Manuscript Albums and their Cultural Contexts

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Manuscript Albums and their Cultural Contexts

Collectors, Objects, and Practices

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Introduction: Manuscript Albums as Touchstones for Manuscript Studies

The calligrapher Dust Muhammad (fl. *c.* 1511–1564) wrote a preface to the album he had compiled for the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza (1517–1549) in AH 951 (1544/45 CE), which, until today, is part of the codex.[1] In this preface, which is devoted to the history of calligraphy and its famous proponents, as well as painters and other artists, Dust Muhammad briefly discusses the circumstances under which the album was made:[2]

> Abu'l Fath Bahram Mirza [...], who, after perfecting the affairs of rule and perusing histories and tales, used to spend his time contemplating the master's beautiful calligraphic specimens and rare and precious essays, and his gaze of favor and kindness was ever upon this group until his exalted opinion inclined to this, that the scattered folios of past and present masters should be brought out of the region of dispersal into the realm of collectedness. In this regard the exalted command and sublime order was issued to [...] Dost-Muhammad the Scribe, that, in endeavoring to organize and decorate [the collection], he should cinch the waist of his soul with the belt of servitude.

Complying with this order, Dust Muhammad used various specimens not only by calligraphers, painters and illustrators, but also by découpeurs, outliners and illuminators, which had been made beforehand. Some of them were individual sheets, others part of books, some from Bahram Mirza's and others from Dust Muhammad's collection, and yet others were acquired by Dust Muhammad especially for the album.[3] Dust Muhammad has placed only one specimen on some folios of the codex, and put together several specimens to form an ensemble on other folios, the so-called composite folios. In addition, the page margins of the book are partly made of coloured paper and decorated with illuminations; the frames, rulings and grids are also richly ornamented.[4] However, the album came to Istanbul, probably a few decades later, where it is still kept, almost complete, in the Topkapı Palace. The album was apparently stripped of some of its pages only in the twentieth century.[5] The Bahram Mirza Album is a famous representative of

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1 Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 2154; for more information on this album, see Roxburgh 2005, 245–307; Weis 2020.

2 Thackston 2001, 338.

3 Roxburgh 2005, 251, 255–256.

4 Roxburgh 2005, 261–263.

5 Weis 2020, 65.

Persian albums, which flourished in the sixteenth century and were popular until the eighteenth century.

This way of collecting and compiling handwritten items of different origins in one – and sometimes more than one – volume has been common practice in various cultural contexts. These collections are often called albums. Sometimes this appellation goes back to their original context, as in the case of the *alba amicorum*; sometimes it was introduced by later researchers, as in the case of Persian or Ottoman albums, which are normally known as *muraqqaʿ*. Interestingly enough, the terms used in the respective cultural contexts highlight different aspects of the album as a written artefact. While the word '*muraqqaʿ*', meaning 'something that is patched together', underlines that these manuscripts are collections of numerous heterogenous items, the denomination 'album', coming from Latin '*albus*' ('white'), points to the originally blank pages of a still unfilled book. In the case of Japanese calligraphic albums, the label *tekagami* ('mirror of hands') 'reflects the long-held Chinese belief that one's calligraphy mirrors one's character, education, and upbringing';[6] and the album compiler's connoisseurship for the old masters of calligraphy becomes even more apparent when the word *kohitsu* ('old brush') is sometimes added to *tekagami*.[7]

The entries and collected items of such manuscripts were usually selected in accordance with a thematic focus and, in addition to text and musical notation, can comprise drawings, paintings, calligraphy or pieces of other decorative arts, such as marbled paper or paper cuttings. Regarding their material composition and production, manuscript albums are not homogeneous: on the one hand, items can enter the collection by being written directly on the blank pages of a book or loose sheets of paper that are prepared for this purpose. On the other hand, single folios, cutouts from book pages and other handwritten pieces can be mounted onto blank pages or inserted into new page margins. Collections of loose album leaves can be bound to make a codex, kept in a box or connected in some other way.

In our collective volume, we set a deliberate focus on albums in which their owners, or those entrusted by them, collect and compile objects written, drawn or painted by hand, primarily by third parties. Accordingly, we distinguish our subject matter from related forms of personal manuscripts, such as commonplace books and scrapbooks.[8] At the same time, we exclude the many other types of

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6 Murase 2002, 21.

7 Murase 2002, 21.

8 On the relationship of these manuscript forms to manuscript albums, see Gernes 2001; Zboray and Zboray 2009; Connolly 2018, 33; Lynch 2018, 93–96. Cf. the contribution by Oliver Huck in this volume.

albums, such as photo, stamp or sticker albums, and herbaria as well as printed albums from our scope of investigation. Of course, these other forms of collections are highly worthy of investigation, and it can be assumed that here (perhaps with a restriction regarding the printed albums), many structural similarities with manuscript albums can also be shown.

Nevertheless, the album forms that can be subsumed under 'manuscript albums' are also by no means uniform, as the contributions gathered in this book show – although certain conventions exist. Album types such as sixteenth-century *Stammbücher* (Robyn Dora Radway), nineteenth-century English and North American friendship albums (Deidre Lynch) and eighteenth-century *muraqqaʿs* (Friederike Weis) are represented, as are nineteenth-century music-related albums (Henrike Rost), sixteenth- and seventeenth-century lute books, *Stammbücher* and commonplace books together with their mixed forms (Oliver Huck) and nineteenth-century German public commemorative albums (Janine Droese).

When compiling the contributions, we refrained from limiting the subjects chronologically or geographically. Instead, our aim was to gain insight into the structural features that make manuscript albums and the practices associated with them comparable by looking at diverse album cultures. In this way, the present volume is a first step towards a cross-disciplinary manuscriptological view of albums, which also invites a cross-cultural view of album types that have, so far, generally been discussed separately from one another. Our volume, however, is limited to a selection of various album cultures from Europe, North America, and the Near and Middle East. We could not include the important field of East Asian manuscript cultures, which, for instance, brought forth the calligraphy albums mentioned above called *tekagami* in Japan[9] and painting albums with calligraphic inscriptions in China.[10]

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9 As far as we are able to survey the field, which is completely foreign to us, little systematic work has been done on this or, at least, published in English. For a first insight into *tekagami* manuscripts, see Akiko Walley's 2019 digital exhibition 'Tekagami and Kyōgire: The University of Oregon Japanese Calligraphy Collection', which offers extensive explanatory material (<https://glam.uoregon.edu/s/tekagami-kyogire/page/welcome>, accessed on 12 June 2023). For a short history of *tekagami* and a description of the manuscript *Gōsen Hitsujin*, a concertina-format *tekagami* from the Gotoh Museum in Tokyo, see Murase 1990, no. 19. On the webpage of Gotoh Museum, the name of the album reads *Hitsujin Gōsen*; <https://www.gotoh-museum.or.jp/2020/10/04/08-001/> (accessed on 28 July 2023). For a *tekagami* with specimens from the eighth to seventeenth century, see Kamens 2022. We thank Jörg B. Quenzer, Universität Hamburg, for drawing our attention to the other name variant of the album on the museum's homepage and Kamens' publication.

10 For a short overview, see The Smithsonian Institution 1961, 7–8; and The British Museum 2016.

Cross-cultural influences between European *album amicorum* and non-European local album traditions and the effect on popular culture are another subject that we could not touch upon with an individual contribution. The habit, for instance, of keeping albums with entries by friends, fellows and prominent people seems to have been common in Turkey in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[11] The labels and titles given to these albums indicate that the purpose was to collect the handwriting of selected individuals: for example, *Hutut-i Meşahir Defteri* (Booklet with Handwritings of Well-known Individuals) and *El Yazılarınâme* (Book of Handwritings).[12] In many regards, these manuscripts resemble European friendship albums, but it is still unclear how far they developed from a local tradition of album-making.

At this point in time, it remains completely open whether albums that meet the criteria of the manuscripts discussed here can also be found in different cultures in Africa and South America. We are not aware of any albums from these large geographical areas even after consulting colleagues working in this field. The same applies to the non-Muslim area of South and South East Asia. It can be assumed that not all forms of albums are known to researchers, let alone have been studied, for these geographical and cultural areas and, although to a lesser extent, for the areas studied here.

Furthermore, the arrangement of contributions in this volume only covers albums in codex form, whereas there are other forms that have become established in some album cultures. These include Chinese painting albums, which exist, for example, in the form of codices, booklets, handscrolls or concertinas, or nineteenth-century European albums that also exist as compilations of loose leaves, usually kept in a box. Albums of hand fans and those in the form of a hand fan, as rather unusual examples, shall be given more attention here.

There are examples from China and Japan of fans decorated with paintings, and sometimes calligraphy, that were pasted into albums and collected. Today, some of these albums are classified as 'fan albums', or 'Fächeralben', as only fan leaves are compiled in these albums.[13] We could not find out from when and how widespread this type of collecting of hand fans in albums was. Whether the fans were previously used as fans or were made directly for the albums must

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11 For edited examples, see Kara, İşli and Çağlar 2006; Şeker and Kara 2010; Berk 2021; Şerif-oğlu, Özdemir and Kara 2023. We thank Yavuz Köse, University of Vienna, for pointing out these manuscripts.

12 Cf. Berk 2015, 150 n. 1.

13 For Chinese albums, see The Smithsonian Institution 1961, 7–8; and The British Museum 2016; and for Japanese albums, see Kraft 1982, XXI and 97–98, no. 228.

also remain unanswered. The latter, for example, is Kenji Toda's assumption for such an album in the Tokyo Museum.[14] We also encounter the fan form in German-speaking countries from the end of the nineteenth century: the so-called 'autograph fans', or 'Autographenfächer', function as albums, on both sides of which entries are collected in writing and pictures.[15] A fan of Johann Strauss's stepdaughter Alice, for instance, is particularly well-known because Strauss had noted the first four bars of the Danube Waltz there, to which Johannes Brahms added: 'Unfortunately not by Johannes Brahms!'[16] Such fans also became especially fashionable in the period between the two World Wars in Germany in the context of dance lessons.[17] These fans are sometimes made of a single leaf, just like those from East Asia, but often folded, and they are sometimes brisé fans, made of thin wooden slices. To the best of our knowledge, there has been almost no research on these albums in fan form, but the question arises regarding how far they are connected to the East Asian fans and fan albums and whether the use of fans as albums of paintings and written entries by contemporaries was also common, for example, in China or Japan.[18]

Albums are individual, innovative and heterogeneous objects. They challenge the disciplinary order of sciences as they are usually multimedia units which often contain several languages. It is, thus, not surprising that the Germanists Anke Kramer and Annegret Pelz have, in recourse to Roland Barthes, described the album as a disparate and frayed 'Gewebe von Kontingenzen' ('web of contingencies') and contrasted it with the book as a 'durchkonstruierten und wohldurchdachten, einheitlich gegliederten und hierarchisch geordneten Universum' ('thoroughly constructed and well-thought-out, uniformly structured and hierarchically ordered universe').[19] In this volume, we attempt to contrast this definition *ex negativo* with a description of the phenomenon of the 'album' that locates

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14 Toda 1961, 323. We thank Jörg B. Quenzer, Universität Hamburg, who brought this article to our attention.
15 For examples from the Wien Museum, see the following items, available as digital copies in the museum's online collection, <https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/> (accessed on 21 July 2023): inv. nos 78744, 111069, 111070, M 6093 and M 14989.
16 'Leider nicht von Johannes Brahms!'; Hammes 2015, 131 n. 1254. A fan of Elisa von der Recke, which was created about 100 years earlier and contains entries by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Moses Mendelssohn, among others, is also described several times. See Geiger 1881, 2595–2596; Kropatschek 1881, 1–21.
17 See <www.tanzstundenfaecher.de> (accessed on 21 July 2023).
18 For China, see The British Museum 2016: 'Fan paintings were often created as gifts for a particular occasion and many are dated. Their size made them ideal as presents. Many also include calligraphic inscriptions from friends and comments on the painting'.
19 Kramer and Pelz 2013b, 8; with reference to Barthes 2008, 294.

it in the field of manuscript studies. We regard albums as written artefacts whose central common feature can be seen in the fact that they 'test the limits of the category book',[20] as Deidre Lynch already noted regarding nineteenth-century albums in the English-speaking world. Considering various album cultures, we suggest that Lynch's assessment can be easily expanded from albums in codex form to, for example, concertina and loose-leaf albums.

The question of what distinguishes albums from a manuscriptological perspective will be examined in more detail in the following. To this end, we present three areas of tension that we consider central to the assessment of albums, and explain to what extent albums of different cultures can be classified accordingly. Of course, not every album can be grasped equally in each of the three categories. However, against this background, a comparative view of the subject matter is facilitated and the contributions collected in this volume are contextualised regarding manuscript studies. Our goal is, thus, to draw on examples that are as diverse as possible in terms of time, geography and social setting. A fully representative selection of examples could not be made due to our naturally limited disciplinary perspective, the literature accessible to us and the respective disciplinary discourses. Accordingly, the following remarks are not to be seen as the result but rather as the beginning of an examination of albums that places written artefacts as material objects at the centre of the investigation and makes them approachable to an interdisciplinary manuscriptological analysis.

1 Albums between manuscript and print

When Georg Morold from Weiden in the Upper Palatinate decided around 1621 to collect entries in a *Stammbuch*, he did not resort to a blank album but used a book made especially for this purpose. The pages of this book were decorated with printed borders, and a printed title page also explicitly identified the book as intended for use as an *album amicorum*.[21] Morold was not alone in using such a *Stammbuchdruck*, or *Stammbuch* print, as the basis for his album; rather, as Werner Wilhelm Schnabel has already explained in detail, these prints had con-

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20 Lynch 2018, 96.

21 The *Stammbuch* print used by Morold was made by the Nuremberg printer Georg Endter and is not dated. For a digital copy of the album, which is kept in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, see <http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs117656> (accessed on 18 July 2023); also see the entry in the *Repertorium alborum amicorum*: <https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nach-stammbucheintraegen.html?permaLink=1621_morold;0> (accessed on 18 July 2023).

siderable importance primarily in the second half of the sixteenth century.[22] Schnabel defines the *Stammbuch* prints as follows:[23]

> Publikationen, die (meist) ausdrücklich mit ihrer Eignung zur Stammbuchnutzung bewor-
> ben wurden und in ihrer inhaltlichen Gestaltung, pikturalen Ausschmückung und typo-
> graphischen Realisation auf bestimmte Verwendungsbedürfnisse der intendierten Nutzer
> eingingen.

> Publications that were (usually) explicitly advertised as being suitable for *Stammbuch* use
> and whose arrangement of content, pictorial decoration, and typographical realisation
> catered to the specific needs of the intended users.

Yet, such albums, prepared in print for use as a *Stammbuch*, were by no means uniform. Schnabel writes that the label 'Stammbuch' was used to adorn 'a multitude of different genres whose commonality ultimately consisted only in a single formal component – the blank space for handwritten entries – and in their orientation toward a specific context of use'.[24] Publications whose pages are printed on one side only – emblem books were particularly popular in this regard[25] – can also be counted among this group, but naturally the connection is only obvious where the title or preface refers to the context of use as a *Stammbuch* or *album amicorum*.

The secondary use of printed works is also relevant for the early *Stammbuch* period, but should be distinguished from the *Stammbuch* prints. As Schnabel writes, this goes back to the early days of the *Stammbuch* in the environment of the Wittenberg reformers:[26]

> Oft nutzte man dafür [also zum Sammeln der handschriftlichen Notate der Reformatoren]
> bereits gebundene Bücher, denen Lagen mit Leerblättern vor- und nachgebunden waren.

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22 Schnabel 2003, 127.
23 Schnabel 2003, 128. Unless indicated differently, all translations of quotes into English are by the authors.
24 'eine Vielzahl verschiedener Genres, deren Gemeinsamkeit letztendlich nur in einer einzigen formalen Komponente – des Leerraums für handschriftliche Einträge – und in der Ausrichtung auf einen bestimmten Verwendungszusammenhang besteht'; Schnabel 2003, 128. The interaction between manuscript and print that can be observed here is, of course, not exclusively found in *Stammbuch* prints. For the very similar phenomenon of early modern calendrical diaries, for instance, see Rautenberg 2003; Brendecke 2005; Brockstieger 2021. Regarding some examples for the interaction of print and handwriting in calendrical diaries, also see Hirt forthcoming. For a more general view on print and manuscript in Germany in the early times of letterpress, see Augustyn 2003.
25 Cf. Warncke 1981.
26 Schnabel 2013, 220; also see Schnabel 2003, 126–127.

> Besonders häufig fanden in solchem Zusammenhang die ‚Loci theologici' Philipp Melanchthons Verwendung, der auch selbst einer der begehrtesten Schreiber war; aber auch sonstige theologische Literatur, ja selbst profane Schriften dienten als Sammelmedium für die begehrten Notate. Beliebt war aber auch die Vorlage einzelner Blätter, die man später nicht selten in eine Bibelausgabe einbinden ließ. Häufig fanden sie etwa in den großformatigen und kostspieligen Medianbibeln von 1541 einen repräsentativen Ort, der zugleich auch die Wertschätzung der Autographen markierte.

> Already bound books were often used for this purpose [i.e. for collecting the handwritten notes of the reformers], with quires of blank sheets bound before and after them. The *Loci theologici* of Philipp Melanchthon, who was himself one of the most sought-after authors, were particularly frequently used in such a context; but other theological literature, even profane writings, also served as a collection medium for the coveted notes. However, it was also popular to submit individual sheets, which were frequently later bound into an edition of the Bible. They often found a representative place in the large-format and expensive Median Bibles of 1541, for example, which also indicated the esteem in which the autographs were held.

Blank sheets were also occasionally placed around the folios of the printed book, in order to have blank pages between individual quires or even opposite each printed page.[27] The most important difference to the *Stammbuch* prints is that, in this case, it was not the author or publisher who prepared a printed work for use as a *Stammbuch*, but that the initiative presumably came from the buyer or user, who commissioned a bookbinder to insert the necessary blank paper.[28]

This coexistence of print and manuscript proves to be a typical feature of albums and is limited to neither the early modern period nor a European setting. One can think here, for example, of contemporary books of friends, as used, above all, by children of kindergarten and primary school age.[29] These books are form-like preprints. They consist of units of one or two openings, which are prepared for the entries. Each inscriber has a delimited space for their handwritten text and sometimes boxes to check to answer questions about their person and personal preferences and write wishes for the album holder. In these books, there are often also predefined spaces for inserting photos or self-painted pictures. Yael

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27 For an example of such an interfoliated printed work that was used as a *Stammbuch*, see, e.g., the online available digital copy of the *Stammbuch* of Johann Ulrich Starck, Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 113.302 <http://dlib.gnm.de/item/Hs113302> (accessed on 18 July 2023). The basis for this *Stammbuch* are Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* in the edition Lyon 1550.
28 Schnabel 2003, 126.
29 As far as we can see, no research has been conducted on these albums. Nonetheless, descriptions are sometimes found in scholarly literature. See, e.g., Schnabel 2016, 200, with a figure on page 202.

Rice, among others, has shown the many ways in which European copperplate engravings found their way into albums in Mughal India. On the one hand, motifs from European copperplate engravings were used as models and, thus, found their way back into the albums in a more or less adapted form. This phenomenon is also addressed by Friederike Weis in her contribution to the present volume. On the other hand, the prints themselves were also integrated into albums, partly coloured and expanded.[30] Emine Fetvacı has noted for the Ottoman context, using the example of the album of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617), that

> [...] the folios on which these printed images are accommodated have been unified [...] just as the other folios of the album: they have been organized with similar compositions to the other folios, and have been framed and illuminated in the same ways, with the same range of motifs and colours [...].[31]

The insertion of printed material into manuscript albums, as is the case in Europe and the USA, especially in recent centuries, is probably comparable to this – although the effort described by Emine Fetvacı to integrate the material was usually not undertaken there. Clippings from newspapers, printed concert programmes, visiting cards, art prints and many other printed items found their way into albums, were mounted on the albums' pages and became part of their typical appearance. A special case of this intrusion of print into manuscript albums can be stamps, which are often found especially in Chinese albums. Those who had access to the albums immortalised themselves by their seal impressions on the pages. This provides an interesting documentation of the reception process of the albums, which is much more difficult to trace in most other album cultures.[32]

Finally, two more aspects should be mentioned regarding the interaction between manuscript and print, which is typical in all album cultures known to us: on the one hand, the exchange between manuscript albums and printed material is regularly found on the level of content. Albums, for example, often contain texts and musical entries that were already available in print at the time of the entry and presumably copied from a printed original in many cases. Entries made especially for an album were also occasionally printed subsequently, at least in Europe and the USA.[33] On the other hand, entire albums were also printed, either

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30 Rice 2018, 62–68.

31 Fetvacı 2022, 243. Cf. Fetvacı 2019, 131–152.

32 We thank Uta Lauer, Universität Hamburg, for pointing out this phenomenon.

33 One example is Robert Schumann, who later put some of his album leaves into print himself (see, e.g., Draheim 2006) and also published album leaves as supplements to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (see, e.g., Huck 2018, 255; Carrier 2019, 198–215).

in traditional form – often for charitable purposes – or as facsimiles, in which the peculiarities of the manuscripts were preserved.[34] The latter applies explicitly to the East Asian area: J. P. Park describes that albums were distributed as printed collections in China as early as the thirteenth century,[35] and Miyeko Murase mentions a Japanese printed album, 'published in 1651 under the title *Keian Tekagami*', that 'was intended as a guidebook for collectors'.[36] However, for *muraqqaʿ*, whether Ottoman, Persian or Mughal, we are not aware of any attempts to reproduce them utilising print. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that in 1928, the Pakistani artist Abdur Rahman Chughtai (1894–1975) presented in print the divan by the Indian poet Mirza Ghalib (1797–1869), which Chughtai had illustrated, as a tribute to the Mughal *muraqqaʿ* tradition and titled it *Muraqqaʿ-i Chughtāʾī*.[37]

In summary, then, it can be said: although not every album interfaces with print, it is generally noticeable that albums exhibit a particular closeness and openness to print, and that this aspect can be seen as typical of albums across cultures. This circumstance seems striking to us, especially against the background that albums are often created with the aim of collecting and, thus, preserving the authentic handwriting of certain people. By also incorporating printed materials, albums undermine one of the central ways in which they can be categorised as manuscripts. At the same time, this juxtaposition of manuscript and print is also significantly determined by the collecting aspect of albums. Print belongs to the world that surrounds albums and, thus, finds its way into these personal collecting projects. The following section is, therefore, dedicated to the tension based on the openness of the album as a collection to the outside world.

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34 See, e.g., *Deutsches Stammbuch* initiated in 1852 (Schlodtmann 1852–1854); cf. Carrier 2019, 156–198; Matthews 2020, esp. 154–162.

35 See, e.g., Park 2016, 79–82.

36 Murase 1990, 76. This, but also other manuscript and printed albums, could also have served as reference works for the study of calligraphy. See, e.g., Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, 92–95 (cited from Kamens 2022, 75); Kamens 2022, 90. We thank Jörg B. Quenzer for this information.

37 Chughtai 1928. Cf. Dadi 2012, 132–137. For a digitised version of Chughtai 1928, see online resources of The Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts <https://ignca.gov.in/Asi_data/38956.pdf> (accessed on 22 July 2023).

2 Manuscript albums, the individual and the surrounding world

An album is a medium, in which a person filters, digests and assembles their world, or, at least, parts of it. These individual album projects encompass representations of the world, which mirror, *inter alia*, the diversity of written and material culture, and materiality generally, in a given setting. Depending on how the holder's life is unfolding, different settings can have an impact on the content and materials that are brought together in the album. Just think of how diverse a traveller can make their album when they have the opportunity to incorporate other languages and writing systems, or types of paper and pieces of decorative arts with which they were previously unfamiliar. Robyn Dora Radway provides an impressive example of this in her contribution to this volume with Caspar von Abschatz's *album amicorum*, and we will discuss the aspects of collecting and travelling shortly.

On the one hand, album-compilers gather information and impressions of the world, or literary, intellectual and artistic works, written, drawn and painted by hand, but also produced with technologies such as engraving, type print and photography. Thus, Mughal and Ottoman albums, for instance, contain European copperplate engravings and woodblock prints, and Japanese *tekagami* assemble specimens of calligraphy by renowned proponents of this art; some nineteenth- and twentieth-century German *Poesiealben*, or poetry albums, and North-American and European friendship albums include newspaper cuttings and *Glanzbilder* (scrap pictures); and yet other albums were mainly made in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to assemble cuttings of medieval European manuscripts.[38]

On the other hand, these representations of the world can, for example, be other objects which are collected by the album-owners from their surroundings or added to the albums by inscribers of entries. Some nineteenth-century music-related albums from continental Europe include small, braided locks of hair and compressed dried flowers; and, in some cases, such albums contain dried leaves of plants growing close to graves of admired authors or compos-

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[38] Connolly 2018. See also the blog *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance* of Peter Kidd, an Oxford-based researcher of medieval manuscripts <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/> (accessed on 19 July 2023). For example, Peter Kidd discusses the Hoe Album and the provenance of the cuttings it contains in blog posts dated 20 December 2020, 26 December 2020, 2 January 2021 and 9 January 2021.

ers, such as Beethoven.[39] Similar objects find their way into friendship albums, and, as Deidre Lynch describes in her contribution to this volume, a real insect entered the album of Anne Wagner. Among the objects often collected in albums are special types of paper made in foreign countries, which become an integral part of the books when filled with writing and other contents. Deidre Lynch and Robyn Dora Radway describe in their contributions to this volume how American and European compilers, for example, preferred to integrate fine Chinese paper (rice paper) and colourful, marbled, gold-sprinkled and silhouette paper from the Middle East into their albums.[40]

With the diversity of all these entries and insertions in mind, it is understandable why Deidre Lynch sees albums mainly as 'places of deposit'[41] and writes about female album-compilers as follows: 'The album-keeper *performs archivalness* in indulging, through her book, her impulse to treasure, amass, embalm'.[42] With a special focus on the gender aspect of album-keeping among women in nineteenth-century England, Samantha Matthews describes these books 'as a symbolic stand-in for the feminine body' and an 'intermediate space between [...] the female subject's body and the bodies of others'.[43] Albums generally fulfil all the criteria of a collection as defined by Krzysztof Pomian:[44]

> [...] a set of natural or artificial objects, kept temporarily or permanently out of the economic circuit, afforded special protection in enclosed places adapted specifically for that purpose and put on display.

David Roxburgh also sees the Persian albums he has studied in the context of collecting and collections, especially treasuries and cabinets of curiosities, when he points out that the arrangement of collections provides information about knowl-

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39 See, e.g., the album of Fanny Schorn, Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, S 2034 f, fol. 23ʳ, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-285191> (accessed on 28 July 2023).
40 For European albums of the early modern period with marbled and silhouette paper from the Middle East, see Sönmez 2016; Radway 2023, 47–64, with numerous illustrations. For the general preference in Persian bookmaking for decorated papers from China, see Blair 2000. We thank Ilse Sturkenboom, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, for pointing out this phenomenon.
41 Lynch 2018, 96.
42 Lynch 2018, 90.
43 Matthews 2012, 107–108.
44 Pomian 1990, 9.

edge and relations in a given context.[45] Yael Rice even goes so far as to compare such albums directly with *Wunderkammern* (cabinets of curiosities):[46]

> The *muraqqa* may be likened to a cabinet of curiosity, to the extent that it functioned, similar to its European counterpart, as a collection of rare, heterogeneous specimens from around the world.

The comparison with chambers full of rare objects from all over the world does not, of course, apply to all types of albums. Mostly they are albums from socially privileged milieus, as their keepers can undertake journeys to distant places or afford to acquire rarities from afar. The latter can be observed, for example, increasingly from the seventeenth century onwards in Istanbul, where an art market developed that served the collecting interests of travellers and local urban elites. Quite a few of the sought-after pieces of local, but also European, Persian and Indian origin found their way into albums.[47] Leaving aside the social and economic status of the owners, albums generally have the potential to travel with their keepers, even if not to faraway places. The impressions of these journeys and the encounters with other contexts and cultures can be recorded in the album through different contents and objects. In a way, this also includes the entries of people who are in passing.[48]

This function of the album as a repository of precious, special and beloved things, in turn, has an effect on its keepers who, as curators, continuously engage in a representation of their world in book form. This process of the collection's repercussion on the collecting subject, as Walter Benjamin, for example, describes for collections outside of the book,[49] is described by Todd Gernes regarding North-American albums of the eighteenth and nineteenth century as follows:[50]

> Compilers of assembled books transformed the everyday prose of the object world into poetry, infusing domestic artefacts with historicity, familiarity, and selfhood. They created collections that, by virtue of their cultural complexity and incompleteness transcended

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45 Roxburgh 2005, 6–7.

46 Rice 2023, 129.

47 For the special case of costume albums from the Ottoman world, see Collaço 2017; Collaço 2021.

48 See, e.g., Eliza Wesley's album, which is discussed in the contribution by Henrike Rost.

49 '[...] for a collector [...] ownership is the most intimate relationship that one can have to objects. Not that they come alive in him; it is he who lives in them'; Benjamin 1999, 69 (first published 1931a).

50 Gernes 2001, 109.

mere accumulation. Indeed, objects had the power to shape collectors' personalities and concretely expressed psychologically important aspects of their interior lives, whether this expression was a projection of childhood, adult autobiography in fragments, or multifaceted, historical perspectives of America's recent past.

In a very similar vein, Barton Levi Saint Armand sees the possibilities for the owner of a portfolio, 'a loose repository of musings, views, portraits, copies, caricatures and "studies from nature"',[51] that was common in some nineteenth-century North-American milieus. Saint Armand posits that this tradition 'was a means of preserving the secret self in the face of [...] growing technological exposure [...]'.[52] Werner Wilhelm Schnabel also assumes the aspects of self-documentation and self-representation as prerequisites for the spread of the early modern European *Stammbuch* tradition,[53] and Robyn Dora Radway sees these albums 'as tools in the self-fashioning of the scholar, burgher, nobleman and noblewoman'.[54] Whether such a concept of individuality is prevalent in all album forms and, if so, how this is represented in album-making should, nevertheless, be examined more closely.

Naturally, all representations of the self or the individual are mediated, although in different nuances and to different extents. In some albums, for example, compilers capture a well-selected excerpt of their world that locates them in certain social groups through the display of texts, images and other content, practically confirming and legitimising their membership to a group and tradition. These compilers are, for example, artists and art connoisseurs who, beyond the group, often also see themselves as part of the respective art tradition and try to express this with their albums. Music-related albums are one example, discussed in this volume by Henrike Rost; the *muraqqaʻ*s, commissioned by French and British colonial officers and officials in India during the eighteenth century, which, among others, represent their owners' knowledge of Mughal arts and their appreciation of the same, are another example, introduced in this volume by Friederike Weis. The representation of the self as part of a group or tradition is highlighted in a preface in some albums. These include the albums from sixteenth-century Iran studied by David Roxburgh, in which previously loose sheets of calligraphy, painting and drawing were joined together. The prefaces name those involved in album-making – compilers, patrons, artists – and

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51 Saint Armand 1984, 5.
52 Saint Armand 1984, 5.
53 Schnabel 2003, 213–214.
54 Radway 2023, 41.

they appear in close proximity to enumerations of well-known practitioners and masters of these arts.[55]

Closely connected to the collection of one's own world in albums is the aspect of lasting memory, as expressed, for example, in titles such as 'Souvenir' and 'Denkmal der Freundschaft' ('Monument to Friendship') on covers of friendship albums. Justyna Beinek has described this regarding nineteenth-century Polish and Russian albums: '[The albums] functioned as a carrier of individual and national memory, ensuring symbolic permanence against mortality through physical preservation of human traces'.[56] At the same time, two aspects of collecting are relevant to the album as a manuscript type, which Walter Benjamin explained as follows: collecting is an ordering process, the collector 'takes up the struggle against dispersion' and 'is struck by the confusion, by the scatter, in which the things of the world are found'.[57] At the same time, Benjamin posits regarding the collector that 'his collection is never complete; for let him discover just a single piece missing, and everything he's collected remains a patchwork'.[58]

Thus, by bringing together what has been collected in the album, its holder orders the world and creates a representation of it, which is enclosed and related to the collector by the frame of the manuscript – be it a scroll, a codex or even just a box, in which the specimens are arranged. At the same time, the lasting patchwork causes the collection to once again drift apart. The fact that it is typical of albums that leaves are also removed and possibly added to other collections has already been described many times for albums of different times and provenance – Janine Droese and Henrike Rost, for example, point to removed pages in their contribution to the present volume. Here, Yael Rice is cited as an example, who states:[59]

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55 See, e.g., Roxburgh 2000, 52–59.

56 Beinek 2001, 7.

57 '[...] er nimmt den Kampf gegen die Zerstreuung auf. Der große Sammler wird ganz ursprünglich von der Verworrenheit, von der Zerstreutheit angerührt, in dem die Dinge sich in der Welt vorfinden'; Benjamin 1982, 279. For the English translation, see Benjamin 2002, 211. This and the next quotation are from *Das Passagen-Werk*, which Walter Benjamin worked on until his death in 1940 and which was first published in 1982.

58 '[...] ist [...] seine Sammlung niemals vollständig; und fehlte ihm nur ein Stück, so bleibt doch alles, was er versammelt hat, eben Stückwerk'; Benjamin 1982, 279. For the English translation, see Benjamin 2002, 211.

59 Rice 2018, 68–69. Also see Gonella, Weis and Rauch 2016b, 2; Matthews 2020, 255–256; Droese forthcoming. In the case of some albums, such as the *muraqqaʿ* and *tekagami*, it is particularly striking that their later 'disassembly' happens more or less in analogy to their creation. *Tekagami*, for example, consist of snippets cut out of bound books, scrolls and letters; and, as Kamens discusses, it is questionable to what extent such practices can be considered 'destruction' (Kamens 2022).

> The overwhelming majority of Mughal albums have been unbound and disseminated widely, so it is not at all unusual to find folios from a given album residing in multiple, far-flung collections. It is also common to find that some albums contain (or recombine) the contents of earlier, no longer intact albums. Scholars have long attributed the dispersal and subsequent reconfiguration of Mughal albums to the vicissitudes of European colonial expansion and the political decline of the Mughal Empire during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but these processes seem to have already been under way many years prior.

The fact that the individual specimens in manuscript albums usually come from different people also supports this tendency to disintegrate albums in modern times – on the one hand, because the album leaves of particularly famous authors, painters or other people can be sold more lucratively one by one than as part of the whole album, and, on the other hand, because the album as a collective enterprise challenges the categories fixed by scholars, archivists and other professionals who come into contact with manuscripts on a regular basis. Lynch describes modern cataloguing practices as a form of electronic 'dismantling that [...] reduces the scrapbooks and albums to [...] many loose leaves'.[60] The logic of the album and the author-centred logic of most catalogues are far apart. Most catalogues have no category for the role of the collector who, for manuscript albums, undoubtedly plays a vital role. The logic of catalogues is even more challenged when one of the album inscribers chooses to note a text, that is not their own, or add an image painted by someone else.

The tension between the collector(s) and the inscriber(s), between the self and the world, is, thus, simultaneously, the driving force for two opposing practices in the compilation of the album: the accumulating, which can be seen as representing the self through collecting the world, and the sorting out, the creating and the destroying. While this section illustrated how a variety of objects penetrate the world of the book, the next section focuses on the concrete, spatial connection between albums, album entries, and the space or other objects surrounding them.

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60 Lynch 2018, 113.

3 Manuscript albums and epigraphic practices

Albums are repeatedly compared to rooms in which texts and images can be compiled, arranged and recombined. The Germanist Matthias Bickenbach, for example, writes:[61]

> Alben sind Dispositive: Räumliche Ordnungssysteme für Vorgefundenes. Ihr Raum eignet sich Material an und strukturiert es neu. Dabei bestimmt die Anordnung des Integrierten seinen Wert, indem die Zusammenstellung Sinn generiert. Aus den Zusammenhängen des Alltags und der Biografie des Sammelnden werden nicht nur Bilder herausgelöst und rekombiniert. Auch eigene und fremde Texte können das Angeordnete kommentieren und als Zusammenhang herausstellen. Doch stets bleibt das Dispositiv, die Form der Zusammenstellung selbst, das, was ein Album auszeichnet.

> Albums are *dispositifs*: spatial systems of order for what is found. Their space appropriates material and restructures it. The arrangement of what is integrated determines its value in that the compilation generates meaning. Not only images are extracted and recombined from the contexts of everyday life and the biography of the collector. The collector's own texts and those of others can also comment on what has been arranged and highlight it as a context. But it is always the *dispositif*, the form of the compilation itself, that distinguishes an album.

This perspective on albums is certainly largely due to the fact that they cancel out the horizontal reading direction of the book. This effect is reinforced by the direction of the writing within the album changing again and again, or even that different directions of writing and variously arranged images meet on one album page (see, for example, Fig. 1 in Deidre Lynch's contribution in this volume). David Roxburgh, referring to Persian albums, describes this phenomenon and its implications for the use of the album as follows:[62]

> The arrangement of an open album allowed several people to gather, look, read, and discuss its contents, and the multidirectional organization of the materials provided several legible vantage points around its edges. Close scrutiny of some detail in a painting, calligraphy, or drawing which was upside down from one side could be made right side up by rotating either the viewers or the album. Of course, the album could also be examined alone by a single person. Although many elements of the book carried over into the album—the often similar scale of execution in calligraphy and painting, the horizontal viewing format of an object laid flat or slightly tipped, and a sequence of folios protected between covers—other elements of the album established a new form of relationship between person and object and an altered phenomenological experience.

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61 Bickenbach 2013, 107.
62 Roxburgh 2000, 63. Cf. Fetvacı 2019, 10–11, for Ottoman albums.

Similar to exhibits in a room, the entries can be opened up in any order. Accordingly, it is hardly surprising when Ulrike Vedder, for example, states that 'a museum-like order can also prevail in the album when things are classified, labelled, dated, recorded, catalogued, deposited or prepared for more or less representative exhibition'.[63]

The connection between graffiti and *Stammbücher* was already discussed in the early days of *Stammbuch* research – a connection that must probably remain limited to friendship albums. Werner Wilhelm Schnabel explains that as early as the seventeenth century, a sample collection of *Stammbuch* texts contains a reference to a custom that was widespread in Switzerland of 'leaving coat-of-arms paintings on a cup or a pane of glass where people had had particularly confidential dealings'.[64] Thus, a connection could be found between the evidence left in the room and in the album for the actual physical presence. As late as 1812, the French man of letters Victor-Joseph Étienne de Jouy sees the origins of the *Stammbuch* tradition in the bad habit of 'carving one's name into rocks, pyramids, bell towers or famous monuments, or inscribing prison, school or hostel walls with more or less witty sayings', as Schnabel has pointed out, too.[65]

Carving and incising into trees was also associated with *Stammbuch* entries.[66] All these references to epigraphic practices are not surprising insofar as the term 'album' also refers to such a form of applying content: 'A tablet or board (usually whitened) on which information is presented in writing to be viewed by the public'.[67] The memorial character that can be attributed to entries in friendship albums is also easily linked to the aforementioned forms of inscriptions or graffiti, which also represent a practice of 'immortalising oneself'. In a very similar way, one can probably also read the *Stammbuch* entries in lute books, which Oliver Huck describes in his contribution.

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63 '[...] kann im Album auch eine museumsartige Ordnung walten, wenn Dinge darin klassifiziert, beschriftet, datiert, erfasst, katalogisiert, deponiert oder zur mehr oder weniger repräsentativen Ausstellung aufbereitet sind'; Vedder 2013, 144. For the comparison of exhibition and album, see also Hirsch 2013.
64 'Wappenmalereien auf einem Becher oder einer Glasscheibe dort zurückzulassen, wo man besonders vertraulich verkehrt habe'; Schnabel 2003, 212.
65 'Unsitte [...], auf Felsen, Pyramiden, Glockentürmen oder berühmten Monumenten seinen eigenen Namen einzuritzen [...] beziehungsweise Gefängnis-, Schul- oder Herbergsmauern mit mehr oder minder geistreichen Ergüssen zu versehen [...]'; Schnabel 2003, 212. Schnabel refers here to de Jouy 1815.
66 Schnabel 2003, 214.
67 OED Online, Oxford University Press, *s.v.* 'album, n.2' <https://www-1oed-1com-100596bz-v0640.emedien3.sub.uni-hamburg.de/view/Entry/4635?rskey=FcOFON&result=2&isAdvanced=false> (accessed on 30 June 2023).

In turn, graffiti apparently occasionally take on a form typical of *Stammbuch* entries, as Dagmar Stonus and Jochen Ramming have shown using the example of the carvings in the Middle Franconian Fingalshöhle.[68] It is interesting in this context, and to be understood in a comparable way, when Jean Paul speaks of Friedrich von Matthisson's *Stammbuch* as a 'Westminster Abbey'.[69] The functional equivalence of an album entry and inscription can be observed particularly clearly in connection with intercession books – blank books or folders with loose leaves deposited in a church for any visitors to write in, which give those visiting the church an opportunity to inscribe themselves and, thus, leave a trace in the holy place without damaging walls or furnishings.[70]

In individual cases, however, the reverse can also be observed. Album entries are no longer recorded in a book, but are placed in the room. Werner Wilhelm Schnabel describes these 'walk-in albums' ('begehbare Alben') as a special form.[71] A particularly vivid example is Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim's so-called wallpaper album (*Tapetenalbum*). He furnished a room in which he collected entries of his guests on the decor wallpaper (*Schmucktapete*). Ten pieces of the wallpaper have survived and can be seen today in the Gleimhaus in Halberstadt.[72] A similar assessment can be made when pages are removed from albums and exhibited separately, as Janine Droese describes in the present volume for the Schiller album. The cases in which album entries were projected in a large format on calligraphic panels or directly on walls, as Lâle Uluç has described in connection with various albums from the Ottoman treasury, are impressive. She writes:[73]

> The *tawakkaltu* compositions from the Istanbul albums [...] and the *ḥajjajnā* exercise [...] appear to have become popular texts for calligraphic panels from the beginning of the eighteenth century. In addition, some of these calligraphic phrases were also written directly onto mosque walls. In the same century, calligraphic samples from the albums were reproduced on the walls of the Sinanova Lodge in Sarajevo, some of which are also found on later panels that were used in diverse dervish lodges.

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68 Ramming and Stonus 2002, 298–301. We thank Sabine Kienitz, Universität Hamburg, for pointing out this text.

69 'Westminster-Abtey'; Anonymous 1874, 481.

70 We thank Sabine Kienitz, Universität Hamburg, who brought the phenomenon of intercession books to our attention and presented them in the workshop. Summit books have a very similar function, as well as guestbooks in other places.

71 Schnabel 2003, 137.

72 See Pott 2013.

73 Uluç 2016, 162.

However, not only album entries were distributed in the room: there are several reports that albums were also kept in such a way that they were visible to visitors. In the epilogue to the edition of Friedrich von Matthisson's *Stammbuch*, for example, Doris and Peter Walser-Wilhelm share the following report by his friend, the writer, modern philologist and librarian Johann Valentin Adrian (1793–1864), in which he describes his living room:[74]

> In Matthissons Wohnzimmer war alles in der sorgfältigsten und fast ängstlich berechneten Ordnung aufgestellt, die sein ganzes Thun charakterisierte. Ich habe ihn oft über den Sammelkram geneckt, welchen er theils auf Tischen, theils in eleganten Gewahrsamen vereinigt hatte. Da waren Stammbücher, mit den ersten Namen des civilisierten Europas, mit Handzeichnungen und ausgeführten Gemälden der ersten Künstler unserer Zeit geschmückt und prachtvoll gebunden. Daneben prangte eine rote Decke mit Briefen von Schiller, Goethe, Gleim, Friederike Brun, Bonstetten, Salis [...] usw. angefüllt.

> In Matthisson's living room, everything was arranged in the most careful and almost anxiously calculated order, which characterised everything he did. I often teased him about the collection of stuff, which he had gathered partly on tables, partly in elegant storage units. There were *Stammbücher*, with the first names of civilised Europe, decorated and magnificently bound with hand drawings and executed paintings by the first artists of our time. Next to them was a red blanket filled with letters by Schiller, Goethe, Gleim, Friederike Brun, Bonstetten, Salis [...], etc.

In a very similar way, Walter Benjamin also notes in his 'Kleine Geschichte der Photographie' ('Little History of Photography'):[75]

> Das war die Zeit, da die Photographiealben sich zu füllen begannen. An den frostigen Stellen der Wohnung, auf Konsolen und Guéridons im Besuchszimmer fanden sie sich am liebsten: Lederschwarten mit abgestoßenen Metallbeschlägen und den fingerdicken goldumrandeten Blättern, auf denen närrisch drapierte oder verschnürte Figuren [...] verteilt waren [...].

> That was the time when photograph albums started to fill themselves up. They preferred to site themselves in frosty spots of the apartments, on console tables or guéridons in the reception room: leather tomes with forbidding metal hasps and gilt-edged pages, each a finger thick, on which are scattered clownishly posed or corsetted figures [...].

Albums can, consequently, be seen as spaces in which entries are arranged and exhibited as representatives of the world, as in a museum, and a certain proximity to artists' books and exhibition catalogues is unmistakable here. At the same

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74 Walser-Wilhelm and Walser-Wilhelm 2007, 429.
75 Benjamin 1980, 374–375 (first published 1931b). Translation from Benjamin 2015, 75.

time, albums are themselves also treated as exhibits that are presented, visible to visitors.

To sum up: across cultures, albums that suspend the horizontal and, in some cases, also the vertical, reading direction of the book are equated with spaces in which the entries are curated and exhibited. While the connection between graffiti or inscriptions and album inscriptions has been discussed, above all, in *Stammbuch* scholarship, the projection of album inscriptions onto walls can also be observed in the opposite direction. And albums as objects were also displayed in the room. Here, too, a great openness of the medium of the album can be seen. Just as it is open to print and the world of objects, it is also open to space and the medium of the inscription. The implications that come with this openness make the album an extremely challenging object of study for manuscript studies. These implications include, among others, the debatable categorisation as a manuscript, the multilayered nature resulting from its collection character, the inclusion of collected objects of different provenance, the lack of a completed production process encompassing all parts of the book and the suspension of a defined reading direction, as will be discussed in more detail below.

4 Beyond the limits of codicology

Albums, as has been shown, are characterised by the fact that they transcend boundaries – boundaries that have determined the way in which we think about written artefacts. This makes them particularly suitable for putting the prerequisites and categorisations of codicology to the test, to serve as touchstones for its concepts and terms. The latter are best-established in Greek and Latin Studies, the two disciplines that were, for most of the time, pioneering in West European, codex-centred codicological studies. By now, many other disciplines have engaged with these concepts and terms, exploring their suitability for non-codex traditions. Indeed, certain phenomena are common among various cultures, and it is possible to describe a fairly large number of manuscripts by making use of structural codicology, introduced by J. Peter Gumbert[76] and further developed by Patrick Andrist, Paul Canart and Marilena Maniaci.[77]

In brief, structural codicology can be described as follows: the main focus is on the historical evolvement, or making, of manuscripts, which are described as

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76 Gumbert 2004.
77 Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, esp. Chap. 2.

consisting of one or more units. These units are the result of making a manuscript in a delimited time and space, and are called 'codicological units' by Gumbert, while Andrist, Canart and Maniaci distinguish between 'unités de production' (production units), comparable with codicological units, and 'unités de circulation' (circulation units[78]). These units can grow through 'enrichment' (additions that do not change the given quire structure)[79] or 'enlargement' (material is 'added by the addition of a limited number of leaves, which, however, do not fundamentally change the quire structure'),[80] they can become smaller when material is taken out, be united with other codicological units or be torn apart. Their foundation is that they are 'a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation, containing a complete text or set of texts'.[81] The boundaries of a codicological unit are thus usually marked by a quire boundary, which coincides with another boundary – usually a text boundary.[82]

This approach suits a multitude of books well, but comes to its limits where albums are concerned: as described elsewhere already for nineteenth-century music-related albums,[83] one of the main problems is that many albums are prebound items, which means that the writing process, and, thus, the codicological units, are independent of the quire structure. Furthermore, the fact that the entries in an album are usually very short – they often cover only one page, sometimes even less – means that text boundaries are very frequently found. The hands usually change in the same frequency, as does the writing material, i.e. the ink or colour used, or the writing instrument, and the writing is not done according to the plan of a single person or group of people but by a multitude of originators working relatively independently from one another and from the album keeper, and sometimes within a timespan which encompasses more than one generation. That many albums contain (to a varying degree) material that was not written directly on the pages of an album, but has been taken from another context – and, thus, has not always been created for the album, but is sometimes just repurposed or not even made for a written artefact but taken from nature, such as flowers or hair, makes the categorisation even more difficult. The same is true for the use of preprinted books for the collection of entries, as well as

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78 The circulation unit is identical with what Gumbert calls a 'file': 'a number of codicological units (or a single codicological unit), of which it can be seen that at some moment they constituted a combination available for use' (2004, 42).

79 Gumbert 2004, 30.

80 Gumbert 2004, 42.

81 Gumbert 2004, 25.

82 Gumbert 2004, 24.

83 See Droese forthcoming.

for the many albums or manuscripts with entries that share traits of other book forms (e.g. songbooks and lute books [see the contribution by Oliver Huck in this volume], scrapbooks and notebooks).[84]

Using the terms and concepts described – i.e. seeing albums as enriched and enlarged codicological units – seems, indeed, to be a way to grasp at least many of the cases. However, three problems arise: firstly, all kinds of albums that are collected initially as loose leaves and bound to make a codex at a later stage are to be treated as a phenomenon categorically different from albums that started as a blank book and have been enriched and enlarged with writing, added papers and the like. Starting from the albums that are handed down to us, this does not seem to be an approach that is truly appropriate to the phenomenon.[85] Secondly, the same holds true if this approach is used to describe albums that exist in forms other than the codex, for instance, scrolls and fans. Thirdly, enrichments and enlargements are seen in traditional codicology as additions that arise in specific contexts, but are always made to a primary text or set of texts. In the case of albums, it remains totally unclear what this first layer of text should be.[86]

In the following, two more manuscriptological concepts will be used as tests to describe manuscript albums: that of the composite manuscript and the multiple-text manuscript (MTM).

Composites are usually made by assembling codicological units or parts of them in a volume, thus, creating a circulation unit.[87] To Gumbert, some composites from the library of the Benedictines of Saint-Jacques of Liège, for instance, appear to have been made for 'cleaning-up' purposes. These volumes, he believes, offer an easy solution for keeping together 'separate booklets that had been cluttering the top shelves of the library'.[88] As Gumbert observes, other volumes, for example, combine codicological units that are similar in layout and contain related texts. He assumes that a workshop, perhaps, planned these composites from the beginning.[89] Regardless of these and other purposes for assembling,

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84 This blurring of the boundaries between manuscript types, resulting in a multitude of manuscripts that could be called hybrids, seems to be typical for the field of manuscript types used more for personal purposes, at least in Europe and the USA. See, e.g., Zboray and Zboray 2009.

85 This is why Droese (forthcoming) includes only music-related albums for which we can assume that they were already bound when the owner started to collect the entries.

86 See Droese forthcoming. It is suggested in the latter to see nineteenth-century music-related albums as textless codicological units, which are made for subsequent enrichment and enlargement by a group of people, with the album owner being just one agent among many.

87 Andrist, Canart and Maniaci 2013, 80; cf. also Gumbert 2004, 26–29.

88 Gumbert 2004, 26–27.

89 Gumbert 2004, 27.

Gumbert underlines the fact that the codicological units of many composite volumes maintain their independent character and can be taken apart and used differently at any time.[90]

The case of composites apparently corresponds to albums that assemble previously made codicological units, parts of these units or both. The Persian, Mughal and Ottoman albums come to mind here, since they combine independently and often earlier made pieces of calligraphy, painting and drawing, presented separately or arranged in an ensemble. The individual sheets were usually mounted onto the pages or, if already suitable in size, bound together with the other pages. The edges of these sheets, sometimes also the page margins, were marked with colourful lines or frames otherwise decorated. The layout of such pages resembles a patchwork, and indeed, the commonly used term for this kind of album is *muraqqaʿ*, Arabic for something that is patched together.[91] However, we also find albums in the European context that are later-bound collections of material that had been collected earlier,[92] and they could also be categorised as composite manuscripts, with single or double leaves being the standard codicological unit. They, thus, differ from the albums from the Islamicate world, which often combine more than one pre-existing codicological unit on one page, and artfully join them to create a new entity. When, as described above, scraps and other material, be they written or not, are mounted in albums that were prebound, they usually coexist with entries that are written directly onto the pages. Here, the concept of 'composite manuscripts' comes to its limits, because it cannot accommodate this mixture of inscriptions which is, on the other hand, typical of the albums discussed in the present book.

The concept of MTMs suits the description of manuscript albums that started as blank books better; This particular concept has been worked on intensively in recent years, especially in the context of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at Universität Hamburg.[93] In 2021, Antonella Brita and Janina Karolewski published an article in which they proposed a typology of MTMs[94] – which are described by Alessandro Bausi, Michael Friedrich and Marilena Maniaci as 'made up of more than one text and have been planned and realized for a single project with one consistent intention; as a result, they are usually made of a single pro-

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90 Gumbert 2004, 26–29.

91 For a general overview, see, e.g., Simpson 2015.

92 For examples, see the contributions in this volume by Droese and Rost.

93 See, e.g., Friedrich and Schwarke 2016; Bausi, Friedrich and Maniaci 2019a.

94 Brita and Karolewski 2021.

duction unit'.[95] Brita and Karolewski describe one of the types, which they call an 'open MTM', as follows:[96]

> Among the more complex cases are MTM projects that imply continuous work on the codicological units and that did not predetermine in detail which texts were to be included. Individual notebooks or commonplace books are such cases, since the makers of these MTMs planned to gradually add texts and, when needed, to enlarge the codicological units by inserting fresh leaves or fascicles, for example, or to continue in a new volume. Other examples are MTMs that were compiled by more than one person, such as *Hausbücher*, archival registers, and albums of friends (*alba amicorum*), whether such manuscripts belonged to a family or an institution, as in the first two cases, or were meant to remain with a single person, as in the case of an *album amicorum*. Some of these manuscripts consist of ready-made blank books, available at premodern stationeries and bookbinders; other such manuscripts were assembled and prepared by those who kept them. We call these manuscripts *Open MTMs* [...].

Brita and Karolewski, thus, see *alba amicorum* – and this could easily be transferred to other kinds of albums that start as a blank book – as consisting of one codicological unit, because these books are planned to be gradually enriched, be it by only one person or – as is the case in the albums discussed here – by a group of people. The continuously added contributions are, therefore, evidently, seen as individual texts that, in their entirety, form the text of the production unit, which, thus, evolves over a long period of time.

While this view works well as long as these books stay homogeneous, the concept cannot include the 'composite' types of albums. And, in addition, the mixed forms – which are, as we have shown, not an exception, but rather the rule – cannot be convincingly explained. Images mounted on the page of a *Stammbuch* would be, for example, seen as an enlargement of the codicological unit, as would be decorative papers added later. And how could entries written on these papers, which have, inside the album, exactly the same status as those written on the pages that were originally contained in the book, be categorised?

It is, therefore, not possible to adequately include albums (and probably other forms of portfolio-like written artefacts) with the concepts and terms that have been developed so far. Especially if we focus on the openness of these projects – to print, to material taken from the surroundings and to other types of written artefacts – and the multitude of forms in which albums occur besides the codex, it seems necessary to find a new structural model that is suitable to grasp this type of written artefact in a way that can adequately take into account its

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95 Bausi, Friedrich and Maniaci 2019b, VII.
96 Brita and Karolewski 2021, 464.

openness as a central feature. With this openness, albums challenge manuscript studies in a way that, as far as we can see, no other type of manuscript does. Against this background, albums could be seen as touchstones for manuscript studies. Taking up this challenge is likely to give decisive impetus to manuscript studies accordingly.

5 On this book

This collective volume emerged from the project 'Creating Music Albums as Originals Made of Originals' of the Research Field C 'Creating Originals' and from the Working Group 'Theory and Terminology' of the Cluster of Excellence 'Understanding Written Artefacts' at Universität Hamburg. In October 2021, we conducted the workshop 'Manuscript Albums: Collecting & Compiling Handwritten Items', in order to get a first systematic understanding of these written artefacts that had not yet fallen under scrutiny in manuscript studies. It already became apparent during this workshop that albums as frequently individual, innovative and dynamic objects undermine the usual stringent categorisations and explanatory patterns in science in several respects. This makes manuscript albums rather hard-to-grasp objects, and we are very grateful to all the contributors for embarking on the experiment of putting their research on the subject up for discussion in a very broadly based interdisciplinary forum, and for including questions about the materiality and making of albums in their reflections.

Oliver Huck deals in his contribution with the relationship of the lute book, the commonplace book and the *Stammbuch* in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He shows how music and *Stammbuch* entries were combined in the so-called *Lautenstammbücher*, and that this practice of combining musical notation with *Stammbuch*-like entries is also present in lute books of Swiss and German students, which, at the same time, exhibit characteristics of commonplace books. Thus, Huck's research contributes to a better understanding of the relation of early *Stammbücher* to similar kinds of manuscripts and of the role music played in these practices and developments. Robyn Dora Radway discusses, how Caspar von Abschatz, a Silesian nobleman, used his *album amicorum* as a space for processing and documenting an alien world with which he was confronted during his journey and stay in Constantinople in the second half of the sixteenth century. With her contribution, she exemplifies the process, use and transformation of this album, in which Abschatz collected the Ottoman world, but, to a greater extent, also collected his encounters and networks and kept on doing so after his return to Europe. Friederike Weis devotes her contribution to

the Mughal albums, or *muraqqaʿ*s, commissioned by Europeans in eighteenth-century India. Based on three frequently chosen portraits in the paintings of these albums, she illustrates how the owners influenced the composition of the motifs with their own ideas, but simultaneously presented themselves as connoisseurs of Indian art. Furthermore, her contribution sheds light on the European and Indian ideas and practices of collecting pieces of art in albums, which merge in the manuscripts discussed here. Deidre Lynch's contribution deals with insects that are frequently found in poetry and paintings in English and North-American albums of the nineteenth century. She shows how, reflecting on these insects, people thought about time and preservation in relation to the album – a subject that was of importance for people in a time in which the division between manuscripts, seen as more ephemeral, and print, thought to be more durable, was consolidating. The relation of manuscript and print is also relevant in the contribution of Janine Droese, who traces the creation and use of public commemorative albums in nineteenth-century Germany, which were frequently distributed in printed form. Her main focus is on the Weimar Schiller Album. Taking this album, in which the cultural elite of the time documented itself, as an example, she shows how and to which aim these commemorative, public albums were created and used. Henrike Rost, on the contrary, discusses examples of music-related albums that musicians, composers and other music-loving people kept privately in nineteenth-century Europe. Her contribution gives an insight into five of these albums, which allows us to compare how the album-keepers collected entries, how these entries relate to the album-keepers and the inscribers, and how the biographies of these albums differ.

Thus, each author gives insights into a different type of manuscript album, and nearly all albums discussed here come from different cultural contexts, shedding light on who compiled and kept these albums, who took part in their making, and which practices were involved in their production and use. The contributions are presented in chronological order: the first two contributions discuss very different types of *Stammbücher* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the third contribution presents Mughal albums of the eighteenth century; and the last three contributions discuss nineteenth-century albums compiled in different social contexts of North-America, England and Germany. However, the chronological order is only one of many ways of sorting the contributions thematically and according to focus. Lines of connection can also be drawn between the contributions regarding several other aspects. We have discussed some of these in the introduction, and others are likely to come to mind in a comparative reading of the contributions. It will be up to further comparative studies, which consider other album cultures that are missing here, to confirm, expand or reject the lines of connection we have pointed out.

6 Acknowledgements

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Oliver Huck

Album Amicorum, Commonplace Book, and Lute Book

Abstract: When the lute became a popular instrument in the sixteenth century, amateur lute players had to make a choice where to collect the music for their instrument. Beyond the development of lute books as a new manuscript type defined by ruled pages for tablature, lute-music notation also found its way into English commonplace books and German and Dutch *Stammbücher*. The latter continue a practice already established in songbooks, namely the addition of dedications and devices to the musical pieces. This practice was adopted in German students' lute books, many of which organize their music into separate 'books' by genre in a way that resembles methods of knowledge organization that were taught for commonplace books.

It was perhaps in 1603 that the famous composer and lute player John Dowland made an entry in the *album amicorum* of Johannes Cellarius in Nuremberg with music from his famous *Lachrimae*, signed 'Jo: dolandi de Lachrimae his own hande'.[1] Although autographs of musical works were still rare at the turn of the seventeenth century,[2] this is not Dowland's only music autograph. He also contributed entries with his own music to two lute books as well: the so-called Board lute book and the so-called Folger-Dowland lute book.[3] Beyond further lute books, his lute music can also be found in commonplace books, e.g. the commonplace book of Robert Edwards.[4] Comparing the entries in the three different types of manuscripts, it is obvious that Dowland always wrote in his own hand for *alba amicorum*, as he sometimes did for lute books as well, but never for commonplace

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1 GB-Lbl. Add. 27579, fol. 88ʳ; facsimile in Poulton 1972, before 217. All manuscripts are cited with their RISM sigla and listed in the appendix.

2 Cf. Owens 1997, 126–134.

3 GB-Lam 603 (cf. Spencer 1976) and US-Ws V.b.280 (cf. Goodwin and Harwood 2003). On the autograph entries of Dowland, cf. Gale 2013, 208.

4 GB-En 9450, fol. 7ʳ: 'Duland his pavan called gaudean' and 'galeard'; cf. Poulton 1972, 480, 482. On this manuscript, cf. Cooper 2015; Elliott 1961.

books. Unlike in Cellarius' *album amicorum*, where Dowland merely quotes his music, entire compositions made their way into all three types of manuscript.[5]

In the case of Dowland, a categorization of the manuscripts into such types is somewhat possible; however, other lute-music manuscripts share characteristics of more than one manuscript type. Thus, before discussing their interrelations, the definitions of *album amicorum* (or German *Stammbuch*), commonplace book, and lute book as manuscript types in the Early Modern Period must be ascertained. The first, the *Stammbuch*, is a book for collecting memories of friends, artists, and scholars through entries written in their own hands; the second, the commonplace book, is a book for collecting various items for the use and entertainment of its owner, often in his own hand. As Ann Moss states, 'The commonplace book very often enshrined and imposed culturally sanctioned modes of thought and the authoritative pronouncements of the dominant belief system'.[6] With regard to literature, Peter Beal distinguishes commonplace books, meant to be useful, from miscellanies, meant for pleasure.[7] Neither view is applicable in the context of instrumental music, which is both useful as well as pleasurable. Thus, I will follow the definition of David R. Parker, who emphasizes, 'What separates a commonplace book from anthologies or miscellanies produced for a larger audience is the discernibly personal selection and combination of texts for the book'.[8] Finally, 'lute book' is a label derived from early prints[9] as well as titles[10] of multiple-text manuscripts with a collection of pieces for the lute written in tablature, which could be German, Italian, or French lute tablature. Such books, used to collect music for one of the most popular instruments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, could be written either by the collector or by others. A constitutive part of their formatting is the ruling for the tablature, with lines representing the strings of the lute or, in the case of German tablature, in which each letter and number represents a distinct fret on a distinct string on the fingerboard, written between lines dividing the page into rows. The composition and purpose of such a book vary. Examining the sixteenth- and early seven-

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5 There is one more entry by Dowland in the now lost *Stammbuch* of Hans von Bodeck (*olim* PL-E O 9) from Elblag, dated 9 May 1604, which Bauer (1929, 193) describes as 'einen kleinen Notensatz zur Laute'.

6 Moss 2011, 18.

7 Cf. Beal 1993; Burke 1996, 1–7.

8 Parker 1998, 2.

9 Cf. sixteenth-century German prints like Neusiedler 1536.

10 Cf. D-Mbs 1512 'Lauttenpuechl' (1533).

teenth-century English manuscripts in detail, Julia Craig-McFeely has pointed out three main categories:[11]

– pedagogical books: for personal use while learning, obvious from the inclusion of instructions for playing the lute
– household or personal anthologies: personal or shared collections for playing, sometimes only comprising some folios added to a printed lute book
– professional books: professional lutenist and/or composer collections

In many cases, the personalization of such manuscripts is apparent from the very first pages, which include paratexts like titles including the name of the owner and sometimes additional attributes like coats of arms and devices. Thus, lute books compiled for personal use sometimes share characteristics with one or both of the other two manuscript types – the *album amicorum* (or *Stammbuch*) and the commonplace book.

1 Commonplace books including music for the lute

When the lute became a popular instrument in the sixteenth century, amateur musicians had to to make a choice where to collect the music for their instrument. Commonplace books have not only served to collect various texts, but also to collect different kinds of music. Matthew Spring has called the two earliest British manuscripts with music for the lute 'commonplace books',[12] while John Ward designates them more accurately as 'miscellanies'.[13] One of them, GB-Lbl Royal Appendix 58, contains only music and may have belonged to a professional musician.[14] It originated as a tenor partbook with vocal compositions; keyboard pieces, lute pieces, and other instrumental music were added later. It is a highly personalized collection, but because music is its only content, I would call this a 'music book'. The other manuscript, GB-Lbl Stowe 389, originated in the fifteenth century as a collection of legal statutes from the time of Henry IV to Henry VI. In 1558, a Ralphe Bowle reused the manuscript, adding eleven pieces for the lute

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11 Cf. Craig-McFeely 2000.
12 Cf. Spring 2001, 47.
13 Cf. Ward 1992, 7.
14 Cf. Ward 1992, 13–16.

and one for the guitar with the declared purpose 'to Learne to play on his Lutte'.[15] It is a miscellany that has had two different phases of production and use, the latter devoted solely to music.

There are only two manuscripts with lute music in which mixed musical and non-musical content is written in the same hand, distinguishing them as the personalized collections of a first owner and matching Parker's definition of a commonplace book (see Table 1).[16]

Table 1: Commonplace books with music for the lute.

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm)	Fols
US-Ws V.a.159[17] 'Lodge manuscript'	Giles Lodge?	1559–*c.* 1575	11 × 17	136
US-NHub Osborne 13[18] 'Osborne commonplace book'	?	*c.* 1560	16 × 23	57

There are three hands in the so-called Lodge manuscript.[19] Hand A wrote pieces for the lute (fols 3ʳ and 4ʳ–12ᵛ) and compiled an index of them (fol. 1ʳ).[20] Six out of these pieces are further mentioned in a list compiled at a Welsh manor house in 1595,[21] but none of them occurs in a similar setting in another manuscript. Ward has pointed out that there are many errors in the tablature and proposed that hand A was an amateur composer writing down his own music,[22] settings of popular melodies of which many are to be found elsewhere with other settings,[23]

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15 Quoted from Ward 1992, 8.

16 There are similar commonplace books including music for the cittern; cf. the commonplace books of Robert Edwards (GB-En 9450) and that of John Ridout (US-CA Mus 182), which, beyond music and recipes, also include spiritual and moral propositions as well as lists of printed books (cf. Ward 1979–1981). Another miscellany in which music for the cittern appears in a chronicle is the Berther-Chronik (*c.* 1623) CH-D; cf. Brunold and Collenberg 2010, 254–273.

17 Cf. Dawson 1955, V–XVI; Ward 1992, 16–21.

18 Cf. Ward 1992, 22–42.

19 Cf. Dawson 1955, V–VIII, and Ward 1992, 16, who calls the hand on fol. 13ʳ 'hand B', thereby renaming Dawson's 'hand B' as 'hand C'.

20 The order of the pieces in the index differs from that of the manuscript; cf. Ward 1992, 20.

21 Nos 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 25. Cf. Williams 1935, 9; Ward 1992, 20–21.

22 Cf. Ward 1992, 17–19.

23 E.g. the pieces attributed to the Queen's luter John Johnson, *A flat Pavane* and *Trenchmore* (nos 10, 18, and 22).

but almost exclusively in English manuscripts. Thus, Ward has labelled this repertory as 'provincial'.[24] He assumes that 'the compiler could play better than he could notate' and that 'the tablatures may have served more as aides-mémoires than a full account of music the intabulator was able to perform'.[25] The pages after the index and the lute pieces were left blank, the latter in order to collect more music (ruled until fol. 18ʳ).

Then follows a section (ruled until fol. 76ʳ) with recipes (fols 60ʳ–62ʳ and 64ʳ–66ʳ), notes on a William Lyndewode (fols 62ʳ–62ᵛ), and a legal form bearing the date 22 September 1559 (fols 63ʳ–63ᵛ). On fols 94ᵛ–135ʳ is the play *July and Julian*, and on fol. 135ᵛ, there are some jingles. Hand B added only one lute piece, on fol. 13ʳ. Hand C added recipes and remedies (fols 66ᵛ–78ᵛ), one of them dated 1571, and lute pieces (fols 13ᵛ–21ʳ) without entering them in the index. The first of these lute pieces cannot have been written before 1572, when Walter Devereux, mentioned in its title, became Lord of Essex. Furthermore, on fols 1ᵛ to 2ʳ, accounts of the estates of Giles Lodges (dated 1591) were added. Fols 79ʳ to 93ʳ were left blank; on fol. 136ᵛ are the signatures of later owners of the book (Francis Morton, dated 1600, and Richard Morton).

In the Osborne commonplace book (formerly called the 'Braye lute book'), sections with tablature for lute, guitar, and gittern interchange with poetry as well as recipes and remedies. Of the three hands that contributed, only one is responsible for the music.[26] This first hand (A) planned the book as a sequence of lute pieces (fols 1ʳ–19ᵛ), poetry (fols 20ʳ–27ᵛ, of which only fols 20ʳ–23ᵛ are filled), and recipes and remedies (fols 28ʳ–31ʳ; only fols 28ʳ–30ᵛ filled). After these three sections, the scribe continued with a new section of lute pieces (fols 31ᵛ–35ᵛ; all pages are ruled for tablature, but only fols 31ᵛ–32ᵛ are filled). He entered poetry on some of the following pages (fols 36ʳ–37ʳ and 38ʳ), which could also have found its place on fols 24ʳ to 27ᵛ. The last contribution of hand A is a series of pieces for guitar and gittern on fols 40ʳ to 44ʳ. The second hand (B) added recipes and remedies (fols 24ʳ–25ᵛ, 30ᵛ *bas-de-page*, and 31ʳ) as well as poetry (fols 38ᵛ–39ʳ and 44ᵛ–56ʳ), rotating the book and using the pages predominantly in portrait format. Finally, hand C added a remedy (fol. 28ᵛ *bas-de-page*) and poetry (fols 26ʳ–27ᵛ, 37ᵛ, 39ᵛ, and 56ᵛ–57ᵛ), applying the same layout as hand B.

Unlike the so-called Lodge manuscript, the musical repertory of the Osborne commonplace book qualifies the compiler as a 'cosmopolite with access to a

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24 Ward 1992, 29.
25 Ward 1992, 17.
26 Cf. Ward 1992, 23.

variety of sources, printed and manuscript, foreign and domestic'.[27] Examples of this international repertory are the two fantasies by Francesco da Milano (nos 12 and 21), printed for the first time in 1536, and an intabulation of the French chanson *C'est a gran tort* by Claudin de Sermissy (no. 23). The same holds true of the poetry, which is court as well as broadside poetry.

Both commonplace books comprise the same content – lute music, poetry, and recipes and remedies. This content could have been divided into three different manuscripts, each of them devoted to a single genre, but here one manuscript is divided into sections, uniting the different content.

Spring calls some of the later English manuscripts with lute music 'commonplace books' as well.[28] However, unlike the two manuscripts discussed as such, they are not. The Brogyntyn manuscript (GB-AB 27) from Shropshire (*c.* 1595), for example, was turned from a lute book into the commonplace book of Thomas Tanat (Thanet) only in the 1620s.[29] Craig-McFeely labelled a manuscript with lute music by the Scottish poet Sir William Mure of Rowallan (1594–1657) (GB-Eu Ms.La.III.487) as his 'commonplace book'.[30] I would call this a 'lute book' as it contains nothing but lute music.

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27 Cf. Ward 1992, 29.

28 Cf. Spring 2001, 112. Beyond the Brogyntyn lute book, Spring also mentions the Mynshall (GB-Lam 601), Trumbull (GB-Cu Add. 8844), and Dallis (IRL-Dtc 410/1) manuscripts. Mynshall was the lute book of Richard Mynshall and originated in Nantwich. Apart from the music (ruled until fol. 97, but with entries only on fols 1ʳ–12ᵛ) and possession marks and poems, the only item connected with Mynshall (fols Iʳ–IIᵛ and 98ʳ) is a copy of a letter, dated 15 August 1598, from the Earl of Essex to Queen Elisabeth (fol. 98ᵛ); cf. Spencer 1975. Trumbull was the lute book of William Trumbull (cf. Spencer 1980) and has no non-musical content. Dallis is the music book of a student of Thomas Dallis, a musician and teacher at Trinity College, Dublin in the 1580s and 1590s; cf. Spring 2001, 124–125.

29 Cf. Spring 2001, 127; Spencer and Alexander 1978.

30 Cf. Craig-McFeely 2000, 96: 'this was a pedagogical book, though its original purpose has been obscured by the activity of a subsequent owner, Sir William Mure of Rowallan, who used it as a commonplace book, entering poetry and music'. The manuscript originated as a collection of lute music for the personal use of Anna Hay, daughter of the eighth Earl of Errol, and her sister Mary, both active as scribes of this manuscript *c.* 1605–1608. It was compiled before the former's marriage to the Earl of Wintoun in 1609; cf. Spring 1987, vol. 2.1. On fol. Vʳ, there is the inscription 'godes grant, gode grant Anna Hay'. Fol. VIʳ bears the title 'My Lade Bekluch her book'; thus it passed to Mary, who married the Earl of Buccleugh in 1616. The music collected by Anna and Mary Hay includes some pieces from a widespread repertory, but the readings of the concordances are closer to continental than to English manuscripts (e.g. nos 1 und 7, two versions of a similar tune, which both occur in NL-Lt 1666, fols 372ʳ–372ᵛ as well). Only later, perhaps after Mary's death in 1631, did it become the book of William Mure, who added extra music, for which

2 *Lautenstammbücher*

It has been claimed that German *Stammbücher* have contained music since the last quarter of the sixteenth century.[31] This was predominantly vocal music, featuring the (riddle) canon as the preferred genre for musicians' entries. According to Tatsuhiko Itoh, instrumental music, on the other hand, is rarely to be found in *Stammbücher* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[32] One reason for this opinion may be that manuscripts that consist predominantly of instrumental music, even if they show the characteristics of a *Stammbuch*, have not been regarded as such, but as lute books, for example.[33]

It has been argued that songbooks, i.e. music manuscripts, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be regarded as the prehistory of the *Stammbuch*[34] due to the addition of proverbs and dicta to the individual pieces. Early examples are the *Liederbuch des Dr. Hartmann Schedel*,[35] the *Liederbuch der Klara Hätzler und des Jörg Roggenburg*,[36] the *Königsteiner Liederbuch*,[37] and the *Liederbuch des Johannes Heer von Glarus*.[38] The practice of adding *Stammbuch*-like elements to

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no concordances have been found so far; cf. Craig-McFeely 2000, 95. Two of the pieces (nos 20 and 21, pp. 24–25) are signed in his name; cf. Spring 1987, vol. 2, 3–5.

31 Schnabel 2003 indicates *Stammbücher* from 1575, 1576, and 1577 as the earliest, but see the *Stammbuch* of Achatius von Dohna (1550–1552) below.

32 Cf. Itoh 1992; Gottwald 1969; and Schieckel 1983–1986. Entries with lute tablature are to be found in the *Stammbuch* of Gerhard Pilgrum (D-KNs without shelfmark, fols 160r–160v) by Johannes Schendel (*Phantasia*), dated 1578, cf. Drux and Niemöller 1958, with facsimile; in the *Stammbuch* of Burchard Großmann (NL-DHk 133 C 14 – B, fol. 177.2v) by Paulus Röder aus Kochberg, dated 16 January 1634, cf. Rifkin 2011, 165, and in the *Stammbuch* of Conrad Arnold Schmid (1716–1789) (D-Wa VI Hs 13 Nr. 35, pp. 159–60) by Silvius Leopold Weiss, dated 15 August 1742, cf. Wolff 1973.

33 The same holds true for the combination of a *Stammbuch* and collections of music for other instruments. One example is the Wittenberger Claviertabulatur (S-Uu Vok. Mus. Hs 132), *c.* 1593–1602, 19.8 × 15.5 cm; cf. Schwindt 2002. Unlike many student lute books (see below), this manuscript, belonging to a student in Wittenberg and finally given to a Swedish student as a gift, is not arranged by genre. It was begun as a keyboard book and turns into a *Stammbuch* from fol. 97v onwards.

34 Cf. Petzsch 1985; Lüdtke 1999, 107–108. Regarding the difference from postscripts (*Beischriften*) in earlier *Liederbücher*, cf. Petzsch 1967, 68–111.

35 D-Mbs Cgm 810 (*c.* 1460); cf. *Das Liederbuch* 1978, but proverbs and dicta occur only at the beginning and end of the manuscript.

36 CZ-Pnm X A 12 (1470/71); cf. Haltaus 1840, x.

37 D-B germ. qu. 719 (1473); cf. Sappler 1970, including the postscripts. Petzsch 1985 assumes that this manuscript was copied from single-song folios or scrolls.

38 CH-SGs 462 (early sixteenth century); cf. Geering and Trümpy, 178–184.

the musical pieces in songbooks continues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[39] Therefore, these manuscripts have been called *Liederstammbuch*,[40] and Joachim Lüdtke uses the analogous term *Lautenstammbuch*[41] for manuscripts with the characteristics of both a *Stammbuch* and a lute book.

Before discussing some examples of the *Lautenstammbuch* as a combination of the lute book and the *album amicorum*, it must be stated that by no means did every lute player include music in his *Stammbuch*, especially not professional musicians. An example of one lute player's *album amicorum* without music is the *Stammbuch* of musician Paul Jenisch,[42] though it must be taken into account that, in its present state, this manuscript is a retrospective best-of collection extracted from the musician's former *Stammbücher*. The same holds true for the *Stammbuch* of Guillaume Morel, a lute teacher in Orléans, which includes entries by each of his pupils with their coats of arms, their device, and a dedication.[43] The merchant Philipp Hainhofer held several *Stammbücher*[44] as well as a lute book. Lüdtke pointed out that the making of the latter shows that it had the same purpose as the *Stammbücher*: *memoria*.[45] In Hainhofers own words: 'dadurch Ich, meine Kinder und dero Erben, eine stette Erinnerung und Fürbilt haben'[46] ('through this me, my children and their heirs have a continuous memory and example').

Five manuscripts combining a lute book and an *album amicorum* have been identified (see Table 2).

Achatius zu Dohna-Schlobitten (1533–1601) compiled his *Stammbuch*, one of the earliest extant examples,[47] as a student during his time in Kaliningrad, Wittenberg, and Frankfurt/Oder from 1550 to 1552. Playing the lute was a common activity for German students.[48] The manuscript has two parts. In the first part (pp. 1–14), there are *Stammbuch* entries spanning entire pages, with coats of

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39 Cf. Brednich 1976, 45–48, who, apart from the Darfelder Liederhandschrift (D-ROS 1), mentions other such books, all without music.

40 Cf. Ameln 1925, 14.

41 Lüdtke 1999, 134.

42 D-Sl Cod. hist. qt 298 and 299; cf. Owens 2019.

43 F-Pn fr. 25185; cf. Lesure 1958, 215.

44 The most prominent is D-W Cod. Guelf. 210 Extrav.; on this and further *Stammbücher*, cf. Seibold 2014, 89–132.

45 D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.7. Aug. 2° and 18.8. Aug. 2°; cf. Lüdtke 1999, 136–140.

46 Copy of a letter, dated 9 June 1610, to the Pomeranian duke Philipp II in D-W Cod. Guelf. 17.23. Aug. 4°, fols 135ʳ–135ᵛ.

47 Cf. Klose 1988, 4.

48 On the musical activities of German students, cf. Koch 2009.

arms,[49] two paintings,[50] and Martin Luther's poem 'Fraw Musica spricht',[51] written by Achatius himself.[52] In the second part (pp. 15–57), all the pages except the last are filled with pieces for the lute, fifty-one in total;[53] *bas-de-page*, there are

Table 2: Manuscripts combining a lute book and an *album amicorum*.

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Tablature type
olim RUS-KA Gen. 2 150[54]	Achatius zu Dohna-Schlobitten	1550–1552	13 × 11.1 / 58 pp.	German
D-MÜwl 463[55]	Bernhard Schenckinck	1561–1582	14.8 × 20 / 135 fols	French
GB-Lbl Add. 16889[56]	Frederik van Botnia	1615–1618	9.5 × 15.5 / 106 fols	French
GB-Lbl Sloane 1021[57]	Anon. student from Kaliningrad ('Stobaeus Stammuch')	*c.* 1636–1640	19.5 × 15.5 / 105 fols	French
F-Pn Rés. Vmf. ms. 48[58]	Johann David Keller von Schleitheim	1663–1682	9.5 × 14 / 275 fols	French

49 Cf. pp. 1, 4–11, and 13; a later entry, by Abraham Burggraf von Dohna, is to be found on p. 12.

50 Cf. pp. 2–3; facsimiles in Krollmann 1933, between 40 and 41.

51 Cf. p. 14, edited in Krollmann 1933, 40.

52 Cf. the inventory in Krollmann 1933, 39–41.

53 Cf. the inventory in Kossack 1933, 50–52 (for no. 52 there is only a heading, no music) and the incipits in Kossack 1935, 97–99.

54 Cf. Krollmann 1933; Kossack 1933; and Meyer 1999, 241–243; for the incipits, Kossack 1935, 97–99. There are more concordances than those singled out by Kossack, Meyer, and Koch 2009, 19–20. Some of the pieces have been copied directly or indirectly from Neusiedler 1544a: cf. nos 4, 9, and 10 with nos 24, 33, and 11 in Neusiedler 1544a; from the second part, Neusiedler 1544b, cf. no. 40 with Neusiedler 1544b no. 38. Others have definitely not been copied from this source; cf. nos 2, 8, and 11 with Neusiedler 1544a nos 24, 21, and 22. None of the settings of tune nos 1, 3, 13, 14, 20, 25, 36/37, 38, 39, and 42 have exact concordances. There are also concordances to Eastern European lute books: cf. e.g. no. 46 with no. 28 in UA-LVu 1400/I; cf. Meyer 1999, 264.

55 Cf. Dethlefs 2007; Junge, Wefers, and Dethlefs 2007.

56 Cf. Goy 2008, I.154–156; Meyer et al. 2006; and Schlueter 2011, 19, 58, and 65, with reproductions of some paintings from the *Stammbuch*.

57 Cf. Meyer et al. 2006; Arnold 1981.

58 Cf. Klima 1976; Meyer 1991, 124–129; and Goy 2008, I.200–205.

dicta and *Stammbuch* entries up to page 52.[59] Beyond each taking lessons from a private teacher and serenading their professors as well as girls and women, students also liked to enjoy themselves with their schoolmates, a goal promoted by pieces for more than one lute in manuscripts like the one in question. Some of the contributors to the first part have an entry in the second part, too; thus, even in the case that the two parts were kept separately before binding, they can be associated with each other. The contributions in the first part date to 1550 and 1551, and all of them were made in Kaliningrad. Three contributors from the first part also added entries to the second part:[60] one contributor in 1550, and two in 1551. All other entries in the second part were written in Frankfurt (Oder) in 1552.[61]

Achatius himself signed four pieces (on pages 32 and 33), which may indicate that he is not the main scribe. The *Stammbuch* entries *bas-de-page* were all added after the music was written. At the end of the manuscript, there is an index in which all the pieces have been entered, each by the hand that wrote the respective tablature. Hans-Peter Kossack has singled out at least four contributors, each of whom wrote a tablature as well as a *Stammbuch* entry dedicating a certain piece of music to Achatius as a token of the contributor:[62]

– Hans von Mühlheim (Müllenheim):[63] pp. 18–19
– Abraham (von) Bock: pp. 19–20
– Georg Fröhlich?: p. 27 (no *Stammbuch* entry signed)
– Paul Kugelmann: pp. 27–28
– Fr. von Aulagk (Aulock): six pieces on pp. 50–51 and 52–54 (except *Recercaro*)

The only extant facsimile of music from this manuscript, lost since World War II, is that of pages 48 to 49. This gives an idea of the manuscript's layout. There are three *Stammbuch* entries on each page, placed below the tablature.[64] More interesting than these entries, however, are two other entries written in an empty space between lines of tablature on page 49. The second, 'Franciscus scottus der sauona', is by no means by lute player and composer Francesco da Milano, as

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59 Cf. the inventory in Krollmann 1933, 41–46.
60 Cf. Hans von Mühlheim on pp. 1 and 18, Abraham Bock on pp. 9 and 19, and Paulus Hörnigk on pp. 10 and 19.
61 Krollmann 1933, shows that the date '1548' on p. 26 must be an error.
62 Cf. Kossack 1935, 64. Krollmann 1933, 46, reads 'Aulogk' and assigns only the tablature on pp. 52–53 to him.
63 Von Mühlheim also signed an album from Ingolstadt (GB-Lbl Egerton 1179), but without a coat of arms; cf. Klose 1988, 8, 539; Nickson 1981, 28.
64 Krollmann 1933, 45–46.

Kossack assumes,[65] as he died in 1547. The first is an autograph signature of lute player and composer Valentin Bakfark ('Valen[in]us Bakfarkh sibenburg[ensis] auß der statt Kron[stadt] po[linischer] ko[ninglicher] M[aies]te[ts] Musicus'), to whom Kossack ascribes the intabulation of the chanson *Je ne prends en gré* by Jacobus Clemens non Papa (pp. 48–49) as well as the 'Passamezo vom Vngern' (pp. 50–51).[66] In the latter, 'Vngern' ('Hungary') does not refer to the provenance of the composer,[67] but to a harmonic model that is also found in manuscripts with no relation to Bakfark.[68] It is neither clear when or where Bakfark signed the album, nor if he really arranged the intabulation of the chanson. Peter Király has suggested that Bakfark signed it in Kraków in April 1551,[69] but it is unlikely that Achatius, who obtained his certificate from the University of Kaliningrad on 15 July 1551,[70] was in Kraków at that time. The chanson must have been written between 3 April 1551 and 8 October 1552 (the dates of the tablature entries on pp. 32 and 53). Bakfark travelled to Kaliningrad at the end of 1551 or the beginning of 1552, and again in September 1552, but Achatius was studying in Wittenberg and Frankfurt (Oder) at that time.[71] The two might have crossed paths in Frankfurt (Oder) if Bakfark, who left Kaliningrad in the direction of Lyon shortly after 15 September 1552,[72] travelled through this city. In any case, it is by no means clear that Bakfark wrote the tablature on pages 48 and 49 because the ink of his *Stammbuch* entry seems to be darker than that of the title of the piece. If he had contributed a piece of his own, why would he have chosen a chanson setting by another composer?

The *Stammbuch* of Bernhard Schenckinck (Schenking) (1537/38–1597) is comparable to that of Achatius zu Dohna in its general structure in two parts, with coats of arms in the first and tablature in the second. It is one of the first *Stammbücher* from Cologne[73] and shows that, by this time, the *Stammbuch* was by no means limited exclusively to Protestant areas. The binding is from the 1560/70s; thus, even if the two parts were begun separately, they were bound

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65 Kossack 1935, 54. But there is a *Recercare* (no. 11) by Francesco da Milano on p. 52.

66 Kossack 1935, 55. Cf. Bakfark 1981, xii and 32–35.

67 The piece is not included in Bakfark 1981.

68 Cf. D-Z 115.3, fol. 33^r; and CH-Bu Ms. F.IX.23, fol. 19^v.

69 Király (1999, 15) assumes that this signature was added on April 1551 in Kraków, where Bakfark took residence and served the Polish King Sigismund August, and where an ambassador from the Gonzaga court, who signed on the same page, had been at that time.

70 Cf. Krollmann 1933, 34.

71 Cf. Király 1999, 16–17; Krollmann 1933, 35.

72 Cf. Király 1999, 17; Homolya 1984, 27.

73 Cf. Klose 1988, 24.

together before the manuscript was finished. Schenckinck studied in Cologne from 1559 to 1563 and continued his career in Münster, where he obtained a benefice at the Stift St Mauritz in 1564 and became dean in 1566. The dated entries in his *Stammbuch* comprise the period from 1561 to 1582. The first part consists of thirty-nine folios. Fols 1ʳ to 19ʳ are devoted to his family, with the coats of arms of his parents (fols 2ᵛ–3ʳ), his family tree (fols 4ᵛ–5ʳ), and the coats of arms of his ancestors (fols 6ᵛ–7ʳ). All the other pages were left blank or filled with later additions (fol. 8ʳ).[74]

On fols 19ᵛ to 29ʳ, there are *Stammbuch* entries with the coats of arms of some of his fellow students. Due to the fact that some of these entries are not signed (fols 20ᵛ and 22ᵛ), and the signed ones are not in chronological order, it seems that all the coats of arms were drawn first and the signatures added only later. The dated entries span the period from 9 May 1562 (fol. 21ᵛ) to 17 March 1563 (fol. 25ʳ). There is one later entry, without a coat of arms, on fol. 29ᵛ, dated 5 April 1565 (Arnold Wachtendonck seems to have been a later friend and not a fellow student); fols 30ʳ to 39ᵛ are blank, suggesting that more entries of coats of arms were originally planned. This plan was given up by 1565 at the latest. The second part (fols 40–138) consists of paper with printed six-line staves for French lute tablature. For this part, Schenckinck had obviously planned a primarily geographical division into four categories: preludes, Italian dances, German dances, and French chansons. Only forty-two pages were filled:
- preludes: one piece, on fol. 41ʳ; fols 41ᵛ–51ᵛ blank
- Italian dances: 14 pieces (including a trio), on fols 52ʳ–62ᵛ; fols 63ʳ–82ʳ blank
- German dances: 21 pieces (including a trio and two duos), on fols 82ᵛ–88ᵛ; fols 89ʳ–105ʳ blank
- French chansons: 7 pieces (including a duo), on fols 105ᵛ–110ʳ; fols 110ᵛ–138ᵛ blank

In this second part, almost all the pages with musical entries also have devices in *bas-de-page* (except fols 56ᵛ–57ʳ, 58ᵛ, and 108ᵛ, containing parts of duos, and fols 60ʳ–62ʳ).[75] This shows that the devices were written only after the music was added. Many of the devices in the second part are quotes from Ovid and the *Epigrammata* (1562) of Johann Lauterbach (the latter only in the German section, and not from before 1573).

Some entries are dated, as are the four *Stammbuch* entries in this part. The entries in the French section were recorded first, with fols 105ʳ to 106ᵛ written

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74 Cf. Dethlefs 2007, 9.
75 Cf. Junge, Wefers, and Dethlefs 2007, v–ix.

before 28 November 1561 (fol. 106ᵛ) and fols 107ʳ to 108ʳ before 20 June 1562 (fol. 108ʳ). The single prelude (fol. 41ᵛ) was written on 13 August 1562; the remaining entries in the French section, before 17 October (fol. 109ᵛ) and 20 December 1562 (fol. 110ʳ). The Italian section was completed on 15 March 1563 (fol. 62ᵛ), fol. 58ʳ the day before; it is not clear whether the pieces on fols 52ʳ to 57ᵛ were written earlier or not. The German section was begun in 1563 (fol. 83ʳ), and almost completed by 19 December 1582 (fol. 88ʳ); fols 83ᵛ to 84ʳ were written no later than 16 November 1573. Fols 84ᵛ to 87ᵛ were written no later than 1582; fol. 88ᵛ, after 19 December 1582.

In Cologne, Schenckinck had access to an international repertory, and collected the prelude, all the Italian and French pieces, and some of the German ones.[76] He continued his collection of German dances in Münster. Schenckinck must have been a skilled musician, because he signed the piece titled *Ocronben*, an intabulation of Claudin de Sermissy's chanson *O combien est malheureux*, on fol. 107ᵛ in a way that suggests he was the arranger ('J Bernhardo Schenckinck conf[ecit] hanc cantionem').

The *Stammbücher* of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard Schenckinck show that the idea of a lute book combined with a *Stammbuch* featuring coats of arms[77] emerged independently at the very beginning of the history of German *Stammbücher*, in two regions that could not be more distant from each other and which were both far away from Wittenberg, the birthplace of the *Stammbuch*.[78] The differences between these two manuscripts are that, in the latter, all of the music was written by the owner, and there is an increase in the number of devices other than *Stammbuch* entries.

The seventeenth-century manuscripts regarded as combinations of a lute book and an *album amicorum* all show significant differences from those of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard Schenckinck. The *Stammbuch* of Johann David Keller von Schleitheim, the son of a noble family originally in the service of the abbey of Reichenau, is comparable to those of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard

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76 There are more concordances than pointed out in Junge, Wefers, and Dethlefs 2007, x–xi; e.g., the dances on fol. 84ʳ and the second on fol. 84ᵛ have concordances, the first (*Kalt gebratens zu Wittemberg*) in D-B 4022, fol. 48ᵛ, and the second (*Fuchs beyss mich nicht*) in D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.8. Aug. 2°, fol. 38ᵛ. It is likely that these pages had already been written in Cologne in 1563. The same holds true for fols 52ᵛ, 54ʳ–55ʳ, and 106ᵛ+108ᵛ, with concordances in Phalèse 1563, fols 66ᵛ, 61ᵛ–62ʳ, and 56ᵛ–57ʳ; for the *Battaglia* for two lutes, however, this could not be the source, because of the dates given on fols 106ᵛ and 108ʳ as well as fol. 52ʳ, with a concordance in CZ-Bsa G 10,1400, fol. 11ᵛ, and CH-Bu F.IX.23, fol. 23ᵛ.

77 Cf. Schnabel 2003, 333–335.

78 Cf. Schnabel 2003, 273–274.

Schenckinck due to its combination of a collection of coats of arms and lute tablature. It is different in that it has neither devices nor *Stammbuch* entries on the tablature pages, and includes additional music for keyboard and vocal music. The first part (fols 1ʳ–57ᵛ) contains six *Stammbuch* entries with coats of arms and devices (fols 6ʳ, 7ʳ, 29ʳ, 31ʳ, 32ʳ, and 57ʳ), which were collected in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1663; all the other pages are blank. The second part opens with a quote from Horace (fol. 58ʳ), a gravure of a lute (fol. 58ᵛ), and explanations for the tuning of the lute (fols 59ʳ–59ᵛ); then follow the lute pieces (fols 60ʳ–137ᵛ; pages ruled until fol. 144ʳ). The third part comprises an air with variations for keyboard by Wolfgang Ebner, printed in 1648 (fols 144ᵛ–181ʳ; ruled until fol. 182ʳ). The fourth part, compiled in the early 1680s,[79] consists of French airs without accompaniment (fols 182ᵛ–203ʳ), while the fifth part includes Italian airs and duos with basso continuo, mainly from Domenico Gabrielli's opera *Silvio, re degli Albani*, first staged in Turin in 1698[80] (fols 203ᵛ–222ᵛ; ruled until fol. 260ʳ). All the other pages have been left blank. The manuscript shows that the musical interests of Johann David Keller von Schleitheim changed during his lifetime. The *Stammbuch* section and the music section are independent, but the lute music was written in the same period as the *Stammbuch* entries.

The *album amicorum* of Frederik van Botnia (159?–1651), who hailed from a noble family in Friesland, was compiled in Saumure, Paris, and Brussels from 1615 to 1618. The *Stammbuch* comprises mainly fols 32ᵛ to 48ʳ, but there are a few entries afterwards (fols 66ᵛ, 68ʳ, 86ᵛ–87ʳ, and 111ʳ) that show that, by 1616, the manuscript already existed in its current dimensions. Fols 1ᵛ to 32ʳ each feature a chanson text on the verso and a miniature on the recto side, with the coats of arms of the owner on fol. 2ᵛ. Fols 32ᵛ to 48ʳ continue this layout, replacing the miniature with coats of arms and dedications as *Stammbuch* entries. The music was added only later, most likely after Botnia's death. The lute pieces are written for the new tunings that were in fashion in France in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century. The tablature (fols 72ᵛ–75ʳ and 88ᵛ–110ᵛ) is written by two different hands (the second produced fols 72ᵛ–73ʳ, 88ᵛ–91ʳ, 92ᵛ–94ʳ, and 107ᵛ–108ʳ[81]). There are some possible *termini post quem* for the airs and some of the chanson texts due to the prints in which they occur; the latest are 1671, 1675, and 1676.[82]

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79 Cf. Goy 2008, I:204.

80 Cf. *BnF Catalogue général*, 'Notice bibliographique. Album amicorum et livre de musique de Johann David Keller von Schleitheim'.

81 Cf. Goy 2008, I:154.

82 Cf. Meyer et al. 2006: fol. 68ᵛ in *XIV. Livre d'airs* 1671; air fols 56ᵛ–57ʳ and text fols 85ᵛ–86ʳ in *Recueil de chansonnettes* 1675; air fol. 2ʳ and text fol. 76ʳ in *XVIII. Livre d'airs* 1675; airs fols 53ᵛ–55ʳ and texts fols 55ᵛ–56ʳ, 69ʳ, and 71ᵛ in *XIX. Livre d'airs* 1676.

Unlike the *Stammbücher* of Achatius zu Dohna and Bernhard Schenckinck, in Botnia's manuscript, *Stammbuch* and tablature represent two different phases in the production and use of the manuscript; as in Kellner's *Stammbuch*, there are neither devices nor *Stammbuch* entries on the pages featuring tablature.

The so-called Stobaeus *Stammbuch* (GB-Lbl Sloane 1021) is by no means a *Stammbuch* of the composer Johann Stobaeus (1580–1646),[83] who became cantor at the Dome of Kaliningrad in 1602. As Arthur Ness and John Ward have shown,[84] the scribe of this manuscript is the same as hand D in the lute book LT-Va 285-MF-LXXIX.[85] As Lüdtke has stated,[86] Stobaeus made a *Stammbuch* entry only on fol. 88ʳ, as he did in other *Stammbücher* in Kaliningrad, too.[87] Because this is the only *Stammbuch* entry, I would not call this manuscript a *Stammbuch*. Another lute book, owned by Barthold Lüninghausen (D-KNh R.242), has two *Stammbuch* entries,[88] but has not been regarded as a *Stammbuch*. What resembles a *Stammbuch* in both are the devices *bas-de-page*, which were written before the tablature in GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, as some pages without music show.[89] In fact, GB-Lbl Sloane 1021 was conceived as a lute book divided by genre; some of these sections bear headings:

– [preludes, varia], fol. 4ʳ
– [dances], fol. 15ᵛ
– [pavans], fol. 21ᵛ
– [ballets], fol. 30ʳ
– [galliards], fol. 44ʳ
– 'Curanten', fol. 49ʳ
– [*mori palatine* and *bergamaschi*], fol. 65ʳ
– 'Choreae polonicae', fol. 72ʳ
– [intabulations], fol. 75ʳ
– 'Deütscher Lieder und psalmen', fol. 112ʳ

The pages at the end of the sections (fols 6ᵛ–9ʳ also within a section) were then used to enter poetry by authors of the so-called *Königsberger Dichterkreis*, such

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83 As Kossack (1935, 85) states.

84 Cf. Ness and Ward 1989, 14.

85 According to Ness and Ward (1989), only one piece in this hand, *Nun last uns Gott des Herrn* (fol. 73ʳ), occurs in an identical setting in GB-LBl Sloane 1021, fol. 112ᵛ.

86 Lüdtke 1999, 128.

87 Cf. Bogun 1901–1909, 32: 61 and 37: 24.

88 Cf. D-KNh R.242, fols 221ʳ and 262ʳ, where Simon Pflüger and Henrich Boener added their entries.

89 Cf. e.g. Arnold 1981, 85.

as Simon Dach; treatises concerning the lute and its tuning; and treatises with general musical advice. This manuscript is different from the other *Lauten-stammbücher* because of the portrait format and its organization. First, it contains no coats of arms, so one may speculate that its holder had no aristocratic background. Second, it contains much pedagogical material, such as treatises and fingerings for the lute.[90]

3 Student lute books resembling *Stammbücher* and commonplace books

There are more books with lute music compiled by German and Swiss students that not only include music, but show characteristics of *Stammbücher* as well. Most of them are small and in landscape format (see Table 3).[91]

Table 3: Manuscripts of students with lute music and *Stammbuch*-like entries.

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Content
CH-Bu F.IX.70[92]	Emanuel Wurstisen	1591–1594[93]	32.5 × 21 / III + 341 fols	German tablature 1 'Preambell' (fol. 8) 2 'Mutetenn' (fol. 20) 3 'Fantasienn' (fol. 40) 4 'Madrigalenn' (fol. 64) 5 'Passometzo' (fol. 114) 6 'Täntz' (fol. 236) 7 'Galliardenn' (fol. 296) 8 'Geistliche Lieder' (fol. 320) Index (fols 336–341)
D-Z 115.3[94]	Johannes Arpinus (after 1571–1606)	c. 1590–1600	15.8 × 18.3 / 158 fols	German tablature 1 'Choreas et Galliardas' (fol. 2)

90 Cf. Nachtsheim 1998, facsimiles of fols 1ʳ–2ᵛ, 3ʳ, 24ʳ–28ʳ, 36ʳ–39ᵛ, 41ʳ, and 42ʳ.
91 Cf. Lüdtke 1999, 129–130; Koch 2009, 118–119.
92 Cf. Meyer 1991, 11–27; Leszczyńska 2020; and Milek 2016.
93 Jarchow, in Fabricius 2013, 88, advocates for a later end date.
94 Cf. Koch 1983. There is one folio missing between fols 53 and 54, about 23 folios between fols 106 and 107, and one fol. after fol. 158; cf. Koch 1983, 2, and Meyer 1994, 318–322. Arpinus, from

Table 3: (continued)

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Content
D-KNh R. 242[95]	Barthold Lüninghau-sen	*c.* 1600	15 × 18.5 / 286 fols	French tablature 'Praeludia' (fol. 7) 'Fantasiae' (fol. 26) [*Vilanelle* (fol. 55)] 'Pauanae' (fol. 103) 'Galliardae' (fol. 129) [*Passamezzi* (fol. 158)] [*Courante*, *Volte*, *Branles* (fol. 186)] [*Allemande* (fol. 215)]
D-LEm II.6.23[96]	Johannes Fridericus	*c.* 1600–1625	15.2 × 19.1 / 63 fols	French tablature
DK-Kk Thott. 4° 841[97]	Peter Fabricius (1579–1650)	*c.* 1605–1615	16 × 19.9 / 153 fols	German tablature [Songs (fol. 8)] [Dances (fol. 76)] [Songs (fol. 85)] [*Allemanden*, *Praembuli*, *Battaglia*, *Fantasia*, *Intrada* (fol. 97)] [*Galliarden* and *Pavanen* (fol. 107)] [*Passamezzi* (fol. 119)] [Sacred songs (fol. 145)][98]

Dorndorf (near Žatec), was not matriculated at any university. This manuscript is related to CZ-Pu 59r.469 (1592–1617?), owned by the second husband of his mother (cf. Koch 1983, 2), as it shows almost the same order of the pieces at the beginning (cf. Meyer 1999, 74–80), including the poem 'Testudo curas' (fol. 12ᵛ) and the treatise 'Die Laute ins Instrument zu ziehen' (fol. 1ʳ).

95 Cf. Meyer 1994, 145–149.

96 Cf. Meyer 1994, 175–179.

97 Cf. Fabricius 2013; Wohlfarth 1989. Fabricius studied in Rostock from 1603 to 1608, became a priest in Bülderup in 1610 and in Warnitz in 1617. The manuscript, written in his own hand, contains 260 lute pieces and 169 songs with lute; there are some additions of tablature to songs and dedications by Petrus Lauremberg (fols 8ʳ, 10ʳ, 12ʳ, 17ʳ, and 19ᵛ).

98 Wohlfart 1989, 126–130, outlines four main parts (songs, dances, galliards, and *passamezzi*) due to the occurrence of marginal devices and the blank pages (later filled). He points out that the continuation of the songs from fol. 85ᵛ in the part previously reserved for instrumental music shows that Fabricius had many more songs than instrumental music at hand. Furthermore, he notes the rare occurrence of yellow ink for highlighting, which allows us to assume that these entries were made at the same time: fols 83ʳ–84ᵛ, 89ʳ–94ʳ, 109ᵛ–114ʳ, 135ᵛ–138ʳ, and the continuation on fols 117ᵛ–118ʳ, as well as additions to fols 50ʳ, 60ʳ, and 80ʳ.

Table 3: (continued)

Manuscript	Holder	Date	Format (cm) / Fols	Content
D-B 40141[99]	Johannes Nauclerus (Schiffer)	*c.* 1607–1620	16 × 18.5 / 255 fols	French and German (fols 204ᵛ–267ᵛ) tablature Index (fol. 268ʳ)
D-LEm II.6.15[100]	(anonymous student from Leipzig)	1619	19.5 × 15.8 / VIII + 277 fols	German tablature [Praeludien] Fvgae (fol. 23) Fantasien (fol. 41) Pavanen (fol. 77) Intraden (fol. 141) Galliarden (fol. 189) Cvrrenten (fol. 237) Ballet (fol. 285) Volten (fol. 333) Choreae (fol. 365) Cantivncvulae germanicae (fol. 413) Cantivncvulae latinae et italicae (fol. 469) Cantivncvulae sacrae (fol. 525)

CH-Bu F.IX.70, D-B 40141, D-LEm II.6.15, and DK-Kk Thott. 4° 841 each have sections with Protestant sacred songs at the end, as does GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, but not all of these manuscripts were produced in a Protestant milieu: D-MÜwl 463 and D-KNh R.242 both belonged to Catholic holders from Westphalia.

Beyond concordances of pieces, there are certain items shared by several books, such as instructions for tuning the lute,[101] the acrostic poem 'Testudo

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99 Cf. Nauclerus 2010; Meyer 1994, 35–39. In Nauclerus 2010, 16–18, Jarchow counts six different scribes and assumes that Nauclerus wrote most of the music in 1615, the date given on fol. 0. Given that Nauclerus began his studies in Rostock in 1605 and left the city no later than 1612, when he became a deacon in Medelby; that the date on the cover is 1607; and that there are about 100 pieces in common with the repertory of another student in Rostock, Peter Fabricius, I would argue that the main part was written in Rostock.

100 Cf. Meyer 1994, 159–175. Lüdtke 1999, 129–130, points out that some of the composers were active in Leipzig, and that some titles mention Leipzig. Király (2010, 140) additionally mentions Johann Klippstein und Matthäus Reymann as composers from Leipzig.

101 CH-Bu F.IX.70, pp. 2–6; D-B 40141, fols 249ᵛ–253ᵛ; D-LEm II.6.23, fols 3ʳ–4ʳ. Similar are D-B 40141, fol. 253ᵛ; DK-Kk Thott. 4° 841, fol. 150ʳ; CH-Bu F.IX.70, p. 1; and GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, fol. 36ᵛ.

curas',[102] and the device 'Nympha callix'.[103] Not only are pages with devices found at the beginning of these manuscripts, before the music, but also, as in the *Stammbücher*, each of them features the juxtaposition of such devices with music on the same page.[104]

In the lute books of Johannes Nauclerus, Johannes Arpinus, and a student from Leipzig (D-LEm II.6.15), dicta have been added only to a few pages.[105] In the lute book of Barthold Lüdinghausen, dicta have been added only at the beginning of sections devoted to a genre.[106] In the lute book of Johannes Fridericus, dicta that are now sometimes incomplete due to the trimming of the book block were regularly added to the recto pages.[107] As an exception to the rule, in this manuscript as well as in GB-Lbl Sloane 1021, they were at least sometimes written before the tablature, as the dicta on the pages without tablature show (pp. 23 and 25). The only one of the above-mentioned student lute books in which dicta were added throughout is that of the Swiss student Emanuel Wurstisen, which is the earliest one.

The lute book of Petrus Fabricius has an elaborate layout, featuring the dicta not *bas-de-page*, but in a frame surrounding the tablature, intended to be read in a circular order.[108] However, this layout is not found on every page, firstly because the devices were added only after entering the tablature and, as the present state shows, not immediately after; and secondly because, on some of the pages, the margins were already filled with additional versions or parts of the pieces in the tablature.

So far, there is no hint that the same devices were added to pages with the same pieces in different manuscripts;[109] thus they were not copied together with the music. Rather, the combination of certain pieces of music with certain devices is unique to each manuscript, creating pages that are originals.

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102 Cf. CH-Bu F.IX.70, fol. 7ʳ; D-KNh R.242, fol. 1ʳ; and D-Z 115.3, before fol. 1ʳ.

103 Cf. D-Z 115.3, fol. 3ʳ; and D-LEm II.6.23, fol. 4ʳ.

104 Beyond the dicta *bas-de-page* and at the beginning of some manuscripts that are clearly subdivided into books devoted to a single genre, the remaining blank pages at the end of these books have also been filled with devices, e.g. CH-Bu F.IX.70 (fols 16–19, 30–39, 61–63, and 107–112) and D-KNh R.232 (fols 11ᵛ, 19ᵛ, 34ᵛ, 72ᵛ, 79ʳ–79ᵛ, 139ʳ, and 218ᵛ).

105 Cf. D-B 40141, fols 28ʳ, 35ʳ, 59ʳ, 78ʳ, 123ʳ, 138ʳ, and 187ʳ; D-LEm II.6.15, fols 1ʳ–2ᵛ; and D-Z 115.3, fols 3ʳ, 6ʳ, 7ᵛ, 8ʳ, and 10ʳ–12ʳ.

106 Fols 7ʳ–7ᵛ, 26ʳ–27ᵛ, 55ᵛ (not fol. 55ʳ, due to the song text occupying the space below the tablature), 58ʳ–58ᵛ, 103ʳ–105ᵛ, 129ʳ–132ʳ, 134ʳ, 136ᵛ–137ʳ, 158ʳ–166ʳ, and 215ʳ–216ᵛ.

107 Not pp. 49, 55, 57, 83, 85, and 103, but also pp. 28, 36, 48, and 66.

108 Only fols 8–30, 64ʳ–66ʳ, 76ʳ–91ʳ, 107ʳ–107ᵛ, 109ᵛ–112ʳ, and 119ʳ–140ʳ.

109 Cf. e.g. D-B 40141, fol. 78ʳ, *Wohlauf gut gesell*, and *bas-de-page*, 'Grossen Herrn undt schonen Frauen', which are found on different pages in CH-Bu F.IX.70 (fols 271ʳ and 45ʳ).

Moreover, concerning its content, the lute book of Johannes Arpinus shows parallels with commonplace books. Beyond the tablature, there are recipes for saltpetre ('Vom salpeter neu zu sieden', fols 107ʳ–129ʳ, in German) and instructions for treating horses ('Kdyžgest Kuň Vvrčženy: Kun když se kowati neda', fol. 142ᵛ, in Czech).

Many of the lute books that were in the possession of students are organized differently from other lute books. The fundamental difference from other lute books is their subdivision into books that are each devoted to a single genre.[110] In some of these manuscripts, the books bear headings or titles; in many of them, they are further organized into physical units that Johann Peter Gumbert calls 'blocks'.[111]

The criteria for the organization of the material in German students' lute books are the musical genres and language of the vocal compositions or models that are intabulated. D-LEm II.6.15 has sections for German, Latin, and Italian songs (though CH-Bu F.IX.70 subsumes all but the sacred songs under 'Madriga-lenn'). Most books open with preludes, and if they have such a section, they close with intabulations of sacred songs. The dances, which dominate the repertory, may be further subdivided; most often, the galliards have a section of their own. Sections composed of other genres like motets, fantasies, and fugues may occur.

Lüdtke has argued that the division into separate books bears similarities to an encyclopedia.[112] Further examples of such an organization are to be found e.g. in the lute books of Philipp Hainhofer, which are unlike the ones discussed here written in Italian tablature,[113] and in prints, such as Jean-Baptiste Besard's *Thesaurus Harmonicus* collection.[114] Concerning the sixteenth-century Spanish prints for vihuela, Deborah Lawrence has pointed out that these are the first prints with a systematic subdivision into books and stressed the parallel with commonplace books.[115] I would argue that the organization of the content in the German

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110 D-B 40141 or D-LEm II.6.23, however, are not.

111 Gumbert 2004, 24.

112 Cf. Lüdtke 1999, 130–132.

113 Cf. D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.7. Aug. 2° and D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.8. Aug. 2°, in twelve books: 1 'Gayst-liche Hymni, Psalmen, Kürchengesang vnd Lieder', 2 'Mvteten, Madrigali, Canzoni, Villanellae, Arie', 3 'Prelvdi, Praembvli, Phantasiae, Ricercate passionate', 4 'Deutsche däntz', 5 'Passa mezza, Saltarelli', 6 'Gagliarde', 7 'Pavane, Battaglie, Barriere', 8 'Padounische däntze', 9 'Großer Herr däntz', 10 'Spagnolete, Entrate', 11 'Brande', and 12 'Courante, Volte'.

114 Cf. Besard 1603 including ten books: 1 'Praeludia', 2 'Fantasiae', 3 'Madrigalia & Villanellae', 4 'Cantiones gallicae & Air de court', 5 'Pass'emezi', 6 'Galliardae', 7 'Allemandes', 8 'Branles & Balletz', 9 'Voltes & Courantes', and 10 'Miscellanea'.

115 Cf. Lawrence 2013.

students' lute book shows similarities with the system found in commonplace books as well. In the Early Modern Period, the art of compiling commonplace books as personal collections of knowledge was a subject of instruction in books and manuals or at universities.[116] Commonplace books shaped the structuring of knowledge in their time.[117] The fundamental idea behind the commonplace book – the practice of collecting pieces of music as examples that could be used in particular situations – provides a fresh look at collections of music not only as found in commonplace books, but also in other manuscripts providing their owners with music suitable for different occasions.[118]

4 Conclusion

When the lute became a popular instrument in the sixteenth century, amateur lute players had to make a choice where to collect the music for their instrument. Beyond the development of lute books as a new manuscript type, defined by pages ruled for tablature, this music found its way into English commonplace books as well as German and Dutch *Stammbücher*. Moreover, the latter continue a practice already established in songbooks, namely the addition of dedications and devices to the pieces of music. This practice was adopted in German students' lute books, many of which organize their music into separate books by genre in a way that resembles methods of knowledge organization that were taught for commonplace books.

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116 Cf. Locke 1686; English translation Locke 1706; cf. Stolberg 2014.
117 Cf. Moss 1996.
118 Cf. Lawrence 2013.

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Robyn Dora Radway

Caspar von Abschatz's *Album Amicorum*: Collecting (in) the Ottoman World

Abstract: In the fall of 1584, the Silesian nobleman Caspar von Abschatz travelled along the Balkan diplomatic corridor from Vienna through Ottoman Buda, Belgrade, Sofia, and Plovdiv to Constantinople. He documented the journey with entries gathered in his *album amicorum*, an extraordinary artifact that he would dramatically expand over the rest of his life. This article uses codicological details, the texts of entries, and archival documents to examine how Abschatz compiled, used, and transformed his album with a focus on his years in Constantinople. I argue that both Abschatz's rare collection of papers and his documented social networks point to his intimate relationship with Ottoman decorative arts, the city of Constantinople, and the imperial context that brought him there. At the same time, the generic visual depictions of Ottoman figures and the small number of signatures by Ottoman Muslims reveals the distance Abschatz maintained from his environment.

On 3 September 1586, the Styrian nobleman Abraham Gablkover signed the *album amicorum* (also called a friendship album or *Stammbuch*) of a teenaged Silesian nobleman named Caspar von Abschatz in a garden on the Asian side of the Bosporus belonging to a steward of the Ottoman court named Hüsrev (Fig. 1). Such *alba* were the preferred social media of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, gathering in a portable volume a series of entries which included any combination of the following elements: a signature, a date, a location, a motto, an image, a coat of arms, and a personal message. They were deeply personal objects that embodied the social communities of their owners, who carefully curated them, often over a lifetime.[1] Gablkover's entry appears on a rare specimen of decorated paper with patterned marbling arranged in a grid of circles outlined in gold. Highlighting the exoticism of the surface on which he wrote, the signature runs across one of the marbled circles, his poetic evocation in the name of good friendship and memories spilling out over the negative spaces of the design.

While it was common for young noblemen and women to form their collections as they travelled around Central Europe, the exchange between Abschatz and Gablkover in the distant heart of the Ottoman Empire took place beyond the

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1 The standard work on the genre is Schnabel 2003.
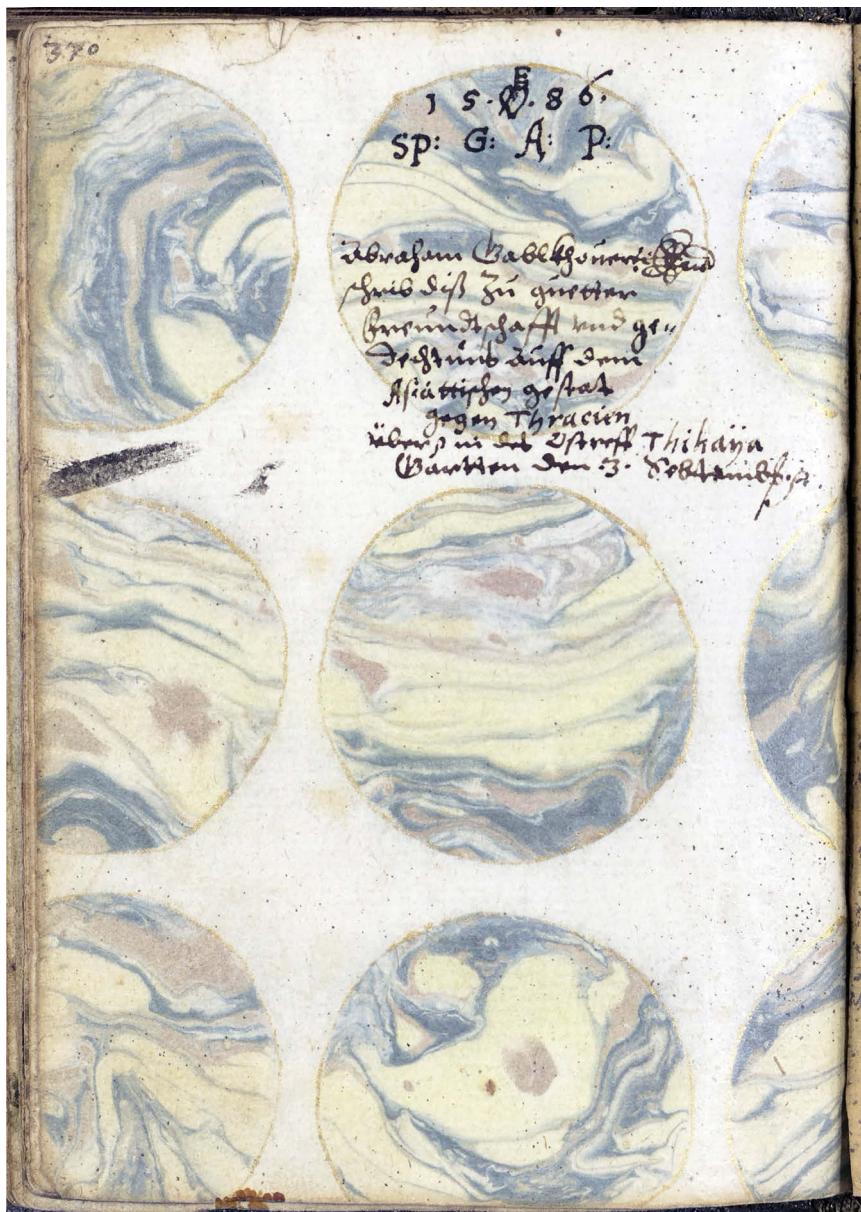
Fig. 1: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 370. Signature of Abraham Gablkover in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, Constantinople, 1586. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver. sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/ licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

usual geography of album collecting. Who were Gablkover and Abschatz and why did they gather around a manuscript on the shores of the Bosporus in the late sixteenth century? What does the album reveal about the role of personal objects in social interactions between Europe and the Ottoman Empire? This essay seeks to answer these questions by offering the first close reading of Caspar von Abschatz's *album amicorum*, now held in Hamburg at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky (hereafter SUB) under the shelf mark Cod. in scrin. 198a. This close reading of codicological details and individual entries will be undertaken alongside other contemporary *alba* used in Constantinople, archival sources, and ego documents. The resulting picture sheds light on the remarkable collecting practices of a young nobleman from Central Europe during an extended stay in Constantinople. While collecting his album *in* the Ottoman world, Abschatz also collected *the Ottoman world itself*, incorporating selected elements of his exotic environment into his album in creative and meaningful ways. The album reveals Abschatz's intimate relationship with the Ottoman environment in which he lived between 1584 and 1587. This intimacy, expressed in both the content and physical materials of his manuscript, points to the level of engagement that ordinary central Europeans visiting Constantinople could have with their surroundings. At the same time, it also highlights the limits of this intimacy. Abschatz's engagement with the Ottoman world was always mediated through his position as a member of the Habsburg resident ambassador's household. Thus, none of Abschatz's documented social interactions were with Muslim-born men or women. In fact, the women of Ottoman Constantinople are reduced entirely to one torn image of a Sultana copied from another contemporary source. Abschatz's album is one of a group of roughly fifty contemporary examples used in the same transimperial context. Though it is far from unique, it is nevertheless an extraordinary record in terms of its size, variety, and the level of detail provided by the entries. This makes it one of the most important sources for understanding the layers of interaction between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in the second half of the sixteenth century.

This essay begins with a brief overview of Abschatz's biography and the place of the album within it. It then looks at evidence of how he built up the album's layers over several decades by examining the paper, binding, and edits to the manuscript as a material object. This will turn into a focus on the album's formative years in Constantinople in which Abschatz cultivated an intimate relationship with Ottoman languages, the city of Constantinople, and the decorative book arts. By way of a conclusion, I place Abschatz's project within the *album amicorum* genre and within the history of Eurasian cross-cultural encounters more broadly.

Fig. 2: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 1. Frontispiece of Caspar von Abschatz's *Album Amicorum*, 1588. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

1 Caspar von Abschatz

Caspar von Abschatz (b. 1571) is largely an unknown figure and the only significant source about his life that is currently known is his *album amicorum*.[2] The title page (Fig. 2) is dated 1588, thus after his return from Constantinople, and includes his signature, coat of arms, and several mottos. This seemingly late addition likely reflects his desire to have a skilled artist paint his heraldic device: the head of a deer on a white background above a black field, which is surrounded by a classicizing frame with putti and allegorical figures. The folio also includes his signature with the estate of Kamin in Lower Silesia near Breslau. Here, as in several of his own signatures in contemporary *alba*, he includes charming mottos in three different languages.[3] The abbreviation below the year, 'GB M LS VE', invokes the popular German adage 'Gott bescheere mir Leben, Sieg und Ehre' ('God, bestow upon me life, victory, and honour').[4] This is followed each time by the Latin 'Mea Fortuna Dormit' ('My fortune sleeps'). Each signature also includes the French 'Pas à Pas' ('Step by step'). These mottos betray the intellectual ambitions of the teenager who wrote them by proudly displaying his familiarity with Latin and French alongside his native German. Abschatz further personalized his entries both in his own album and in the album of the English agent Henrik Frankelin which he signed while in Constantinople, when he added the couplet:

> Auff menschen setz Dein Hofnung nicht
> Dann sie ihnen oft selber konen helfen nicht
> ('Do not place your hope in others
> since they often cannot even help themselves')[5]

Furthermore, in another signature written in Constantinople in the album of the messenger Leonhard Lang von Durach and again in his own album, he also wrote:

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2 Müller was the first to take note of the annotations on a set of archival sources and connect them to the person mentioned in a travel narrative. See Müller 2006, vol. 1, 46–47.

3 Album of Leonhard Lang von Durach (messenger), Doha, Qatar National Library, HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 107ʳ; album of Hans Huenich of Antwerp (member of tribute-carrying delegation), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 18596, fol. 86ʳ; and Henrik Frankelin (English agent), Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Y 52, fol. 116ʳ.

4 Ragotzky 1899, 400, gives two variants of this: 'G. B. M. S. V. E.', 'Gott bescheere mir Sieg (Segen) und Ehre', and 'G. B. L. S. V. E.', 'Gott bescheere Leben, Sieg und Ehre'. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

5 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 1. The motto varies slightly in grammar and spelling as it appears in the album of Henrik Frankelin, Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Y 52, fol. 116ʳ.

Hertz leidt
mundt schweigt
('The heart suffers,
the mouth is silent')[6]

Together, these mottos reveal Abschatz's combination of cynicism and longing for intimacy. Such poetic expressions of teenage angst are ubiquitous across the genre, but what makes Abschatz's album extraordinary is that he came of age not in rural Silesia, a university town, or the court in Vienna or Prague. Instead, he spent his formative years in a diplomatic outpost in the heart of the Ottoman Empire.

Caspar von Abschatz was born in 1571 into a small branch of a large Silesian aristocratic family with roots in the thirteenth century.[7] Like many of his contemporaries, his family likely sought to secure him a position in the service of the Habsburg court. Thus, in 1584, at the age of thirteen, he departed first for Vienna and shortly thereafter he joined a delegation to Constantinople led by Heinrich von Liechtenstein.[8] There he lived in what was called the German House, a two-storey inn located within a kilometre of the Topkapı Palace that housed Habsburg ambassadors and their large retinues over several decades.[9] In a travel narrative covering the delegation, Abschatz is listed as one of thirteen 'young men of our master [the ambassador]' ('der Herrn Jungen') who assisted in the delivery of coins and valuable objects known euphemistically as the 'honourable present'.[10] Unfortunately, this is the only mention of Abschatz in the diary and his name does not appear in other documentation related to Liechtenstein's embassy. Signatures in his album make it clear that rather than departing a few weeks later with the rest of Liechtenstein's retinue led by Hans Bernhard von Lembach on 5 December,[11] or joining his sick master when he departed for the healing waters of a hot spring onboard a Venetian ship on 20 March 1584,[12] Abschatz stayed on to join the retinue of resident ambassador Paul von Eytzing (ambassador between 1583 and 1587). This was likely a planned extension as Eytzing had

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6 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 1 and the album of Leonhard Lang von Durach (messenger), Doha, Qatar National Library, HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 107ʳ.

7 Sinapius 1720, 230–234 (this Caspar von Abschatz is briefly mentioned on p. 233).

8 Documentation on this mission can be found in Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (henceforth HHStA), Turcica I, Karton 52–54.

9 On the German House, see Eyice 1970.

10 Besolt 1595, 521. On the disputed nature of the 'present', see Petritsch 1993.

11 Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 53, Konv. 1, fol. 61ʳ.

12 Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 54, Konv. 2, fol. 66ʳ. Liechtenstein died near Gallipoli and never reached these curative waters.

arrived a year earlier himself as a tribute-carrying envoy and was unexpectedly named ambassador following the death of his predecessor. Abschatz remained as a junior member of the retinue until April 1587, when, at the age of sixteen, he briefly served as a courier.[13] Abschatz left the Ottoman Empire for good together with Eytzing and his retinue in September 1587. Upon his return to central Europe, he remained in Vienna at least through April 1588, when he collected the signature of the soldier Hans Gall Fayg von Anhausen as his final dated entry from the city.[14] It is unclear what, if any, formal role he filled in the years following his stay in Constantinople, but the social networks recorded in his album were increasingly confined to members of the Silesian nobility. In 1588 alone, he collected seventy-five entries, many of them consisting of no more than a name, an abbreviated motto, and a year. Prominent among them were members of the Silesian Falkenhayn, Glaubitz, Kittlitz, Kottwitz, Kreckwitz, Nostitz, Rothkirch, Rottwitz, Schweinitz, and Strachwitz families. This indicates Abschatz may have returned home. The brevity of these entries also highlights a trend that can be observed in many late sixteenth-century *alba*, a privileging of quantity over quality which resulted in far less intimate records of encounter. In several instances, the same person signed the album twice on different pages. Such careless collecting may have happened as albums were passed around during large social events. This trend continued until 1607, when the thirty-six-year-old Caspar laid his album aside for unknown reasons.

Like several members of his family and many of the men he travelled with, Caspar von Abschatz was probably a Protestant. A signature in Hebrew and Latin appears on the final page of the album written by the controversial Lutheran theologian serving as superintendent of the Church of Peter and Paul in Silesian Liegnitz (modern Legnica, Poland), Leonhard Krenzheim. Throughout the 1580s, Krenzheim had been warding off charges of Crypto-Calvinism. Shortly after his entry in Abschatz's album (13 July 1588), he lost his battle against his accusers and was ousted from this post.[15]

An unlabelled image of a moustached man on horseback bound near the end of the volume may be a representation of Abschatz himself (Fig. 3). He is dressed in a fine black cloak with wide sleeves, tightly fitted black hose, and large black gloves. In his right hand, he clasps a red satchel. He wears a crisp white ruff around his neck and a feathered cap with a decorative band and short brim. Behind him, a jumbled cityscape filled with towers topped by crosses stretches

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13 Annotation on Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 60, Konv. 2 (1587 IV), fol. 145ʳ.

14 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 549.

15 Pohlig 2007, 216–224.

Fig. 3: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 771. Caspar von Abschatz (?) on horseback with an imaginary cityscape, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

along an indistinct shoreline. Four large boats, two with sails raised, float in the body of water to his right. Closer to the foreground, two mills, several city gates, and a prominent building with a stepped gable complete the urban littoral. Behind the city, jagged mountains with a few scattered buildings give way to fiery skies and large grey storm clouds. The chaotic spread of domes, towers, mills, and Renaissance gables combined with the dramatic weather point to a landscape of the mind, rather than of a distinct location. Abschatz sits erect on his horse, riding serenely under the stormy skies that had set the stage for the collection in which the image is bound.

2 Caspar von Abschatz's *album amicorum*

The album itself measures 14 × 10.5 cm and includes 808 pages with over 300 folios of decorated paper. These folios set the background for 483 entries in various combinations of German, Latin, Italian, French, Czech, Dutch, Hungar-

ian, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish. This makes it an extraordinarily large, precious, and complicated example from the genre. Closer examination reveals that it is a multi-layered object filled with additions, edits, and erasures. Abschatz began his collection on a set of white paper, some printed with blank escutcheons designed by Jost Amman.[16] These were then irregularly interleaved with decorated papers and sewn together in a finely-tooled leather binding. In the early modern equivalent to unfriending someone on Facebook, a heavy editorial hand ripped at least thirty folios from the binding before the pages were numbered. Several folios are only partially torn, suggesting the album was also mishandled.

Based on the appearance of dated signatures on different types of paper in the collection, Abschatz acquired some of his decorated papers *prior to* his arrival in Constantinople, either in central Europe or in the Balkans. The first dated signature on paper sprinkled with brown paint (6 October 1584) comes from Plovdiv, where Abschatz and his company stopped on their journey. A few days later in Edirne, another member of his traveling party signed the album on a folio of yellow tinted paper sprinkled with gold leaf.[17] Abschatz might have acquired the papers in Vienna, where a vibrant decorated paper trade was just beginning.[18] Another possibility is that he acquired the collection in the Balkans on the road to Constantinople. This hypothesis is further supported by observing the pattern of signatures over time on an increasing variety of decorated papers, which would suggest Abschatz had purchased different types of paper gradually rather than all at once. As I will argue below, these extraordinarily fine folios represent an unprecedented range of decorative motifs and techniques. Thus, while many of the signatures he gathered immediately after arrival were still on plain white pages, others appear on an increasing variety of tinted, dusted, sprinkled, marbled, and silhouetted papers. Furthermore, a note on a tinted green folio in Abschatz's hand, 'Das Blatt ist auch mein' ('This leaf is also mine'),[19] is a possible reference to the fierce competition for the finest specimens.

The album is further embellished with a handful of evocative gouache genre scenes, single costumed figures, and visual renderings of proverbs. These include

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16 These had originally appeared in a collection of epigrams, Egenolpho 1579. None of the epigrams are included on the versos in Abschatz's album, indicating they were acquired as a set of stand-alone prints.

17 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 769 and 675 respectively.

18 Before his departure from Vienna, he met with and asked for signatures from Franz Khevenhüller (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 135) and Augustin Fleck zu Penckh (p. 565), both of whom had participated in the 1582 delegation to Constantinople.

19 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 21.

Fig. 4: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 385. Couple on a sleigh led by lobsters, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creative commons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

remarkably playful images, like a couple riding a sleigh led by wandering lobsters (Fig. 4), an allusion to the irrationality of love that pulls in all directions. Also included are a charming nuptial ceremony between two rosy cheeked lovers, a witch and devil hunt, and a woman weighing her love interests on a scale. Several of the allegorical scenes appear to be modelled on emblems designed by Jost Amman (the same artist who designed the printed blank escutcheons).[20]

It is impossible to determine when such stand-alone images were added onto blank pages of the album, yet as a collection of paper bound together, the album took its final form in Constantinople. Abschatz hired an Ottoman bookbinder to sew the pages together and surround it in a decorative encasing. The brown leather binding is mounted on pasteboard and tooled with gold and pres-

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20 I wish to acknowledge Malcom Jones for his work in tracking down several of these images. An overview of Jones' connections can be found on in a collection entitled 'Album Amicorum' on Pinterest with accompanying notes. On the sleigh led by lobsters, see Jones 2022.

sure-moulded filigree arabesques. At the centre of the front cover is a large gold medallion with a small medallion above and below. Fine lines of gold connected these central motifs to tooled leather arabesques repeated in the cusped corners. This is then enclosed in a frame of acanthus scrollwork and knotwork, all embellished with gold. On the back cover, the same design appears in its negative form, with the cusped corners highlighted in gold against the brown leather surface. This binding closely resembles several contemporary *alba* used in the German House.[21] The decorative motifs, technique, and materials confirm that Abschatz's album and others like it were transimperial objects, at once Central European and Ottoman. At some point after it was bound in this order, the folios were paginated in black ink on the upper outer corner of each page.

3 Collecting the German House and the road to and from it

Abschatz's album is one of fifty similar objects used in Ottoman Constantinople in the second half of the sixteenth century. Such artefacts were collected by a wide range of inhabitants, from cooks, messengers, and priests, to pages, apothecaries, and pilgrims passing through.[22] These sources are invaluable for reconstructing the social and cultural worlds of the hundreds of central Europeans who passed through the rooms of the German House. Abschatz is no exception in this regard. The album includes ninety-nine signatures from Constantinople and its immediate environment as well as another nineteen entries collected on the road to the city. In total, 118 men lent Abschatz their names, mottos, and affectionate words of friendship during his stay in the Ottoman Empire. This makes Abschatz's album one of the most important examples of the genre, second in size only to that of Sebald Plan, long-time resident and master of the kitchens.[23] Most of the men who signed the album were retinue members of one of four ambassadorial missions: Paul von Eytzing's tribute-carrying turned resident ambassador mission (1583–1587); Heinrich von Liechtenstein's tribute carrying mission (1584); Hans

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21 For example, Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Oct. Lat. 451; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 206 Blank; and London, British Museum, 1986,0625,0.1. For very similar examples on Ottoman manuscripts, see Ontario, Aga Khan Museum, AKM389; Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett Yahuda 1439; and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.42.

22 On the albums of the German House, see Radway 2023.

23 Prague, Strahov Library, DG IV 25.

Friedrich Hoffmann's tribute carrying mission (1585–1586); and Bartholomäus Pezzen's mission as incoming resident ambassador with a tribute payment (1587–1592). For such embassies, Abschatz's album is extraordinarily important for reconstructing a broader (but not full) extent of these retinues where archival sources fall silent. These have been reconstructed in the appendix where possible.

As Abschatz travelled to Constantinople, he recorded his movement through the Balkans in an uncommon manner, with the signatures of his fellow travellers in Buda (6–7 September 1584), Belgrade (17–22 September 1584), Sofia (1 October 1584), Plovdiv (5–7 October 1584), and Edirne (12 October 1584). Album entries were usually collected as parting gestures or to commemorate particularly festive occasions. Others who gathered signatures as they travelled across the Balkans with an ambassadorial retinue include Arnold Manlius (medical doctor) and Salomon Schweigger (theologian), both of whom collected professional contacts outside their traveling party.[24] Instead, cross-referencing the entries gathered on the road with other sources reveals that each belonged to a member of the ambassador's retinue. In Plovdiv, for example, Abschatz asked for signatures from several members of the envoy's staff: Martin Michel of Greifswald (the barber), Bartholomäus Gebhart (the apothecary), Johann Jacob Eggloff (the master of the stables), and Johann Purgleuttner (the master of the kitchens).[25] Also in Plovdiv, Abschatz gathered the signatures of two men presumably working for the envoy in an intellectual capacity: Melchior Besolt, who penned a travel narrative recording the journey, and Hans Löwenklaw, who later went on to edit several primary sources on the Ottoman Empire for publication.[26] Melchior Besolt's narrative reveals the circumstances surrounding the several days of signature-gathering in Plovdiv: the traveling party was held back because of Bayram celebrations and the sudden illness of the ambassador and several members of his retinue.[27] By collecting entries during their slow movement through the Balkans, Abschatz used the album to record the temporal and spatial nature of the act of travelling itself.

In 1587, Abschatz again packed his album and took it on the road, this time serving as a messenger who moved more quickly and with fewer companions.

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24 For Manlius, see Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 487. For Schweigger, now in a private collection, see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, microfilm HS 2914 (formerly Cod. Ser. n. 2973).

25 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 691, 769, 464, and 667 respectively.

26 Ács 2011.

27 Besolt 1595, 528.

On 23 February, he was still gathering signatures in Constantinople. A month later, he was gathering signatures in Prague. He remained there until 19 April, then returned to Vienna by 23 April. In May, he was again gathering signatures in Constantinople. The context for this journey can be reconstructed from annotations in the margins of archival sources. Abschatz, at the age of sixteen, was sent to Prague with an ambassadorial report and may have also relayed some sensitive information orally. This is indicated by the letters written to Rudolf II and Archduke Ernst in ambassador Eytzing's own hand that accompanied Abschatz, which insist that the courier be returned to Constantinople immediately upon discharging his duties.[28] The Aulic War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) complied.[29]

What was he doing on these travels and how does it relate to the album? In Prague, he socialized with several fellow Silesians, including a member of his own family as well as a handful of others affiliated with the court. During his stay in Vienna, he met (and collected signatures from) several members of the Aulic War Council, including the former ambassador David Ungnad von Sonnegg and his assistant Andreas Raisinger. This is significant. Not only does it support the idea that Abschatz had things to discuss with the council, but such connections could have also come in handy as he sought employment at the Habsburg court upon his return.

4 Collecting the Ottoman world

Collecting the Habsburg world was not the only driving force behind his album project. He also cultivated an intimate relationship with certain elements of the Ottoman world, as is demonstrated by six entries in the album that include text in Arabic script or phonetically spelled-out Ottoman Turkish. Two of these were written by Muslim converts from central Europe serving as Ottoman dragomans

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28 Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 59, Konv. 2 (1587 II), fol. 102. Another copy of this report was sent with the courier Wolf Martin Haydn, according to a note on the back of a cyphered original in the same folder, fols 36–42. A decoded copy of the report can be found in the same folder, fols 84–100.

29 He is recorded as a courier sent to Buda on 23 April, and again on 8 May. Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 60, Konv. 2 (1587 IV), fol. 145ʳ; Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 61, Konv. 1 (1587 V), fols 7ʳ, 10ʳ. They then forwarded him from Vienna on 17 May. Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 61, Konv. 1 (1587 V), fol. 107ʳ. This would suggest that just ten days later he arrived in Constantinople, but it is more likely that either the documents or the album entries were dated according to the old calendar.

(interpreters and go-betweens)[30] in the German House: Ali Bey (born Melchior von Tierberg from Friedberg in der Wetterau) and his aged predecessor, Murad Bey (born Balázs Somlyai from Nagybánya, today Baia Mare, Romania).[31] Murad's entry (Fig. 5) includes two distiches from Cato rendered in Latin, Ottoman Turkish, and phonetically spelled-out to simulate spoken Turkish. This adds a layer of Latinate scholarly posturing to their exchange.[32] Murad used such distiches as part of the lessons he offered in the German House, which are recorded in expense reports.[33] At least one other signature of Murad in another contemporary album includes similar texts.[34] The other dragoman, Ali Bey, left an entry in German accompanied by a couplet in Ottoman Turkish cautioning against the impulses of a quick heart.[35]

Though both dragomans are known, Murad and his numerous literary works and translations have received the most scholarly attention. Tijana Krstić has convincingly argued that Murad's translation of Cicero, which was commissioned by the Venetian bailo Marino di Cavalli in 1559, was an original work combing Sufism with stoic philosophy for an Ottoman audience.[36] His curious entry in another album from the 1570s has been examined in detail.[37] Murad's signature here in Abschatz's album highlights an important aspect of Murad's translation activities: he used Cato both as a teaching tool and to engage in a shared culture of *album amicorum* exchanges that brought the Ottoman and Central European worlds together. This interculturality had its limits. The two German-speaking Christian-born converts were the only Muslims to sign Abschatz's album. Though Abschatz had the opportunity to interact with a limited circle of other Muslims during his many years in Constantinople (such as the janissaries who served as guards and attendants at the House and the messenger-agents with whom he travelled), they did not leave any traces on the pages of his intimate collection.

Instead of collecting entries from Muslim Ottoman subjects, the remaining four entries incorporating Arabic script or spoken Ottoman Turkish were written by long-serving staff members of the House. The Christian dragoman Augerio Zeffi, who had been serving in the German House since the early 1570s, was the

30 Rothman 2009 and Rothman 2021.

31 On Ali Bey, see Graf 2014, 141–145, 210. On Murad Bey, see Ács 2000; Krstić 2015.

32 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 767.

33 For example, see the payment from 28 February 1584, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 51, Konv. 1 (1584 V), fol. 262ᵛ.

34 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Heid. Hs. 487, fol. 30ᵛ.

35 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 314.

36 Krstić 2011, 138–193.
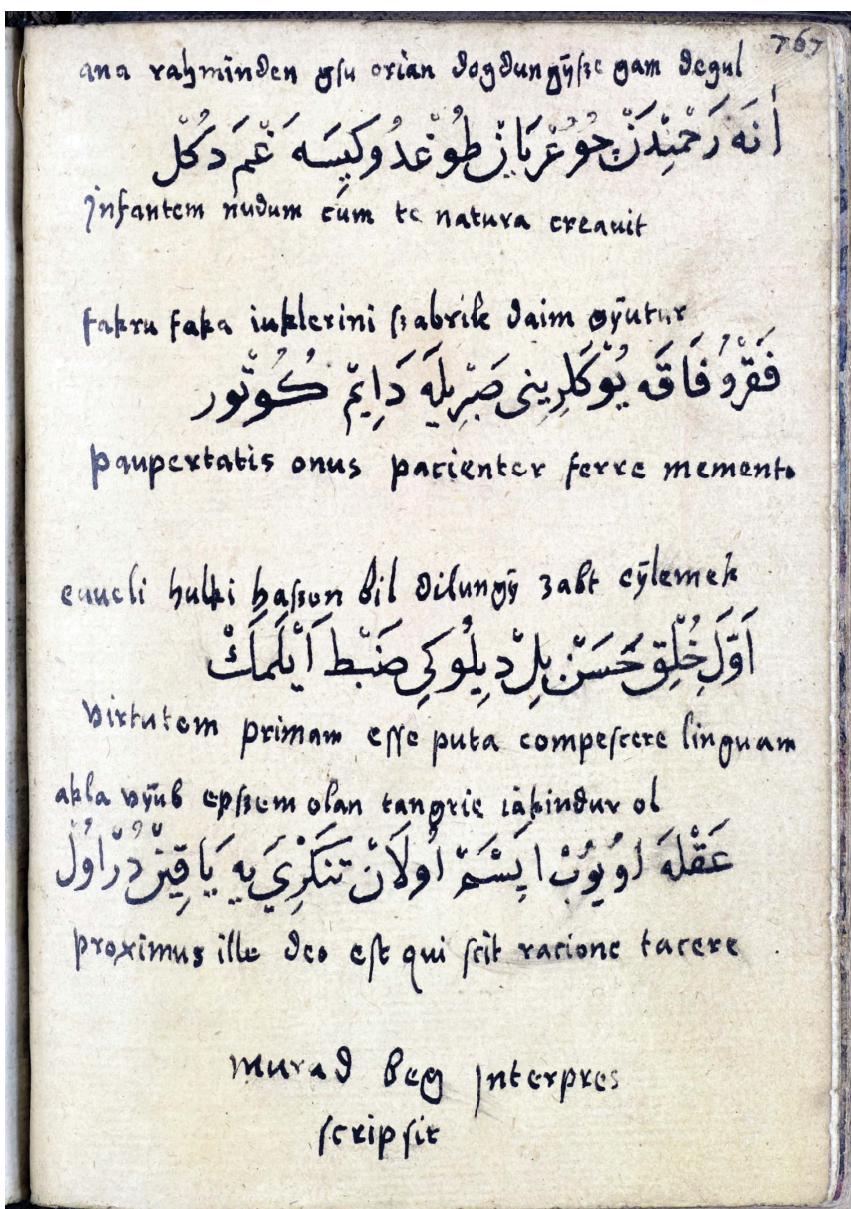
37 Ács and Petneházi 2016.

ana rahminden gibi orian dogdungÿ|se gam degul

أنه رَحْمِنْدَنْ جوغر بَازْ طوغدُ وكِيْسَه غَمْ دَكُل

Infantem nudum cum te natura creauit

fakru faka iuklerini sabrile daim ghutur

فَقْرُ فَاقْ يُوكْلِرِينِى صَبْرِلَه دَايِمْ كُوتُور

paupertatis onus parienter ferre memento

euueli hulki hassun bil Oilungÿ zabt eylemek

أَوَّلْ خِلْقْ حَسَنْ بِلْ دِيلُوكِى ضَبْطْ أَيْلَمَكْ

Virtutem primam esse puta compescere linguam

akla ÿub epsem olan tangrie iahindur ol

عَقْلَه أُيُوبْ إِسَّمْ اولَانْ تَنْكْرِيَه يَاقِيْرْ دُ اوْل

proximus ille Deo est qui scit racione tacere

Murad Beg Interpres
scripsit

Fig. 5: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 767. Signature of Murad Bey (born Balázs Somlyai) in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, Constantinople, *c.* 1586. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

son of a dragoman and regularly signed albums showing off his skills in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. In Abschatz's album, Zeffi inserted a Persian couplet from the prologue of Sa'di's *Gulistān*.[38] Pellegrino Castelino, another Christian dragoman in the House, signed with a mystical poem in Ottoman Turkish.[39] Castelino does not appear in any other album, which suggests that Abschatz made a concerted effort to gather entries from the entire dragoman corps. The final two entries record non-translators experimenting with spoken and written Turkish, indicating a broader interest in Ottoman languages by staff members working beyond the chancellery. Valentin Gadoczy, a member of Eytzing's retinue living in the German House between 1583 and 1587, includes a single line of unintelligible Arabic script between his Italian and German mottos.[40] Caspar Malik, a procurer and messenger who had been in the House on and off since 1577,[41] on the other hand, included a line of phonetically spelled Turkish which can be read as: 'God is one, he is the light'.[42] Both of these entries point to a broad (though not always successful) engagement with the Ottoman Turkish language in the late sixteenth-century German House.

In addition to this familiarity with local languages, several signatures reveal that Abschatz had an unusually intimate knowledge of the city beyond the walls of the German House. The album contains a handful of entries inscribed in gardens scattered along the Bosporus, on boats docked at a harbor of the Golden Horn, in a prison, and in an infrequently visited neighbourhood of Constantinople. For example, Caspar Malik signed the album in the Ayvansaray neighborhood of

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38 I would like to thank Ali Ramin Shaghaghi for identifying the quotation. On the use of the *Gulistān* by seventeenth-century Orientalists, see Babinski 2020.

39 I would like to thank Fatih Yücel for his assistance with the poem, which deserves further attention. It is written with a practiced hand, though it includes some mistakes. I was unable to track Castelino's source for this poem.

40 The text, sandwiched between an Italian and a German motto both referring to the art of being content with God's will, can be read as خآنغر بر شدغش or تانغر بر شر دغشر (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 683).

41 Müller 2006, vol. 5, 348–349.

42 'Tengrÿ bir ischi chÿ' (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 601). I would like to thank Pál Fodor for his help with this interpretation. Malik was a messenger and translator active between 1586 and 1593. It is likely that Malik began his career with the support of David Ungnad, president of the Aulic War Council and former resident ambassador to the Ottoman court. In July of 1586, Malik sent Ungnad a letter from Ottoman Pest reporting on troop movements and the procurement of several items at the local market together with a man named János Diák. The letter includes several lines of spoken Ottoman Turkish rendered in Latin script. Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 57, Konv. 4 (1586 VII–VIII), fols 31, 33.

Constantinople.[43] A man named Hans Hofman signed in the sultan's prisons.[44] Sigmund Ostrochovský and the Carinthian nobleman Hector von Ernau signed the album while on the galleon of 'Capitan Bassa' on 21 and 24 February 1586 respectively, just before the ship's departure for Alexandria.[45] Ostrochovský likely accompanied Ernau and the Bohemian nobleman Heinrich Matthias von Thurn on their tour of the Eastern Mediterranean before briefly serving as a courier for the resident ambassador in 1587.[46]

Abschatz's garden entries fall into two categories, those visited for pleasure and those visited out of necessity. Valentin Gadoczy signed in a 'beautiful garden next to the Black Sea near Constantinople', likely visited for pleasure.[47] The messenger Franz Arconat also signed in a garden near the Black Sea.[48] Christoph Unelsio, otherwise undocumented, also signed along or perhaps even from the deck of a boat on the Bosporus.[49] Georg Eder, also undocumented beyond his album entries, signed in 'the Grotto'[50] which may have been a reference to the cisterns[51] or the holy springs (*Hagiasma*) connected with orthodox churches. This article began with yet another entry from September 1586 in a garden in Üsküdar that belonged to the steward Hüsrev (*Kethüda*, corrupted to *Tihaya* in the signature). Two further members of the embassy also signed in the same garden: Gabriel Guelrat (5 September 1586) and the secretary who later returned as a resident ambassador, Bartholomäus Pezzen (15 August 1586).[52] Hüsrev had been a member of the Sokollu family network and once served grand vizier

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43 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 601.

44 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 676.

45 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 461, 607.

46 He also signed the album of Johannes Huenich shortly before his departure on 9 February 1586 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France: Latin 18596, fol. 87ʳ). On Thurn, whose later travels in the Ottoman empire are more well-known, see Schunka 2010. On Ostrochovský's activities as a courier, see the note on his departure from Constantinople with the post on 19 March 1587, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 60, Konv. 1 (1587 III), fol. 189. Last mention of him is made noting his return to Constantinople with the post 22 June 1587, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 61, Konv. 2 (1587 VI), fol. 201ʳ. He signed the album of Leonhard Lang von Durach, another messenger from the German House, on 12 August 1587 (Doha, Qatar National Library: HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 187ʳ). On Ernau, see Hanß 2021, 15.

47 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 683.

48 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 724.

49 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 747.

50 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 723. For another entry by him, see the Album of Johannes Huenich of Antwerp, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Latin 18596, fol. 92ʳ.

51 Shopov 2021, 293.

52 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 302, 370, and 627.

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Occasionally mentioned in ambassadorial reports as a go-between and informant for the German House, he had died on the battle-field near Tauris in December 1585.[53] So why were these men frequenting his gardens nine months after his death? The answer can be found in an ambassadorial report from 17 September 1586, which explains that several diseases were ripping through Constantinople (the plague, fevers, and *male di malzuco*) and the ambassador had moved to a 'garden' together with his retinue.[54] The fact that this belonged to the recently deceased Hüsrev suggests that the move was organized and paid for by the Ottoman court.

Such broad familiarity with Constantinople and its environs was unusual. Most albums containing signatures gathered outside the German House reference Kadıköy, Üsküdar, or the Columna Pompeii on the mouth of the Bosporus where it meets the Black Sea.[55] Abschatz's album also includes these more common destinations. For example, Georg Hartman von Liechtenstein, brother of the 1584 tribute-carrying delegate, and the Galata-born Christian dragoman Augerio Zeffi both signed in Kadıköy on separate occasions.[56] Nicolo Perria, the son of a dragoman who moved into the house as a youth and served the court in several capacities while attempting to master the Ottoman language, signed at the Columna Pompeii.[57]

Contemporary *alba amicorum* from the German House are usually packed with costumed figures, genre scenes, and city views related to their stays.[58] Considering the variety of visual materials available at Abschatz's fingertips, it is rather surprising that his album includes only four images inspired by its Ottoman surroundings: a duel (Fig. 6), a damaged image of a standing sultana (Fig. 7), and two Ottoman seafaring vessels (Fig. 9).[59] The duel appears on the back of a folio decorated with stencilled marbled circles. An uneven black frame sets off the image from the bottom of the page, which may have been left empty for a signature that was never added. Two figures on horseback charge at one another in meadow along a river, their horses standing on their hind legs. Behind them, a bridge connects two towns, one with a hilltop fortress. On the left, a tur-

53 See Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 30, Konv. 3 (1574 VI–VII), fol. 69ʳ; Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 56, Konv. 2 (1585 XI–XII), fol. 144ᵛ.

54 Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 58, Konv. 1 (1586 IX–X), fols 55ᵛ–56ʳ.

55 Stichel 1999.

56 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 230, 534. On Zeffi, see Stoyanova 2017, 99–100.

57 On Perria (also Perio, Peria), see Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 68, Konv. 2 (1588 XI), fols 109ʳ–109ᵛ.

58 Radway 2023.

59 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, pp. 530, 470, 607, and 613 respectively.

Fig. 6: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 530. Duel in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

baned Muslim wears an ankle length red kaftan and clutches a lance, clearly meant to evoke a 'Turk'. On the right, an armoured knight shoots a wheellock gun. A bright red bullet is suspended in mid-air between the two figures. Such duels were common in the Habsburg-Ottoman borderlands even though they were officially forbidden by central authorities.[60] More evenly matched opponents appear in other contemporary albums from the German House with nuanced costumes reflecting the complicated mixtures of armour, weapons, and sartorial traditions that characterized the borderlands.[61] Here, in this crude rendering of a duel that highlights the difference between the Muslim Ottoman and his Christian opponent, the unequally matched weapons imply that the knight with the firearm will emerge victorious.

The damaged figure of a standing sultana with a jewelled dagger tucked into her belt is copied directly from contemporary costume books associated with the German House. This figure with an elaborate headdress and richly patterned and

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60 Takáts 1913.

61 *Album amicorum* of Johann Joachim Prack von Asch, Los Angeles, Calif., Getty Research Institute, 2013.M.24, fol. 120ᵛ; and *album amicorum* of Johann Reichart von Steinbach, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Chart. B 1039, fol. 154ʳ.

layered garments, is usually found flanked by a black eunuch and an attendant (Fig. 8).[62] Here, she is shown alone holding an incomplete coat of arms and is labelled in Latin.

One of the galleon images accompanies the signature of Ostrochovský as he boarded a ship to depart for the Eastern Mediterranean. The image embellished with gold details appears on a slightly smaller piece of paper that was pasted onto a larger decorated folio (Fig. 9). A few pages later, another similar ship labelled a 'Karmissal' appears without an accompanying signature. Both resemble ships floating in the waters of contemporary portolan charts and seascapes.[63] It is possible an Ottoman artist may have created these two small images. Nevertheless, the images of the Ottoman world gathered in Abschatz's album are derivative and impersonal.

Abschatz's greatest intimacy with Ottoman material culture was embodied in the extraordinary variety of silhouetted, tinted, and marbled papers. Many of these papers are watermarked, which means that before they were smoothed and decorated, they had arrived in Constantinople from Central Europe and Italy as part of a broader trade in paper.[64] The watermarks vary, but include: an anchor encircled (on tinted papers and papers sprinkled with gold and silver leaf),[65] an angel encircled (silhouette, tinted, sprinkled, and single-sided marbled papers), an angel encircled above the letter 'A' (sprinkled paper), an angel encircled topped by a six-pointed star (silhouette papers), an angel encircled topped by a trefoil (sprinkled papers), an angel encircled topped by a pointed quatrefoil (silhouette papers),[66] an *agnus dei* encircled topped by a Greek cross (silhouette and sprinkled papers),[67] a bull's head topped with a pointed trefoil (tinted papers),[68] and

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62 Other identical images appear in an album now held in Jerusalem, The Museum for Islamic Art, RH 86.443 (587), unpag., and Oxford, All Souls College Library, Ms. 314, fol. 24ʳ (numbered 29, 30, 31) and an album used from the 1590s as an *album amicorum* by Kurfürst Friedrich IV. von der Pfalz held by the Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 601, fol. 7ᵗ.

63 See examples in Taşkın 2013.

64 On the paper trade, see Babinger 1931.

65 This is one of the most common watermarks found on Ottoman documents of the sixteenth century. See Velkov 2005, 3–4, 78–84; Mošin 1973.

66 Angel watermarks appear to be much less common on Ottoman documents. All those surveyed by Velkov are from the 1630s and take a very different form. Velkov 2005, 24, 360–361. Instead, these watermarks are all variations of Briquet 1907, 642–668, though not one is an exact match.

67 Similar examples appear in Velkov 2005, 1–2, 55–62.

68 Velkov 2005, 38, 403–408.

Fig. 7: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitäts-bibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 470. Sultana in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, 1584–1607. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

Fig. 8: Coburg, Kunstsammlung der Veste Coburg, Hz. 12, fol. 21ʳ. Sultana with the chief black eunuch and an attendant, 1584–1607.

Fig. 9: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 607. Galleon with entry by Sigmund Ostrochovský in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz, 21 February 1586. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub. uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/ by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

three hills topped by a bird encircled (single-sided marbled papers).[69] While some of these watermarks appear widely on Ottoman documents of the period (like the anchor encircled) and were likely part of the Italian-Ottoman paper trade, others are uncommon for an Ottoman context. The variety of angels encircled are particularly noteworthy as they appear frequently on ambassadorial reports sent from the German House beginning around 1577 under David Ungnad.[70] The Ottoman paper decorators and the chancellery inside the German House seem to have sourced raw paper from the same stationers.

Silhouette papers had been used in *alba amicorum* in the German House since the early 1570s.[71] The earliest designs were intended for Ottoman manuscripts and included large single-color blocks for text framed by stylized floral patterns, such as those found in several sixteenth-century collections of poetry.[72] The central blocks could also be used for painted and pasted images in cut-and-paste albums, called *muraqqaʿ*.[73] In the 1580s, the *alba amicorum* of the German House begin to include silhouette papers with more dramatic full-page designs including vases, pavilions, elaborate frames, and gardens. Some of these were utilized as frames for coats of arms and signatures (Fig. 10). Many of the floral and pavilion motifs relate to late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century *katıʿ*, or cut-paper arts.[74] Abschatz's album is one of the earliest to include these new designs.

One silhouette folio in the album even includes the initials 'HF' in the gable above a pavilion with several trees and shrubs embellished in gold outlines (Fig. 11). Papers produced for the Ottoman market sometimes had short textual

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69 This watermark appears on several reports and personal letters sent by ambassador Eytzing in 1585–1587, such as the note letter to Rudolf II written in his own hand from 21 January 1587, Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 59, Konv. 1, fols 194–195.

70 See, for example, the angels encircled topped by six-pointed stars in the original cyphered report from 27 November 1577 in Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 36, Konv. 1, fols 169–179. These are countermarked with '3M' topped by a trefoil. Since the folios in the Abschatz are cut to a smaller size than the archival documents, the countermarks are not visible. The latest examples of a similar watermark I have encountered in the documents from the German House are the early reports of ambassador Eytzing, such as that from 6 May 1584 (above an 'S' and countermarked with a 'CC'-trefoil) in Vienna, HHStA, Turcica I, Karton 51, Konv. 1, fols 60–64. See also the explanation of the bird encircled watermark above.

71 Sönmez 2016.

72 For some examples, see Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, TSK R. 738 mük; Amasya, Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, BA 02134; and several manuscripts in Paris, BnF: Turc 302; Turc 288; Turc 289; Turc 1144.

73 For example, see London, British Library, Or 2709. On the genre, see Fetvacı 2019.

74 Çağman 2014, 107–112, 183–201.
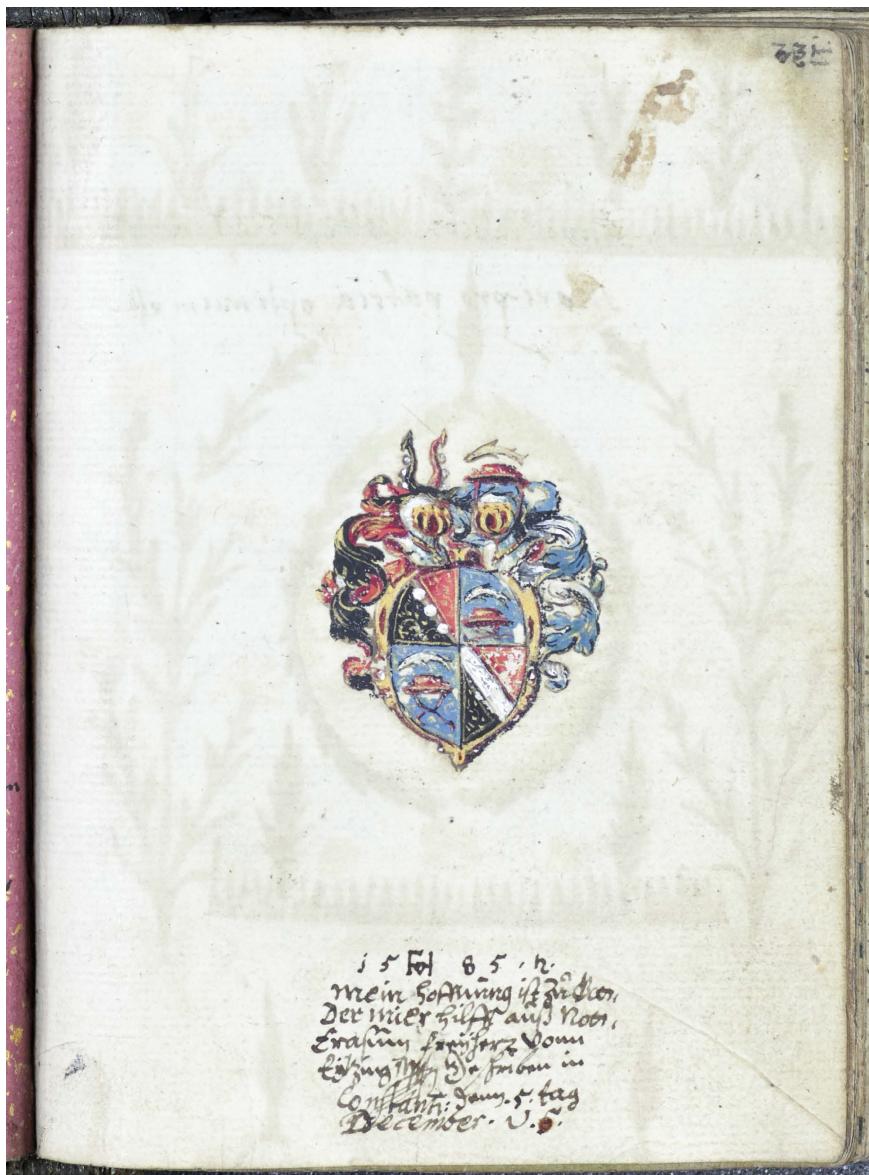
Fig. 10: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 231. Silhouette paper with decorative frame around a coat of arms, signature of Erasmus von Eytzing in Constantinople, signature from 5 December 1585. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

Fig. 11: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 165. Silhouette paper with the initials 'HF', 1584–1587. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. in scrin. 198a, https://resolver.sub.uni-hamburg.de/kitodo/HANSh4370 (CC BY-SA 4.0 [https://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/4.0/deed.de]).

excerpts written in Persian or Arabic, however Latin letters are unknown. This indicates that the silhouette paper in question was designed for a European consumer.

As with the silhouette papers, the marbled papers in Abschatz's album also display cutting-edge developments in decorated paper designs. The highly prized art of paper marbling had been only recently introduced to Constantinople by Persian artists.[75] In the 1580s, artists in Constantinople began to experiment with new pigment combinations and stencilled patterns. The first signature to appear on the verso of a single-sided folio of marbled paper in Abschatz's album (dated 26 November 1584) just weeks after their arrival in Constantinople is by Johann Purgleutner (also Burckleitner), the master of the kitchens for the tribute-carrying delegate von Liechtenstein.[76]

The extraordinary stencilled marbled paper with which this essay began shows a cutting-edge experimental design. Its negative spaces are better suited to serve as backdrops for *alba amicorum* signatures. These innovations appeared in marbled papers around 1586 and both show up for the first time in Abschatz's album. It is tempting to speculate that either Abschatz or the Styrian nobleman Abraham Gablkhover, was involved in transmitting the innovation to the residents, if not in the innovation itself. Gablkhover's name appears on the earliest folios of stencilled marbled paper in three other contemporary albums.[77] Based on his signatures alone, Gablkhover seems to have joined the retinue of ambassador Eytzing around 1586 and departed with him in August 1587. Until more documents are uncovered, we cannot know with certainty what, if any, role he played in the decorated paper trade. With these new designs, marbled folios could retain their exotic decorative programs while still functioning as signature backdrops. Importantly, neither these stencilled circles and crescents nor the large negative spaces in marbling designs can be seen in Ottoman manuscripts. Instead, these experimental folios quickly spread in Europe, where, in the early seventeenth-century stencilling techniques were used to dramatic effect.

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75 Benson 2023.

76 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 670. He is listed as the master of the kitchens in Besolt 1595, 521. Purgleutner had also signed in Plovdiv a few weeks and pages earlier in the album (Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 667).

77 The album of Leonhard Lang von Durach, Doha, Qatar National Library, HC. MS. 2017.0016, fol. 59ʳ (dated 9 August 1587); and the album of Hans Schumacher, private collection, fol. 73ʳ (dated 14 August 1587). The latter album was sold at auction on 17 November 2010, at Tajan in Paris. The folio with the signature of Gablkhover was published in Breslauer 1979, 84–85 and color plate VI.

Conclusion

What does this curated collection of a Silesian teenager reveal about early modern Eurasian cross-cultural encounters? Abschatz's *album amicorum* displays a remarkable familiarity with his surroundings. It is filled with textual excerpts in the languages of the Ottoman court, Ottoman decorated papers, and references to gardens, grottos, waterways, and neighbourhoods around the city. At the same time, this deeply personal artifact also embodies the distance Abschatz kept from his environment. It contains few signatures from Ottoman Muslims and a limited repertoire of generic images of costumed figures. This complicated artifact encompassing his experiences remained with Abschatz for the rest of his life. The excerpts of written and spoken Ottoman Turkish and the bright decorated papers were all packed into a small object which could fit inside his pocket. The presence of these visual and textual elements meant that he, and those hundreds of acquaintances viewing and signing his album after his return to Europe, had repeated opportunities to engage with the Ottoman world. Abschatz's *album amicorum* shows how an Ottoman sojourn could be interwoven and embedded within a Central European nobleman's world.

Several recent studies in intellectual history have broadened their scope to include a wider cast of characters in the history of philology, the study of Islam, and European scholarly engagement with the Ottoman Empire.[78] Interestingly, Hans Löwenklaw, who has long been considered to be one of the most important orientalists with direct experience of the Ottoman Empire, signed only one *album amicorum* during his two-month stay in Ottoman territory: Abschatz's album while in Plovdiv. Stefan Hanß has recently argued that many central Europeans engaged with the Ottoman Turkish language as amateurs in the seventeenth century.[79] Such practices included individuals like the Carinthian nobleman Hector von Ernau, whose scholarly activities are virtually unknown, but who may have been the ghost author of the first printed Ottoman Turkish grammar book from 1612. Ernau coincidentally, also signed Abschatz's album.[80] Abschatz's album records how central Europeans had casual and at times semi-scholarly engagement with the languages of the Ottoman Empire at earlier dates as well.

Abschatz was not an early modern orientalist. Unlike the many travel writers and scholars before and after him, he never went on to publish a treatise or travel narrative based on his experiences. His engagement with the Ottoman world was

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78 Ghobrial 2013; Bevilacqua 2018; Babinski 2020.

79 Hanß 2021.

80 Hamburg, SUB, Cod. in scrin. 198a, p. 461.

personal. Until very recently, few scholars accidentally encountered his album's brilliant pages, marvelling at its complexity under florescent lighting. Its recent digitization under a creative commons licence has made it possible for a new generation of scholars to encounter it in the most unlikely places. I first saw a scan from the album floating around on Pinterest while researching for my book on fifty other similar albums. By the time I visited the album in person in the summer of 2021, I had nearly memorized its contents. What struck me most as I held the small volume in my hands was its intimate size, its weight in the hand, and its loose and worn binding. Abschatz's cherished album was well-used and frequently revisited by Abschatz himself and by subsequent owners. It was a single man's pocket-sized social and material biography: both central European and Ottoman at its core.

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Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Turc 302.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Turc 1144.
Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett Yahuda 1439.
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Appendix: Entries in the *album amicorum* of Caspar von Abschatz[81]

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
1		1588-05-27	Caspar von Abschatz	coat of arms, title page
3		1589	D. von Schwemm	
3		1589	G. von Sack	
3		1589	H. Bunsch, called Ratzbar	
4		1589	Caspar von Kreckwitz auf Joppendorff	later went to Constantinople in 1591 with the retinue of Friedrich von Kreckwitz <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1136754911>
4		1589	Caspar Koppett	
4		1589	C. von Sack	
4		1589	Friedrich von Motschelnitz	
5		1589	Christoph Hocke	
5		1589	Opitz von Falckenhayn	
5		1589	M. Raußendorff	
13		1588	Johann von Hardegg	
13		1588	Moritz von Brunn	
14		1588	Johann Kfeller von Langgrün	
14		1589	L. G. von Sack, the younger	
17		1588	H. von Falckenhayn	

81 The names in the following list have been standardized. For transcriptions of the original versions as they appear in the album, see <https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/suche-nach-stammbuechern.html?permaLink=1587_abschatz>.

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
17		1588	F. von Ramnitz	
18		1589	Ernst von Schweidiger	
20		1591	G. von Rumnitz	
25		1588	W. D. von Rohnaur	
39		1588	Johann von Bock	
43		1589	Otto von Zietwietz	
45		1588	N. von Kalckreuth	
49	[Constantinople]	1587	Lorenzo Bernardo	Venetian Bailo, coat of arms <https://d-nb.info/gnd/1236030435>
63	Vienna	1587-05-09	David Ungnad, Freiherr zu Sonnegk	president of the Aulic War Council and former resident ambassador, met during Abschatz's trip as a courier back to central Europe <http://d-nb.info/gnd/12025509X>
73	Constantinople	1587-08-07	Paul von Eytzing	resident ambassador
89		1589	Nikolas von Zedlitz	
89		1589	H. von Ktlnn [?]	
89		1589	Georg von Pogerell	(† 1617)
89		1589	Balthasar von Mutschelnitz	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1164204491>
96	Constantinople	1587-06-22	Krzysztof Dzierżek	Polish ambassador to the Ottoman court
113		1590	G. von Rumnitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
117		1588	K. von Thaer	
117		1588	S. von Glaubitz	
120		1588	Friedrich von Dhona	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/130869325>
128		1589	Nikolas von Leonberg	
128		1589	Georg von Biber	
128		1589	Nikolas von Loss	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/121988813>
128		1589	Caspar von Borlitz	
131	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Carl Rainer	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing
132				coat of arms
134	Constantinople	1586	Johann Friedrich Hoffmann, the younger	tribute-carrying ambassador <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1089351348>
135		1584	Franz Khevenhüller	coat of arms
141		[1584]	Nikolas von Zrínyi	coat of arms
148	Vienna	1587	Landeus Angsel	
155		1589	H. von Popschütz	
155		1589	B. von Nostitz	
155		1589	L. von Salisch	
155		1589	Heinrich von Haugwitz	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1050383818>
155		1589	G. von Lemberg	
155		1589	L. von Bunsch	
155		1589	H. von Kutschin	
157		1589	George von Stusche	
157		1589	Johann von Nibschitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
157		1589	F. H. von Schlichtig	
172				landscape scene
173	Vienna	1584-05-17	Maximilian von Salm	coat of arms <https://d-nb.info/gnd/1156326214>
175	Constantinople	1586-02-18	Heinrich Matthias von Thurn	Bohemian nobleman on a pilgrimage, later one of the chief instigators of the defenestration of Prague, returned to Constantinople during the Thirty Year's War <http://d-nb.info/gnd/12132141X>
176		1590	Johann von [?] auf [?]	coat of arms
177		1584	Judit von Thurn	
178				coat of arms
179	[Vienna]	1583	Wolfgang Heinrich Strein zu Schwarzenau	later led a tribute-carrying delegation in 1590 <http://d-nb.info/gnd/119841738>
179	[Vienna]	1583	Johann Christoph von Tschernembl	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/119852861>
179		1584	Johann Gotthard Strein zu Schwarzenau	
179		1584	Franz Khevenhüller	in Constantinople in 1582, traveled and then returned to work for Archduke Maximilian
179	Constantinople	1584	Sigmund Ludwig von Polheim	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1041725590>
180	Plovdiv	1584-10-07	Johann Löwenklau	intellectual in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, in the German House between 1584-11-15 and 1585-01-19, later became a famous orientalist <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1089470711>

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
180	Constantinople	1584-11-13	Wolfgang Ungnad zu Sonnegk	(† 1594) relative of former resident ambassador
181		1584	Balthasar von Danwitz	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1140877186>
181		1584	Johann Haiden	
182		1584	Georg Achatius Matseber	
182		1584	Braxelis Matseber, *née* Kirchenberger	
182		1584	K. G. von O.	
182		1584	M. G. von O.	
182		1584	S. G. von O.	
182		1584	Anna Maria Manning, *née* von Thurn	
183		1584	Kasper von Bischofsheim	
184		1584	Johann Wilhelm Geyer von Osterberg, the younger	
185		1584	Anton Trautson	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/171230818>
186	Constantinople	1584-11-11	Georg Andreas von Behaim	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
187	Constantinople	1584-11-12	Carl von Dietrichstein	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
190	[Vienna]	1584-03-07	Carl von Lathem	
193		1588	Friedrich von Stange	
194		1588	H. von Brauchitsch	
194		1588	G. von Schweinichen	
194		1588	M. von Kottwitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
197				landscape scene with two women and five angels
205				coat of arms
208		1588	Johann Ohm, the elder	
208		1588	Hermann Prämnitz	
208		1588	David Borschnitz zu Obernick	
208		1588	Johann Ohm, the younger	
209		1588	Albrecht Luck	
209		1588	Wolfgang Schweidiger zu Poltschin	
209		1588	Sebald von Neßwitz	
210		1588	Balthasar Proennitz [?]	
210		1588	Georg von Löben	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/119740206>
210		1588	M. von Kottwitz	
211		1589	A. von Schellendorff	
211		1589	Reichard von Krogke	
211		1589	O. von Schellendorff	
212		1589	M. von Lüttwitz	
212		1589	Leopold von Petersdorff	
215	Constantinople	1586-02-09	Wolfgang Sebastian Hoffmann	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed three days before their departure, otherwise undocumented, signed the album twice
217		1589	Otto von Schellendorff	
217		1589	H. von Loße	
217		1589	A. von Falkenhayn	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
219		1589	V. von Abschatz	
220		1593	Johann von Mülheim	
221		1593	Friedrich von Schlichtig	
222		1593	Balthasar von Kreischelwitz	
222		1593	M. E. von Kopisch	
226		1601	M. von H.	
226		1601	H. E. v. H.	
226		1601	S. E. v. Ce.	
226		1601	Georg von Tetwen [?]	
229		1587	Johann Septimius von Liechtenstein	former member of resident ambassador Sinzendorff's retinue, went on a pilgrimage afterwards <http://d-nb.info/gnd/13669854>
230	Kadıköy	1584-10-23	Georg Hartmann von Liechtenstein	retinue member (and brother) of the tribute-carrying ambassador Heinrich von Liechtenstein, died on 1585-01-09 in Constantinople
231	Constantinople	1585-12-05	Erasmus von Eytzing	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, coat of arms
232		1587	Maximilian von Breuner	<https://d-nb.info/gnd/116493577>
235	Constantinople	1587-05-24	Vespasiano Casteletto del Nomi	retinue member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen
244		1595	H. von Spiller	duck
244		1595	Christoph von Schellendorff	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
244		1595	F. von Moll zu Mulredlitz, the younger	
245		1595	Johann von Warnsdorf	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1078073929>
247	Constantinople	1586[-02]	Wolfgang Sebastian Hoffmann	see 215
249	Constantinople	1586-02-08	Peter Prajma von Bilkow, the younger	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed three days before their departure, otherwise undocumented
263		1588	Adam von Abschatz	
267		1607	Wilhelm von Eck	
267		1607	He. von Elbel	
267		1607	N. von Borwitz	
268		1607	Friedrich Faust von Sturm	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1014334144>
270	Prague	1587-04-08	Ullman von Nostitz	
270		1588	Albrecht von Rottkirch	
270		1588	Friedrich von Scheindl	
271		1588	A. von Abschatz	
272		1589	Heinrich von Polckenhain, the younger	
273		1587	Sigmund von Abschatz	signed the same folio twice
273		1588	Sigmund von Sommerfeld	
273	Prague	1587-04-19	Sigmund von Abschatz	signed the same folio twice
275		1588	I. von Hase	
276			Salomon von Eicke	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
278		1588	David von Eicke	
280		1588	Sebastian von Falckenhayn	
280		1588	Joachim von Reibnitz	nude figure
283		1588	C. von Hoschatz	
283		1588	Adam von Rothkirch	
283		1588	Johann Albrecht von Rothkirch	
284		1590	G. von Loss	coat of arms
286	Javor	1590-06-06	W. G. von Eicke	
287	Javor	1590-06-06	Conrad von Schwabsdorf	
288	Javor	1590-06-06	A. B. von Abschatz	
289		1588	L. von Salisch	
290		1588	Oswald von Tschammer, the younger	coat of arms
291				wedding scene
293		1588	H. van der Knomi [?]	
294		1588	D. von Brauchitsch	
299	Constantinople	1587-06-06	Wolfgang Powisch	on a pilgrimage <http://d-nb.info/gnd/119793407>
300		1590	Adam von Schliewitz	
300		1590	Christoph von Sommerfeld	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
302	[Üsküdar] Asia, garden of Hüsrev Kethüda	1586	Bartholomäus Pezzen	secretary, returned in 1587 as resident ambassador <http://d-nb.info/gnd/136981179>
303		1587		incomplete entry
304		1590	Walter von Redern zu Probsthain	coat of arms
306	Constantinople	1587-02-21	Georg Christoph Fernberger von Eggenberg	secretary, messenger, went on a tour of the eastern Mediterranean <http://d-nb.info/gnd/121173194>
306	Vienna	1587	Johann Baumgartner	
308	[Constantinople] Columna Pompeii	1586	Nikolas Perria	retinue member of resident ambassador Breuner (arrived in 1581), his father had been a dragoman, he was training to become a translator as well but could not master Ottoman Turkish and stayed on as a servant
310		1590	Friedrich von Polwitz auf Liebenthal	
313		1590	Christoph Unchur von Hindern [?]	coat of arms
314	Constantinople	1587-02-23	Ali Bey, *né* Melchior von Tierberg	convert to Islam, House dragoman
316		1588	Franz von Busch zu Großstein	
317		1588	Friedrich von Rothkirch	
319		1588	Heinrich von Landskron	
320		1588	David Schaffgotsch	sketch of a hat
320		1588	H. A. von Diekitschtz [?]	
320		1588	A. B. von Lessotha	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
320		1588	G. von Lutkirch	
320		1588	W. E. von Schellendorff	
320		1588	Wolfgang von Ott	
323		1584	E. G. Z. O.	
323		1584	I. G. Z. O.	
323		1584	E. F. S.	
323		1588	H. B. v. Kuhl	
323		1589	Sigmund von Keckwitz	
323		1589	B. von Schichig	
324	[Vienna]	1583	E. M. F. Z. L. v. B.	
324		1583	Am. G. F. Z. A.	
324		1584	Katharina Ott	
324		1584	Maria Pastern	
324		1584	Elisabeth Hagging	
324		1584	Anna Magdalena von Thurm zu Hohenburg	
327		1588	Sigmund von Mausberg	
329	Constantinople	1584	Stephan von Réva, Graf von Turócszent-márton	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
330	Constantinople	1584	Franz Georg Oberndorfer	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1023505150>
332	[Vienna]	1583	M. von Reideburg	
335	Vienna	1584	Augustin Glück	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
336	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Johann Basilius von Hohenwart	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein (servant), coat of arms
341	Vienna	1583	Johann von Seidersdorff	coat of arms
342	Vienna	1583-11-24	Georg Zawisch	coat of arms
345	Constantinople	1584-11-09	Anton von Štampach	retinue member of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
346		1584	Johann Wilhelm von Rombach	coat of arms
350		1590	G. von Eichholtz	
351		1587	H. von Rohn zu Dirschwitz	
352		1588	G. von Ronau	
359	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Christoph von Zetlitz	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, otherwise undocumented
361	Vienna	1583-08-16	Adam Saurma von Schlanz	coat of arms
362	Vienna	1583-10-02	Leonhard von Wolff	coat of arms
364		1590	H. von Sack	
365		1598	Bartholomäus von Sack	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/11981305X>
370	[Üsküdar] Asia, garden of Hüsrev Kethüda	1586-09-03	Abraham Gabelkover	joined retinue of resident ambassador Eytzing, possibly active with decorated paper trade

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
371	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Johann von Schneckenhaus	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1142028577>
372	Constantinople	1586	Rudolf Gall zum Rudolphseck und Lichteneck	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn (as his servant)
373	Constantinople	1586-02-14	Ambrosius Tesmer zu Kolberg	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn
375	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Christoph Simon von Heudorf	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue, later went on a pilgrimage
376		1589	A. von Lenberg	
376		1589	G. von Lest	
376		1589	G. von Ecke	
379		1584	Georg Ehrenreich Grueber von Grueb	
380	Vienna	1584-06-12	Wolfgang von Mengsreiter	coat of arms
385				pair of lovers on a sleigh led by wandering lobsters
386	[Vienna]	1584-08	Georg von Sitsch	coat of arms
389	Constantinople	1586-02-18	Carl Nützel von Sündersbühl	member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, then went on a pilgrimage together with Heinrich Matthias von Thurn <http://d-nb.info/gnd/120101211>
390		1588	A. von Glaubitz	
390		1588	Sebastian von Luck	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
390		1588	Johann von Braun	
394		1588	Georg Rottwitz	
396	Constantinople	1585-08-07	Jacques Bongars	(1554–1612), from Orléans, diplomat and intellectual <http://d-nb.info/gnd/117618349>
397	Constantinople	1585	Glonciellius [?]	
399	Vienna	1584-08-24	Friedrich von Gallenberg zu Gallenstein	knight on horseback
400				woman with scales weighing an old man with money versus a young man with books
401			Moritz von Miltitz	coat of arms
402		1588	G. von Rothkirch	
403		1588	Wolfram von Rothkirch	
404		1588	W. von Haugwitz	
405	[Prague]	1587-04-16	Otto von Raschau	
406		1588	G. von Schweinitz, the younger	
409	Prague	1587-04-12	Wilhelm Walter von Orßoÿ	Transylvanian chamberlain and treasurer of the Prince of Transylvania, coat of arms
411	Prague	1587-04-10	Christoph von Zischwitz	
413		1588	Sigmund von Panwitz	
413		1588	Andreas von Branffewe [?]	
413		1588	G. von Borwitz	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
414		1584	Wolfgang Dietrich Rauch von Weneda	coat of arms
416		1588	O. von Lücke	
416		1588	Adam von Kittlitz	
416		1588	Fabian von Kittlitz	
417	Constantinople	1585-01-19	Johann von Salaza	Silesian pilgrim
418	Constantinople	1585-01-17	Sebastian von Haimsberg	Transylvanian pilgrim
427	Küçükçekmece	1585-05-22	Georg Gartman	servant (*Tafeldecker*) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, stayed in Constantinople, presumably returned with Hoffmann
429		1588-07-02	Georg von Redern zu Groß-Strehlitz	
431		1584	Johann von Zweifel	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, likely returned immediately with the tribute-carrying carriages, coat of arms
436	[Vienna]	1583-09-07	G. W. K. Z. R.	coat of arms
437	[Vienna]	1583	Simon de Lamoullerie	
437	[Vienna]	1583	Jacob van Voorde	
437	[Vienna]	1583	Wilhelm von T'Serclaes	
437		1584	Gilbert von Saint-Hilaire	
438		1584	Johann Jacob von Seidlitz	
438	[Vienna]	1583	Ernst Rechenberg	
438	[Vienna]	1583	Johann von Romnitz	
441		1588	Johann von Rothkirch auf Taschendorf	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
441		1588	H. v. Rumttele [?]	
441		1588	Ga. von Hundt	
442		1588	G. von Bock	
443		1588	D. von Dak	
444		1588	G. von Waldau	
445		1588	W. von Kotwitz	
446		1588	A. von Rothkirch	
446		1588	E. von Haugwitz	
446		1588	A. von Schweinitz	
447		1596	Johann Georg von Zedlitz	
448		1592	Heinrich von Schweinitz	
449		1592	T. von Rohnan	
457	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Jacob Fürer von Haimendorff	likely a member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue
459	Vienna	1583-08-22	Georg Wilhelm Braun von Warttenberg	
459	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Stephan Wolfgang von Mechau	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
461	Constantinople	1586-02-24	Hector von Ernau	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, stayed in the German House and eventually served as a messenger, last recorded there in 1590-10

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
463	Belgrade	1584-09-22	Christoph Sigmund von Pranck	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, coat of arms
464	Plovdiv	1584-10-07	Johann Jacob Egglhof	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein as master of the stables
465	Constantinople	1585-12-29	Alexander von Polentz	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann <http://d-nb.info/gnd/116397241X>
469		158*		torn folio
470				sultana with empty coat of arms
471	Constantinople	1587-08-08	Leonhard Lang von Durach	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue, served as a messenger
472		1588	Caspar von Wulfensdorf	
473	Constantinople	1584-11-27	Hector von Ölssen	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, recorded in the German House through 1584-11
474	Constantinople	1585-04-19	Hieronymus Arconat	secretary in training, arrived with messenger on 1584-05-12 and was supposed to return with Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/119608561>
474	Constantinople	1586-02-09	Hieronymus Biedermann	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed three days before their departure
476		1589	G. von Falkenhayn	
479	[Vienna]	1584-08-24	Joachim Schmelzing von Wernstein	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
482		1588	M. H. von Kittlitz	
483	Vienna	1587-11-24	Georg von Schlieben	
484		1587	Jürgen von Abschatz	
486	Constantinople	1586-02-08	Baptist van der Mühlen	pilgrim
488		1588	Christoph Brockt	
489		1587	M. R. von Lang [?]	
490	Constantinople	1585-08-25	Dionysus Knotzer	retinue member of resident ambassador Eytzing, worked as a messenger and remained on until 1588-11 <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1035608065>
493	[Vienna]	1583	Cornelius de Bael	
493	[Vienna]	1583	I. von Reibniz	
493			Luis de Valente	
497	Vienna	1587-05-06	Andreas Raisinger	coat of arms, secretary of David Ungnad, president of the Aulic War Council
501		1588	C. von Prose	
502		1584	Bernhard Marschalk von Ostheim	coat of arms <http://d-nb.info/gnd/120174901>
503				dragon and witches
504	[Vienna]	1584-05-31	Bernhard Izwiński	
506	Vienna	1587-10-21	Heinrich Dutschaut [?]	coat of arms

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
507	Constantinople	1586	Jindřich Tučap von Tučapy	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
509	[Vienna]	1583	Sa. von Sack	
511	Constantinople	1584-10-21	Philip Hanniwald von Eckersdorf	retinue member (*Mundschenk* and *Hofmeister*) of resident ambassador Sinzendorff
512		1588	B. von Dier, the younger	
512		1588	B. von Steinhaller	
512		1588	A. von Lest	
516		1588	Sigmund von Glauwitz	
516		1590	C. A. von Braun	
518		1588	Walter von Seidlitz	
521		1589	Hertwig Seidlitz	
522		1589	N. von Eichenß	
523		1589	A. von Debschitz	
523		1589	F. von Lücke	
523		1589	G. von Kottwitz	
523		1589	B. von Kottwitz	
525	[Vienna]	1583	Ferdinandus von Oyenbrug	
525	Vienna	1584-07-22	Wolfhart Rothkirch	
526	Vienna	1584-07-13	Johann Schmaltzing	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
527	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Wilhelm von Brumsee	
528		1584	Moritz von Miltitz	
528		1584	Wolfgnag Georg von Mengesreitter	
528		1584	Hartman von Lengfeld	
530				duel on horseback
531		1587	Christoph Landegg von Traunstein	coat of arms
532		1598	Bernhard von Schlichtig	
533		1595	W. L. von Ptein	
534	Kadıköy	1585-05-10	Augerio Zeffi	translator-in-training of the German House, born in Galata as the son of an earlier dragoman, learning the language since the mid-1570s, named dragoman himself in 1586
539		1592	Johann von Romnitz, the younger	
540–541	Constantinople	1587-07-14	Johann Nostitz von Schochau	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue, coat of arms <http://d-nb.info/gnd/121890872>
543	Constantinople	1587-07-14	Leonhard von Brauchitsch	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue
544		1587	H. von Beck	
544		1589	Maximilian von Zeteritz	
545	Vienna	1587-05-08	Heinrich von Dachröden auf Westgreussen	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1023508389>

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
547	Constantinople	1587-07-07	Leonhard Lang von Durach	messenger of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen, owner of a large album of decorated paper
548	Constantinople	1587-07-19	Adam Grapler	messenger of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen
549	Vienna	1588-04-13	Johann Gall Fayg von Anhausen	owner of a large album of decorated paper, coat of arms <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1023632292>
559		1586	Albrecht Balduin de Capris	
561	Constantinople	1586-03-05	Georg Kitzmegl	former captive
561	Constantinople	1586	Hieronymus Griemiller z Trebska	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1103519220>
563	Constantinople	1586-02-06	Alexander Schmölzer	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
565	Vienna	1584-06-13	Augustin Fleck zu Penckh	earlier in Constantinople, likely as a member of the 1582 Habsburg delegation to Prince Mehmed's circumcision festival led by Nyáry
566	Danube	1587	Georg von Zedlitz von der Maur	
571		1584	Carl Under Weitmill	
573		1587	Johann Sebastian Indersner zu Indersen	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/113688310X>
576			Hermann von der Becke	coat of arms <http://d-nb.info/gnd/103466882X>
577–578	Prague	1587-03-30	Johann Adolph	

Page	Date	Person	Location	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
581	1587-11-25	Christoph von Waldau	[Vienna]	
583	1587-04-18	Johann Adam Indinger	Prague	
584–585	1587-04-13	Franz Prigge	Prague	coat of arms
588	1589	Albrecht von Khull		
592	1587	Johann Ludwig Sauer	Constantinople	
593	1587-06-06	Steno Bilde	Constantinople	Danish traveler <http://d-nb.info/gnd/112874286>
594	1587-06-06	Esaias von Brandenstein (1567–1623)	Constantinople	pilgrim <http://d-nb.info/gnd/121654427>
596	1584-11-15	Leopold Kellhammer	Constantinople	retinue member (*Edeljung*) of resident ambassador Eytzing
597	1584	Christoph von der Sachssen, the younger		
597	1584	Sigmund von Gersdorff		
599	1588	S. von Niebelschütz		
599	1588	Heinrich von Nibelschitz		
600	1587-04-23	Jacob Treutler von der Schweid	Vienna	
601	1586-02-08	Caspar Malik	Ayvansaray [Constantinople]	translator, messenger, and agent of the Aulic War Council
603	1586-02-11	Johann Urmiller von Leutstetten	Constantinople	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, coat of arms
605	1587-07-21	Johann Gabor	Constantinople	secretary and messenger of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
607	Constantinople	1586-02-21	Sigmund Ostrochovský	images of a ship and island
612	Vienna	1587-05-05	Jacob Türk, the younger	
613				ship (Karmissal)
615	Vienna	1584-02-20	S. von Paradeiser	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein, coat of arms
616		1584	I. D. von R. von Medzibor	
617				coat of arms
620	Constantinople	1586-02-05	Adam Kottwitz	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann <http://d-nb.info/gnd/120524120>
622		1589	Bartholomäus von Studnitz	
625	Constantinople	1584-10-22	Georg Poschinger	
626		1584	Johann Georg Haikel	coat of arms
627	[Üsküdar] Asia, garden of Hüsrev Kethüda	1586-09-05	Gabriel Guetrath	
630	[Vienna]	1583	Oswald von Tschammer, the younger	
630	[Vienna]	1583	N. von Rockenburg	
630	[Vienna]	1583	G. von Patschimtzke	
632		1595	Albrecht von Rechenberg zu Panthenau	
633	Rigell [?]	1595	Heinrich von Schellendorff	

Page	Date	Person	Location	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
635	1583	Johann von Ratzbar	[Vienna]	
635	1583	Wentzel von Mevahlt	[Vienna]	
635	1583	Christoph von Reichenberg	[Vienna]	
635	1583	Johann von Schwanitz	[Vienna]	
639	1584-11-12	Wilhelm von Dietrichstein	Constantinople	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
639	1584-10-01	Maximilian Mager von Fuchsstadt	Sofia	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
639–640	1588	...und zu [Kelsburg]		
643	1587-04-19	Johann Hoffmann von Neukirchen	Prague	
645	1589-07-12	Georg Borwitz		
646	1583	He. von Zedlitz	[Vienna]	
646	1583	Georg von Sitsch	[Vienna]	
646		Caspar von Leiben		
646	1584-06-01	Christoph von Gersdorff	Vienna	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/120465973>
648	1588	A. von Reibnitz		
650	1588	Leonhard von Schkopp		
651	1588	Friedrich von Mohl		
653	1584-11-07	Sebastian Bischoff	Constantinople	servant of deceased resident ambassador Breuner
654	1588	He. von Strachwitz		
654	1588	Johann von Strachwitz		
655	1590	Georg Rohr von Gallwitz		

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
660	Constantinople	1586-02-09	Johann Huenich	from Antwerp, met with several rival ambassadors and eventually departed separately via Transylvania
662		1587	Johann Haunold	
664		1584	Adolf von Grossen Wansleben	
665	Constantinople	1586-11	Pelegrino Castelino	training to be a dragoman, from Galata, served several ambassadors but never managed to learn the language to the point of being able to serve as a translator
667	Plovdiv	1584-10-05	Johann Purgleutner	in the retinue (*Kuchelmeister*) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
668	Plovdiv	1584-10-05	Melchior Besolt	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/119619873>
670	Constantinople	1584-11-26	Johann Purgleutner	see 667
671	Constantinople	1584-11-28	Carl Hayden	in the retinue (*Kellermeister*) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
673	Constantinople	1587-06-06	Bartholomäus Wagner	(1560–1629), member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue <http://d-nb.info/gnd/124580874>
675	Edirne	1584-10-12	Wolfgang Leimböck von Riet	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
676	Constantinople	1585-04-19	Johann Hoffmann	captive in the Sultan's prisons
677	[Constantinople]	1586	Johann Baptist Pezzen	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/1139220837>

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
678			Georg von Zrin	
681	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Victor Rechlinger	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1137283327>
682	Belgrade	1584-09-18	Carl Hayden	in the retinue (*Kellermeister*) of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
682	Belgrade	1584-09-18	Melchior von Zedlitz	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
683	Constantinople	1585-05-05	Valentin Gadoczy	
685	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Georg Rauch	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
685	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-06	Wolfgang Martin Hayden	chamberlain in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
686	Belgrade	1584-09-17	Joachim von Buchta	chamberlain in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1012751074>
688		1588	A. von Luck	
688		1588	Christoph von Ketwitz	
689	Vienna	1587	Wolfgang Haiden zu Inzersdorf	
691	Plovdiv	1584-10-07	Martin Michel	barber in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
695		1588	H. von Moll	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
696		1588	Friedrich von Pogrell	
699		1588	Christoph von Reibnitz	
701		1589	S. Keltsch von Riemberg	
701		1589	G. von Poltz	
701		1589	F. von Falckenhayn	
701		1589	Balthasar von Guttina	
702	Vienna	1587	Nikolas Rosa	coat of arms
704	Constantinople	1584-12-02	Andreas Weiß	
705	Constantinople	1584	Dzierżek Hamza	
706	Constantinople	1584-11-04	Georg Ehrenreich Bayer	
709	Constantinople	1587-07-13	Georg Bernhard Kirchberger zu Seysenburg und Viehofen	
711	Constantinople	1587	Paul Sczuplinski	servant of the Polish ambassador Krzysztof Dzierżek
711		1584	Philip Cotereau	
711	Vienna	1584-06-30	Johann Christoph Rorer	
712		1589	C. von Seidlitz	
712		1589	Friedrich von Stosch	
712		1590	H. F. von Horn	
713	Constantinople	1586[-02]	Jan Lorenz Sseliha	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
715	Constantinople	1587-07-23	Simeon Hayek von Hayek	coat of arms
718		1587	H. G. N.	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
718		1588	Adam Schweinichen	
718		1588	Christoph von Borwitz	
719		1588	Balthasar von Schweinitz	
720		1589	F. von Schlichting	
720		1589	Johann von Eck	
721		1584	N. von Gunderadt	
721	Buda (Ottoman Hungary)	1584-09-07	Jacob Müelich	servant in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1137283777>
721		1589	Friedrich von Selndorff	
722		1590	Friedrich von Schellendorff	
723	[Constantinople] in the grotto	1585-03-21	Georg Eder	
724	[Constantinople] Garten am Bosporus	1586-08-10	Franz Arconat	messenger between 1584 and 1587
726	Sofia	1584-10-01	Georg Rothut	in the retinue of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
734	Constantinople	1587-07-31	Eustachius Löbl von Lewental	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1141923084>
739		1584	Wolfgang im Tall	
739	Constantinople	1584-11-16	Martin Schönauer	messenger between 1583 and 1586, died in Belgrade 1586-07

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
740	Vienna	1584	Anton Klem	
741	Constantinople	1586-02-10	Jan Lorenz Sseliha	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann, signed here a second time
742	Constantinople	1586-03-03	Johann Gattmair, the younger	
743		1584	Carl von Taberzhoven zu Eglfing	
745	Vienna	1587-11-24	Edechiel [?] Porn	
746	[Vienna]	1587-11-24	Johann Martin Pfeffer	
747	Constantinople	1586-02-10	Christoph Friedrich von Halberstadt	spoke Hungarian and German, lived in the German House between 1586 and 1589, possibly arrived as a member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
749	Vienna	1587-10-10	Nikolas von Steinbach	(† 8.8.1589)
750	Vienna	1595	E. O. von Schliwitz	
752	[Constantinople] Bosphorus	1585-07-09	Christoph Unelsio [?]	
754	Vienna	1583-10-24	Jacob Buchner, the elder	coat of arms <http://d-nb.info/gnd/104172509>
755	[Constantinople]	1586-02-08	Tobias Kerlaus	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
758		1588	A. von Glaubitz	
759		1584	Moritz von Zetteritz und Adessa	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
760	Constantinople	1586-02-13	Konrad Pall von Biberach	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann
763		1588	Christoph von Löben	
767	Constantinople	[1584/1587]	Murad Bey, *né* Balázs Somlyai	convert to Islam and former House Dragoman, taught Ottoman Turkish in the German House
769	Plovdiv	1584-10-06	Bartholomäus Gebhardt	apothecary of tribute-carrying delegation led by Liechtenstein
771				man on horseback with city view (portrait of owner?)
773		1584	Berthold Stein	
774		1588	Leonhard von Panwitz	
774		1588	Heinrich von Panwitz	
779	Constantinople	1587-07-20	Johann Kokorß von Camentz	master of the stables for resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen, later went on a pilgrimage
783	Constantinople	1587-07-13	Johann Blo	member of resident ambassador Bartholomäus Pezzen's retinue
784	[Constantinople]	1585-12-29	Johann Bave	likely member of the tribute-carrying delegation led by Hoffmann from Nuremberg
785		1588	Friedrich von Brauchitsch	
785		1589	Georg von Glaubitz	
787	Vienna	1587-05-03	Bartholomäus Langenheim	

Page	Location	Date	Person	Notes related to content and connections to Constantinople
789	Constantinople	1587-08-20	Johann Joachim Prack von Asch zu Luttach	messenger between 1587 and 1591, owner of a large collection of decorated paper <http://d-nb.info/gnd/11369386X>
793	Vienna	1587-11-24	Wolfhart Hauser	
795	Huelm	1607-05-17	Johann von Rothkirch	
796		159*	Johann Haunoldt	hat
797		1589	Christoph von Mülheim	coat of arms
798		1589	Georg von Hobergk und Kauder	
799	Constantinople	1587-07-24	Stephan von Hausen	servant and musician working for resident ambassador Friedrich Breuner between 1581 and 1583, recorded traveling in the Eastern Mediterranean in May 1583, this signature indicates he returned to Constantinople with the retinue of ambassador Pezzen
800		1589	Georg von Sommerfeld	
803		1588	Christoph von Landskron und Opsendorff	
804		1588-07-13	Leonhard Krentzheim	<http://d-nb.info/gnd/119734362>
807		1588	C. von Proffo, the elder	

Friederike Weis

Cruel Conquerors and a Solomonic Saint: European Collectors' Interests in Indian *Muraqqa*ʿs

Abstract: The essay argues that Europeans living and acting in India during the second half of the eighteenth century – the period before India became part of the colonial British Empire – were interested in collecting specific motifs within the Indian albums (*muraqqa*ʿs) that they acquired and often commissioned. The study examines three recurrent portraits. Timur and Nadir Shah – both conquerors of India of Turkic origin – might have been regarded as historical role models by the French and British representatives who then strove to infiltrate the centres of Mughal power. Conversely, the Sufi saint Ibrahim ibn-i Adham might have represented the religious dimension of Indian society. The two contrasting motifs presumably also conveyed the persistent cliché of Muslim violence on the one hand and, on the other, the passivity ascribed in European texts to the Indian population.

1 Introduction

In the latter half of the eighteenth century – a period marked by the rise of British and French colonial power in India – many European officers, officials, and self-styled 'Orientalists' collected and commissioned albums (*muraqqa*ʿs)[1] during their stays in the northern and eastern provinces of the Mughal Empire. In contrast to traditional Indo-Persianate albums, which were produced at the Mughal imperial court until the first half of the eighteenth century, these 'modern' Indian *muraqqa*ʿs were mostly put together by freelance artists trained in Mughal ateliers. At the same time, Europeans also obtained as 'gifts' or as booty several albums initially commissioned by Indian elites in the Mughal provinces. This was especially the case in the late 1750s and 1760s, when several battles of the British

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1 Persian is transliterated according to the IJMES transliteration system, which is not always conform to Persian pronunciation.

against the Mughal forces in Bengal and Bihar (East India)[2] led to an increased interest in possessing Indian artefacts on the part of individual Europeans.[3]

All of this explains why several Western collections now hold vast amounts of Indian *muraqqa*'s from the second half of the eighteenth century,[4] while only very few of these have remained in India.[5] The works mounted in the 'modern' Indian albums specifically assembled for Europeans, of whom several maintained their own studios, are not haphazardly jumbled together as many art historians have assumed until recently. Quite the contrary: due to their training at the imperial court, these artists knew quite well how to assemble and also copy earlier Mughal works. Moreover, they inventively adapted standard motifs and sometimes created new compositions. These include portrayals of Mughal princesses and courtesans at their leisure and of female Hindu ascetics, as well as depictions

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2 The first of these battles took place near Plassey (Palashi, near Murshidabad in Bengal) in 1757, followed by several battles in, among others, Helsa (near Bodhgaya in Bihar) in 1761 and Udhwa nala (near Rajmahal in Bihar) in 1763, as well as, most importantly, in Buxar (Bihar) in 1764. The British victory at Buxar over the allied forces of the Nawabs of Bengal and Awadh and the Mughal Emperor Shah ʿAlam II (r. 1760–1806) led to the Treaty of Allahabad, by which the British imposed upon Awadhi Nawab Shujaʿ al-Dawla (r. 1754–1775) a 'subsidiary alliance' and sent Shah ʿAlam into exile at Allahabad, where he was obliged to cede control over the tax revenues (*Diwani*) in East India to the British Company. This has generally been understood as the turning point that led to the East India Company establishing the foundation of British India.

3 See Harris 2002, 77–86. To give two examples: the two Clive albums (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS 48-1956 and IS 133-1964) presumably once belonged to Shujaʿ al-Dawla (r. 1754–1775) before they fell into the hands of Robert Clive (1725–1774) in the aftermath of the battle of Buxar in 1764. Another early collector was the Scottish surgeon and interpreter Archibald Swinton (1731–1804). Of Swinton's eight albums (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Museum für Asiatische Kunst, I 5001–5004; Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4589–4592) two bear his seal impressions dated ᴀʜ 1174 (1760/1761 ᴄᴇ): Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4592, and Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, I 5001. However, these albums previously belonged to the Indian historian and diplomatic broker Ghulam Husayn Khan (1727/1728–*c.* 1780), as is evident from his seals and ownership marks. Both bear the word 'Rotas' in Swinton's hand on the first folio, indicating that he probably obtained them from Rohtasgarh, a Mughal fort in Bihar, which was surrendered by Mir Qasim (r. 1760–1763) to the British in September 1764; see Harris 2001, 365.

4 More than a hundred eighteenth-century Indian *muraqqa*'s from the possession of Antoine-Louis-Henri Polier (1741–1795), Archibald Swinton (1731–1804), Richard Johnson (1753–1807), Jean-Baptiste Joseph Gentil (1726–1799), Elijah Impey (1732–1809), and Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844) have been preserved in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, British Museum and British Library in London, Bodleian Library in Oxford, and John Rylands Library in Manchester – to name only the most important collections.

5 For example, several leaves of an album perhaps produced for Shujaʿ al-Dawla are housed in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery in Gujarat (PG/5C); for reproductions, see Doshi 1995, 58–64, 102–107.

of Indian women in the context of Hindustani music (*Rāgamālā* illustrations) – themes which, in view of the heterosocial climate of the Enlightenment,[6] not surprisingly increased in number in these albums targeting a European audience.[7] However, the subjects at discussion in the present essay – summarised as 'cruel conquerors and a Solomonic saint' – seem to have particularly suited the mindsets of Europeans who actually lived in India at that time. Almost every European patron owned at least one portrait each of the Central Asian conqueror Timur (1336–1405), the Iranian king and military commander Nadir Shah (1688–1747), and the Sufi saint Ibrahim ibn-i Adham of Balkh (d. 776/777). Interestingly, these paintings are often accompanied by lengthy identifications of the subject in English, French, or Persian, written in the hand of their European owners or their secretaries (sg. *munshī*). These inscriptions are usually placed on the decorative borders underneath the paintings. Why were these portraits so greatly sought after? To answer that question, this article explains the iconography and historical context of these paintings. Simultaneously, it seeks to clarify the contemporary mindsets of four European individuals who were all key cultural players engaged in 'Orientalist' networks in India during the second half of the eighteenth century: Antoine-Louis-Henri Polier, Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Gentil, Sir Elijah Impey together with his wife, Lady Mary, and Sir Gore Ouseley. Their careers as well as the building and posthumous fate of their album collections require an introduction.

2 Polier, Gentil, Impey, and Ouseley as 'Orientalist' collectors

The most notable European patron of Indian *muraqqa'*s was the Franco-Swiss Antoine-Louis-Henri Polier (1741–1795), who arrived in India in 1758 as a relatively young man to join the British East India Company (hereafter EIC). After his training as military engineer in Orissa, Bihar, and Bengal, Polier worked in Faizabad between 1773 and 1775 as an architect and supervisor of the fortifications of

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6 In the course of the eighteenth century, a period of significant cultural change in Europe, the public presence of women considerably increased (e.g. as participants in aristocratic and bourgeois salons). In social discourse, middle-class women also gained a new role as connoisseurs of visual arts and literature and as judges of 'taste', especially with regard to femininity and feminine beauty; on this aspect, see Jones 1998.

7 See Weis 2021. For European collections of *Rāgamālā* paintings, see Gude 2009. More research needs to be conducted on this topic.

the Mughal Nawab Shujaʿ al-Dawla (r. 1754–1775), the governor of the province of Awadh (today's Uttar Pradesh in North India). He also continued working for the EIC as a surveyor. However, due to his involvement in military expeditions led by Shujaʿ al-Dawla, Polier was compelled to quit the EIC in November 1775. He then entered the service of Emperor Shah ʿAlam II (r. 1760–1806) in Delhi in March 1776, as a military commander and vassal (*jagīrdār*), while continuing his building projects in Faizabad. In 1780, he moved to Lucknow, the residence of the new Awadhi Nawab Asaf al-Dawla (r. 1775–1797). In June 1780, the EIC reinstated Polier in his former position as architect for the Nawab, promoted him to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1782 and eventually allowed him to return to Europe, where he arrived in 1788.[8]

Soon after his arrival at Shujaʿ al-Dawla's court in Faizabad in 1773, Polier had set up an atelier for the production of *muraqqaʿ*s, which was headed by the Indian artist Mihr Chand (active *c*. 1759–1787), who had previously worked at the imperial court in Delhi.[9] The earliest dated album from Polier's workshop that has survived – inscribed as 'volume troisieme' ('third volume') in Polier's hand – bears the date 22 February 1776,[10] which indicates that it was compiled shortly before his move to Delhi.[11] Many more still extant Polier albums can be dated to the 1780s and were thus produced during the last years of his career in Lucknow.[12]

The second collector, also an active patron of albums, is Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Gentil (1726–1799), a French officer of the Compagnie française pour le commerce des Indes orientales. Gentil arrived in the Deccan in 1752 to serve the French military corps. After the fall of Pondicherry in the French war against the British in 1761, he joined the service of the governor of Bengal, Nawab Mir Qasim Khan (r. 1760–1763). Following a massacre of British company officials in Patna, Gentil fled with Mir Qasim to the court of Shujaʿ al-Dawla in Faizabad in 1763. Gentil,

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8 For a summary of the life of Polier and his career in India, see Subrahmanyam 2000a; Tandan 2008, 102–129, esp. 119–127; and Veyrassat 2022, 33–117. For his life in Lausanne and France after his return, see Hauptman 1996 and Veyrassat 2022, 25–28, 181–192.

9 See Roy 2009, 103–111; Roy 2010. Mihr Chand's employment by Polier in Faizabad and later in Delhi is evident from Polier's Persian letters preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France; see Alam and Alavi 2001, fols 113ʳ, 236ʳ, 256ʳ, 257ᵛ, 286ᵛ, 373ᵛ, 384ʳ, 397ᵛ, 408ᵛ, and 430ʳ.

10 Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4596.

11 At least two still extant Polier albums were completed in Delhi: Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4599 (dated 11 September 1776 and inscribed as 'volume septieme', or 'seventh volume') and Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4594 (dated 19 January 1777).

12 Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst, I 5005 and I 5063 were produced in Lucknow, as is evident from the calligraphic specimens assembled therein dated 1780–1785. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4597 must also have been compiled in Lucknow, as it contains calligraphies dated 1780–1784/1785.

who was fluent in Persian and Urdu, then served for a period of twelve years, until February 1775, as an adviser to Shujaʿ al-Dawla, helping him reorganise and expand the Awadhi infantry and artillery. There, he became acquainted with Polier. From his autobiographical notes, it is evident that Gentil was probably the first European in India to establish a private atelier employing several Indian artists to produce single paintings and drawings as well as at least eleven albums between 1763 and 1775.[13] Gentil returned to France in 1777.[14]

The third collector, and probably also a patron of Indian *muraqqaʿ*s, was Sir Elijah Impey (1732–1809), the first chief justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal from 1774 to 1783. Impey and his wife, Lady Mary (1749–1818), entertained strong personal ties with Polier, as testified by various letters.[15] Lady Impey seems to have shared her husband's interests, which is evident from her own collection of natural history drawings and *Rāgamālā* paintings by Indian artists.[16] Many of the now widely dispersed Impey albums and single disbound pages bear his seal impression dated 1775 on the reverse and are thus identifiable as having once belonged to his collection. The Impeys left India in December 1783.[17]

The fourth collector (and perhaps also patron) of Indian *muraqqaʿ*s to be presented here is Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844), who came to India in 1787 as a textile trader and started forming a collection of Indian manuscripts after he had met the judge and 'Orientalist' Sir William Jones (1746–1794) in Calcutta in 1792. In 1795, Ouseley entered the service of the Awadhi Nawab Asaf al-Dawla in Lucknow as

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13 See Gentil 1822, 422; Adhémar 1967, esp. 175. Gentil's own inventory (Paris, BnF, département des Estampes et de la photographie, Réserve Ye 62 4°, published in Hurel 2010, 243–246, as 'Liste Gentil') lists eleven still extant albums: Paris, BnF, département des Manuscrits, Smith-Lesouëf 246 and département des Estampes et de la photographie, Od 37, Od 50, and Réserve Od 43, 44, 49, 51, 52, 53, 60; and London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS 25-1980. The other numbers refer to a folder of architectural drawings (Paris, BnF, département des Estampes et de la photographie, Od 63), to two illustrated manuscripts (*Abrégé historique des Rajas de l'Indoustan* [Paris, BnF, département des Estampes et de la photographie, Réserve Od 36] and *Divinités des Indoustans tirées des Pourans ou livres historiques en Samscretam* [Paris, BnF, département des Manuscrits, Français 24220]), and to another folder of sixteen drawings (no. 10) that is missing.

14 On Gentil's life, see Hurel 2010, 32–38; on his career in India, see also Tandan 2008, 80–83.

15 See, e.g., Polier's letter to Impey from Lucknow announcing a parcel with two paintings of the Taj Mahal, one as a gift for Lady Coote (d. 1812) and another for Lady Impey, dated 16 April 1783 (London, British Library, Add MS 16264, fols 69–70); and Polier's farewell letter to Impey, dated 20 June 1783 (fols 94–96).

16 See Leach 1995, vol. 2, 671–679 (6.271–6.284); Topsfield 2019, esp. 42–43.

17 On the life of Sir Elijah Impey and his wife, see Bowyer 2004; on his collecting activities, see Harris 2002, 99–103.

a mercenary. In 1798, he was promoted to the rank of Major-Commandant by the newly appointed Nawab Saʿadat ʿAli Khan (r. 1798–1814), the successor to Nawab Wazir ʿAli Khan (r. 1797–1798), who had been deposed by the British governor-general in January 1798. From then onwards, Ouseley held an influential diplomatic position as a translator and promoter of British interests at the Nawabi court in his function as aide-de-camp, to which he was appointed by Governor-General Lord Wellesley (1760–1842). Ouseley returned to Britain in 1805.[18]

The majority of Indian albums compiled for or acquired by these four European collectors generally followed long-established compilation principles of Mughal *muraqqaʿ*s, characterised by alternating paintings and calligraphies set in elaborate margins. The new European clientele was keenly interested in courtly Indian elite culture, but of course never really became part of it. Most of the European adventurers, derisively called 'nabobs' by the people of England, initially intended to make a fortune in India so as to enable a wealthy lifestyle after their return home. Collecting Indian *muraqqaʿ*s, however, was not seen as a monetary investment by these men. Gentil gifted his albums to French King Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792) a few years after his return to France in 1785,[19] whereas Polier and Impey kept dozens of albums for themselves throughout their lives. Impey's collection of about forty albums and folders was auctioned off shortly after his death in May 1810,[20] and all or most of the thirty-five albums[21] in Polier's possession entered the art collection of the wealthy English novelist William Beckford (1760–1844) – presumably a few years after Polier's death in 1795.[22] Ouseley, who had acquired most of his Indian manuscripts and albums during his years of service for Nawab Asaf al-Dawla and Nawab Saʿadat ʿAli Khan in Lucknow, also

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18 On the life of Sir Gore Ouseley, see Avery and *Encyclopædia Iranica* 2004; Harris 2002, 123–127.

19 See Hurel 2010, 32.

20 See Harris 2002, 99–103 and n. 309.

21 The Swiss painter Michel-Vincent Brandoin had seen '35 livres tous plus beaux les uns les autres' ('35 volumes, each more beautiful than the others') in Polier's house in Lausanne in March 1789 (Hauptman 1996, 35 and Appendices 35–36) and reported this to William Beckford.

22 It is not known when exactly Beckford acquired Polier's albums (see Hauptman 1996, 33). It is possible that Beckford purchased them around the turn of 1800, during his inspection of the library of the historian Edward Gibbon in Lausanne, which he had bought earlier (see Corsini 1987, 38). Béatrice Veyrassat has assumed that Beckford bought a collection of albums from Polier's minor sons – through the intermediary of their legal custodian – in 1802 in Lausanne (Veyrassat 2022, 138). Upon his death in 1844, Beckford's library was bequeathed to his daughter Susan Euphemia (1786–1859), the wife of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767–1852). In October 1882, the Prussian state purchased the manuscripts and albums from the Hamilton library for the Berlin museums; see Enderlein 1979.

kept his collection after his return to Britain, which was partly sold to the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford after his death in 1844.[23]

These four album collections were thus formed, owned, and later sold without any direct involvement on the part of the directors of the British and French trade companies or their respective governments. As Lucian Harris has pointed out, the colonial authorities in England at that time did not institutionalise or finance the collecting of Indian manuscripts or paintings in any efficient way.[24] Even Warren Hastings (1732–1818), the first and highly influential governor-general of Bengal of the EIC from 1773 to 1785, did not succeed in establishing any strategic collecting activities in the British-controlled parts of India, even though he himself was a collector of Indian manuscripts and albums.[25]

How, then, might we determine the motivations behind the eager album-collecting of Polier, Gentil, Ouseley, and Impey and his wife? Did they consider their albums repositories of 'Orientalist' knowledge appropriate to convey an understanding of Indian history, poetry, customs, and manners to a specific European public? This was certainly the case with Gentil's collection of albums gifted to the French king, the encyclopaedic content of which he explained in his own words.[26] But was that also true for Polier's, Impey's, and Ouseley's album collections? Or should we rather understand their patronage of Indian albums as cultural appropriation – that is, did European collectors enjoy and boast about the high cultural status associated with this many-centuries-old courtly tradition? A valid answer to these questions might elude us forever, but I assume that there are indeed some connections to early 'Orientalist' networks in India.

The first institutionalisation of 'Orientalist' knowledge-gathering reaches back to the foundation of the Asiatick Society of Bengal in January 1784 by Sir

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23 See Harris 2002, 124–126.

24 Harris 2002, 71–72.

25 See Harris 2002, 86.

26 Gentil's notes quoted by Adhémar 1967, 175: 'plusieurs livres de peintures, contenant les portraits des Empereurs de la famille de Tamerlan, des visirs, des Généraux d'armée, des chefs de la Justice, des officiers etc. et toutes sortes de dessins ayant raport aux usages et coutumes Indoustannes, tant civiles que politique, aux cérémonies civiles et religieuses, Tant des Idolatres que des Musulmans, architecture, Mithologie des Divinités Indiennes etc. en 11 livres ou Cayers. [...] tous les dessins originaux, seront déposés à la Bibliothèque du Roy'. ('several books of paintings containing the portraits of the emperors of the family of Tamerlane, the viziers, the army generals, the chief justices, the officers etc. and all sorts of drawings related to the practices and customs of Hindustan, both civil and political, to the civil and religious ceremonies, both of the idolaters and the Muslims, architecture, mythology of the Indian deities, etc. in 11 books or booklets. [...] all original drawings will be deposited in the Library of the King'; translation by the author.)

William Jones, who had arrived in Calcutta in March 1783 to serve as judge of the Bengal Supreme Court. The Asiatick Society also received strong support from Warren Hastings. Hastings became known as one of the protagonists of a British policy in India based on an understanding of Indians via their own laws and culture. With that goal in mind, he claimed that 'every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state'.[27]

Slightly earlier 'Orientalist' scholarship is linked to Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805), one of the first 'field Indologists', who from 1755 onwards spent eight years in South India, mainly for his research on Zoroastrianism in Parsi communities.[28] Anquetil-Duperron brought to European scholars' attention the existence of religious urtexts other than the Bible, such as the Hindu Upanishads and the Zoroastrian Avesta. Against this background, Edward Said claims that, 'whereas Anquetil opened large vistas, Jones closed them down, codifying, tabulating, comparing', and that Jones immediately upon his arrival in India began 'to domesticate the Orient and thereby turn it into a province of European learning'.[29] As for the subject matter under discussion here, one can detect no attempt at 'domestication' on the part of the four collectors but rather a genuine admiration for the historical personalities portrayed by Indian artists. The main impetus for collecting the portraits of Timur, Nadir Shah, and Ibrahim ibn-i Adham might have been a desire to find visual equivalents to the then popular, albeit highly ambivalent, 'Orientalist' perceptions of violent Muslim warfare and despotism on the one hand, and of the – generally attested – benevolent and mild character of the Indian people, on the other. This shall be explored further in the following pages.

3 Cruel conquerors: Timur and Nadir Shah

Let us first look at how Timur and Nadir Shah, who at different points in time both invaded India, plundered Delhi, and massacred a great number of its inhabitants, were repeatedly portrayed in these albums.

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27 Warren Hastings, quoted in MacKenzie 1995, 3.
28 On the role of Anquetil-Duperron in early 'Orientalist' scholarship and 'the quarrel of authenticity' launched against him by William Jones, see van Damme 2014.
29 Said 1978, 76–88.

3.1 Timur (1336–1405), conqueror of Delhi in 1398

One of the five surviving albums of Ouseley contains on its opening double-page spread two drawings, both labelled as portraits of Timur.[30] 'No. 1', on the left side (Fig. 1), bears a Persian inscription beneath the drawing, saying that it represents 'Amīr Tīmūr kūrkānī', while 'No. 2' (Fig. 2), on the corresponding side, is inscribed in the bottom portion of the image as 'Amīr Tīmūr ṣāḥibqirān'. It contains another inscription in Ouseley's hand in the margin below, which reads: 'Amir Timur born AD 1335 conquered Hindustán AD 1397 [sic] (AH 801) & died AD 1425'.

While the epithet *kūrkānī* refers to the self-designation of the Timurid dynasty that highlights Timur's close relation to the Mongol Chinghisid dynasty (*kūrkānī* derives from the Mongolian word *kurkan* [*gurägan*] for 'son-in-law'), the term *ṣāḥibqirān* ('Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction [of Jupiter and Saturn]') is an Iranian encomiastic epithet for 'hero-rulers'. It refers to Timur's promising horoscope as a world-conquering and just ruler. To make his knowledge on the Mughal dynasty accessible to a European audience, Ouseley inserted ten hand-written pages at the beginning of the album, which provide further information on each of the twenty-seven portraits of Mughal emperors and princes (nos 8–27) and their Timurid ancestors (nos 1–7). It is noteworthy, however, that 'No. 1' (Fig. 1) is actually not a portrait of Timur but instead a generic album picture of the so-called Turcoman Prisoner, a half-kneeling nobleman or warrior of Mongol-Turkish origin, the prototype of which was invented by an Iranian artist in the mid-sixteenth century.[31] In his commentary to that drawing, Ouseley nevertheless ingeniously explains why he believes it to be an actual portrait of Timur, who also had been widely known in Europe as Tamerlane ('Timur the lame', deriving from the Persian *Tīmūr-i lang*, which alluded to his withered arm):

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30 The left-hand page ('No. 1') of the double-page spread has been removed from Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 173 and is now kept with Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 171.

31 A prior Iranian version of this drawing is held by the Louvre (K3426); for a reproduction, see Makariou and Maury 2008, cat. no. 15A. Art historians have usually interpreted the figure type as 'Turcoman prisoner' because of the man's facial features and the fact that his left arm is placed in a wooden yoke fixed to his neck. A prisoner of war, however, would certainly not have any weapons, such as the mace, bow, and quiver of arrows. The figure has recently been interpreted by several researchers as a 'prisoner of love', because these single-sheet paintings are often surrounded by love poetry; see, e.g., Rizvi 2017, 232–233, Fig. 7.1.

Fig. 1 (left): Portrait of 'Timur', India, eighteenth century, Ouseley album; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 173, 'No. 1' on fol. 1ᵛ (now kept with Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 171); © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC-BY-NC 4.0 (Digital Bodleian).
Fig. 2 (right): Portrait of Timur, India, eighteenth century, Ouseley album; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 173, 'No. 2' on fol. 2ʳ; © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC-BY-NC 4.0 (Digital Bodleian).
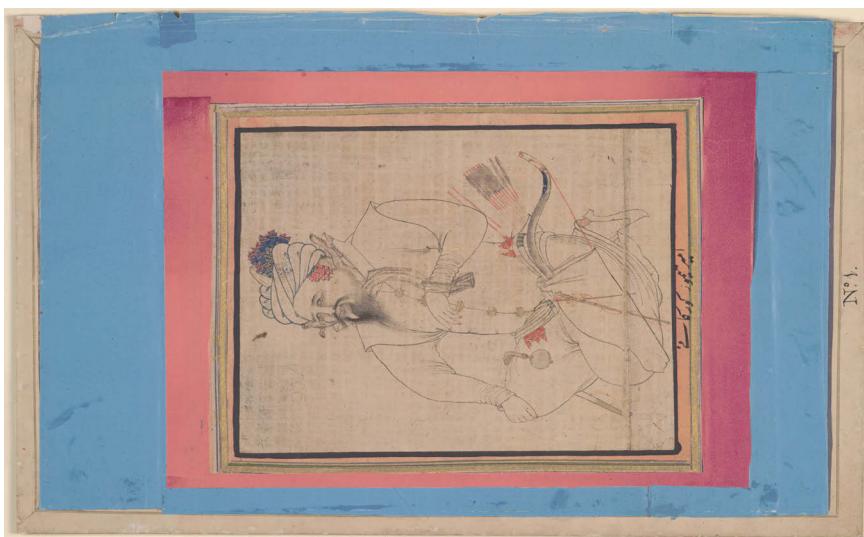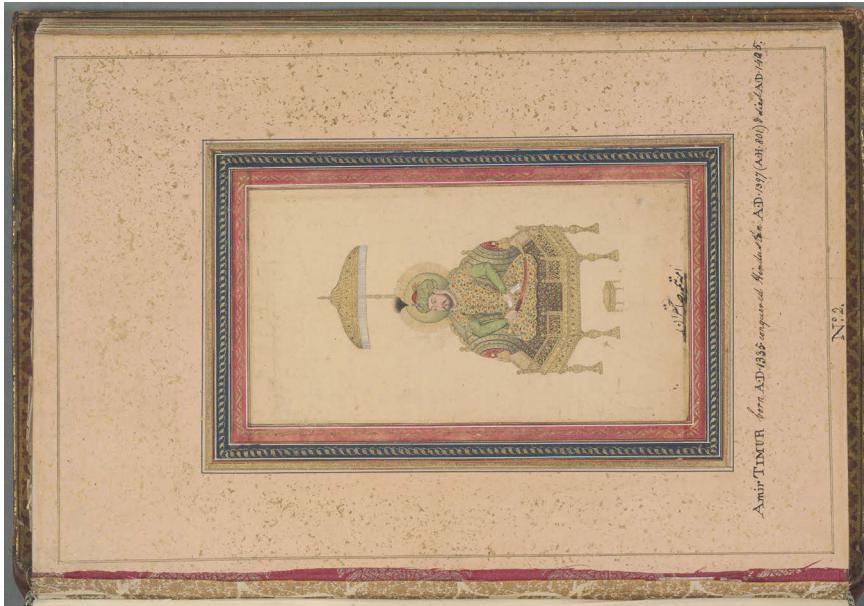
No. 1. Timùr.

The first of this collection of portraits is a real Tatár drawing of the famous Conqueror, Timur, the founder of the Moghul Empire in India.

According to the Persian Historian Mirkhánd, the name of Timùr was originally in the Turkish or Tatár language, Demir, pronounced Temir, the iron lord, and leng, lame, for he was lame of one arm, making thus Temurleng, from whence corrupted into Tamerlane. [...]

This Portrait No. 1. appears to be an original likeness of the Hero, and the rude species of sling or support to his arm, formed of a vine, shows the nature of his lameness, and the absence of luxurious accommodations and conveniences in the barbarous provinces in which he chiefly resided.[32]

By contrast, for the juxtaposed image 'No. 2' (Fig. 2), Ouseley reserves only a one-sentence comment: 'This is also a portrait of the Conqueror, but probably softened in his rude features by the adulation of an Indian artist'. More fascinated with Timur's 'barbarous' origin and 'his rude features' in the heavily armed Iranian-style 'Tatar' (Mongol) drawing, Ouseley shows much less interest in the common depiction of Timur, which represents him as the benevolent kingly ancestor of the Mughal dynasty. The portrayal of Timur sitting cross-legged on a throne under the royal parasol emerged in the seventeenth century under Emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658).[33] Since Shah Jahan adopted the epithet 'Second Lord of the

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32 Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 173, first page of the inserted handwritten pages preceding the album folios.

33 The combination of these three features in the portrayal of Timur (sitting cross-legged on a throne under the royal parasol) indeed appears to be a premiere of the Shah Jahan period, although other Turkic-Mongol rulers had already been depicted sitting cross-legged on throne-chairs (without a parasol, however) in illustrated Ilkhanid and Timurid chronicles from the four-teenth and fifteenth centuries. To the best of my knowledge, the earliest portrait of Timur can be found in a genealogical scroll (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 2152, fols 32ʳ–43ᵛ), produced shortly after his death in Samarqand (probably under the reign of Khalil Sultan, r. 1405–1409); for a reproduction of fol. 33ᵛ, see, e.g. Roxburgh 2005, cat. no. 167. It shows Timur enthroned within a round medallion in three-quarter view, kneeling with his feet hidden underneath his robe. He points with his raised right hand upwards to the ancestors of his family tree, headed by the Mongol queen Alan Qoa (now on fol. 42ʳ; for a reproduction, see Roxburgh 2005, 197, Fig. 43) and holds a royal handkerchief in his left. Interestingly, this prototype seems to have inspired a seventeenth-century Mughal painting that has survived in one of the cropped miniatures in-corporated into one of the sixty collages made for the *rocaille* frames decorating the walls of the so-called Millionenzimmer in Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna (reproduced in Brinkmann et al. 2020, cat. no. 95.1). It depicts Timur in almost identical kneeling posture and dressed in a similar way, with a bundle of feathers adorning his helmet too, but without the handkerchief in his left hand. However, the colours are different, and a few elements are added, such as the golden

Auspicious Conjunction' – thereby alluding to his direct descent from Timur – he promoted portraits of his ancestor wearing a turban (a headgear indicative of a pious Muslim), holding the royal handkerchief in his left hand, and handing the crown either to the first Mughal emperor Babur (r. 1526–1530) (Fig. 3)[34] or to himself – as can be seen, for example, in the frontispiece of his illustrated imperial chronicle *Pādshāhnāma*.[35] This type of image was much repeated in eighteenth-century Indian *muraqqa*'s (Fig. 4).

But it was a third type of portrait of Timur, which only developed in the first half of the eighteenth century, showing him as a warrior-king that European album collectors favoured (Figs 5–8). The earliest version I am aware of can be found on the frontispiece of a Mughal album (Fig. 5) that once belonged to the physician and antiquary Charles Chauncey (1706–1777), but it remains unclear at whose request it was produced. It depicts Timur on the right-hand side, flanked by Shah Jahan's portrait to the left. Both figures have very finely rendered facial features. They are presumably the work of Muhammad Panah (*c.* 1700–1770, also known as Muhammad Riza-i Hindi), who was active in Delhi in the imperial atelier from approximately 1720 to 1740.[36]

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nimbus, the elements of armour on his forearms, and the parasol placed above his head. The royal parasol in connection with Timur wearing armour started appearing in illustrations of the *Ẓafarnāma* (*Book of Conquests*) manuscript from 1436, commissioned by Timur's grandson Ibrahim Sultan (1394–1435); for two examples from that manuscript showing Timur on horseback with an attendant carrying the parasol, see Roxburgh 2005, cat. nos 169 and 171. The iconography of Timur on horseback was taken further by Bihzad in one of his paintings in the Garrett *Ẓafarnāma* of 1467/1468 (Baltimore, John Hopkins University, Garrett Library, Gar. 3 c. 1, fol. 283ʳ), which later inspired an album painting by the Mughal Govardhan of *c.* 1620–1640 (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, In 07A.3), inscribed by Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–1627): 'They say that this is a likeness of His Highness *ṣāḥibqirān*[,] written by Jahangir Akbar Shah.' The earliest Mughal paintings of Timur can be found in a manuscript of the anonymous *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* (*History of the Timurid House*) illustrated under Akbar's reign (r. 1556–1605) in the mid-1580s. The manuscript is preserved in Patna, Bihar (Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library Patna 1977, cat. no. 551). Its illustrations show Timur either on his military campaigns or kneeling on his throne-chair, always without the royal parasol.

34 This painting has a companion piece in the manuscript Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, In 07A.19, which depicts Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan with their ministers; see Stronge 2002, 149.

35 Windsor, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, RCIN 1005025d and e, or fols 2ᵛ–3ʳ; for a reproduction, see Hannam 2018, cat. no. 28.

36 I wish to thank John Seyller (email correspondence, Jan. 2022) for convincingly attributing both paintings to that artist, on the basis of the big, ostentatiously coloured, V-shaped leafy forms on the carpet and the treatment of the hands, which are both similar in a portrait of Nadir Shah signed by Muhammad Panah (Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodleian

Fig. 3 (left): Timur handing the imperial crown to the founder of the Mughal dynasty Babur, from the Minto Album, painted by Govardhan, India, c. 1628; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IM 8-1925; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. **Fig. 4 (right)**: Timur handing the imperial crown to the founder of the Mughal dynasty Babur (misidentified as Humayun in the inscription), from an Indian album acquired by Archibald Swinton, India, eighteenth century; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4589, fol. 35ʳ.

Timur is shown here as a warlord wearing a helmet and a sabre (a sword with a curved blade),[37] seated on a throne, with his boots set on a small pedestal. His left hand firmly grabs his girdle, while his right holds a battle standard. He seems to sit on a bundle of arrows, and the bow bag is attached to his girdle on his left. In two of Polier's albums, Timur is shown in a very similar way (Figs 6 and 7). Figure 6 carries the deferential title written beneath the image either by Polier himself (who was fluent in Persian) or by a secretary (*munshī*) or artist from his workshop: 'Ḥażrat-i Amīr Tīmūr ṣāḥib-qirān' ('the venerable Amir Timur, Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction'). In Figure 7, Timur's son Miran Shah (d. 1408) and the first two Mughal emperors, Babur and Humayun (r. 1530–1540 and 1555–1556), are depicted kneeling at his feet, stressing the Timurid-Mughal lineage. This is why the painting bears the subtitle 'Ḥażrat-i Amīr Tīmūr maʿahu pisarān' ('the venerable Amir Timur with his sons'). In one of Impey's albums preserved in the John Rylands Library in Manchester (Fig. 8),[38] however, Timur is portrayed as a curious mixture of warlord and ancestor to the Mughal dynasty. Although he wears an ornamented golden dress (without the usual armour on his forearms) and a turban instead of a helmet, he is still seated in the manner of a warlord; however, he holds the royal handkerchief in his left hand, which is not the case in the previously discussed warlord portraits (Figs 5–7). The sabre as a key martial attribute[39] – instead of a dagger (the customary weapon of rulers sitting in state in Mughal portraits)[40] – is here placed between Timur's legs, as if to hide it, while the battle standard as well as the bow and arrow have been omitted.

Library MS. Ouseley Add. 173, fol. 29ᵛ, see here Fig. 14; for a reproduction, see also Fraser 2021, Fig. 27). On the two key stylistic features of Muhammad Panah (who is probably the same as Muhammad Riza-i Hindi), see Fraser 2021, 185–186, 218.

37 According to Filiz Çakir Phillip (2016, 340), 'the curved sword or sabre was the ultimate edged weapon for a mounted warrior, since cutting and slashing were ideally done from a higher position on horseback. This function was generally associated with and treasured by the Central Asiatic Turco-Mongol warrior. [...] The sabre with a slightly curved blade seems to have its origin with the old Turkic nomadic tribes of the Inner Asian steppes.'

38 The reverse of the painting, which is adorned with a calligraphy on a gold-sprinkled margin, bears Impey's seal impression (it appears beneath the gold-sprinkling, indicating that the album was probably made for Impey), as do most of the blank verso pages of this hitherto unpublished album.

39 Refer to note 37.

40 In the above-mentioned Akbari manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Khāndān-i Tīmūriyya* housed in the Khuda Bakhsh Library in Patna (see note 33), for example, several illustrations show Timur sitting in state with a dagger tacked underneath his girdle. For instance, fol. 5ᵛ (Timur's accession to the throne), fol. 90ʳ (Timur in the fort of ʿUmar Taman), and fol. 131ʳ (Timur holds an audience in Kankal).
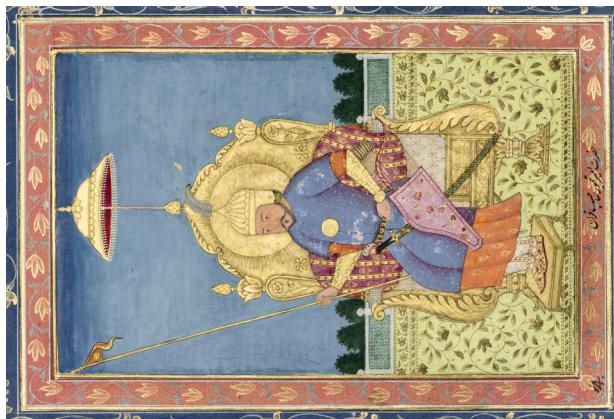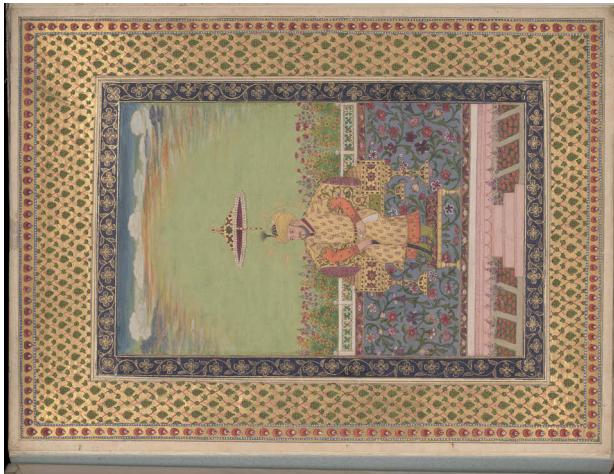
Fig. 6 (left): Portrait of Timur (detail from an album page), India, second half of the eighteenth century, Polier album; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4599, fol. 14ʳ.

Fig. 7 (centre): Portrait of Timur (detail from an album page), India, second half of the eighteenth century, Polier album; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4595, fol. 5ʳ.

Fig. 8 (right): Portrait of Timur, India, second half of the eighteenth century; Impey album, Manchester, John Rylands Library, Indian Drawings 18, fol. 29ʳ; Copyright of The University of Manchester.

Another type of portrait representing Timur as warlord has survived in three eighteenth-century versions showing the defeated Ottoman Sultan Bayezid being brought before Timur after the Battle of Ankara in 1402 (Figs 9–11).

The two versions owned by Polier bear a description underneath the painting. The one on Figure 9 reads: 'Ḥażrat-i ṣāḥibqirān Tīmūr bādshāh shāh-i Rūm-rā dastgīr karda [,] āvard' ('The venerable Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction, Timur the King, has captured the King of Rum, brought [him]'). The title is somewhat shorter in the more elaborate version in Figure 11: 'bādshāh Tīmūr shāh-i rūm-rā dastgīr sākhta' ('King Timur has captured the king of Rum'). 'Rum' here designates the Ottoman domains established over former Byzantine territories in Asia Minor over which Sultan Bayezid (1389–1403) ruled until his defeat by Timur. The variant mounted in one of Gentil's albums (Fig. 10) seems to have been primarily modelled on Figure 9 but also bears some traits of the more elaborate version (Fig. 11). This presumably first version of the composition contains a tiny signature written in gold on the green foliage that appears between the bars of the fence close to Timur's right knee (Fig. 12), which reads '‘amal-i Shīvadās' ('work of Shivadas').[41] This painting appears to owe its structure to *imago* 119 of the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, showing Jesus sent by Pilate to the court of Herod prior to his crucifixion (Fig. 13). The 153 engravings of this book illustrate the life of Christ with the help of explanatory captions; Jesuit missions in Asia used them widely as a catechetical aid. One copy reached the Mughal court as early as 1595, inspiring Mughal court artists under Akbar (r. 1556–1605) and Jahangir (r. 1605–1627) to adopt certain themes or compositional elements in their works (see also Figs 19 and 21).[42]

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41 The hidden signature, which can only be read with the aid of a magnifying glass, has passed unnoticed until now. Once again, my sincere thanks to John Seyller (email correspondence, April 2022) for this reading and identification of this artist, of whom only two other works produced around 1700 seem to be known so far. One illustrates a scene from the popular tale of Kama Kandala and Madhava Nal (Dye 2001, no. 91 [Richmond, VA, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 68.98.65]), and the other shows two travellers buying food in a village, with a scene of tribal life in the foreground (London, British Museum, 1920,0917,0.255; <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1920-0917-0-255>, accessed on 17 March 2023). The latter work is unconvincingly dated to the reign of Jahangir (1605–1627).

42 The *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* were first printed in Antwerp in 1593, before being published by Martinus Nutius in 1594/1595 in the same city, under the title *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*, along with the corresponding text written by the Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal. For other Mughal images modelled on the *Imagines* and the role that this work played in the Jesuit mission at the Mughal court, see Stronge 2002, 111–113 and Plates 78–79; Weis 2002–2003; Weis 2004.

Fig. 9 (left): Timur receives Sultan Bajezid after the Battle of Ankara (detail from an album page), India, second half of the eighteenth century, Polier album; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4596, fol. 26'.

Fig. 10 (right): Timur receives Sultan Bajezid after the Battle of Ankara, India, second half of the eighteenth century, Gentil album; Paris, BnF, Estampes, Réserve Od 51, fol. 9'; © BnF.
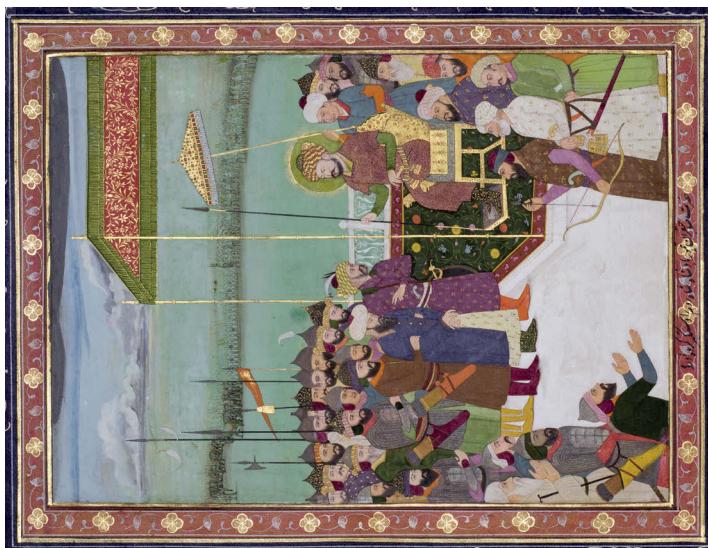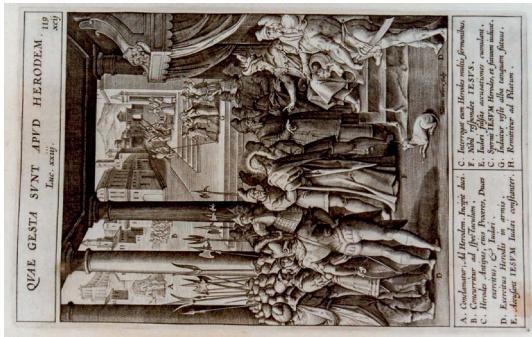
Fig. 11 (left): Timur receives Sultan Bajezid after the Battle of Ankara, signed by Shivadas, India, first half of the eighteenth century, Polier album; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4594, fol. 24ʳ.

Fig. 12 (centre): Detail of Figure 11 with signature of Shivadas; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4594, fol. 24ʳ.

Fig. 13 (right): Jesus sent by Pilate before Herod, *imago* 119 of the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, engraved by Hieronymus Wierix after Bernardino Passeri, Antwerp, 1593; private collection; photo: Friederike Weis.

Shivadas (active around 1700) apparently took inspiration from the *imago* 119 engraving, because his work shows Timur enthroned under a canopy, sitting in a posture strikingly similar to Herod's, although the gestures and attributes are different. Furthermore, in *imago* 119, an elderly man placed close to the left of the arrested Jesus, pointing towards him, seems to have merged in Shivadas's work with the figure of another man, who holds Jesus captured, to form the figure of a Timurid courtier (Fig. 12, clad in violet), standing next to Sultan Bayezid in the painting. A dense group of soldiers – most represented only by the tips of their helmets (in Fig. 11) or by their turbans (in Fig. 13), along with a number of spearheads – appears in both images close to the left margin. In both images, in the far distance numerous people are depicted at a much smaller scale. By means of a male figure entirely dressed in white and leaning on a stick, shown from the back in the foreground of the painting, as well as several other men whose gazes are directed beyond the picture plane, Shivadas emulates visual strategies similar to those of the engraving to help the viewer virtually enter the scenery.

It is not at all clear, and rather improbable, that Polier, his *munshī* (who presumably wrote the above-quoted descriptive titles beneath the paintings), and the artists of his workshop were aware of the compositional resemblance of Shivadas's painting to *imago* 119. Yet, the stage-like, realistic scenery might have appealed to Polier's eye, which was accustomed to similar arrangements in European works of art featuring multiple figures. What probably captured Polier's attention was not only the high artistic quality of the painting but also the subject itself: Timur's triumph over the Ottoman Turks, whose potential attacks posed the greatest threat to Central European states for many centuries. Not surprisingly, Gentil was keen to have a copy after this work of Shivadas in Polier's possession; he had been well acquainted with Polier at least since 1773, as both men then worked for Nawab Shujaʿ al-Dawla in Faizabad. Gentil's and Polier's interest in Timur might also have been caused by the French translation of Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's *History of Timur* (*Ẓafarnāma*) of 1429 by François Pétis de la Croix (1653–1713), a book also consulted by Anquetil-Duperron.[43] In the preface, Pétis de la Croix rejects Timur's derogative moniker 'Tamerlane' – used by Europeans – and replaces it with the honorific name 'Timur-Bec' ('beg' being a Turkic title for a chieftain).[44] The translation after Yazdi's *History* itself represents Timur in a positive light throughout, underlining, for example, the generosity with which

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43 Anquetil-Duperron 1778, 191.
44 Pétis de la Croix 1722, vol. 1, 'Avertissement', XV–XVIII.

Timur treated the captured Bayezid.[45] In the same vein, the son of the translator, Alexandre Louis Marie Pétis de la Croix (1698–1751), praises Timur as a benevolent and art-loving conqueror at the beginning of the 1722 edition of his father's translation.[46] It therefore does not come as a surprise that Gentil invokes Timur's example in the preface of his *Abrégé historique des Souverains de l'Indoustan*, which he presented to King Louis XVI (r. 1765–1793) in Versailles in 1778.[47] Therein he reports that the present Mughal ruler Emperor Shah ʿAlam II is imploring the French king to free the Indian population from their oppressors by emulating Timur's liberation of French soldiers in Bayezid's camp with the following words:

> Tamerlan le premier de ma [Shah ʿAlam's] Race, après la Victoire qu'il remporta à Ancire sur Bajazet délivra tous les Français qu'il trouva dans le Camp de cet Empereur Ottoman. [...] Je n'ai rien oublié, Sire, pour attacher les Indiens à la Nation Française, ils la regardent au dessus de toutes les autres Nations. Ils l'aiment, ils la désirent, malgré la Situation ou elle a été réduite depuis la perte de ses vastes Etablissements. Ils ne la regardent pas moins comme celle qui doit un jour briser leurs fers.[48]

Gentil here apparently claims that the French colonial power should liberate the Indians from the British and other inner Indian forces in order to help them in a way similar to Timur, who had helped the French earlier in history. In fact, the pronounced multi-ethnic appearance of the warriors delivering Bayezid to Timur

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45 Pétis de la Croix 1722, vol. 4, 19: 'C'étoit avec cette générosité que Timur traitoit Bajazet, imitant en cela le gran Mahomet, [...]'. ('It was with that generosity that Timur treated Bajazet, thereby imitating the great Mohammed'; translation by the author.)

46 Pétis de la Croix 1722, vol. 1, 'Epitre' by Alexandre Pétis de la Croix to Abbot Bignon (the king's librarian): 'J'ose vous presenter l'Histoire du fameux Timur-Bec. Ce n'est pas seulement par sa valeur et par ses Conquêtes rapides, qu'il a rendu son nom memorable; au milieu des occupations que lui donnoit la guerre, il fit paroître un amour singulier pour les Arts et pour les Sciences. La consideration qu'il avoit pour les gens de lettres, étoit si forte, qu'il reprima souvent à leur priere les plus justes desirs de vangeance'. ('I dare present to you the History of the famous Timur-Bec. Not only did he render his name unforgettable through his valour and his rapid conquests; in the middle of the activities that the war gave him, he displayed a unique love for the arts and sciences. His respect for the men of letters was so strong that upon their supplications he often supressed the most righteous desires of vengeance'; translation by the author.)

47 See also Hurel 2010, cat. no. 150, who first brought this passage in connection with Gentil's painting of Timur receiving Bayezid.

48 'Tamerlane the first of my [Shah ʿAlam's] race, after his victory at Ancire [Ankara] over Bajazet [Bayezid] freed all the French he found in the camp of that Ottoman Emperor. [...] I have not forgotten anything, Sir, to attach the Indians to the French nation, they consider it being above all other nations. They love it, they desire it in spite of the situation to which it has been reduced since the loss of its large settlements. They consider it no less than the one that one day shall break their fetters'; translation by the author. Paris, BnF, département des Manuscrits, Français 24219, fol. c.

in Gentil's version (Fig. 10) may indicate that some among these men represent liberated Christian soldiers and perhaps also members of the Qara Qoyunlu (a Turcoman tribe), who had deserted the Ottoman army to join Timur's forces.

By contrast, the prevalent view of contemporaneous British historians, headed by Alexander Dow (1735/1736–1779), a historian and former high-ranking officer of the EIC, tended to highlight Timur's cruelty.[49] In his much-read *The History of Hindostan* of 1768, a loose translation of a history of India by Firishta, the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* of 1606/1707, Dow describes Timur as having a 'general character of cruelty', responsible for the massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi in 1398:

> The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the swords, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thousand men were massacred, in cold blood.[50]

The same author, however, in his famous *Dissertation on the Origin and Nature of Despotism in Hindostan*, published in 1772, praises the despotism of the Mughal rulers in India, referred to as the 'Imperial house of Timur', in the following way:

> Despotism appears in its most engaging form under the Imperial house of Timur. The uncommon abilities of most of the princes, with the mild and humane character of all, rendered Hindostan the most flourishing empire in the world during two complete centuries.[51]

Not only Dow, but also Anquetil-Duperron considered the 'Great Mughals' ruling India from 1526 to 1707 – Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and especially Aurangzib (r. 1658–1707) – as good and capable despots, from whom they strove to inherit their empire, which they felt was now in decay.[52] This explains why the albums compiled for Europeans abound with portraits of these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Mughal emperors (e.g. Fig. 4), with a special focus on portraits of the aged Aurangzib, who was generally considered as marking the height of Mughal power.[53] After the death of Aurangzib, the Europeans needed

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49 A more nuanced view on Timur's character is offered by the British historian Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) who describes him in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published between 1776 and 1789, as both benefactor and unscrupulous murderer (see Osterhammel 2010, 221).
50 Dow 1768, vol. 2, part IV, 1–11, here 6.
51 Dow 1772, XII.
52 See also Whelan 2001, 641–642.
53 Whelan 2001, 642. Portraits of the aged Aurangzib (ʿAlamgir I) can be found, for example, in the Polier albums Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4593, fol. 45ʳ; I. 4594, fol. 5ʳ; and I. 4599, fol. 33ʳ; in the Ouseley album Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 170, fol. 13ᵛ; in the Gentil album Paris, BnF, département des Estampes

only to fill in the role of despot, replacing the many local power-holders in the Mughal provinces. Overcoming the former negative view of despotism, which had been popularised by Montesquieu (1689–1755) as based on fear and the arbitrary use of violence,[54] the Mughals' 'enlightened despotism' was championed as an appropriate system of government in India by Dow and Warren Hastings.[55] It seems to be in this vein that Ouseley describes Timur as a 'hero' in his description of Figure 1, despite his rudeness and 'barbarous' background, since Timur's reign would eventually lead to virtuous Mughal rule over India for almost two centuries, until the reign of Muhammad Shah (r. 1719–1748).

3.2 Nadir Shah (1688–1747), conqueror of Delhi in 1739

At the end of Ouseley's description of the Mughal dynastic lineage, which he added to the album starting with the two portraits of Timur (Figs 1 and 2), he links the libertine lifestyle and incapacity of Muhammad Shah to the next brutal conquest of India. In 1739, the Afshar Turcoman commander Nadir Shah, who had elevated himself to the throne of Iran in 1736, succeeded in conquering Delhi, which Ouseley acknowledges with the following words:

> Muhammad Shah (No. 27) [...] thought himself at liberty to pursue a life of luxury and sensuality – The consequence was that he became a tool in the hands of ambitious nobles, three of whom, Khán Dourán Khán, Nizám ul Mulk and Saadat Khán, quarrelled about which of them should have the entire management of their Emperor. – The two latter nothing able to expel Khán Dourán Khán, conspired against their Kind and Country by calling in the great Tyrant of Persia, Nádir Shah, whom they treacherously assisted in his invasion of Hindùstan, and conquest of Dehli [sic] in 1739. After which the enormous number of 100,000 people of all ages and sexes were massacred and plunder to the amount of eighty millions Sterling carried away by the cruel conqueror, from India to Persia.[56]

Not surprisingly, this album also contains a portrait of Nadir Shah (Fig. 14). It is signed by the above-mentioned Muhammad Panah and dated 1742–1743 on the left part of the throne cushion. Muhammad Panah (alias Muhammad Riza-i Hindi, who

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et de la photographie, Réserve Od 44, fol. 41ʳ (Hurel 2010, cat. no. 96); and in London, British Library, Johnson Album 2, no. 2 (Losty and Roy 2012, Fig. 101).

54 For a summary of Montesquieu's negative view of 'Oriental despotism' as presented in his *De l'esprit des lois* (*The Spirit of Laws*, 1748) and Anquetil-Duperron's polemic response to it, see Osterhammel 2010, 275–296; Whelan 2001.

55 See also Eaton 2013, 117–119; Eaton 2008, 79–80.

56 Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 173, 9–10.

later moved to Iran) then worked at the Mughal atelier of Muhammad Shah in Delhi, who had been reinstated as king of Mughal India after Nadir Shah's return to Persia. Although Ouseley describes Nadir Shah as a 'cruel conqueror' and 'great Tyrant of Persia', he is shown here as a benevolent, unarmed king, extending his left hand in a welcoming gesture. Marcus Fraser has therefore suggested that Muhammad Panah probably tried to appeal to Nadir Shah as a potential patron by means of this very portrait.[57] In another album purchased or even patronised by Ouseley himself, there is a less accomplished copy (Fig. 15) of the same painting. It depicts Nadir Shah in the same posture but seated on a throne instead of a carpet and attended by a servant. He is wearing the same red dress, his typical four-peaked cap – the so-called *kulāh-i Nādirī* – adorned on the right by a jewelled aigrette with black heron feathers (*jiqa*) as a sign of royalty, bracelets, and double ropes of pearls and emeralds, with one noteworthy addition: the shah is shown holding a sabre. This is also the case in Nadir's portrait included in Impey's album (Fig. 16), which once again shows him seated on a carpet.

I assume that the curved sword or sabre was intentionally added especially to those portraits of Nadir Shah specifically made for Europeans,[58] for which there are two plausible explanations. Firstly, the sword fits well with Nadir's self-designation as 'the son of the sword', by which he referred to his humble origins as a warlord of non-royal origin;[59] this epithet was also commonly used by European writers.[60] Secondly, and more importantly, it emphasises Nadir's historic role as conqueror. This is in keeping with the European perception of the violent extension of Muslim power through military force, as explained by Dow:

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57 Fraser 2021, 215–220, esp. 218. This argument is supported by the laudatory inscription on the right side of the throne cushion, reading 'taṣvīr-i shāhanshāh-i Jam-jāh Nādir Shāh' ('Likeness of the King of Kings Nadir Shah whose majesty is like that of Jamshid').

58 For more or less contemporary Persian portraits of Nadir Shah without the sword in his hands, see Babaie 2018, Figs 12.5 and 12.7; Fraser 2021, cat. nos 3–6. There are only a few Persian portraits of Iranian rulers in the late seventeenth century, where a sabre already serves as a symbolic weapon; see, for example, the portrait of Shah Sulayman (d. 1694) by Shaykh ʿAbbasi (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Per 298.7; <https://viewer.cbl.ie/viewer/image/Per_298_7/1/LOG_0000/>, accessed on 21 March 2023).

59 Nadir Shah allegedly called himself 'son of the sword' on the occasion of his son's wedding with a Mughal princess; see Axworthy 2006, 11: 'According to protocol, before the wedding, court officials had to investigate the ancestry of the bridegroom and establish it back for seven generations. When Nader Shah heard this, he said: "Tell them that he is the son of Nader Shah, the son of the sword, the grandson of the sword; and so on, till they have a descent of seventy instead of seven generations"'. A photograph of the sword (now in Tehran) that is believed to have been carried by Nadir Shah on his campaigns is reproduced in Axworthy 2006, Fig. 1.

60 E.g. Osterhammel 2010, 222 n. 69.

> The legislator [Muhammad] furnishes a proof of this position in his own conduct. He derived his success from the sword, more than from his eloquence and address. The tyranny he established was of the most extensive kind. [...] The abrupt argument of the sword brought conviction, when persuasion and delusion failed.[61]

The European album collectors thus might have considered the sword as a telling attribute in the portrayals of Timur (Figs 2, 5–8) and of Nadir Shah (Figs 15–18). While Muhammad Panah depicted Nadir without a nimbus, the later versions made for Ouseley, Impey, and Polier (Figs 15–17) show him with a nimbus (a Mughal convention denoting royalty). Furthermore, in the paintings made for Gentil and Polier (Figs 17 and 18),[62] he is depicted in the customary Mughal profile view and in an Indian-style dress instead of the striking red Persian robe.

Interestingly, Polier or his *munshī* wrote a lengthy Persian title underneath each of his two portraits of Nadir. The one in an album produced in Lucknow around 1784 (Fig. 17) reads: 'Hast sulṭān bar salāṭīn-i jahān / shāh-i shāhān Nādir ṣāḥib-qirān' ('The ruler over the rulers of the world is Nadir, King of the Kings, Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction').[63] This sentence exactly repeats the Persian inscription on the coin struck for Nadir Shah after his conquest of Delhi in March 1739.[64] By mentioning Nadir's epithet 'Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction', which was strongly associated with Timur, along with the honorific title for Mughal emperors, 'King of Kings', the inscription stresses Nadir's closeness to Timur and the Mughal emperors, all sharing the common Turco-Persian origin.[65] Historians have found several clues regarding Nadir's attempt to emulate Timur: Firstly, Nadir gave his grandson, born in 1734, the name Shahrukh (after Shahrukh, the son of Timur, r. 1409–1447).[66] Secondly, when Nadir was planning to build a palace at Kalat-i Nadiri in north-eastern Iran (which once had been one of Timur's fortresses)[67] in 1740, he ordered to be brought to him the dark-green jade cover of Timur's sarcophagus from his burial place at the Gur-i Amir in Samarqand.[68]

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61 Dow 1772, V–VI.

62 There are two other similar versions not reproduced here: one in a Gentil album (Paris, BnF, département des Estampes et de la photographie, Réserve, Od 51, fol. 11ʳ), and another in a Polier album (London, British Museum, 1920,0917,0.144ᵛ).

63 In the other album (London, British Museum, 1920,0917,0.144ᵛ) the title under Nadir Shah's portrait similarly reads: 'sulṭān al-salāṭīn-i jahān shāh-i shāhān Nādir Shāh bādshāh ṣāḥibqirān'.

64 For the coin inscription, see Axworthy 2006, 3–4 and note *.

65 See also Axworthy 2006, 4, 12.

66 Tucker 2006.

67 See Axworthy 2006, 57.

68 Babaie 2018, 11–15; Axworthy 2006, 223, 228. Babaie makes a strong point about a 'Nader-Timur axis' since Nadir's Indian campaign served a 'deliberately programmatic imperial venture'.

Fig. 17 (left): Portrait of Nadir Shah, India, second half of the eighteenth century, Polier album; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst / photo: Martin Franken, I 5063, fol. 17ᵛ.
Fig. 18 (right): Portrait of Nadir Shah, India, second half of the eighteenth century, single folio from Gentil's collection; Paris, BnF, Estampes, Réserve Od 45a boîte écu, fol. 1; © BnF.
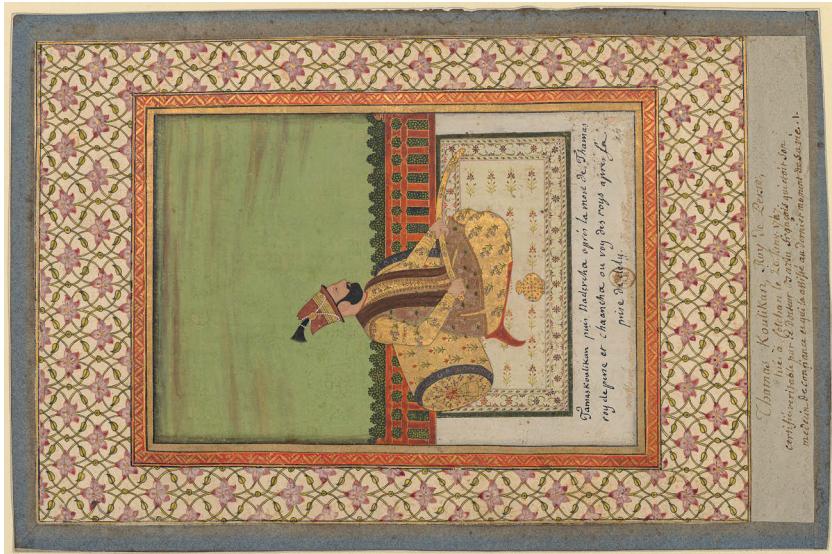
Gentil's inscription on Nadir's portrait, showing him seated on a carpet (Fig. 18), also describes him as a great king and conqueror:

> Tamaskoulikan [Tahmasp Quli Khan] puis Nadercha aprés la mort de Thamas [Shah Tahmasp II][69]/ roy de perse et chaancha [*shahānshāh*] ou roy des roys aprés sa / prise de dely [Delhi][70]

And below the painting:

> Thamas Koulikan, Roy de Perse, / tué à Cotchan le 20 Janv. 1747 / certifié veritable par le Docteur Bazin françois qui étoit son / medecin de confiance et qui l'a assisté au dernier moment de sa vie.[71]

The French Jesuit Père Louis Bazin served as personal physician to Nadir Shah in the years before his death. From one of Bazin's letters, published in 1780, it is known that he both admired and feared Nadir for his bravery in combat and his 'violent and barbarous character'.[72] In his posthumously published *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*, Gentil dedicates an entire chapter to Nadir Shah.[73] While Gentil only briefly describes the barbaric massacre of Delhi's inhabitants, he keeps calling Nadir Shah 'roi de Perse' ('king of Persia'), and 'Roi des Rois' ('King of Kings'). He also marvels at length at the treasures – among them the famous peacock throne of Shah Jahan – that the 'féroce conquérant', or 'fierce conqueror', took as booty from Delhi back to Persia.[74] Gentil's deferential view of Nadir Shah is not surprising since the French colonisers had actually set great hope in the Persian invader. This has been pointed out by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, quoting from a letter by Joseph-François Dupleix (1697–1763) – who in 1742 eventually became

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69 Nadir Shah began his career as military commander of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp II (r. 1729–1732), earning him the title Tahmasp Quli ('servant of Tahmasp').
70 'Tamaskoulikan [Tahmasp Quli Khan] afterwards Nadercha [Nadir Shah] after the death of Thamas [Shah Tahmasp II] / king of Persia and chaancha [*shahānshāh*] or king of the kings / after his takeover of dely [Delhi]'; translation by the author.
71 'Thamas Koulikan, King of Persia / killed at Cotchan on 20 Jan. 1747 / certified true by the French Doctor Bazin who was his trusted physician and who attended to the last moment of his life'; translation by the author.
72 Père Louis Bazin, quoted in Dalrymple 2019, 40.
73 Gentil 1822, Chap. 2, 152–192.
74 Gentil 1822, esp. 174 and 188–192. In Gentil's chapter on Nadir Shah in his *Abrégé historique des Souverains de l'Indoustan* of 1772 (Paris, BnF, département des Manuscrits, Français 24219, 381–409), Gentil even gives a complete list of the booty, including extremely precious diamonds, rubies, and Mughal jewellery (405–406).

governor-general of all French establishments in India – to the controller-general of the French East India Company, dated 5 January 1739:

> We are on the eve of a great revolution in this empire. The conqueror from Persia, Thamas Coulikan, who also titles himself Nader Cha or Vely Moamet, has entered Indostan. After having taken Candahar, and forced his way through the most difficult routes, it is said that he is near Delhy. The weakness of the Mogol government gives ample grounds to believe that he may very soon be master of the empire. The revolution, if it takes place, can only cause a great disturbance (*un grand dérangement*) to trade. However, it is believed that it can only be advantageous to Europeans, to whom it is said this conqueror accords importance.[75]

Later English observers would also admit that Nadir's sack of Delhi following the Battle of Karnal on 24 February 1739, after which he returned to Iran, weakened Mughal authority to such a degree that it encouraged European dreams of empire in India.[76] Dow, for example, in his appendix to *The History of Hindostan*, marks the beginning of the 'decline of the Mogul Empire' with Nadir's conquest of Delhi. He depicts Nadir Shah as a highly efficient military leader, though one devoid of any 'principles of honor', and concludes that 'he owed his greatness to the great defects of his mind'.[77] Similarly, William Jones, who translated the Persian history of Nadir Shah by Mirza Mahdi Astarabadi (d. 1759) in the early 1770s, underlines Nadir's excessive use of cruelty to achieve his aims.[78] These two authors would certainly not have subscribed to the positive representation of the two conquerors Nadir Shah and Timur in the albums made for Gentil, Polier, Impey, and Ouseley.

4 A Solomonic saint: Ibrahim ibn-i Adham (d. 776/777), king of Balkh and Indian ascetic

As I have shown so far, several themes in Polier's, Gentil's, Impey's, and Ouseley's albums were directly drawn from earlier eighteenth-century Mughal album paintings (Figs 3, 5, 11). Similarly, another subject that aroused great demand among Europeans was the depiction of the Sufi ascetic Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels (Figs 19, 22–26). Legend has it that Ibrahim was the ruler of Balkh, which

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75 Paris, Archives Nationales, Archive du Ministère des Colonies, Correspondance Générale, C² 76, fol. 221ᵛ; English translation by Subrahmanyam 2000b, 344.

76 See Subrahmanyam 2000b, 365; Dalrymple 2019, 48; Axworthy 2006, XVI.

77 Dow 1768, vol. 2, Appendix, 7–29, here 14–15 and 29.

78 See Osterhammel 2010, 226.

today is situated in northern Afghanistan, before he renounced his position after a spiritual awakening and continued his life as a wandering dervish.[79] The original interest in this theme on the part of the Mughals was probably nostalgic.[80] Firstly, Timur had conquered Balkh in 1370, declared himself Amir there, and assumed the title *kūrkān* ('son-in-law') by marrying the defeated ruler's widow, Saray Mulk Khanum (1341–1408), a direct descendant of Genghis Khan. Secondly, in 1483, the future Mughal Emperor Babur was born in the Ferghana Valley, north of Balkh. Thirdly, the mystic Muhammad Gisu Daraz of Delhi (1321–1422), a shaykh of the important Indian branch of the Chishti Sufi order, saw Ibrahim as an example to be followed by a just and pious ruler.[81] The seventeenth-century Chishti Shaykh Allah Diya then firmly implemented his cult in India by introducing the anecdote of Ibrahim served by angels in the wilderness under Jahangir's reign (r. 1605–1627), as Almut von Gladiss assumed.[82] Polier owned two portraits of the saint (Figs 19 and 22), inscribed in the lower margin with 'Ḥażrat-i Ibrāhīm-i Adham bādshāh-i Balkh' ('The venerable Ibrahim [son of] Adham, King of Balkh', Fig. 19) and 'Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-i Adham' ('Sultan Ibrahim [son of] Adham', Fig. 22). The finer painting (Fig. 19) is surely datable to the first half of the eighteenth century, since it is signed ''amal-i Dālchand muṣavvir / pisar-i Bhavanīdās' ('work by the artist Dalchand, son of Bhavanidas') within the white ewer brought by the angel on the left (Fig. 20).[83] Dalchand (active *c.* 1710–1760) worked for various

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79 For the legends around Ibrahim ibn-i Adham, see Sato 2007.

80 Four paintings showing Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels have survived in Mughal albums. One painting is from an album compiled during the reign of Muhammad Shah (r. 1719–1748) (Windsor, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, RCIN 1005068.c, or fol. 2ᵛ); two other paintings are from two late eighteenth-century albums (Windsor, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection, RCIN 1005069.ah, or fol. 33ʳ, and London, British Museum, 1974,0617.0.21, page 32, or fol. 20ʳ). These three albums were once kept in the library of Nawab Asaf al-Dawla, as they bear his seal impression dated 1776–1777 CE (AH 1190) on each folio. The fourth highly achieved painting, which is a in large landscape format, attributed to Mir Kalan Khan (active *c.* 1730–1770), is part of the so-called Read Mughal Album (New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 458.32r; <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/treasures-of-islamic-manuscript-painting/85>, accessed on 21 March 2023), which was compiled from dispersed album folios in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

81 See Sato 2007, 50–51.

82 Gladiss 2007, 306–307, traces the origin of this anecdote to the 1646 work *Siyar al-Aqṭāb* by the Chishti Shaykh Allah Diya. Shaykh Allah Diya's family held important positions at the court of Jahangir. For the anecdote related by Allah Diya, see Sato 2007, n. 45.

83 An unsigned, almost exact replica of the painting has been preserved in the collection of Richard Johnson (1753–1807), another prominent British collector of Indian paintings who lived in India from 1770 until 1790 (London, British Library, Johnson Album 14, no. 1; published in Falk and Archer 1981, no. 367).

Mughal and Rajput rulers.[84] Gauvin Bailey has assumed that the Indian painter of another version of this theme mounted in the St Petersburg Muraqqa‘ (completed in Iran in 1759) took inspiration from *imago* 14 of the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Fig. 21), showing Jesus in the desert served by angels.[85] Perhaps the choice of the Christian engraving as a model was stimulated by another well-known legend, according to which Ibrahim's earliest spiritual master was a Christian monk named Father Simeon.[86] The alleged Christian-Muslim master-pupil relationship might also have appealed to the Europeans who were collecting images of Ibrahim ibn-i Adham.

Dalchand's painting is also very close to that *imago*: the rocky plateau, the angels hovering in the cloudy sky in the upper right corner, and the *repoussoir* figure of a recumbent lioness with her cub – substituted by the figure of an older ascetic in the painting[87] – indeed produce a similar setting. The painting shows Ibrahim, sitting in a yogic posture with his eyes half-closed, leaning on a wooden staff. The staff is also very prominent in the simplified version of Impey's album (Fig. 25), but it has been omitted in Polier's other, more sober version (Fig. 22) – where in the mid-distance on the right a hermit sits outside his cave, inscribed as 'faqīr-i mutavakkil' ('ascetic trusting in God'). In Gentil's two versions, it has not been entirely understood: one shows Ibrahim with a wooden mace (Fig. 23), and the other retains only the faint outline of a staff (Fig. 24).[88]

Before gifting his albums to the French king after his return to Europe, Gentil made a list with descriptions of the contents.[89] In this list, Figure 23 is titled 'hermite musulman', and Figure 24 'Soliman roy de Perse', corresponding to Gentil's description written directly beneath the painting: 'Soliman, roy

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84 On Dalchand's career and works, see McInerney 2011, who does not mention, however, the signed work in Polier's album.

85 For fol. 53ʳ of the album E-14 (St Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences), see Kostioukovitch 1996, Plate 90, no. 81 (text by Gauvin Bailey). Bailey also mentions *imago* 12 (The Demon tempts Jesus in the wilderness) as a model for the figure of Ibrahim ibn-i Adham, which is less convincing.

86 Cited in Arberry 1950, 37. I wish to thank the anonymous reviewer for bringing this legend to my attention.

87 On the role of the older, envious ascetic in the legend of Shaykh Allah Diya, see Sato 2007, n. 45.

88 Another example of this second version has been preserved in London, British Library, Johnson Album 6, no. 5, described in Falk and Archer 1981, no. 325. Yet another version of this composition has survived on the verso of a detached album page showing a strike on a branch on its recto, signed by Hashim (London, British Museum, 1969,0317,0.5).

89 Paris, BnF, département des Estampes et de la photographie, Réserve YE 62 4°, published as 'Liste Gentil' in Hurel 2010, 243–246; refer also to note 13 in this text.

Fig. 19 (left): Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels, signed by Dalchand, India, first half of the eighteenth century, Polier album; Berlin, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4594, fol. 36ʳ.

Fig. 20 (centre): Detail of Figure 19 with signature of Dalchand; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4594, fol. 36ʳ.

Fig. 21 (right): Jesus in the desert served by angels after the temptation by the Devil, *imago* 14 of the *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, engraved by Hieronymus Wierix after Bernardino Passeri, Antwerp 1593; private collection; photo: Friederike Weis.
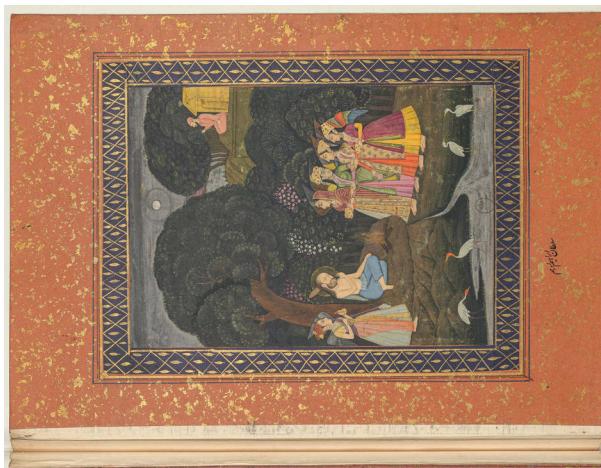
Fig. 22 (left): Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels, India, second half of the eighteenth century, Polier album; Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst / photo: Johannes Kramer, I. 4598, fol. 32ʳ.

Fig. 23 (centre): Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels, India, second half of the eighteenth century, Gentil album; Paris, BnF, Estampes, Réserve Od 60, fol. 7ʳ; © BnF.

Fig. 24 (right): Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels, India, second half of the eighteenth century, Gentil album; Paris, BnF, Estampes, Réserve Od 44, fol. 39ʳ; © BnF.

de Perse retiré dans la solitude servi par des houris' ('Solomon, king of Persia, retired into solitude, served by houris'). It almost seems as if Gentil deliberately ignored the name of the saint written in Persian on the lower margin of Figure 23 as 'Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-i Adham' and on the rock in Figure 24 simply as 'Ibrāhīm-i Adham' in order to assign him a – to his mind – more appropriate title for such a kingly saint.[90] In doing so, he was perhaps trying to build a bridge between the Muslim origin of the motif and the expectations of French viewers, who were used to European stereotypes frequently comparing wise Asian rulers to the biblical King Solomon (who is called Sulayman in Islam).[91] The feminine appearance of the angels with their long, dark hair and large eyes prompted Gentil to interpret them as houris, the virgin companions of Muslim believers in paradise. Impey and Ouseley also owned at least one painting of Ibrahim ibn-i Adham, but in Impey's version (Fig. 25) the angels are more reminiscent of bust portraits of European women, due to their reddish-brown hairstyles and Europeanised collars. Ouseley's version, inscribed as 'Sulṭān Ibrāhīm-i Adham' (Fig. 26),[92] is different from the others in that it shows Ibrahim not in yogic meditation but with a spoon in his hand, ready to enjoy the meal offered by the angels.[93] It is also noteworthy that the painter of this version has transformed the landscape setting – initially rendered as a rather barren rocky terrain – into a fertile Indian monsoon scene by adding lotus flowers to the pond, rainy clouds to the sunlit evening sky, and various shades of green to the rocks surrounding the gathering of the saint with the angels.

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90 His kingly status is also underscored in Polier's two versions (Figs 19 and 22) by giving him the title *bādshāh* (the Indian pronunciation of the Persian *pādishāh*, literally meaning 'master king').

91 See Osterhammel 2010, 271–275, 'Neros und Salomos Erben', esp. p. 272: 'Häufiger als im Modus der Tyrannei wurden Monarchen Asiens in europäischen Texten [...] in der positiv bewerteten Kategorie des Staatengründers, Reichserbauers und weisen Gesetzgebers (*législateur*) gesehen, für die als asiatisches Urbild König Salomo stand.' ('More often than in the mode of tyranny European texts [...] considered Asian monarchs within the positive category of the state founder, empire builder, and wise legislator (*législateur*), for whom King Salomon stood out as the Asian archetype'; translation by the author.)

92 The album MS. Pers. b. 1 (Oxford, Bodleian Library), which was bought by the Bodleian from a bookseller in Inverness, Scotland, in 1888, is most probably the missing album Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Ouseley Add. 168, since several of its pages bear ownership marks by Sir Gore Ouseley; see also Ethé and Sachau 1889, no. 2033.

93 A similar, albeit much coarser, version of that composition has been preserved in an album compiled in the late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century album, perhaps also at the request of a European collector (London, British Museum, 1974,0617,0.9, fol. 3ᵛ).

Despite the feminised aspect of the angels, all six examples shown here indeed may have reminded a European audience of Christian depictions of Jesus in the wilderness, fed by angels after having been tempted by Satan. However, the general Indianisation of the entire scene by means of the yogic posture of the saint, as well as the landscape setting with a pond in the foreground and exuberantly green trees in the background, seems to emphasise the 'Indian' character of the protagonist.

5 Conclusion

The European collectors' interest in possessing portraits of Timur and Nadir Shah can be partly explained by a certain admiration for their military genius and calculated use of terror, which allowed them to easily conquer and plunder Delhi, then one of the wealthiest and best-protected cities in the world. Paradoxically, however, European historians and colonisers also considered Timur a cultivated and benevolent ancestor of the 'Great Mughals', whom they greatly admired. Furthermore, they held Nadir Shah – considered a worthy emulator of Timur – in high esteem for making them aware of the actual weakness of the Mughal state. Hence, the portrayals of Timur and Nadir Shah are somewhat ambivalent: both figures are rendered as armed and thus potentially cruel monarchs and warlords, whereas the gentle expressions on their faces do not convey any sense of menace nor inspire any fear – perhaps with the exception of Ouseley's first portrait of Timur (Fig. 1).

However, the issue is even more intricate, since another persistent 'Orientalist' cliché, disseminated by Alexander Dow[94] and Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron,[95] consisted of the general impression of the mild and peaceful character of the Indian (mostly Hindu) population, reputedly caused by the country's hot and humid monsoon climate.[96] Against this background, some Europeans might have understood the portrayal of Ibrahim ibn-i Adham – a Central Asian Muslim king turned 'Indian' ascetic – as visualising a blissful state of peace-

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94 Dow 1772, XXI–XXII: 'The Hindoos [...] Mild, humane, obedient, and industrious, they are of all nations of the earth the most easily conquered and governed'.

95 Anquetil-Duperron 1778, Dédicace addressée aux Peuples de l'Indoustan, I–II: 'Paisibles Indiens, antiques possesseurs d'un pays fertile, vous recueilliez tranquillement les fruits qu'il fournissoit à vos besoins'. ('Peaceful Indians, ancient possessors of a fertile land, you calmly collected the fruits that it supplied to your needs'; translation by the author.)

96 See also Whelan 2001, 623–627.

Fig. 25 (left): Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels, India, second half of the eighteenth century, Impey album; Manchester, John Rylands Library, Indian Drawings 18, fol. 7'; Copyright of The University of Manchester.

Fig. 26 (right): Ibrahim ibn-i Adham served by angels, India, second half of the eighteenth century, Ouseley album; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Pers. b.1, fol. 33'; © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, CC-BY-NC 4.0.
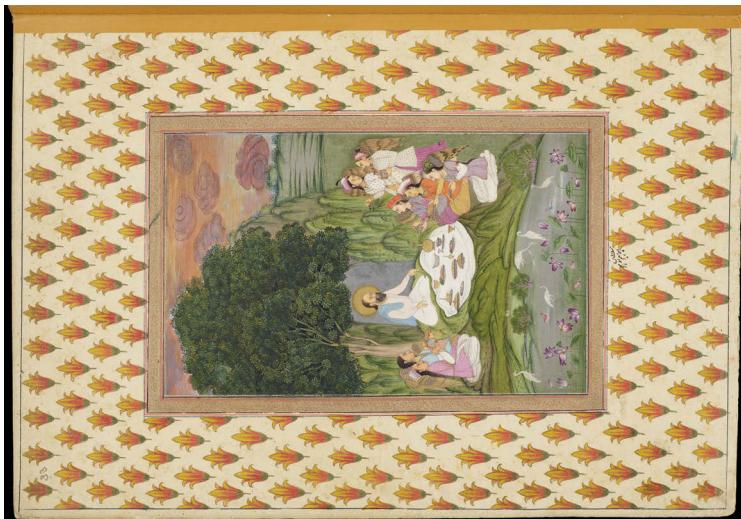
loving passivity, which they hoped contemporary Mughal kings and governors would assume under the colonisers' indirect rule.

Last but not least, besides such strategic interest in these motifs, collecting Indian *muraqqa*'s also meant paying homage to the highly accomplished visual arts of the land where these European adventurers sought good fortune and spent a considerable part of their lives.

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Deidre Lynch
Bugs in Books

Abstract: This article traces the frequent appearance of winged insects as subjects of poetry and painting in the nineteenth-century manuscript album in Britain and America. The bugs that were painted at life-size and sometimes pasted into these blank books invite beholders to rethink the relationship between object and image, and specimen and illustration. Developed at a moment when the modern division between ephemera and durable print was being consolidated, this insect theme can also tell us about the understandings of time and preservation that shaped the album. Insects were resources that album-makers used to develop a kind of book theory.

1 Introduction

The title of this essay should not be taken altogether literally. The topic here is *not* those entomological 'enemies of books' to which the typographer and bibliophile William Blades devoted two book chapters in 1888: not the book worms and other vermin that insert themselves inside our libraries and our books and menace the paper legacies that human beings inherit from the past (a menace that compounds the risks already posed, according to Blades's other chapters, by fire, water, dust, and 'servants and children').[1] Instead, this essay surveys an array of the tiny, winged insects that, with remarkable frequency, were represented verbally and pictorially in British and American friendship albums between about 1790 and 1850. It engages, that is, with the bugs in the poems and pictures that were donated to album pages—and not with the beetles, moths, and ant larvae that cause sleepless nights for librarians and conservators while, chewing through books' bindings and pages or feeding on the mold and fungi that grow between books' covers, they call into question books' vaunted powers to withstand time and transmit cultural meaning to posterity. And yet, as we will see, there are connections to be forged between albums' entomological themes and the particular

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1 See Blades 1888; and for a discussion of the way that confusion between literal and figurative meanings has haunted discussion of book worms, registering how throughout the early history of entomology they kept escaping the naturalist's gaze, see Favret and Ross 2021.

way that the people who contribute to them engaged, sometimes explicitly, the preservative power and the temporal orientation of their bookish medium.

This essay investigates how—and, more speculatively, why—insects, especially though not exclusively, butterflies and moths, came to be a conventional part of the poetic and artistic content that filled up amateur albums during the Romantic period. These manuscript books, curated by one person or two persons, but often crowd-sourced so that an entire social circle contributed to the filling up of their pages, are sites of a remarkable and often overwhelming miscellaneity. An incomplete inventory of what one finds in the albums from this period might include: records of study that bespeak how much these books inherit from the older tradition of the commonplace book; autographs (specimens of the hand writing of celebrities, revered traces of a moment when these people were physically in the presence of the page) that bespeak how these books also inherit from—while they feminize—the tradition of the *album amicorum*; riddles and rebuses inscribed onto the pages, included as prompts to witty conversation when the album was pored over in the drawing room; original poetry, often dedicated chivalrously to the book's female owner; already-published poetry copied out by hand over again onto the pages, sometimes with attribution to the original author, but sometimes not; sheet music, sometimes composed for the book's owner; scissored-out slips and scraps of newsprint relaying humorous anecdotes and snippets of verse; flower paintings and landscape sketches in pencil, pen, watercolour, and gouache; fabric scraps, ribbons, and wreaths of hair; pasted in tickets, funeral cards, and letters; specimens of pressed flowers and dried sea weed that demonstrate how often the era's albums did double duty as florilegia and as proofs of natural history study.[2]

As that motley list will have suggested, one reason that the miniscule two-letter preposition 'in' centring the title 'Bugs in Books' might require analysis itself and itself be rich with complexity is that the album is a book type that has *contents* in a more literal sense of that term than usual. Things can be 'in' these books in as much as the books also serve as things that hold other things—serve as receptacles, as file folders or perhaps, as will be suggested here, as specimen cabinets.

The method that this essay adopts for navigating the nineteenth-century manuscript album's extraordinary diversity of content and of media is to confine discussion to a single, buggy theme. But, as I have intimated in remarking on the double meaning that 'in' can take on when one references the bugs in books,

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2 The critical literature on the Romantic-era album has multiplied in recent years: for recent examples see Cheng 2021; Matthews 2020; Eckert 2018; and Lynch 2018.

while in this essay I follow this insect trail, I will be connecting throughout the histories of entomological science and of the manuscript book.

Nineteenth-century album-makers find bugs good not only to paint and to write about, but also good to think with. To me they seem to be eager to leverage the ways in which, since the mid-eighteenth century, insects had served as the conceptual resources for a kind of book theory. Insects could do this conceptual work in part because they had long been the conventional symbols of human life's transience. The seventeenth-century English writer John Bunyan, for example, wrote in one of his poems for children, 'Of the Boy and Butter Fly,' 'The Butter-fly doth represent to me/ The Worlds best things at best but fading be.'[3] Butterflies had been regularly included—along with other objects whose beauty is fated to fade or which have a precarious hold on life—in still life paintings on *vanitas* themes.[4] Over the course of the eighteenth century, however, as compilers of albums appear to have noticed, entomological discussion had been pressed into a new sort of service as part of the effort to order and taxonomize the world of print. Accordingly, and as we will see, insects—fluttering butterflies and moths especially—could serve as the mascots for album-makers' effort to position their book-type in a privileged relation to materials that were fugitive, volatile, and ephemeral.

2 Insect arts and Romantic-era albums

One source that a historian of the book can draw on for reconstructing the protocols at play in the assembly of the Romantic-period manuscript album is a piece of satiric short fiction that appeared in London in 1831, in a published and printed book: a first-person narrative titled 'The Adventures of an Album,' anthologised in Louisa Henrietta Sheridan's *The Comic Offering; or, Ladies' Melange of Literary Mirth*. In this tale, a book—initially blank, but from the story's start magically endowed with a voice that enables it to remember and recount its experiences—narrates the adventures that befell it as it circulated from household to household to be filled up. The eponymous album undertakes that narrating in a rather cynical spirit, generally finding that the amateurs who have supplied its contents

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3 Bunyan 1686, 28.
4 A splendid example, which brings a manuscript book and a Red Admiral butterfly into conjunction, is furnished by Maria van Oosterwijck's 1668 painting 'Vanitas with Flowers and Globe' (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, 5714 <https://www.khm.at/de/object/1370/>).

have few talents and little appreciation of artistic originality. This object spies on the households to which it is admitted, using its inside knowledge to reveal that for the most part people have plagiarised the poems and pictures they have inscribed on its pages. It depicts people mindlessly contributing to the album merely the materials people are expected to contribute to the album—sentimental clichés, jokes that, too often repeated, have gone stale. That conventionality is instanced in one episode early in the talking album's history in which it falls into the hands of a family who are convinced that the book's owner 'does not know or care what is in the book, which she only keeps for fashion's sake': thus excusing themselves for doing the minimum, these people copy into its pages a song by the popular poet Thomas Moore and then, to ornament those verses, paste in some pictorial materials, including an image of a butterfly.[5] The butterfly is there, faute de mieux, as place-holder for the more thoughtful, meaningful contribution the ill-fated album does not receive.

We would not be wrong to imagine that the imaginary album-narrator at the centre of 'Adventures of an Album' would have acquired over the course of its filling up pages resembling the one pictured in Fig. 1, which images a page from an album, assembled around 1828, that is in my own collection. Here we have combined, artlessly, in a single pictorial plane—and to rather surreal effect—a pen-and-ink sketch of the work of laundry day; two rebuses or word puzzles, on the left-hand side; three riddles scattered across the page (one in French), one of the English ones inscribed on a scroll with a floral border. We also have—and these rather more accomplished sections of the image attract the eye as soon one arrives at the page—a painting of a moss rose and perched atop that bit of flower painting a butterfly seen in profile, with richly hued wings in purple, blue, white, and rose. It is matched by the rather dowdier mayfly or moth in the bottom left-hand corner of the page. The jarring, teeming miscellaneity of the page epitomizes the miscellaneity both of this volume and of the album as book type.

Amidst the album's motley mix, brightly coloured, hand-painted butterflies were favourite ornaments. Their perennial popularity had several sources. Late in the period that this essay treats, silk-bound, pith-paper albums composed entirely of pages of brightly coloured (if scientifically inaccurate) water-colour pictures of butterflies were standard wares for the export trade linking Chinese workshops to so-called Oriental bazaars in Britain and America. In 1834 the American importers of 'fancy goods,' Nathaniel and Frederick Carne were, for instance, able to purchase in Canton one hundred albums, bought for twelve dollars total,

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5 Anonymous 1831, 268.

Fig. 1: A medley in an anonymous album. Author's collection, *c*. 1828.

and then turn a pretty profit when they auctioned them off for a dollar each in New York: we can imagine these albums, which might also include pictures of fruit, or flowers, or pagodas, taking their place alongside other exotic bric-à-brac objects—aquariums stocked with tropical fish and chinaware printed with scenes

from the Arabian Nights—that had become the props for the escapist dream-work, the 'phantasmagorias of the interior,' that unfolded in the Victorian parlour.[6] This Chinese export art inspired multiple imitations by Western amateurs, who often used as material support for their art works the same pith paper used in Chinese workshops—since this paper, too, (then known as rice paper) had become a staple of the China trade.[7]

There are other explanations for the butterfly's ubiquity across the album's pages. Since the eighteenth century, albums had been used to showcase the fruits of the lessons in drawing and painting that were during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries requisite parts of young women's polite education in Britain and America, artistic schooling they obtained through tutors or the how-to books that were increasingly available in this era.[8] As subjects for contributions to the album, butterflies seem to have been almost as favoured as flowers.[9] A favourite conceit of Romantic poets like Thomas Moore was that colourful insects *were* flying flowers: in a description of the Vale of Cashmere [sic] found in his 'oriental romance' *Lalla Rookh* (1817), those who behold the 'rainbow butterflies' are said to 'fancy the rich flowers/ That round them in the sun lay sighing/ Had been by magic all set flying.'[10]

Moore also appended to *Lalla Rookh* a note explaining that 'in the Malay language, the same word signifies women and flowers': Theresa M. Kelley, who cites Moore, reminds us that the woman in this era who laboured as artist or botanist or poet was, while she did that work, under pressure to be as ornamental as flowers herself.[11] Women were also, of course, linked to butterflies. An extended simile from Lord Byron's 1809 poem *The Giaour* connects the sad fate of the butterfly to the sad fate of the beautiful girl, each the victim of a male pursuer:[12]

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6 Haddad 2008, location 116. On 'phantasmagorias of the interior,' see Benjamin 2002, 9.

7 See Krüger 2019; Clunas 1984.

8 See Bermingham 2000.

9 Butterflies were favoured too as subjects to be depicted in women's needlework, another female activity that overlapped with the pursuit of natural science. In *The Papilios of Great Britain* (1795), the lepidopterist William Lewin stated that he owed his knowledge of the butterfly called the Bath white to a piece of needlework executed by a young lady from Bath who had modelled her handicraft on a specimen that had been taken near that place (cited in Salmon with Marren and Harley 2000, 271).

10 Moore 1852, 268.

11 Kelley 2012, 92. See also King 2003, for a cultural history of the blooming girl, a figure positioned at the intersection of the nineteenth-century courtship novel and contemporary botanical science.

12 Byron, *Byron*, ed. McGann, 1986, 218, ll. 404–407.

The lovely toy so fiercely sought
Hath lost its charm by being caught,
For every touch that wooed its stay
Hath brushed its brightest hues away.

Like blossoms, butterflies were subjects that, while lending themselves to this moralizing about time, mortality, the vanity of worldly things, and the fragility of female bloom, also efficiently showed off an artist's mastery of colour.[13] In fact, butterflies were often written about as though they were colour itself, colour incarnate and animated. Popular natural histories of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made much of the pigmentation of butterfly wings. Naturalist historians waxed poetic, or mined the published works of the poets (Lord Byron included), to stress the evanescence of the insects' beautiful colours, which were rubbed off all too easily by rough-handling. Their hues proved, that is, as fugitive and prone to fading as the water colour paints that might be used to paint them. These associations are set out on a page in an album compiled by a certain Elizabeth Reynolds around 1817, atop which Reynolds or a member of her circle has combined cut-outs (on pith paper, I suspect) of four butterflies, which are positioned atop the page, where they surround a pasted-in pressed flower, the latter surviving now only as desiccated remnants. Below the pictured insects and the real flower are handwritten transcriptions of three poetic excerpts: the lines from *Lalla Rookh*'s description of the Vale of Cashmere that I quoted earlier; a section of the lepidopterous simile from Byron's *The Giaour*; and six lines from an older but much reprinted poem, Moses Browne's 1739 *Essay on the Universe* (a physico-theological staple of natural-history teaching through the nineteenth century).[14] The latter excerpt begins by citing Browne's observation, found in the midst of a poetic catalogue of many insect species and tucked between the gnat and the spider, that 'In down of ev'ry variegated dye,/ Shines flutt'ring soft the gaudy butterfly'; Browne continues with the admonition to the would-be butterfly hunter that 'That powder which thy spoiling hand disdains/ The forms of quills and painted plumes contains.'[15] The conceit of that couplet—the proposal that when seen through the poet's microscopic lens the scales on the butterfly's wings will be revealed not simply as feathers but as feathers already taking the form of quill

13 The pith paper that stationers took to marketing to album makers in particular from about 1800 on was prized by amateur artists because on this ground colours seemed to shine brighter: see Krüger 2019, 2.

14 Manchester, Manchester Metropolitan University, Special Collections Museum, Sir Harry Page Collection, album no. 178.

15 Browne 1753, 99.

pens—works to reinforce the insect's association with representation. In these lines the butterfly is represented as anticipating its own imaging.

An album now at the Library Company of Philadelphia, kept between 1833 and 1856 by Amy Matilda Cassey, a member of Philadelphia's free African-American community, provides an interesting angle on the floral and entomological ornaments that amateur artists supplied for their friends' albums. Curators have found that at least one of the watercolour and gouache images signed here by Sarah Douglass Mapps (1806–1882), a writer for the abolitionist paper *The Liberator*, Amy Matilda Cassey's friend and likely at one time her teacher too, was copied straight out of the pages of a how-to manual: a fuchsia from James Andrews's 1836 *Lessons in Flower Painting: A Series of Easy and Progressive Studies, Drawn and Coloured after Nature* reappears with Mapps's signature in the Cassey album. The artistic conventionality of this album and others from 1830s Black Philadelphia, has made the volumes more of a site for disappointment than one for discoveries for the scholars of African-American culture who open these volumes hoping to find proofs of Black individuality and emancipation.[16] And yet there may be reasons to make an exception for the butterfly page that Mapps donated to Cassey's album and think about how it might intervene into the association between the butterfly and colour itself (Fig. 2).

The butterfly Mapps depicts, likely a swallowtail, is black: the inscription at the bottom of the page, 'A token of love from me to thee,' might even justify our considering the picture as a form of self-representation.[17] It is as though Mapp is deliberately recalibrating both the prevailing aesthetics of album culture, in which by convention a beautiful woman is gifted a collection of beauties, and the racialized politics of colour that conditioned that aesthetics.

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16 See Rusert 2015. Some scholars seem to have adopted the attitude of the author and activist Frederick Douglass, who when he contributed to Cassey's album in 1850, chose to register his discomfort over having to transfer his words into that ostentatiously pretty and feminine context: 'I never feel more entirely out of my sphere than when presuming to write in an Album. Its suggestion of beauty elegance and refinements—whilst my habits of life passed history & present occupation have called into exercise all the sterner qualities of my head and heart—so that I walk upon uneven uncultivated and stony ground—gazing upon huge rocks with far more pleasure than I experience while promenading the most richly cultivated garden and gazing upon the most luxurious flowers' (Philadelphia, The Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9764.2; album of Amy Matilda Cassey).

17 Philadelphia, The Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9764.2; album of Amy Matilda Cassey.

3 Bug-keeping and book-keeping

Further manifesting the book type's commitment to miscellaneity, album pages could also showcase and record individuals' studies in natural history. In an album assembled by the Reverend Hubert Thomas Parker and his family in the 1820s (now in the Pforzheimer Collection of the New York Public Library), one finds, for instance, a page imaging the life cycle of the 'large black water-beetle,' or dytiscus (depicted throughout at a magnified, larger-than-life scale, see Fig. 3): employing the diagrammatic style favoured in contemporary works of natural science, using watercolour and ink, the creator of these images traces the insect's growth from egg (number 1) to 'larva or caterpillar' (2, given in two views), to pupa (3), to the 'imago or perfect state' (4, pictured twice, from above and from below).[18]

Another page of watercolour, in a more naturalistic idiom, found later in the album, pictures dragonflies beside a grassy bank, depicting them in various stages of development, some fluttering, some crawling. A third page is devoted to the nettle butterfly, shown as caterpillar, chrysalis, and fly, all three stages perched atop this insect's food source. Within the jumble of the Parker album, these metamorphosizing insects are to be encountered amongst pages of extracted verse and landscape scenes, along with a portrait of Lord Byron and a transcription from the *Edinburgh Review* of passages from a history of the rise of Napoleon.

The album mode's absorption of amateur entomology was facilitated by the fact that natural history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was so very paper-centred an enterprise, and because it was all but explicit that the aim of this enterprise was to subordinate nature's plenty to the tabular, classificatory order of the codex book. Would-be collectors of insects aiming to preserve their trophies were instructed, for example, to put butterflies as soon as possible into 'your Pocket Book, or any other small printed book, . . . after the same manner as your dry plants.'[19] (The passage is by the British naturalist James Petiver, writing in 1695, but the same advice about encasing in one's library volumes the objects one has obtained through fieldwork continued to be tendered almost a century later, in books such as *The Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion Containing Instructions for Discovering and Preserving Objects of Natural History* [1772, 2nd edn 1774].) Nineteenth-century butterfly boxes were 'often designed to imitate

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18 New York, New York Public Library, Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and his Circle, Pforz BND-MSS (Parker, H. T.).

19 *Musei Petiveriani,* quoted in McCracken Peck 2003, 28.

Fig. 2 (left): Sarah Douglass Mapps' tribute to Amy Matilda Cassey. Amy Matilda Cassey album, 1833. Philadelphia, The Library Company of Philadelphia, P.9764.2.

Fig. 3 (right): Ink and watercolour illustrations of four stages of the development of the water-beetle. Hubert Thomas Parker scrapbook album, c. 1820–1831. New York, New York Public Library, Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and his Circle, Pforz BND-MSS (Parker, H. T.).

leather-bound books and were intended to be stacked [like books] on shelves.'[20] In the 1850s, the American artist-naturalist Titian Ramsay Peale encased his lepidopteral collection in specimen boxes like these, which he had custom-made so that, like books, they would have cloth bindings, marbled end papers, and gilded letters stamped on the spines, the parts that would be visible when the tin boxes were stacked on his bookshelves.[21]

The page was the destined point of terminus for the butterfly, moth, or gnat that had been claimed for natural science and put on display as a specimen. Since books could come in handy during the entomologist's fieldwork, as containers for gathering up insects, as Petiver found in the seventeenth century, the page also represented the material instrument of the decontextualization that removed that insect from its original habitat and transformed it into a specimen.[22] (That act of decontextualization is exactly what is made visible by all the white space on the page that the Parker family devotes to the four avatars of the water beetle.)

In *The Insect and the Image* the art historian Janice Neri outlines how insects were central to what she describes as the specimen logic of natural history: a term she coins to designate both a technical dimension of early modern books of natural history—'the visual technique of presenting an isolated object against a blank background' (as captured by Fig. 3)—and their epistemic presuppositions—their 'way of understanding the material world as a succession of isolated objects.'[23] From the seventeenth century on, she explains, insects were pivotal for an emerging understanding of nature as a collection of discrete, separable, collectable, numerable things—an understanding which privileged 'those creatures and items that can be depicted or displayed as objects [as insects can be], those [creatures and items] that possess cleanly defined edges or contours and whose surfaces are visually distinct.'[24]

Neri also observes that, because it is a simple matter for an artist to create life-sized depictions that preserve insects' actual physical dimensions, the boundary between insect *illustrations* and insect *specimens* has often been unstable, an instability that book-makers (of both printed and manuscript volumes) have cul-

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20 Salmon with Marren and Harley 2000, 80.

21 Foutch 2018, 177.

22 As Bruno Latour outlined in his influential discussion of inscription systems and immutable mobiles, paper was the instrument par excellence by which non-European nature was made portable in the early modern period, made into something that Europeans across the globe could gather up, accommodate to the long-distance circuitry of global exchange, and relocate to the metropole (Latour 1990).

23 Neri 2011, XII–XIII.

24 Neri 2011, XXI.

tivated. The reader who encounters, for instance, the frontispiece of John Coakley Lettsom's *The Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion*, preparatory to actually reading the book and learning from it how to preserve 'objects of natural history,' is supposed to hesitate and to wonder whether she is looking at painted insects or real ones—ones that have either settled by chance on the page's surface or been pinned to it by the zealous hand of a collector (see Fig. 4).
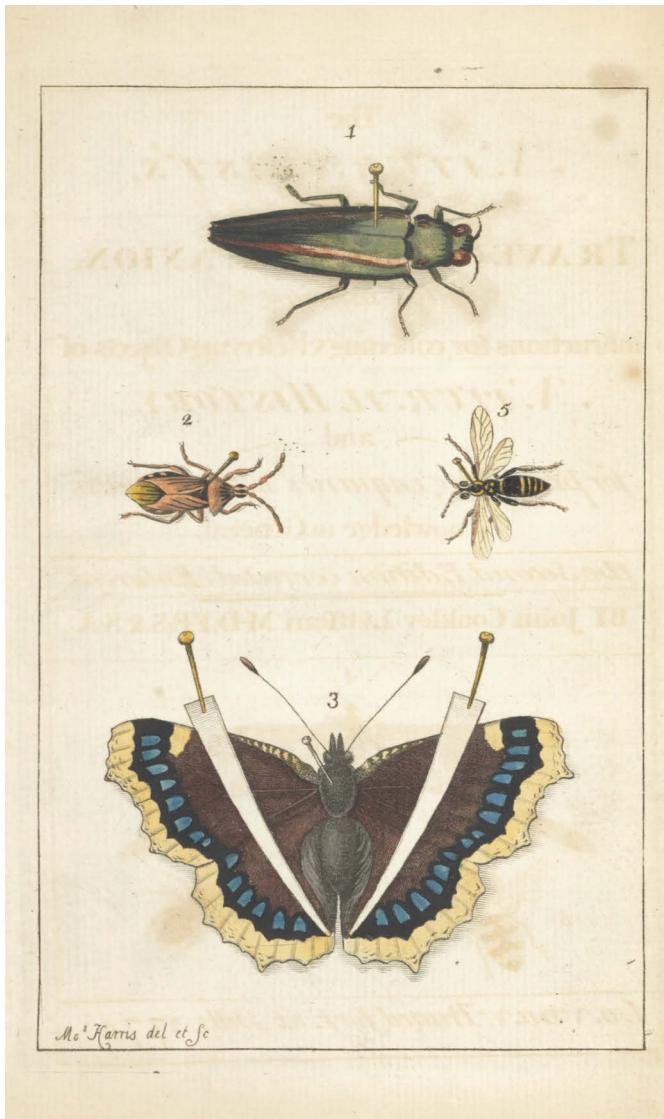
Fig. 4: Frontispiece in John Coakley Lettsom, *The Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion*, 2nd edn, London, 1774. Notice the artist Moses Harris's use of shading to create the illusion of a third dimension.

Contributors to Romantic-era albums often indulged in similar trompe-l'oeil effects. They played on the possibility that a representation of an insect that has been painted at life-size into a book might prove very nearly identical visually to an actual insect that has invaded and then been trapped within a book, as it might prove nearly identical, too, to a real insect *specimen* that has been preserved within a book. The suggestion of a shadow added below the mid-section of an insect that had been painted onto the page could contribute to the illusion that a gnat as big as (or as small as) life did not so much belong to the world of the book, as to the world of the viewer. In this context, the insect regularly moves across the ontological boundary between two-dimensional image and three-dimensional object. With that movement, it literalizes the idea that there are contents *in* the book. In fact, there is in the Anne Wagner friendship album (now in the Pforzheimer Collection of the New York Public Library) a page atop which Wagner's friend or relative C.H.W. has pasted an actual, though squashed, gnat: real food provided for a painted swan (see Fig. 5).

In 1824 the poet Thomas Maude reported on that mobility and the effects it engendered in the observer in a short poem titled 'Lines Written in an Album, on the Blank Page Opposite a Beautiful Painting of a Butterfly.' Despite the title, for the whole of the poem, the speaker denies that he beholds a painting at all.

Fig. 5: Page with painted swan and coral piece and actual tiny insect pasted in. Anne Wagner album, titled 'Memorials of Friendship', *c.* 1795–1834. New York, New York Public Library, Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and his Circle, Pforz BND-MSS (Wagner, A.).

Instead, he addresses himself to the butterfly, 'poor silken thing!,' that lies out-stretched within the album's 'leaves,' and asks the insect whether 'Eliza' took 'your freedom and life away.' In the poem's final stanza, the speaker shifts addressee and talks to himself: 'Surely my eye is not deceived?/ The microscope must be believed—/ It *is* a butterfly!' A note at the end of Maude's volume defends this homage to the artist's mimetic skill and powers of illusion:[25]

> Possibly the reader may consider this as a complimentary exaggeration; but it is not so. The butterfly in question is painted on rice paper, and is so finely done, that the application of a microscope only renders the illusion greater.

His compliment collapses the distance between artistic representation under-stood as a transformation of the natural object and artistic representation under-stood as the transposition of that object.

4 Entomological book theory

There is an additional way in which the entomological and the bibliographical intersect in the nineteenth century's manuscript albums. In 1751 the essayist and lexicographer Samuel Johnson had, in the course of a periodical essay series, *The Rambler*, that he was having printed off biweekly in the form of two-penny sheets, described what he called 'the papers of the day' as 'the ephemerae of learning.' With that analogy, Johnson connected certain sorts of texts—those that were cheap, transient, destined to be disposed of, and therefore left precariously unbound—with insects, such as the mayflies, that lived only for a day. (He also vindicated the authors of those ephemerae, although or because they did not aim at immortality. Their writings were not to be admired, exactly, 'since nothing can be admired when it ceases to exist,' but they had uses 'more adequate to the pur-poses of common life than more pompous and durable volumes.')[26] Johnson's essay builds on earlier eighteenth-century uses of 'grub' to describe hack writers, the pens for hire who were said to have clustered in the environs of Grub Street near Moorsfields in London and who seemed to represent the most humble, mind-less, and larva-like form of literary life.[27] The essay builds on these associations, however, so as to register an emerging insistence on organizing and categorizing

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25 Maude 1824, 49, 50–51. I owe knowledge of this poem to Krüger 2019.
26 Johnson, *Yale Edition*, vol. 3, ed. Bate, 1969, 11.
27 McDowell 2012, 54.

print production by distinguishing books from non-books: it evokes 'an idea of knowledge as a complex eco-system with its own evanescent life forms, part of an overarching, hierarchical order of nature.'[28]

Other writers took up Johnson's influential analogy. In the 1785 poem *The News-paper*, for example, in which George Crabbe complains of the triflers who publish at present in Gazettes, and Ledgers, and Chronicles, and Posts, he mentions 'base Ephemeras, so born / To die before the next revolving morn.'[29] In a chapter in his 1819 *Biographia Literaria* on the conduct of periodical publications, the critic and poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge makes sardonic reference to the humming and buzzing of 'Gnats, beetles, wasps, butterflies, and the whole tribe of ephemerals and insignificants.'[30] The insects conjured up by Coleridge's metaphor *swarm*. They represent an infestation. The point made by those who wield such entomological figures is that thanks to its duplicative powers print sometimes preserves *too much*.

In an earlier essay, written in 1743 to introduce the immense collection of pamphlets the publisher Thomas Osborne had purchased from the Earl of Oxford, Robert Harley, Johnson had mentioned how 'in the Neighbouring Nation, the common appellation' for writings published as pamphlets or as single sheets derived from their propensity to evade the archivist's grasp by getting lost or being destroyed: these pieces of print circulating promiscuously beyond the protection of the bound book were generally identified, Johnson said, as *fugitive pieces* or *flying sheets* (*pièces fugitives* or *feuilles volantes*) because 'after having amused Mankind for a while, [they were subject] to take their Flight and disappear for ever.'[31] Johnson spotlights how in France criminological and arboreal analogies were being used to categorize and order print. In fact, an entomological analogy parallel to the one that he would later help to launch in his *Rambler* essay would come into independent existence in the French language in the late nineteenth century. In French *papillon* remains both the word for a butterfly and a designation for particular transient products of job printing—the leaflets and fliers manufactured for advertising purposes, the parking tickets left on automobile windscreens.

This division, hardening as the eighteenth century turned into the nineteenth century, between the temporality of the printed book and the temporality of ephemeral or ephemeralised, fugitive forms of print had as a counterpart

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28 Russell 2018, 179; see also McDowell 2012.

29 Crabbe 1785, 5.

30 Coleridge, *Major Works*, ed. Jackson, 2008, 381.

31 Quoted in McDowell 2012, 63.

a corresponding division between the printed book and the manuscript book. That division too could be anchored by entomological references. Coleridge, for example, referenced flying, fleeting insects when he titled one of the notebooks that he maintained in the 1820s *Fly-Catcher/ a day-book for impounding stray thoughts*. He also turned to the ornithological, titling another notebook from this decade *Volatilia or Day-Book for bird-liming stray small Thoughts impounding stray thoughts and holding for Trial Doubtful thoughts*.[32]

Participants in album culture were quite self-conscious about the challenge their handiwork posed to the opposition, then hardening and becoming ever more forceful a factor in people's experience of print, between books and ephemera. The keeping of an album could often entail deploying the durability and the powers of perpetuation associated with the codex form to keep trifling, fleeting, inconsequential, stuff. Albums archive poems, images, advertisements, or anecdotes clipped from newspapers (Johnson's 'papers of the day'), or puzzle games that presumably can be played out and deciphered only once (see Fig. 1)—materials that ordinarily might have only the most abridged sort of lease on life. In the album one encounters that paradoxical category explicated by the media theorist Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, 'the enduring ephemeral': or, as the literary scholar and ephemerologist Gillian Russell has put it in her gloss on Chun, the category of 'what endures in perverse persistence even when it was supposed to be thrown away or disappear.'[33] Albums amalgamate and thereby queer the temporalities of the notebook, the newspaper, and the printed book.

In this context it makes sense that winged insects, epitomes of what is volatile and scanty and light and slight, should be the beneficiaries of the manuscript album's curious porousness. Winged insects are frequently selected as subjects of album poetry and art for many reasons, as we have seen, but also because that choice registers the album's status as a structure enabling the accrual of minor, fleeting things and enabling their dispersal as well. Albums are loosely bound as codicological units, even when, in a literal sense, as material books, they are tightly bound. The contents they contain are there on a provisional basis, their collections contingent and prone to disassembly. As I have observed elsewhere, albums are books that come together only as other books come apart. To fill up one book's pages many other books are likely be excerpted and clipped (sometimes literally): they will be mined for choice stanzas by someone on the hunt for poetic content, their frontispieces or engravings will be scissored out.[34] And

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32 On Coleridge's notebooks, see Hess 2012; Brooker 2020.

33 Russell 2020, 20; Chun 2008.

34 Lynch 2018, 89.

materials that were relocated and deposited within the album were subject to being removed from it once again: everyone who has examined albums from the nineteenth century has had occasion to ponder the signs that at some point in the past some pages were excised from the volume, perhaps because a friendship was being consigned to oblivion, perhaps because somebody messed up the artistic project they had planned as their contribution.

When they imagined scenarios in which by happenstance a creature came to fly onto or creep between the pages, the makers of albums were acknowledging the other side of this porousness. I referred earlier to the trompe-l'oeil effects that can make it appear as though a beetle has crawled into a book, volunteering itself as a living ornament. James Montgomery's poem 'Epitaph on a Gnat, found crushed on the Leaf of a Lady's Album' (which calls on the reader to halt at this page as though at a gravestone and recall that 'This speck had life, and suffered death!') was a favourite candidate for transcription into other people's albums in the decade that followed its publication in 1829.[35]

The tensions I have been tracing between the Romantic album-makers' commitment to book-keeping—to the perpetuating powers of the bound codex—and their fascination with fugitivity are writ large in another insect-centred page in an album, this one a volume assembled between 1816 and 1849, and now held at the Houghton Library at Harvard University (Fig. 6). At the top of page is an image of a moth or perhaps a mayfly, painted at life size: the frame in which it is encased focuses our gaze, bestowing importance on this memorial of a short-lived insect by declaring it art. Below this image is a poem written out by hand that begins 'Poor insect! What a little day of sunny bliss is thine!' It then goes on, stressing the insect's vulnerability to mischance, to moralize in a conventional strain about the transience of human life. The lines on either side of the framed picture at the top of the page are in a different idiom as well as a different hand, and in tandem with the imaged insect they change the topic. In their engagement with quotidian, tiny, transient matters, these lines seem, in conjunction with that fly-portrait, to deliver a metacommentary on how albums get filled up and how and what these books keep. On the left-hand side of the page, one reads:

> Being in Cottingham in 1809 J.M. [?] was shown some Vermin in a Crumb of Bread and was asked if it was not wonderful ! to think to write upon a subject so trifling. JM, in answer, said, What in Nature is there that one cannot write upon. Immediately his friend show'd JM a scarcely perceptible speck on a pane of Glass, and said there's a Subject for you. JM instantly took his pen and wrote the lines on the opposite side of this drawing.

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35 Montgomery 1828, 67.
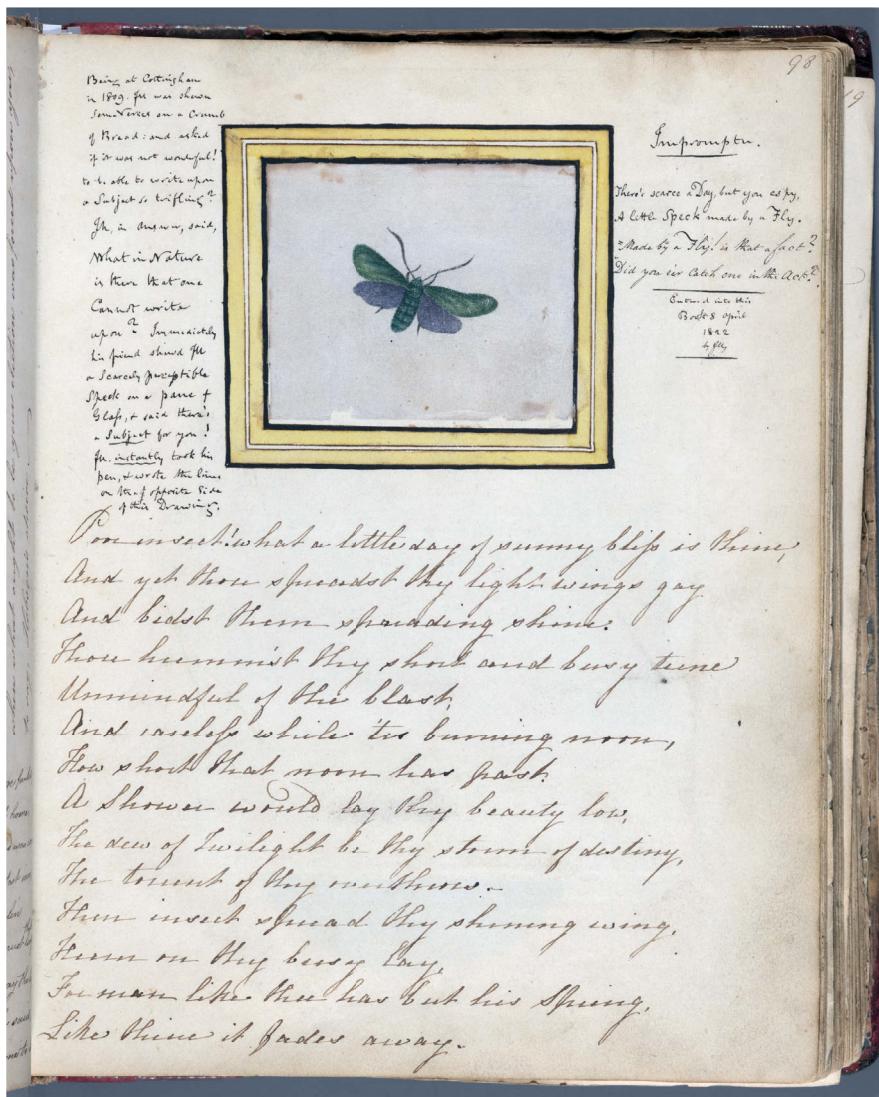
Fig. 6: Page from an anonymous commonplace book, 1822. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Libraries, Houghton Library, Ms Eng 1882.

The follow-up is in verse, found on the right-hand side of the page:

> Impromptu
> There's scarce a Day, but you espy
> A little speck made by a Fly
> 'Made by a Fly?' Is that a fact?
> Did you e'er catch one in the act?
>
>
> Entered in this
> Book 8 April
> 1822
>   by JM

J. M., whose identity is now lost to history, here works out an analogy between the scarcely perceptible trace that an insect leaves of its existence (the eye might be deceived in thinking there is anything to see on the window-pane at all) and the autobiographical record that he has entrusted to this book, a record of a moment of impromptu conversing and scribbling with a friend that took place thirteen years before. Manuscript albums during the Romantic era were deeply embedded in the transient occurrences and transactions of everyday life. In being open to writing that was dedicated to nothing, or next to it (a speck that may or may not be there), they were also dedicated to giving those fleeting social exchanges of passing interest a discursive afterlife. They served as 'shelters of inconsequence' (Simon Reader's term for Victorian notebooks fits manuscript albums as well).[36] As this essay has suggested, by following the trail of the bugs in these books we will better remember that service.

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36 Reader 2021, 4.

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Janine Droese

Albums as Monuments:
On the Production and Use of Public Albums in Nineteenth-century Germany

Abstract: This paper deals with German albums of the nineteenth century which are made on the initiative of a person or group for a specific occasion in order to commemorate someone or an event together. It focuses mainly on two of these public albums: the (printed) Stuttgart Beethoven Album of 1846 and the (manuscript) Weimar Schiller Album initiated in 1847, describing their production processes and the correlations of their production, materiality and use.

1 Introduction

Most European albums of the nineteenth century are personal manuscripts – they are friendship albums (also known as *alba amicorum* or *Stammbücher*), which usually belong to one album owner or a small group of album owners, whose social networks they document. However, there were also public albums that were made on the initiative of a person or group for a specific occasion in order to commemorate someone or an event together and, thus, shape the collective memory. This second group of albums, which has, until now, received very little scholarly attention, will be discussed here. Two albums will be taken as examples: the Stuttgart Beethoven Album and the Weimar Schiller Album, both written artefacts that were created with the participation of contemporaries considered to be prominent, became known to a wider public and have still received public attention decades after they had been first accessible.

2 The Stuttgart Beethoven Album

The Beethoven-Haus in Bonn has preserved an album leaf by Carl Czerny, which is described in the catalogue as a 'posthumes Albumblatt für Beethoven' ('post-

humous album leaf for Beethoven').[1] Czerny, a pupil of Beethoven, notated a sixteen-bar composition for piano in E major on the 19 × 25.6 cm landscape-format sheet with twelve staves and added a short text with the date and his signature (cf. Fig. 1). At first glance, Czerny's autograph displays all the typical features of musical entries in albums of the time: The landscape format is just as characteristic as the short composition, which fills only one page and is written in a hurry, and the short text noted below it on the right.[2] This text, which is in the place of the usual dedication, reads: 'Für das Beethoven-Album den 25. November 1845 Czerny' ('For the Beethoven Album 25 November 1845 Czerny'). This informs us that the sheet has, in fact, probably never been part of an album, but served as a *Stichvorlage*, a source used to prepare a print master. With producing this album leaf, Czerny responded to an invitation from the music teacher and author Gustav Schilling. On behalf of the Hallberger'sche Buchhandlung in Stuttgart, Schilling had asked all artists, music lovers and patrons who had attended the festivities surrounding the inauguration of the Beethoven Monument in Bonn to contribute to an album. Apparently, only some of the inscribers were recruited at the celebration itself. The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 27 August 1845 reports on this in the second part of an article on the Bonn celebrations. Describing the banquet at the Gasthaus Zum goldenen Stern on their last day, the unknown reporter ('P. B.') remarks:

> An der Gasttafel bemerkte man auch Dr. *Schilling* aus Stuttgart, welcher durch *Hallé* aus Paris eine gedruckte Aufforderung zur Einzeichnung eines Gedenkspruches an das Fest in ein schleunigst in Stuttgart zu edirendes Beethoven-Album an alle anwesenden Künstler herumgehen ließ. Doch ist zu zweifeln, dass die Speculation besonderen Anklang gefunden hat.[3]

> ('At the guest table, one also noticed Dr *Schilling* from Stuttgart who, through *Hallé* from Paris, had a printed request circulated to all the artists present for the inscription of a

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1 <https://www.beethoven.de/sixcms/detail.php//opac_bibliothek_en/_opac/hans_en.pl/_dokid/ha:wm390>, shelfmark BH 246 (accessed on 8 June 2022). All translations without a reference to a source are my own.
2 The inappropriate paper, which is optimised for the entry of songs, could be seen as another typical feature: The twelve staves are divided into 4 × 3 staves, with each group of three being linked by a curved bracket, whereby the first system of each group of three has a larger distance to the next, so that text can be accommodated. This can be seen as typical for album entries, in so far as the inscribers usually had to work there with the paper provided by the album owner. The fact that the right margin of the sheet was torn and not cut could be read as an indication that it was torn out of a larger context, such as an album.
3 Col. 596.
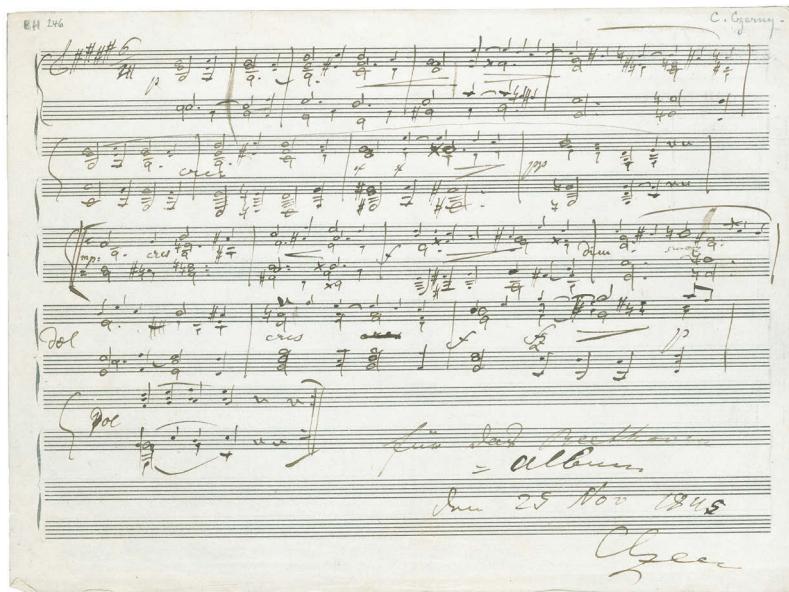
Fig. 1: Carl Czerny's album leaf for the Beethoven Album. Bonn, Beethoven-Haus, BH 246.
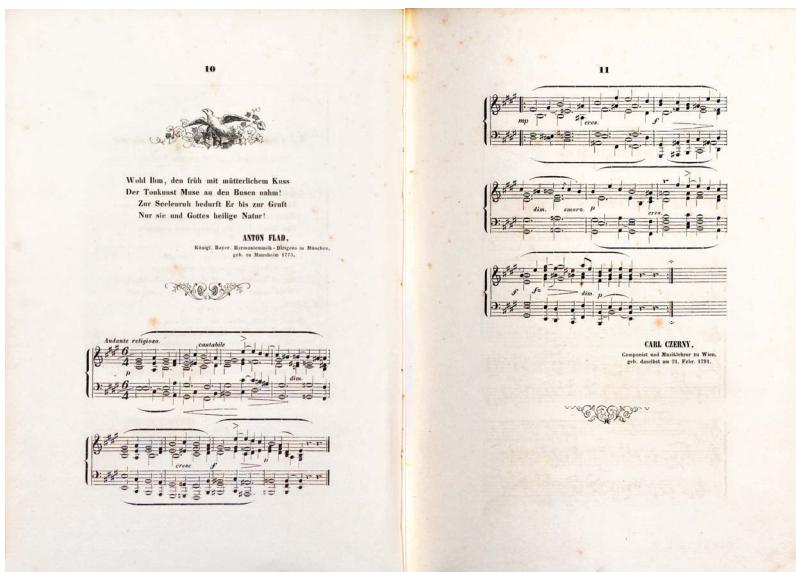
Fig. 2a-b: Czerny's entry in the Beethoven Album edited by Schilling (1846, 10–11). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 1298 <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11140595-4>.

commemorative verse to the festival in a Beethoven Album to be edited as soon as possible in Stuttgart. However, it is doubtful that the speculation was well received.')

In fact, Schilling himself confirms in the preface to the album that it had been difficult to obtain contributors. Regarding the history of the album, he writes that the Hallberger'sche Buchhandlung had decided to edit a Beethoven Album. On behalf of the bookshop, he had brought up the idea at the Bonn Beethoven Festival and it had been received with enthusiasm. However, a subsequent invitation to the 'gesammte Künstlerwelt' ('entire world of artists') had become necessary, since it had not really been possible to concentrate on such things in the context of the Bonn celebration.[4]

The album was completed and printed in 1846. It is entitled *Beethoven-Album: Ein Gedenkbuch dankbarer Liebe und Verehrung für den grossen Todten, gestiftet und beschrieben von einem Vereine von Künstlern und Kunstfreunden aus Frankreich, England, Italien, Deutschland, Holland, Schweden, Ungarn und Russland* ('A memorial book of grateful love and veneration for the great deceased, donated and compiled by an association of artists and amateurs of art from France, England, Italy, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Hungary and Russia'). It brings together contributions from 180 art lovers, composers and musicians, among them such prominent figures as the composers Franz Liszt, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Gaspare Spontini and Henry Vieuxtemps, the singers Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient and Henriette

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4 Schilling 1846, XV–XVI: 'Da fasste die auf dem Titelblatte genannte Verlagsbuchhandlung aus eigenem freien Antriebe den Entschluss, [...] ein sogenanntes Beethoven-Album [...] zu ediren [...]. Mit Freuden, ja – ich darf wohl sagen – mit Enthusiasmus ward die Idee überall, in allen Kreisen aufgenommen, wo ich sie im besonderen Auftrage der Verlagsbuchhandlung eben bei jenem Feste [the Beethoven Festival in Bonn] zur Sprache brachte, und gerne unterzog ich mich daher auch dem Geschäfte sowohl der Einsammlung der verschiedenen Beiträge und Einzeichnungen, als der Leitung des Druckes des ganzen Werkes. Jene machten eine besondere Einladung an die gesammte Künstlerwelt nothwendig, da die geräuschvollen Tage der Feier zu Bonn nicht wohl zuliessen, der Aufmerksamkeit eine diesseitige besondere Richtung zu geben. Das nahm viel Zeit weg'. There are a lot of conceivable reasons for the initial reluctance of the potential contributors approached, one of which might be that the Viennese publisher Mechetti had already edited a Beethoven album in 1842, the profits from which were destined for the Beethoven monument in Bonn, entitled *Album-Beethoven: Dix morceaux brillants pour le piano composés par Messieurs Chopin, Czerny, Döhler, Henselt, Kalkbrenner, Liszt, Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Moscheles, Taubert et Thalberg, et publiés par l'éditeur P. Mechetti pour contribuer aux frais du monument de Louis van Beethoven à Bonn*. Czerny – similar to Franz Liszt and Adolph Henselt – contributed to both Beethoven albums from the Bonn Beethoven Festival environment. For the history and context of the Beethoven Monument in Bonn, as well as a large number of related documents, cf. Bodsch 1995.

Sontag, and the music collector and scholar Aloys Fuchs.[5] Schilling himself contributed an extensive preface, in which he provides biographical information on Beethoven and information on the history of the Beethoven Monument in Bonn. Furthermore, he gives some hints as to why the album was made and what purpose it was meant to serve. Having explained the festivities around the inauguration of the Beethoven monument in Bonn, he writes:

> Die Kunstnobilitäten aus allen Ländern Europa's waren herbeigeströmt, Beethoven hier am Orte seiner Geburt unmittelbar vor seinem ehernen Bilde auf dem Münsterplatze zu Bonn noch einmal im gemeinschaftlichen Chor ihre Huldigung darzubringen. Doch geschieden aus der Stadt war es auch nur die Erinnerung noch, die ein Band knüpfte zwischen dem Herzen und Jenem, dem es so freudig hoch entgegenschlug. So sprach sich bald der Wunsch aus nach dem Besitze eines Sinnbilds, das, allen Freunden der Muse zugänglich, auch allen besondern Verehrern Beethoven's stets jene Gefühle als ausdrückliches Zeichen vergegenwärtigen könne.[6]

> ('The artistic nobility from all the countries of Europe had flocked here to pay their homage to Beethoven once again in a collective chorus at the place of his birth, directly in front of his bronze statue on the Münsterplatz in Bonn. But having left the city, it was only the memory that forged a bond between the heart and the one to whom it had so joyfully surged. Soon the wish was expressed for the possession of a symbol which, accessible to all friends of the Muse, could always recall those feelings as an explicit sign also to all special admirers of Beethoven.')

Going into more detail about the purpose of the album and apologising for the long time it took to prepare it, he also states:

> Ich muss [...] um Nachsicht bitten, wenn von Beginn des Unternehmens an bis zu seiner Vollendung [...] fast ein ganzes Jahr verstrich; indess ich glaube auch, mich derselben für gewiss halten zu dürfen. Was kümmert nämlich [...] hier die Zeit; – ist nur erreicht, was Alle gewollt: Beethoven noch ein anderes würdiges Denkmal zu setzen, das, Jedem zugänglich, auch Jedem stets ein sichtbares und Herz erhebendes Zeichen seyn kann von der grossen Liebe und Verehrung, von dem grossen, unaussprechlichen Danke, wovon die gesammte jetzige Kunstwelt tief erfüllt ist für den, der zuerst die Fesseln brach, in denen seit Jahrhunderten unsere heilige Kunst, die schöne Kunst der Töne, mit sich selbst gerungen [...].[7]

> ('I must [...] ask for your indulgence if almost a whole year passed from the beginning of the undertaking to its completion [...]; however, I also believe that I may consider myself certain of this. What does time matter [...] here; – if only is achieved what everyone wanted: To set

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5 It seems noteworthy that Charles Hallé, who is said to have helped Schilling with the acquisition of entries, apparently did not contribute an entry.

6 Schilling 1846, XV.

7 Schilling 1846, XVI.

another worthy monument to Beethoven, which, accessible to everyone, can always be a visible and heart-lifting sign of the great love and veneration, of the great, inexpressible gratitude, of which the whole world of art is deeply filled for the one who first broke the fetters in which for centuries our sacred art, the beautiful art of sound, has struggled with itself [...].')

Thus, the album should itself serve as a memorial, and, furthermore, be a symbol for the shared experience in Bonn, enabling Beethoven admirers, regardless of where they are, to recall the feelings triggered by the collective homage. The function of the album is, therefore, on the one hand, very similar to that of *alba amicorum* and other private album types. These, too, are used to evoke the presence of friends of the album keeper – and their function as a 'monument' to friendship has, in some cases, even given them their title, '*Denkmal der Freundschaft*' ('Monument of Friendship'). In addition, some of the inscribers explicitly refer to time spent together with the album holder and to events they have experienced together.[8] However, while in private albums there is usually a bilateral relationship between the album owner and contributor and only rarely are third parties involved or referred to, the Beethoven album aims at evoking a group experience. It serves the self-assurance of a group that arises from the common veneration of a person who is not privately known to the individual contributors (and who, moreover, has already died) and has a community-building function in that it enables the reader to evoke the shared experience of the festivities in Bonn. It is obvious that a collectively written album that is linked to an actually jointly experienced celebration is particularly suitable for this purpose.

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8 The difference between albums is very large in this respect: While in some cases, it is hardly possible to draw conclusions about shared experiences or even a closer relationship between the album owner and the person making the entry, in others, there are many indications of shared experiences, of making music together, which can be more or less explicit. A quite well-known example is Robert Schumann's entry in Emilie Steffen's album (Zwickau, Robert-Schumann-Haus, 12899). Friedrich Rückerts poem 'Vom Himmel kam geflogen eine Taube' is written in the centre of the page, above and below which dried flowers are pasted. Schumann copied short excerpts of his own compositions in three of the four corners, with the date and place of performances he and Emilie Steffens, the owner of the album, had experienced together. The dedication, at the right side of the lower bunch of flowers, reads: 'Der lieben Emilie zur Erinnerung von Robert Schumann' ('To dear Emilie in memory of Robert Schumann'). Another example is the entry of the Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg in the album of Brahm's biographer Max Kalbeck (private collection, Houston, Texas; digitised images accessible at <https://americanbrahmssociety.org/max-kalbecks-album/>, accessed on 8 June 2022). He notes a short excerpt of his third violin sonata op. 45, to which he adds the dedication: 'Zur fr[eundlichen] Erinnerung an den verhängnisvollen Mittagstisch am 24/3/96'. ('As a friendly reminder of the fateful lunch on March 24, 1896.' Translation from Gaub 2021, 2).

The probably most significant difference between the Beethoven Album and contemporary friendship albums, however, is that the Beethoven Album is printed. Unlike albums designed for one album owner, this album had to serve the needs of an art-loving public, which is hard to comply with the singularity of a manuscript. However, transferring the entries to print meant that some of their album-typical features were lost. This is, first of all, the authentic handwriting of the inscribers, which is without doubt a very important aspect of entries in private albums or *Stammbücher*.[9] What is also obviously lost is the visual organisation and combination of texts that is typical of album entries of the time – and which, as described above, is found in Czerny's handwritten version of the album leaf. Figure 2 shows Czerny's entry as printed in the album, and it is obvious that even basic features of handwritten albums of the time, such as the correlation of page breaks to the boundaries of the entries, are not imitated.

Printed commemorative albums such as the Beethoven Album edited by Schilling – i.e. albums that belong to the category of *Gedenkschriften* as a subcategory of *Festschriften* – were not uncommon in the nineteenth century, although it has to be noted that most of them were not produced by collecting entries written by third parties especially for the album but were just anthologies, often reproducing previously published material thought suitable for the collection by its editor.[10] The present article will not consider this second group of written arte-

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9 Cf., to name but one historical example, Hölbe 1798, 47–48, 111.

10 On *Festschriften* from the field of music and possibilities of their categorisation, cf. Fellinger 1995. Simeone 2001 does not mention the nineteenth-century phenomenon discussed here; however, she erroneously categorises the *Mozart-Album: Festgabe zu Mozart's hundertjährigem Geburts-Tage, am 27. Januar 1856. Allen Verehrern des großen Meisters gewidmet* (Kayser 1856a) as a collection 'mit Werken verschiedener Komponisten zum Gedenken an große Meister der Vergangenheit' ('with works by various composers to commemorate great masters of the past') (Simeone 2001, col. 428). Kayser, the editor, distinguishes himself rather explicitly from this kind of album in the preface when he writes: 'Was unser eigenes Unternehmen betrifft, so dürfte es schwerlich von irgend Jemandem, der überhaupt Sinn und Gefühl für die Kunst besitzt, als ein überflüssiges bezeichnet werden, zumal da es dem Herausgeber durchaus nicht darum zu thun war, seinen Lesern nur eine vage Verherrlichung zu bieten, wie sie in manchen anderen Festalbums zum Andenken berühmter Männer allerdings nur zu oft sich findet. Wir verfolgen einen höhern, für die Kunst, wie wir hoffen, wirklich fruchtbringenden Zweck, und anstatt eine Unmasse lediglich auf die Lobpreisung des Meisters abzielende prosaische und poetische Ergüsse, von möglichst verschiedenen Autoren, ohne Plan und Auswahl, zusammenzuraffen, war es unsere Absicht, den Lesern ein Buch zu übergeben, das ihnen noch nach Jahren eine anregende Unterhaltung gewähren dürfte [...]'. ('As far as our own enterprise is concerned, it would be difficult for anyone with any sense or feeling for art to describe it as superfluous, especially since the editor was not concerned with offering his readers only a vague glorification, as is all too often found in other festive albums in memory of famous men. We are pursuing a higher purpose, one

facts. Instead, it will only focus on commemorative albums that are collections of contributions by a group of people, and that are public written artefacts, insofar as they refer to people or events that are perceived to be of societal significance, are produced by a community generally open to everybody with shared interests and, after their production, are widely disseminated or preserved in a space open to the public. My aim is to outline the production processes and the use of such commemorative albums, and to identify differences and commonalities with private albums.

3 The Weimar Schiller Album

The following discussion will be based, as an example, on one of the few albums that was not printed: The Weimar Schiller Album, today kept in the Goethe- und

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that we hope will be truly fruitful for art, and instead of compiling a mass of prose and poetic effusions aimed solely at praising the master, from as many different authors as possible, without plan or selection, it was our intention to hand over to the readers a book that should provide them with stimulating entertainment for years to come [...].' Kayser 1856b, *s.p.*, first page of the preface). In fact, the category of albums that are collections of contributions by various composers includes, in addition to the Beethoven Album discussed here and the Beethoven Album edited by Mechetti (1842), *inter alia*, the Mozart Album published by Friedrich August Pott (1842). Interestingly, Pott requested not only compositions for the latter album, but also the composers' own signatures, which are collected on one page as facsimiles and placed at the beginning of the respective sections of the album. Among the composers who contributed to this album were Carl Czerny, Gaspare Spontini, Louis Spohr, Robert Schumann, Peter von Lindpaintner, Ignaz Moscheles, Sigismund Thalberg and Franz Lachner. Ten years later, in 1852, Franz Schlodtmann took up this idea and initiated the *Deutsches Stammbuch*: *Autographisches Album der Gegenwart*, in which facsimiles of manuscripts especially prepared for this purpose, among others by Robert and Clara Schumann, Louis Spohr, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Ignaz Moscheles, Ferdinand David and Richard Wagner, were published. The contributions appeared in monthly issues until 1854. The *Deutsches Stammbuch* subsequently enjoyed several new editions. On the one hand, this album can be seen as being in the tradition of the public albums referred to here – and it solves the problem described at the beginning, namely, that printed albums differ greatly in appearance from handwritten ones, by using facsimiles. At the same time, however, it is certainly part of the tradition of autograph collections printed as facsimiles that emerged with the invention of lithography at the turn of the nineteenth century, such as Dorow (1836–1838) and Becher (1846). The chapter 'Reconstructing the "Cossey Hall" Album: Manuscript, Print, Patronage, and Place' in Matthews (2020, 58–87), and, for music-related albums of the nineteenth century, Huck (2018), are very informative on the close relationship between print and manuscript, publicity and privacy in album culture.

Schiller-Archiv in Weimar.[11] This album can undoubtedly be seen as one of the most important album projects of the nineteenth century in terms of public perception. It is already monumental in its size – it contains 240 entries, which have been compiled in two volumes.[12] It was initiated by the two Weimar booksellers Ferdinand Jansen and Carl Voigt, and its history is closely linked to that of the Schillerhaus in Weimar. The city of Weimar had purchased Schiller's former home in June 1847 and begun to return the original furnishings and other authentic memorabilia that had been given away or sold after Schiller's death, in order to use the house as a memorial accessible to all, the Schiller Museum.[13] That the album was intended from the outset as a gift for this new commemorative site is evident, among other things, from the letter that Vogt and Jansen had prepared to invite contributors. This printed letter is dated December 1847 and it reads:

> Die Gründung eines Schiller-Museums in Weimar, in den nämlichen Räumen, in denen der Dichter einst lebte und schuf, hat Alle, die ihn kennen und lieben, mit Theilnahme erfüllt, und viele Seiner Verehrer beeifern sich, die Weihe jenes Ortes durch sinnige und beziehungsreiche Gaben der Liebe zu erhöhen.
>
> Sehr nahe liegt der Gedanke, für dieses Schiller-Museum ein Album zu stiften, in welchem all' die glänzenden Namen der Gegenwart – Alle, welche in Leben, Kunst und Wissenschaft unsere Zeit repräsentiren, durch die Widmung eines Blattes dem Genius Schiller ihre Huldigung darzubringen.

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11 GSA 83/796,1 and GSA 83/796,2. Both volumes have recently been made accessible in digitised form: <https://ores.klassik-stiftung.de/ords/f?p=401:2:::::P2_ID:73838> and <https://ores.klassik-stiftung.de/ords/f?p=401:2:::::P2_ID:73839> (accessed on 8 June 2022).

12 Somewhat more extensive still, with 289 album sheets (as of 1953), is the Mozart Album of the Internationale Mozartstiftung, which is comparable in many respects to the Schiller Album and has been in the archives of the Mozart Museum of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum in Salzburg since 1951. A decisive difference to the Schiller Album, however, is that with this Mozart Album, which was initiated in 1874, a commercial interest was at least also pursued, whereas the Schillerhaus and the Schiller Album were initially expressly intended to be made accessible free of charge and in an uncomplicated manner to 'jedem Fremden, hohen und niedrigen, Armen und Reichen, sobald sie sich für Schillers unsterbliche Werke interessiren und dies zu erkennen geben' ('to all strangers, high and low, poor and rich, as soon as they show interest in Schiller's immortal works and make this known'; Kahl 2009–2010, II, 62, Document 15). On the Mozart Album, cf. Hummel 1963.

13 In fact, the Weimar Schillerhaus was the first former residence of an artist in Germany to be converted into a memorial and, thus, a public institution that fulfils modern criteria of a Museum, such as publicity, accessibility, visitor orientation and non-profit status (Kahl 2017, 328–329). For more information on how this memorial was established, cf. Kahl 2008–2009.

Daher wagen es die Unterzeichneten, – stolz, zu solch' schönem Zweck ihre vermittelnde Hand bieten zu dürfen – IHNEN ein Blatt dieses Albums vertrauensvoll zu überreichen und das Schiller-Museum hofft, dasselbe bereichert aus IHREN Händen zurückzuempfangen, um es unter seinen mannichfachen Schätzen für alle Zeiten aufzubewahren.[14]

('The founding of a Schiller Museum in Weimar, in the very rooms in which the poet once lived and created, has filled all who know and love him with sympathy, and many of his admirers are eager to increase the consecration of that place through meaningful and evocative gifts of love.

The idea of donating an album for this Schiller Museum, in which all the brilliant names of the present day – all those who represent our time in life, art and science – can pay homage to the genius Schiller by dedicating a page, is very obvious.

Therefore, the signees – proud to be able to offer their mediating hand for such a beautiful purpose – dare to trustingly present YOU with one sheet of this album and the Schiller Museum hopes to receive it back enriched from YOUR hands in order to keep it among its many treasures for all times to come.')

It is signed by both initiators, Jansen and Voigt. In addition to the information that the album was planned as a gift for the newly created Schiller Museum, the letter informs us about the broad circle of contributors at which the initiators aimed: artists and scientists are addressed as well as other influential people, the main criteria for the selection being that the contributor is felt to represent his/her time in any field of societal significance. The wording 'Alle, welche [...] unsere Zeit repräsentiren' ('all those who represent our time') seems to indicate that the organisers were aware that the album would not only serve to pay homage to Schiller, but would also endure in the future as a document of their time. An addendum by Karl Georg Hase, the mayor and Stadtdirektor of Weimar, is printed below the letter, in which he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking, probably in order to give the invitation more weight and, thus, increase the response rate.[15] Enclosed with the letter was obviously a blank sheet of paper for the album, as becomes clear from the wording 'Daher wagen es die Unterzeichneten [...] IHNEN ein Blatt dieses Albums [...] zu überreichen' ('Therefore, the signees [...] dare to [...] present YOU with one sheet of this album').

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14 This citation is based on the copy of the letter that was sent to Robert Schumann and is found in his correspondence (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellónska, Korespondencja Schumanna, vol. 19, no. 3440). I thank Annegret Rosenmüller, who generously provided me with additional information on this letter.

15 'Obigem, dem Schiller-Museum für Gegenwart und Zukunft höchst werthvollen Unternehmen den glücklichsten Ausgang wünschend K. G. Hase, Oberbürgermeister und Stadt-Director in Weimar' (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellónska, Korespondencja Schumanna, vol. 19, no. 3440).

Further details on the organisational process of collecting entries are known from a printed handout with the heading 'In Betreff der Ausführung' ('Concerning the Realisation') that was probably enclosed with the invitation.[16] With this sheet, the organisers communicate all relevant information regarding the content of the envisaged album leaf as well as legal and organisational matters. The requested contributors are informed that they should use the paper sent to them or, in case they prefer to use their own paper, make sure that it has the same format. The leaf with the entry should by no means be rolled up, but kept between two cardboards, and then, as soon as possible, be returned to Ferdinand Jansen via the book trade. In case the contributor prefers to send the album leaf by post, he has to provide the postage costs. Regarding the content of the album sheet, the initiators write that the contributor should not feel bound in any respect; there are no regulations. Specifically, they state that the contribution could, for example, consist of a *sententia* in bound or unbound language as well as a musical thought, a short musical composition or, in the field of visual arts, a sketch or design. They do mention, however, that a reference to Schiller in the entries is desirable, though not necessary. It is important for them – the respective part of the handout is emphasised by additional letter spacing within the word – that the contributor signs the album leaf with his/her full name in his/her own hand. The organisers assure that they will have the sheets bound in an appropriate manner at their own expense and then hand them over to the city council for the Schiller Museum. The handover is to be communicated through the press. In addition, the organisers guarantee the contributors that the entries in the album will not be published – that is, printed and, thus, made accessible independently of the context of the album – without the explicit consent of the contributor. That Voigt and Jansen aimed at making the album as complete as possible by including entries by everyone of importance can be seen by point 4 of the handout. There, they mention that, despite their being as attentive as possible, they might have overlooked one or the other person who should be included in the album, and they express the possibility of bringing in new names to remedy the omission by means of a subsequent request.

It seems that the acquisition of contributions turned out to be more difficult than the initiators had envisaged. This problem, albeit also known from other album projects,[17] could have been intensified in the present case by the unstable

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16 Here, again, I use the copy of the letter handed down in Robert Schumann's correspondence (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellónska, Korespondencja Schumanna, vol. 19, no. 3440).
17 Johann Evangelist Engl, for example, writes about the Mozart Album in the ninth annual report of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum in 1889: 'Dasselbe, vor 16 Jahren angelegt, wird

situation of the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849. Thus, the organisers printed and sent out a reminder letter in February 1849, in which they inform those of the contributors invited that had not yet sent their entries that the album was about to be completed and ask for the entry to be sent promptly.[18]

Jansen and Voigt handed over the album to the Weimar city council in August 1850. This was, on the one hand, communicated in the press, as they had announced in the invitation. The following announcement appeared below the heading 'Schiller-Album zu Weimar' in the supplement to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 14 October 1850:

> Allen denjenigen hochverehrten Männern und Frauen, welche die Güte gehabt haben für das von uns gestiftete Schiller-Album Blätter einzusenden, beehren wir uns, nur auf diesem Wege die Anzeige zu machen daß dieses Album in zwei starken Bänden dem hiesigen Stadtrath, als dem Besitzer des Schiller-Hauses, nunmehr von uns als Geschenk für das Schiller-Museum übergeben und von demselben, laut der in unsern Händen befindlichen Empfangs-Bescheinigung, in Schillers Arbeitsstube als ein sprechendes Denkmal der hohen Verehrung unserer Tage für den unsterblichen Genius des großen Dichters niedergelegt worden ist. Indem wir unsern Dank für das uns bewiesene freundliche Entgegenkommen hierdurch öffentlich aussprechen, hoffen wir daß sich durch gegenwärtige Anzeige auch diejenigen Herren und Damen, welche uns die gesandten Blätter noch nicht zurückgeschickt haben, noch zur Einsendung derselben bewogen fühlen möchten, zu deren

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durch fortgesetzte Sammlungen, die unglaublicher Weise häufig sehr mühevoll und verhältnismäßig wenig lohnend sind, da Gelehrte und Künstler äußerst schwer die Ruhe und Zeit finden, ein von ihnen erbetenes Blatt auszufüllen oder dasselbe, wenn sie hiezu beweilt wären, nicht mehr vorfinden, immer reichhaltiger und interessanter zu gestalten angestrebt' ('This collection, which was established 16 years ago, is continually being made richer and more interesting by means of ongoing collections, which, unbelievably, are often very laborious and relatively unrewarding, since scholars and artists find it extremely difficult to find the peace and time to fill out a sheet they have been asked for or, if they were moved to do so, no longer find it.' Engl 1889, 23).

18 They write: 'Vor länger als einem Jahr – im December 1847 – erlaubten sich die Unterzeichneten, Ihnen ein Blatt zu dem Schiller-Album zu übersenden, welches sie sich vorgesetzt haben, dem hiesigen Schiller-Museum zu verehren – mit der freundlichen Bitte, uns dasselbe mit einem Monogramm Ihrer Hand baldmöglichst zurück zu senden. Die bald darauf eingetretenen und das ganze Jahr 1848 überfluthenden Bewegungen haben diese kleine Angelegenheit wahrscheinlich bei Ihnen zurückgedrängt, denn wir haben Ihr Blatt noch nicht erhalten. Da wir aber nun zum Schluss kommen, gleichwol jedoch das Album nicht ohne Ihren geschätzten Beitrag übergeben möchten: so erlauben wir uns, Sie ganz ergebenst zu bitten, uns gütigst nunmehr sobald als immer thunlich Ihr Blatt einsenden zu wollen.' They add some practical advice and finish their letter: 'Möchte es Ihnen nun gefallen, uns ein Blatt der Huldigung für den großen Dichter recht bald zu übermitteln.' Schumann was obviously one of those who had not sent his album leaf until this day and, therefore, received the reminder letter, as this letter is also found in his correspondence (Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellónska, Korespondencja Schumanna, vol. 20, no. 3586).

Vermittelung jede Buchhandlung gern bereit seyn wird.— Weimar, den 5. October 1850. Dr. Ferdinand Jansen, Carl Voigt, Buchhändler.[19]

('To all those highly esteemed men and women who have had the kindness to send in sheets for the Schiller album donated by us, we have the honour of announcing only in this way that this album in two large volumes has now been presented by us to the local city council, as the owner of the Schillerhaus, as a gift for the Schiller Museum and, according to the certificate of receipt in our hands, has been placed in Schiller's study as a speaking monument of the high veneration of our days for the immortal genius of the great poet. In publicly expressing our thanks for the kindness shown to us, we hope that the present announcement will also encourage those gentlemen and ladies who have not yet returned the sheets sent to them to send them in, and that every bookshop will be happy to arrange this for them. — Weimar, 5 October 1850. Dr Ferdinand Jansen, Carl Voigt, bookseller.')

On the other hand, the handover is documented by a letter that the two booksellers addressed to the Weimar city council.[20] This letter is interesting insofar as it sheds more light on the production process of the album. It is dated 18 August 1850, and, at its beginning, the booksellers state that they herewith hand over an album in two volumes to the 'Hochedeln Stadtrath' ('highly noble city council') as the owner of Schiller's home, which is a gift to the Schiller Museum and which they have collected expressly for this purpose. They describe that they had sent a sheet for the album to more than a thousand men and women, but only 220 of these sheets were returned with an entry. Furthermore, it becomes clear that the project was quite expensive for the two initiators: according to their own statement, they invested about 80 Reichsthaler. As in the press release, here, too, a latent dissatisfaction on the part of the initiators is noticeable, it seems that they were disappointed by the low response rate and had the impression that their costs were relatively too high.[21]

In their letter to the city council, Jansen and Voigt spent a whole paragraph to address the publication rights for the contributions, writing:

Obgleich wir weder bei der Idee zu diesem Album, noch bei Sammlung der Beiträge dazu, an eine anderweitige Verwendung derselben in unserem Interesse gedacht haben oder jetzt

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19 Jansen and Voigt 1850.
20 Weimar, Stadtarchiv, NA I-31a-36, vol. 1, 54–55.
21 'Wenn wir dabei weder Mühe noch Zeit, und einen Kostenaufwand von ca. 80 Rthl. scheuten, so haben wir zu bedauern, daß von mehr als tausend Männern und Frauen, denen wir Blätter eingesendet, nur 220 dieselben zurückgeschickt haben, welche nunmehr in den hierbei folgenden zwei Bänden vereinigt sind.' Weimar, Stadtarchiv, NA I-31a-36, vol. 1, 54.

denken, so müßen wir uns doch bei Uebergabe des Albums das Recht der Veröffentlichung für uns und unsere Erben vorbehalten […].[22]

('Neither at the time of the idea for this album, nor at the time of the collection of the contributions to it, did we think or now think of any other use of the same in our interest. Nevertheless, when handing over the album we must reserve the right of publication for ourselves and our heirs […].')

Furthermore, they ask the city council to make sure that nobody makes copies of any of the album entries. This regulation, on the one hand, enables them to potentially benefit financially from the album in the future; on the other hand, it allows them to keep their promise to the contributors that the contributions will not be published without further consultation.[23]

Today, the album is kept in the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, to where it was transferred from the Schiller-Nationalmuseum in 1978. The first volume of the album contains a total of 117 entries, the second volume, 123. Within the album, the entries are arranged in alphabetical order; a few inconsistencies in the order of the entries are probably due to errors in binding, on the one hand, and to later rearrangements, on the other, as will be explained later. The design of the two volumes is very similar: They both have dark green, full leather bindings with gold and blind embossing and metal corners and clasps. The spines bear the title – 'Schiller-Album' – in golden letters, to which is added the respective volume number. Besides the volume numbers, the only difference in the bindings is the content of a medallion placed in the middle of each front cover. On the front cover of the first volume there is a cameo of Friedrich Schiller under a curved glass, made by the Weimar sculptor, engraver and medallist Angelica Facius (cf. Fig. 3); in the same place on the second volume, there is a lock of Schiller's hair. The entries of both volumes were planned to be preceded by a title page and an index. The title page of the second volume, however, was obviously never completed; in its place, there is still a placeholder with a text indicating that the title page, which is to be modelled on the title page of the first volume, is yet to be delivered. In keeping with the initiators' comprehensive call for entries, the circle of contributors is very diverse: there are entries from Schiller's immediate family and professional environment, from writers, composers, musicians,

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22 Weimar, Stadtarchiv, NA I-31a-36, vol. 1, 54–55.

23 In the last sentence of the letter, they ask for a 'Empfangsanzeige, um durch Veröffentlichung derselben den Gebern von der Verwendung Rechenschaft abzulegen' ('for a confirmation of receipt, in order to account to the donors of the use by publication of the same'). As far as I can see, and as is indicated by the notification in the Augsburger *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the publication of the receipt never happened.

artists, directors and actors, as well as scientists, politicians – the large number of members of the Frankfurt National Assembly is striking – and representatives of the churches. Purely textual entries clearly predominate: Thus, as many as 207 text entries are accompanied by 13 pictorial and 20 musical entries (for more details, see the tables in the appendix).
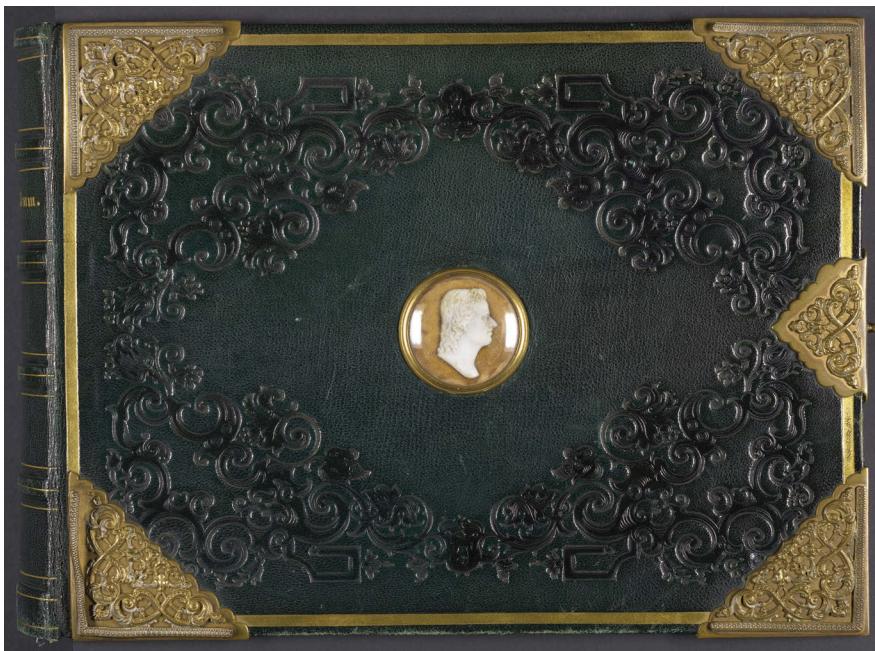
Fig. 3: Weimar Schiller Album, vol. 1, front cover. Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,1. Photo: Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

One of the first things that stands out when browsing through the album is that a large number of contributors have inscribed their sheets in portrait format, which means that the reader has to turn the album to be able to read the entry properly. A total of 139 sheets – i.e. more than 50 % of all album leaves – have been written on in portrait format. Figure 4 shows, exemplarily, the album leaf of André Hippolyte Chelard, the Weimar Hofkapellmeister. This sheet is also a good example of another problem: Chelard has placed his heading very close to the top of the page. In the context of the landscape album, the original upper margin becomes the left margin of the leaf. The missing empty space makes it very hard to bind the leaf without producing text loss. This problem does, as is expected, not only occur in Chelard's album leaf, which might have been the reason why

the album has been bound in a way that, to me, seems rather unusual: two sheets have always been joined together with the help of textile tape. This tape has been used to make double leaves of each two of the loose album leaves by connecting them so that the left margin of the tape has been glued lengthwise to the left margin of the recto page of the first album leaf, and the right half has been glued similarly lengthwise to the right margin of the verso page of the second album leaf. Every two of the resulting double leaves were usually combined into one gathering. These gatherings could then be bound in the usual way. A second benefit of this way of binding, besides the relatively small amount of text loss created by this method, is that the spine of the book remains comparatively thin, because only the strength of the thin textile tape is added to that of the leaves, and there are no edges that could cause the leaves to break prematurely, as is often the case when folded paper strips are used to bind loose leaves. Not only were the submitted album leaves bound like this. Several blank pages have been added to both volumes of the album in order to have the possibility of accommodating further entries to the album, written by prominent visitors of the Schillerhaus in the years that followed. A total of 19 entries have been added after the album had been bound and made accessible in the Schillerhaus, twelve of them to the first, and seven to the second volume. The latest of these entries in the first album is dated January 1866, and that in the second album was added in May 1876.

With their decision to arrange the entries in alphabetical order, Jansen and Voigt refrained from making any connections in terms of content between the entries, and also dispensed from other categorisations that would have been possible, for example, grouping the entries regarding the background of the contributors – a method that was used, for instance, in the much later Shakespeare album.[24] Connections between the entries that are created by the con-

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24 This album is a collection of photographs and signatures of German poets, scientists, musicians, visual artists, actors, actresses, etc., who were thought to have rendered outstanding services to the reception of Shakespeare in Germany. These are preceded by portraits of historical figures, such as Schiller and Goethe, Wieland, Lessing and Herder. It was compiled by the Berlin scholar Friedrich August Leo, board and founding member of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft and later editor of the Shakespeare Jahrbuch from 1880 to 1898. It was made as a donation for the Birmingham Shakespeare Library, founded in 1864 on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the poet's birth, and was sent to the library in 1878. For more information on this album, see the online facsimile edition presented by the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, in co-operation with other libraries and archives: <https://www.shakespearealbum.de/en/home.html> (accessed on 8 June 2022). The Internationale Mozartstiftung also seems to have been concerned with the grouping of the entries in the Mozart Album, which was initiated by its founder Carl Reichsfreiherr von Sterneck, and whose leaves, mounted on passepartouts, are stored loosely in five linen-covered wooden cassettes. Album

tributors are obviously not expectable, because nearly all entries have been written independently, without the inscriber knowing what the other entries look like (exceptions are, of course, those entries that were added after the album had been bound and album leaves that have been inscribed by more than one person, for example, the album leaf of Clara and Robert Schumann). What unites a large number of the entries, however, is their reference to Schiller or the Schillerhaus.[25] Chelard's entry, for example, which has already been mentioned (Fig. 4), is a setting of an excerpt from Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orléans*. Peter Joseph von Lindpaintner, Albert Lortzing, Ignaz Moscheles, Karl Friedrich Rungenhagen, Friedrich Schneider, Robert Schumann, Louis Spohr, Thomas Täglichsbeck, Wilhelm Karl Gottfried Taubert and Johann Freiherr Vesque von Püttlingen also added compositions based on Schiller's works.[26] Lindpaintner, for example, notated an excerpt of his melodrame *Die Glocke*, in a version for voice and piano,[27] and Robert Schumann used a four-part choral setting of Schiller's *Der Handschuh* for his entry, which has, in this version, not been published during his lifetime.[28] A different way of referring to Schiller has been used by Karl Reissiger, the Dresden Hofkapellmeister (cf. his entry in Figure 5). He composed a riddle canon – a genre very typical for musical entries in *Stammbücher* that is still quite often found in albums of the nineteenth century[29] – on a text that was probably his own, reading: 'Dein Name ist unsterblich: Schiller!' ('Your name is immortal: Schiller!').

The setting is designed in such a way that the name 'Schiller' is heard perpetually, from one voice to the next. In addition, the word 'Schiller' is set to music

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leaves of potentates and family members, statesmen and scholars, writers and poets, composers and artists as well as admirers of Mozart are distinguished; the pictorial reminiscences also form a separate group. In addition, the album contains autographs of Mozart's contemporaries and autographs of personalities from the period after Mozart (which, however, were not made for the album). For an overview, cf. Hummel 1963.

25 As a musicologist, I will, in the following discussion on the contents of the album, preferably use the entries by composers and musicians, which, until now, have received comparably little attention, as examples, although, as stated above, these are not the majority of entries.

26 All entries of the Schiller Album written by composers are listed in Günther 2018. He also gives a short description of the album itself, cf. Günther 2018, 86–87.

27 Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,1, fol. 99ʳ. This composition had already been premiered in Stuttgart in 1831 and has been dedicated to the speakers of the first performance, Carl Seydelmann and Amalie Stubenrauch. Günther 2018, 310.

28 Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,2, fol. 63aʳ; cf. Günther 2018, 520–521. The piece has been reworked to a '*Lied*' and was, in this later version, published in 1850. Cf. McCorkle 2003, 384–386 (op. 87).

29 Itoh 1992, e.g. 191–192, and Chap. 6.
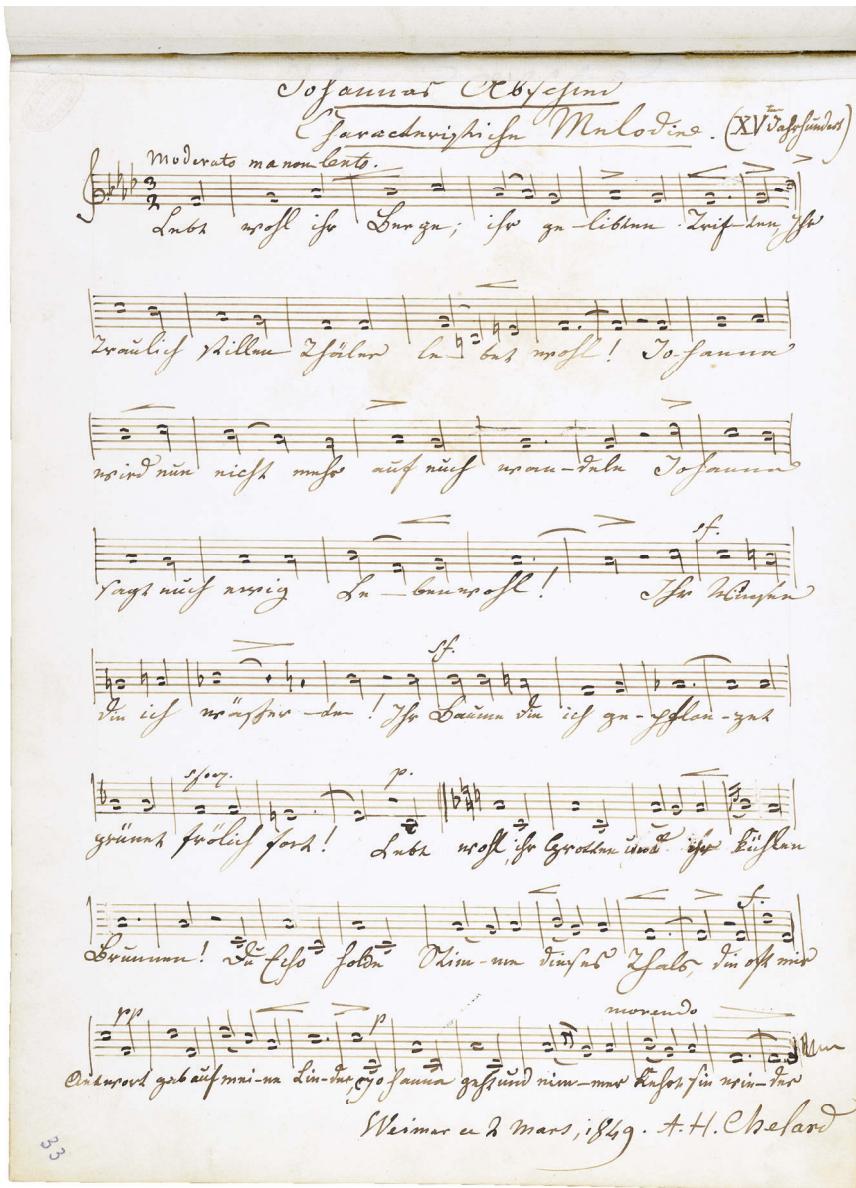
Fig. 4: André Hippolyte Chelard's entry in vol. 1 of the Weimar Schiller Album. Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,1, fol. 33ʳ. Photo: Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

with a descending octave leap, starting from the highest note of the melody, which further emphasises it.[30]

Another group of entries relates to the place the album was planned to be kept, Schiller's former home in Weimar, some in combination with Schiller's works. An example is the entry by Friedrich Schmidt, Geheimer Regierungsrat in Weimar, who contributed a rhymed reflection on Schiller's study room to the album, entitled '*Schillerzimmer*', which reads:

> Klein sagt ihr Freunde, wären diese Räume? —
> Das kann ich euch fürwahr nicht zugestehn:
> Hier ward vom Lager hehrer Dichterträume
> Das ganze Lager Wallensteins gesehn! —
>
> Park Foth'ringhay im Kronenschmuck der Bäume,
> Darin zwei Königinnen hadernd gehn! —
> Der Schweizeralpen ros'ge Wolkensäume,
> Der Vierwaldstätter See, den peitscht der Föhn! —
>
> Das alte Rheims mit seines Domes Hallen!
> Ein Krönungszug! die Fahne sah man wallen
> Der Jungfrau! — all' erschaut' es Dichters Wille!
>
> Wo zogen Raum und Zeit Ihm eine Schranke?
> In Siriusfernen trug ihn der Gedanke,
> Dass Er nach Schönem menschlich Sehnen stille.[31]
>
> (You friends say these rooms would be small?
> I truly cannot grant you that.
> Here, from the bed of poets' glorious dreams
> the whole camp of Wallenstein has been seen!
>
> Park Fotheringhay beneath the ornamental treetops,
> in which two queens are struggling!
> The rosy clouds of the Swiss Alps,
> Lake Lucerne, whipped by the foehn!
>
> Old Rheims with its cathedral halls!
> A coronation procession! The flag of the virgin was seen waving!
> The poet's will saw it all!

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30 Only five of the 20 musical entries do not refer to Schiller at all (Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, Johann Christian Lobe, Clara Schumann, Silphin vom Walde and Rudolf Willmers).
31 Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,2, fol. 54ʳ.

Where did space and time draw a barrier for Him?
In Sirius's distance, he was carried by the thought
that He would satisfy the human longing for beauty.)

Some other examples of this kind of entry have already been edited by Paul Kahl in his four-part documentation on the Weimar Schillerhaus.[32]

Other entries relate to Schiller by quoting his texts. The actress Louise Neumann, for example, cites Schiller by writing: 'Wer den Besten seiner Zeit genug / Gethan, der hat gelebt für alle Zeiten!' ('He who has done enough for the best of his time has lived for all time!'), adds a drawing of a bust of Schiller in a laurel wreath and signs the sheet with the words: 'Dem Unsterblichen geweiht in unbegrenzter Verehrung von Louise Neumann' ('Dedicated to the immortal in unlimited veneration Louise Neumann').[33] Karl Ludwig Drobisch, composer and Kapellmeister in Augsburg, quoted the first of the *Tabulae votivae*, 'Was der Gott mich gelehrt, was mir durchs Leben geholfen, Häng' ich, dankbar und fromm, hier in dem Heiligthum auf!' ('That which I learned from the Deity, — that which through lifetime hath helped me, Meekly and gratefully now, here I suspend in his shrine!'[34]), below which he notated an eight-part composition of the German Sanctus, the *Heilig, heilig, heilig*.[35] Ferdinand Hiller, a second composer, who completely dispensed with a musical entry, chose to use Schiller's own words for his entry. He also took one of the *Tabulae votivae*, opening his entry with the words 'An Schiller' ('To Schiller'; instead of the original heading of the quoted aphorism, 'An ***', 'To ***') and writing: 'Dich erwähl' ich zum Lehrer, zum Freund. Dein lebendiges Bilden / Lehrt mich, dein lehrendes Wort rühret lebendig mein Herz.' ('Thee would I choose as my teacher and friend. Thy living example Teaches me, — thy teaching word wakens my heart unto life'[36]), to which he adds: 'Nur mit des großen Mannes eigenen Worten darf ich es wagen auszudrücken was ich für ihn empfinde' ('Only in the great man's own words may I dare to express what I feel for him').[37] Furthermore, there are entries that relate

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32 Kahl 2008–2009. The editions of entries from the Schiller Album are in part 3, 157–160, document 19 – these are excerpts or complete editions of the entries of Oskar Ludwig Bernhard Wolff, Natalie von Herder, Apollonius von Maltitz, Ida Frick, Johann Wilhelm Joseph Braun, Julius Eberwein, Gustav Adolf Schöll (with a facsimile of the entry), Friedrich Förster, Karl Friedrich Ludwig Kannegießer and Helene Linck.

33 Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,2, fol. 18ʳ.

34 The English translation is taken from the nineteenth-century bilingual edition by Henry D. Wireman (1871, 282).

35 Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,1, fol. 41ʳ.

36 English translation, Wireman 1871, 284.

37 Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,1, fol. 78ʳ.

to Schiller in a more individual way, and others that try to connect Schiller's thoughts to the ongoing revolution, political ideas of freedom and democracy, as well as a unified German nation state,[38] and, of course, entries that do not fit any of the categories mentioned.

The album leaf of Clara and Robert Schumann is, similar to many other leaves of the album, detached from the binding today; the binding has generally not proven to be very durable. The glue, which connected the leaves to the tape, has come loose in many places. This may be one of the reasons why this album, which could have actually been seen as a complete and stable whole with the binding and the transfer to the Schillerhaus, nevertheless, exhibits a certain fluidity – which seems to be typical of albums and has been described for personal albums, not only of European origin, several times.[39] Regarding the Schumann's album leaf, the considerably darkened paper compared to the opposite page of the opening creates the impression that it has been deliberately detached from the album and exhibited separately. The assumption is strengthened by the fact that the word 'Vitrine' ('showcase') was added to the Schumann entry in pencil in the index. Searching the index for these or similar additions reveals that some more of the entries have probably been given the same treatment.[40] On the page shown in Figure 6 – the second page of the index of the second volume – the entries of Louis Spohr and Schiller's son Carl Friedrich are affected in addition to the Schumann entry.

It can be concluded, therefore, that taking album leaves out of the album and exhibiting them separately was common practice in the Schillerhaus. This practice

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38 These political entries were printed as early as 1880 in an article about the Schiller Album that appeared in the magazine *Die Gartenlaube* – the highest-circulation magazine in the German-speaking world in the nineteenth century (Hofmann 1880, 522–524, 534–536).

39 See, for example, the contribution by Deidre Lynch in the present volume, or my observations regarding changes in the album of Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Droese 2021, esp. 159–163).

40 The addition 'Vitrine' is found next to the entries of Ernst Moritz Arndt, Emilie von Gleichen Rußwurm, Caroline Junot, Christophine Reinwald, Carl Friedrich v. Schiller, Clara and Robert Schumann, and Louis Spohr in the index. Thus, the selection is obvious: it was mainly members of Schiller's family and, in addition, two leaves with musical entries. Four further entries of the index (Giacomo Pozzi, Theobald von Oer, Rudolf Hercher and Ludwig von Gleichen) have pencil annotations pointing to other places in the Schillerhaus (e.g. von Oer's entry, which is no longer in the album, has the annotation 'Gerahmt im Museumszimmer' ('in a frame in the exhibition room'). The foliation, which was probably not made before the album was transferred to the Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, also seems to mirror this practice of removing and re-including leaves by the use of the addition of 'a' and 'b' behind the numbers for folios which were probably not in the album at the time the leaves were counted but reinserted later (see the foliation in the appendix).

C.F. Rungenhagen in Berlin.
F.G. Heinr. Rößige, Maler in Stuttgart.
Friedrich Sandor in Peine.
Dr. Joh. Wilh. Schäfer in Bremen.
Leopold Schefer in Muskau.
Magd. e. Schiller in Cöln (Schiller's Schwiegertochter)
Carl Friedrich Frhr. v. Schiller, K. Württemb. Oberförster in Loreh. (Schiller's Sohn.) [Weimar]
Dr. Gustav Schilling, Hofrath in Stuttgart.
Fried: Wilh. Schlöffel aus Schlesien, Reichstagsab. geordneter in Frankfurt/M.
Joh. Andr. Schmeller, Bibliothekar und Prof. in München.
Schmidt, Geh. Regierungsrath in Weimar:
Friedrich Schneider in Dessau.
Adolph Schoder, k. Württemb. Reg. Rath, Reichstags abgeordneter in Frankfurt/M.
Adolph Schöll in Weimar.
Christian Schröder in Leipzield.
Sophie Schröder in Augsburg.
Joh. Heinr. Schultheis in Rudolstadt (Schillers Diener)
Dr. David Schulz in Breslau.
Fried: Aug. Schulze (Fried: Laun) in Dresden.
Robert u. Clara Schumann in Dresden [Verheirat]
Dr. Christ. Fried: Schumann, Superintendent in Rudolstadt.

Wilh. Schumann, prof. Landsch. Cass Calculator in Weimar. (Schillers Schreiber.)
Gustav Schwab in Stuttgart.
Dr. J.C.E. Schwarz zu Jena.
Caroline, Fürstin zu Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt geb. Prinzeß v. Hessen-Homburg in Rudolstadt.
Günther reg. Fürst zu Schwarzburg-Sondershausen.
Dr. Gustav Schweißzehrer in Halle.
Max Joh. Guengowitz Seidel, Regisseur des Hoftheaters in Weimar.
Silphan von Walde in Rudolstadt.
Johann Smidt in Bremen.
Ludwig Simon von Trier in Frankfurt/M.
Louis Spohr in Cassel. [Verheirat]
Adolph Stahr in Oldenburg.
Carl Stauch in Tabstädt b/Rudolstadt.
Jacob Robert Steiger in Luzern.
Dr. Joh. Gust. Stickel, Professor in Jena.
Ludwig Storch in Gotha.
Gustav von Struve in Mannheim.
Steine in Hannover.
Thomas Täglichsbeck in Hechingen.
Wilhelm Taubert, K. K. Capellmeister in Berlin.
Dr. v. Texter, Hofrath und Professor in Würzburg.
Fr. Theersch in München.

Fig. 6: Second page of the index in vol. 2 of the Weimar Schiller Album. Weimar, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, GSA 83/796,2. Photo: Klassik Stiftung Weimar.

is confirmed, at least for the early twentieth century, by Eduard Scheidemantel, who writes in his travel guide 'Das Schillerhaus zu Weimar' ('The Schillerhaus in Weimar'), published in 1913:

> Das Album [...] birgt mehrere Hundert Beiträge und wird im Schillerhause aufbewahrt; einige interessante Blätter daraus sind in einer der Vitrinen des Vorraumes zu den Schillerzimmern ausgestellt, die Mehrzahl der Einzeichnungen muß dem breiten Publikum aus Schonungsrücksichten vorenthalten bleiben.[41]

> ('The album [...] contains several hundred contributions and is kept in the Schillerhaus; some interesting sheets from it are exhibited in one of the showcases in the anteroom to the Schiller Rooms, the majority of the inscriptions must be withheld from the general public for reasons of protection.')

A closer look also reveals that individual entries in the album have been moved – that of Schiller's daughter Caroline, for example, is no longer found in its original place in the middle of the first volume, but now precedes the second volume. This second volume, in turn, is missing its first leaf, and a few other leaves have obviously disappeared as well (a list of them is in the appendix).

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41 Scheidemantel 1913, 68. Scheidemantel devotes an entire, albeit brief, chapter to the album in his travel guide (pp. 68–82), in which he quotes some of the entries. But the album is also mentioned in the other parts of the book. Thus, he writes on p. 48: 'Eines der interessantesten Kulturdokumente ist das von den Weimarer Buchhändlern Voigt und Jansen auf die Herrichtung des Schillerhauses gesammelte "Schilleralbum", eine Sammlung von Blättern deutscher Fürsten, Staatsmänner, Politiker, Gelehrter, Schriftsteller, Künstler und sonstiger im damaligen Leben des deutschen Volkes bedeutsamer Persönlichkeiten. Die Sammlung war von den Veranstaltern großzügig angelegt, "mehr als tausend Blätter" hatte man versandt [...]. Der damalige Bürgermeister der Ilmresidenz nannte das Album eine Merkwürdigkeit von Weimar und auch heute würde mancher die Blätter mit viel Interesse lesen, in denen der Geist von 1848 oft noch so deutlich nachzufühlen ist' ('One of the most interesting cultural documents is the "Schilleralbum", a collection of sheets by German sovereigns, statesmen, politicians, scholars, writers, artists and other important personalities in the life of the German people at the time, collected by the Weimar booksellers Voigt and Jansen for the Schillerhaus. The collection was generously laid out by the organisers, "more than a thousand sheets" had been sent out [...]. The former mayor of the residence on the Ilm called the album a curiosity of Weimar, and even today some people would read the sheets with great interest, in which the spirit of 1848 can often still be felt so clearly.'). It is interesting that, for Scheidemantel, the album seems to be primarily a document of national history, while the intention of the initiators, the collective homage to Schiller, no longer plays a major role. Accordingly, Scheidemantel sees the Schillerhaus as a whole primarily as a 'national memorial' (p. 28). This corresponds to the Schiller reception of his time. (Cf. e.g. Gerhard 2013.)

While the changes to the album described might be seen as results of its handling by a later generation, who no longer saw its monumental character and, therefore, might have felt a more pragmatic approach towards the written artefact as natural, there is some evidence that a certain openness of the album had already been accepted in the planning and production phase. An example of this is the still missing title page of the second volume. The fact that the album was equipped with blank pages in order to be able to grow further also points to an openness that was intended. It can also be seen as an indication of the, if not intended, then, at least, accepted openness of the written artefact that entries were integrated into the album – even in the production phase – that were not written on the paper sent out and also not on similar or, at least, the same format paper. One example is a letter by Caroline Junot, which has been bound in the second volume as a proof that she donated her father's lock of hair, which was used for the cover of the second volume of the Schiller Album. The letter is written on very thin paper measuring ca. 21.2 × 27 cm and, thus, considerably smaller than the other leaves of the album (which measure ca. 22.6 × 30.2 cm). Other examples are a printed list of the names of the pupils of the Hohe Karlsschule, dated April 1789, that is part of the entry of Johann Christoph Friedrich Mayer, which is larger than the other leaves of the album (ca. 35.3 × 26 cm) and, thus, had to be folded to fit the album, and a second document that is part of Mayer's entry, a certificate documenting his being a pupil at the Karlsschule from 1792–1794, which is much smaller (ca. 29.3 × 20 cm) but, nonetheless, has been bound into the album.[42] Several other entries that had been written on paper of the 'wrong' format have each been pasted onto one of the sheets prepared for the album. One example of this is the album leaf of Karl Theodor Küstner, the theatre director and founder of the Kartellverband der Bühnenvorstände (today Deutscher Bühnenverein), which is especially interesting because we have some background information on the

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42 In some other cases, the smaller format seems to be (or, at least, might be) the result of a later intervention. The entry of Johann Peter Eckermann, for example, measures only ca. 21 × 27.3 cm today. The fact that the embossed seal that had been attached to all sheets is not complete in this case points to a later cutting. The sheet is loose today, but a spare strip of the tape in the fold indicates that it was probably bound in once. A similar later trimming was presumably also done on Carl Friedrich von Schiller's album leaf (which is accompanied by a lock of Schiller's hair), although here probably only the length of the leaf was reduced – the condition of the edge indicates that the leaf may even have been torn instead of cut. Maybe the aim was to make the leaves fit an existing frame. (At Scheidemantel's time, the album leaf by Eckermann was exhibited in a showcase, which would be no explanation for the need to change its format. Cf. Scheidemantel 1913, 67.)

history of this album leaf: two letters are handed down[43] which Küstner obviously wrote as a reaction to the reminder letter, which had been circulated by Voigt and Jansen in February 1849. These letters inform us that Küstner had written a poem on the leaf sent to him, he had given the album leaf to the bookstore of August von Schröter in Berlin to have it sent to Weimar, and this bookstore had been closed in the meantime. Küstner asks, in his second letter, dated 27 April 1849, whether the album leaf had arrived after all. Obviously, it had not – and the entry of Küstner, which is today found in the album and was obviously written in haste, was, therefore, presumably intended as a quickly made replacement. It is dated August 1849 and one of the latest entries that have been inserted in alphabetical order and received a regular (not later added) entry in the index.[44]

We are informed by several publications that both volumes of the album were placed on a small table in Schiller's study, where they have been accessible to all visitors.[45] Ferdinand von Biedenfeld, in his travel guide *Ein Tag in Weimar* ('A day in Weimar'), published in the early 1850s, describes a visit to the Schillerhaus

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[43] Leipzig, Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, A/2012/785 and A/2012/786, dated 22 March 1849 and 27 April 1849, respectively.

[44] The latest indexed entry that has not been added to the index in a second go is that of Roderich Benedix, the dramatist, actor and theatre director, which is dated October 1849.

[45] Cf., e.g., Stahl 1852, vol. 1, 68: 'Auf einem Tische in der Mitte des Zimmers befinden sich zwei kostbar gebundene Bücher: sie sind das für dieses Haus zusammengebrachte handschriftliche Schilleralbum. Der erste [sic] dieser Bände trägt als Schmuck und Reliquie auf dem Deckel unter einer Glaskapsel die goldblonde feinhaarige Locke des Dichters.' ('On a table in the middle of the room are two precious bound books: they are the handwritten Schiller Album brought together for this house. The first [sic] of these volumes bears the poet's golden-blond, fine-haired lock of hair as an ornament and relic on the cover under a glass capsule.'). That the situation has not changed within the next few years can be seen by Josef Rank's description, which reads: 'Doch wir kehren in die Studirstube Schiller's zurück. Gleich rechts an der Wand steht das winzige Klavier, ein Spinett [...]. Auf dem Spinett ruht die Guitarre, auf welcher sich Schiller von seiner Frau gern in einsamer Ruhestunde vorspielen ließ. [...]. Von Möbeln befinden sich außer den genannten noch einige Sessel von gewöhnlichem Holze im Zimmer, die mit ungefärbtem Leder überzogen sind; einen kleinen Tisch, der nicht weit vom Eingange in das Zimmer steht, haben wir bisher deshalb unerwähnt gelassen, weil er uns schließlich etwas länger beschäftigen wird. Auf diesem Tische befindet sich nämlich das "Schilleralbum" (in zwei Bänden) prachtvoll gebunden und mit dem Brustbilde Schiller's aus Elfenbein geschmückt [...]' ('But we return to Schiller's study room. On the right-hand side of the wall is the tiny piano, a spinet [...]. On the spinet rests the guitar, on which Schiller liked to have his wife play for him in solitary quiet hours. [...]. Apart from the furniture mentioned above, there are a few armchairs of ordinary wood in the room, covered with uncoloured leather; we have not yet mentioned a small table, which stands not far from the entrance to the room, because it will occupy us a little longer in the end. On this table is the "Schiller Album" (in two volumes), magnificently bound and decorated with Schiller's ivory bust') Rank 1856, 168–169.

as being especially recommendable and also mentions the album. He describes Schiller's study and his impression of the album using the following words:

> Das dritte Zimmer war Schillers Arbeitsstube, tapezirt wie sie zu seiner Zeit gewesen und mit Reliquien von ihm geschmückt: sein kleines Klavier, seine Guitarre, das Bett, worin er gestorben, sein Arbeitstisch, zwei andere Tische, Spiegel, seine Tabacksdose, eine seiner Westen [...] mehrere Handschriften und Bilder, die bei ihm hier an den Wänden gehangen hatten. Es ist genug, um zahllose Verehrer zum Besuche zu ermuntern, wie das ungemein reiche Fremdenbuch beweist. [...] Die hiesigen Buchhändler Dr. Ferdinand Jansen und Carl Voigt stifteten das prächtige Schiller-Album, worin bereits über 150 deutsche Notabilitäten Schillers Andenken ein Blatt gewidmet haben. Deren Zahl vermehrt sich fort und fort und diesen Reichthum von Ideen und Beziehungen zu durchfliegen gewährt nach der Schau der eigenen Schillersachen eine interessante Unterhaltung.[46]

> ('The third room was Schiller's study, wallpapered as it had been in his time and decorated with relics of him: his small piano, his guitar, the bed in which he died, his study table, two other tables, mirrors, his tobacco box, one of his waistcoats [...] several manuscripts and pictures that had hung on his walls here. There is enough to encourage countless admirers to visit, as the immensely rich book of visitors proves. [...] The local booksellers Dr Ferdinand Jansen and Carl Voigt donated the magnificent Schiller Album, in which more than 150 German notables have already dedicated a page to Schiller's memory. Their number continues to increase, and browsing through this wealth of ideas and relationships provides interesting entertainment after viewing Schiller's own things.')

Biedenfeld informs the reader that, beside the album, there was the so-called 'Fremdenbuch', a guestbook, in which every visitor had to enter his or her name.[47] This is, although Biedenfeld might foster this impression, not true for the Schiller Album. The entries that were added later were also only by 'Notabilitäten', important people of the time, and new album leaves were only rarely added.

Again and again, it is regretfully stated that the entries may not be reproduced, and it is noted that some of them are of general interest and, therefore, it is to be hoped that the contents of the album will be published unabridged one day.[48] Such

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46 Biedenfeld [1853], 42.

47 It was the task of the castellan, who had to show the rooms to the visitors, to make sure that they entered their names in the book; see the edition of the instructions to the castellan from 1847 in Kahl 2008–2009, part 2, 62.

48 Rank stated in 1856 (p. 169): 'Viele von den Aufzeichnungen des Albums wären auch von allgemeinerm Interesse; da es indessen nicht erlaubt ist, dieselben ganz mitzutheilen, so wollen wir uns begnügen, eine kurze Charakteristik derselben zu geben' ('Many of the albums' entries would also be of general interest; however, since it is not permitted to share them in their entirety, we will content ourselves with giving a brief description of them'). Scheidemantel notes in 1913 (p. 72): 'Die Namen Eckermann, Arndt, Hoffmann von Fallersleben und wie sie alle heißen,

a publication has not happened. However, as early as 1859, some of the entries did find their way into a printed album: the Philadelphia publishing house Schäfer & Koradi planned to publish a Schiller album with contributions by German-American authors to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Schiller's birth. But it turned out to be difficult to obtain enough entries. Thus, in the end, the editors took some of the entries of the Weimar Schiller Album and combined them with some material that had already been printed before to have enough texts to print.[49]

Conclusion

It has been shown that the Weimar Schiller Album is an exception among commemorative albums insofar that it is a manuscript, but, nevertheless, shares many features with them, which, at the same time, distinguish it from private albums: The process of planning and acquiring contributions is comparable in the case of all memorial albums that collect contributions made by third parties especially for the album. The fact that the entries are not directed towards an album holder

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die damals im geistigen Deutschland eine Rolle spielten – sie fehlten nicht bei der Huldigung. So manches andere Blatt aus der Reihe von charakteristischen Dokumenten verdiente weiteren Kreisen mitgeteilt zu werden, denn es sind nicht nur Männer dabei, die der breiten Masse bekannt waren, sondern auch Gelehrte, deren Wirken trotz aller Bedeutung nur die Fachkreise beschäftigen konnte [...]' ('The names Eckermann, Arndt, Hoffmann von Fallersleben and all those who played a role in intellectual Germany at that time – they were not missing from the homage. Many other sheets from the series of characteristic documents deserved to be communicated to wider circles, for they include not only men who were known to the masses, but also scholars whose work, for all its importance, could only occupy specialist circles [...]'). His book contains facsimile editions of the album leaves by Robert and Clara Schumann, Johann Peter Eckermann, King Ludwig of Bavaria, Friedrich Hebbel, and a drawing of Theobald von Oer which is no longer in the album. In addition, individual entries from the album are printed on pages 71–72 (Justinus Kerner, Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, Ludwig Dessoir and Emil Devrient). And, to name just one recent example, Kahl, in 2009, describes the album as a supreme source for the Schiller image of German society, and even the social mood at the time of the bourgeois revolution (part 2, 43) and states (n. 77): 'An edition and a scholarly evaluation are pending.'

49 Schäfer and Koradi 1859; the following entries were included: Karl Gustav von Berneck, Oskar Ludwig Bernhard Wolff, Christian Friedrich Schumann, Otto Fürst zu Lynar, Johann Nepomuk Vogl, Robert Köhler, Georg Karl Reginald Herloßsohn, Moritz Hartmann, Louise von Ploennies, Thekla von Gumpert, Adolf Böttger, Karl Gottfried Theodor Winkler, Henriette Ottenheimer, Karl Falkenstein, Franz Gaudenz Heinrich Rustige, Theodor von Küstner, Ernst Moritz Arndt, Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, Natalie von Herder, Anton Pannasch, Karl Gottlob Albrecht and Kathinka Zitz. Interestingly, these entries are said to be taken from the 'Fremdenbuch', which is the name used for the guest book of the Schillerhaus (but they are all from the album).

but towards the person being commemorated is also comparable. What is important in all cases is the aspect of communal remembrance, which plays a role in both the writing of the entries and the later use of the album. These albums, also referred to as monuments by contemporaries, are normally associated with the establishment of actual places of commemoration or commemorative events, to which the albums remain related.[50] The editors or initiators of the albums have a rather organisational role. They have to deal with publication rights and funding issues, both aspects that hardly play a role in private albums of the time.

The fact that it was the Weimar Schiller Album that was not printed seems to me to be no coincidence, but to be due to it having the Schillerhaus as a point of reference: This provided a place where the album could be kept accessible to all.[51] This made it unnecessary to produce a larger number of copies, which would otherwise have ensured accessibility as a prerequisite for communal commemoration. The manuscript form, on the other hand, seems to be the reason why the album exhibits characteristics such as an intended openness and ephemerality, which can similarly be traced in private albums (not only) of the nineteenth century, but do not play a role for printed commemorative albums. Thus, at least for the Schiller Album, it can be stated that the manuscript form apparently changed the view of the album and the conventions to be associated with it. Through its particular form, it is part of two spheres, each with a different album practice, which it unites within itself.

Acknowledgements

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50 The manuscripts of all entries that were sent in for the (printed) Stuttgart Schiller Album of 1837, co-edited by Wolfgang Menzel, the poet, critic and literary historian, and Albert Schott, the politician and first chairman of the *Stuttgarter Liederkranz*, were embedded in the foundation stone of the Stuttgart Schiller Monument. Thus, the album, that was printed to be not bound to a specific place, and the monument were very closely linked even materially. Cf. Menzel and Schott 1837, 323; Rathgeb, Schmidt and Fischer 2005, 175.

51 Other examples of those manuscript albums, which had a more or less public space for which they were made, are the Mozart Album of the Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum and the Shakespeare Album for the Birmingham Shakespeare Library (Internationale Mozartstiftung 1874; Leo 1878); cf. n. 12 and 24 in the present paper.

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Appendix:

Table 1: Table of entries to the Schiller Album, vol. 1.

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
1	Arndt, Ernst Moritz	Bonn	14 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x Pencil addition: 'Vitrine' ('show-case')
2	Achenbach, Andreas	/	1849	Image (water-color)				x
3	Albrecht, Karl Gottlob	Dresden	2 April 1848	Text		x		x
4	Arnold, August	Königsberg in der Neumark	25 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
5	Arnold, Frédéric (au nom de la Societé des Amis des Arts de Strasbourg)	/	/	Image		x		x
6	Bacheracht, Therese von	Hamburg	1 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
7	Barth, Wilhelm Ambrosius	Leipzig	18 July 1849	Text		x		x
8	Bauer, Eduin	Dresden	22 May 1848	Text		x		x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
9	Bauernfeld, Eduard von	Vienna	April 1849	Text				x
10	Behr, Wilhelm Joseph	Bamberg	March 1849	Text		x		x
11	Beisler, Herrmann	?	March 1849	Text		x		x
12	Benedix, Roderich	Cologne	October 1849	Text		x		x
13	Bentzel-Sternau, Christian Ernst Graf von	Mariahalden am Zürichsee	13 April 1849	Text		x		x
14	Berg, Franziska	Dresden	28 March 1849	Text		x		x
15	Bechstein, Ludwig	Meiningen	1848	Text	x Autograph of Schiller's sister; Bechstein's text is written directly on the leaf		The entry has obviously been moved in the album: an imprint on fol. 9ᵛ shows that the leaf had been originally bound in the correct place alphabetically	x Between Bauernfeld and Behr
16	Berneck, Karl Gustav von	/	/	Text		x		x
17	Birch-Pfeiffer, Charlotte	Berlin	February 1848	Text				x
18	Bissing, Henriette von	Nienburg an der Weser	3 March 1848	Text		x		x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
19	Blumenroeder, August von	Sonders-hausen	8 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
20	Boas, Eduard	/	/	Text				x
21	Böttger, Rudolph	Frankfurt am Main	25 June 1848	Text		x		x
22	Böttger, Adolf	Leipzig	29 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
23	Böttger, C.	Rudolstadt	1849	Image (pen sketch)				x
24	Braun, Johann Wilhelm Joseph	Bonn	10 April 1848	Text		x		x
25	Bube, Adolf	Gotha	/	Text		x		x
26	Buchner, Karl	Darmstadt	10 April 1849	Text				x
27	Bührlen, Friedrich Ludwig	Stuttgart	13 April 1849	Text		x		x
28	Bülow, Eduard von	Weimar	19 Aug. 1849	Text				x
29	Canaval, [Michael von?]	Prague	19 March 1848	Text		x		x
30	Carus, Karl Gustav	Dresden	Palm Sunday 1849	Text				x
31	Castelli, Ignaz Franz	Berlin	12 Feb. 1848	Text				x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
32	Cauer, Emil	Kreuznach	28 April 1849	Image (pencil drawing)		x		x
33	Chélard, Hippolyte André Jean Baptiste	Weimar	2 March 1849	Music		x		x
34	Cnyrim, Adolf	Frankfurt am Main	10 April 1849	Text				x
35	Crelinger, Auguste	Berlin	March 1848	Text				x
36	Dahl, Johann Christian Clausen	Dresden	19 March 1849	Image (pencil drawing with water-colour wash)		x		x
37	Dessoir, Ludwig	Karlsruhe	May 1849	Text		x		x
38	Devrient, Emil	Dresden	February 1848	Text				x
39	Döring, Theodor	Berlin	4 March 1848	Text				x
40	Dräseke, Johann Heinrich Bernhard	Potsdam	February 1848	Text		x		x
41	Drobisch, Karl Ludwig	/	February 1848	Music		x		x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
42	Eberwein, Julius; Scheller, F. G.; Bauer, J. N.; Greiner, Karl	Rudolstadt	25 April 1849	Text		x		x
42a	Eckermann, Johann Peter	Weimar	28 Jan. 1848	Text		x	Trimmed, c. 21 x 27.3 cm	x
43	Eichstädt, Heinrich Karl Abraham	/	/	Text		x	'Aus einer im September 1839 in der akademischen Aula zu Jena gehaltenen Gedächtnisrede auf Schiller' ('From a commemorative speech on Schiller held in September 1839 in the academic auditorium in Jena')	x
44	Enslin, Theodor Christian Friedrich	Berlin	'sieben Wochen nach der hiesigen Revolution geschrieben 1848' ('written seven weeks after the local revolution 1848')	Text		x		x
45	Ernst, Heinrich Wilhelm	Weimar	22 March 1849	Music				x
46	Erichson, Johann	Greifswald	17 April 1848	Text		x		x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
47	Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Gießen	Gießen	27 March 1849	Text		x		x
48	Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Tübingen	Tübingen	'an Schillers Todestag' ('on the anniversary of Schiller's death') 9 May 1848	Text		x		x
49	Falkenstein, Karl	Dresden	April 1849	Text		x		x
50	Fallmerayer, Jakob Phillipp	Frankfurt am Main	9 March 1849	Text				x
51	Faßmann-Seckendorff, Auguste von	/	/	Text		x		x
52	Feuchtersleben, Ernst von	Vienna	15 Feb. 1848	Text				x
53	Fleck, Joh. Christ.	/	/	Text		x	'Friedrich von Schiller's / Manen / zum 9ten Mai 1849 gewidmet' ('Dedicated to Friedrich von Schiller's *manes* on the 9th of May 1849')	x
54	Frick, Ida	Dresden	12 March 1848	Text				x
55-56	Förster, Ernst	Munich	24 March 1849	Text		x		x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
57	Förster, Friedrich	Berlin	9 May 1849	Text		x	Förster made some additions to his entry when he visited the Schillerhaus on 20 Oct. 1866	x
58	Fritsch, Karl Wilhelm von	/	/	Text		x		x
59	Frommann, Friedrich Johannes	Jena	4 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
60	Gegenbaur, Joseph Anton	/	1849	Image (pencil drawing)		x		x
61	Gehe, Eduard	Dresden	29 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x
62	Gersdorff, Ernst August von	Weimar	20 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x
63	Gervinus, Georg Gottfried	Heidelberg	27 March 1849	Text		x		x
64	Glaßbrenner, Adolf	Neustrelitz	23 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
64a	Gleichen-Rußwurm, Emilie von	/	2 April 1848	Text		x		x Pencil addition 'Vitrine' ('show-case')

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
64b	Graff, Johann Jakob	Weimar	23 Jan. 1848	Text		x	Originally portrait format, subsequently folded and inserted horizontally; darkened	x
65	Grunert, Karl	Stuttgart	19 Feb. 1848	Text				x
66	Gumpert, Thekla von	Dresden	20 Feb. 1848	Text				x
67	Haizinger, A.	Vienna	20 Aug. 1849	Text				x
68	Hammer, C. G.	Dresden	1848	Image				x
69	Hanke, Henriette	Jauer	March 1848	Text		x		x
70	Hartmann, Moritz	Frankfurt am Main	17 Feb. 1849	Text				x
71	Hase, Karl Georg	Weimar	22 Jan. 1848	Text				x
72	Helbig, Karl Emil	Weimar	March 1849	Text		x		x Below von Heeringen
73	Heeringen, Gustav von	Coburg	March 1849	Image/ Text		x		x
74	Henß, Adam	Weimar	20 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
74a	Hercher, Rudolf	Rudolstadt	20 May 1849	Image (pencil drawing)		x	Traces of glue might point to earlier framing with a passepartout; 'No. 6' on verso might indicate that the leaf had been part of a different context at a time (cf. vol. 2, fol. 99a)	x Pencil addition: 'Freunde-zimmer'
75	Herder, Natalie von	Weimar	30 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x
76	Herloßsohn, Georg Karl Reginald	Leipzig	/	Text		x		x
77	Hey, Johann Wilhelm	/	/	Text		x		x
78	Hiller, Ferdinand	Düsseldorf	12 March 1848	Text		x		x
79	Hoffmann von Fallersleben, August Heinrich	Holdorf bei Bruel	18 Oct. 1848	Text		x		x
80	Hohenhausen, Elise von	Hessen-Cassel	February 1848	Text		x		x
81	Holbein, Franz von	?	March 1848	Text		x		x
82	Horn, Karl Friedrich	/	/	Text		x		x
83	Jaugat, Therese von	?	16 April 1848	Text		x		x
84	Jordan, Sylvester	Marburg	29 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
85	Jung, Alexander	Königsberg	May 1848	Text				x
86	Kerner, Justinus	Weinsberg	April 1849	Text			Noticeably darkened, presumably also removed at one time	x
87	Kobell, Franz von	Munich	March 1849	Text		x		x
88	Köhler, Robert	Dresden	January 1848	Text		x		x
89	Kolb, Georg Friedrich	Munich	24 Feb. 1849	Text				x
90	Koenig, Heinrich	Hanau	December 1848	Text		x		x
91	Krause, C. W. A.	Wrocław	1 March 1848	Text		x		x
92	Krebs, Johann Baptist	Stuttgart	29 Feb. 1848	Text				x
93	Künzel	Darmstadt	15 June 1848	Text		x		x
94	Kuenzer, Dominikus	Frankfurt am Main	31 May 1849	Text				x
95	Küstner, Karl Theodor von	Berlin	August 1849	Text	x	x		x
96	Lasaulx, Ernst von	Frankfurt am Main	19 Feb. 1849	Text		x		x
97	Leinburg, Gottfried von	Würzburg	1848	Text				x
98	Liebig, Justus	?	20 March 1849	Text				x

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
99	Lindpaintner, Peter Joseph	Stuttgart	23 April 1849	Music				x
100	Lobe, Johann Christian	Leipzig	29 Jan. 1848	Music		x		x
101	Biedenfeld, Friedrich Ludwig Karl von	Weimar	May 1850	Text		x		x Later addition, different hand/ ink, below Lortzing
102	Lewald-Stahr, Fanny	Weimar	9 July 1851	Text				
103	Lortzing, Albert Gustav	Vienna	March 1848	Music				x Below Lobe
104	Brockhaus, Heinrich	Leipzig	9 May 1850	Text				
105	Klesheim, Anton von	Weimar	30 June 1851	Text				
106	Meyer, Nikolaus	Munich	'am Schlusse Decembers / 1854' ('at the end of December 1854')	Text				
107	Drouet, Louis François	Coburg	1 May 1849	Music				
108	Gerhard, Wilhelm	Leipzig	August 1855	Text		x		
109	Zmorsky (?), Roman	/	12 Dec. 1852	Text				

Table 1: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
110	Kannegießer, Karl Friedrich Ludwig	Berlin	14 Dec. 1853	Text	x			
111	Grimm, August Theodor von	Weimar	24 Sept. 1856	Text				
112	Endrulat, Bernhard	/	28 May 1858	Text				
113	Jacobi, Karl	Weimar	7 Jan. 1866	Text				
114	Grosse, Julius	Munich	Autumn 1859	Text				

The entries of G[eorg Heinrich] Crola, Ludwig von Gleichen, Caroline Junot (today in vol. 2) and Th[eobald] von Oer are listed in the index but are not part of the album today. All these entries in the index have additions made in pencil: Crola '?', von Gleichen '(Museumszimmer.) Bild zu Wallenstein nach Kaulbach.' ('(*Museumszimmer.*) Picture of Wallenstein after Kaulbach'), Junot 'Vitrine' ('showcase'), and von Oer 'Gerahmt im Museumszimmer' ('framed in the *Museumszimmer*'). The entry of von Oer is a later addition to the index, obviously written by another hand.

Table 2: Table of entries to the Schiller Album, vol. 2.

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
1								Leaf missing
3	Junot, Karoline	/	/	Text			Very thin paper, c. 21.2 × 27 cm (landscape). Cf. title page of index: 'Die Haarlocke Schiller's auf der Außenseite des 2. Bandes / wurde dem Album von Frau Caroline Junot in Rudolstadt, der Tochter Schiller's verehrt. / (Als Beglaubigung ist der Brief von Frau C. Junot hier beigefügt.)' ('The lock of Schiller's hair on the outside of the 2nd volume has been dedicated to the album by Mrs Caroline Junot in Rudolstadt, Schiller's daughter. (The letter from Mrs. C. Junot is attached here as an authentication).')	
2	Junot, Karoline	Rudolstadt	7 May 1849	Text		x	Entry listed in index of vol. 1	
4	Lynar, Otto Fürst zu	Desden	April 1848	Text				x
5	Mahlknecht, Karl	/	/	Image	x	x	Below the image: 'Gemalt v. Jos. Danhauser 1843.' ('Painted by Jos. Danhauser 1843.')	x
6	Maltitz, Appolonius von	Weimar	6 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
7	Massow, Klara von	Coeslin	March 1848	Text				x
8	Mauritius, C. von	Zerbst	April 1848	Text				x
9	Mayer, Johann Christoph Friedrich	Gotha	18 May 1849	Text		x		x
10	/	/	/	Text			Printed list of the names of the pupils of the Hohe Karlsschule, dated April 1789, notes in pencil on recto and verso, 35.3 × 26 cm	
11	/	/	/	Text		x	Certificate documenting Mayer's being a pupil at the Karlsschule from 1792–1794, c. 29.3 × 20 cm	
12	Michelsen, Andreas Ludwig Jakob	Jena	24 Jan. 1848	Text				x
13	Moering, Karl	Frankfurt am Main	28 May 1849	Text		x		x
14	Müchler, Karl	Berlin	29 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
15	Müller, Friedrich Konrad	Heidelberg	20 March 1848	Text				x
16	Müller, Friedrich von	Weimar	18 April 1849	Text		x		x
17	Nauwerck, Karl	Frankfurt am Main	20 Feb. 1849	Text				x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
18	Neumann, Luise	Vienna	Dec. 1848	Text				x
19	Nieritz, Gustav	Dresden	8 March 1848	Text		x		x
20	Obbarius, Lobegott Samuel	/	/	Text		x		x
21	Orlich, Leopold von	Berlin	1 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
22	Ottenheimer, Henriette	Regensburg	27 April 1849	Text		x		x
23	Pannasch, Anton	Vienna	29 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
24	Petzholdt, Julius	Dresden	18 Feb. 1849	Text				x
25	Pannasch, Anton	/	/	Text		x	Printed poem with manuscript signature, sheet 21.8 × 13.2 cm, not bound in but pasted to the last sheet of a gathering	
26	Peucker, Eduard von	Frankfurt am Main	31 March 1849	Text		x		x
27	Pistorius, Eduard	/	1849	Image (ink drawing with watercolour wash)	x			x
28	Ploennies, Luise von	Darmstadt	2 Feb. 1848	Text				x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
29	Radowitz, Joseph Maria von	Frankfurt am Main	18 Feb. 1849	Text		x		x
30	Raumer, Friedrich von	Frankfurt am Main	23 Feb. 1849	Text		x		x
31	Regensburger, Augustin	Rudolstadt	2 April 1849	Text		x		x
32	Reh, Theodor	Frankfurt am Main	April 1849	Text				x
33	Reichensperger, August	Frankfurt am Main	14 March 1849	Text		x		x
34	Reinhold, Ernst	Jena	6 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
35	Köstlin, Christian Reinhold	/	March 1849	Text		x		x
35a	Gleichen-Rußwurm, Emilie von	/	/	Text			C. 21.4 × 29.6 cm (landscape); stained and darkened paper. Letter connected to the handover of the leaf by Christophine Reinwald	
35b	Reinwald, Christophine	/	/	Text	x		Intensely darkened paper, 21.5 × 26 cm (landscape)	x Addition in pencil: 'Vitrine' ('showcase')

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
36	Reißiger, Karl Gottlieb	Dresden	Feb. 1848	Music				x
37	Reuß-Schleiz, Heinrich LXII. Fürst	/	/	Text		x		x
38	Ritter, Heinrich	Göttingen	19 March 1849	Text		x		x
39	Röder, Julius	Rudolstadt	2 July 1849	Text				x
40	Römer, Friedrich	Frankfurt am Main	11 March 1849	Text				x
41	Rosenkranz, Karl	Königsberg in Preußen	/	Text		x		x
42	Rossi, Henriette Gräfin von	Berlin	24 June 1849	Music	x		C. 17.2 × 27 cm; no embossed seal on backing paper	x
43	Rott, Moritz	Berlin	9 Feb. 1848	Text				x
44	Rückert, Leopold Immanuel	Jena	29 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x
45	Rungenhagen, Karl Friedrich	/	Feb. 1848	Music				x
46	Rustige, Franz Gaudenz Heinrich	Stuttgart	April 1849	Text		x		x
47	Sander, Friedrich	/	/	Text				x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
48	Schaefer, Johann Wilhelm	Bremen	20 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
49	Schefer, Leopold	Muskau	First Thursday in December 1848	Text		x		x
49a	Schiller, Karl von	/	/	Text (and additional material)			C. 18.5 × 22.7 cm (landscape); darkened paper, no embossed seal	x Below Magdalena von Schiller, pencil addition: 'Vitrine' ('showcase')
50	Schiller, Magdalena von	Cologne	Spring 1848	Text		x		x Above Karl von Schiller
51	Schilling, Gustav	Stuttgart	/	Text				x
52	Schlöffel, Friedrich Wilhelm	Frankfurt am Main	26 April 1849	Text				x
53	Schmeller, Johann Andreas	Munich	16 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
54	Schmidt, Christian Friedrich (?)	Weimar	5 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
55	Schneider, Friedrich	Dessau	27 May 1848	Music				x
56	Schoder, Adolph	Frankfurt am Main	17 April 1849	Text		x		x
57	Schöll, Adolf	Weimar	Oct. 1848	Text		x		x
58	Schreiber, Christian	Lengsfeld	10 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
59	Schröder, Sophie	Augsburg	2 April 1849	Text				x
60	Schultheis, Johann Heinrich	Rudolstadt	19 March 1849	Text		x		x
61	Schulz, David	Wrocław	March 1848	Text		x		x
62	Schulze, Friedrich August	Dresden	4 March 1848	Text		x		x
63	Schumann, Christian Friedrich	/	/	Text		x		x Below Clara and Robert Schumann

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
63a	Schumann, Clara and Schumann, Robert	Dresden	3 April 1849	Music			Darkened paper	x Above Christian Friedrich Schumann, pencil addition: 'Vitrine' ('showcase')
64	Schumann, Wilhelm	/	/	Text		x		x
65	Schwab, Gustav	Stuttgart	9 Feb. 1848	Text				x
66	Schwarz, J. G. E.	Jena	18 March 1848	Text		x		x
67	Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Karoline Fürstin zu	Rudolstadt	24 March 1849	Text		x		x
68	Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Günther Fürst zu	/	/	Text		x		x
69	Schwetschke, Gustav	Halle	3 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
70	Seidel, Max Johann Ganganelli	Weimar	18 March 1849					x
71	Walde, Silphin vom = Bernhard Schneler	Rudolstadt	/	Music		x		x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
72	Smidt, Johann	Bremen	7 March 1848	Text				x
73	Simon, Ludwig	Frankfurt am Main	25 Feb. 1849	Text				x
73a	Spohr, Louis	Kassel	12 Feb. 1848	Music			Darkened paper	x Pencil addition: 'Vitrine' ('showcase')
74	Stahr, Adolf	Oldenburg	14 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
75	Stauch, Karl	Volkstädt bei Rudolstadt	24 April 1849	Text		x		x
76	Steiger, Jakob Robert	Luzern in der Schweiz	18 Aug. 1849	Text		x		x
77	Stickel, Johann Gustav	Jena	23 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x
78	Storch, Ludwig	Gotha	4 Aug. 1848	Text		x		x
79	Struve, Gustav von	Mannheim	3 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
80	Stüve, Johann Karl Bertram	Hanover	8 April 1848	Text		x		x
81	Täglichsbeck, Thomas	Hechingen	23 June 1848	Music				x
82	Taubert, Wilhelm	Berlin	9 April 1849	Music				x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
83	Textor, Kaietan von	Würzburg	12 April 1849	Text		x		x
84	Thiersch, Friedrich	Munich	26 Aug. 1849	Text				x
85	Tholuck, August	Halle	20 April 1848	Text		x		x
86	Uechtritz, Friedrich von	/	/	Text				x
87	Uhlich, Leberecht	Magdeburg	/	Text		x		x
88	Varnhagen von Ense, Karl August	Berlin	28 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x
89	Venedey, Jakob	/	June 1849	Text				x
90–91	Vesque von Püttlingen, Johann	/	/	Music			Other paper (music paper, printed decorated border)	x
92	Vilmar, August Friedrich Christian	Marburg	22 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
93	Voigt, Bernhard Friedrich	Weimar	20 Jan. 1848	Text				x
94	Vogel, Karl	Weimar	14 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
95	Vogl, Johann Nepomuk	Vienna	Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
96	Wachsmann, Karl von	Dresden	2 April 1849	Text		x		x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
97	Waitz, Georg	Frankfurt	'in den Ostertagen 1849' ('in the Easter days 1849')	Text				x
98	Walesrode, Ludwig	Königsberg	March 1849	Text		x		x
99	Weil, Jakob	/	/	Text		x		x
99a	Wenng, Karl Heinrich	Munich	1848	Image ('im Kunstdruck ohne Presse verfertigt' – 'produced in art print without press')		x	Traces of glue might point to earlier framing with a passepartout; 'No 7' written in blue pencil on verso might indicate that the leaf had been part of a different context at a time (cf. vol. 1, fol. 74a)	x
100	Wessenberg, Ignaz Heinrich von	Konstanz	25 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
101	Wichert, Friedrich von	Königsberg in Preußen	'im ersten Halbjahr 1848' ('in the first half of 1848')	Text		x		x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
102	Wigand, Otto	Leipzig	1 Feb. 1848	Image (pencil drawing) / Text		x		x
103	Willmers, Rud.	Weimar	26 Jan. 1848	Music				x
104	Winkler, Karl Gottfried Theodor	Dresden	6 March 1849	Text				x
105	Winter, Christian Friedrich	Heidelberg	March 1849	Text				x
106	Wislicenus, Gustav Adolf	Halle	3 June 1849	Text				x
107	Wolff, Oskar Ludwig Bernhard	Jena	20 Jan. 1848	Text		x		x
108	Wuttke, Heinrich	/	/	Text				x
109	Wydenbrugk, Oskar von	Weimar	4 March 1848	Text		x		x
110	Ziegler, Günther von	Sondershausen	12 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
111	Zitz, Kathinka	Mainz	17 Feb. 1848	Text		x		x
112	Zuccalmaglio, Anton Wilhelm von	Frankfurt am Main	2 April 1848	Text		x		x

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
113	Panse, Karl	Weimar	20 Aug. 1850	Text				x Other ink, obviously later addition
114	Preußen, Wilhelm Prinz von	Berlin	11 Dec. 1850	Text			Recto considerably darkened	x Obviously later addition
115	Moscheles, Ignaz	Leipzig	Oct. 1851	Music				
116	Linck, Helene	Weimar	11 Aug. 1861	Text				
117	Jörissen, Franz	Weimar	11 Aug. 1861	Text				
118	Oscar [Prinz von Schweden und Norwegen?]	Weimar	26 May 1862	Text			Entry in Swedish, signed 'Oscar'	
119	No entry							

Table 2: (continued)

Fol.	Inscriber	Place	Date	Content	Pasted in?	Portrait Format	Notes	In the Index
120	Wette, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de / Adelbert Wiegand	Basel / Buttstädt	1849 / May 1876	Text		x	'Ein Blatt zu dem Weimarischen Schiller-Album / von / Prof. Dr. W. M. L. de Wette / Basel 1849. / (Aus de Wette's Hinterlassenschaft mitgetheilt durch Adelbert Wiegand [...] / Buttstädt im Mai 1876.)' ('A leaf to the Weimar Schiller album by Prof. Dr. W. M. L. de Wette, Basel 1849. (From de Wette's estate transmitted by Adelbert Wiegand [...], Buttstädt in May 1876.)')	

An entry by G[iacomo] Pozzi, the Dessau painter, is listed in the index but is not part of the album as it is today. It has the pencil addition 'Das Mannheimer Theater. Gerahmt im Sammlungszimmer' ('The Mannheim Theatre. Framed in the *Sammlungszimmer*') in the index.

Henrike Rost

Nineteenth-century *Musik-Stammbücher*: Variety of Material and Contexts of Use

Abstract: Musical elites and their social milieu cultivated a very specific type of the *Stammbuch* in nineteenth-century Europe, creating albums which featured a particular emphasis on music. These *Musik-Stammbücher* often combine musical notation, drawing and poetry, individualised by a personal dedication with signature, date and place. The focus on music resulted, moreover, in albums that exclusively comprise musical autographs. The custom's purpose was both a documentation of one's own contacts with celebrities of the time and a private memory of friends and acquaintances. I discuss the musical autograph albums of Ignaz Moscheles, Eliza Wesley, Johann Peter Cavallo, Auguste von Strantz and Ferdinand Hiller as examples, taken from my recent study on the use, composition and materiality of these sources.

1 Introduction

When aiming to contribute to the understanding of written artefacts from a musicological perspective, it seems, nevertheless, essential to me to comprehend these sources holistically. Therefore, one must not only take music-philological interests or material aspects into account but their use in the broadest sense. This includes the circumstances of the genesis or production of these artefacts as well as both their perception by historical users and today's scholars and collectors. I rely in my article on the findings of my study of music-related *Stammbücher*, based on a source corpus of more than sixty albums from around 1790 to 1900.[1] Their material composition and the practices in the use of these manuscript albums – meant to collect hand-written annotations of a certain group of people selected by the album owner – were key aspects of my methodological approach. This inevitably requires the broadest possible contextualisation regarding socio-cultural, biographical and historical terms.[2] Developing this further, it is particularly stimu-

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1 Rost 2020.

2 See also Halina Goldberg's (2020) perspectives, developed in an article on Frédéric Chopin's album inscriptions.

lating to discuss the nineteenth-century musical autograph album (or friendship album) – which in German can be aptly described as a *Musik-Stammbuch*[3] – in the interdisciplinary framework of this volume.

The collecting of handwritten lines of friends and colleagues in books – called *Stammbücher* or *alba amicorum* – dates back to the sixteenth century. The custom originated with the Wittenberg reformers and was influenced by the aristocratic guestbook tradition. The *Stammbuch* practice spread to ever wider social circles over the centuries.[4] Apart from some developments and adaptations in order to align with contemporary fashion, the idea of collecting autographed contributions from friends, acquaintances and celebrities, usually during or following a face-to-face meeting, remained intact for the major part of the nineteenth century. Yet, especially since the 1820s, nineteenth-century musical elites and their social circles cultivated a very specific type of the *Stammbuch*.[5] These music-related albums, or rather *Musik-Stammbücher*, featured a particular emphasis on music and became popular throughout Europe. *Musik-Stammbücher* often combine musical notation, drawing and poetry or other texts. Furthermore, the focus on music led to the creation of albums which almost exclusively comprise musical autographs.[6] Typically signed with a name, date and place, these album entries were, in most cases, individualised by the inclusion of a personal dedication. The album owners, or rather collectors, could be professional musicians and dilet-tantes, thus, belonging, in the widest sense, to music-loving circles. The inter-play between flaunting one's social network and status and collecting personal

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3 For a discussion of the varied terminology, see Rost 2020, 31–33. I am using the term 'Musik-Stammbuch' as a tool to locate the medium with its specific music-related profile, formed in the nineteenth century, in the history of the *Stammbuch* and to distinguish it clearly from other types of albums. Following Oliver Huck, who even suggested avoiding the term 'Stammbuch' altogeth-er, Janine Droese recently argued for referencing the sources considered here as 'Musikalben' ('music albums'). In my view, this term is not specific enough and does not correspond to the various content of these albums (poetry, music, drawing). The term 'Musik-Stammbuch' captures this level of meaning and links – even more importantly – to the actual practices from which these albums emerged. Cf. Huck 2018, 248; Droese 2021, 149–152.

4 Especially for the early history of *Stammbuch* practice, see Schnabel 2003; for a concise survey, see Schnabel 2013.

5 On the music in German *Stammbücher* from *c.* 1750 to 1815, which increasingly included, apart from canons, both songs and instrumental dance pieces, see Itoh 1991.

6 For a discussion of the reasons for the emergence of collecting albums focusing exclusively upon musical autographs in the 1810s and 1820s, see my forthcoming article '"gleichsam aus Noten auch meinen Nahmen in dies Stammbuch ein zu schreiben" – The Rise of Musical Auto-graph Albums in Post-Napoleonic Vienna'.

reminiscences was crucial in the music-related nineteenth-century *Stammbuch* practice. It was, thus, closely linked to private and semi-public sociability.

Following up on my introductory elaborations, I now would like to dive into the discussion of some concrete examples. In doing so, my aim is to illustrate nineteenth-century *Musik-Stammbücher*'s variety regarding their contexts of use and material composition. I will discuss, among others, five particular albums: those of the pianist and composer Ignaz Moscheles, the organist Eliza Wesley, the organist and composer Johann Peter Cavallo, the singer Auguste von Strantz and the pianist-composer Ferdinand Hiller.

2 The album of Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870)

Ignaz Moscheles's album or *Musik-Stammbuch* belongs today to the Stefan Zweig Collection in the British Library.[7] As it was early considered an item of significant cultural and financial value, it has been well-preserved and is today materially in good condition. The volume is bound in dark brown leather with gold embossing. One can read the word 'ALBUM' on the book spine. The volume (22 × 29 cm) has a landscape format, which, in fact, is the most popular *Stammbuch* format. Although a bit larger, the format of Ignaz's album is – just to give some wider context – similar to the albums of his daughters, Emily and Serena, while his wife Charlotte's album, with its portrait orientation, is of much bigger dimensions.[8]

In the present condition, Ignaz Moscheles's album comprises 110 pages,[9] containing altogether 154 contributions. These comprise 106 musical autographs, twenty-five textual entries, and fourteen drawings, plus four letters, some prints and photographs. This diverse content corresponds to the original material constitution of the volume. Meant to function as a mixed content album with explicit musical orientation, the book opens with thirty-three blank pages, followed by sixty-seven pages, each containing ten staves for musical autographs, followed

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7 Ignaz Moscheles's album (GB-Lbl Zweig MS 215), designated by the British Library as an 'autograph book', is fully digitised and viewable online: <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Zweig_MS_215> (accessed on 1 March 2023). All manuscripts are cited with their Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) sigla and are listed under 'Primary Sources' at the end of this contribution.

8 D-B Mus. Ms. Autogr. S 10 (Emily Moscheles); D-DTsta D 72 Rosen-Klingemann Nr. 114 (Serena Moscheles); Charlotte Moscheles's album is in private ownership. For an in-depth discussion of all four Moscheles albums, see Rost 2020, 144–189 (esp. overview table on p. 155).

9 Pages 10, 15, 55 and 104 have been cut out.

again by ten blank pages. Although the focus is rather on musical entries, the album also seems to invite other non-musical contributions. Most of the entries were written directly onto the album pages. Forty items, thus, a quarter of the album content, were inserted subsequently into the album. These pasted-in entries include several musical autographs and most of the drawings.

According to the dates given, the Prague-born pianist and composer Ignaz Moscheles kept his album for a period of forty-four years, from 1825 to 1869. The album owner's effort and devotion to his collection is illustrated by a comprehensive index at the front of the volume with 140 names in alphabetical order.[10] Among them are numerous composers and virtuosos of international fame who mostly contributed musical quotations or complete short pieces to the album. The music mainly belongs to the piano and vocal repertoire, complemented by violin pieces.[11] Musical quotations usually stem from the inscriber's own compositions or frequently interpreted works. The complete pieces range from ad hoc compositions with humorous intentions to more ambitious original pieces, exclusively created for the album. To name just a few inscribers, there are Luigi Cherubini, Frédéric Chopin, Ferdinand Hiller, Johann Nepomuk Hummel, Franz Liszt, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Nicolò Paganini, Gioachino Rossini, Robert Schumann, Samuel Wesley, and many more – thus, it is the 'Who's Who' of the musical world of that time. The seventeen female contributors are, apart from Clara Schumann, basically leading opera singers, such as Maria Malibran, Henriette Sontag and Pauline Viardot. This demonstrates the narrow bounds of a female musical career in the nineteenth century. The long list of musicians is complemented by several renowned visual artists and literati, among them Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Heinrich Heine and Franz Grillparzer.

How and where did Ignaz Moscheles meet all these people? To answer this question, the thorough analysis of the album in its entirety is helpful. In comparison with the known biographical data, one can assume that Ignaz Moscheles took his album with him on his trips and concert tours.[12] As a famous virtuoso living in London, later in Leipzig, travelling and networking were essential for his professional career. He was personally acquainted with the most influential individuals of the contemporary European cultural life, and took the opportunity to ask these people for their autograph. Social settings for his collecting activities were obviously private or semi-public contexts – such as soirées, private concerts,

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10 The index follows the inscriber's last name, complemented by initials of the first name.

11 For a more detailed examination of the music in Ignaz Moscheles's album, see Rost 2020, 165–166.

12 Rost 2020, 164.

parties or individual calls. The inscribers were sometimes close friends, and occasionally Moscheles had just met them.

A good example is the album inscription of the violinist Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, written on 24 June 1843. Together with Moscheles, Ernst visited a soirée in London, hosted by the composer William Sterndale Bennett, on that same day.[13] Ernst might have taken Moscheles's album with him, but the rather sloppy handwriting seems to indicate that he had quickly autographed the eleven measures of a 'Fragment d'une Etude pour le violon' that night, maybe even at the gathering.[14] The dedication line says: 'Von Ihrem Bewunderer und aufrichtig ergebenen Freunde HW Ernst' ('From your sincere admirer and devoted friend HW Ernst').[15] Although this and similar testimonies of friendship should be generally interpreted with caution, the wording clearly suggests that Ernst and Moscheles knew each other somewhat better and had met before. Just a quick note about the music: the autograph is the earliest transcription of the second study *À Sainton* from Ernst's *Sechs mehrstimmige Studien*. Based on the album entry, the compositional idea can be dated to 1843, almost ten years earlier than it had been acknowledged previously.[16]

3 The album of Eliza Wesley (1819–1895)

Different from Ignaz Moscheles's album, the album of the British organist Eliza Wesley contains almost exclusively music. The elegant volume in its richly ornamented leather binding has a portrait orientation, but its size (28 × 23 cm) is nearly equivalent to Moscheles's album (22 × 29 cm). Apart from the name index, a gold-framed opening page with a verse by Shakespeare, and four blank pages (in pink) for shorter autographs and signatures, the book consists of ruled pages with twelve staves.[17] The different paper colours in the album are noteworthy: there are pages in light grey with dark grey staves, ivory pages with pink staves, and pages in two different pink shades with blue or red staves, respectively.

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13 Rowe 2008, 113. Ernst had arrived in London on 23 June 1843.

14 GB-Lbl Zweig MS 215, fol. 99ᵛ.

15 This and all other English translations in this article are mine.

16 Rost 2020, 210. Cf. Hoppe 2014, 107–108, 284–286.

17 GB-Lbl Add MS 35026. A black-and-white scan of the album is available online: <https://imslp.org/wiki/Eliza_Wesley%27s_Musical_Autograph_Album_(Various)> (accessed on 1 March 2023).

Eliza Wesley, the daughter of the organist and composer Samuel Wesley, trained for a professional career in music from an early age. She met numerous composers, musicians and singers in the course of her life. She started collecting musical autographs in her album in 1836 at the age of 17, and continued with it until she died in 1895. It is remarkable that all the autographs seem to have been written in London – the album apparently never left the city. As one might expect, many autographs, thus, stem from British musicians – such as Thomas Attwood, Michael William Balfe or Vincent Novello. Other inscribers – including Julius Benedict, Johann Baptist Cramer, Marie Louise Dulcken and Ignaz Moscheles – were permanent residents in London. Furthermore, visiting musicians and singers – such as Johann Strauss, Giuseppe Verdi, Giuditta Pasta and Jenny Lind – also contributed to the album. The individual and personal orientation of the manuscript collection finally shows in the choice of the first and the last album entry. Eliza Wesley opted for her father's autograph as the opening piece,[18] and for the inscription of her brother, Samuel Sebastian Wesley, to close up the album.[19]

All seventy-nine musical autographs were written directly onto the pages. This means all the contributors really inscribed the book – as opposed to sending a single sheet of music with their handwriting without ever having seen the collection as a whole. Several letters from Eliza Wesley's bequest finally reveal more information about the inscription procedure. In some cases, at least, the album owner obviously sent the book to the potential inscriber, who could keep it for a while. The violinist-composer Joseph Joachim,[20] for instance, answered Eliza Wesley, who had requested his autograph beforehand, as follows:

> Herr Joachim presents his compli.[ments] to Miss Wesley & begs to tell her that if she will send her Book to St. James Hall one day when he plays there, he will be happy to give her his autograph.[21]

The British composer John Parry even asked Eliza Wesley which of his works she preferred for her album – at that moment, she had already asked for her album back, probably sending a messenger.

> Mr. John Parry presents his compts [compliments] to Miss Wesley & will feel obliged if she will let him know, what kind of music, she wishes him to write in her album, whether part

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18 Add MS 35026, fol. 9^{r-v}. *From Dryden's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, dated July 1, 1836.
19 Add MS 35026, fol. 73^v. *Celestia* ('Hark! Hark my soul …'), dated 1870.
20 On Joseph Joachim's *Stammbuch* practice, see my forthcoming article 'Einblicke in Joseph Joachims Stammbuchpraxis: Künstlerisches Selbstverständnis und individuelle Kommunikation'.
21 GB-Lbl Add MS 35027, fol. 87^r.

of a ballad or one of his songs such as his 'Wanted, a Governess' &c. [etc.] – If Miss W. will favor him with an answer, he will have great pleasure in doing it immediately & is sorry she sent for it, before he was able to fulfil her request.[22]

4 The album of Johann Peter Cavallo (1819–1892)

I would like to introduce, at this point, another album focusing exclusively upon musical entries to illustrate the considerable material variety of nineteenth-century *Musik-Stammbücher*. Compared to Eliza Wesley's album, this album in the typical landscape format is much smaller (13.7 × 21.8 cm), consisting entirely of ruled pages with six staves.[23] It has a leather binding in dark green with gold tooling and is enclosed in a slip case. Johann Peter Cavallo ran the album from 1845 to 1853, thus, for a relatively short period of time. Cavallo, born in Munich, had settled in Paris around 1842 to work there as a church organist, meanwhile establishing a pianistic career. In the light of this, his *Musik-Stammbuch* not only documents his personal network of friends and acquaintances, but also accompanied the owner's self-fashioning and self-promotion at an international level. Opening up with a four-page part song written by Friedrich Willhelm Kücken (Paris, 28 May 1845),[24] the volume comprises fifty-six musical autographs, signed in Paris and London.[25] The book is full, except for the last two pages. The inscribers are exclusively male, among them influential figures, such as Johann Baptist Cramer (London, 6 June 1845), Ignaz Moscheles (London, 23 June 1845) and Johann Peter Pixis (Paris, 24 March 1847).[26] The most famous name in the album, from today's perspective, is without a doubt Richard Wagner. In Paris, on 26 October 1853, he inscribed 'Etwas aus Tannhäuser' ('Something from Tannhäuser'), notating the incipit of the overture, in four bars on two staves.[27] Moreover, it is worth drawing attention to a pencil note by an unknown hand below Ignaz Moscheles's signature, indicating his date of death, '† 10 März 1870' ('† 10 March 1870'). The practice of commenting on album entries in this way has been a characteristic feature of *Stammbuch* practice for centuries.[28]

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22 Add MS 35027, fol. 105^r.

23 GB-Lbl Hirsch IV.1455.

24 Hirsch IV.1455, fols 1^r–2^v. ('Horch! horch! die Lerch im Aetherblau', words by William Shakespeare).

25 A list of all inscribers is available in the British Library catalogue.

26 Hirsch IV.1455, fols 3^r, 3^v, and 16^v–17^r.

27 Hirsch IV.1455, fol. 38^r.

28 Hirsch IV.1455, fol. 3^v. See Keil and Keil 1893, 43.

Most of the entries in Cavallo's album follow a chronological order. On the face of it, this seems commonplace, but at second glance, it must be considered rather extraordinary – compared to other albums. As far as possible, Cavallo seems to have taken care of the position of the entries by asking the inscriber to use the next possible free page. Considering this, the positioning of the autograph by André-Hippolyte Chelard between two entries from 1846 is interesting, as it fills a gap, thus a page remained vacant for the time being.[29] Chelard inscribed an excerpt from his opera *Macbeth*.[30] While the composer did not date his autograph, the album owner himself made a note below Chelard's entry, about the circumstances and the exact day of the inscription. Cavallo wrote: 'Schrieb mir d.[er] berühmte Componist b.[ei] seiner Anwesenheit in Paris auf mein Ersuchen, Dienstag d.[en] 16. mai 1848 als ich Ihn besuchte. P. C. [Peter Cavallo]' ('Written for me by the famous composer, while he was in Paris, on my request, Tuesday, 16 May 1848, when I came to visit him. P. C. [Peter Cavallo]').

5 The album of Auguste von Strantz, *née* Zehner (1830–1879)

The German singer Auguste von Strantz compiled autographs in her *Musik-Stammbuch* for an even shorter period of time than Peter Cavallo. The volume in landscape format (22 × 40 cm) reflects her collecting activities from 1851 to 1853.[31] Two further leaves, pasted-in towards the end of the book, are dated 1896 and 1897. As Strantz died in 1879, therefore, these entries must have been added by a later album owner. Moreover, they relate to the present red cover in mint condition, bearing the gold lettering 'SOUVENIR 1897' (Fig. 1), which evidently is not the original album cover. On the first page of the body of the album, one reads: 'Stammbuch von Frau Auguste von Strantz, geborene Zehner' ('*Stammbuch* of Mrs Auguste von Strantz, *née* Zehner').

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29 The entry by Léon de Cieux (fols 7ʳ⁻ᵛ), which precedes Chelard's autograph, is dated 7 June 1846, while the following entry by Louis Clapisson (fols 8ᵛ–9ᵛ) is signed in Paris on 12 March 1846.
30 Hirsch IV.1455, fol. 8ʳ. The music is titled: 'Aus Macbeth von Chelard' ('From Macbeth by Chelard'). The dedication line reads: 'Souvenir d'amitié à M. Cavallo. A. H. Chelard' ('Souvenir of friendship for Mr. Cavallo. A. H. Chelard').
31 D-LEu Rep. III, 15 i 3.
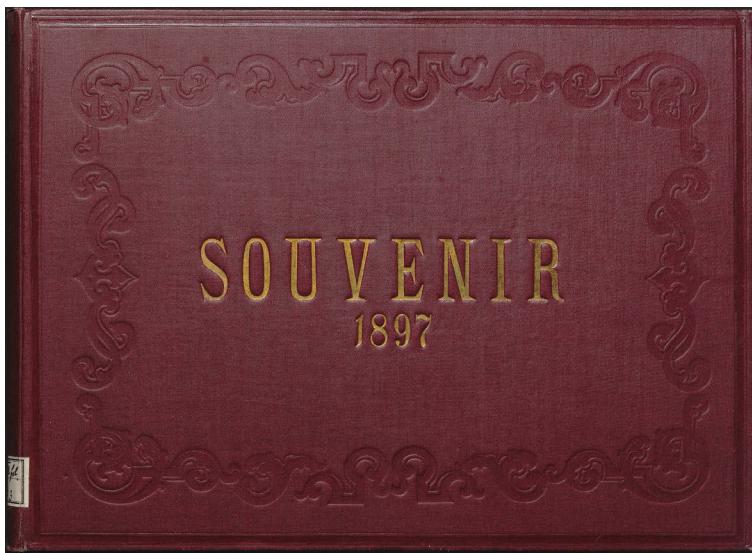
Fig. 1: Cover of Auguste von Strantz's album, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Rep. III, 15 i 3.

Auguste von Strantz, married to the actor and stage director Ferdinand von Strantz from 1850 to 1854, collected entries for her album in Leipzig, Hamburg, Frankfurt am Main, Darmstadt, Mannheim, Wiesbaden, Berlin and Vienna – thus, exclusively in German or German-speaking lands. Yet, some entries are in French. Twenty musical autographs are among the thirty-five items in the album. It should be noted that among those are sixteen song manuscripts, apparently referring to the album owner's profession. Only eight of these sixteen pieces were inscribed directly onto the blank album pages, while the pasted-in leaves – partly with printed staves and colourful arabesque frames – provide a certain visual diversity to the album. All songs correspond to the lower tessitura of Strantz's contralto voice. Moreover, apart from a few exceptions, the songs appear as performable versions. Consequently, one reads above a one-page song entry ('Wohl lag ich einst in Gram und Schmerz …'), written by the composer Friedrich Wilhelm Grund: 'Mit dem wahren, d. h. dem von Strantzschen Vortrag' ('To be performed in the true, i.e. the Strantzian manner').[32] Grund had to draw staves by hand, as the original album pages were blank (Fig. 2).[33] Also addressing per-

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32 Rep. III, 15 i 3, no. 15 (Hamburg, 18 Feb. 1851).
33 Other song entries with hand-drawn staves are by Raimund Dreyschock (no. 3; Leipzig, 1 Feb. 1851), Ignaz Moscheles (no. 9; Leipzig, Feb. 1851), Moritz Hauptmann (no. 12; Leipzig,
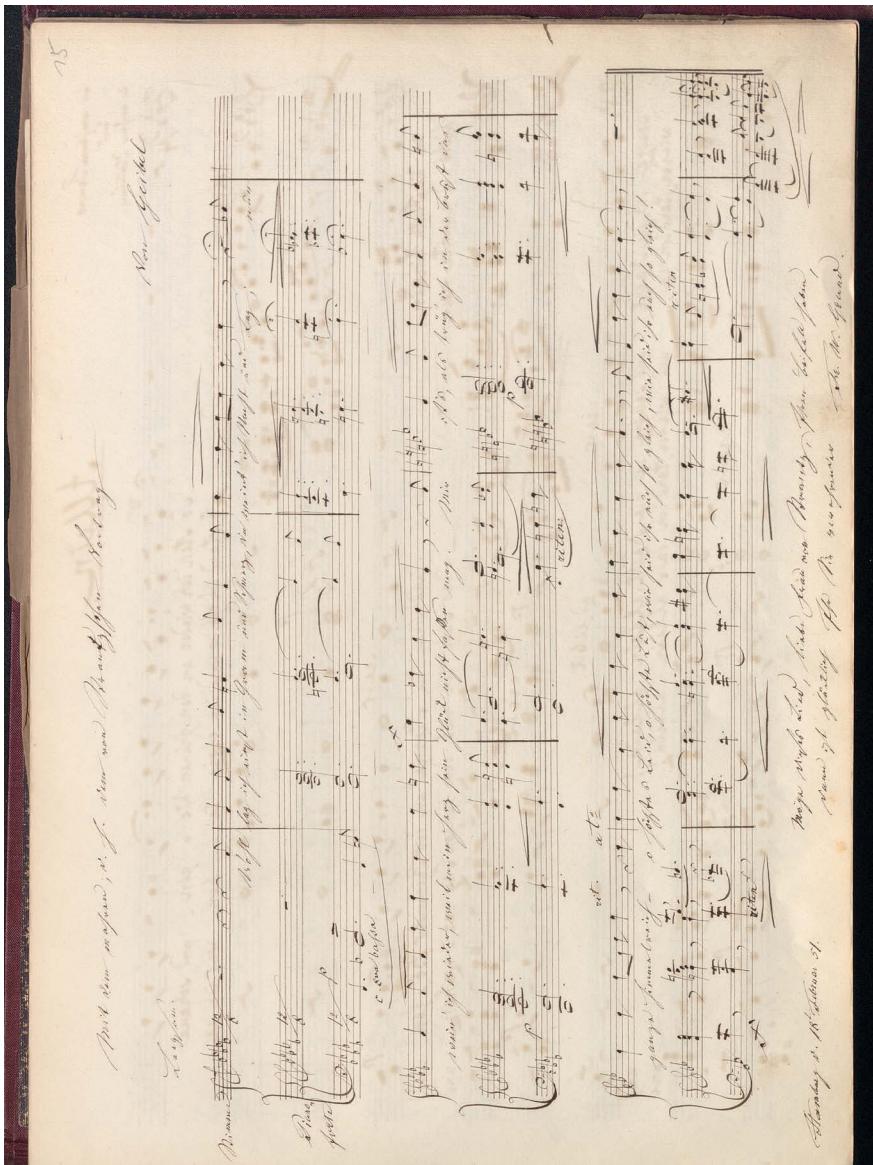
formative aspects, the conductor and composer Julius Rietz remarked below his piece ('Nun die Schatten dunkeln …') – probably referring to his own experience of musically working together with Strantz: 'dieses Musikstück kann, ganz nach Belieben, einen halben oder einen ganzen Ton tiefer genommen, u.[nd] mit allen erdenklichen ritardandos, alla partes &&& versehen werden' ('this piece of music can be transposed, just as one wishes, a semitone or a whole tone lower, and can be equipped with any conceivable ritardando, alla parte etc.') (Fig. 3).[34] Both songs and two more pieces in the album – Ignaz Moscheles's 'Gondoliera' and Rudolph Wilmers's 'Kornblumen' – are settings of poems by Emanuel Geibel.[35] Apart from a four-page 'Prière-Elegie' in French by Wilhelm Krüger (with the additional indication: 'Espoir au Dieu. Poesie de V.[ictor] Hugo'), all songs assigned to Strantz are German text settings.

6 The album of Ferdinand Hiller (1811–1885)

My last example is the album of the German pianist and composer Ferdinand Hiller. It is a very interesting case because, in my opinion, the collection has been the subject of misinterpretation regarding its materiality and, from there, its contexts of use. Reinhold Sietz rated Hiller's album as an example of a collection of autographs having lost the typical personal and intimate character, traditionally attributed to *Stammbücher*.[36] Halina Goldberg recently classified Hiller's album a 'scrapbook-style album', meaning that the owner, at the same time compiler and curator, had pasted the gifted musical autographs onto the blank pages of a book.[37] And indeed, the Hiller album has been described by Sietz, as early as 1953, as a leather volume of 306 pages onto which the single manuscripts are glued.[38] However, looking at the actual volume (33 × 27 cm), preserved at the Historical Archive of the City of Cologne, it cannot be ignored that the album in its present state is a product of a later period. One can easily identify a twentieth-century binding (Fig. 4), combined with a probably original nineteenth-

11 Feb. 1851), Anton Schindler (no. 16; Frankfurt am Main, 10 Feb. 1852), Vinzenz Lachner (no. 17; Mannheim, 20 April 1852) and Louis Schindelmeisser (no. 23; Wiesbaden, 29 July 1852).

34 Rep. III, 15 i 3, no. 13 (Leipzig, 12 Feb. 1851).

35 Rep. III, 15 i 3, no. 9 and no. 20.

36 Sietz 1962, 219; see also Sietz 1953.

37 Goldberg 2020, 473.

38 Sietz 1953, 261.
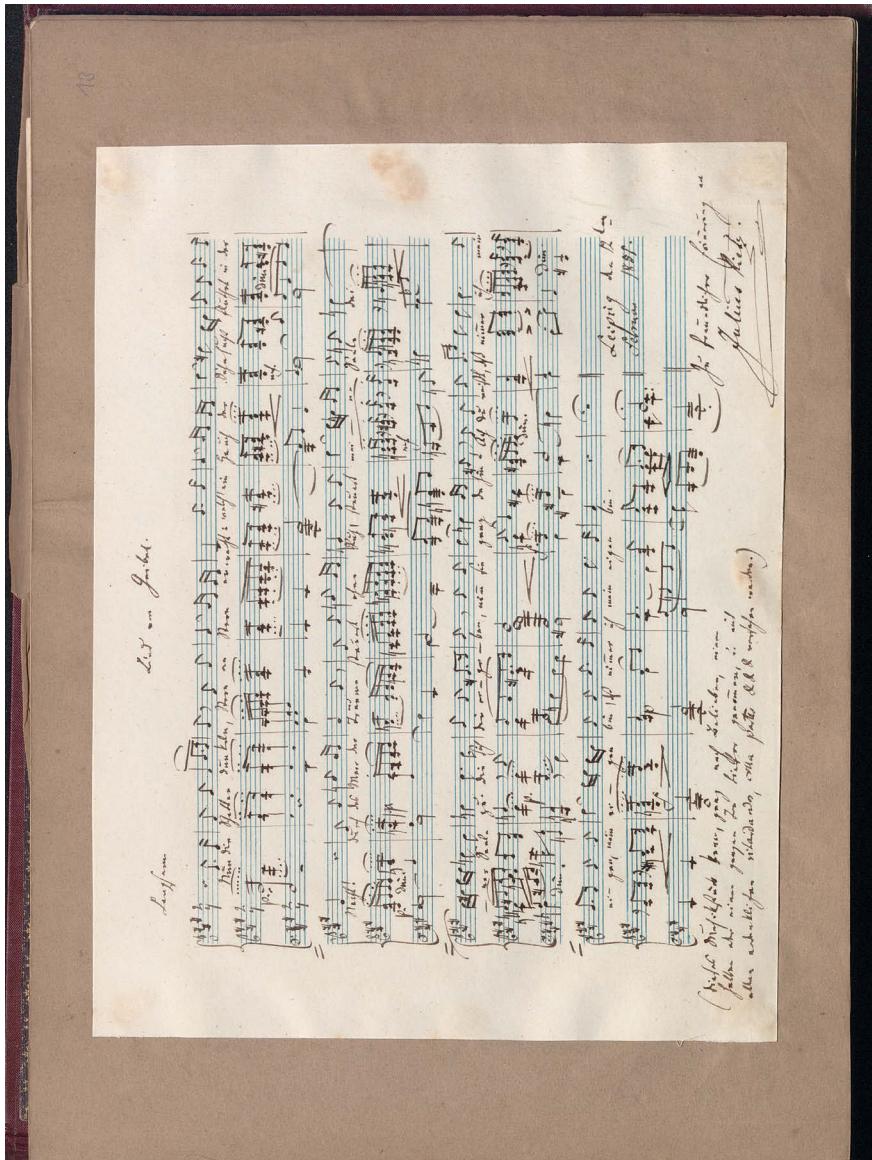
Fig. 4: First opening of Ferdinand Hiller's album, Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Bestand 1051, A 1 (material condition before 2009).

century album cover (Fig. 5).[39] Following the archive's database, the restoration that included the removal of the original book pages on which the autographs were mounted, probably dates from the late 1970s.[40]

Yet, if one includes the perception of Hiller's album by his contemporaries, the idea of a 'scrapbook-style album' is increasingly challenged. In fact, many contributions suggest – in the actual text or in the dedication lines – that the inscribers had seen the *Stammbuch* or read through it. Even if they might have written their autograph on a single sheet, they had, nevertheless, received the complete book to which their autograph was meant to belong. In the case of the entry by the diplomat August Kestner from 26 May 1842,[41] letters between Hiller and Kestner not only tell us more about what the album was called in this time, while *Stammbuch* and *Album* were used as synonyms. They prove that Hiller had sent his album as a whole to the inscriber, on the occasion of Hiller's departure from Rome. Inviting Hiller for that same day, Kestner concluded his message with the following instruction: 'Wollten Sie etwa dem Überbringer Dieses Ihr Stammbuch anvertrauen, so wird auch dieses Geschäft auch heute gethan. / Mit freundlichem Guten Morgen / Kestner. / Mittwoch' ('If you would like to entrust your *Stammbuch* to the bearer of this, this business will also be done today. / With a friendly good morning / Kestner. / Wednesday').[42] Hiller answered immediately,

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39 D-KNa Bestand 1051, A 1.

40 The album was microfilmed in 1974, so that the book's condition before restoration has been documented.

41 The *Stammbuch* entry (Bestand 1051, A 1, fol. 199) reads: 'Lieb' ist der Töne Natur; denn erst / ist vollendet ihr Wesen, / finden die Sehnenden sich jubelnd / im Pfade der Luft. / Dieses Bild der Harmonie verdankt / dem Tonkünstler der Dichter, Hier geb' / ichs Ihnen zurück, damit Sie mei- / ner / gedenken im Anschaun Ihrer eigenen / Wohlthaten. Rom 26. May. 1842. / A. Kestner' ('Love is the nature of tones [i.e. music]; only when their essence is accomplished, the longing ones [the tones] find themselves jubilating in the air. The poet [Kestner] owes the composer [Hiller] this image of harmony. Hereby, I give it back to you, so that you remember me contemplating your own blessings. Rome, 26 May 1842. / A. Kestner').

42 Sietz 1958, 48. The complete letter reads: 'Viele Lebewohlgeschäfte verhinderten mich gestern an einer Zusammenkunft. Wenn Sie heute noch können, so wird es mir ein Vergnügen seyn, entweder um 4 Uhr oder um 7, oder wollten Sie etwa um 6 Uhr tête à tête mit mir speisen, (aber Anstalten sind nicht gemacht, sondern nur zur Leibesnothdurft) – so könnten wir von 5 bis 6 und dann von 7 bis 8 lesen. So handeln die ZeitHaushälter, aber was wird die Gemahlin sagen, ihren Mann so lang zu entbehren! Schade daß sie in unserer Sprache nicht bewandert. / Wollten Sie etwa dem Überbringer Dieses Ihr Stammbuch anvertrauen, so wird auch dieses Geschäft auch heute gethan. / Mit freundlichem Guten Morgen / Kestner. / Mittwoch' ('A lot of goodbye business prevented me from meeting yesterday. If you are still able today, it will be a pleasure for me to meet you either at 4 o'clock or at 7, or if you would like to dine with me at 6 o'clock tête à tête, (but no arrangements have been made, only to satisfy the need of the body) – then we could
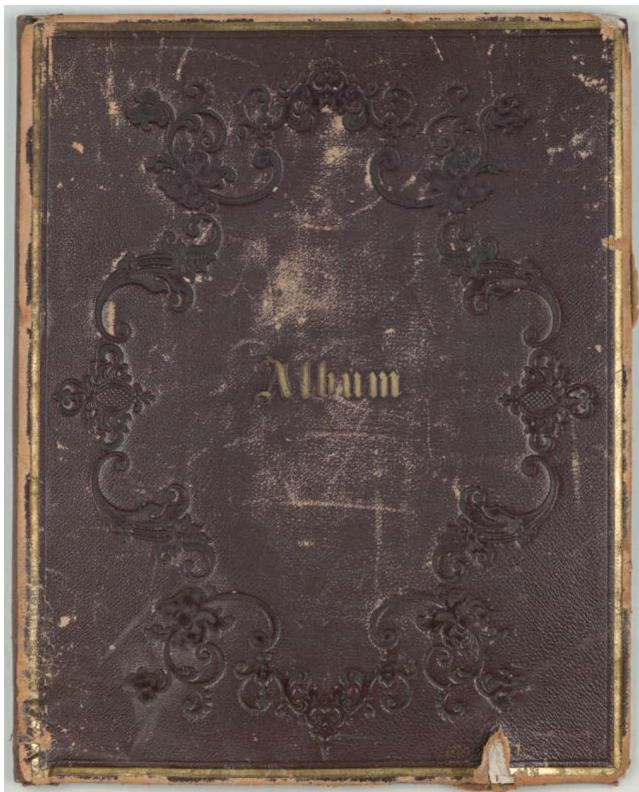
Fig. 5: Cover of Ferdinand Hiller's album, Cologne, Historisches Archiv, Bestand 1051, A 1.

accepted Kestner's invitation, and added a post scriptum: 'In inniger Hoch-schätzung Ihr ergebenster / Ferdinand Hiller. / Mittwoch um Mittag. / Beifolgend mein Album' ('In sincere esteem, your most devoted / Ferdinand Hiller. / Wednesday at noon. / Enclosed is my album').[43]

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read from 5 to 6 and then from 7 to 8. This is how the time-keepers act, but what will the wife say, to miss her husband so long! It is a pity that she is not versed in our language. / If you would like to entrust your *Stammbuch* to the bearer of this, this business will also be done today. / With a friendly good morning / Kestner. / Wednesday').

43 Sietz 1958, 48. The complete letter reads: 'Es ist mir unschätzbar, noch vor meiner Abreise so viel Zeit als möglich mit Ihnen sprechend und lesend zuzubringen – ich nehme daher Ihre freundliche Einladung in ihrem weitesten Umfange an und werde so frey seyn, von 5 Uhr bis 8 Uhr bei Ihnen zu bleiben. Sie sehen, man darf sich nicht zu viel mit mir einlassen, wenn ich nicht indiscret werden soll – schreiben Sie Sich mithin die üblen Folgen Ihrer Güte selbst zu. /

The Hiller album is an extremely extensive album containing more than 350 items. This corresponds to the album's considerably long run: Hiller collected autographs for almost six decades, from 1825 to 1884. The manifold content comprises textual entries, poetry, drawings, letters and 146 musical autographs.[44] As the leaves' formats and paper quality vary widely, there is good reason to believe that Hiller's album, in today's material condition, is the late result of the merging of several albums that had existed previously, and that could probably no longer fit the growing size of the collection.

I argue that at least one or even several bound *Stammbücher* precede today's collection and characterise the history of the Hiller album. The previous volumes were disintegrated at an unknown date, and the autographs transferred into another larger collecting album. The album leaf by Kestner, for instance, shows the typical format of a smaller *Stammbuch* in a landscape format. Another hint to pre-existing albums is offered by the fact that quite a few leaves in the Hiller album address explicitly and only Antolka Hiller, Ferdinand's wife.[45] The actual collection comprises, further on, two album leaves autographed by Ignaz Moscheles: one for Ferdinand (from 1830) and one for Antolka Hiller (from 1845).[46] It can, therefore, be assumed that Antolka Hiller might have possessed a *Stammbuch* of her own which was disassembled and merged into her husband's collection. Similar circumstances apply to the joint album of Robert and Clara Schumann.[47]

7 General conclusions

I have compiled a list of sixty albums for this paper to allow a broader comparative view of formats and sizes of *Musik-Stammbücher* (see the appendix at the end

In inniger Hochschätzung Ihr ergebenster / Ferdinand Hiller. / Mittwoch um Mittag. / Beifolgend mein Album' ('It is invaluable to me to spend as much time as possible talking and reading with you before my departure – I therefore accept your kind invitation in its broadest scope and will be free to stay with you from 5 o'clock to 8 o'clock. You see, one must not get involved with me too much if I am not to become indiscreet – therefore, attribute the bad consequences of your kindness to yourself. / In sincere esteem, your most devoted / Ferdinand Hiller. / Wednesday at noon. / Enclosed is my album').

44 For a discussion of Hiller's album, see Rost 2022. The musical autographs have also been catalogued at the RISM since May 2022.

45 See also Rost 2020, 86–95.

46 Bestand 1051, A 1, fols 85, 231. Rost 2020, 240, 245.

47 D-Dl Mus.Schu.1–338. See Rost 2020, 97–100.

of this article).[48] My list comprises albums which were initiated between 1810 and 1880, thus, covering the nineteenth century almost as a whole. However, the vast majority of these albums was started in the 1830s and 1840s – certainly the boom years of music-related *Stammbücher*.[49] The landscape format is by far the most popular format for these albums.[50] Exceptions apart, sizes range from approximately 10 × 15 to 25 × 35 cm. Nevertheless, various volumes with portrait orientation exist, as Eliza Wesley's example and some other albums in my list show.

Musik-Stammbücher can also be generally found as loose album leaves, kept in a box or otherwise integrated into an album. The albums of Fanny Hünerwadel, Henriette Voigt, Luise Avé-Lallemant and August Julius Ferdinand Böhme are examples. Other collections, such as the albums of Clara Beaumarié or Ferdinand Hiller, discussed above, were seemingly (re)arranged in a book after the conclusion of the collecting process. It should not be forgotten that it was common practice to rebind or repair damaged albums, wherefore, it is often difficult to be sure about the presumed original material conditions. Sometimes, a bundle of loose sheets could precede and eventually lead to the beginning of a collecting album, as in the case of Fanny Mendelssohn Bartholdy.[51] Furthermore, I do not want to conceal the existence of a considerable number of loose nineteenth-century musical album leaves circulating especially in the autograph market. These single sheets, mostly of unknown origin, might have been part of forgotten loose-leaf collections or even been cut out from bound volumes. But I assume that the greatest portion of them never belonged to an album. Based on my list, I argue, therefore, that – possibly different from non-musical *Stammbücher* of the nineteenth century – *Musik-Stammbücher* are mainly bound volumes, often containing subsequently pasted-in manuscripts and also other material.

Regarding the discussion of the autograph albums of Ignaz Moscheles, Eliza Wesley, Johann Peter Cavallo, Auguste von Strantz and Ferdinand Hiller, I have shown the remarkable variety of nineteenth-century *Musik-Stammbücher* – concerning both their materiality and their use. All albums feature a particular emphasis on music. Moscheles, Strantz and Hiller's books, however, combine music, poetry or other texts, and visual artefacts, while Wesley and Cavallo's albums almost exclusively focus on musical autographs. Strantz collected entries

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48 The appendix is a customised version of my list in Rost 2020, 349–351.

49 Looking at these sixty albums, the following distribution can be observed: four albums were started in the 1810s, ten in the 1820s, nineteen in the 1830s, fifteen in the 1840s, seven in the 1850s, three in the 1860s and two in the 1870s.

50 This conclusion was also drawn by Oliver Huck based on a similar list of twenty-nine albums derived from the available literature and some library catalogues. Huck 2018, 249–253.

51 D-B MA Ms. 142, 1. See Rost 2020, 129–132; cf. Droese 2021.

only in German-speaking lands, and Wesley even seems to have never used her album outside of London. According to various letters, she sent her book to some inscribers so that they could write their entries where and whenever it was convenient. In general, practices of collecting and writing in albums are primarily bound to private or semi-public contexts. The example of Cavallo's book shows that the shorter entries, such as Chelard or Wagner's autographs, were apparently written on the spot within a visit or some other encounter. All autographs collected by Cavallo are either signed in London or in Paris. By contrast, Moscheles and Hiller gathered entries in a far more extended geographical area. Both musicians worked on their albums for several decades, thus, creating handwritten 'monuments', remembering not only their social networks and activities, but also their own relevance and position in the musical life of nineteenth-century Europe. Hiller's album is particularly interesting, as it can be assumed that the actual volume is the result of the merging of several albums that had existed previously. This suggests that one should always question presumptions about original material conditions. Finally, it is important to note the performative potential of many of the songs in Strantz's album, especially expressed in some of the comments of the inscribers. In light of this, I should emphasise the pronounced plurimediality of *Musik-Stammbücher* – uniting visual, haptic and sonorous features in one artefact.

To conclude, I would like to return to the issue of value. Sotheby's recently auctioned the album of Max Kalbeck, widely known as the first important biographer of Johannes Brahms. Kalbeck's album includes musical autographs penned by Giacomo Puccini, Camille Saint-Saëns, Johannes Brahms and others.[52] Yet, it is predominated by textual entries, mostly from a Munich literary circle called 'Die Krokodile' ('The Crocodiles'). In accordance with the *Stammbuch* tradition, Max Kalbeck collected handwritten entries from friends, acquaintances and celebrities. He had met these people personally, while their entries document both Kalbeck's private and professional contacts. Without a doubt, the album was an object of high personal value to him. About a century later, its assigned financial value is astonishing: the lot was sold for 30,240 British pounds.

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52 Sotheby's, 'Album of Max Kalbeck'. For a discussion of the album, see Rost 2021. For transcriptions and English translations of all entries, see the list by Albrecht Gaub (2021) available online.

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

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Appendix: Nineteenth-century *Musik-Stammbücher* sorted by size

Album owner	Run time	Format (Landscape / Portrait)	Size (in cm) / [Paper size]	Bound volume / Loose leaves	RISM sigle	Images online
Voigt, Henriette	1831–34	Landscape	9.5 × 14.5	Loose leaves	D-LEsm MT/2011/2	\<https://www.stadtmuseum.leipzig.de/\> (search for 'Stammbuch Henriette Voigt')
Ganz, Leopold	1837–64	Landscape	[9.5 × 15.5]	Bound volume	US-NYpm Fulton Deposit	
Moscheles, Felix	1836–1903	Landscape	10 × 16.4	Bound volume	lost	
Moscheles, Felix	1876–1917 c.	Landscape	10.2 × 16.1	Bound volume	lost	
Szymanowska, Maria	1810–41	Landscape	[11.5 × 20.5]	Bound volume	F-Ppo MAM 973	
Kandler, Franz Sales	1817–29	Landscape	11.6 × 18.7	Bound volume	Private ownership	
Ewen, Elizabeth Mary	1868–1917	Landscape	11.8 × 19.4	Bound volume	F-Pn W-29	
Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Fanny	1821–29	Landscape	[12 × 19.5]	Bound volume (current state: unbound quires)	D-B MA Ms. 142, 1	\<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0002A795000000000\>
Molique, Caroline	1843–89	Landscape	12 × 20	Bound volume	D-Sl Cod.hist.oct.233	\<http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz311171427\>

Album owner	Run time	Format (Landscape / Portrait)	Size (in cm) [Paper size]	Bound volume / Loose leaves	RISM sigle	Images online
Cavallo, Johann Peter	1845–53	Landscape	13 × 21	Bound volume	GB-Lbl Hirsch IV 1455	
Voigt, Henriette	1834–39	Landscape	13.5 × 21	Loose leaves	D-LEsm MT/2011/125	<https://www.stadtmuseum.leipzig.de/> (search for 'Stammbuch Henriette Voigt')
Novello, Vincent	1829–48	Landscape	14.3 × 23.7	Bound volume	GB-Lbl MS Mus. 1816	
Mozart, Franz Xaver	1819–42	Landscape	15 × 22	Loose leaves	US-Wc ML94.M7	<https://lccn.loc.gov/2010561670>
Böhme, August Julius Ferdinand	1848–80 c.	Landscape	16 × 23.5	Loose leaves	D-Dl Mscr.Dresd. App.1912	<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id1676798404>
Vény, Jenny	1841–80	Landscape	16 × 25	Bound volume	US-CAh Ms.Mus. 103	<https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:25453617>
Francillon (née Barnett), Rosamund	1860–71	Landscape	17 × 26	Bound volume	US-CAh MS Thr 470 (476)	
Hünerwadel, Fanny	1852–53	Landscape	17.6 × 27.7	Loose leaves	Private ownership	
Panofka, Heinrich / Clark, Alfred Corning	1827–43/92	Landscape	[18 × 22.6]	Bound volume	DK-Kk C I,5 mu 7205.1014	

Album owner	Run time	Format (Landscape / Portrait)	Size (in cm) / [Paper size]	Bound volume / Loose leaves	RISM sigle	Images online
Schlik, Elise von	1813–52	Landscape	18 × 24	Bound volume	US-NYj OAl15s	<https://juilliardmanuscriptcollection.org/ajaxzoom/single.php?zoomDir=/pic/juilliard/SCHR_SCHL&zoomFile=>
Rogers (*née* Barnett), Clara Kathleen	1860–80	Landscape	18 × 25	Bound volume	US-CAh MS Thr 470 (857)	
Dawison (*née* Jacobi), Constanze	1843–98	Landscape	18 × 25.5	Bound volume	D-DÜhh 91.5001 T.G.	<http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10323>
Rietz, Julius	1829–77	Landscape	19 x 24.5	Bound volume	D-DÜhh HHI.AUT.35.G.225	<http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.10327>
Grüneisen, Carl	1824–61	Landscape	19 × 24.5	Bound volume	D-MB A:Grüneisen	
Steffens, Emilie	1836–1907	Landscape	19 × 25.5	Bound volume	D-Zsch Archiv-Nr. 12899	
Grieg, Edvard	1859–72	Landscape	19 × 26	Bound volume	N-Bo Griegsamling 1	<https://mitt.bergenbibliotek.no/cgi-bin/websok-grieg?mode=vt&cclsok=%28minne bok%29&st=p&antall=samtlige&offset=0&sortering=rekke&retning=0>
Wehner, Arnold	1843–70 c.	Landscape	19 × 26	Bound volume	US-PRu Scheide Library	
Schorn, Fanny	1843–96	Landscape	19.5 × 26.5	Bound volume	D-BNu S 2034 f	<https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-284707>
Mendelssohn Bartholdy, Felix	1821–45	Landscape	20.2 × 26.5	Bound volume	GB-Ob MS. M.D.M. d.8	

Album owner	Run time	Format (Landscape / Portrait)	Size (in cm) [Paper size]	Bound volume / Loose leaves	RISM sigle	Images online
Moscheles, Emily	1843–82	Landscape	20.5 × 27	Bound volume	D-B Mus. Ms. Autogr. S 10	<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001AE1B00000000>
Moscheles, Serena	1844–95	Landscape	20.5 × 27	Bound volume	D-DTsta D 72 Rosen-Klingemann Nr. 114	
Zimmermann, Juliette	1839–40	Landscape	[21 × 28]	Bound volume	Private ownership	
Avé-Lallemant, Luise	1843–63	Landscape	[21 × 30.5]	Loose leaves	D-LEu Rep. III. fol. 15i	
Obreskov, Natalia	1838–52	Landscape	21.5 × 30	Bound volume	D-Dl Mus. 1-B-524	<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id3603504 7X>
Bradbury, William Batchelder	1847–50	Landscape	22 × 29	Bound volume	US-Wc ML31.B7	<https://lccn.loc.gov/2010561085>
Moscheles, Ignaz	1825–69	Landscape	22 × 29	Bound volume	GB-Lbl Zweig MS 215	<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Zweig_MS_215>
Strantz (*née Zehner*), Auguste von	1851–53	Landscape	22 × 40	Bound volume	D-LEu Rep. III, 15 i 3	
Möhring, Ferdinand	1840–83	Landscape	22.3 × 29.5	Bound volume	D-B Mus. Ms. Autogr. S 2	<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0002008900000000>

Album owner	Run time	Format (Landscape / Portrait)	Size (in cm) [Paper size]	Bound volume / Loose leaves	RISM sigle	Images online
Steche (*née* Angermann), Lidy	1850–74	Landscape	22.9 × 29.5	Bound volume	D-LEsm A/2174/2010	<https://www.stadtmuseum.leipzig.de/> (search for 'Stammbuch Lidy Steche')
Falk-Auerbach, Nanette	1845–1928	Landscape	23 × 31.5	Bound volume	D-Zsch Archiv-Nr. 10536	
Koch, Auguste Friederike Caroline	1855–59	Landscape	23.2 × 32.3	Bound volume	D-LEsm A/3987/2009 (Stb. Nr. 20)	
Thurn-Hofer e Valsassina, Raimondina	1836–43	Landscape	23.6 × 32.8	Bound volume	I-TRap XXI 232, Biblioteca Thun	
Schurig, Volkmar	1851–98	Landscape	24 × 29.5	Bound volume	D-Dl Mus.1-B-617	<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id1736550365>
d'Est (*née* Kibble), Frances Sarah	1835–41	Landscape	25 × 33.5	Bound volume	Private ownership	
Pohlenz, Marie	1850–53	Landscape	25.5 × 34.5	Bound volume	D-LEsm A/2013/390 (Stb. Nr. 113)	<http://doi.org/10.25592/uhhfdm.9586>
Beaumarié, Clara	1837–56	Landscape	[25.7 × 34]	Bound leaves	D-DÜhh HHI. AUT.2007.5025.TG	

Album owner	Run time	Format (Landscape / Portrait)	Size (in cm) / [Paper size]	Bound volume / Loose leaves	RISM sigle	Images online
Beauchesne, Alfred de	1835–73	Landscape	25.9 × 35	Bound volume	F-Pn W-24	
Schumann, Clara and Robert	1829–88 c.	Landscape	26 × 37	Loose leaves	D-Dl Mus.Schu.1–338	<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id139955502>
Florimo, Francesco	1830–88	Landscape	11.5–27 × 17–34	Bound leaves	I-Nc Rari 4.3.7	<http://www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Awww.internetculturale.sbn.it%2FTeca%3A20%3ANT0000%3AIT%5C%5CICCU%5C%5CMSM%5C%5C0160459&mode=all&teca=MagTeca++ICCU>
Dantan (Jeune), Jean-Pierre	1835–69	Landscape	29.3 × 42.5	Bound volume	F-Pn Res Vm7-537	
Horsley, Sophy	1832–62	Portrait	4.7 × 3.2	Bound volume	Private ownership	
Horsley, Fanny	1832–37	Portrait	11.7 × 9.5	Bound volume	GB-Ob MS. Eng. e.2182	
Kalbeck, Max	1873–1901	Portrait	20 × 13.5	Bound volume	Private ownership	<https://americanbrahmssociety.org/max-kalbecks-album/>
Fuchs, Aloys	1830–51	Uncertain	[21.6 × 18]	Bound volume	Private ownership	
Sayn-Wittgenstein, Marie von	1847–59	Portrait	27.5 × 21.1	Bound volume	D-WRgs GSA 60/Z 170	<https://ores.klassik-stiftung.de/ords/f?p=401:2:::::P2_ID:210890>

Album owner	Run time	Format (Landscape / Portrait)	Size (in cm) [Paper size]	Bound volume / Loose leaves	RISM sigle	Images online
Wesley, Eliza	1836–95	Portrait	28 × 23	Bound volume	GB-Lbl Add MS 35026	\<https://imslp.org/wiki/Eliza_Wesley%27s_Musical_Autograph_Album_(Various)>
Schröder-Devrient, Wilhelmine	1829–53	Portrait	28.4 × 24	Bound volume	D-WRgs GSA 25/W 366	\<https://ores.klassik-stiftung.de/ords/f?p=401:2:::::P2_ID:349672>
Vogt, Gustave	1831–56	Portrait	30.5 × 24	Bound volume	US-NYpm Cary 348	\<https://www.themorgan.org/music/manuscript/115865>
Hiller, Ferdinand	1825–84	Portrait	33 × 27	Bound leaves	D-KNa Bestand 1051, A 1	
Moscheles, Charlotte	1839–82	Portrait	35 × 27.5	Bound volume	Private ownership	
Klingemann (*née* Rosen), Sophie	1844–97	Portrait	uncertain	Bound volume	Original lost, copy exists: D-DTsta D 72 Rosen-Klingemann Nr. 75	

Contributors

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Robyn Dora Radway is Associate Professor of History at Central European University, Vienna, where she is a specialist in Habsburg Central Europe and Ottoman Hungary. Her first monograph, *Portraits of Empires: Habsburg Albums from the German House in Ottoman Constantinople* (Indiana University Press, 2023), is on a group of friendship and costume albums produced during Habsburg-Ottoman diplomatic exchanges.

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Index of manuscripts

The index includes albums, archival documents and other manuscripts discussed in this book. All manuscripts are listed with their identification number under the name of the city of the current holding institution, followed by the name of the institution (in the original language) and the collection (if any). Manuscripts with a common or established name are also listed accordingly (e.g. Polier Albums and St Petersburg Muraqqaʿ). It is common practice regarding many albums to refer to them using the name of their former owner or compiler (e.g. *Stammbuch* of Achatius zu Dohna-Schlobitten). Such albums are additionally listed under these personal names, which are, for reasons of standardisation, given in the order: first name, last name. Manuscripts that are referred to with RISM sigla in this book are equally listed under these sigla. Page numbers with an asterisk refer to illustrations.

– Cod. Guelf. 18.7. Aug.2° [= D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.7. Aug. 2° = lute book of Philipp Hainhofer]   42, 54
– Cod. Guelf. 18.8. Aug.2° [= D-W Cod. Guelf. 18.8. Aug. 2° = lute book of Philipp Hainhofer]   42, 47, 54
– Cod. Guelf. 206 Blank [= *album amicorum* of Lőrinc Gosztonyi]   73
– Cod. Guelf. 210 Extrav. [= D-W Cod. Guelf. 210 Extrav. = *Stammbuch* des Philipp Hainhofer]   42

Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv,
– VI Hs 13 Nr. 35 [= D-Wa VI Hs 13]   41

Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek,
– 115.3 [= D-Z 115.3 = lute book of Johannes Arpinus]   45, 50, 53–54

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– 10536 [= D-Zsch 10536 = album of Nanette Falk-Auerbach]   273
– 12899 [= D-Zsch 12899 = album of Emilie Steffens]   194, 271