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Centuries of TeXT

TXt Magazine
Tenth Anniversary Edition



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TXt
MAGAZINE

Custodians of Text



Preface

AS A LIBRARIAN for the greater part of my life, I am greatly devoted to text. Texts in all their forms and varieties, from manuscripts from the Middle Ages to the letters and notes of Jan Wolkers, from early printed incunabula to the books written or printed in a great variety of languages from all over the world, from finely printed private presses to chapbooks and ephemera, but also from the traditional codices to digital texts in all its forms, media and languages.

Since the groundbreaking Panizzi Lectures by Oxford professor D.F. McKenzie, published as *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London, 1986), the scope of research expanded from ‘the history of the book’ to ‘the history of texts’. The name of your department properly changed its name to Book and Digital Media Studies and even more significantly, you choose ‘TXT’ as the name of your annual publication.

The widening perspective has also changed the soul of the library. In the digital era librarians are no longer only curators of books and manuscripts, but also the custodians of a digital library of texts in all their forms and formats. As carefully as we store and care for our collections of textual heritage, we also care for digital data and access to the worldwide web of knowledge. Still the main carrier of the data and knowledge remains the same: it's text!

Therefore, I welcome the theme of this jubilee issue, 'Centuries of TeXT', which reminds me of the rich history of our library. In just two years from now, in 2025, we will celebrate 450 years of Leiden University. From a librarian's perspective, the theme of our celebration could well be '450 years of texts'. The history of the university is inseparable from the history of its library as an indispensable tool to accommodate research and education in all faculties.

Leiden University Libraries is proud to partner with the students of the MA Book and Digital Media Studies in the publication of the tenth issue of their yearbook, *TEXT* X. From the beginning of this series members of the library's staff have been involved in *TEXT*, as is the case in this anniversary edition. I congratulate the staff of Book and Digital Media Studies and especially this year's editorial committee with this achievement. I know that publishing a book is not a small feat. It takes quite an effort to go through the whole process of gathering submissions, reviewing, editing, designing, etcetera.

I wish Book and Digital Media Studies and *TEXT* a bright and textual future and I do hope that the close ties between our library and the staff and students of BDMS will get even closer. A flourishing academic field, devoted to text, is a necessary condition to educate and recruit the librarians and custodians of the future.

Finally, speaking for myself, I am pleased that *TEXT* is still published as a printed book, a book I can hold in my hand, with pages I can browse, with meaningful texts and images. As an eager reader I will take my own copy home and start reading immediately, as a librarian I will ensure that we will cherish this small book in our vaults, amidst an ocean of textual heritage.

Kurt De Belder

University Librarian

Director Leiden University Libraries &

Leiden University Press

Celebrating a Decade of *TXt*: Introduction to the Xth Anniversary Issue



THE MASTER PROGRAMME Book and Digital Media Studies of Leiden University is proud to here present *TXt* X—the tenth issue of its student-led annual publication. This second lustrum is a notable achievement that testifies to BDMS students' sustained commitment and continued engagement, as editorial teams have risen to the occasion every year, for a decade now. *TXt* stands in an even longer tradition: departmental newsletters *The Galleys* (in the nineties) and *Ezelsoor* ('Dog's Ear', in the zeroes) were the xeroxed precursors to annual, student-led publications in print. Such yearbook-magazines, dubbed *EDiT* in 2011, *RE_* in 2012, and *Yapp* in 2013, stabilized into the current concept, with its title and logo. *TXt* got assigned its own ISSN in 2014. Based on this registration, really, we now celebrate the Xth anniversary—apt, perhaps, in the age of data.

It goes without saying that *TXt* X is a stand-alone collectible, embodying the current editorial team's perspective. Its editors have been drafted from the student cohort, like every year, to form a board that is in charge of the full publication process that takes the most of an academic year: from setting a topic, to announcing a call for papers, soliciting contributions, reviewing submissions, editing articles, designing the presentation, and launching the issue in style—all this extracurricular activity is no small feat, with the admirable result now in the reader's hands.

Several important constants can be found in this issue, reflecting a recognizable concept and making for a coherent series. Most importantly,

perhaps, *TEXT* has always provided a platform for a wonderfully inspiring mix of key pieces by internationally established academics (Paul Hoftijzer and Adriaan van der Weel as our now-emeriti professors, but also Anne Mangen, or Michael Bhaskar, to name just a few) and ambitious young voices working on their dissertation or thesis—all this sprinkled with engaging perspectives from outside academia. The contents in the current issue-X are no exception. Similarly constant has been the magnanimity with which professionals from the library and publishing world have in turns lent a hand to new recruits; *TEXT* can gratefully boast a history of sponsoring or co-publishing agreements with Brill, Van Duuren Media, Elsevier, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Amsterdam University Press, and Boom|Elev-en. We are much obliged to Leiden University Library for offering its generous support, facilities, and expertise to the current issue.

Despite offering invaluable practical assistance with the publication process where needed, our professional partners have always supported the editorial teams to shape their own issue, in content and form. In each iteration of *TEXT*, thoughtful creativity shines through in its particular way. In hindsight one can say, perhaps unduly teleologically, that issues 1-5 (or: I-V) established the *TEXT* archetype: these issues present playful takes on traditional typography, often with a few bold complementary font colours in print. Their contents comprise playful variations on conventional academic genres: interviews, columns, or short book reviews mixed with scholarly articles.

After the first lustrum, Issue VI, on ‘The art of reading’, offers no colour beyond black and white, but weaves through its textual content a thread of custom-designed drawings of readers, applying themselves to their arts. Issue VII, ‘Diving into Digital’, plays with the notion that markup is supposed to separate form and content, as XML tags, which are normally rendered invisible in the presentation of a text, here are typographic design elements. The ‘Pandemic Papers’, as issue VIII is titled, contrasts the abnormal remoteness of the editorial process in lockdown with personal

reflection pieces by students and scholars; its black and pink design reverberates their escapist tendency and irony. ‘The Open Issue’, IX, contrastingly breathes hope and a broad horizon. It was the first to call for artworks alongside its scholarly contributions, an invitation that the current Xth volume has extended.

The theme for this issue, ‘Centuries of TeXT’, reminds the reader that books may live an awe-inspiringly long life. This notion prompts reflection on a shelf with ten consecutive issues of TXTs (and with space reserved for more), as a burgeoning collection that must capture the spirit of the MA. In a series, the sum of the modest, yet carefully designed booklets (and the accompanying PDFs in the university repository) amount to more than its ten parts. Each issue has its own emphasis, and balances imitation with amelioration—the desire to fit in the series with the aspiration to stand out from it. This duality is only human, of course, but it may be intensified by our students’ reflexive self-awareness through their immersion in the study of the book. After all, they usually study publications; taking charge of publishing one offers a wholly new, complementary perspective.

This year’s issue further celebrates its anniversary with an artisanal dust jacket (for the first 100 lucky recipients), hand-printed on APL’s Vandercook printing press, a hidden gem in the Lipsius basement. Somewhat curiously, for an MA programme that prides itself in studying the book in its manuscript, print, and digital forms—and that teaches text encoding technologies—all ten issues of *TXT* are very firmly material objects: printed pages in cardboard covers. The book world increasingly embraces the affordances that the digital medium offers for publications—interactivity, for instance, or a multimodal reading experience. *TXT* has stored PDF files facilitating worldwide open access through Leiden University’s repository. Yet these digital derivatives are still simple and static, and reading them only mimics the experience of print. Foremost, this shows that despite digital developments in the past decade, an immense gratification has ap-

parently remained in producing a material object that can be held, touched, sniffed, and leafed through.

Admittedly, the paper copy also easily beats a digital equivalent when gifted as an extended business card for the department. Reflecting the MA programme's international recruitment, and scholarly and professional connections, *TXT* can already be found on shelves in the book world from Canada to Australia, and from Mexico to Thailand. As gifts, keepsakes, souvenirs, and the fruits of hard work, hundreds of copies of a decade of *TXT* continue to spin a web of book scholarship from Leiden. Let's celebrate this achievement—cheers to the promise of centuries of text.

Fleur Praal

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the Book and Digital Media
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For centuries, the written and spoken word have played a crucial role in the formation of communities and the dissemination of knowledge. From manuscripts, to printed novels, to the invention of Twitter, humans have relied on text in various forms to connect, learn, and grow as individuals and as a society. The preservation of text has played an important role in the attempt to bridge the gap between cultures of yesterday, today, and tomorrow. This long-standing relationship between texts as material heritage objects that should be carefully preserved, and as content carriers that help sustain society as we know it is the interest of TXT's anniversary Xth edition. Exploring text across the centuries and analysing how texts continue to change in the 21st century help us more fully grasp and appreciate the ways in which text is, and texts are, intrinsically linked to our humanity.



Centuries of TeXT: Editor's Note



THE QUOTE ON the opposite page comes from our Call for Papers, and establishes the importance of our topic better than any newly written words could. However, deciding upon the topic for the current edition of *TeXT Magazine* led our team of Book and Digital Media Studies Master's students down a long road of debate. As a small team of six, we had many things we hoped for this year's edition to showcase. However, one of the very first things we were able to unanimously decide upon was our desire to ask the prospective contributors to the magazine to explore the relationship between culture and texts. Through this decision, we considered the fact that the written and spoken word has always had central roles in the shaping of communities and knowledge. From this, our current topic, focusing on the retention of humanity and culture (in written, printed, or spoken form) and the shape those formats might take, was born. This decision led us to receive various interesting and exciting pieces which all touch on our desire to explore 'Centuries of TeXT'.

These contributions have been divided into three thought-provoking chapters: 'TeXT and Modalities', 'TeXT and Society', and 'TeXT and the Reader'. In 'TeXT and Modalities', we examine the ever-changing mediums through which texts are presented, ranging from historical manuscripts to digital platforms. Articles in this chapter explore how different text modalities shape our reception and engagement with information.

‘TeXT and Society’ delves into the broader societal interactions with texts throughout history, the present, and into the future. Contributors explore how texts have influenced social dynamics, cultural norms, and collective memory, providing valuable insights into the interplay between human experience and the written word. The articles in our final chapter, ‘TeXT and the Reader’, offer an insightful exploration of the individual’s direct interaction with texts. From the perspective of different eras, from ancient literary masterpieces to contemporary works, we gain a deeper understanding of the profound connections forged through literature.

In the spirit of preserving the culture of *TXt*, we have included contributions from current BDMS students, lecturers, previous board members, and past contributors. Aspects of the magazine’s materiality reflect BDMS and Leiden University: our main colour scheme pays homage to the university, while the dust covers (limited to select copies) were printed using the programme’s printing press, reminiscent of old libraries’ Morocco leather books. Our visual design aims to connect our modern magazine to centuries of literary history, creating a compelling bridge between past and present. As we invite our readers to explore the world of texts across centuries, we hope they experience the passion for this rich realm through the diverse contributions in this milestone edition.

Elles van Dijken
Editor-in-Chief

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CHAPTER I

TeXT and Modalities



Erik-Jan Dros

‘But What Does a Tycoon Like You Want with Something as Common as a Book?’

Books, Text, and Knowledge in Don Rosa’s
‘Guardians of the Lost Library’ (1993)



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WHEN NORWAY PROCLAIMED 1993 as the national Year of the Book, the editor-in-chief of Disney comics in Norway asked comic book writer Don Rosa (1951) to make a special Duck comic book story commemorating this year.¹ Rosa chose to write a story about a quest for the most famous gathering place for books in history: the Library of Alexandria. But the quest did not stop in Alexandria. As Rosa formulated it:

Through a complex plot that would trace the Library through centuries of intrigue, I could show the evolution of books from papyrus scrolls through parchment tomes and the first Gutenberg volumes on up to the present day. [...] In the process, it was easy to show how books have recorded and even inspired the advancements of science and art through the ages.²

In this article, I will discuss how Rosa presents text carriers as concepts in the story he wrote in 1993, titled ‘The Guardians of the Lost Library’, and how text carriers relate to facts and knowledge in Rosa’s Duck universe.³

DON ROSA AND HIS DUCK-UNIVERSE

Don Rosa made his debut as a Duck comic book writer in 1987, when the story ‘The Son of the Sun’ was published. Apart from his detailed drawings, one of the most characteristic elements of Rosa’s comic style is the continuity between the different stories. As Kontturi already pointed out, Rosa’s characters know their own history. This is in quite big contrast to the stories of most Duck writers, not in the least of Rosa’s most influential example, Carl Barks (1901-2000). In the latter’s stories, history and continuity are almost absent: ‘What happens in one comic is disregarded in the following’.⁴ Rosa on the

other hand often refers to previous stories, both written by himself and written by Barks. His stories are even fixed in time. The ‘modern’ stories, such as ‘Lost Library’, take place in the early 1950s, the decade in which Barks wrote most of his stories.⁵ By doing so, Rosa links himself of course very closely to Barks. At the same time there is also an in-universe reason: Barks refers a number of times to various events in Scrooge’s younger years, most importantly him striking it rich in the Klondike Gold Rush at the end of the 19th century. To keep continuity with these anecdotal background stories of Scrooge Rosa has to place his ‘modern’ stories in the 1950s.

Doing so, Rosa creates one strong continuity in which both his own and Barks’ stories take place. This has taken the most concrete form in the series with which Rosa became best known: ‘The Life and Times of Scrooge McDuck’, published between 1991 and 1993 in twelve parts. For this series Rosa used the various little, sometimes contradictory, anecdotes about Scrooge’s past that can be found in Barks’ stories, to create one canonical timeline.⁶

History in general is very present in Rosa’s stories. In many cases historical events occur, or are referred to, and Rosa frequently mixes (historical) facts with fiction. The result is that in Rosa’s stories different layers come together. First, there are the two fictional ‘in-universe’ layers: the history of the Ducks according to Barks and Rosa’s own interpretation and supplements on this history. Then, there is a factual layer with which Rosa places his stories in the context of historical events.⁷ About one of the places in ‘Lost Library’ in which these layers come together, Rosa wrote: ‘[T]he scene where I have [Sir Francis Drake] establishing a lost British fort on the west coast of North America is also a fact;

and though most historians think that fort was near present-day San Francisco, I moved it north a bit and decided it was on the site of Duckburg.⁸ This was a ‘fact’ I established in an earlier story ‘His Majesty McDuck’, but Carl Barks laid the groundwork first! In ‘The Money Well’, Barks revealed that Fort Duckburg, a pioneer fort, had once stood atop Killmotor Hill, the location of Scrooge’s Money Bin today. That Fort Duckburg should have evolved from Drake’s lost fort, seemed as natural to me as a corner on a square egg’.⁹

As is already somewhat apparent from the previous quotes, Rosa does not only refer to historical and in-universe facts, but he also makes great effort to make his stories as historically correct as possible, both in relation to the real world as to his Duck-universe. It goes without saying that this means that quite a lot of background research goes into Rosa’s stories, an aspect of the work Rosa himself is quite proud of:

The most enjoyable part of constructing a Scrooge treasure hunt is the challenge of making sure that every bit of history in my story is absolutely authentic. With weeks of research (using books!), I made certain that every name, date, place and event I utilised in ‘Lost Library’ was true. It may be frustrating to know that many readers think I make all this stuff up out of my imagination, but at least I know that when the story claims that, for example, Sir Francis Drake plundered a certain Spanish treasure ship sailing from a certain port on a certain date, it’s all absolutely authentic. That makes it fun for me!¹⁰

THE ‘GUARDIANS OF THE LOST LIBRARY’

The story starts in the just opened Woodchuck Museum in Duckburg, where Scrooge unsuccessfully tries to buy a copy of the *Junior Woodchuck Guidebook*, the almost inexhaustible source of data in the Duck-universe. When explaining to a surprised Donald, Scrooge states: ‘Books are knowledge, and knowledge equals power and money! If I had all the data that seems to be buried in that little guidebook, there’s no end to the riches I could uncover’.¹¹ Just one institute might have had more information (and thus value) than the *Guidebook*: the Library of Alexandria.

It is the starting point for the quest for the fabled lost library by Scrooge and Huey, Dewey, and Louie. With the help of Scrooge’s money and the information in Huey, Dewey and Louie’s copy of the guidebook, the library building itself is quickly found, but as it turns out the papyrus scrolls have been turned into dust in the intervening centuries. Luckily the Ducks discover that the collection has been condensed and copied by Byzantine scribes and sent to the ‘the new capital of civilization’,¹² Constantinople. This is the main theme of the story. The Ducks travel to various historical centers of culture and knowledge in Europe (from Istanbul via Venice to Seville and the Americas (Santo Domingo, Lima and Duckburg itself) in search of the library. At almost every stop several “things” have happened to the library: it has been enriched with new information, it has been copied, during which it changed its physical form and in a number of cases was condensed. While the copies were transferred to a new location, the original has since disappeared.

Let me elaborate on these points. Whereas initially the Ducks are looking for the Library of Alexandria for it’s (now lost) histories

of ancient Mediterranean civilizations ‘and all their secrets too, like the locations of treasure troves and gold mines’,¹³ throughout the story ‘the pot grows’.¹⁴ it turns out that in Constantinople the ‘books of the great libraries of Islam’ were added,¹⁵ in Venice ‘copies of the great books of Kublai Khan’s empire’ (with Marco Polo as intermediary),¹⁶ and in Lima ‘the knowledge of the Mayans, Aztecs, Incas, and Olmecs’.¹⁷

Not only the content of the library was enlarged and updated throughout the ages, also the form of the library was modernised at every step. Starting as a library with papyrus scrolls in Alexandria, the texts were copied successively on parchment scrolls, manuscript books, and printed books. This change of form also influenced the size of the library. The collection “shrinks” from a million parchment scrolls in Alexandria, to ten thousand manuscript books in Constantinople, to a thousand printed books in Venice. This has partly to do with the medium (“Ten scrolls fit in each book!”¹⁸), but while copying, the library has also been condensed. Most notably between Alexandria and Constantinople (“Sounds like they condensed the Library of Alexandria! Perhaps they left out the plays and poetry!”¹⁹) and in the Americas (“We searched out the most valuable facts of ancient history and science... Only those facts contained in no other books...”²⁰).

Rosa also comprehensively shows why copying those books was so important for the preservation of the text. In all cases the original library has since disappeared, while the copy moved on. Rosa has included the biggest threats for books and libraries throughout the ages into his story: fire (Constantinople), water (Venice), vermin (Duckburg), threat of war and looting (Alexandria

and Constantinople), theft (Lima and Venice) and simply the destructing power of time itself (Alexandria).

TEXT AND FACTS

The quest for the Lost Library ends back in Duckburg. As discussed earlier, Sir Francis Drake provides the transition from the real world to the Duck-world. After hijacking the collection from a Spanish ship, Drake stores the books in a newly built fort, which once stood on the exact same spot as Scrooge's Money Bin. Once again, time was cruel to the collection, and all the pages have been eaten by rats in the intervening centuries. Luckily the collection was again copied by the crew Drake left to defend his fort before the content was lost, now condensed into one volume: "The single, fabulous volume that contains the essence of the great library! The world's most valuable book!!"²¹ As the good reader might expect, at this point the story completes the circle: "[Scrooge:] You don't mean... You're not saying... The book that held the distilled essence of all the "lost libraries" is now... [Nephew:] The *Junior Woodchuck Guidebook*! After all this, the trail has ended at the one book you can't buy!"²² As it turns out, Rosa made 'Lost Library' into the origin tale of the *Guidebook*.

Bergenholtz and Agerbo have used the *Junior Woodchuck Guidebook* as an example of the perfect information tool, as it does not only contain a lot of data, but it also gives exactly the right information that is needed for the user/reader. They make the comparison with Google, which also provides access to a lot of data, but you have to look for the right information between the millions of hits.²³ For instance, when the Ducks find an inscription in Alexandria, with help of the *Guidebook* they can immediately determine

the language and periodization of the inscription, just as it gives a right translation without any interpretation problems.

The main reason the *Guidebook* is portrayed as such is that there is simply no room in the story to elaborate on any interpretation doubts. It is more or less a plot device that is very similar to “the expert” you find in many adventure and mystery books and films, such as Indiana Jones movies or the books of Dan Brown, in which “the expert” also gives the right interpretation of text or symbol without second thought. Apart from the *Guidebook*, Rosa also makes plenty of use of these experts, but often they are complemented or even overruled by information in the *Guidebook*. For instance, when the head librarian of the modern library of Alexandria claims that the library building was destroyed in 640 AD, the nephews respond with ‘He must be wrong! Check the *Guidebook* under “bath water: hot”!’²⁴ As Kotro explains, this does not so much mean that history and knowledge are debatable, but rather that the *Guidebook* ‘presents history as given facts, i.e. the truth which does not need to be questioned (...) as if it were something that does not need to be studied or analysed, and leaves no room for interpretation’.²⁵

In a broader sense, this idea that history is just a set of given facts, does not only apply to the *Guidebook* itself, but also to the way in which Rosa treats the preservation of knowledge. Rosa puts a lot of emphasis on the way in which knowledge was preserved and handed over throughout the ages and the importance of this preservation. As Rosa shows, the physical objects are threatened by various dangers and if those objects are not preserved or copied, the information in them might be lost. At the same time Rosa approaches that knowledge in those books as either black or white:

the knowledge still exists or it does not exist anymore. Copying errors, misreadings, fake news (either intentionally or accidentally) or even mistakes by the author are non-existent in Rosa's Duck-universe. History only consists of facts. The moment someone says something that turns out not to be true, it is simply because he did not yet have all the information.

Interestingly this also means that while the books as physical objects seem to be the main topic of the story, they are not really of interest for the Ducks. At various moments it seems that the library has been lost, the Ducks are disappointed, but this has not so much to do with the loss of the physical objects, only with the loss of information in them. As soon as it turns out the information has been copied on new text carriers, the Ducks cheerfully continue their quest. It is as if Rosa wants to say that books, even in the form of two-thousand-year-old papyrus scrolls, are replaceable, knowledge is not. The fact that the physicality of the text carriers also carries meaning itself, maybe even has value by itself, plays no significant role for Rosa.

There is of course an interesting parallel between the copyists, compilers and maybe even the Junior Woodchucks in 'Lost Library' and Rosa himself as writer of the story. As we have seen, Rosa does its utmost to make the story as authentic as possible, bringing together "facts" from both the real world as from the Duck-universe: '[A]t least I know that when the story claims that, for example, Sir Francis Drake plundered a certain Spanish treasure ship sailing from a certain port on a certain date, it's all absolutely authentic'.²⁶ Just as the Junior Woodchucks and their guidebook, Rosa also 'presents history as given facts' as found in books. In his research, Rosa

leaves little room for conflicting interpretations or new insights. In contrast, the facts he finds have a fixed and almost eternal value.

CONCLUSION

With ‘The Guardians of the Lost Library’, Rosa wanted to show the evolution of books and the role books played in the advancements of science and art. At first glance, he succeeded very well in doing that. Not only does Rosa show how text carriers have changed from papyrus rolls to printed books throughout the ages, while at the same time focusing on the dangers that threaten books and the importance of conservation. However, when we focus on how Rosa presents the connection between text carriers, texts, and knowledge, it turns out that for Rosa text carriers are just that: carriers of text, which do not have intrinsic value on their own. The real value is the texts, the knowledge that those books contain. This idea is reinforced because Rosa treats knowledge as a set of fixed, unchangeable facts, which makes it possible to completely extract the valuable knowledge out of an old text carrier and put it, uncorrupted, in a new one.

When reading again Scrooge’s one-line ‘Books are knowledge, and knowledge equals power and money!’,²⁷ there is a somewhat sour aftertaste. For Scrooge, and maybe also for Rosa himself, books are only interesting for their knowledge, the fixed facts, that can be found in them. The moment that that knowledge has been extracted, nothing of interest stays behind and it would be no problem at all if the vessel is lost. For a story celebrating the book, it gives in fact quite a disappointing answer to the question: what does anyone want with something as common as a book?

Yara Cloudt

Simulation

A Short Story



Yara Cloudt has a BA in English and is currently a master student of Comparative Literary Studies at Utrecht University.

When she was 19, she self-published a poetry book titled Pink Skies featuring poems she wrote in high school. She enjoys writing fiction and poetry.

AT THE HEIGHT of the second industrial revolution, two scientists, a brother and a sister, stand in a hidden basement in London, their full attention directed upon the machine that stands at the centre of the room. His name is Clay, and he was still a student at Cambridge, although the professors did not know all his genius ideas were brought to him by his beloved sister. In turn for her brilliance, he allowed her to partake in the business of science, in secret, with him. She is called Elizabeth, and she has a stubborn heart and a bright mind and an ever present cough caused by the dirty air of the city.

The machine in front of them was her invention. Clay had simply listened to her idea and applied the science, and the result was looking back at them from the centre of the room.

‘Let’s run the simulation again,’ he says.

Elizabeth could barely contain her excitement. She wished she could squeal, but withheld herself. It would only bring about a coughing fit. The machine they had created had not worked as she had imagined it would yet, but they were so close. She mustn’t lose hope.

Clay puts on his goggles, and Elizabeth follows his example. His are round while hers are square. She giggles upon seeing her brother with such round eyes. He looks like an enlarged insect, or an alien. She puts the book she was holding, *The Time Machine* by H.G. Wells, her inspiration for this machine, on the table behind her, and steps forward towards their creation.

Elizabeth presses a green coloured button, igniting a collection of lights on the side of the machine. She pulls a lever down, starting a whirring sound.

‘Past or future, Clay?’

Clay buttons up the top of his shirt. 'If it will work this time, let's start with the past.'

Elizabeth coughs, once, then adjusts a second lever, so that the simulation will show them results from the past. That is, if it works.

She takes a stand next to Clay. Together, they watch in quiet anticipation.

The machine sputters once, and another time, then begins humming in a steady rhythm. The lights on the side colour a bright blue.

Clay lets out a single loud laugh, his eyes wide with enthusiasm.

'It works! It works...' Elizabeth clasps her hand over her mouth.

Clay hurries to set up the cotton screen on which the photograph being simulated is supposed to be projected. Next, he sets up the magnifying glass so that they shall be able to examine the photographs projected on the screen in more detail.

Then lights flash.

Slowly, a picture is being projected onto the screen. Clay and Elizabeth squint through their goggles. She leans forward towards the looking glass to get a better look. Clay pulls her back, afraid his sister will get too close. 'Careful,' he says.

She shoves his hand off her. 'Oh please.'

He debates tugging at her robes more harshly, but decides against it. He cannot force his authority upon his sister, and neither does he wish to know the price of trying to do so. Instead, he joins her, leaning forward as well, and together they watch eagerly through the looking glass at the picture on the screen.

On the screen, they see a man. He is sitting in the grass, under a tree, a wooden bowl filled with grapes beside him. He wears

white drapery. A long, thick piece of cloth hangs from one of his shoulders. It crosses around his waist, held together there by a rope, then falls towards his knees. On his feet are brown sandals, presumably leather. The man has long hair, slightly curly, and a beard of considerable length, reaching far enough down that his neck is hidden.

On his lap is a small, clay tablet. The man's picture appears as though it would be scribbling markers into it.

'Greece?' Elizabeth questions out loud.

'You're quite right, I believe.' Clay answers. 'Who do you suppose it is?'

'Homer? Were there any other writers back then?'

Clay has to stop himself from smiling. 'I'm quite adamant there were others. This could be anyone who happens to be in the business of writing text.'

'You can read Greek, can't you? Can you read aloud what he has written?'

'It's a story about a war. On plains in front of large city walls.'

'Troy?'

'I believe so. God-like Achilles is mentioned, so it would seem logical we are currently observing a manuscript of *The Iliad*.'

Elizabeth's mouth falls open. 'Then this must be Homer, mustn't it?!'

'I...' Clay falls silent, squinting at the picture. He feels a sudden bafflement at the fact that the machine they built together is fully operational. 'I dare not say. We don't even know if Homer wrote *The Iliad*.'

Then, without a warning of sorts, the screen glitches. The colours fade away, and a ripple travels across the image, from the

bottom towards the top. The picture of the man simply vanishes into the noise.

Clay breathes out deep. 'At least we got it working this time.'

Elizabeth suppresses a pout as she looks away, staring instead at her copy of *The Time Machine*.

Before either of them can say anything else, the screen lights up again. More colours start to form, and another image appears.

However, it is not the machine's sudden resurrection that stupefies Elizabeth and Clay most.

It is the fact that now, for no reason within their scientific understanding, they can hear sound. They can hear the picture.

An older man sits in a chair with his eyes closed. His mouth is agape as though he should be reciting something to his nurse, and she should be writing it down in a fever, scratching her parchment with a quill. The man corrects himself as he talks, instructing her to scrap the previous sentence, and reword it. He speaks English, so the both of them can understand him perfectly well when he says, 'Abashed the devil stood and felt how awful goodness is and saw Virtue in her shape how lovely: and pined his loss.'

Elizabeth brings a hand to her mouth slowly.

Clay feels his body stop, frozen with wonder.

'That is...'

But before Clay can finish, the machine expulsts a loud whirring, and quite suddenly the rhythm of its humming accelerates. With it, the screen glitches, the frame freezing before white noise disrupts the scene, and then indistinguishable colours begin dancing before their eyes.

It takes a few minutes, in which Elizabeth and Clay do not move but merely observe, for the machine to quiet down and show another image.

The scene depicted is of a woman sitting at a desk, alone. She appears to be in her forties. Her hair is dark and combed backwards into a neat but not very elegant bun, hanging low from the back of her head. She has round eyes, and a sharp nose. A loose-fitting blouse decorates her upper body as she bends forward, over a notebook, her fountain pen touching the paper lightly. The desk is a mess of pieces of very thin-looking parchment and opened letters. In the corner stands an ashtray, filled with extinguished cigarettes.

It takes Elizabeth and Clay a moment to realise that, not only can they hear the picture, the woman's hand is moving. They are stunned into silence by the moving picture.

It is obvious by how the woman's hand glides along the page in fluent movements that the act of writing is like breathing to her; it requires no thought, no effort. The only thing she is focused on is the words she deposits into the notebook, and how they flow together.

'Who might that be?' Elizabeth asks, utterly in awe of this woman who is writing in a room of her own, as though it is her rightful place.

'I've no idea, I must say,' Clay answers. 'Are you sure you installed it to show the past? Has it gone haywire and decided to show us something else?'

Elizabeth glances meaningfully at her brother.

'You mean...' she begins tentatively, 'this might be in the future?'

‘Do you know of other women allowed to write on their own, apart from you? I assure you, most female writers shall have a household to attend to, bustling around them.’

Elizabeth bites her lip pensively. She does know a few, but female writers are scarce. Mostly, she knows anonymous writers, whom she suspects to be female. There had been the Brontë sisters. There was Jane Austen, of course, whose memoir she read but a few years ago. But this woman bore no physical resemblance to Jane Austen at all. It must be someone else, or, she thinks, it could be as Clay suggested...

Could it be, Elizabeth thinks as she coughs into her sleeve, that there is a future where women are left unwatched, free to write? A future where women can sit at a desk, in a room of one's own, without being disturbed for chores, and write books the same way men do?

She does not have long to dwell on this thought.

The machine splutters for another moment, the screen lighting up bright white. From the whiteness emerges a new scene.

This time, it is harder to see what is happening.

There are no people in the frame. Instead, they find themselves looking at an extremely fast moving machine that is so large they wonder who on Earth possesses the abilities to build something of such scale. Within the machine, paper is moved around at impossibly high speeds; being cut, printed on, bound all by the metal parts moving around. Lastly, at the end of the machine, the bundle of paper is enclosed by a leather cover.

Elizabeth and Clay can only stand still, staring through their goggles, unable to process what they are seeing. Where does the sound come from? Why is the picture moving?

The images they see go far beyond the world they have knowledge of.

This is no longer their time.

‘So this... This is, if the simulation is correct, what it might look like in the future?’ Elizabeth is the one who asks.

Without taking his eyes from the screen, Clay nods.

And then, once more, the image glitches. The machine sputters. The humming becomes louder and the colours on the screen morph together into a blur, only to reorganise themselves into a new moving picture.

The colours regroup, and what they see next is something that baffles Elizabeth and Clay the most of all.

They cannot comprehend it. They do not have the vocabulary, the technology, to make sense of what it is they are seeing.

A hand, holding a small device. The device is about twice as large as the palm holding it up. It’s covered in a special type of glass, see through, allowing a variety of images to shine through. There are colours, and letters. Texts, short and various, spelled strangely, with small drawings among them.

The hand holding it moves its thumb forward, tapping the screen, and suddenly all the letters of the alphabet appear, in a seemingly randomised order, at the bottom half of the screen. Two thumbs begin tapping at letters, and the scientists read along as the fingers create a short string of strange words no longer than 280 characters.

‘Imao just had the wildest thought like what if none of this is real and we all in some kind of box n some alien has a laugh bout us stressin the earths dying when rllly were all just stuck in a simulation gone wrong by willy wonka or sum lol im high asf’

Ellen Barth

‘Her Work Shouts Out!’

Feminist Embroidered Texts
in the Era of Social Media



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self-publishing in the second half
of the twentieth century.*

IN 1895, AGNES Richter finished embroidering her words onto an asylum jacket, turning the standard-issue article of clothing into a textual object. Around the same time, workhouse inmate Lorina Bulwer was also embroidering, in her case, on long scrolls of fabric overflowing with carefully stitched words and images. These two textile and textual objects have much in common: both were produced by women who were incarcerated against their will (Bulwer in an English workhouse, Richter in the Hubertusberg asylum in Germany) and who were in their fifties when they would have produced these works, and both pieces have embroidered text that document the thoughts and experiences of their creators.

For women in an asylum, who may or may not have needed to be there,¹ sewing was a way to keep occupied, a task that was likely sanctioned by the institutions housing them. But also evident within these highly domestic objects is the longer history of women's subversive textual expression through embroidered craft: Richter used her jacket as a kind of diary, stitching it with comments like, 'I wish to read', and, 'I plunge headlong into disaster'.² Bulwer, on the other hand, 'spat out her anger', to use the words of Lyons and Marquilhas, and, in sewing her name again and again onto the scroll of text, forcefully asserted her own identity.³ The ferocity and passion of Bulwer's words is underscored by the patience she must have needed in order to stitch them into material form. As one visitor of the Shoddy Exhibition's workshop on the scroll noted: 'Sewing was [...] likely an occupation to keep Lorina quiet [...] but her work shouts out!'⁴

These works—and their words—speak loudly, but who, if anyone, was listening? Bulwer wrote her scrolls as a letter, yet there is

no indication that they ever reached their intended recipient; doctors at the Heidelberg asylum took little to no interest in Richter's embroidery or her jacket, with no recorded mention of it in her medical file.⁵ Surrounding the passionate voices carried through in carefully stitched text is, then, a deafening silence. What these turn-of-the-century women lacked were networks through which they could share their textual creations with others.

In our own time, feminists are again turning to craft as a way to amplify their messages—to shout out—while also finding ways to share these creations to a broad online readership. This article examines one example of this networked craftivist trend, the Tiny Pricks Project. The project invites participants to embroider the Tweets of Donald J. Trump in acts of feminist protest and also to post images of their works on social media platforms. In this way, the project informs twenty-first century textual production, with the embroidered texts located at a compelling and somewhat contradictory cross-section of current textual creation: a move towards the permanent and embodied, but employing fourth-wave/"hashtag" feminist strategies of digital connectivity and collective action.

Moreover, taking textual objects like these into account engages with current discussions of women's book history,⁶ and also follows Adriaan van der Weel's call to take a broader view within the field of book studies. In *Changing our Textual Minds*, Van der Weel noted that '[b]ook studies used to be confined to the printed book and other products of the printing press. However, the recognition is now beginning to take hold that book studies should take a longer perspective, and deal with the history of textual transmission at large. [...] The material book', he says, 'is mere-

ly one particular, historical form in which text is materialized'.⁷ Pushing the boundaries of the book in this way to include oral, digital, and crafted textual productions can serve to reclaim lost voices, fill in archival gaps, and acknowledge the importance of writing for marginalized and censored groups. For women in particular, as Rozsika Parker has said, '[t]o know the history of embroidery is to know the history of women'.⁸

CRAFTIVISM

The Tiny Pricks Project encourages embroidered reproduction of digital texts as a kind of protest or activism. Although firmly situated in the twenty-first century, through its use of craft as a vehicle for textual activism, the project connects to a long history of women using domestic craft for political ends. In the article 'Pricking the Male Ego', Mary Donaldson-Evans argues that needlework, although often associated with domesticity and subservience, has been a means of resistance throughout the centuries. 'In both the medieval cloth and the modern sampler', she says, 'women have used the tools [...] of a quintessentially "feminine" activity to express a distinctly insubordinate attitude'.⁹ Donaldson-Evans points to examples from literature, such as the feminine uprising in Frank L. Baum's *The Land of Oz*, in which women take the city with knitting needles pulled from their hair, as an example of how feminine tools of suppression can be used as 'weapons that threaten the patriarchal order'.¹⁰ Although some women did, apparently, use feminine tools like hatpins to violent ends,¹¹ women's resistance through domestic tools has more often been, to use Parker's word, subversive—for example, using hidden or coded imagery, which could be a means of covert political expression.¹²

Crafts like embroidery were and continue to be employed to resist dominant social messages and power structures, as well as to establish new aesthetics and build community. Such practices have in the past been labeled as “subversive stitchery” and “femmage”—a broader term that includes ‘activities [...] practiced by women using traditional women’s techniques to achieve their art’ and which encompasses embroidery as well as collage, scrapbooking, and cooking.¹³ Such practices relied on women’s domestic skills, gift economies based on sharing, and principles of reuse. They created a kind of ‘private female language’,¹⁴ which may be expressed through visual and/or verbal elements in such creations as communal recipe books, quilts, and tapestries, to name just a few.

A more recent term to gain popularity is “craftivism”, which places a clear focus on craft as activism. The word “craftivism” was first introduced by Betsy Greer in the 2003, and, in her 2014 book on the same subject, Greer wrote that ‘the very essence of craftivism lies in creating something that gets people to ask questions [...] to join a conversation about the social and political intent of the creations’.¹⁵ Craftivism has been used by guerilla artists and at-home crafters,¹⁶ as well as community-focused sewing groups, such as the UK-based Profanity Embroidery Group.

One political area particularly interesting to craftivists is women’s rights and gender and sexual equality. Looking at Swedish embroidered comic books, Nordenstam and Wictorin write that artists like Åsa Schagerström ‘are using traditionally feminine crafts to raise contemporary issues related to gender and politics’.¹⁷ Crafting texts amplifies their messages, as the reader interprets not only the text but the means of creation, which

is rooted in a history of women's subversive expression. As one page from Schagerström's comic *Urmodern* asks, '[i]f I embroider the words, will they be better heard?'

Crafting emphasizes presence, permanence, mindfulness, and agency, and the rise of craftivism seems to be a direct reaction to the ephemeral and disembodied nature of digital media. In the book *Hoopla: The Art of Unexpected Embroidery*, Leanne Prain writes that '[w]hile our faces often glow in the lights of laptops, many of us still have the urge to express ourselves through the use of tactile materials'.¹⁸ At the same time, much feminist activism taking place online, with current fourth-wave or "hashtag" feminism making effective use of online connectivity for social media campaigns. Despite the success of campaigns like #metoo and #niunamenos, Jessica Megarry has questioned social media's usefulness as a feminist tool, noting that today's feminists 'appear to be relying on platforms such as Facebook and Twitter—globally dominant, capitalist, male-owned companies—to start a revolution'.¹⁹

While not abandoning this critical gaze, the following will more closely address one example of feminist craftivism, the Tiny Pricks Project, to examine how social media provides a way for participants to collectively (re)read and (re)make cultural texts, share productions widely with an interested readership, and, through display, encourage greater and more varied forms of participation in global activist networks.

TINY PRICKS

The Tiny Pricks Project is a public art project started by New York artist Diana Weymar in 2018. The project protests the presidency of Donald J. Trump by embroidering Trump's Tweets, with the in-

tention of creating ‘a material record of his presidency and of the movement against it’.²⁰ The very first piece was by Weymar, who stitched ‘I am a very stable genius’, a now infamous Trump Tweet, on an old piece of her grandmother’s needlepoint. Following on from this first piece, the project collected Tweets that have been embroidered on a variety of objects from over 1,000 global participants, making it, according to the project website, ‘the largest textile Trump protest’ ever.²¹

Weymar has made it clear that the project aims to provide a ‘counterbalanc[e] to the impermanence of Twitter and other social media’,²² and the project thus taps into modern anxieties about digital content. Although digital technology offers many added values, such as ease of access and intertextuality,²³ to quote Naomi Baron, ‘posting something online, in today’s world, can mean losing awareness of what exists, where it is, who has access to it, who is accountable for it, and what is being done with it’.²⁴ The project freezes Trump’s ephemeral Tweets in material form as a way to increase awareness and ask for accountability, but also calls into question the reliability of born-digital texts. This issue has only intensified with time as Donald Trump’s Twitter ban has led to problems regarding the government’s archiving of presidential Tweets.²⁵ With banned, deleted, and unarchived Tweets, it is interesting to think of the archival as well as activist work these embroidered pieces do. Through slow, deliberate, artistic presentations, the works provide a contrast to the seemingly unconsidered, off-the-cuff, and at times nonsensical social media posts of Trump—and on a larger scale the culture of hate and discrimination fomented by the Trump administration and social media echo chambers it thrived in.

A benefit to stitchers engaged in the project, and which applies to craftivism more broadly, is the sense of agency and action it allows. Writing about the Tiny Pricks Project, Weymar has said that the project provides an outlet and a way of making a difference, one small stitch at a time: ‘with each tiny prick of the needle’, she said, ‘we’re piercing little holes into things that feel overwhelming, unsurmountable, and scary’.²⁶ Agency is expressed not only in the physical act of making but also in how crafters choose to present the text. Crafters of Trump Tweets put their own spin on the text, for example, mocking the content by using different surrounding images, changing the text slightly, adding visual elements, and by placing the words onto objects that affect interpretation.

Pieces do not present original words but rather create their protest through reframing the words of Trump, placing the words against unexpected and often innocent backdrops to create jarring juxtapositions. Patterns on fabric used for sewing can influence the interpretation of the text, such as with a handkerchief on cow-themed cloth that riffs on the catchphrase “fake news” with ‘fake moos!’ Quotes offensive to women and girls have been sewn onto underwear and adorned with embroidered breasts, cats, and pink “pussy” hats. One piece sews the quote ‘I could stand in the middle of 5th Avenue and shoot somebody and I wouldn’t lose voters’ onto an antique infant’s pinafore.²⁷

These works, then, act as a kind of active or resistant reading—a ‘reading against the grain’ that turns readers from consumers to producers.²⁸ Many of Trump’s most infamous quotes have been highly offensive to women and girls. The use of embroidery goes beyond reading the words from a feminist perspective, as crafters support their protest by embedding the words in a

history of women's and feminist tradition. A comment by a participant of the Tiny Pricks Project sums up the viewpoint nicely, saying, 'I think it's really cool that we're doing something feminine against this anti-feminist man we hate so much'.²⁹

When looking through pieces in the project, it is clear that creating a material record is not the priority for most contributors. If it were, there would not be so many works referencing the same text. Rather, in an Internet meme-like fashion, Tweets are recreated over and over again by different participants, each adding something new or unique along the way. This meme-like quality is supported by the strong online presence of the project, which has a website as well as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and Pinterest pages, on which participants can share embroidered works and easily connect to the project through the hashtag #tinypricks. This hyperlinking through hashtags means that the piece can be instantly connected to the project and interested viewers, even if the new crafted object is not sent to Weymar for collection.

Although Weymar collects and curates embroidered pieces, displaying them at times in public exhibitions, for most people, seeing pieces in the project means looking at the project's Instagram page. On social media pages, Web 2.0 affordances allow people to connect (friend, follow), share (retweet), and show support (comment, like). These online spaces, beyond displaying individual pieces, introduce the project to a global audience and provide instructions on how to participate. The project webpage, for example, suggests groups meet locally to work on pieces for the project, with a shared Google Doc listing groups that meet in person. One such group in Greensboro, North Carolina, put on a

show of their pieces before sending them in to Weymar, saying ‘we agreed that this project has been so therapeutic and fun that we will likely continue meeting as a group after the show’.³⁰

According to the project website, contributors are encouraged to post to Instagram, Twitter, and other social media sites, for recognition and as a way to encourage others to participate. This ties into what Clay Shirky has labeled a ‘publish-then-filter’³¹ logic of social media, that sees amateurs sharing content ‘as an anchor for community and cooperation’.³² When it is not possible to meet together to create, social media allows people to meet through the sharing of their creations. And in this way, displaying craftivist productions encourages others to participate, share, and engage. As Greer writes: ‘As craftivists, we are also permission-givers [...]. We [...] give other craftivists permission to make boldly, make with the greater good in mind, and make in order to nourish ourselves’.³³

The Tiny Pricks Project is thus an example not only of the power of craft for feminist activism to reposition and repurpose texts for political ends, but also the complicated movement of content in the digital age: how an off-the-cuff digital remark can slip into the material as protest, and the material can cycle back into digital networkability and collectivity—and how through digital channels, voices stitched into the material record are finding ways to be heard.

Frank Volmerink

Mixed Media Sunrise

A Column



*Frank Volmerink (1966) taught English
before becoming a publishing editor at Wolter-Noordhoff.
He published teaching materials for twelve years, after
which he returned to his original passion: teaching
English—and especially English literature. He lives in Velp,
Gelderland, the Netherlands, with his wife and has
two sons and a daughter.*

A BEAUTIFUL ORANGE-RED sun peeks over the frost-covered hedges as I mount my bicycle. My AirPods peep out from under my woollen headband. As I kick off, I double tap my right AirPod and the nasal voice of Stephen King picks up the story where he left it yesterday evening: *The Wind Through the Key Hole—The Dark Tower* part 4.5. I am on my way to the school where I teach English, half an hour's ride eastwards, and I am gradually drawn into gunslinger Roland's Midworld.

I gain speed as the familiar landscape around me seems to melt into the barren landscape from the novel. How does Stephen King do that? His voice is distinct, but not very outspoken. Apart from that, he has a curious way of pronouncing the letter 'l'. It is almost as if he produces a kind of glottal stop each time this letter turns up. This does not distract the reader from the story, though. Far from it: being the author he knows exactly how his own story is set up, of course. And he displays some acting talent in his representation of the characters. Didn't he also make a cameo appearance in the movie *IT: part 2*? Anyway, the sum of it all is that his story is enhanced with something special. And it is this extra touch that makes listening to an audiobook so rewarding for me. Of course, I am in love with books—I am an English teacher, right? But over the course of some years I have discovered that using “mixed media” definitely enriches my reading experience. Provided of course that the performing artist knows how to read out loud. Just like writing, reading out loud is an art that many aspire to, but only few master. And King happens to be a very good reader.

My first introduction to the term “mixed media” dates back some 25 years ago, when I started out as a publishing editor at a

large publishing firm of school books. Having been trained as a teacher, I had some definite ideas about how to explain the passive, relative clauses and character development in a novel. But long sessions with creative authors, test schools and IT architects showed me that a paper book alone is not enough to master a new language. Let alone to motivate teenagers. The combination of “folio and digital” turned out to be much more effective—and much more fun besides that. This sounds like kicking in an open door now, I know; but back in the day it really was an eye opener to me.

Another revelation in those days came from a colleague who explained how she passed the time during her long car rides. Our firm was based up north which meant driving quite some distances to reach potential customers. And she passed the time behind the wheel by listening to books on tape. I was hooked immediately as soon as I started listening to my recordings of the BBC radio play of *Lord of the Rings*. Who cared that some parts of Tolkien’s magnum opus were skipped to fit everything into thirteen one-hour episodes; the radio play was, and still is, fascinating. So much so that I would even take the occasional detour to finish an episode. Only to end up at home in the evening and fetch the paper book and pick up on the missed details at night.

Multimedia developed throughout the years, and I lost my interest in publishing. My love for education, however, was rekindled during my numerous visits to schools and classrooms. So when I eventually returned to those classrooms as a teacher, I took my mixed media experiences with me and tried to enrich my lessons with sound and vision. In doing this I discovered that present day school kids know much more about combining media than I did, of course. And that turned out to be exactly the extra challenge I

missed in my earlier days as a teacher. Nowadays my students show me the world of new films, games and lyrics—and I show them the world of e-readers and good old paper books that tell the same story—but also leave room for your own imagination. And where shall the twain meet? For me, somewhere between my house and my school, on an early winter's morning, with the sound of Stephen King's voice accompanying the sun as it rises over the frosty hedges.

Christine Stein Hededam

Multimodal Literacies and Digital Longform Journalism

Affordances and Meaning-Making



Christine Stein Hededam is a student and soon-to-be graduate of Book and Digital Media Studies at Leiden University. Originally from Denmark, she has spent the past four years pursuing her academic goals and putting down roots in the Netherlands. In the summer of 2023, she accepted a position as Associate Editor for Brill's Education list.

DIGITAL MULTIMODAL LONGFORM journalism builds on a long analogue tradition of immersive deep-dive stories. Various scholars have noted the genre's similarity to the New Journalism movement of the 1960s and 70s, which broke with the journalistic conventions of the time.¹ Characteristics of New Journalism included literary devices previously associated with fiction writing and the expression of subjective or even auto-ethnographic perspectives. The writers of New Journalism thus combined genres to create an immersive experience for their readers. Today, journalists continue to blend genres, not just of text, but media forms, as they aim to create the 'completeness of experience' that Dowling claims is characteristic of immersive longform.² But although digital multimodal longform journalism builds on an analogue tradition, the text's placement in the digital space changes its affordances. This paper thus asks: What affordances contribute to effective meaning-making in digital multimodal longform articles?

CHARACTERISTICS OF DIGITAL MULTIMODAL LONGFORM

Digital multimodal longform journalism is often called an 'emerging genre' which 'seeks to capture its audience by combining text, photographs, looping videos, dynamic maps and data visualizations into a unified whole'.³ The crucial thing here is that the many different modalities complement rather than distract from one another. Hiippala further observes that 'simplified navigation and user interfaces, together with smooth transitions between multimedia content, slow down the readers' interaction with the longform'.⁴ While easily overlooked, transitions are important because they organize an article's content and can be used 'to mark a switch between different semiotic modes'.⁵ Thus, they

guide the reader's attention from one modality to another without losing the flow of the narrative. This is often achieved by imbuing transitions with cinematic qualities to keep the reader immersed in the story.⁶ Immersion, as used in this paper, is taken to signify a completeness of experience, during which readers find themselves in a 'cognitive container', in which different modalities 'work to hold reader attention rather than scatter it'.⁷ Moreover, immersion means that the reader is emotionally, intellectually, and/or critically engaged in the narrative aesthetics of the piece.⁸

While writers have experimented with uploading longform texts to digital environments since the early years of the internet, the genre has only recently found its place. This is largely due to the discrepancy between the linear narrative style of the genre and the hypertext nature of the internet. For while the digital environment frees journalists from the space limits of analogue publishing, and hyperlinks promise an infinitely flexible and interconnected space for stories to unfold, hyperlinks can be distracting and do not lend themselves to a cohesive narrative. Moreover, ads and various notifications from the computer's other programs vie for readers' attention. In fact, in the heydays of the internet, 'the best web writing was thought to be short and direct'.⁹ More than two decades later, we are still faced with the paradox of the rise of longform in a world of ever-shortening texts. However, a surge in recent research on the topic is gradually providing a deeper understanding of the genre. Especially the last ten years have seen an explosion of digital multimodal longform journalism (duly followed by academic analyses). In academia and journalism alike, the genre's breakthrough is largely attributed to *The New York Times* article 'Snow Fall: The Avalanche at Tunnel Creek', writ-

ten by John Branch and published online on December 20, 2012.¹⁰ The article, which consists of six chapters of captivating writing, video interviews, interactive graphics, and animated simulations, ‘helped open the door for more compelling combinations of multimedia and text in *The New York Times* newsroom—and at publications across the country’.¹¹

THE PARADOX OF THE RISE OF LONGFORM IN A WORLD OF EVER-SHORTENING TEXTS

Nonetheless, the challenges posed by the digital environment persist. The early idea that web writing should be short and direct was effectively summarized in the title of Steve Krug’s 2000 bestselling guide to web design and usability, *Don’t Make Me Think*. Later, such sentiment has been supported by eye-tracking studies, such as a 2006 study which discovered that readers often scan web content in an F-shaped pattern, revealing that ‘exhaustive reading is rare’.¹² More fundamentally, popular discourse on how new media are worsening attention spans continues to exist. Tracking the American discourses on attention, Newman writes that ‘the idea of a connection between a culture’s media and its collective habits and patterns of paying attention has been appealing to a number of influential thinkers, including Walter Benjamin, Theodore Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Marshall McLuhan’.¹³ However, Newman argues that ‘while it might bear the influence...of some scholarly voices such as McLuhan’s, the circulation of the notion of media-shortened attention has proceeded in popular discourse in the absence of compelling, expert-produced data, as a lay theory of media effects’.¹⁴

So, if our attention spans are not decreasing, then why do we skim-read web content? Researchers have suggested that ‘screen-

based reading on the Web is more likely to involve skim reading' because it is characterized by 'more time spent browsing and scanning, keyword spotting, one-time reading, non-linear reading, and reading more selectively'.¹⁵ However, a 2016 eye-tracking study focused on digital multimodal longform journalism found that 'users do not look at longform digital journalism as a sum of identifiable parts. They look at them all when they look at, read, watch, scroll, and share that story'.¹⁶ This suggests that the articles which participants read for the study succeeded in combining different modalities into a unified whole. Following Hiippala's earlier stated observation, this unification effectuates a slower interaction between the reader and the longform and, hence, encourages deep reading. In other words, the way that the different modalities work together to construct a seamless narrative allows the reader to immerse themselves in the story rather than skim it. This stands in contrast to other web content where the modalities, say a main text and images or videos in the form of ads, scatter the reader's attention. As noted, the uniformity of digital multimodal longform journalism is important because it 'creates a cognitive container characterized by an internally coherent news package'.¹⁷ In this way, 'digital longform maintains the feel of a container associated with print newspapers', so that the different modalities complement one another rather than distract the reader from the narrative.¹⁸

AFFORDANCES AND MULTIMODAL LITERACIES

In 1966, the ecological psychologist James J. Gibson coined the term 'affordances', explaining that they are 'attributes of an object enabling the perceiver to take action'.¹⁹ Importantly, his theory showed that 'the qualities of an object cannot be character-

ized without considering the abilities, context and needs of the perceiver'.²⁰ Gibson's ideas have later been applied to a number of fields, but have been especially prominent in media studies. There, the term 'affordances' was popularized by Don Norman who applied it to the (human-computer) interaction and the relationship between design and user experience. Appropriating Gibson's theory to digital multimodal journalism, we can interpret the ability, context, and needs of the perceiver as the reader's literacy levels. Thus, a digital multimodal longform article has certain affordances that encourage specific interactions between the reader and the article. For example, navigational cues determine how the reader scrolls or clicks through the article and how and when they interact with the different modalities. Furthermore, for a digital multimodal longform article to retain the reader's attention and avoid skim reading or distraction from the narrative, the many modes must encourage the reader to carry meanings across modalities. To this end, it has been argued that the different modalities in digital multimodal longform share similarities with 'the visual storytelling techniques of cinema'.²¹ Thus, they afford a more cohesive narrative as they 'deepen the way we engage with narrative, transforming news consumption from article reading to an immersive multimedia experience'.²²

To achieve an immersive multimedia experience, readers must be able to 'combine modes' through meaning-making processes. These processes are at the heart of literacies. Duffy explains that 'to be literate in a domain is to be able to evaluate, interpret and critique what one is witnessing, reading or experiencing in order to make meaning from it and ultimately to guide decision making'.²³ To make meaning from a digital multimodal longform article

thus requires multiple literacies as one is witnessing, reading, and experiencing multiple modalities at the same time. Therefore, literacy cannot only be understood as the ability to read the text in a digital multimodal longform article. The reader must also be able to connect the different modalities into a coherent narrative, thereby making meaning. This is an individual process and hence ‘the outcome may vary between individuals’.²⁴ Furthermore, Potter emphasizes that media literacy ‘is not a natural state’ but rather a multidimensional perspective which is developed cognitively, emotionally, aesthetically, and morally.²⁵ This perspective, he argues, is built on knowledge structures about ‘media effects, media content, media industries, real world, and the self’.²⁶ These structures aid the meaning-making process as they allow people to reflect critically on the media they consume. Thus, affordances can contribute to effective meaning-making if they encourage sustained interaction with the longform (creating a so-called cognitive container) and guide the reader towards immersion in the narrative to create emotional, intellectual, and/or critical engagement with the article.

CASE STUDIES

To investigate which affordances contribute to effective meaning-making in digital multimodal longform articles, this paper presents two case studies. Focusing on traditional news outlets and honoring the legacy of ‘Snow Fall’, both articles are from *The New York Times*’ digital platform. The articles were selected from the site’s yearly round-up of ‘selected Times graphics, visualizations and multimedia stories,’ called ‘2022: The Year in Visual Stories and Graphics’.²⁷ The two articles were chosen as they display different modalities and transitions and, therefore, are

somewhat representative of the genre when considered through the limited scope of this paper.

‘What It’s Like to Ski Nearly Blind’ was published in February 2022 as part of *The New York Times*’ project ‘Athletes and their Olympic-level fears’.²⁸ Asides from the byline credited cinematographer, editor, and producer, Emily Rhyne, the multimedia project involved a total of seven producers, two cinematographers, two designers and developers, two people assisting with additional production, three project editors, and three companies or persons who provided addition video. While the project description does not mention how many people worked on each article, this summary still shows the scale on which digital multimodal longform journalism can unfold, and the amount of expertise required to produce stories told through multiple modalities.

When the reader lands on the opening screen of the article, its title and lead are superimposed on a muted video. Below the lead, a prompt encourages the reader to ‘scroll to continue’. Doing so takes the reader to the same full-screen video, now fully visible with the option to ‘replay with sound’. After watching the one-minute and two-second video, the reader is again prompted to scroll further. Doing so lands them on six short paragraphs of text. The text is displayed on a simple background without any distracting elements other than a small minimalistic illustration that breaks up the text block. This structure of interspersed, screen-by-screen, text and video persists as the reader continues vertically down the article. One of these videos merits a closer look. One of these videos in the shape of ski goggles: First, the caption ‘100% vision’ demonstrates the athlete’s view of had she been fully sighted. As the reader con-

tinues to scroll, explanatory text boxes flow in from the bottom of the screen before the caption changes to ‘Millie’s 5% vision’ and the ski goggles blacken to represent the athlete’s limited peripheral sight. Another transparent text box moves over the screen before the video is overlapped with audio as well as animation that signals the incoming sound waves to the goggles. Eventually, another three text boxes appear from the bottom of the screen to explain how important audio cues are for the athlete’s completion of the course. Ultimately, at the end of the article, the reader has been guided through an Olympic-level slalom ski course by means of text, video, audio, animation, and illustration.

As demonstrated above, ‘What It’s Like to Ski Nearly Blind’ operates in a vertical space as the reader transitions between modalities by scrolling, so that each screen enters and exits at once. This corroborates Hiippala’s 2017 finding that ‘the longform genre prefers to organize the content into a linear structure’ in such a way that the entire screen is dedicated to ‘a single semiotic mode at a time’.²⁹ Importantly, this sense of linearity makes it easy to become immersed in the narrative, as the reader does not need to resolve ‘discourse relations across the layout space’ which ‘allows the reader to remain focused on the unfolding narrative’.³⁰ Furthermore, the different modalities employed in ‘What It’s Like to Ski Nearly Blind’ work together to create a ‘cognitive container’ as the text flow guides the reader’s attention directly from one modality to the next. Modes such as text, video, and audio also complement each other as they allow the reader to both experience the narrative from a third-person perspective in the text and, thereafter, from a first-person perspective in the video interview. This likely sparks an emotional involvement in the narrative as

the reader reads and hears about the athlete's relationship fear. Meanwhile, the superimposed textual, visual, and auditory modes employed in the screen with the ski goggles likely engage the reader critically or intellectually as they work to understand the technique used to ski nearly blind.

Looking to the affordances in this first case study, the text boxes saying 'scroll to continue' encourage the reader to embark on the journey into the athlete's experience of skiing nearly blind. The scroll transitions themselves afford effective meaning-making as they structure the story by slowly guiding the reader along a linear narrative which makes it easier for the reader to become immersed in it. As previously suggested, the different modalities complement each other by letting the reader experience the story from multiple perspectives and thus afford meaning-making through an emotional, intellectual, and/or critical engagement with the story. This is especially true for the animation with the ski goggles, which gives the reader a chance to, literally, see the world through the athlete's eyes. Ultimately, it is clear that 'What It's Like to Ski Nearly Blind' requires multiple literacies. This, however, does not imply that meaning-making is more laborious than it is when reading a text-only article. Because, even without highly developed knowledge structures, the transition explanations and the linearity of the narrative makes it easy for the reader to immerse themselves in, and reflect on, the story.

'Inside the Apocalyptic Worldview of "Tucker Carlson Tonight"' was published in April 2022 and is part of *The New York Times*' series 'American Nationalist', which uncovers 'the rise of Tucker Carlson.'³¹ On the '2022: The Year in Visual Stories and Graphics' landing page, the article was attributed to the investi-

gative reporter, Karen Yourish, who works on the Graphics desk of *The New York Times*. However, on the article's third screen, she shares the byline with eight other writers. Later, additional credits are also given to four other reporters, while video clips and transcripts are credited to external websites. Again, this shows the scope of digital multimodal longform journalism and confirms Dowling's assertion that the emergent genre marks a 'departure from the print tradition of the single-byline story'.³²

The article's opening screen shows a collage of muted looping videos, all taken from various episodes of *Tucker Carlson Tonight*. The full-screen collage is superimposed with a lead, a small box informing that 'this story contains audio,' and, after a few seconds, a text in the bottom right corner appears, saying 'click to continue or use your arrow keys'. The next screen brings the reader 16 video clips with audio in a row. The clips gradually expand, giving the impression that Carlson is moving intimidatingly closer while the background collage fades. The article continues, alternating between black screens with white text, videos with audio, video stills with superimposed text or audio, and a variety of multimedia graphics which sometimes include audio and/or text. The entire article spans 64 screens, divided into six chapters. First appearing at the start of the second chapter, a progress bar remains visible throughout the rest of the article to indicate to the reader how far they are in the story. Every time the screen features a video with audio, a progress circle also appears in the bottom right corner to indicate the length of the video. Once a video has finished playing or an estimated reading time has passed, the 'click to continue or use your arrow keys' text reappears, nudging the reader to the next

screen. The last screen in chapter five is a video of one of Carlson's outros, signaling the end of the article.

'Inside the Apocalyptic Worldview of "Tucker Carlson Tonight"' contains combinations of text, video, audio, animation, and graphs. Unlike the first case study, this article operates in a horizontal space and the reader must resolve 'discourse relations across the layout space'. In the academic literature on multimodal literacies, this is said to make effective meaning-making more difficult as readers do not have the same sense of linearity as in a vertically oriented story. But while a scroll transition is the 'appropriate choice' for 'moving into textual content,' a horizontal transition can lend the story cinematic qualities. Hiippala argues that this 'shows that media convergence is not restricted to content, but also extends to multimodal structures'.³³ With this in mind, the horizontal layout and click/arrow key transitions thus seem fitting for the story as video is a much more predominant mode in 'Inside the Apocalyptic Worldview of "Tucker Carlson Tonight"' than in 'What It's Like to Ski Nearly Blind'. Moreover, the lack of linearity is mitigated by the presence of the progress bar at the top of the screen in chapters two through six and the progress circle in the bottom-right corner during video content. Firstly, these elements give the reader a better understanding of where they are in the narrative. Secondly, the progress bar helps the reader make meaning by organizing each screen into greater narratives which fall under headings such as 'The Ruling Class,' 'Replacement,' 'Show's Format,' and 'Destruction of Society'.

In terms of affordances, the 'click to continue or use your arrow keys' text that appears on each screen enables the reader to take action. It reminds them to continue reading the article and makes

it more interactive, as using arrow keys is reminiscent of playing a video game. The few seconds which the reader must wait before the text appears also afford a short break in between screens. This gives the reader time to reflect on the content they have seen and is likely to aid in meaning-making processes. Furthermore, the different modalities transport the reader into the story and cast them in the role of one of Carlson's viewers. In the textual content, the words "you" and "they" are always written in separate colors to stand out from the otherwise white text. The video and audio content complements the text and substantiates the writer's arguments using scenes from Carlson's show. The interaction between these modalities is quite repetitive but serves to create a very clear and coherent narrative that is easy to follow. In fact, it is at times so easy to follow that it seems almost hypnotic. However, prompted by superimposed text, graphs with statistics and illustrative graphics encourage the reader to critically reflect on the clips and audio from the show. Overall, the different modalities all represent different ways of telling the same story, making it easy to carry meaning from one mode to the other. Thus, while the longform operates in an unconventional space for textual content, it exploits the cinematic possibilities afforded by the horizontal layout. This demonstrates perhaps one of the most important characteristics of digital multimodal longform journalism: that text is one of the most flexible modalities available to storytellers.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, we have seen that affordances can contribute to effective meaning-making if they encourage sustained interaction with the longform. In the case studies, this is aided by transitions which provide linearity and flow to the story, or which invite the reader

to interact with the article and provide them with a short break during which meaning-making processes can occur. Moreover, the full-screen layout of the articles, whether vertical or horizontal, captures the reader's attention in a distraction-free 'cognitive container'. Meanwhile, the complementary relationship between different modalities guides the reader towards greater immersion in the narrative by engaging several of their senses. Furthermore, the case studies demonstrated that different modalities are often used to express different perspectives, thus allowing the reader to engage emotionally, intellectually, and/or critically with the article as they carry meaning from one modality to the other. Thus, affordances that contribute to effective meaning-making in digital multimodal longform articles include transitions, layout and structure, and intentionally designed modalities, including but not limited to text, video, audio, graphics, illustrations, and animation. Finally, it is important to remember that 'the qualities of an object cannot be characterized without considering the abilities, context and needs of the perceiver'.³⁴ In other words, making meaning is an individual process informed by a person's literacy level.



CHAPTER II

TeXt and Society



Peter Verhaar

Navigating Across Centuries of Texts via the STCN



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OVER THE COURSE of the past semicentury,¹ book historians have sought to answer questions about a wide range of book-related phenomena, including production processes, materiality, distribution channels, readership and, importantly, the ways in which books functioned within society. Research on topics such as these can evidently take place at various levels of analysis. Regardless of scope or scale, however, it is clear that book historians, from whichever theoretical orientation, can benefit from the manifold overviews of books that have been produced by librarians and bibliographers. Library catalogues and bibliographies frequently offer a wealth of information not only on the contents and the material composition of books, but also about the people and the organisations involved in the creation of these works.²

In the Netherlands, one of the most expansive and reliable sources for the study of the printed book is undoubtedly the Short Title Catalogue of the Netherlands (STCN). As the national retrospective bibliography of the Netherlands, the STCN describes books published before 1800 within the present boundaries of the Netherlands, regardless of the language, as well as all books printed before 1800 in the Dutch language in other countries. The preparations for this encompassing endeavour began in 1969, and the first title descriptions were made following the establishment of the Bureau STCN in 1982.³ During the preparatory phase, it had been decided that broadsheets, newspapers, engravings and publications in the plano format were to be excluded.⁴ Books in private collections or books on sale at antiquarian booksellers were likewise disregarded. The STCN project was declared finished in 2009, although it was clear at that time that there were still im-

portant omissions.⁵ Despite these minor frailties, it is clear that the STCN forms an extremely helpful scholarly resource which can help to trace wide-ranging diachronic publication trends.⁶ The full dataset can currently be searched on the STCN website, managed by the *Consortium of European Research Libraries*.⁷ In 2015, all the data that has been compiled within the STCN project had been converted into Linked Open Data (LOD) as well. An updated and improved version of this collection of LOD can currently be accessed via the open data platform of the National Library of the Netherlands, <data.bibliotheken.nl>. It has often been claimed that the version of the STCN in LOD enables researchers to analyse the bibliographic data in more advanced and more directed ways, moving decidedly beyond the basic functionalities offered via the search functions on the regular STCN website.⁸

This article aims to assess the scholarly value of such advanced statistical analyses performed on the STCN in the RDF format. More specifically, it attempts to apply semantic web techniques and data science methods to investigate a topic which has already received considerable scholarly attention in the past few years, namely, the nature and the intensity of the trade in books between the Netherlands and the British Isles in the early modern period.⁹ Using data gathered from the Dutch National Library's SPARQL endpoint, this study sets out to elucidate, corroborate or, contravene some of the claims made in earlier studies about the various ways in which Dutch publishers have contributed to the dissemination of works written by British authors.¹⁰ The focus, furthermore, will be on books in three different categories. The first category consists of works written in the English language. The second category of books consists of translations of works by

British authors into other languages. The third category comprises original works written by British authors in languages other than English, such as Latin.

Before discussing the concrete analyses, it is useful to offer a brief historical introduction. During most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the English book trade was severely underdeveloped, especially in comparison to the thriving network of publishers, printers, and booksellers that existed in the Low Countries. William Caxton had established the first English printing shop at Westminster only in 1476, at a moment when printing had already become a well-established activity on the European continent.¹¹ Partly as a result of this belatedness, it proved difficult to attain a sufficiently high standard of printing and to attract all the skilled labourers that were needed to operate the printing offices. In the meantime, England had also developed into a lucrative export market for publishers and booksellers based in France, Italy and, notably, the Low Countries.¹² During this period, Dutch printers produced schoolbooks, works by classical authors, liturgical works and devotional works,¹³ all intended for the English market, and sometimes even printed using English type.¹⁴ For publishers based in England, it was obviously very difficult to compete with the European publishers involved in the “Latin Trade”. Over the course of the sixteenth century, the English book trade gradually gained strength, however. This growth of the English book industry also resulted in a more equalised bidirectional trade between England and the Netherlands. This international traffic of books was impeded, nonetheless, by the fact that England had installed a legal system to regulate imports, and which prohibited the sale of reprints of works from English publishers. The

Copyright Act of 1710, also known as the Statute of Anne, formed a predicament for the many Dutch booksellers who thrived on the merchandise of reprints of international bestsellers.¹⁵ The reprints of English titles could be produced and sold legally in the Dutch Republic, but it had become illegal to sell these reprints in England.

BOOK IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE¹⁶

In the STCN, the number of books in the English language can be established via a search using the *schema:inLanguage* property.¹⁷ The STCN currently describes books in 45 different languages. Out of the 216,051 titles that have been catalogued to date, 1,299 publications contain texts in English and 7 publications contain texts in Old English. The oldest book of these is a copy-book, intended for teaching calligraphy, printed in 1569 by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp.¹⁸ As this selection of books, thus, spans a period of 230 years, it can be established that, in the Netherlands, about 5 English language books were published per year on average. Some outliers were noted in the years 1638, 1640, and 1688, when the number of English books rose to over 20. In 1688, the year of the Glorious Revolution, Arnout Leers in The Hague published four editions of William III's declaration explaining the motivations to take the throne from James II. Many of the publications from 1638 had similarly been instigated by contemporary events. In that specific year, members of the Scottish Church had signed the National Covenant, an agreement which reflected the refusal of Scottish clergymen to conform to the liturgical practices of the Anglican Church, as had been enforced by Charles I.¹⁹ One work, published by John Canne, has the telling title 'The beast is wounded. Or Information from Scotland, concerning their reformation'.²⁰

Works on contemporary political issues and works on theology form the bulk of this collection of books in the English language. This latter category also includes 29 Bibles. Except for two Geneva Bibles, printed in 1601, these were all reprints of the King James Bible, published by Jan Fredericksz Stam, Willem Christiaens van der Boxe and Steven Swart, among others. Dictionaries and works on grammar form a third important category of books. Jacob ter Beek, based in Amsterdam, published 6 books on the Dutch language, which, in all likelihood, were intended for Englishmen travelling to the Low Countries. Henri van Bulderen published five editions of Guy Miège's French-English dictionary.

In the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century, the most prolific publisher of English books was Richard Schilders in Middelburg. As is explained by Hoftijzer, Schilders was closely associated with the Brownists, a group English led by Robert Browne.²¹ Between 1580 and 1619, Schilders produced 70 works in the English language on theology and on political matters. At the start of the seventeenth century, most of the English language titles were printed by Giles Thorp and by John Canne, who were responsible for 69 and 31 English books respectively. Thorp was an expatriate printer, who had set up his business in Amsterdam in 1604 where he remained active until 1622.²² Among his publications were 15 works by Henry Ainsworth, the first minister of the Brownist church.²³ Ainsworth was succeeded in Amsterdam by John Canne, who, next to his work as a pastor, was also active as an author and printer. He published one work authored by himself, *Syons prerogatyve royal* from 1641, and also titles by Henry Ainsworth and the English political leveller John Lilburne.

In this context, reference must also be made to Thomas Johnson, a Scottish printer who worked in The Hague from 1701 to 1728, and after this in Rotterdam until his death in 1735. Johnson produced a total number of 126 English titles. Kossmann notes that Johnson was known as the pre-eminent “Libraire Anglois” in The Netherlands.²⁴ The imprints of many of Johnson’s books mention that they were printed in ‘London, for the Company of booksellers’, but the cataloguers of the STCN have indicated in many of the records that the actual place of publication is The Hague.²⁵ McMullin describes Johnson as a ‘punctilious pirate’, who, although he was engaged in an activity which was essentially illegal, was still very careful to reproduce the original texts accurately and reliably.²⁶

TRANSLATIONS

To study the ways in which publishers in the Netherlands have contributed to the dissemination of the works of British authors, it is important, evidently, to consider not only the works in the English language, but also the works that have been translated into other languages. In the STCN, these works can be selected by filtering on the *schema:translationOfWork* property. This property has been used in 26,950 of the 216,051 records in the STCN, suggesting that 12.4% of all the books in the STCN are translations. 6,103 of these titles are translations of works originally in the English language. 4,656 of the English works titles were translated into Dutch, and 1,239 into French. The STCN also lists translations of English works into German, Latin, and Hebrew, among other languages. About 40% of all of these translations from English, 2,544, date from the seventeenth century, and 2,174 of these are translations into Dutch. This is a considerably higher number than the 641

titles that are listed in C.W. Schoneveld's overview of seventeenth century Dutch translations of English works.²⁷

The 6,103 translations from the English have been published during the period between 1543 and 1850, amounting to about 19 translations annually. As was the case for the original English titles, there was a clear surge in the number of translations in 1688. Many of the 186 translated works which were issued in this year can be connected to the debate spurred by William III's accession of the throne. A similar peak in productivity occurred earlier in 1649, the year in which Charles I was executed.

The most prolific publisher of works translated from English was the Leiden-based publisher Pieter van der Aa. He published 122 translations in total. During the age of the great expeditions to the East and West Indies, Van der Aa mostly published travel reports and descriptions of sea voyages. He published 78 translations of works written by Samuel Purchas, an English Anglican cleric who had also recorded many accounts of journeys that were shared with him by seafarers.²⁸ The half brothers Johann Caspar Arkstee and Henricus Merkus, who ran bookshops in Amsterdam and in Leipzig, were similarly highly active as publishers of translations. They published 75 translations of English works of literature and of historical works into French.

The author whose works have been translated most frequently in the Netherlands before 1800 was John Bunyan. The STCN mentions 136 translations of works by Bunyan, and 64 of these are translations of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Other theologians whose works have often been translated include William Perkins (105 translations), Ralph Erskine (60 translations) and John Owen (49 translations). The most frequently translated literary author was Daniel Defoe.²⁹

The STCN mentions 31 translations of his *Robinson Crusoe*. Another novel which was translated very frequently is Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*. The STCN mentions 15 translations, and 10 of these have been published by Gerrit Tielenburg in Amsterdam.

WORKS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

A third category of works which needs to be surveyed in a study of the English book in the Netherlands consists of titles which were written by British authors in languages other than English. As may be assumed, this category includes many scientific works written in Latin, the lingua franca of the early modern period. In the STCN, it is not possible to search directly on the nationalities of authors. A search action of this nature can be conducted, nonetheless, as a result of the metadata enhancements that have been implemented during the conversion of the STCN data into LOD. For most authors in the STCN, a Wikidata or VIAF identifier was added, and, within these external databases, it is generally possible to request information about nationalities. For this study, an overview was first made of all the authors mentioned in the STCN. For each of the 37,890 authors that were found, the nationalities were requested from Wikidata. This list of nationalities included a number of labels referring to locations on the British Isles, including the 'United Kingdom', 'Great Britain' and 'England'.³⁰ Working with this filtered list of nationalities, it became possible to select all original works written by a person hailing from the British Isles, and which are not in the English language. This method resulted in a list of an additional 1,112 books. Within the collection of books found using this method, 687 books were written in Latin, 320 titles were written in Dutch and 103 titles in French. The high number of Dutch books authored by Englishmen is particularly striking.

The Dutch titles in this selection have generally been penned by authors who had travelled extensively in or had emigrated to the Low Countries, such as Richard Verstegen and George Downing.

Figure 1 is a network visualisation which clarifies the number of connections between the authors and publishers in this selection of books. The node sizes thus reflect the number of books which were authored or published. As can be seen from the network, William Ames was the most productive author of non-English books in this period, having published 75 works, mostly with Johannes Janssonius and Justus Livius. Ames was a Puritan minister, who was forced to flee to the Netherlands in 1710, where he became a professor of Theology at the university of Franeker in 1622.³¹ Apparently, he was proficient both in Latin and in Dutch.

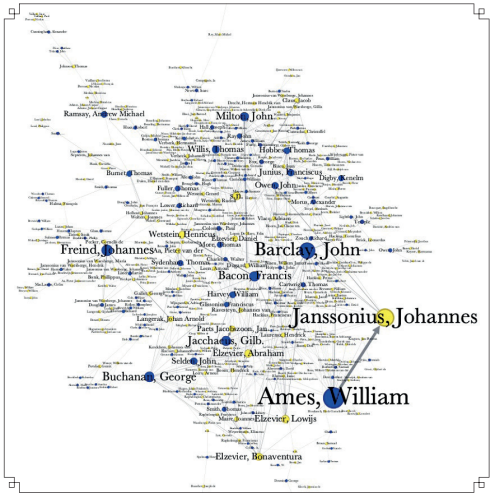


Figure 1: Network visualisation clarifying the number of interactions between authors (represented as blue nodes) and publishers (represented as yellow nodes).

Amidst this gathering of authors not writing in their vernacular we can also find scientific authors such as Isaac Newton and Francis Bacon. As noted by Hoftijzer, two of the first four editions printed of Newton's *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica* were published in the Low Countries, in 1714 and in 1724, both by La Compagnie, a publisher based in Amsterdam.³² Editions of Newton's *Arithmetica universalis* have been published by Hermanus and Johannes Verbeek in 1732, and by Marc Michel Rey in 1761. The STCN mentions 31 original works by Francis Bacon, including four editions of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, which was published originally in 1620. The work remained popular, as shown by reprints in 1645, 1650, 1660 and 1694 by various printers.

DISCUSSION

Having quantified the three major manifestations of the English book in the Netherlands, it becomes possible to gain a more comprehensive insight into the publication history of this specific collection of titles. To develop a more abstracted view on the relevant chronological trends, the numbers collected for the three different categories have, firstly, been broken down by year. Secondly, the annual numbers that were collected have all been expressed as a percentage of the total Dutch book production in these various years, as such percentages offer a better view on the overall importance of the trade in English books for Dutch publishers. Figure 2 displays the result of this approach. It shows that the production of English language titles was most intense in the period between 1550 and 1650. From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, publishers increasingly began to focus on the circulation of translations.

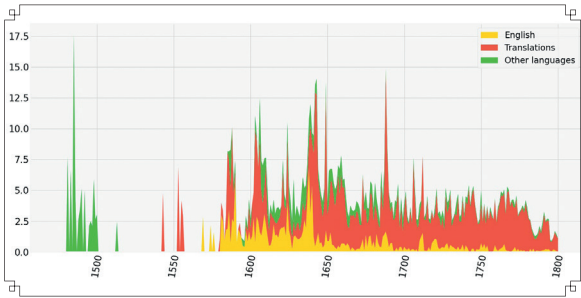


Figure 2: Number of books in English, number of translations and number of books by British authors in other languages shown as percentage of annual Dutch book production

Figure 3 displays the number of books published annually in the field of theology in between 1600 and 1800. These numbers are expressed as a percentage of the total number of British books that have appeared annually (i.e. all books published in the English language, or by British authors in translation or in languages other than English). The graph indicates that theology was an important topic, particularly in the seventeenth century. During some years, these books on theology accounted for about 80% of the yearly production of British books. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the book production of these types of works diminished considerably.

This trajectory of the theological works appears to be the mirror opposite of that of the works on language and literature, as can be seen in Figure 4. The number of literary works remained modest during most of the seventeenth century, confirming Hoftijzer’s claim that the Dutch initially showed little interest in the literature emerging from the other side of the North Sea.³³ In the eighteenth century, by contrast, numerous publishers active in

the United Republic began to print or reprint British novels, plays and poems, mostly in translation.

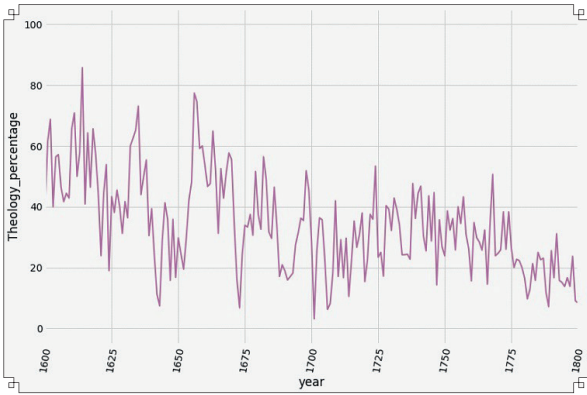


Figure 3. Number of books on theology shown as a percentage of the total number of English books

The graphs discussed above could not have been created without the detailed and structured data that were compiled during the STCN project. It is clear, simultaneously, that there are a number of caveats and challenges which need to be borne in mind while conducting book historical research via the STCN. The first difficulty is that the roles of the various actors involved in the production processes of books have not been specified explicitly. In the data model for the STCN, a generic field named *schema:contributor* has been defined, and this field brings together a wide range of actors, including printers, illustrators, translators, editors or booksellers, without any distinction. Because of this dearth of specific information, it is difficult to carry out a systematic study of, for example, the relations between publishers and printers, or between publishers and illustrators.

A second complication is that the records in the STCN have not been explicitly clustered on the basis of the IFLA Library Reference Model, which distinguishes between Works, Expressions, Manifestations and Items.³⁴ Arguably, the STCN only describes manifestations. It appears to be nigh impossible to examine the relationships between different manifestations containing expressions of the same work. Within the current

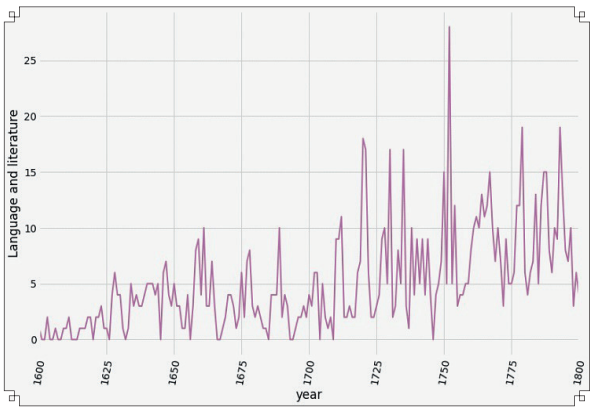


Figure 4. Number of books on language and literature shown as a percentage of the total number of English books

study, it would have been very helpful if the many translations of a given work could have been assembled directly. Given the current organisation of the STCN, however, a methodical examination of the publication history of translations still demands manual effort.

A third and perhaps more trite issue is caused by the fact that one and the same agent in the book trade may have been assigned multiple identifiers. This can be the case when a publisher has been

active professionally in different cities. The publisher Thomas Johnson, for example, has received two PPN identifiers, 136442420 and 148057543. The first of these apparently spans Johnson's work in The Hague, while the second identifier is connected to works which Johnson published in Rotterdam. Confusingly, a similar strategy has been followed for books with imprints 'sine nomine'. The "unknown publisher", has many different PPN identifiers, including 07556596X and 075566842. These identifiers refer to unidentified agents in Amsterdam and London, respectively. Scholars engaged in quantitative research based on data in the STCN obviously need to be aware of this issue of multiple identifiers. When books are selected via one identifier only, the analyses may be incomplete, and the results may be misguided.

At a more fundamental level, it is also important to stress that quantitative analyses performed on the records in the STCN are of limited value if these are pursued in isolation. In many cases, the numbers and the graphs that result from such encompassing queries can be interpreted and explained only via references to earlier scholarship based on the books and historical documents found in libraries and in archives. Statistical investigations of bibliographical data tend to treat all the titles in the data set as equivalent data points, and they may gloss over the crucial differences that may exist between different types of works, such as academic dissertations, literary works, almanacs, religious tracts, atlases or cookbooks. Numerical dominance in a dataset is not necessarily a reliable proxy for societal impact.

In spite of certain shortcomings, however, the analyses performed for this study also help to substantiate the claim that such statistical analyses performed on bibliographic data can ultimately

serve as a valuable aid in book historical research. The information and patterns exposed by data science methods can often spawn useful insights, which may provide additional support for scholarly claims that have been made earlier, or propose areas of interest that warrant further exploration. Of course, the digital data should not be viewed as a substitute for the actual books. In the case of the STCN, these quantitative screen-based investigations can actually be viewed as a continuation, or as a culmination, of such processes in which bibliographers and book historians have handled paper books in autopsy. The panoramic vantage points that were constructed for this study could be realised solely because of the gargantuan amount of work that was conducted to amass the STCN.

Aline Franzus

Don't Take Me Out

Flavors of Chinese American
Takeout Histories



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COOKBOOKS ARE ARCHIVES of culinary culture. As society changes, so do cookbooks, and as takeout is becoming increasingly popular, so is—perhaps ironically—the takeout cookbook. While one of the most compelling advantages of takeout is not having to cook by yourself, several of today’s cookbooks specifically offer recipes imitating popular takeout dishes that can be prepared by their readers, which is to say, their cooks. Rather than scrolling through an online delivery app, those cookbooks invite us to close UberEats, Doordash, Deliveroo & Co. and instead go out grocery shopping and spend more time in our kitchen. What might appear paradoxical at first, enjoys global popularity, especially in the Anglophone world.

Taking a closer look at two examples of Chinese American takeout cookbooks, this paper explores the potential of the takeout cookbook genre to preserve, in this case, Chinese American cultures and histories, while simultaneously breaking with common conceptions of an “ethnic cuisine” and contextualizing often overlooked aspects of its traditions. Although takeout may commonly be perceived as a trivial aspect of people’s daily lives, these two examples serve not only as archives of contemporary culinary tastes but, by historicizing and contextualizing Chinese American recipes, they also serve as archives of culinary histories.

Considering the immense impact of the pandemic on the food and restaurant sector, and with new food delivery apps regularly entering app stores, the demand for takeout and food delivery is growing substantially worldwide.² In the US, takeout certainly plays an important role in people’s daily lives and although American food culture is a melting pot of different ethnic cuisines, some clearly enjoy greater popularity than others. According to a

2016 statistic, “Chinese” is among the most favored cuisines in the US. Interestingly, while it ranks only fourth when it comes to eating out (49%),³ it is the second most popular option for both takeout (38%) and ordering in (48%).⁴ So, with more than 40,000 Chinese restaurants throughout the United States,⁵ Chinese cuisine is not only ‘a vital part of American culinary culture’,⁶ but is also more commonly associated with eating on-the-go or at home than with dining at a restaurant. In this light, it may come as no surprise that, with the emergence of the takeout cookbook genre, Chinese American takeout cookbooks have also gained momentum.

However, what is now considered popular, or even mainstream, cuisine is rooted in a history of not only Chinese immigration to the US but also of hostile treatment of Chinese immigrants.⁷ With the California Gold Rush and the subsequent construction of the Transcontinental Railroad resulting in a massive wave of migration attracting travellers and immigrants searching for prosperity from all over the world, Chinese migration to California also increased during that period.⁸ Although many of them were tradespeople looking for ways to make money, and food businesses ‘were among the earliest economic activities pursued by such pioneer Chinese immigrants’,⁹ Chinese-owned restaurants were comparatively few in number and did not become popular until later in the 19th century. This was due to anti-Chinese sentiments and xenophobic narratives such as the “fear of a ‘Yellow Peril’”, that led to numerous exclusionary immigration laws like the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.¹⁰ These laws were aimed at preventing further Chinese immigration and ‘mak[ing] it difficult for existing Chinese American communities to endure’.¹¹ Among other things, the exclusion laws largely prohibited Chinese immigrants from

acquiring citizenship, owning property, and finding employment in most industries, which in turn, resulted in the establishment of many Chinese-owned businesses such as laundries and restaurants.¹² Despite '[w]ork competition, racial hostility, and the exclusion laws',¹³ Chinese (American) restaurants would soon not only become enormously popular but also leave their mark on American culinary culture,¹⁴ including takeout and ultimately, the US cookbook market. By adapting traditional Chinese dishes to local tastes and ingredients, recipes were modified and new dishes were invented, creating a distinct Chinese American cuisine. As demonstrated by, for instance, the previously mentioned survey, the American public seems to perceive this culinary tradition as Chinese rather than Chinese American cuisine. To recognize the Chinese American culinary history, its transformation and blending of cuisines, this paper will speak of Chinese American cuisine when applicable.

A FRESH TAKE ON TAKE OUT: THE TAKEOUT COOKBOOK GENRE

The term "takeout" today commonly refers to both the product, i.e., the 'prepared food packaged to be consumed away from its place of sale' and to the sales location i.e., the 'establishment selling take-out'.¹⁵ The concept of consuming prepared meals at another location is, however, by no means new. Looking back to, for instance, ancient Greece, people then enjoyed quick on-the-go meals bought at what are believed to be the first takeout restaurants—so-called thermopolia.¹⁶ Later, when the first modern takeout restaurants in the United States were established in the 1920s, restaurant owners found that offering takeout options proved profitable because they could sell 'a larger volume of food than their dining areas could

accommodate'.¹⁷ In the 1960s, drive-ups became standardized and changed the way takeout was distributed,¹⁸ and by the turn of the century, with the founding of Grubhub in 2004 and many more on-line delivery services following in the subsequent years, the way takeout found its way to our doorsteps was modified once again. Finally, takeout and delivery services gained tremendous momentum with the outbreak of the pandemic, when dining out became a temporary thing of the past. As convenience turns into a (forced) habit, one might ask: '[w]hy cook when you can have your favorite food delivered to your door with just the click of a button?'¹⁹ The phenomenon of the takeout cookbook, however, reverses this aspect of convenience and asks: why get takeout when you can make it yourself?

I understand the takeout cookbook to be a cookbook subgenre. Looking at takeout cookbook titles, it becomes apparent that most of them follow a similar title pattern. They often include an ethnic cuisine such as "Thai"²⁰ or "Chinese" and sometimes also an 'ideological commitmen[t] such as vegetarianism or veganism',²¹ which is then followed by the term "takeout" or "takeaway"—depending on the variety of English used in the respective country. Other recurring patterns include the mentioning of "favorite" or "classic" dishes, promoting healthy, quick and/or easy cooking, and appealing to the at-home cooking aspect. In short, the takeout cookbook seeks to draw readers in through the familiarity of its recipes and emphasizes the convenience aspect of preparing takeout dishes at home. As an example, the title of Diana Kuan's *The Chinese Takeout Cookbook: Quick and Easy Dishes to Prepare at Home* (2012)—which we will come back to in this paper—denotes the book as specific of an ethnic cuisine, i.e. Chinese. It includes the term

“takeout,” promises fast and simple recipes and lastly, it seeks to appeal to potential buyers by promising that all of that is possible from the comfort of their own home.

In his *Cookbook Politics*, Kennan Ferguson argues that cookbooks with national titles like “Chinese Cooking” or “Indian Cuisine” ‘implicitly presum[e] the universality of a nation, promising the cook that she can experience and recreate the food of that state’.²² Similarly, while takeout cookbooks might not necessarily presume the homogeneity of a nation since they do not replicate the culinary culture of the said nation-state, they imply a universality of an (ethnic) cuisine. They aim at replicating recipes of an (appropriated) takeout culture with which their readers are familiar. Likewise, many titles that include words such as “favorite” or “classic” suggest a particular canon of takeout dishes to which potential readers are accustomed. This, in turn, creates expectations about the contents, i.e. the recipes, of these books.

Another commonality is the better-than-takeout claim, i.e., either the title or the introduction of a takeout cookbook makes the claim that replicating takeout at home is better than getting takeout, either because it is healthier, cheaper, or because it simply tastes better. The introduction to Dan Toombs’ *The Curry Guy: Recreate Over 100 of the Best British Indian Restaurant Recipes at Home* (2017), for example, illustrates this, in which he states that

*[i]n the time it takes to pick up your favorite Indian take-away, you could be sitting down to a collection of delicious starters, curries, rice and naans that are even better and a lot cheaper.*²³

Toombs thus argues that, despite the presumed inexperience of his hobby cook readers, with the help of his recipes and directions, they can make “even better” Indian dishes than long-experienced Indian restaurant chefs.

In other regards, the takeout cookbook resembles more traditional forms of the (ethnic) cookbook. Both Kuan’s *The Chinese Takeout Cookbook* and Chris Toy’s *Easy Chinese Cookbook: Restaurant Favorites Made Simple* (2020), which will be discussed later on, follow a similar structure: starting with an introduction to the cookbook, they move on to a chapter on the ‘typical Chinese pantry’, including spices and sauces, to allow the reader to familiarize themselves with the ingredients, whereas Toy especially highlights the diversity of Chinese cooking traditions and ingredients. When it comes to the recipe section, both cookbooks’ structure continue to follow a similar, and familiar cookbook pattern: moving from appetizers, soups and salads, to various forms of main dishes including poultry, beef, pork, and lamb, to vegetables, noodles and rice, to deserts and finally, to ideas for entire home takeout menus. Nevertheless, the most striking commonality is that both cookbook authors touch upon their own family background, larger historical developments, and their own relationships to the cuisine. In this lies the educational potential of this subgenre, which we will circle back to later in this paper.

ARCHIVES OF CULINARY HISTORIES

To come back to Chinese American cuisine: if we understand it to be an appropriation of Chinese food, does Chinese American takeout add another layer of appropriation to it? In an *Eat Your Words* podcast episode, Kuan states that she

*really wanted to do a book on Chinese takeout food because it's part of a larger Chinese American food genre, which is a genre of its own and there's no cookbook out there already that [...] knowingly focuses on that.*²⁴

By situating her cookbook within Chinese American culinary tradition, Kuan refutes the misleading singularity or 'culinary unity' of her cookbook title.²⁵ Publishers Weekly, too, perceives Kuan's recipes to be 'classics of mainland American-Chinese cuisine'.²⁶ In writing that 'Chinese takeout is in many ways an all-American cuisine',²⁷ Kuan highlights and makes explicit the relationship and symbiotical ties between Chinese and American cuisines. Throughout her book, Kuan historicizes and contextualizes some of her dishes, viewing Chinese American takeout as 'a natural by-product of Chinese immigration'.²⁸ By illuminating historical aspects of an often trivially perceived aspect of people's everyday lives, Kuan invites her readers to engage with the stories of this food genre that have been, in her view, underexplored. This also elicits questions of authenticity: is Chinese takeout in the US authentic? What makes (takeout) food authentic: the cook, the recipe, the consumer? Can Kuan's recipes be thought of as authentic Chinese cuisine, of Chinese American cuisine, or of neither? Kuan reflects on similar questions in her introduction and states:

*I avoid using the word "authentic" whenever possible, because all cuisines have evolved from somewhere ... Food almost always changes, and needs to change, across provinces, countries, and continents, adapting along the way to use local ingredients and to suit local tastes.*²⁹

Instead of dismissing her cookbook as inauthentic, she asks: what defines authenticity? Kuan argues that since food is in constant flux when interacting with different culinary cultures, it has to ‘adapt to local produce and to local people’s taste’.³⁰ Hence, Kuan understands Chinese takeout food as the ‘product of the American melting pot, [as] authentic in [its] own right’³¹—the result of adaptation and time—and as a genre of its own. Similar to how cookbooks can serve as culinary archives, takeout cookbooks can serve as archives of culinary histories—preserving not only flavors but also what those flavors might mean to people. They can serve as an entry point to delve into the stories behind a food genre that might have not meant much more to people than a quick and easy meal.

Chris Toy’s *Easy Chinese Cookbook* illustrates a similar dynamic. It promises its readers recipes for dishes such as Fried Wontons,³² Beef and Broccoli,³³ General Tso’s Chicken,³⁴ or Crab Rangoon,³⁵ all of which are dishes invented on American soil and are rarely or not to be found in restaurants in China. Egg Rolls,³⁶ Orange Chicken,³⁷ Egg Foo Yong³⁸ or Hot and Sour Soup,³⁹ on the other hand, are examples of dishes altered to cater to the American palate. The fact that these dishes, used for advertising purposes, are either products of American appropriation or inventions of Chinese American chefs, clearly locates the cookbook not within Chinese, but Chinese American culinary culture. What is, however, missing even from its list of recipes is chop suey—arguably the most famous and certainly the most historical Chinese American takeout dish.

Though ‘an invention of overseas Chinese’,⁴⁰ chop suey was transformed into an authentic Chinese dish in the American imagination. Chinese restaurants in the United States used it as a marketing strategy for their restaurants and thus, as Haiming Liu

argues, chop suey can be understood as the result of ‘creative adaptation of Chinese Americans to American society’.⁴¹ In fact, in the first half of the 20th century, Chinese restaurants in the US were synonymous with chop suey houses whose popularity decreased when a growing number of Chinese immigrants moved to the US after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.⁴² What does not including a chop suey recipe in a Chinese American takeout cookbook imply? Does it suggest a decrease in the popularity of chop suey in the US or is it simply “too much of a classic” to be part of an advertising strategy? Would chop suey not be an authenticity marker for Chinese American takeout culture anymore?

The back cover of Toy’s book reads: ‘authentic, quality cuisine: Pick from your all-time favorites and try new tasty dishes that will wow your taste buds’.⁴³ What those recipes are supposedly authentic of is, however, not addressed. This claim of authenticity is in contrast to Toy’s approach; while the peritextual elements of Toy’s book claim the ‘authenticity’ of recipes and use it as a marketing tool, Toy himself frames those dishes as ‘historic’ rather than authentic in his introduction.⁴⁴ He further contextualizes and historicizes appropriation processes of Chinese American meals when he writes:

*When I look back at Chinese American food, I also see layers of immigrant history that date back to the first Chinese migrants in the mid-1800s. The ingredients in each dish reveal exciting stories about where the migrants came from, how they preserved their culture, and how they adapted to mainstream America.*⁴⁵

Toy hence touches upon historical as well as socio-political aspects of Chinese (American) migration and food culture in the United States. He traces the history of Chinese American cuisine to its beginnings and relates it to his own family memories.

Overall, both Kuan's and Toy's cookbooks act as (culinary) archives that provide insight into a popular takeout genre; they textually preserve the taste of a takeout culture by replicating, reproducing, and appropriating culinary (Chinese takeout) canonical recipes. They also engage with the current state, status, and perception of Chinese American takeout by inviting their readers to expand their knowledge of the complex histories of a culinary culture that is so closely tied to the hardships and struggles of Chinese immigrants to the US. Both cookbooks encourage reflections on larger discourses related to ethnic culinary cultures such as questions of authenticity. "Chinese authenticity" is in and of itself an American construct since '[i]n Chinese culinary culture, authentic food means regional cuisines. China has no national food'.⁴⁶

Ultimately, these cookbooks—understood as cultural texts—function as "repositories of sensation" that preserve and perpetuate the flavors, tastes, and heritage of contemporary popular Chinese American takeout cultures in the US.⁴⁷ Certainly, not all Chinese American takeout cookbooks might engage in contextualizing and historicizing Chinese American culinary traditions to a similar extent. However, by preserving not only flavors but also histories and discourses through the narratives of and around dishes, the two chosen examples demonstrate that the concept of the takeout cookbook bears the potential to conserve socio-historical entanglements. In doing so, they can break with grand narratives, myths, and stereotypical homogenizations of

ethnic cuisines that are inextricably linked with the histories of their creation, appropriation, and perception in the national—in this case American—imagination. With the intention of recreating already familiar takeout dishes at home, readers, consumers, and/or chefs may be left with unanticipated bites of culinary histories that may taste sweet, sour, or like something else entirely.

Steven Claeysens

Feeding Our Writing Machines

A Column



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and a PhD in Book and Publishing Studies (Leiden).*

MUCH IN THE same way as the use of computers permits us to answer questions in new ways, today it also allows us to create texts in new ways. Fuelled by an ever expanding web of digital texts and driven by a proliferation of language processing techniques of all sorts, a calculating machine was turned into a reading machine. These days the reading machine is evolving into a writing machine.

As our reliance on technology grows, so too does our capacity to use it as a tool for communication. With the increasing accessibility of language processing software and the vast amount of digital text available, computers are no longer solely used for answering questions, but have become capable of generating texts on their own. Natural Language Generation (NLG) technology has been used to create everything from news articles to advertisements, with the output often being virtually indistinguishable from something written by a human. While the use of writing machines has the potential to revolutionize the way we communicate, it also raises concerns about the future of writing as a profession and the impact it will have on the role of language in society.

Still, it's difficult to make predictions, the aphorism goes, especially about the future. It's much wiser to look at the past. Not to set expectations about this particular new technology, but to remind us how history is filled with inventions that people thought would change everything, but turned out to be a minor fad, to acknowledge that we usually spend way too much time worrying about the wrong things when a new invention is on the block and, most importantly, to recognize that in general it might take years

to find out what we can essentially do with a new technology. Sure, computer-generated texts are here to stay, but predicting what sector, what medium or which group of people will eventually experience the biggest impact is simply not possible yet.

In addition to the uncertainty surrounding the impact of writing machines, there are also concerns about the potential for misuse. Just as the internet has been used to spread disinformation and propaganda, the ability to generate convincing texts with ease could lead to an increase in fake news and other forms of manipulative content. It could also raise questions about the authenticity of written works, as it becomes increasingly difficult to determine whether a text was written by a human or a machine. These issues will need to be addressed as the technology continues to advance and become more widespread. Despite these challenges, however, the development of writing machines represents a significant step forward in our ability to communicate and process information, and has the potential to bring about a new era of creativity and innovation in the field of writing.

And there is more good news to celebrate. ChatGPT is built on top of a Large Language Model (LLM). Trained on huge volumes of textual data, these LLM's learn the patterns and relationships between the different elements of a language, allowing it to imitate human text by predicting the next words in a sentence. The vast majority of text processed – for the time being largely written by humans—is taken from the web, but increasingly the output of various mass digitisation efforts are also processed. It's a previously unthought-of use of centuries of textual heritage. More than any human author, our new writing machines are standing on the shoulders of millions, present and past.

This text was written in February 2023, by both a human and a machine. The human is Steven Claeysens, curator of digital collections at the KB, the national library of the Netherlands. The machine is ChatGPT, a chatbot developed by OpenAI based on GPT-3.5, a LLM. The human wrote the first, third and fifth paragraph. The chatbot was given prompts to write the second and fourth paragraph (in italics), based on the preceding paragraph(s) ‘as part of an essay’.

Nitzan Shalev

A Historically-Informed Approach for the Digital Future of Non-Western Collection Catalogues



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CATALOGUES HAVE BEEN a staple library feature for the last several centuries, which make them a curious document of a particular place and time. The form and content of a catalogue can provide insights into the social norms and scholarly interests of the era in which it was created. Since cataloguing is done by people—librarians or professionals in specific fields—it can never be a neutral act, and can be influenced by institutional inclinations or even personal biases. This can have layered ethical implications, particularly when considering “foreign” collections kept and catalogued by Western cultural heritage institutions. Recent scholarship on the matter has begun to ask: who, historically, has been considered the authority in these matters? Who was left out of the conversation? And how would it be best to tackle these issues in the future?

In this paper,¹ I shall discuss some of the published catalogues of Leiden University Library’s (UBL) Hebrew manuscripts collection (HMC) throughout the last four centuries, and how they show that the depth, scope, and accuracy of catalogue descriptions stand in direct relation to the cataloguer’s level of understanding regarding the materials at hand. I shall focus in particular on the 1858 catalogue, written by Jewish scholar Moritz Steinschneider, as well as on my own experience during my internship within the HMC’s digitization project. Through these examples, I hope to make the case for the scholarly and moral imperative to cooperate with the “originating communities” of non-western items in ongoing and future cataloguing and digitization projects.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF LIBRARY CATALOGUING

The history of library classification is dominated by innumerable tensions: between ideas, the ordering of knowledge, the activities of authors and publishers, accessions policies, fortunes and practices, and the sheer physical demands of finding space for books on shelves.²

The form, content, production method, and intended function of the library catalogue have all continuously changed throughout the last few centuries.³ Before the Renaissance and the advent of print, the library “catalogue” took the form of handwritten shelf-lists, used by librarians for stock inspection. Before long, however, it needed to also serve as a finding device for readers.⁴ By the Baroque Era,⁵ as printing became increasingly accessible, libraries dealt with books in ‘quantities such had never before been encountered’,⁶ making it impossible for library visitors to find the right volume by simply browsing a topic’s designated shelf. As new scholarly fields developed in the wake of the Enlightenment and printing continued to dominate, libraries also increasingly tended to separate between printed items—books and journals—as tools to facilitate study, and handwritten manuscripts as historic objects whose materiality itself was worth studying.⁷

The increasing complexity of library organization in the nineteenth century pushed librarians to take on the “heroic feat” of ‘prising the catalogue apart from the shelf-list’,⁸ and organize by topic and alphabetical order as opposed to functioning as a shelf map.⁹ Catalogues became increasingly complex, splintering into countless volumes, categories and sub-categories;¹⁰ they were now also expected to provide students and researchers with a complete

introduction into the topics of the collections they describe.¹¹ The field of librarianship became increasingly professionalized: librarians were more likely to primarily engage with big-picture organization, and enlist subject experts to expand catalogue descriptions.

The concept of “subject librarianship” seems straightforward: the better a scholar is acquainted with a certain topic, the better they can tend to a specific collection and contextualize it for others. For “foreign” collections kept at Western cultural heritage institutions, the identity of subject experts can sometimes be a painful point of contention;¹² historically, non-western items, or texts written in non-Latin scripts, have been collected, studied, displayed, and catalogued with limited to no input from their “originating communities”.¹³ While modern academia is, at least on its face, a non-discriminatory environment which encourages participation from all cultures and nationalities, the process of cataloguing is iterative—with each new attempt, cataloguers must reckon with the decisions made by previous generations, and decide whether to build upon them, in part or in whole, or eschew them entirely. As a result, even the most sanitized modern catalogue might still carry the weight of centuries of Orientalist or colonialist writings.

‘WHERE’ IS HEBREW? THE COLLECTION’S EARLY DAYS

Hebrew texts and manuscripts, and the Hebrew language in general, straddle a uniquely peculiar place in the history of Western European academia. At times, they were seen as inherently connected to European and Western culture—a Protestant pathway to achieving ‘doctrinal certainty’ through *sola scriptura*,¹⁴ and one of the Humanist ‘pivots of civilization’ alongside Greek

and Latin.¹⁵ At other points, the Hebrew language—and the Jews who used it—were seen as distinctly “Oriental”, foreign interlopers. Christian Hebraists wanted to avoid “corrupted” Jewish glosses and interpretation and ‘free Christians from the need of Jewish teachers of Hebrew’,¹⁶ eventually publishing grammars and dictionaries for self-study.¹⁷ Humanists who studied the ancient world and classical philology, hoping to scientifically explain etymology,¹⁸ grouped languages into categories and forever aligned Hebrew with other Semitic languages of the Near East.¹⁹ Keeping in mind the changing position of Hebrew in Western scholarship—which cannot be separated from the attitude of European society toward Jews—is crucial to an analysis of the HMC’s catalogues throughout the centuries.

Petrus Bertius (1565-1629), Flemish historian and theologian, created the UBL’s first printed catalogue, the *Nomenclator*, published in 1595. Organized as a shelf-catalogue that reflected the library’s physical organization according to the classical division of knowledge,²⁰ it shows that the library had few Hebrew items at the time, which were included in the “Theology” category. After Leiden scholar Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) bequeathed his library to the UBL, Hebrew books became more commonly connected to the Oriental collections through association: around a third of Scaliger’s Oriental collection entailed Hebrew items.²¹

In 1612, UBL librarian Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), published an updated catalogue of the entirety of the library’s inventory. Heinsius considered Scaliger’s legacy as the UBL’s most important Oriental holding; considering himself the ‘ultimate keeper’ of this collection, he believed that ‘he, and no one else, was to compile the catalogue.’²² Unfortunately, being neither an Arabist nor

a Hebraist, Heinsius had a difficult time describing the titles of Scaliger's Oriental bequest; though it is possible he received some help from fellow scholars, the titles were all ultimately given only in Latin translation (with no Hebrew script or transliteration), and many are incomplete or inaccurate.²³

Leiden's HMC as we imagine it today really came into its own in 1669, when nearly a thousand Oriental items, including around three hundred in Hebrew, were donated to the UBL from the bequest of Levinus Warner (1618-1665).²⁴ Friedrich Spanheim the Younger (1632-1701), a scholar of theology, became the UBL's librarian in 1672, a time when the collection had become 'so diverse that it was no longer possible for one person to keep track of it';²⁵ cataloguing the Warner bequest was achieved through the combined efforts of several different scholars.²⁶ The 1674 Catalogue improves greatly upon its predecessors when it comes to cataloguing the Hebrew collection items;²⁷ Spanheim evidently 'attempted to enrich the descriptions of the books with new and relevant information' (see figure 1, on the opposite page).²⁸

The following catalogue, published in 1716, was edited by Carolus Schaaf (d. 1729), reader of Hebrew and other Oriental languages, and Johannes Heyman (1667-1737), professor of Oriental languages.²⁹ Despite being well within the realm of expertise of these cataloguers, the Hebrew manuscript descriptions remained generally unchanged. Some of the few changes or additions included the addition of transliterations to Hebrew titles, supplementing the existing Latin titles and the Hebrew-script titles added in 1674. From a modern perspective, many of these transliterations were not ideal; in figure 2, below, for example, the transliteration of מלכות כתר as *Kefer malchus*, as opposed to *Keter malchut*, betrays

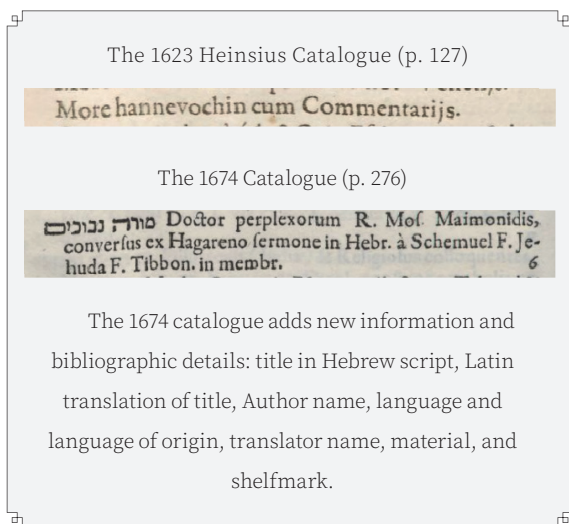


Figure 1: Comparison of catalogue entries
(Or. 4723 [Scal. 6])

the cataloguer's studied but unnatural over-adherence to the technicalities of *nikud*,³⁰ possibly as described in a (Christian Hebraist) grammar book. It is, in my opinion, a kind of error that would not have been made by a Jewish scholar.

A CHANGING TIDE: STEINSCHNEIDER AND THE 1858 CATALOGUE

The “long” nineteenth century saw the continued popularization of scholarly journals, published at great frequency by learned societies and academies;³¹ the heart of the library collection, particularly in the scientific fields, shifted from ‘the rare and extraordinary’ to the regular and ‘serial’.³² The study of manuscripts did not cease in this scholarly transition, but it did change in nature: this era saw a rising interest in the materiality of manuscripts.

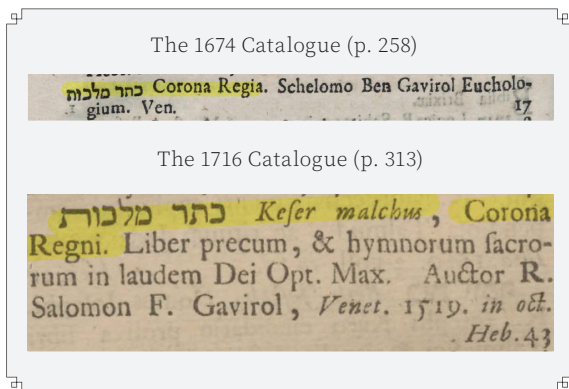


Figure 2: Comparison of catalogue entry
for a printed book

No longer mere carriers of text, manuscripts were now seen as complex objects, artefacts of cultural and historical worth, that could be analyzed and studied for their own sake.³³

Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907) was a pioneer of this type of research; throughout his career, the ‘father of Hebrew bibliography’ published over 1,400 books, papers, and manuscript catalogues.³⁴ He was the first to compile a comprehensive review of Jewish literature,³⁵ conducted pioneering translation research,³⁶ and published hundreds of articles concerning ‘library history, booklore, philology, and cultural history’.³⁷ In the early 1850s, the UBL commissioned Steinschneider to rewrite its Hebrew manuscripts catalogue.³⁸ There is no doubt that Steinschneider’s considerable talent and breadth of knowledge of Jewish book history made him the right scholar for the job—he was, in fact, undertaking a similar project for Oxford’s Bodleian library at the time³⁹—however, I believe that the fact that he himself was Jewish is also an important aspect to consider.

Steinschneider was born into a world that was changing rapidly. In the late eighteenth century, bolstered by the values of the Enlightenment, the Jewish intellectual movement of *Haskala* advocated supplementing traditional Talmudic and Biblical studies with secular education and the study of European languages,⁴⁰ in hope of improving the social and economic position of the Jews and integrate in European life after centuries of segregation and discrimination. As a young intellectual of the second *Haskala* generation, the Moravian-born scholar received both Jewish and secular education from an early age, and dedicated himself to the study of languages, Oriental and Hebrew literature, and bibliography.⁴¹ He became one of the early proponents of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, or ‘the Science of Judaism’,⁴² a Berlin-based movement that set out to study Jewish literature in an academic rather than theological manner ‘by subjecting it to criticism and modern methods of research’ aligned with European standards.⁴³

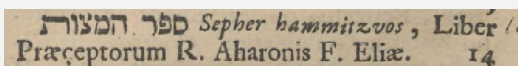
Steinschneider’s 1858 Leiden HMC Catalogue is much more than a reference tool—it is a study companion, going above and beyond the utilitarian bibliographic content of previous catalogues. It serves as an impressive specimen of the new catalogues of this era, which were expected to be a complete overview of a particular field or language.⁴⁴ Steinschneider’s remarkably detailed entries expand on nearly every catalogued item, and incorporate ‘a wealth of information’ whenever available.⁴⁵ He itemized the contents of codicological units and created a numbering system that is still mostly in use to this day. He shares his insights on the quality and legibility of the manuscript, and draws attention to ‘variant readings’, where the form or content of the same texts appear otherwise in manuscripts of other libraries.⁴⁶ He also men-

tions which other texts and authors a manuscript references, and vice versa.⁴⁷ In addition, he includes biographic information on the author, internal chapter divisions, references to relevant contemporary scholarly texts, and much more.⁴⁸

Part of the reason this catalogue improves so significantly on that of his predecessors is that Steinschneider was an expert in the languages, topics, and historical contexts of the manuscripts he discusses. He was incredibly well-versed in Jewish literature and medieval philosophy, as opposed to previous bibliographers, who, learned as they might have been, ‘were not scholars’ of those fields, and ‘apparently did not read the philosophic books they catalogued’.⁴⁹ Steinschneider could read Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, among other languages, and as such could easily read the texts he catalogued;⁵⁰ he was also able to point out and correct the mistakes of past cataloguers, of whom he is quite critical, writing in his preface that they were likely ‘neither sufficiently instructed in general literature, nor knew enough Hebrew to fulfil their very difficult task’.⁵¹

Steinschneider’s catalogue was the most extensive inspection of Leiden’s HMC conducted up to that point—a title it kept for much longer than it reasonably should have. Witkam’s *Oriental Collections Inventories*, published in the early 2000s (!),⁵² were the first time the collection’s catalogue was meaningfully revised and translated from Latin to English.⁵³ Steinschneider’s Leiden project ‘redefined the nature and purpose of Hebrew manuscript catalogues’ to the extent that scholars Harvey and Fontain argue it created a ‘new literary genre’.⁵⁴ Considering the astounding leap the 1858

1716 Catalogue (p. 409)



1858 Catalogue (pp. 39-40)

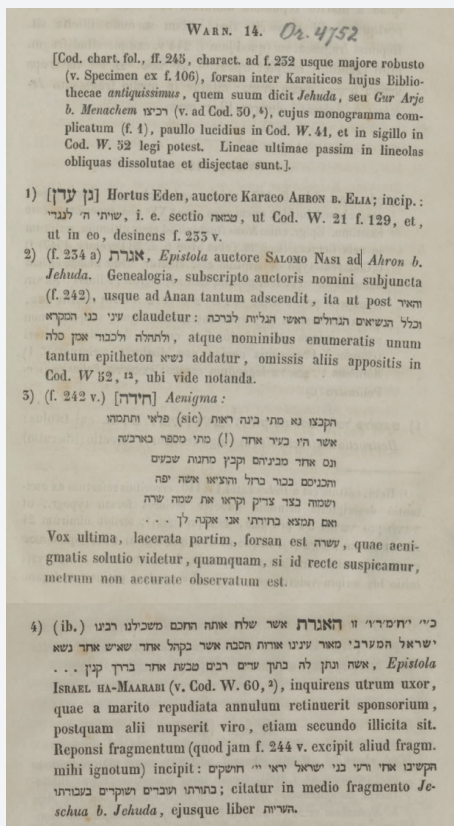


Figure 3: Comparison of catalogue entries
for Or. 4752 [Warn. 14]

catalogue displays compared to its predecessors, it's easy to see why it remained so influential for so long.

This catalogue serves, in my eyes, as unequivocal proof that collections can significantly benefit from the involvement of scholars who are not only experts in certain topics and languages, but also have personal ties to it—a connection that can provide unmatched insights. We must also remember that this precious repository of knowledge, which has supported scholarship for over 150 years, could have very well never existed due to systematic prejudice; in 1836, on account of being a Jew, Steinschneider was refused entry to the Vienna Oriental Academy and barred from viewing the Hebrew books and manuscripts in the Imperial Library.⁵⁵ At Leiden University, though Theodor W.J. Juynboll (1802-1861), the curator of the Oriental collection, commissioned Steinschneider to catalogue the HMC, he was still displeased that the rise in interest in Hebrew studies, especially by German Jewry, resulted in 'even those with no business to do so ... daring to publish Hebrew works'.⁵⁶ He suspected that the publication of the 1858 catalogue would lead to an increase in Hebrew manuscript lending requests by a Jewish readership that was 'learned but non-academic', and appealed to university directors, as a precaution, to allow him to be more discerning and restrictive regarding lending requests.⁵⁷ Any progress, any acceptance of disenfranchised sections of society 'from outside the academic world' as 'cultural stakeholders' in library collections,⁵⁸ could be so easily undermined by the ubiquitous normality of exclusion—whether it appears as policy in the 19th century, or as an innocent oversight today.

A DIGITAL PATH FORWARD

The digital revolution has created two different yet linked expectations from libraries: they should provide both online information about library holdings, and, ideally, direct online access to those holdings. In the twenty-first century, a convenient online catalogue is considered a cornerstone of any well-organized library, not only for locating its many physical books but also due to the increased prominence of digital-first material. Libraries began explicitly prioritizing budgeting for digital editions of books and journals;⁵⁹ in turn, modern scholars, students, and administrators ‘assume that all materials have been, or ultimately will be, converted to a digital format’, including rare manuscripts, documents and other special collection items.⁶⁰

Increasingly technologically feasible yet still arduous and costly, more and more libraries and other cultural heritage institutions have been embarking on Special Collection digitization projects throughout the last decade or so. Of course, the mere availability of digitized resources does not automatically guarantee their usability; digitized books and manuscripts must also be ‘well described, organized, and promoted to ensure they are visible and readily accessible’.⁶¹ Often this required the transition of bibliographic data from old print catalogues to online versions, which risks perpetuating old inaccuracies; the temporally patchworked nature of library catalogues means that decisions made by past cataloguers usually stick around unless an active effort is made to correct them. This is a particular problem for “foreign” materials, whose content, language and script a cataloguer might be unfamiliar with—and whose bibliographical inaccuracies they might have a hard time noticing.

Just as the HMC was immensely enriched by hiring Steinschneider, a Jewish scholar, to write the 1858 catalogue, I believe that any cultural heritage institution aiming to digitize its collections or improve its metadata would benefit greatly from actively seeking the involvement of native speakers and members of the relevant languages and cultures. In this respect, I speak from experience: I spent several months in an internship at the UBL, participating in their project to digitize the HMC, a collaboration with the National Library of Israel's Ktiv project.⁶² I reviewed and corrected catalogue entries, standardized title romanizations and name spellings, enhanced the existing information with missing details from past catalogues,⁶³ and added Hebrew-language translations for key details to facilitate better search.

While working, I managed to correct many transliteration inaccuracies which had crept into manuscript descriptions—as well as some resulting mistranslations—that a non-Hebrew speaker would likely not notice. For example, the title for Or. 4763:10, as it appears in Witkam's *Inventory* and on the UBL's Online Catalogue, was transliterated as *Sefer ha-Eser*. Reversing the title into Hebrew script would likely result in ספר העשר—grammatically odd, but roughly meaning 'the book of ten'. However, Witkam's English translation of the title is 'the Book of treasures'.⁶⁴ I concluded that the discrepancy was likely the result of a lack of *nikud* in the manuscript; עשר could be read as עָשָׂר (*eser* = ten) or as אוֹשֶׁר (*osher* = wealth). After consulting other resources to confirm my suspicion, I was able to correct the title's romanization to *Sefer ha-Osher*.

When Hebrew manuscripts are catalogued without sufficient understanding of their language and context, the result can sometimes be poor or lacking—or, on occasion, disrespect-

ful and harmful. The same can be said for many other “foreign” languages or cultural groups. Whether by policy or circumstance, people from often-marginalized “originating communities” have been barred,⁶⁵ sometimes literally, from accessing pieces of their cultural heritage. It is therefore my conclusion that going forward, the cultural heritage sector has a moral and scholarly duty: to harness the collaborative tools of the digital age, use them to engage members of those communities, and re-evaluate past narratives and cataloguing norms and as part of the digitization process. This will give them a chance to not only rectify historic injustices, but to enrich our world with knowledge, courtesy of the people who know—and care—most about it.

Elena Hoch

Valuable Testimony or Linguistically Inappropriate?

The Debate about the Alleged Censorship of
Children's Book Classics in the Course of
Diversity and Anti-Discrimination
Discourses of the 21st Century



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studies. Currently, she is working on the mediality and
materiality of the book and its semantic
functionalisation in the novel.*

‘**R**OALD DAHL IS ruined’ headlines the British newspaper *The Telegraph* on 21 February 2023, criticising the new editions of Dahl’s books published by Puffin Books.¹ A few days before, the Penguin Random House imprint had launched revised editions of Dahl’s books, in which changes were made to weight, mental health, gender and race. Words like “fat” and “ugly” have completely disappeared from the stories and been replaced by more non-judgemental adjectives. Salman Rushdie calls these measures ‘absurd censorship’ about which the publisher and the Dahl estate ‘should be ashamed’.² The columnist Tim Stanley judges with similar vehemence: ‘The butchering of Roald Dahl is an assault on liberty by a neurotic elite’.³ But is that so? Do changes in content and language such as those made in *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* or *Matilda* and other children’s book classics like Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *The Little Witch* from Ottfried Preußler amount to censorship and should they, accordingly, be condemned? What speaks for and against such textual interventions, and in which discourses are they to be embedded? Such will be discussed in the following from a Eurocentric perspective.

The ideal of diversity and tolerance has increasingly become the focus of our society. While the call for tolerance has already been present for quite a long time, diversity is a comparatively new term that has gained importance in the public consciousness only in the last ten years.⁴ As Bielefeld University states in its strategy paper of the Protectorate for International Affairs and Diversity, the phenomenon refers to the fact that ‘people are different, that they occupy different social positions, that they bring different prerequisites—strengths and weaknesses—with them,

maintain different traditions, prefer different family, religious or ideological ways of life and can belong to different societies of origin or ethnic groups due to immigration or emigration'.⁵ In recent years, the notion of tolerance and equality, along with the imperative of showing respect towards individuals irrespective of their age, gender, race, sexual orientation or religious beliefs, has permeated various aspects of society, including, for example, corporate philosophies, television programming, and advertising. Of course, modern education is also increasingly emphasizing the pedagogical strategies for imparting these socially aspired norms and values unto children and youth. As Caroline Ali-Tani notes, prejudices are already formed at an early age. The goal, according to her, should be to teach children '[n]ormality in which diversity is perceived neutrally and in which everyone, regardless of origin, gender, mental and physical abilities, etc., is given the same opportunities and the same rights, appreciation and participation'.⁶ She maintains a conviction that instilling values in children from the outset is crucial to cultivating empathetic individuals who are vigilant against injustice, who readily embrace diversity, and who are empowered to respond critically and effectively in the face of prejudice and exclusion.⁷

In her statement, Ali-Tali focuses mainly on the role of educational institutions such as kindergartens and schools when it comes to the mental development of young people. An impactful determinant that she does not address in her essay is the media. These were already recognised more than half a century ago as a significant factor influencing people's thoughts and actions, as evidenced by early research such as the 'Influence of the Movies on Attitudes and Behaviour'—study from 1947.⁸ These studies

have demonstrated that the consumption of false media can lead to adverse effects, including ‘delays in speech and movement development, sleep disorders and obesity, loss of empathy, conspicuousness in social behaviour or poorer reading and general school performance’.⁹ However, a consensus on which media are subsequently to be regarded as “correct” has not yet been reached. Although, compared to other media forms such as films, social media, and video games, books have consistently encountered a relatively lower degree of criticism. In fact, books are typically associated with positive attributes.

Empirical evidence supports the view that reading enhances individuals’ prosocial behaviour and empathy, as suggested by Rose Turner from Kingston University London.¹⁰ Furthermore, exposure to books during adolescence is linked to improved cognitive skills such as reading, writing, mathematics, and technical problem-solving, according to studies conducted by Joanna Sikora, M.D.R. Evans, and Jonathan Kelley.¹¹ Additionally, a study conducted by Yale University indicates that reading is positively correlated with survival, thereby potentially prolonging life.¹² With regards to early childhood development, the Ohio State University’s highly acclaimed ‘million word’ gap study in 2019 demonstrated that young children whose parents read them five books per day enter kindergarten with approximately 1.4 million more words heard than their non-read-to peers.¹³

Therefore, books and the act of reading are generally regarded as positive. A media advantage they have over video games, for example which still predominantly have a negative image.¹⁴ Nevertheless, children’s book classics such as *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* and *Matilda* have been the subject of

criticism for some time. However, it is not only the books by Roald Dahl that are under social scrutiny. The works of, inter alia, Enid Blyton, Erich Kästner and Ottfried Preußler have also been revised in recent years. Especially in German-speaking countries, the language and content of classics of children's literature are the subject of controversial debate.

'Changes to the text are an offence to literature', proclaims Ulrich Greiner in his article in *Die Zeit*.¹⁵ This, however, depends on one's point of view: If one considers children's book classics as contemporary witnesses that record linguistic expressions, social views, norms, values and ways of life for posterity, changes to the text may be viewed as problematic. After all, it is a historical fact that black people in the 19th century were called "niggers" and did not have the same rights as people with fair skin. Thus, the portrayal of black people as possessing the same rights and opportunities as whites is historically inaccurate. From this point of view, it is understandable that corresponding changes are met with indignation and can be perceived as an affront to their authenticity.

Nevertheless, this depends on how big the change is in relation to the literature. In 2011, David Hugendick criticized the substitution of the word "nigger" with "slave" in Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*.¹⁶ He contended that Mark Twain was not a racist but a chronicler. This would become clear in the book, as he dealt with the problems of slavery and racism in particular by, among other things, being the first to literarily process the spoken language of the Southern states, their grammar and sociolects.¹⁷ That is why "nigger", in the historical context of his work, should be acceptable to even the most so-called squeamish reader. In his opinion, works from that period should include their vocabu-

lary.¹⁸ In terms of historical accuracy, Hugendick is initially to be agreed with on many points. However, it is questionable whether this historical accuracy is necessary in this form in a children's book and whether it actually misrepresents the time to use the comparatively value-free term "slave" instead of the insulting term "nigger". Similarly, on the content side, there are changes that do not recall the historical circumstances or distort the story. In a disguise scene in Ottfried Preußler's *The Little Witch*, for example, the word "negro" appears. Preußler was concerned here with the tradition of carnival, it was not essential for the author that a "Negro" costume be included. The intention is not changed if one chooses a different, non-ethnic disguise, says the publisher; 'The story is not falsified in the process'.¹⁹

Interestingly, Hugendick agrees. In a column published in 2015, he calls the revision of children's books in such a way as was done in *The Little Witch* a 'trifle'.²⁰ It is not justifiable, he says, to protect a word that has long since become outdate—such as the word "negro" in the aforementioned dress-up scene—just to remain faithful to the original text. With interventions like these, 'there can be no question of censorship'.²¹ Nor is it excessive political correctness or 'notoriously led virtue terror'.²² Although Hugendick vehemently advocates the erasure of the word "negro" in this article, he nevertheless emphasises that the deletion of the word "nigger" from Mark Twain's books is to be condemned. According to him, it falsifies the character of society, which the writer explicitly wanted to showcase using it.²³ The fact that Hugendick makes almost radical distinctions here is hard to understand. Why does he advocate the replacement of an outdated, negatively connoted term ("neger") with a more contemporary one, but at

the same time advocate the use of an offensive term (“nigger”)? The argument that the author’s intention would be weakened by the linguistic adaptation is only slightly convincing. After all, the word “slave” also implies the lower social position of these people as well as the living conditions. It is in any case questionable to unlikely that children would recognise the role of the use of such sociolects and conclude that the author is problematising racism through this.

This argument is linked to a demand that often goes hand in hand with a plea to retain the terms that are outdated and morally indefensible from today’s point of view: appropriate books should be read and discussed together with children. This is reasonable, but it also entails some difficulties. It presupposes, among other things, that both parents and children are interested in and willing to talk about the relevant words as well as their backgrounds when reading together. And this with a story that only indirectly—if at all—criticises discriminatory actions and statements contained in it. Beginning a conversation around such topics in relation to these stories can be viewed as more difficult in comparison to books like *The Colors of Us* by Karen Katz or *Daddy, Papa, and Me* by Lesléa Newman, which deal decidedly with topics like racism, discrimination and diversity. In addition, discussing the concepts contained in the book together requires that those books are read (aloud) together.

In the case that books are read independently by children, Austrian children’s author Christiane Nöstlinger raised a suggestion. As she told the *Berliner Tagesspiegel* in an interview in 2013, it could be better to explain problematic words in a footnote instead of exchanging them.²⁴

Similar things have been implemented in children's audio plays produced by the EUROPA label. For some time now, the episodes of e.g. the audio play series *Hanni and Nanni* (*The twins at St Clare's*), which are based on the novels by Enid Blyton, have been preceded by a disclaimer chapter. This chapter states that the audio play was developed and recorded many years ago and, as a product of its time, may contain discriminatory depictions. The publisher distances itself from such representations, but also explains that they have decided to leave the audio plays in their original version because they do not want to 'hide the failings of the past'.²⁵ In addition, reference is made to the label's homepage, where further information could be found.²⁶ This is an option that Nöstlinger and Hugendick would probably welcome.

This decision on the part of the publisher demonstrates a willingness to critically examine their own (successful) products. In addition, they are accommodating for fans of the series who may want to hear the episodes in their original version—along with the nostalgia that arises from the outdated language and the audibly old recordings. However, it must be critically questioned whether the advance disclaimer actually serves its purpose. The disclaimer's general validity is problematic, as it does not clearly indicate which representations in the audio plays are to be considered discriminatory and therefore unacceptable according to contemporary social standards. Furthermore, the responsibility falls on the listeners to identify which passages the disclaimer refers to. There are also doubts as to whether the disclaimer is acknowledged or fully understood by listeners, especially younger listeners who may skip the disclaimer chapter or not pay much attention to it, as it is always the same text that is not part of the audio play itself.

This may be of little relevance in the audio plays about the twin sisters Hanni and Nanni, as there are only a few passages in the stories that are no longer justifiable from today's perspective. One of these passages appears in episode five of 1973 'Hanni und Nanni gründen einen Club' (in English: 'Hanni and Nanni Form a Club'). There Hanni and Nanni's cousin Elli says that two Italians cannot be trusted because they are foreigners.²⁷ These statements would probably be deleted or changed in a rewrite. However, since voices in an audio play from 50 years ago cannot simply be replaced to have the characters say something different, publishers are left with few options. One possibility for adaptation would be to delete the relevant passages. However, since the problematic statements are often in the middle of dialogue, there is a danger that the content would not only be distorted but become incoherent. Footnotes as they are made in books are not possible in audio plays—insertions of spoken language at the respective points would massively impair the flow of the narrative. In this respect, audio plays are at an overall disadvantage.

This shows the advantage of books, since adaptations are more easily possible. Regardless of how old the story is, terms can be exchanged and whole passages rewritten without this having to be visible in the text. If it is done well, only those who know the original text will notice the differences. That the changes are nevertheless not welcomed by lovers of the original text is understandable, but nostalgia should not be a reason for continuing to spread discriminatory and offensive statements. Moreover, adaptations are made more frequently than many may realise. As Felix Giesa, researcher at the Institute for Children's and Young People's Book Research in Frankfurt states, revision of literature for children

is nothing new historically, but rather the rule; ‘a character like Heidi would not be recognised by today’s children, or even my generation, who grew up with different series and films, in the original version by Johanna Spyri’.²⁸ In what form changes should be made to the text is yet another discussion. Here the rule should be: as little as possible, but as much as necessary. Whether a supermarket cashier and a secretary should be changed into a scientist and a businesswoman, as in the case of Roald Dahl, is therefore rightly questionable. However, it should be legitimate, if not self-evident, that blatantly discriminatory terms, which are not relevant to history and can easily be removed or replaced, should be deleted or changed from children’s books.

A question that is surprisingly rarely asked in this context is: ‘Who wants to read these words aloud to his or her children?’ Can joy really still be found in reading such words, or does one not wince when the little witch dresses up as a “negro” and wishes she would have made a different choice? Hugendick sums it up well in his commentary when he writes, ‘do you want to read the word again [...]: N-e-g-e-r. Not nice, is it?’²⁹

Hence, with all due understanding of nostalgia and the desire to preserve the original character of a book. It can be argued that just because something has always been done or existed in a certain way does not mean that it should be continued. As long as changes aim to remove inappropriate content and, as already described, this is done thoughtfully and not arbitrarily or to an excessive degree, there is little to be said against it. Nor can there be any talk of censorship in relation to the recent changes in children’s books. For, as Hugendick also points out, these are consequences that arise from a social consensus on language and

not from external authorities—e.g. the government—forcing these changes upon society. They are often well-considered case-by-case decisions made by publishers in agreement with the author or the author's descendants.³⁰

It is important to realise at this point that the original texts are not meant to disappear in the modern day per se, nor are they forbidden. The aim is merely to provide the opportunity to engage with stories in a light-hearted way without being confronted with terms or concepts that are outdated and controversial in today's society. To create literature that takes into account the diversity of our society and encourages and educates children to be open to people, regardless of their origin, gender, religion, mental and physical abilities or others. Findings such as Caroline Ali-Tani's, that prejudices are formed at a young age, urge publishers and authors to consciously reflect on the images they create in readers with their stories. In this way, texts can be created through which no one feels insulted, discriminated against, excluded or otherwise attacked. Adult readers who know the books from their childhood can be encouraged to take a critical (not automatically condemning!) look at texts they received as a child. If only because they notice that the story is no less beautiful or fun to read just because the little witch is not wearing a Negro costume and there is no nigger but a slave in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. These possibilities are offered by the publishers. The books of Ottfried Preußler, Erich Kästner and Co. are available in both modified and original versions. Roald Dahl's books can also still be read in the original version, as Puffin announced on February 23rd, 2023, '[r]eaders will be free to choose which version of [the] stories they prefer'.³¹



CHAPTER III

TeXT and the Reader



Rahel Wirz

Love, The Readers

A poem



*Rahel Sarah Wirz (*1997) grew up in a village in Switzerland. She completed her bachelor's degree in German language and literature as well as film studies at the University of Zurich in 2021. She now works full-time in journalism and is currently writing a young adult book series.*

When I turned 9

I knocked at every wardrobe door
Closed my eyes and believed that
Someday, I'd live the adventure
Someday, I'd fight the evil queen and win
Someday, I'd live the words beyond the story
But no wardrobe ever led to Narnia

When I turned 11

I patiently waited for my Hogwarts letter
For Hagrid to burst through the door
And guide the way to a magical world
A world where being odd was ordinary
A world that could be changed
But no letter ever arrived

When I turned 13

I kept looking out of my bedroom window
Longing for a handsome stranger
to take my hand
And lead me towards love in a fairy tale world
The kind of love that gives you butterflies
The kind of love I had read all about
in all those stories
But when I turned 15
I still waited for my first kiss

When I turned 16
The books stood untouched on their shelves
No more fairy tale worlds to escape to
No more waiting
No more believing
Just the cold, hard rain
Washing away the very last glimmer
of those stories

Because eventually,
you have to stop dreaming
You have to start living
Be realistic – words that stung like knives
Read something smart – cause
not all stories are
Stop living inside your head – cause that's what
stories are

But who taught me kindness
if not Winnie The Pooh
Who taught me to be curious
if not Alice in her Wonderland
Who taught me to be smart if not Matilda
Stories are what make us dream and fly
and go above and beyond
They make us feel magic, friendship and love

We leave stories with a sense of longing
A sense of waiting
A sense of believing
In the cold, hard rain
Because stories don't just wash away

Love,
The Readers

Marco Mostert

Two Millennia of Making, Using, and Keeping Written Texts for Readers

Then, Now, and in the Future



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by Brepols, in which more than fifty monographs and
collected volumes have been published so far.*

FOR WRITTEN TEXTS to be legible, there are various conditions that need to be met. First, a text needs to be written in a language the reader can understand. This does not only refer to the linguistic guise of the written text; it also has to do with the register in which a text is written. Secondly, a reader must know the alphabet and the script in which the text is written. They need to be able to read both “uppercase” and “lowercase” letters, and any abbreviations used. Thirdly, there is punctuation with the other “paratextual” signs which help the reader to give voice to the text—even if that voice often be interior only.¹ Fourthly, the spaces between the words are important. And fifthly, there is the way the text is laid out on the page. The way these five conditions of legibility changed over time, from papyrus via parchment to paper and, lately, the “electronic page”, have consequences for our ability to read ancient texts nowadays. Their makers simply had different ways of doing things than the makers of modern printed or electronic texts. We can of course make excellent digital copies of medieval manuscripts, but as modern users of written texts we expect to see things on the page that are different from the expectations of our medieval predecessors. This means that, although we may be capable of appreciating the beauty of manuscripts as objects, the availability of digital copies of the same is not enough to allow modern readers to make sense of the manuscripts’ contents. And it will be hardly surprising if readers in the future may find themselves in a similar position when they are confronted with the texts made for us today—texts which we have no difficulty in reading.

READING THEN

Let us start with an example of how a twelfth-century monk had to deal with the “grammar of legibility” of some of the old texts he found among the centuries-old documents he tried to make sense of.

Around the middle of the twelfth century, Eberhard, a monk of Fulda, received the assignment to collect the old charters of his monastery in a cartulary. He finished this huge work, in two volumes, between 1150 and 1160. In a short introduction to the second volume, he wrote that he found among other things ‘some testaments written by those who because of their age could hardly be read’.² This was not only because of their wear and tear, but also because these small documents were written in old writing which was ‘unknown to modern [readers] and hardly legible’.³ They were also composed with ‘wondrous simplicity’.⁴ Fulda had been founded in the eighth century, when it had been the monastery where the ancient Boniface had retired before his last fateful mission to Frisia and his martyrdom in 754. Documents written in what is called “insular script” could be found among the ancient parchments Eberhard had to work with.⁵ Already in the ninth century, texts in this script (then often named *scriptura Scottica*, ‘Irish script’, after the group of insular scribes who had made the deepest impression on the contemporary imagination) had been copied in the more legible Caroline minuscule. To quote Eberhard once more, this time from the introduction to the first volume, ‘not all charters had been easy to read because they had been so old and because of lack of experience with Irish writing and bad quality of the letters’.⁶

Eberhard clearly had problems with reading texts in outmoded script. This does not mean that he was a bad reader of manuscripts, who was not up to the task he had been set by his abbot. Far from it, witness the cartulary he produced, which is today kept in the Marburg archives as the two-volume *Codex Eberhardi*.⁷ From the ninth century onwards, monastic scholars had allowed the reuse of the parchment of texts in 'Irish script', for instance as binding materials for new manuscripts in the then current Caroline minuscule.⁸ If texts contained in the manuscripts to be reused had been deemed valuable, a copy of them was made in a script the readers of the time could actually read—even if there might be some mistakes in a copy, due either to the form of the letters of the exemplar or to the use of abbreviations that were no longer current.

Eberhard's problems had been caused by changes in what is called the "grammar of legibility". This notion has been developed, among others, by the palaeographer Malcolm Parkes.⁹ To be legible to a reader, the five visual aspects of written texts using an alphabet which we mentioned at the beginning of this article are important: the language of the text; the forms of the letters of the alphabet (including any abbreviations and ligatures that may have been used); punctuation;¹⁰ the use of space between words;¹¹ and the layout of the text. Each of these five aspects has a history of its own; together, these histories form the history of legibility.

In the twelfth century, Eberhard experienced difficulties in understanding the early documents of Fulda mainly because of the unfamiliar forms of the letters of the alphabet used for 'Irish script'; possibly the use of insular abbreviations did not help either. Of minor importance was the Latin of the documents: he was surprised by their 'wondrous simplicity',¹² and possibly also

by what he may have considered usages bordering on mistakes. He did not comment on the other three aspects. Insular scribes had invented word separation, for the excellent reason that the texts they were interested in were almost exclusively written in Latin; texts written in insular vernaculars were very rare indeed. To understand the Latin of their exemplars, they needed to know where one word ended and the next word began, in order to make sense of the language of the texts. In Antiquity, word separation in Latin texts was not necessary, as most readers were speakers of Latin who could make sense of written texts also without word separation. Nevertheless, there had been some problems when a text was meant to be performed in public. For this reason, a prior reading (*a praelectio*) would be necessary; for the actual “reading aloud” the text would have been memorised. Latin texts would also be provided with a modicum of punctuation; this would be developed in the early Middle Ages, and Eberhard would have been helped in his reading of the old documents of Fulda by the punctuation symbols he would have encountered. As for layout, finally, he was able to understand when he was dealing with charters, presumably because their layout offered him some clues. In the case of the royal charters he copied in the second volume of his cartulary, he carefully drew the *signa* (i.e. the monograms) of the kings which he could see at the bottom of the parchments.¹³

It is not too difficult to work out which of the visual aspects of the documents Eberhard needed to copy were posing problems. His own grammar of legibility can be deduced from the cartulary he produced. It is well organised, with each of the two volumes being preceded by a table of contents and a very short introduction. The layout shows artwork of some quality.

FROM READING THEN TO READING THEIR TEXTS NOW

After Eberhard, the grammar of legibility continued to develop and change. For instance, Eberhard considered Latin to be the language most suitable for the documents he copied. Nowadays, we prefer to read texts in our mother tongue—or at least in a modern language we have mastered during our education. We want to *understand* what we read, and one prerequisite of understanding is knowledge of the language of the texts we want to read. In the Middle Ages, there had been a distinction between reading (*legere*) and understanding (*intellegere*). One could be considered capable of reading a text when one was able to voice it. That is why of the very few primers surviving from late medieval England, booklets meant for instruction in reading that were given to ordinary children of a tender age—and unavoidably were destroyed by them—two out of four are in Latin.¹⁴ These primers, as well as the deluxe copies meant for royal or at least noble children, invariably start with an ABC, sometimes showing the various forms some of the letters might take (e.g. ‘s’ next to ‘f’) followed by a few letters that were added to the Latin alphabet to render some of the sounds of English not known to Latin (e.g. ‘ð’, ‘þ’, or ‘ ’). This is followed by the Lord’s Prayer, the *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary), and other prayers. When someone proved able to give voice to these texts, the learning of reading was finished. If someone had to understand the texts read as well, in Latin, then attendance at a school teaching Latin was required. Clearly, more people were able to read than to understand what they read.

In our modern grammar of legibility, reading, the “voicing” of the text on the page, is hardly considered reading, unless one is able also to “understand” the text one reads. And to get access to

the latest knowledge and insights on a topic, Latin is hardly ever necessary. We use a (selection of) vernacular(s). We also prefer the texts we read to use only the letters of the alphabet we are familiar with. In our texts, the use of capitals and lower-case letters is regulated, albeit with minor variation from one vernacular to the next.¹⁵ We would, just as Eberhard, be very unhappy with texts in which word separation was not rigorously applied. We have become used to divisions and subdivisions of longer texts that are much more standardised than they were in the twelfth century. We have also become used to numbered pages in our printed materials, and to indices at the end of our printed books in which we can find out at a glance on which page information of interest to us can be found. But the development of indices from the thirteenth century onwards is deemed less necessary by us when we can use a searchable digitised copy of a text online. That is the reason why we no longer use concordances of texts such as the Bible—indeed, most in our age group might be at a loss to define what a “concordance” is (or was). And finally, if, at the foot of the page in our printed books (or in the left or right margins of our digital texts), we find numbered annotations, these may harken back to the interlinear and marginal glosses in medieval manuscripts (roughly from the ninth century onwards). We will recognise texts in which numbered annotations occur, either as footnotes or as endnotes, as scholarly or scientific texts. The layout of these texts has become so standardised, that we may recognise them even without reading a single sentence.¹⁶

The changes that the grammar of legibility has undergone in the past two millennia have consequences for the way we have to deal with its earlier phases when we want to make texts from the

past available to present-day or future readers. This problem has been around ever since scholars started to think about providing their contemporaries with reliable editions of earlier texts. It is becoming more urgent now that digital means of reproduction enable us to encounter any texts in manuscript form on the screen of our computers – texts whose grammar of legibility, however, was different from our own.¹⁷ And yet, these digital images seem, quite often, to adapt unwittingly to our present-day grammar of legibility, when they “flatten” the image of parchment pages which never are wholly flat, or when they adapt the colour of the parchment of documents or manuscripts from different origins to a ubiquitous hue of whitish yellow (or yellowish white). Possibly, however, this falls under a yet to be defined “grammar of making texts” rather than under the grammar of legibility.¹⁸

Whenever scholarly editions are made, editors have to come to grips with the differences between their own grammar of legibility and those of the makers of the (handwritten) texts their editions will be based on. The choice of which features of the grammars of legibility they come into contact with are to be included in their editions, is problematic, as the medieval manuscripts they have selected for use in their editions show perceptible differences in this respect. The rules imposed by the editorial boards of the better-known series of source publications suggest adaptations to the modern grammar of legibility, both with respect to the normalisation of spelling, punctuation, the use of capitals, and layout. Word separation is not mentioned, it is taken for granted that it will be used.¹⁹ These choices are understandable, as the object of the exercise is providing a present-day audience with a legible text. It is also inspired by the kind of edition that aims at re-

constructing, as much as possible, the text an author once wrote, on the basis of all extant manuscripts of this text, using what is called the 'stemmatic method'.²⁰ As the surviving manuscripts of a text may be of widely divergent origins and dates, they may have considerable differences in their grammar of legibility as well. It will be impossible to retain the specific habits of the scribes of all manuscripts deemed important in the making of the edition, which is printed as a single text that is the result of the textual criticism applied by the editor. All that may be done to remedy this somewhat, is to provide photographs of some pages of the manuscripts that have been used. For the reconstructed text, the choice of the editor's own grammar of legibility therefore suggests itself with some urgency.

The stemmatic method is, of course, by no means the only method for making editions. The palaeographer Bernhard Bischoff finished the 'Introduction' of his *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* with the words '[e]very manuscript is unique. Our aim should therefore be to recognise that uniqueness, to consider the manuscript as a historical monument and to be sensitive to its beauty, especially when its script and illumination are of a high aesthetic order'.²¹ This invitation to consider all manuscripts to be equally worthy of attention has led to editions of texts which are preserved in a single manuscript only. In such cases, reproducing the text as it occurs in its manuscript is a possibility. Indeed, there is a trend to publish not just scholarly editions of individual texts, but integral manuscripts, with all texts exactly as they occur in the manuscripts chosen for this treatment. This idea is in fact an old one, going back at least to the eighteenth-century edition of *Domesday Book*.²² The series of diplomatic editions of

Middle Dutch manuscripts which were meant as material units by their makers and which contain at least two texts (making them *verzamelhandschriften*, ‘collective manuscripts’) presents texts as they occur in the manuscripts, with only very minor changes. As the manuscripts lack editorial introductions or commentaries, so the editions do without them as well. Nor is there a translation in a modern language (modern Dutch would have been helpful to some, if not most potential readers of the editions in this series).²³ Although the grammar of legibility of the makers of the manuscripts is on the whole respected, only specialists can use the volumes published in this series, as the grammar of legibility of modern readers is not catered for. Under the circumstances, an annotated digital facsimile of the manuscripts might have done the job equally well, if not better.

Even digital facsimiles of texts, however, are defective if they do not provide both an edition and a translation in a modern language, because the knowledge of languages of modern readers requires it. One cannot assume that modern readers know enough Latin, or Middle Dutch, or Old Norse, or whatever the language of the texts in a digitised facsimile may be. Without at least a diplomatic edition (in which letters which were current at the time a manuscript was written, but are no longer in general use today, can be easily rendered thanks to Unicode) and a translation, only specialists will be able to use our present-day efforts.

Maybe we ought to take a leaf out of the editorial habits of runologists. They tend to provide a photograph of the runes they edit, with, underneath, a rendering of the runes as they read them, followed by a transliteration of the runes, followed by the text according to the scholarly conventions for rendering Old Norse, and

finally followed by a translation in a modern language (usually English).²⁴ But runic inscriptions tend to be very short, different from most texts that survive on parchment and paper...

READING IN THE FUTURE?

We do not know what future readers of medieval handwritten texts will require of their editions. In all likelihood their grammar of legibility will change due to their increasingly reading texts in a digital format on screen. We can only hope that the editions we can make nowadays to satisfy the requirements of contemporary readers will be legible for a considerable time to come.

Irene O'Daly

Ducks and Diagrams

Insights into the Medieval Readership of
Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae*
Preserved in Leiden University Libraries,
BPL 91 and BPL 186



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GRAMMAR WAS THE foundational art of the medieval liberal arts curriculum. In his retrospective summary of his school career written in 1159, John of Salisbury famously surveyed the methods used for teaching grammar employed by his masters, and critiqued his contemporaries who ‘profess all the arts, liberal and mechanical, but who are ignorant of this first one [i.e. grammar], without which it is futile to attempt to go on to the others’. As John goes on to note in the same passage, playing with his words, ‘while other studies may also contribute to “letters” [*litteratura*], grammar alone has the unique privilege of making one “lettered” [*litteratum*]’, that is learned.¹ One of the most influential grammar manuals studied in the medieval schools was the *Institutiones grammaticae*, a work composed by Priscian of Caesarea in Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey) in the early sixth century.² No fewer than seventeen manuscript copies of this work are preserved in Leiden University Libraries.³ In this study, I will assess annotations to two twelfth-century copies of the *Institutiones* (Leiden University Libraries [henceforth UBL], BPL 91 and BPL 186). In line with the theme of ‘centuries of TeXT’, I will explore how the preservation of such medieval manuscripts brings to the fore sometimes ambiguous, sometimes innovative, interactions with texts, and can indicate how medieval readers engaged with this important grammatical work.

THE *INSTITUTIONES GRAMMATICAE*

Priscian’s *Institutiones* was complex and long; it was composed of eighteen separate books, with books I-II dealing predominantly with phonetics, the sound of speech, books III-XVI with the parts of speech (the noun, verb, adjective, etc.), and books XVII-XVIII with syntax, the structure of sentences. Early copies of the *Institutiones*

tended to include all these books, but later copies often contained only the first sixteen books, dealing with phonetics and morphology—the so called Priscianus Major, or ‘Greater Priscian’. Meanwhile, the Priscianus Minor, or ‘Minor Priscian’, comprising books XVII–XVIII and concerning syntax (the study of which was regarded as more specialised) often circulated separately, particularly from the thirteenth century onwards.⁴ The *Institutiones* was written for advanced students of Latin in the Greek-speaking part of the Roman empire and was organised, as Vivien Law described, in a way that is ‘for the most part implicit rather than explicit’, with Robert Black even referring to the ‘confusion, disorder, prolixity and incomprehensibility’ of the text.⁵

Although it was composed over five centuries prior, Priscian’s work was still extensively read in the twelfth century and beyond.⁶ In fact, in spite of its complexity and length, this introductory work to the grammatical and syntactical forms of the Latin language survives in over 500 manuscript copies dating from between the late eighth to the fifteenth century, and no less than ten early printed editions prior to 1500.⁷ Owning a copy of Priscian was standard for medieval schools, and such manuscripts were valuable possessions. Law recorded that one copy of the *Institutiones* (now Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, MS Ripoll 59) is said to have cost the cathedral chapter of Barcelona a house and a piece of land in 1044.⁸ Writing to Bonibertus of Fünfkirchen in mid-1023 on the occasion of his establishment of a new bishopric in Pecs in Hungary, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, sent ‘one of our copies of Priscian’, on Bonibertus’s request.⁹ It is a mark of the perceived quality of the work that it was seen as a suitable gift for a newly established ecclesiastical centre.

ANNOTATIONS AND ADDITIONS

Aside from its systematic treatment of the study of grammar, Priscian's work also attained its foundational status on account of the examples he used throughout to illustrate various points and details of the art; this marked his work apart from that of other grammarians, such as Donatus.¹⁰ Drawn from Latin and Greek classical texts, these examples were objects of study in their own right and contributed to the popularity of the work. We can gain insights into the varied emphases and points of interest of readers of the *Institutiones grammaticae* by looking at the glosses, or annotations, made to Priscian's work; many of these were copied from manuscript to manuscript, but are individualised and innovative reactions to the text.¹¹ Such glosses can reveal a layered evidence of interest in the text, and often paid particular attention to his selection of examples.

Some additions to manuscript copies of the *Institutiones* are, however, harder to interpret. UBL BPL 186 is a composite volume comprising two grammatical manuscripts copied in different contexts and periods, but now bound together.¹² In the first part of the manuscript (fols. 1-86), we find a twelfth-century Italian copy of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, Books XVII-XVIII (i.e., the 'Minor Priscian').¹³ The manuscript contains a number of (marginal and interlinear) glosses, added by various hands, demonstrating an accretion of reader interactions with the text, as well as further non-textual interventions, such as small crosses and nota signs placed beside passages of relevance, and appended paragraph markers which serve to divide up the text.¹⁴ The manuscript also preserves a number of additions which seem to veer on the nonsensical. For example, it contains a number of

penwork drawings of flowers (with the drypoint tracings that inspired them still visible) along with various sketches of decorated initials in the margin.¹⁵ At a number of points, brief exclamations, such as 'may we rejoice!' (*gaudeamus*), have been added, perhaps functioning as pen trials.¹⁶

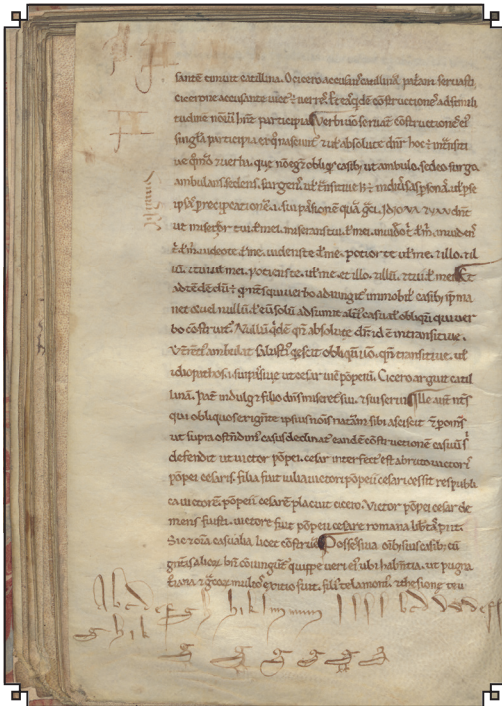


Figure 1: UBL, BPL 186, fol. 47v:

In addition to the alphabets in the lower margin, attempts to trace decorated initials can be observed towards the top of the page.

[<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1685302>]

On fol. 47v [Figure 1], an annotator has practised writing the letters of the alphabet. Struck apparently by the similarity between the letter ‘g’ and a sketch of a bird they have drawn a line of patient-looking ducks in the lower margin. It is difficult to interpret, and even harder to date such annotations, although they attest to continued use of the manuscript by readers, working with a pen in hand. One drawing, however, seems to imply an interest in Priscian’s classical examples. On fol. 71v [Figure 2], we find a marginal sketch in red ink of a man holding what appears to be a knife and threatening a woman in a supplicatory pose. This sketch corresponds with an example found in the text; Priscian refers to a scene from the Roman comedian Terence’s *Adelphoe* where a character exclaims ‘Won’t you keep your hand off me, you scoundrel?’ [Ad. 780: ‘Non manum abstines, mastigia?’.¹⁷ In this case, at least,

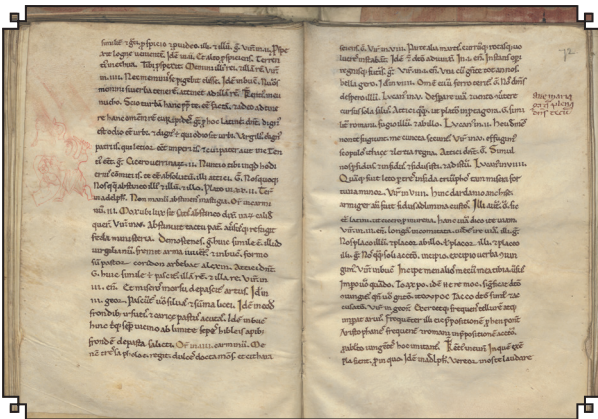


Figure 2: UBL, BPL 186, fols. 71v-72r.

The sketch corresponding to the Terence quotation is found in the margin of fol. 71v, while the words ‘ave maria. gratia plena. dominus tecum’ are written in the margin of fol. 72r (a possible pen trial).

the sketch brings the text to life, and with it the work of a reader who wished to draw attention to and perhaps dramatise this passage.

A TEXT PREPARED FOR READING

As the preceding section indicated, annotations and additions to copies of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* present interpretative challenges for any reconstruction of medieval readers' interactions with this important grammatical work. In the remainder of this study, I will investigate evidence for readership preserved in another twelfth-century Italian copy of the *Institutiones*, UBL BPL 91.¹⁸ This manuscript is a copy of Books I-XVI of the *Institutiones*, i.e. a copy of the 'Major Priscian'. It contains a number of annotations in different hands, dating from different periods; these are particularly intense across Book I-II of the text which concerns the units of speech (i.e. letters and syllables), nouns, and patronymics.¹⁹ In fact, Priscian's treatment of the units of speech is presented with curious coherence in this manuscript, with the start of Book II (which opens with a discussion of the syllable) following immediately on from the end of Book I (fol. 12v), without any break in the text.²⁰ This scribal choice gives that part of the text a unitary quality which is absent in Priscian's original arrangement. It also gives enhanced prominence to Priscian's discussion of the noun. Rather than following the prescribed textual-structural break, it is instead the opening of that discussion (fol. 17r), found partway through Book II, that is accorded particular attention [Figure 3]. It is decorated with a complex initial 'N' for *nomen* [noun] and a rubric in alternating blue and red majuscules. It is also separated from the preceding section by a half-blank folio.²¹

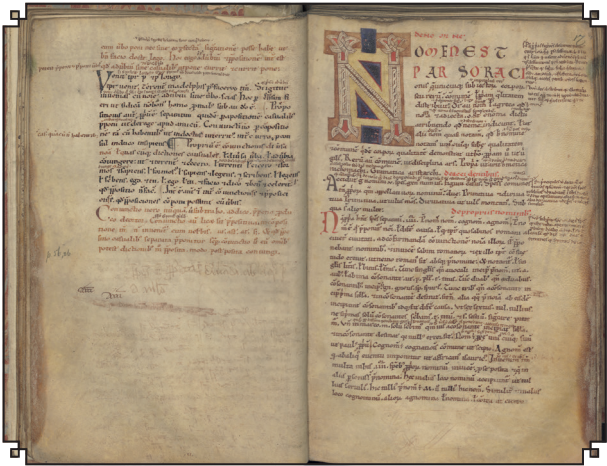


Figure 3: UBL, BPL 91, fols. 16v-17r:
The opening of the section concerning the noun (nomen).
[<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1686589>]

This distribution of text and decoration sets the scene for the subsequent detailed discussion of the noun, which continues up to the conclusion of Book VII, and is followed by Priscian's treatment of the verb. The discussion of the noun and that of the verb are separated in this manuscript by a further half-blank folio (fol. 85r); it is clear that the scribe of this manuscript intended its reader(s) to pay particular attention to the overarching themes of the *Institutiones*, in addition to its standard book divisions. However, this space was filled in (also in the twelfth century, based on the proto-gothic script used) with a diagram in branching and radial form concerning the noun and its types [Figure 4]. This diagram has been briefly treated by Vivien Law, who described it as an instance of commentators on Priscian making 'visible the implicit structure of the [Priscian's] doctrine', but it has yet to receive a

detailed description and analysis, particularly one which considers its material features and potential contexts of use.²²

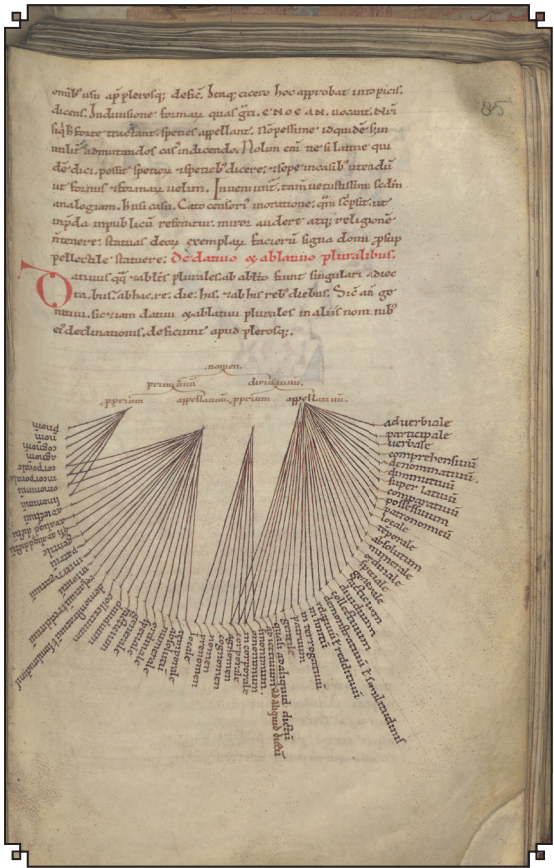


Figure 4: UBL, BPL 91, fol. 85r:
Diagram at end of Book VII. The differences in ink
colour and hand between different parts of the
diagram are clearly visible.
[<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1686707>]

The diagram as presented in BPL 91 was seemingly executed in two stages and by two separate hands (as apparent from the colours of ink and slight variants in the execution of the script). Hand 1 (possibly identifiable with the scribe of the main text, albeit writing with a finer nib) was responsible for the initial part of the diagram, which is presented in branching form. This distinguishes the two species of noun [*nomen*], primitive [*primitivum*] and derivative [*derivativum*]: that is, nouns which do not originate in other words, and nouns that are derived from other words. It then notes that nouns within each of these species can be either proper [*proprium*] or appellative [*appellativum*]. A proper noun is one that refers to a specific person, place or thing, whereas an appellative noun (or common noun) is a generic name for a class of people, places or things.²³ Hand 2 (who writes in a darker ink, and with more rounded letter forms), is responsible for the radially arranged section, which identifies various subtypes of nouns. This appended section of the diagram is executed with substantial care; the blind-ruled lines drawn to accommodate the text of the subtypes are still visible (extending out beyond the scheme to the edge of the ruled text block) and further lines have been ruled in ink from each subtype to connect with the existing nodes of text of the branching diagram. These inked lines have been traced without smudging (suggesting that time was taken to allow the ink to dry before ruling the next line) and text is oriented towards the heart of the diagram, with some terms written at an angle or even upside-down (suggesting that this scribe rotated the page as they worked).

Reading the radially constructed section of the diagram in a clockwise direction, it opens with the nine subtypes described by

Priscian as specific to the category of derivative common nouns: the adverbial, participial, verbal, denominative, diminutive, superlative, comparative, possessive, and patronymic nouns.²⁴ These are followed by twenty-seven further subtypes of derivative common nouns (such as those that signify place, time, order, number, etc.). We then find four subtypes which are shared by both proper and common derivative nouns (synonyms, homonyms, incorporeal, and corporeal nouns), before the diagram presents the four subtypes of proper derivative nouns (surname, family name, name and forename). The radial subdivisions then treat the subtypes of primitive common nouns (identical to the list of twenty-seven subtypes already enumerated for common derivative nouns), followed by the subtypes shared by proper and common primitive nouns (again, identical to those previously identified for derivative nouns) and, finally, the four subtypes of proper primitive nouns (surname, family name etc.). The diagram is, in effect, a visual summary of Priscian's introductory discussion on the subtypes of the noun.²⁵

READING THE DIAGRAM

While Law associated this diagram with the burgeoning interest in speculative, or theoretical, grammar typical of the mid-twelfth century onwards, the oldest copy of it that I have located thus far—in Munich, BSB Clm 14272, an early eleventh-century collection of texts on the liberal arts owned by the monk Hartwic of St Emmeran—in fact pre-dates the dominance of this trend. Hartwic's collection contains an excerpt from Priscian's discussion of syntax (*Institutiones* Book XVII, 1-71), with the diagram presented on a full page, adjacent to the extract's opening, serving, perhaps, as a reminder to the reader of Priscian's account of the noun.²⁶ Two

other twelfth-century Priscian manuscripts also contain versions of the diagram; in these it is found towards the manuscripts' conclusion, nestled among other grammatical notes, suggesting that it played the role of an appendix.²⁷ The fact that the diagram is present in multiple manuscripts means that the scribes of BPL 91 were not novel in compiling its content, but instead copied it from an existing (as yet unidentified) exemplar. However, the variety of contexts in which the diagram is found within these four manuscripts implies that scribes could exercise some agency governing its placement and in so doing influence its impact on the reader. For example, by integrating the diagram into the body of the text of BPL 91, the diagram assumes a navigational and emphatic function for the reader that is absent in the other examples. Placed at the conclusion of the section on the noun, it not only provides a skeleton outline of the preceding content, but also emphasises the separation between Priscian's discussions of the noun and verb.

The diagram offered its potential reader several functions, including and going beyond the primary one identified by Law ('making the invisible visible', that is making the implicit explicit). Indeed, it clarifies the wording of Priscian's text. For example, in his text Priscian refers to the twenty-seven subtypes of common nouns, and only at the conclusion of his list adds that these are subtypes of both primitive and derivative common nouns. In repeating this list of twenty-seven subtypes twice, the diagram makes Priscian's words abundantly clear. Drawing on texts such as Priscian's 'Partitiones' (an analysis of the first lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*), parsing grammars—where a reader was asked to analyse individual words (and thereby parts of speech)—were popular in the Middle Ages; a diagram like this could have been a

handy heuristic for illustrating and recalling the types of categorisations which parsing required.²⁸

All four examples of the diagram, a convenient overview of the subtypes of noun, would have satisfied a reader's need for a memory aid. On account of its unusual radiating form, any reader engaging with this diagram would have also been inclined towards a physical interaction with its host manuscript, angling their head to read the supplied text. This could have encouraged processes of 'embodied cognition', potentially enhancing the understanding of abstract concepts or memory performance.²⁹ The presentation of the diagram in BPL 91 may have amplified such interactions, however. In all other examples of the diagram discussed, the radial section is always oriented towards the page's long edge, meaning that this portion of text is also oriented to the reader. However, on account of the limits of the space it occupies, the diagram in BPL 91 is vertically rather than horizontally oriented, with the radial section of text angled away from the reader, its words sometimes even inverted. Thus, the physical interactions required to read the diagram in BPL 91 (and with that the processes of embodied cognition involved) were potentially intensified, with the reader required not only to angle their head, but perhaps even rotate the book.

Finally, the presence of the diagram across multiple manuscripts increases the likelihood that it served as a teaching aid. It is striking that one of the manuscripts containing the diagram (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1096) also contains a number of references to the Priscian commentary, *Summa super Priscianum*, written in the 1140s by Petrus Helias—a teacher of John of Salisbury—suggesting that it comes from a school context.³⁰ The diagram could even have been a point of departure for

more complex classroom discussions. In BPL 91, a thickening and overlapping of the web of lines within the diagram draws attention to the subtypes shared by common and proper nouns, both primitive and derivative (corporeal things, incorporeal things, synonyms and homonyms, as discussed in Book II, 59, 9-19). For Priscian, a noun signified ‘substance and quality’, or as Karin Margareta Fredborg put it, ‘nouns signify substance (a what) and quality (an of what kind)’.³¹ Grammarians from the twelfth century on would debate intensely what precisely it meant for a noun ‘to signify’. Ambiguities, such as cases where a noun designates more than one thing (through homonymy) or where multiple nouns designate the one thing (synonymy), were fertile material for such discussions.

CONCLUSION

This study has primarily treated annotations to Priscian’s work dating from the twelfth century, a period after which his influence would begin to wane. In the thirteenth century, grammarians would seek other means to capture the attention of readers, with Alexander of Villedieu and Evard of Béthune composing popular grammars written in an easy-to-remember verse form. Thus, the additions made to the *Institutiones* in BPL 186 and BPL 91 capture moments in a period of transition in learning grammar. The presence of the diagram in a number of twelfth-century copies of the *Institutiones* seemingly illustrates attempts to impose structure and render memorable Priscian’s text in an environment where new texts and pedagogical approaches were competing for recognition, while the occasionally nonsensical additions to BPL 186 may suggest the drifting attentions of readers who struggled with Priscian’s prolixity. Although we cannot capture

with certainty the intentions of those that made these additions to BPL 186 and BPL 91, their preservation on the manuscript page illustrates the flexibility of that space to serve as a conduit of interactions with Priscian's text. These examples also show how readers individuated their copies, rationalising research approaches which address copy-specific interventions—research that is only feasible in environments where the careful preservation and making accessible of the manuscript carrier is prioritised.

Kasper van Ommen & Garrelt Verhoeven

A ‘Jabbing Book’ as a Relic of a Lost Tradition

*‘t Vermaecklijck Steeck-boeckjen van Gillis
Joosten Saeghman (1690)*



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IN A DIGITIZED world of libraries we tend to forget that there is more than digitized books. Students, historians, and other academics make use of digital libraries, that consist of the digitized heritage collections that are kept in libraries. But they should be aware of the fact that the surviving books from the centuries the lay behind us, now kept in the special collections departments of libraries, are a lacunous reflection of our past. Once in a while books come to the surface that reveal traditions from our past that we didn't know about.

Leiden University Library recently purchased a Amsterdam almanac from the seventeenth century, that reveals a curious tradition in the popular culture of the seventeenth century. The little book (8 x 5 cm), printed in the small 32mo format, contains five unique editions, beautifully bound in a black, shagreen binding with silver hinges and locks. It was printed in 1690 by the Amsterdam printer, publisher and bookseller Gillis Joosten Saeghman or Zaagman (1619-1704), who had a long career (of more than sixty years) in the Amsterdam booktrade. Almanacs in small formats (8mo, 12mo, 24mo, 32mo) were printed in enormous print runs, but only very few copies survive. "The more there were, the less there are", is certainly true for this popular genre.



Beside the regular almanac (*Zaagmans Almanach na de nieuwe en oudestijl op 't jaer onses Heeren Jesu Chrijs Anno 1690*), the little volume has four additional works ('bijwerk' in Dutch) that were chosen to be combined with the almanac according to the preferences of the owner. These small additional gatherings sometimes had practical information, popular knowledge, devotion or amusement. In this almanac we find 'Zaagmans korte Kronyck' ('Zaagmans Short Chronicle'), 'Stichtelijcke Gesangen' ('Devotional Songs') and 'Bruylofts Liedekens' ('Wedding Songs'). But the most intriguing part is *'t Vermaecklijck Steeck-boeckjen, Waer in de Secreten des Herten van Jonghmanen en Dochters te lesen zijn* ('The Amusing Jabbing Book, revealing the Secrets of Hearts of Young Men and Daughters').

The title page shows that this book was printed 'Voor de nieuwsgierige' ('For the Curious') and is illustrated with a foolscap, indicating that it's a humorous book. The title page doesn't mention a printer's name, but we may safely assume it was the same Saeghman, who specialised in popular books like almanacs, travelogues, chapbooks, songbooks, broadside ballads and other cheap print. In fact, this little book is a far cry from a much more luxurious but no less curious book from 1624, written by the Dutch poet Jan Jansz Starter (1593-1626).

It's a special type of emblembook, printed in oblong-format, with the title *Steeck-boecxken, ofte 'tvermaak der jeugdelijcker herten* ('Jabbing Book, or amusement of the Young Hearts'). A book about love, illustrated with 62 engraved emblems of 'candid hearts' in different situations; a heart on the street, on the table next to a bottle of gin, a heart in front of a mirror, etc. And by far the most beautiful image: a heart in the company of books! The finely engraved

emblems were made by Chrispijn de Passe (1564-1637), after designs by Jan van de Velde (1593-1641), and were accompanied by the poems by Starter.

The poet himself explains how his book should be used:

[...] dit Boecxken [wordt] in dese maniere gebruyckt, een houdt dit Boecxken in de hant ende houdet toe, een ander steeckter in, tusschen de bladers met een priemken of naelde, dan treft hy somtijts sijns Herten genegenheyt, soo niet soo treft het ten minsten eenighe van den wesende [...].

[...] this Book should be used in this way: one person holds the book in one hand and shows it, the other stabs in it, at the edges, with an awl or needle, and he'll might meet his Heart's affection, and if not, he'll touch at least some of them [...].

So Starter's book was not so much a book to be read, but more of an amorous game for young couples. Long time it was assumed that not a single copy of the original edition of Starter's book survived. The earliest surviving editions were late reprints from the 18th-century. However, only recently, the first edition came to light. In 1991 The KB/National Library of the Netherlands first acquired a corrupt version, with the plates only of the first edition of 1620. Eight years later, the same library managed to purchase a much better copy of the first edition, one of the only two known copies worldwide!

Still there was a huge gap between the first edition (1620) and the early 18th century reprints, but we may safely assume that many editions of the *Steeckboekje* were published in those years.

From the inventory of the bookshop of the Haarlem bookseller Vincent Casteleyn dating from 1660, we know he sold “heaps” of ‘*Steekboekjes*’. Not a single copy of this particular edition survives, but they were certainly popular.

Our new find shows that in the years between 1620 en 1690, Starter’s *Steekboekje* evolved from an elaborate emblembook to a popular entertainment game for young lovers. Starter’s name is no longer connected to his book, the lines of his original verses are gone, and the fine emblems have been replaced by coarse wood-block portraits. These woodcuts were not made on purpose for this edition, but were old blocks that were available in the printing office. The tone of the verses developed simultaneously, from the highbrow poetry of Starter to Saeghman’s simple and scabrous rhymes.

Saeghman’s little almanac may well be the only relic of the popular culture of ‘steekboekjes’ (‘jabbing books’) in the Netherlands. The peculiar ‘use’ of these books, stabbing needles in it on a regular basis, must have reduced the survival rate! It shows the importance that librarians and curators keep an eye for the unknown, sometimes at antiquarian bookshops or auction houses, but sometimes even at the local thrift store.



Miguel Mira

Poetic Choices

An Interactive Poem



Miguel Mira (born in Lisbon, 1993) is a Ph.D. candidate with a cotutelle between Leiden Coimbra Universities. He carries the conviction that humanity is built upon the fusion of technology and art. His thesis investigates the intersection between VR and cinema. He is an artist, filmmaker, teacher and fitness enthusiast.

*This old village--
mingles with the voice
against a cool wall*



Scan the code and embark on a journey to construct a poem. Utilize the words of 17th century Japanese poet Matsuo Basho to either create your very own poem, or rewrite his poetry verbatim.

Poetic Choices was created during the GluhTwine workshop hosted by the Past-at-Play Lab and aims to reinforce the relationship between heritage and textual exploration by reconnecting players with the words of Basho.



ENDNOTES



Erik-Jan Dros: 'But What Does a Tycoon Like You Want with Something as Common as a Book?': Books, Text, and Knowledge in Don Rosa's 'Guardians of the Lost Library'

1. D. Rosa, 'Behind the Scenes', in: *The Don Rosa Library. Volume Five: The Richest Duck in the World*, ed. by David Gerstein (Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 2016), pp. 151-182 (p. 157).
2. Ibid.
3. Many thanks to Bart van der Steen and Iris de Smalen for their helpful comments.
4. Katja Kontturi, 'Science fiction parody in Don Rosa's "Attack of the Hideous Space-Varmints"', *Fafnir: Nordic Journal of Science Fiction and Fantasy Research* 3:4 (2016), 52-64, here p. 55. Barks even resisted the idea of a uniform Duck universe, see Thomas Andrae, *Carl Barks, and the Disney Comic Book. Unmasking the Myth of Modernity* (Jackson [MS]: University Press of Mississippi, 2006), pp. 107-108.
5. Kontturi, p. 55.
6. D. Rosa, 'Behind the Scenes', in: *The Don Rosa Library. Volume Four: The Last of the Clan McDuck*, ed. by David Gerstein (Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 2015), pp. 146-174 (p. 157).
7. In a number of cases, this factual or historical layer is mixed up with a mythical layer, for instance when the Ducks are searching for a mythical treasure. See for instance Katja Kontturi, 'Donald Duck – A Fantasy comic? Fantasy in Don Rosa's The Quest for Kalevala', in: *Le Fantastique et la science-fiction en Finlande et en Estonie*, ed by M. Carayol et al. (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012), pp. 107-137, in which Kontturi explains how these different layers interact with each other in 'A Quest for Kalevala'.
8. In the stories of Barks and Rosa, Duckburg lies in the fictional state of Calisota, more or less situated in the northern part of California.
9. Rosa, 'Behind the Scenes', *The Don Rosa Library. Volume Five*, p. 157. 'As natural as a corner on a square egg' is also a reference to a Barks story, 'Lost in the Andes!'
10. Rosa, 'Behind the Scenes', *The Don Rosa Library. Volume Five*, p. 159.
11. Don Rosa, 'The Guardians of the Lost Library', in: *The Don Rosa Library. Volume Five: The Richest Duck in the World*, ed. by David Gerstein (Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 2016), pp. 33-60 (p. 35).
12. Rosa, 'The Guardians of the Lost library', p. 44.
13. Ibid., p. 36.
14. Ibid., p. 45.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 47.
17. Ibid., p. 53.
18. Ibid., p. 46.
19. Ibid., p. 45.
20. Ibid., p. 58.
21. Ibid., p. 58.
22. Ibid., p. 59.
23. H. Bergenholtz and H. Agerbæk, 'Types of Lexicographical Information Needs and their Relevance for Information Science', *Journal of Information Science Theory and Practice* 5:3 (2017), 15-30 (p. 16).
24. Rosa, 'The Guardians of the Lost Library', p. 38.

25. P. Kotru, 'Unca Don and Unca Scrooge's Guide to History. Representations of the Past in the Disney Comics of Don Rosa' (Unpublished Master Thesis: University of Turku: 2011), p. 86.

26. Rosa, 'Behind the Scenes', *The Don Rosa Library. Volume Five*, p. 159.

27. Rosa, 'The Guardians of the Lost Library', p. 35.

Ellen Barth: 'Her Work Shouts Out': Feminist Embroidered Texts in the Era of Social Media

1. It was not unheard of in the Victorian era for women to be committed to asylums for going against social norms. For example, see Katherine Pouba and Ashley Tiane, 'Lunacy in the 19th Century: Women's Admission to Asylums in United States of America' in: *Oshkosh Scholar* (2006), 95-103; and Angelina Chin, 'Colonial Charity in Hong Kong: A Case of the Po Leung Kuk in the 1930s', *Journal of Women's History*, 25.1 (2013), 135-157.

2. I. Rosner, "'I Plunge Headlong into Disaster': Unstitching Agnes Richter's Jacket', *The Polyphony: Conversations across the Medical Humanities*, 2 September 2021. <<https://thepolyphony.org/2021/09/02/i-plunge-headlong-into-disaster-unstitching-agnes-richters-jacket/>> [accessed 19 July 2023].

3. M. Lyons and R. Marquillas, 'A World Inscribed – Introduction', in: *Approaches to the History of Written Culture: A World Inscribed*, eds. Martyn Lyons and Rita Marquillas (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1-20, (p. 1).

4. 'Lorina Bulwer's Mind Worked Fast, But Her Method Was Slow', *Shoddy Exhibition: Disability Art Project: Textiles, Recycling, Heritage, Now*, 28 October 2016 <<https://shoddyexhibition.wordpress.com/2016/10/28/lorina-mind-fast-method-slow/comment-page-1/>> [accessed 19 July 2023].

5. T. Röske, 'Agnes Richter's Jacket', *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences*, 23.3 (2014), 227-229, p. 228.

6. See Cait Coker and Kate Ozment, 'Building the Women in Book History Bibliography, or Digital Enumerative Bibliography as Preservation of Feminist Labor', *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 13.3 (2019).

7. Adriaan van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds: Towards a digital order of knowledge* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 3.

8. Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: The Women's Press, 1996), [accessed 19 July 2023].

9. M. Donaldson-Evans, 'Pricking the Male Ego: Pins and Needles in Flaubert, Maupassant, and Zola', *Nineteenth-Century French Studies*, 30:3/4 (2002), 254-65, (p. 265).

10. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

12. P. Mainardi, 'Quilts: The Great American Art', in: *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 331-46, (p. 338).

13. M. Meyer and M. Shapiro, 'Waste Not Want Not: An Inquiry into What Women Saved and Assembled', *Heresies: Women's Traditional Arts—The Politics of Aesthetics*, 1:4 (1978), 66-71, (p. 67).

14. Donaldson-Evans, p. 261.

15. B. Greer, 'Knitting Craftivism: From My Sofa to Yours', in: *Craftivism: The Art of Craft and Activism*, ed. Betsy Greer (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press: 2014).

16. For example, Katharina Cibulka's #solange project and "Pink Tank" by Marianne Jørgensen.

17. A. Nordenstam and M. Wallin Wictorin, 'Comics Craftivism: Embroidery in Contemporary Swedish Feminist Comics', *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics*, 13:2 (2021), 174-92, (p. 175).
18. Leanne Praine, *Hoopla: The Art of Unexpected Embroidery* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2011), p. 17.
19. The acquisition of Twitter by billionaire Elon Musk in 2022 only underscores these concerns. Jessica Megarry, *The Limitations of Social Media Feminism: No Space of Our Own* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), p. 2.
20. Diana Weymar, 'Desperate Times, Creative Measures,' *Tiny Pricks Project* <<https://www.tinypricksproject.com/the-project/>> [accessed 19 July 2023].
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. John B. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Polity Press, 2010), pp. 339-340.
24. Naomi Baron, *Words Onscreen: The Fate of Reading in a Digital World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 97.
25. Quint Forgey, 'National Archives Can't Resurrect Trump's Tweets, Twitter Says', *Politico*, 7 April 2021 <<https://www.politico.com/news/2021/04/07/twitter-national-archives-realdonaldtrump-479743>> [accessed 19 July 2019]; 'Archived Social Media,' *Donald J. Trump Presidential Library | National Archives* <<https://www.trumphlibrary.gov/research/archived-social-media>> [accessed 19 July 2023].
26. Diana Weymar, 'Stitching Together,' *Lingua Franca* <<https://linguafranca.nyc/collections/tiny-pricks-project/tag>> [accessed 19 July 2023].
27. Tiny Pricks Project (@Tinypricksproject), *Instagram* <<https://www.instagram.com/tinypricksproject/>> [accessed 19 July 2023].
28. AmyLea Clemons, 'Enabling/Disabling: Fanfiction and Disability Discourse,' in *The Canadian Journal of Disability Studies*, 8.2 (2019), 247-278, p. 254.
29. Monica Gyulai, 'Local Crafters Are Fighting Trump's Words One Tiny Prick at a Time: Embroidery as a Political Platform,' *The Bold Italic*, 4 December 2019 <<https://thebolditalic.com/local-crafters-are-fighting-trumps-words-one-tiny-prick-at-a-time-9ed324cd5ffe>> [accessed 19 July 2023].
30. 'Tiny Pricks Project Greensboro,' *Slowly She Turned*, 10 October 2019 <<https://slowlysheturned.net/2019/10/>> [accessed 19 July 2023].
31. Clay Shirky, *Here Comes Everybody: The Power of Organizing Without Organizations*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), p. 98.
32. Ibid., p. 103.
33. Greer.

Christine Stein Heddam: Multimodal Literacies and Digital Longform Journalism: Affordances and Meaning-Making

1. See D. Dowling and T. Vogan, 'Can We "Snowfall" This?', *Digital Journalism*, 3 (2015), 209-224; K. Van Krieken, 'Multimedia Storytelling in Journalism: Exploring Narrative Techniques in *Snow Fall*', *Information*, 9 (2018), 1-14; R. Van der Nat, E. Müller and P. Bakker, 'Navigating Interactive Story Spaces. The Architecture of Interactive Narratives in Online Journalism', *Digital Journalism*, 10 (2021), 1-26; D. Dowling, *Immersive Longform Storytelling: Media, Technology, Audience* (New York: Routledge, 2019), pp. 1-27.
2. D. Dowling, *Immersive Longform Storytelling: Media, Technology, Audience*, p. 1.

3. T. Hiippala, 'The Multimodality of Digital Longform Journalism', *Digital Journalism*, 5 (2017), p. 420.
4. Ibid., p. 420.
5. Ibid., p. 427.
6. D. Dowling, *Immersive Longform Storytelling: Media, Technology, Audience*, p. 32.
7. D. Dowling and T. Vogan, p. 209.
8. Dowling, *Immersive Longform Storytelling: Media, Technology, Audience*, p. 18-19.
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11. S. Bahr, "Snow Fall" at 10: How It Changed Journalism', *The New York Times*, 23 December, 2022. <<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/23/insider/snow-fall-at-10-how-it-changed-journalism.html>> [accessed on 13 January 2023].
12. J. Nielsen, 'F-Shaped Pattern For Reading Web Content (original study)', *Nielsen Norman Group*, 16 April, 2006. <<https://www.nngroup.com/articles/f-shaped-pattern-reading-web-content-discovered/>> [accessed on 13 January 2023].
13. M. Z. Newman, 'New media, young audiences and discourses of attention: from *Sesame Street* to "snack culture"', *Media Culture & Society*, 32 (2010), p. 581.
14. Newman, 'New media, young audiences and discourses of attention', p. 582.
15. G. Fitzsimmons et al., 'The impact of skim reading and navigation when reading hyperlinks on the web', *PLoS One*, 15 (2020), p. 2.; Z. Liu, 'Reading behavior in the digital environment: Changes in reading behavior over the past ten years', *Journal of Documentation*, 61 (2005), p. 700.
16. Marino, 'Reading Screens', p. 147.
17. Dowling, *Immersive Longform Storytelling: Media, Technology, Audience*, p. 32.
18. Ibid., p. 32.
19. Paraphrased in D. Kiesow S. Zhou, L. Guo, 'Affordances for Sense-Making: Exploring Their Availability for Users of Online News Sites', *Digital Journalism*, 10 (2021), p. 2.
20. Kiesow, Zhou, and Guo, 'Affordances for Sense-Making', p. 3.
21. Dowling, 'Multimedia Narratives', p. 28.
22. Ibid.
23. A. Duffy, 'Joining the Dots: The Literacies of Multimodal Longform Journalism', *Digital Journalism*, 10 (2022), p. 3.
24. Duffy, p. 5.
25. J.W. Potter, 'Definitions and Distinctions', in: *Theory of Media Literacy: A cognitive Approach* (Thousand Oaks [CA]: Sage Publications, Inc., 2004), 42-63 (p. 63).
26. Potter, p. 69.
27. The New York Times, '2022: The Year in Visual Stories and Graphics', <<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/12/28/us/2022-year-in-graphics.html>> [accessed on 16 January 2023].
28. The New York Times, 'What It's Like to Ski Nearly Blind', <<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/sports/olympics/skiing-millie-knight-paralympics-fear.html>> [accessed on 16 January 2023].

29. Hiippala, p. 438.
30. Ibid., p. 432. (Original emphasis)
31. The New York Times, 'Inside the Apocalyptic Worldview of "Tucker Carlson Tonight"', <<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/30/us/tucker-carlson-tonight.html>> [accessed on 17 January 2023].
32. Dowling, 'Multimedia Narratives', p. 29.
33. Hiippala, p. 428.
34. Kiesow, Zhou, and Guo, p. 3.

Peter Verhaar: Navigating Across Centuries of Texts via the STCN

1. The indication of this time period is based on the view that book history became established as an independent academic discipline in the late 1980s (R. Darnton, 'What Is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111: 3 (1982), 65-83 (p. 66).
2. M. F. Suarez, 'Book History from Descriptive Bibliographies', in: *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. by Leslie Howsam, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 199-218 (p. 200).
3. J. A. Gruys, and C. de Wolf, 'Dutch National Bibliography 1540-1800: The STCN', *Quaerendo*, 13:2 (1983), pp. 149-160 (p. 157).
4. J. Bos, and J. A. Gruys, 'Veertig Jaar STCN 1969-2009', *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), 9-32 (p. 16).
5. Bos and Gruys, p. 29.
6. R. Mathis, 'The STCN in a Global Perspective', *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 16 (2009), pp. 37-44.
7. The current website was launched in February 2023.
8. P. Boot et al., 'Met SPARQL Zoeken in de STCN', *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 2015. <http://dev.clarin.nl/sites/default/files/2015-04-09_Handleiding%20met%20SPARQL%20zoeken%20in%20STCN_0.pdf> [accessed on 28 July 2023].
9. The decision to focus on Anglo-Dutch trade in books was inspired and informed by readings of P.G. Hoftijzer, *The English Book in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* and John Feather's *English Books in the Netherlands in the Eighteenth Century: Reprints or Piracies?*
10. Given the fact that the political borders of the various countries on the British Isles continued to fluctuate during the early modern period, this text will not distinguish sharply or consistently between the various geographical terms used to refer to the regions and the countries on the British Isles.
11. P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Het Nederlandse Boekenbedrijf en de Verspreiding van Engelse Wetenschap in de Zeventiende en Vroege Achttiende Eeuw', *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 5 (1998), pp. 59-71 (pp. 60-61).
12. A. Pettegree, and A. der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven [CT]: Yale University Press, 2020), pp. 203-208.
13. A. Coates, 'The Latin Trade in England and Abroad', in *The Latin Trade in England and Abroad*, ed. by Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Martelsham: Boydell & Brewster, 2014), pp. 45-58 (p. 45).
14. F. A. Mumby, 'The Dawn of Printing', in: *Publishing and Bookselling* (London: Jonathan Grobe Books, 1974), pp. 38-60 (p. 47).
15. J. Norman, 'The Statute of Anne: The First Copyright Statute', *The History of Information*, 14 July 2023. <<https://www.historyofinformation.com/detail.php?id=2955>> [accessed 28 July 2023].

16. The data for this article have been acquired from data.bibliotheken.nl via SPARQL queries. The data have mostly been analysed via the Pandas library in Python. The notebooks that have been developed for this study can be accessed at <https://github.com/peterverhaar/stcn-english-book>
17. Many of the properties in use at data.bibliotheken.nl are taken from schema.org, which is 'a collaborative, community activity with a mission to create, maintain, and promote schemas for structured data on the Internet, on web pages, in email messages, and beyond'. It was founded by Google, Microsoft, Yahoo and Yandex.
18. The full title of this work is *Exercitatio alphabetica nova et utilissima, variis expressa lingvis et characteribus*. It was written by Clemens Perret (A. Croiset van Uchelen, 'The Mysterious Writing-Master Clemens Perret', *Quaerendo*, 17, (1987), 3-43.).
19. C. R. Langley, 'Introduction: Making and Remaking the Covenanters', in: *The National Covenant in Scotland, 1638-1689*, ed. by Chris R. Langley (Martelsham: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), pp. 1-18 (p. 2).
20. Canne published three editions of this work.
21. P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The English Book in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in: *The Bookshop of the World: The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-Trade, 1473-1941*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga et al. ('t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001), pp. 89-109 (p. 94).
22. M. Bell, 'Books and Beliefs across the North Sea', in *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 9 (2002), pp. 175- 181 (p. 177).
23. Hoftijzer, 'The English Book in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', p. 95.
24. E.F. Kossmann, *De Boekhandel Te 's-Gravenhage Tot Het Eind van de 18de Eeuw: Biographisch Woordenboek van Boekverkoopers, Uitgevers, Boekdrukkers, Boekbinders Enz.* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1937) (p. 206). Feather notes that, apart from the reprints by Thomas Johnson, no English literary works were published in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century in English (Feather, p. 152). The only other publisher producing reprints of English literary works in the original language was Hendrik Scheurleer in the Hague. He published 9 editions of *A select collection of the best modern English plays* and one reprint of *The funeral, and The tender husband* by Richard Steele, in the first half of the eighteenth century.
25. The imprint of (*Edipus: a tragedy*, for example, mentions "London [= 's-Gravenhage], for T. Johnson", see: <http://data.bibliotheken.nl/id/nbt/p217044557>
26. B. J. McMullin, 'T. Johnson, Bookseller in the Hague', in: *An Index of Civilisation: Studies in Printing and Publishing History in Honor of Keith Maslen*, ed. by R. Harvey, W. Kirsop, and B. J. McMullin (Melbourne: Centre for Bibliographical and Textual Studies, Monash University, 1993), pp. 99-113 (p. 103).
27. C. W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600-1700*, (Leiden: Brill, 1983) (p. 163).
28. J. P. Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas', *Studies in Philology*, 94:2 (1997), 160-186 (p. 166).
29. For the purpose of this study, an author is considered to be a literary author if the majority of the author's works have been labelled with the "Literature" subject heading.
30. A full list of the locations that were selected can be found at <https://github.com/peterverhaar/stcn-english-book/blob/main/Books%20in%20other%20languages.ipynb>
31. William Ames (1576-1633), also known by his Latin name Guiliamus Amesius, is not to be confused with the leader of the Quaker movement with the same name, and who also lived in the Netherlands.

32. P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Het Nederlandse Boekenbedrijf En de Verspreiding van Engelse Wetenschap in de Zeventiende En Vroege Achttiende Eeuw', *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 5 (1998), pp. 59-71 (p. 66).
 33. Hoftijzer, 'The English Book in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', p. 100.
 34. The IFLA Library Reference Model supersedes the IFLA FRBR model which was first proposed in 1998. The family of models clarifying the relations between works, expressions, manifestations and items has been referred to collectively as WEMI models (K. Coyle, 'Works, Expressions, Manifestations, Items: An Ontology', *Code4Lib*, 53 (2023) <<https://journal.code4lib.org/articles/16491>> [accessed 28 July 2023]).
- Aline Franzus: Don't Take Me Out: Flavors of Chinese American Takeout Histories**
1. The term "ethnic cuisine" is largely contested since it signifies a subtextual inferiority to "non-ethnic cuisines." However, for lack of a better term, I will use it when necessary in this paper. See for example: Lavanya Ramanathan, 'Why Everyone Should Stop Calling Immigrant Food "Ethnic"', *The Washington Post*, 21 July, 2015. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/food/why-everyone-should-stop-calling-immigrant-food-ethnic/2015/07/20/07927100-266f-11e5-b77f-eb13a215f593_story.html> [accessed on 29 May 2022].
 2. S. Kurimoto, 'Food Delivery War Rages Amid Global COVID-19 Lockdowns', *Nikkei*, 22 August, 2020. <<https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Food-Beverage/Food-delivery-war-rages-amid-global-COVID-19-lockdowns>> [accessed on 29 May 2022]. While the CAGR (Compound Annual Growth Rate) of the market of Online Food Delivery Services between 2016 and 2020 was 7.6%, global revenue is expected to increase by 9.5% between 2021 and 2031.
 3. Following American, Italian, and Mexican cuisine. Statista, 'Restaurants and Food Delivery in the United States', 2017, 1-44 (pp. 31-33).
 4. Following, in both cases, American cuisine. Statista, pp. 31-33.
 5. As of 2015: Haiming Liu, *From Canton Restaurant to Panda Express: A History of Chinese Food in the United States* (New Brunswick [NJ]: Rutgers University Press, 2015), p. 5.
 6. Liu, p. 1.
 7. See for example: Liu, p. 69.
 8. However, it should be noted that the Gold Rush was neither the starting nor the ending point of Chinese immigration to the United States. See for example: B. Railton, 'The Chinese Exclusion Act and Early Asian American Literature', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature* (2019), <<https://oxfordre.com/literature/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.001.0001/acrefore-9780190201098-e-914>> [accessed on 29 May 2022].
 9. Liu, p. 1.
 10. Ibid., p. 2.
 11. Railton, p. 5.
 12. G. J. Chin and J. Ormonde, 'The "War" Against Chinese Restaurants', *The Cato Journal*, (2017), 32-38 (p. 32).
 13. Liu, p. 157.
 14. Ibid., p. 1.
 15. 'takeout', in *Merriam Webster Dictionary*. <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/takeout>> [accessed on 29 May 2022].

16. In cities such as Pompeii “thermopolia” constituted a form of cook shops that sold food for takeout to primarily working-class people.; David Hogan, *The Oxford Companion to American Food and Drink* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 580.
17. The first of such restaurants was White Castle which was founded in Wichita, Kansas, in 1921.; Hogan, p. 580.
18. Hogan, p. 580.
19. J. Fantozzi, ‘These are the most popular takeout foods around the country’, *Insider*, 10 July, 2017. <<https://www.insider.com/takeout-foods-around-the-country-2017-7>> [accessed on 29 May 2022].
20. An example thereof is Danette St. Onge’s *The Better Than Takeout Thai Cookbook: Favorite Thai Food Recipes Made at Home* (Emeryville [CA]: Rockridge Press, 2017).
21. Kennan Ferguson, *Cookbook Politics* (Philadelphia [PA]: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020) (p. 5).
22. Ferguson, p. 4.
23. Dan Toombs, *The Curry Guy: Recreate over 100 of the best British Indian Restaurant Recipes at Home*. (London: Quadrille, 2017), p. 5.
24. Cathy Erway, ‘The Chinese Takeout Cookbook’, *Eat Your Words*, podcast, Heritage Radio Network, 14 January 2013 [accessed on 29 May 2022], 00:00-30:01 (01:36-01:54).
25. Ferguson, p. 104.
26. D. Kuan, ‘The Chinese Takeout Cookbook’, *Publishers Weekly*, (19 November, 2012). <<https://www.publishersweekly.com/9780345529121>> [accessed on 29 May 2022].
27. Kuan, p. 2.
28. Ibid., p. 4.
29. Ibid., p. 4.
30. Erway, 10:02-10:08.
31. Kuan, p. 8.
32. Chris Toy, *Easy Chinese Cookbook: Restaurant Favorites Made Simple* (Emeryville [CA]: Rockridge Press, 2020), p. 20.
33. Ibid., p. 66.
34. Ibid., p. 48.
35. Ibid. p. 21.
36. Toy, pp. 24-25.; See for example: Barnes & Noble, ‘Easy Chinese Cookbook: Restaurant Favorites Made Simple’. <<https://www.barnesandnoble.com/w/easy-chinese-cook-book-chris-toy/1136652980?ean=9781646115877>> [accessed on 29 May 2022].
37. Toy, p. 50; Barnes & Noble.
38. Toy, p. 99.
39. Toy, p. 39; Barnes & Noble.
40. Liu, p. 68.
41. Ibid., p. 3.
42. Ibid., p. 4.
43. Barnes&Noble.
44. Toy, p. xi.
45. Toy, p. x.
46. Liu, p. 4.

47. Ferguson, p. 119.

Nitzan Shalev: A Historically-Informed Approach for the Digital Future of Non-Western Collection Catalogues

1. This paper is derived from research and writing I conducted for my M.A. Thesis.

Nitzan Shalev, 'Mind Your Language: A Longitudinal Study of the Catalogues of Leiden University Library's Hebrew Manuscripts Collection,' master's thesis, Leiden University, 2022. <<https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3448598>>

2. David McKitterick, 'Libraries and the Organization of Knowledge', in: *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. I: To 1640*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 594.

3. As a caveat: when I discuss libraries and catalogues in broad strokes, I am referring to Western Europe. The literature about library history I based my research on, which is referenced throughout this paper, mostly concerns Western European institutions from the 15th century onwards. A more globally diverse comparison of library histories, while fascinating, is beyond the scope of this paper.

4. P. Morrish, 'Baroque Librarianship', in: *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. II: 1640-1850*, ed. by Giles Mandelbrote and K.A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 219-223.

5. Loosely defined as the years between 1600-1750.

6. McKitterick, p. 598.

7. Orietta da Rold, 'Tradition and Innovation in Cataloguing Medieval Manuscripts', *Anglia* 139.1 (2021), p. 35.

8. William Clark, 'On the Bureaucratic Plots of the Research Library', in *Books and the Sciences in History*, ed. by Marina Frasca-Spads and Nick Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.193.

9. Morrish, p. 226.

10. Additionally, the first half of the nineteenth century saw the almost universal adoption of the alphabetized author catalogue. For more information, see: Clark, 203.

11. Jan Just Witkam, 'Moritz Steinschneider and the Leiden Manuscripts', in *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 267.

12. Much can be—and has been—written about the moral dilemma of restitution, or returning artefacts to the colonized lands they were taken from; this is beyond the scope of this paper.

13. Lauren Haberstock, 'Participatory Description: Decolonizing Descriptive Methodologies in Archives', *Archival Science*, 20 (2020), p. 136.

14. Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 9.

15. Ibid., p. 11.

16. Ibid., p. 9-10.

17. Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 5.

18. James Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton [NJ]: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 51.

19. Like Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac and Ge'ez (Ethiopic).

20. Its categories include: Theology, Law, Medicine, History, Philosophy and The Arts.
21. In addition to items in Latin, Greek, French, Arabic, Persian, Syriac, Malay, Ethiopian, and Church Slavonic.
- André Bouwman and Arnoud Vrolijk, 'Collection Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609)', *Leiden University Libraries*, 2007 <<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887327>>
22. Kasper van Ommen, 'The Legacy of Josephus Justus Scaliger in Leiden University Library Catalogues, 1609-1716', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. by Malcom Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 51-81 (p. 68).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 67-70.
24. Arnoud Vrolijk and R.M. Kerr, 'Hebrew Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Collection', *Leiden University Libraries*, 2007. <<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887222>>
25. Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas: Leiden University's Great Asset: 425 Years Library Collections and Services* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2012), p. 93.
26. A preliminary inventory was drawn up by Danish Orientalist Theodorus Petraeus (d. 1672) and Armenian scholar Shahin Qandi, who was employed in Leiden as a copyist of Arabic and Turkish manuscripts; later, German student N. Boots compiled their work for Spanheim to edit and publish; Jan Schmidt, *A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library at Manchester* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 324; Vrolijk, Arnoud, 'Collection Levinus Warner', *Leiden University Libraries*, 2013 <<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1887390>>
27. As a Leiden-educated theologian, Spanheim likely had a working knowledge of Hebrew.
28. Van Ommen, p. 75.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
30. *Nikud* is a system of diacritical signs—dots and markings added to Hebrew letters—used to represent vowel vocalization or to distinguish between alternative pronunciations of letters.
31. Alex Csiszar, *The Scientific Journal: Authorship and the Politics of Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018), pp. 5-6.
32. Clark, p. 202.
33. Da Rold, p. 35-37.
34. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, qtd. in Witkam, 'Moritz Steinschneider...', p. 263.
35. Moritz Steinschneider, 'Jüdische Literatur', *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ii.27, ed. by Johann Samuel Ersch and Johann Gottfried Gruber (Leipzig: Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus, 1850), pp. 357-376.
36. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 'Steinschneider, Moritz'. <<https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/steinschneider-moritz>>
37. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 'Steinschneider, Moritz'.
38. Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus Codicum Hebraeorum Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden: Brill, 1858).
39. Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin: Berolini, 1852-1860).
40. *Haskala*—השכלה, from the Hebrew word *sekhel*, meaning 'reason' or 'mind'.
41. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 'Steinschneider, Moritz'.

42. *Wissenschaft*, usually translated to English as 'science', used here not in the strict sense of natural sciences but rather in the sense of a field of knowledge.
43. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 'Wissenschaft des Judentums'. <<https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/wissenschaft-des-judentums>>
44. Witkam, 'Moritz Steinschneider...', p. 267.
45. Steve Harvey and Resianne Fontain, 'Creating a New Literary Genre: Steinschneider's Leiden Catalogue', in: *Studies on Steinschneider: Moritz Steinschneider and the Emergence of the Science of Judaism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Reimund Leicht and Gad Freudenthal, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 282.
46. Harvey and Fontain, p. 283.
47. Ibid., pp. 282-283.
48. Albert van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of Leiden University Library* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1977), p. 1.
49. Harvey and Fontain, p. 280.
50. Ibid., p. 284.
51. Ibid., p. 286.
52. Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in Leiden University Library*, 25 vols. (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007). <<http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html>>
53. Witkam, 'Preface to the First Edition', *Inventory...*, vol. 1, p. 5.
54. Harvey and Fontain, p. 298-9.
55. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, qtd. in Witkam, 'Moritz Steinschneider...', 263.
56. Berkvens-Stevelinck, p. 189.
57. Harvey and Fontain, p. 273.
58. Ibid., p. 273.
59. Leiden University Libraries, 'Selection' <<https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/about-us/collections/selection>>
60. Alexandra Mills, 'User Impact on Selection, Digitization, and the Development of Digital Special Collections', *New Review of Academic Librarianship* 21.2 (2015), p. 162.
61. Ibid., p. 161.
62. Leiden University Libraries, 'Donation for digitisation of Leiden Hebrew manuscripts', 10 Dec. 2020. <<https://www.library.universiteitleiden.nl/news/2020/12/donation-for-digitisation-of-leiden-hebrew-manuscripts>>
63. Mostly from Witkam's inventory (whose information is usually derived from Steinschneider), or Van der Heide's Supplement (1977).
64. Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 5, p. 160.
65. Habershtock, p. 136.

Elena Hoch: Valuable Testimony or Linguistically Inappropriate: The Debate about the Alleged Censorship of Children's Book Classics in the Course of the Diversity and Anti-Discrimination Discourses of the 21st Century

1. M. Deacon, 'Roald Dahl is ruined. Could these five classic children's books be next?', *The Telegraph*, 21 February, 2023. <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/columnists/2023/02/21/roald-dahl-ruined-could-five-classic-childrens-books-next/>> [accessed on 2 April 2023].

2. Salman Rushdie, 'Roald Dahl was no angel but this is absurd censorship. Puffin Books and the Dahl estate should be ashamed' (@SalmanRushdie, 18 February 2023).
3. T. Stanley, 'The butchering of Roald Dahl is an assault on liberty by a neurotic elite', *The Telegraph*, 19 February 2023, <<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2023/02/19/butchering-roald-dahl-assault-liberty-neurotic-elite/>> [accessed on 2 April 2023].
4. Universität Bielefeld, 'Diversität in der Gesellschaft und der Umgang mit Diversität an der Universität Bielefeld. Strategiepapier', <<https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/themen/diversitaet/diversity-policy/strategiepapier-diversity.pdf>> [accessed on 2 April 2023].
5. Universität Bielefeld, 'Diversität in der Gesellschaft und der Umgang mit Diversität an der Universität Bielefeld. Strategiepapier', (Translation by the author).
6. Caroline Ali-Tani, 'Wie Kinder Vielfalt wahrnehmen: Vorurteile in der frühen Kindheit und die pädagogischen Konsequenzen', *Kitatexte*, July 2017. <https://www.kita-fachtexte.de/fileadmin/Redaktion/Publikationen/KiTaFT_AliTani_2017_WiEKinderVielfaltwahrnehmen.pdf> [accessed on 2 April 2023].
7. Ibid.
8. R. M. Liebert, 'Effects of television on children and adolescents', *J Dev Behav Pediatr*, 7.1 (1986), pp. 43–48.
9. T. Mölle, and J. Föcker, 'Psychiatrie und Psychotherapie des Kindes- und Jugendalters. Der Einfluss der Medien auf die kindliche und jugendliche Psyche', *e.Medpedia von Springer Medizin*, 2022 (2 April 2023), (Translation by the author).
10. R. Turner, 'The Benefits of Fiction-engagement for Empathic Abilities: A Multidimensional Approach' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Kingston University London, 2020).
11. J. Sikora, M.D.R. Evans, and J. Kelley, 'Scholarly culture: How books in adolescence enhance adult literacy, numeracy and technology skills in 31 societies', *Social Science Research*, 77 (2019), pp. 1–15.
12. A. Bavishi, M. D. Slade, and B. R. Levy, 'A chapter a day: Association of book reading with longevity', *Social Science Research*, 164 (2016), 44–48.
13. Jessica A. R. Logan et al, 'When Children Are Not Read to at Home: The Million Word Gap', *Journal of Developmental & Behavioral Pediatrics*, 40 (2019), pp. 383–386.
14. M. Verhovnik, 'Alles nur ein Spiel? Gewalt in Computer- und Videospielen und ihre Wirkung', *Zeitschrift für Medienethik und Kommunikation in Kirche und Gesellschaft*, 47.3 (2014), 302–319 (p. 302)
15. U. Greiner, 'Die kleine Hexenjagd', *Die Zeit*, 17 March 2013. <<https://www.zeit.de/2013/04/Kinderbuch-Sprache-Politisch-Korrekt>> [accessed on 2 April 2023].
16. D. Hugendick, 'Von Zensur kann keine Rede sein', *Die Zeit*, 26 November 2015. <<https://www.zeit.de/kultur/literatur/2013-01/kinderbuecher-kommentar>> [accessed on 2 April 2023], (Translation by the author).
17. Ibid.
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19. Annette Schwesig, 'Wörter und Werte', *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 18 February 2013. <<https://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.kinderbuch-zensur-woerter-und-werte.60ac863a-471a-4346-bec5-da68d2b4ae24.html#:~:text=Bei%20Zensur%20handelt%20es%20sich,in%20jeden%20einzelnen%20Schritt%20involviert>> [accessed on 2 April 2023].
20. Hugendick.
21. Ibid.

22. Hugendick.

23. Ibid.

24. B. Nolte, 'Kinderbuchautorin: "Meine Enkelin speit, wenn sie zur Schule muss"', *Tagesspiegel*, 27 January 2013. <<https://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/literatur/meine-enkelin-speit-wenn-sie-zur-schule-muss-6979807.html>> [accessed on 2 April 2023].

25. Enid Blyton, *Hanni und Nanni gründen einen Club* (Hamburg: EUROPA, 5 April 1986), Audio Play, 0:28–0:30 [on CD].

26. Ibid.

27. See Enid Blyton, *Hanni und Nanni gründen einen Club* (Hamburg: EUROPA, 5 April 1986), Audio Play, 12:28–12:24 [on CD].

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Marco Mostert: Two Millennia of Making, Using, and Keeping Written Texts for Readers: Then, Now, and in the Future

1. Marco Mostert, 'Latin learning and learning Latin: Knowledge transfer and literacy in the European Middle Ages', in: *Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer: Studies in School Education in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. by W.S. van Egmond and W.H. van Soldt (Leiden, 2012: PIHANS 121), pp. 25–37.

2. Ludwig Traube, 'Perrona Scottorum. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und zur Paläographie des Mittelalters', in: *Kleine Schriften*, ed. by Samuel Brandt (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1920), p. 115.

3. Ibid., pp. 114–116.

4. Hessen, Staatsarchiv Marburg, K426, fol. 7r <<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v782853>>.

5. See Marco Mostert, 'Celtic, Anglo-Saxon or Insular? Some Considerations on 'Irish' Manuscript Production and Their Implications for Insular Latin Culture, c. AD 500–800', in: *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Doris Edel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), pp. 92–115 (pp. 95–96).

6. Hessen, Staatsarchiv Marburg, K425, fol. 1v <<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v3353926>>.

7. *Codex Eberhardi* (Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, K425 and K426). Eberhard is dealt with in the context of the ancient documents of Fulda in Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744–c. 900* (Cambridge: University Press, 2012).

8. A list of surviving manuscripts of Irish origin from before c. 825 can be found in Mostert, 'Celtic, Anglo-Saxon or Insular?', 110–115.

9. M.B. Parkes, 'The contribution of insular scribes of the seventh and eighth century to the "grammar of legibility"', in: *Grafia e interpunzione del Latino nel Medioevo: Seminario internazionale*, ed. A. Maierù (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1987), pp. 15–30; reprinted in M.B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and*

- Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 1-18.
10. M.B. Parkes, *Pause and Effect: Punctuation in the West* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992).
11. Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
12. Hessen, Staatsarchiv Marburg, K426, fol. 7r <<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v782853>>.
13. See, e.g., the signum of Charlemagne: Hessen, Staatsarchiv Marburg, K426, fol. 26r <<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/digitalisatViewer.action?detailid=v782853>>.
14. These four surviving primers can be found in Michael Clanchy, *Looking Back from the Invention of Printing: Mothers and the Teaching of Reading in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018), Figs. 12, 38, 41-42.
15. See, for situations in which the use of two or more writing systems next to one another for one and the same language, and for the social consequences of 'discriptality', Daniel Bunčić and others, *Discriptality: A Sociolinguistic Typology* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016).
16. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, gives in Plates 57-74 examples of 'Punctuation in Copies of the same Texts from Different Periods'; the same plates also show the development of the layout of these texts.
17. And also, but this is a different matter which I cannot discuss in any detail here, without those traces of their materiality that are perceived with other senses than sight. I vividly remember an occasion when I encountered an early modern copy of a Quran literally smelling of roses. See also the highly enjoyable book by Erik Kwakkel, *Books before Print* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2018).
18. I have nowhere as of yet encountered the concept of the 'grammar of book-making'.
19. See, e.g. *Sources chrétiennes: Directives pour la préparation des manuscrits*, 2nd edn. (Lyons: Institut des Sources Chrétiennes and Les Éditions du Cerf, 1978); R.F. Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication* (London: British Records Association, 1977); and *Richtlijnen voor het uitgeven van historische bescheiden samengesteld in opdracht van het Nederlands Historisch Genootschap en van de Rijkscommissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis*, 6th revised edn. (The Hague: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1988).
20. L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 186-213; pp. 208-42, "Textual Criticism", provides a clear summary.
21. Bernhard Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, 2nd edn. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1986), p. 20, quoted after the English translation, Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and David Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 3.
22. Domesday Book; seu, *Liber Censualis Willelmi primi regis Angliae, inter archivos regni in Domo Capitulari Westmonasterii asservatus...*, 4 vols. (London: Record Commissioners 1783-1816); a new typeface was developed for this edition to allow the rendering of the original abbreviations.
23. Th. Mertens, 'Richtlijnen voor de uitgave van Middel nederlandse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden', in: *Het Geraardsbergse handschrift: Hs. Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 837-846*, ed. by Marie-José Govers et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), pp. 173-191.

24. Many examples can be found in *Epigraphic Literacy and Christian Identity: Modes of Written Discourse in the Newly Christian European North*, ed. by Kristel Ziomers and Judith Jesch (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012).

Irene O'Daly: Ducks and Diagrams: Insights into the Medieval Readership of Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticae* Preserved in Leiden University Libraries, BPL 91 and BPL 186

1. John of Salisbury, *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury*, trans. by Daniel D. McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955), p. 71, Book I.24.
2. For a brief biographical outline see James Zetzel, *Critics, Compilers and Commentators: An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE-800 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 310–12.
3. For a list of the Priscian manuscripts in Leiden see Margaret Gibson, 'Priscian, "Institutiones Grammaticae": A Handlist of Manuscripts', *Scriptorium*, 26 (1972), 105–124 (pp. 112–13).
4. Louis Holtz, 'L'émergence de l'oeuvre Grammaticale de Priscien et La Chronologie de Sa Diffusion', in: *Priscien: Transmission et Refondation de La Grammaire, de l'antiquité Aux Modernes*, ed. by Marc Baratin, Bernard Colombat, and Louis Holtz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 37–55 (p. 54).
5. Vivien Law, *The History of Linguistics in Europe: From Plato to 1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 183; Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 52.
6. As noted in Gibson, p. 105, although there was a decrease in numbers of copies of the *Institutiones* copied from the thirteenth century on, older copies continued to be read and annotated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
7. Gibson, p. 105. For an overview of surviving manuscripts see Marina Passalacqua, *I Codici Di Prisciano* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978).
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12. A digitised copy of UBL, BPL 186 can be viewed here: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1685282>.
13. J. P. Gumbert, *Illustrated Inventory of Medieval Manuscripts 2: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek BPL* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009), pp. 80–83. The second part (which constitutes a separate codicological unit), copied in France in the thirteenth century, contains part of Donatus's *Ars maior* along with *De accentibus*, a text attributed incorrectly to Priscian.

14. See for example, fol. 12v. The manuscript also contains (fol. 86v) a note on the parts of philosophy, added in the thirteenth century.
15. See, for example, fols. 12v, 19v, 41v.
16. Fols. 59v–60r. See also ‘domine’ (fol. 52r), ‘ave maria, gratia plena tecum’ (fol. 72r).
17. Priscian, *Prisciani Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri XII–XVIII*, ed. by Martin Hertz, *Grammatici Latini*, 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1859): Book XVIII, 299, 4. Terence, *The Comedies*, trans. by Peter Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 295.
18. Gumbert, pp. 48–49. A digitised copy of UBL BPL 91 can be viewed here: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1686587>.
19. The distribution of the annotations in BPL 91 are briefly treated in Mariken Teeuwen, ‘Practices of Appropriation: Writing in the Margins’, in *The European Book in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 146. The annotations reduce in intensity from fol. 19v, at the start of the discussion of possessives, although there are a number of dry-point annotations found throughout the manuscript.
20. On such grammatical units see P. H. Matthews, *What Graeco-Roman Grammar Was About* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 35–46.
21. Either by coincidence or intent, the opening of the discussion of the noun also coincides with a quire break.
22. Law, *The History of Linguistics in Europe*, p. 183. The diagram is reproduced here and is described as ‘early diagram showing the division of the noun’.
23. Priscian, *Prisciani Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri I–XII*, ed. by Martin Hertz, *Grammatici Latini*, 2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1855): Book II, 58, pp. 14–16.
24. For an illustration of the variety of referring expressions used as nouns in the Middle Ages see Mary Sirridge and Karin Margareta Fredborg, ‘*Demonstratio ad oculum and Demonstratio ad intellectum*: Pronouns in Ps.-Jordan and Robert Kilwardby’, in *Logic and Language: A Volume in Honour of Sten Ebbesen*, ed. Jakob Leth Fink, Heine Hansen, and Ana María Mora-Márquez (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 199. Note that this diagram also includes the word ‘*comprehensivum*’, parroting Priscian’s words at Book II, 60, 4 where he notes that the ‘denominative’ can comprise many other types of noun.
25. Priscian, *Prisciani Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri I–XII*: Book II, 59,9–60,5; For analysis of this section see Anneli Luhtala, *Grammar and Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005), pp. 90–94.
26. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14272, fol. 183v. Passalacqua, p. 177.
27. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 7544, fol. 154r (diagram is incomplete); Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1096, fol. 127r. Passalacqua, pp. 234, 265–66.
28. On parsing grammars see, for example, Black, pp. 45–48.
29. For a survey of this dense subject see Kellie Williamson and John Sutton, ‘Embodied Remembering’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Embodied Cognition*, ed. by Lawrence Shapiro (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2014), pp. 315–25.
30. See, for example, fols. 1r, 128r.
31. Karin Margareta Fredborg, ‘Speculative Grammar’, in *A History of Twelfth-Century Philosophy*, ed. by Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 182.



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TeXt and the Reader

Marco Mostert: Two Millennia of Making, Using, and Keeping Written Texts for Readers: Then, Now, and in the Future

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