

Article

The Scribe, the Speaker, and the Political Body: Parliamentary Minutes and their Originators in Nineteenth-century Germany

Hannah Boeddeker | Hamburg

1. Introduction

The written artefacts this paper deals with are the so-called *Stenographische Berichte*, meaning the official and verbatim minutes of German parliamentary debates in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. These minutes had various functions. First, they made parliamentary deliberations transparent and accessible to the public, and as such provided a mechanism to hold members of parliament accountable to the electorate.¹ Secondly, they could serve as a tool for the interpretation of the law², and lastly, historians, political scientists, and legal scholars used them as source material.³ Even journalists used the records as a basis for their articles – especially if they did not have a correspondent in parliament. For all of these functions, it was crucial that the protocols be perceived as reliable renditions of the oral proceedings. Their credibility derived from the fact that they were official documents and therefore endowed with authority, and they promised a complete and authentic account of the debates. These two characteristics gave the minutes their special status and made them originals.

It was important for the parliaments that the record be an original in the sense of being perceived as a written artefact possessing authority. The records acquired that status of an original through their originators. In this paper I argue that the production of records involved three different types of originators: the scribes – meaning specifically the shorthand writers –; the speaker – meaning the member of parliament –; and the political body that sanctioned the protocols – meaning the parliament. All of these originators were indispensable in order to achieve the ideal of a record of the proceedings that

was regarded as verbatim and official, and therefore credible. The case of parliamentary records is particularly interesting as it fragments different aspects of originator-ship across various institutions. This case has the particularity of showing how the different originators struggled to agree on what the right measure of authenticity was and who determined it. In other words, the originators were not simply in chronological order but sometimes in conflicting roles.

Before I analyse the three different roles of originators, I would like to give a short overview of the production of the records, which was a rather complex process. Generally – albeit with some exceptions –, the production proceeded as follows. Shorthand writers attended the session in the plenary hall and recorded the speeches verbatim in stenography, including all interjections such as heckling, clapping, or laughing. Because this writing practice required a high level of concentration and was quite exhausting, up to ten stenographers attended each session and rotated through shifts lasting no longer than ten to thirty minutes at a time. At a later stage, the stenographers dictated the content of their shorthand notes to a clerk or secretary who produced a more legible manuscript in longhand or typescript. The first version, the shorthand notation, became obsolete afterwards. The longhand transcript of each speech was then handed to the relevant speaker. The parliamentarians were allowed to correct the document within reason, and had to authorise the transcript before it was finally printed and published.⁴ In other words, the production of records included not only different types of written artefacts – such as shorthand notes, longhand manuscripts and prints – but also various writing practices – such as shorthand, dictating, revising, correcting, signing, and printing.

¹ In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the public had access to parliamentary debates via newspaper articles, the minutes of sessions, or as visitors in the gallery; Bösch 2022, 236.

² Boeddeker 2023, 204–205.

³ Huber 1951, 205.

⁴ Burkardt 2003, 469–506.

2. The scribe

The most efficient way to render the spoken word in nineteenth-century Germany – before audio recording – was shorthand. The promise of stenography as a cultural technique was the creation of verbatim records of oral proceedings. In stenographic writing systems, one sign could represent not only a letter but also a syllable, a common cluster of consonants or even a whole word, and vocals were symbolised by super- and subscript.⁵ All these abbreviations were designed so that scribes could write very swiftly, making shorthand a necessary tool to produce a truly verbatim record (see as an example Fig.1). Parliamentary shorthand writers worked with the most radically abbreviated version of shorthand, the so-called *Kammerschrift*.⁶ Sometimes, only the shorthand symbol for the prefix of a word would be noted down (such as the German prefix ‘Ab’ for *Abgeordneter*, ‘parliamentarian’). Because shorthand was a highly complex writing practice, the fidelity of the records depended on the abilities and performance of the scribes, which were consequently a source of constant concern at the time.

While most minute-takers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had to show basic abilities, parliamentary shorthand writers were expected to meet an especially high standard.⁷ They had to be university-educated, physically fit and – in accordance with the norms of the time – male. The requirement of academic education was based on the fact that scribes had to understand the content of the debates in order to record them adequately:

Ferner muss dem Parlamentspraktiker ein grosser Umfang des Wissens innewohnen und, je weiter sich der Kreis seines Wissens erstreckt, desto vorzüglicher werden seine Leistungen sich erweisen. Er muss Sprachkenntnisse [...] besitzen. Er darf in Philosophie, Geschichte, Nationalökonomie, Statistik, Geographie, Rechtswissenschaft nicht unbewandert sein, kurz und gut, es muss ihm ein mehr als bloss enzyklopädisches Wissen innewohnen.⁸

Furthermore, the parliamentary shorthand writer must have a wide range of knowledge and the wider the circle of his knowledge, the more excellent his performance will prove to be. He must have a knowledge of languages [...]. He must not be unversed in philosophy, history, national economy, statistics, geography, jurisprudence, in short, he must have more than just encyclopaedic knowledge.⁹

Insisting on an academic education thus served as a strategy to guarantee a reliable protocol, in addition to other criteria such as the mastery of shorthand writing, the acoustics of the plenary hall, or the ideal writing tools. In a broader sense, most parliamentary stenographers saw their profession as a scientific one and their activity as decidedly intellectual. Recording the debates was, in their opinion, not a mechanical or manual process, but rather a cognitive one.

In addition to academic education, physical fitness was portrayed as a relevant precondition for becoming a parliamentary stenographer. Noting down the speeches in the plenary hall was physically exhausting and required a stable physical condition. Like academic education, the performance of the stenographer’s body was a safeguard to guarantee the fidelity of the protocols:

Um als Parlamentsstenograph mit Erfolg thätig zu sein, muss derselbe, ganz abgesehen von der grössten technischen Handfertigkeit, zunächst einen gesunden und grossen Anstrengungen vollkommen gewachsenen Körper besitzen.¹⁰

In order to be successful as a parliamentary stenographer, he must, quite apart from the greatest technical skill, first of all have a healthy body that is fully capable of great effort.

These ideas of physical strength were embedded in the mechanical and physiological scientific understanding of the body that prevailed in the nineteenth century, the most prominent metaphor for which was the body as a thermodynamic machine.¹¹ Yet even fit bodies could collapse: sick notes due to neurasthenia, a clinical diagnosis of exhaustion, can be found, dating primarily from the 1880s onwards.¹² This was related not only to the fact that

⁵ Zimmermann 1897, 64–67.

⁶ e.g. Conn 1861.

⁷ Niehaus and Schmidt-Hannisa 2005, 11–12.

⁸ Zeibig 1891, 5–6.

⁹ All translations by the author.

¹⁰ Zeibig 1891, 5.

¹¹ Rabinbach 1998, 294.

¹² BArch R 3903/1640, bl. 2.

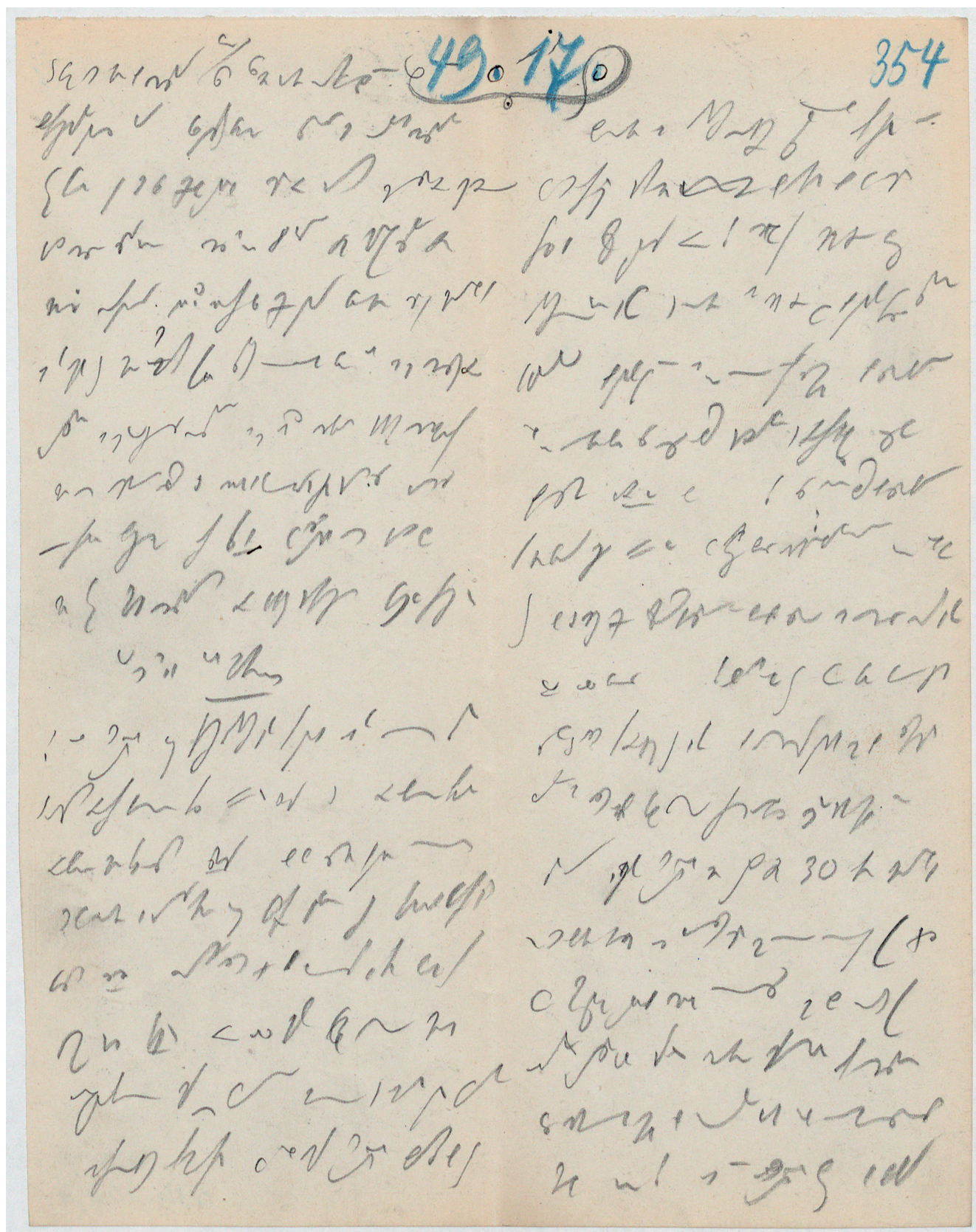


Fig. 1: A shorthand note from the Reichstag in 1882, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), Stenografische Sammlung, Q. Slg.10,1,1.

neurasthenia developed into a fashionable diagnosis, but more specifically to the way parliaments functioned in the late nineteenth century. As sessions became longer and new commissions and committees were established, all of which needed to be recorded by the stenographers, their workload increased.¹³

While physical fitness was considered an essential professional requirement, the discourse also implied that the parliamentary stenographer's body was a masculine one. In the nineteenth century, academic education and physical performance were linked by the fact that both were male categories, and gender had an identity-forming effect on stenographers. According to these discourses, only men were capable of neutral, non-emotionally guided transcription. Objectivity as an unconditional prerequisite for an authentic transcript was thus a genuinely masculine quality.¹⁴

The first original – the shorthand note – became obsolete after it was transcribed into longhand by clerks or secretaries, since shorthand was not readable for most people. The longhand manuscript was revised and corrected to create a comprehensible text in written language without filler words or stutters. First, the stenographers revised the texts. Afterwards, and more importantly, the parliamentarians revised and corrected their speeches, because the so-called *Rednerkorrekturrecht* guaranteed them the right to do so and thereby to authorise them before they were printed.

3. The speaker

The *Rednerkorrekturrecht* was not uncontroversial at the time. Publicists and political opponents criticised the speakers for practising ‘censorship’.¹⁵ As a riposte, the parliamentarians justified this practice on two grounds. First, shorthand was error-prone as a technique for recording technique oral proceedings, as uncounted slips of the pen occurred.¹⁶ For example, in 1948 in Frankfurt, the Bavarian MP Johann Eisenmann complained in the National Assembly:

Ich habe mich darauf verlassen, daß wirklich stenographiert werde [...] Ich habe dies (sein Protokoll nachlesen) im Beisein Wigards’s, Biedermann’s und Hassel’s (drei Stenographen)

gethan und Dinge gefunden, die ich gar nicht gesagt. [...] Ich habe die Erfahrung gemacht, dass selbst redlich Stenographen gräulichen Unsinn zur Welt gebracht haben.¹⁷

I relied on the fact that shorthand notes were really taken [...] I did this [i.e. read his protocol] in the presence of Wigard, Biedermann and Hassel and found things that I did not say at all. [...] I have had the experience that even honest stenographers have produced atrocious nonsense.

Second, the parliamentarians insisted that they had a right to authorise the record of their own speech before the minutes became official. When Prussian prime minister Otto von Bismarck accused members of the stenographic office of having leaked the transcripts of his speeches to the press before he could authorize them in 1867, he stated:

Bei den politischen Inconvenienzen, welche derartige entstellte, mit dem Anschein der Authentizität versehene Publikationen von Reden eines auswärtigen Ministers zur Folge haben, kann ich solche unbefugte Disposition über die amtliche Aufzeichnung meiner Auslassungen fernerhin nicht dulden.¹⁸

In view of the political inconvenience which such distorted publications of speeches by a foreign minister, provided with the appearance of authenticity, entail, I cannot further tolerate such unauthorised disposition of the official record of my omissions.

Although Bismarck's position is certainly extreme, this example illustrates how the parliamentarians wanted to control the official version of their own speeches.

The extent to which they actually revised them and changed the content is hard to determine. Normative sources often show a rather generous interpretation of the *Rednerkorrekturrecht*. An article from the parliamentary commissioner of the Prussian House of Representatives, Gottlieb Heinrich Freiherr von Zedlitz und Neukirch from 1907, for instance, assumed that as spoken language was to be converted into written language, there were likely to be extensive changes. Furthermore, the maxim always had to be the importance of rendering what the parliamentarian

¹³ Gjuričová and Schulz 2012, 14.

¹⁴ Gardey 2019, 57.

¹⁵ Robolsky 1887, 120–122.

¹⁶ Burkhardt 2003, 499.

¹⁷ Zeibig 1900, 73.

¹⁸ GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Inneren Tit. 533 Nr. 4, fol. 12.

intended to express with his speech – even if this intention did not correspond to what was actually said. That might be the case if, for example, *während der Rede für den Gedanken ein zutreffender, Mißverständnisse ausschließender Ausdruck nicht gefunden wurde*.¹⁹

The extent to which speakers were allowed to revise their speeches was defined, among other factors, by the intention. They were allowed to correct their speech in accordance with what their intended political message had been.

When it came to use of the records for the interpretation of the law or as a historical source, it was especially important that the political statement come through in the text. If the faint rhetoric of a speaker impeded the intended message, the Rednerkorrekturrecht was a chance to adjust the text accordingly. The speakers, as the elected representatives of the people, were the originators of the political thought and the argument of a speech, and the records were supposed to be true to what was actually meant in a speech – more than to what was *said*.

All in all, the speakers had immense control over what became the official record, and therefore used the Rednerkorrekturrecht as an instrument of control of political communication in their favour. Fig. 2 shows the copious revision of then member of parliament Otto von Bismarck at the first United Assembly of Prussia in 1847. However, this might have been caused by the particular political circumstances: it was the first time that representatives from all Prussian provinces came together – and that a complete record of a Prussian assembly was published.²⁰

4. The political body: Parliament as the originator of the printed version

After authorisation by the speakers, the protocols were printed and published as the official records of the proceedings. Official publications – e.g. corpus juris, statistics, gazettes – were (and are) usually issued by a public body.²¹ However, in the case of the minutes, the parliaments were not the editor (*Herausgeber*) from the beginning. In the early days of constitutionalism, before 1848, it was the monarchic government, and not the parliaments, who edited the protocols.²² Only after 1848 did the political body of the parliaments become the originator

of the printed protocol in the legal sense. Hence, the status of the originator of protocols was a sign of the increasing political powers of parliaments during the nineteenth century, from 1848 onwards. Because the minutes were published as an official transcript of the proceedings, the parliaments were considered to hold authority.

In those prints, all traces of the production have vanished. In the final version of the records, the presentation of the content appears to be homogeneous (see Fig. 3). As described above, the production of the shorthand protocol left behind several manuscripts that had resulted from various writing practices and originators, and featured distinctive visual layouts and graphic items, including the speakers' signatures, the marks with the number of the session, the date, the shorthand writer's shift, and sometimes also the name of the shorthand writer and the clerk.²³ Furthermore, in the longhand manuscripts there were the revisions by the shorthand writers and the speakers' corrections. That all those layers of writing are invisible in the final artefact is due above all to the type of medium: traces of writing and corrections are hard to maintain in prints. I would nevertheless argue that the homogeneous appearance of the print also had a political advantage: ambiguity turned into unambiguity and was supposed thereby to strengthen the credibility of the protocols. Therefore, the editor could also be seen as the originator, since parliament played a role in the authentication process.

Even though no traces of the production process are visible in the final print, knowledge about the process was however not lost. On the contrary, contemporaries knew about the insufficiencies of shorthand and about the speakers' revisions, and they instrumentalized this knowledge to their own benefit. Members of parliament used the protocols as proof of what had been said earlier in the debates – and even read out loud the uncorrected transcript as evidence in the debates.²⁴ They aimed to defend their credibility against inappropriate, unjustified – alleged or real – accusations by their parliamentary opponents. The probative value of printed protocols could always be challenged and contested by the accusation that the minutes had been substantially revised or manipulated during their correction by the speaker. This accusation was so serious because it directly attacked the integrity as a core political value of parliamentarians.

¹⁹ 'If the speaker did not find an appropriate expression for the idea, one that would exclude misunderstandings during the speech', von Zedlitz-Neukirch 1900, 185.

²⁰ Obenaus 1984, 763.

²¹ Maier 2016.

²² Biefang 2009, 68.

²³ Boeddeker 2023, 116–118.

²⁴ *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*, vol. 41, 99.

zirk des Regierungs-Bezirks Erfurt waren zwei Abgeordnete zu wählen. An der ersten Wahl haben 324 Wahlmänner Theil genommen, die absolute Majorität beträgt also 163. Es haben erhalten der hiesige Kommissar geistlicher Rath Dr. Jerth 303, mithin 43 Stimmen über die absolute Majorität. Beim zweiten Wahlgange erhielt der Kreisgerichtsrath Strecker von 317 abgegebenen Stimmen 223, also 94 über die absolute Majorität. Die Qualifikation beider Abgeordneten ist erwiesen, sie haben die Wahl angenommen, Formfehler sind bei der Wahl nicht vorgekommen, die Abtheilung beantragt die Gültigkeit der Wahl.

Alters-Präsident **v. Bonin**: Das Haus tritt dem Antrage der Abtheilung auf Gültigkeitserklärung der Wahl der Herren Abgeordneten Dr. Jerth und Strecker bei.

(Große Unruhe im Hause.)

Meine Herren, ich bitte, es dem Herrn Referenten etwas zu erleichtern.

Berichterstatler Abgeordneter **Thilo**: Im 1. Wahlbezirk des Regierungsbezirks Danzig wurden bei der ersten Wahl 420 Stimmen abgegeben, die absolute Majorität beträgt also 211. Es erhielt der Oberbürgermeister Philipps 270 Stimmen, also bedeutend über die absolute Majorität.

Beim zweiten Wahlgange wurden 408 Stimmen abgegeben, die absolute Majorität beträgt also 205. Der Herr v. Jordanbeck erhielt 295 Stimmen, beide Gewählten haben also eine bedeutende Stimmenmehrheit. Proteste und Bedenken liegen gegen die beiden Wahlen nicht vor, die Qualifikation der Gewählten ist bekannt, die Herren haben die Wahl auch angenommen. Es wird die Genehmigung der Wahl beantragt.

Alters-Präsident **v. Bonin**: Wenn auch hier kein Widerspruch erhoben wird, so tritt das Haus dem Antrage der Abtheilung auf Gültigkeitserklärung der Wahl der Herren Abgeordneten Philipps und v. Jordanbeck bei.

Berichterstatler Abg. **Thilo**: Im dritten Wahlbezirk des Regierungsbezirks Danzig wurden im ersten Wahlgange 404 Stimmen abgegeben, die absolute Majorität beträgt also 203. Es erhielt der Gymnasiallehrer Franz Schröder 253, also 50 Stimmen über die absolute Majorität.

Im zweiten Wahlgange wurden 400 Stimmen abgegeben, die absolute Majorität beträgt also 201. Es erhielt der Rittergutsbesitzer Leo von Rybinski 249, also 48 Stimmen über die absolute Majorität. Erhebliche Bedenken in Bezug auf das Wahlverfahren haben sich nicht ergeben, beide Herren haben die Wahl angenommen, ihre Qualifikation ist bescheinigt. Es wird beantragt, beide Wahlen für gültig zu erklären.

Alters-Präsident **von Bonin**: Auch hier tritt das Haus dem Antrage der Abtheilung auf Gültigkeitserklärung der Wahl der Herren Abgeordneten Schröder und v. Rybinski bei.

Berichterstatler Abgeordneter **Thilo**: Im ersten Wahlbezirk des Regierungsbezirks Königsberg wurden im ersten Wahlgange 319 Stimmen abgegeben, die absolute Majorität beträgt also 160. Herr Wilhelm Burbohm erhielt 180 Stimmen, er ist daher gewählt, er hat die Wahl angenommen, seine Qualifikation ist bescheinigt. Im zweiten Wahlgange erhielt von 317 Stimmen Charles Gubbo 184; auch hier ist bedeutend die absolute Majorität überschritten, die Qualifikation des Gewählten ist bescheinigt, er hat die Wahl angenommen. Formfehler sind nicht bemerkt worden. Es wird beantragt die Gültigkeitserklärung der Herren Burbohm und Charles Gubbo.

Alters-Präsident **v. Bonin**: Auch ihre wird die Gültigkeit der Wahlen der Herren Charles Gubbo und Burbohm erklärt.

Berichterstatler Abgeordneter **Thilo**: Im dritten Wahlbezirk des Regierungsbezirks Erfurt wurden im ersten Wahlgange 407 Stimmen abgegeben. Von diesen erhielt Graf v. Wisingerode 362 Stimmen, im zweiten Wahlgange Landrath v. Marschall von 412 Stimmen 283. Es ist also bei beiden Wahlen die absolute Majorität bedeutend überschritten. Proteste sind nicht eingegangen, Bedenken gegen die Form haben sich nicht ergeben, beide Herren haben die Wahl angenommen und ist ihre Qualifikation als frühere Mitglieder des Hauses unzweifelhaft. Die Abtheilung beantragt Gültigkeitserklärung der Wahlen.

Alters-Präsident **v. Bonin**: Wenn kein Widerspruch erhoben wird, nehme ich an, daß das Haus dem Antrage der Abtheilung, die Wahlen der Herren Graf v. Wisingerode und Landrath v. Marschall für gültig zu erklären, beitrifft.

Berichterstatler Abgeordneter **Thilo**: Im neunten Wahlbezirk des Regierungsbezirks Königsberg wurden bei der ersten Wahl von 410 Stimmen 274 abgegeben für den Baron v. d. Goltz, bei der zweiten Wahl von 386 Stimmen 247 Stimmen für den Rittergutsbesitzer von Rautten-Ramoth, es ist also bei der Wahl ad I mit 68, bei der Wahl ad II mit 53 Stimmen die absolute Majorität überschritten; Proteste liegen nicht vor, wesentliche Formfehler sind nicht bemerkt worden, die Herren haben die Wahl angenommen und ihre Qualifikation ist bescheinigt. Es wird beantragt, die Gültigkeitserklärung der Wahlen auszusprechen.

Alters-Präsident **v. Bonin**: Das Haus tritt dem Antrage, die Wahlen der Herren v. d. Goltz und v. Rautten-Ramoth für gültig zu erklären bei.

Berichterstatler Abgeordneter **Thilo**: Im 8. Wahlbezirk des Regierungsbezirks Königsberg waren zwei Abgeordnete zu wählen. Es waren 327 Wahlmänner erschienen; bei dem ersten Wahlgange wurden 327 Stimmen abgegeben, die absolute Majorität beträgt 164. Der Domherr Borowski in Frauenburg hat 193 Stimmen erhalten. Es ist also die absolute Majorität überschritten. Bei der Wahl des zweiten Abgeordneten wurden 322 gültige Stimmen abgegeben, die absolute Majorität betrug 162. Der Bürgermeister Gajewski in Wartenburg hatte 159 Stimmen. Da die absolute Majorität nicht erzielt wurde, so wurde zur engeren Wahl geschritten und es erhielt von 314 gültigen Stimmen, da die absolute Majorität 158 beträgt, der Bürgermeister Gajewski 163. Er ist daher als zweiter Abgeordneter gewählt. Die Wählbarkeit beider Herren ist nicht angezweifelt, sie haben die Wahl angenommen, Proteste liegen nicht vor, die Abtheilung beantragt die Gültigkeitserklärung der Wahl der Herren Bürgermeister Gajewski und Borowski.

Alters-Präsident **v. Bonin**: Dem Antrage der Abtheilung auf Gültigkeitserklärung der Wahlen der Abgeordneten Gajewski und Borowski tritt das Haus bei.

Berichterstatler Abgeordneter **Thilo**: Im 5. Wahlbezirk des Regierungsbezirks Königsberg sind beim ersten Wahlgange 332 Stimmen abgegeben worden: von diesen hat 243 Stimmen der Probst Brieze erhalten, die absolute Majorität ist also überschritten. Beim zweiten Wahlgange hat von 325 abgegebenen Stimmen der Schulze Krämer 221 Stimmen erhalten, es ist also auch hier die absolute Majorität überschritten. Beide Herren haben die Wahl angenommen, Formfehler sind nicht bemerkt worden, die Qualifikation ist nachgewiesen; es

Fig. 3: A page from the published minutes of a Prussian parliamentary session from 1870, Preußen, Haus der Abgeordneten: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Preussischen Hauses der Abgeordneten*, 1870/71, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 J. publ.g. 1142 hf.A, 2-1870/71, p. 10, <Urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10814563-5>.

4. Conclusion

The *Stenographische Berichte* of nineteenth-century German parliaments were produced by means of a collaborative effort. All originators – the scribe, the speaker, and the parliamentary body – contributed through their person, position, or ability to producing ultimately complete and official minutes. In the case of the stenographer, it was his mastery of stenography that made verbatim recording possible. The shorthand writers, for their part, used numerous strategies to guarantee that no mistakes were made. In the case of the speaker, the step of authorising his own words was important, so that the parliamentarians would recognise the minutes as the official record of the proceedings. Finally, the fact that parliament issued the protocols was crucial for their effectiveness. The *Stenographische Berichte* of nineteenth-century German parliaments were published as verbatim and official records. Both of those attributions were political values in the sense that minutes became a tool for parliaments to procure ‘power over the political reality’.²⁵

The roles of the originators reveal how contemporaries negotiated the right degree of authenticity. The final minutes had to be complete, but not necessarily word-for-word and by no means phonetic. The stenographers were theoretically able to record the debates more accurately, but they subordinated themselves to the ideal that the text should be intelligible and in written language, and even did the revisions themselves. The speakers’ attitude to the ideal of authenticity varied according to whether they were defending the *Rednerkorrekturrecht* or whether they wanted to attack the credibility of an opponent by accusing him of falsifying their speech. Such disputes did not however harm the status of the record, for as the various parties shared the common interest of producing a final document that was considered an original, the published version was deemed to be authoritative.

Acknowledgements

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

²⁵ Verfügungsgewalt über die politische Wirklichkeit. Vismann 2011, 86.

REFERENCES

Archival documents

BArch R 3903/1640 = Berlin, Bundesarchiv, R 3903 (Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung), 1640.

GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Inneren Tit. 533 Nr. 4 = Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Inneren Tit. 533 Nr. 4.

GStAPK, I. HA Rep. 92 Zinkeisen Nr. 46 = Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, I. HA Rep. 92 Zinkeisen Nr. 46.

SLUB Q. Slg. 10,1,1 = Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), Stenografische Sammlung, Q. Slg. 10,1,1.

Primary sources

Conn, Leopold (1861), *Lehrbuch der deutschen Kammer-Stenographie: Nach dem System Franz X. Gabelsberger's. Vorzüglich zum Selbstunterricht geeignet*, Wien: In Commission bei Franz Rospinis.

Deutsches Reich, Reichstag (ed.) (1876), *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags, 2. Legislaturperiode, IV. Session 1876*, Berlin: Verl. der Buchdr. der Norddt. Allg. Zeitung <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00018384-8>.

Preußen, Haus der Abgeordneten (ed.) (1871), *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Preußischen Hauses der Abgeordneten. 1870/71. ... der durch die Allerhöchste Verordnung vom 4. Dez. 1870 einberufenen beiden Häuser des Landtages*, Berlin: W. Moeser <urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10814563-5>.

Robolsky, Hermann (1887), *Aus der Wilhelmstraße: Erinnerungen eines Offiziösen*, Berlin: Eckstein.

Zedlitz und Neukirch, Heinrich von (1907), 'Das Recht des Redners auf Korrektur des Stenogramms seiner Rede', *Stenografische Praxis*, 1: 185–186.

Zeibig, Julius Woldemar (1890), *Einrichtung eines Stenographischen Musterbureaus: Bericht erstattet bei Gelegenheit des III. Stenographenkongresses zu München 1890*, München.

Zeibig, Julius Woldemar (1900), *Der letzte Stenograph der Nationalversammlung in Frankfurt: Lebenserinnerungen eines alten Burschenschaftlers*, Dresden: Wilhelm Reuter.

Secondary literature

Biefang, Andreas (2009), *Die andere Seite der Macht: Reichstag und Öffentlichkeit im „System Bismarck“ 1871–1890*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag.

Boeddeker, Hannah (2023), *Parlamente schreiben: Stenographie, Protokoll und politische Kultur 1815–1918*, Universität Hamburg, Department of History [unpublished PhD Dissertation].

Bösch, Frank (2022), 'Parlamente, Medien, Öffentlichkeiten', in Andreas Biefang, Dominik Geppert, Marie-Luise Recker, and Andreas Wirsching (eds), *Parlamentarismus in Deutschland von 1815 bis zur Gegenwart: Historische Perspektiven auf die repräsentative Demokratie*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 235–256.

Burkhardt, Armin (2003), *Das Parlament und seine Sprache: Studien zu Theorie und Geschichte parlamentarischer Kommunikation*, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Gabelsberger, Franz Xaver (1850), *Anleitung zur deutschen Redenzeichenkunst oder Stenographie*, 2nd edn., München: Im Verlage des Verfassers.

Gardey, Delphine (2019), *Schreiben, Rechnen, Ablegen: Wie eine Revolution des Büros unsere Gesellschaft verändert hat*, Göttingen: Konstanz University Press.

Gjuričová, Adéla and Andreas Schulz (2014), 'Über die Köpfe der Menschen hinweg? Lebenswelten von Abgeordneten in der Moderne', in Adéla Gjuričová, Andreas Schulz, Andreas Wirsching, and Luboš Velek (eds), *Lebenswelten von Abgeordneten in Europa 1860–1990*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 9–28.

Huber, Heinrich (1951), 'Das Archiv des Bayerischen Landtags', *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, 47: 201–210.

Maier, Susanne (2016), 'Amtliche Publikationen und Statistiken', in Laura Busse (ed.), *Clio Guide—Ein Handbuch zu digitalen Ressourcen für die Geschichtswissenschaften*, <<http://www.clio-online.de/guides/sammlungen/amtliche-publikationen-und-statistiken/2016>>.

Niehaus, Michael and Hans-Walter Schmidt-Hannisa (2005), 'Textsorte Protokoll. Ein Aufriß', in Michael Niehaus and Hans-Walter Schmidt-Hannisa (eds), *Das Protokoll: Kulturelle Funktionen einer Textsorte*, Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 7–26.

Obenaus, Herbert (1984), *Anfänge des Parlamentarismus in Preußen bis 1848*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag.

Rabinbach, Anson (1998), 'Ermüdung, Energie und der menschliche Motor', in Philipp Sarasin and Jacob Tanner (eds), *Physiologie und industrielle Gesellschaft: Studien zur Verwissenschaftlichung des Körpers im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 286–312.

Range, Ernst (1916), 'Die Verantwortlichkeit für die stenographischen Berichte über die Verhandlungen der deutschen Parlamente', *Stenografische Praxis*, 10/9: 51–54.

Vismann, Cornelia (2011), *Akten: Medientechnik und Recht*, 3rd edn, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

Zimmermann, Adam (1897), *Geschichte der Stenographie in kurzen Zügen vom Klassischen Alterthum bis zur Gegenwart: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Gabelsberger'schen Redezeichenkunst*, Wien: Hartleben.

PICTURE CREDITS

Fig. 1: © Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek- Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

Fig. 2: © Berlin, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

ISSN 1867–9617

© 2023

Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC)

Universität Hamburg

Warburgstraße 26

20354 Hamburg

Germany

www.csmc.uni-hamburg.de