THE CURSE OF THE CURSIVE: THE HORROR OF THE HAND IN FOLK HORROR FILM TYPOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyses typographic design, and the use of typefaces more broadly, in Folk Horror film and television. It will identify and analyze typography in the title and closing credits, within the films themselves, and in both contemporaneous and subsequent promotional materials. This analysis covers original 1970s films in the Folk Horror genre *The Wicker Man* (1973), *Blood on Satan's Claw* (1971) and *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975), as well as contemporary film and television which revisits the genre such as *Midsommar* (2019), *Inside Number 9 – The Trial of Elizabeth Gadge* (2015) and *A Field in England* (2013). The chapter identifies the prevalence of typographic design inspired by carvings and drawings by hand, as well as hand-drawn or 'daubed' writing, and explores the horror of the bygone and the curse of the cursive, in the contexts of craft and handicraft and as applied to typography. Horror films have a rich association with typefaces inspired by hand crafted modes of writing and often make use of glyphic typefaces (tapering typefaces inspired by stone carving), calligraphic typefaces (inspired by pen and ink calligraphy), blackletter or gothic typefaces (inspired by medieval illuminated manuscripts), or indeed hand drawn typefaces resembling claws, beasts, and dripping blood. This trend continued in the 1970s when typographic design was dominated by clean, modernist, mechanized sans serif font design, or decorative

typefaces drawing on Art Nouveau patterns. Establishing for general context the use of typography in classic horror films more widely, the chapter then proceeds to analyze the use in Folk Horror specifically and asks the question, why has handicraft become associated with Folk Horror?

CONTEXTS

The following analysis evaluates the use of typography and written forms in and around a representative sample of film media (intended as indicative rather than a conclusive statistically significant sample). While this analysis does look at the use of typography and written forms within the sample of films, the most substantial use of typography is within the 'paratexts' and so the main focus is the interrogation of the paratexts of the sample. 'Paratexts', (a term coined by Gerard Genette in his book of the same title), are those texts surrounding the main body text which operate as 'thresholds to interpretation' (Genette 1997, p 1). In a novel this may include the front cover, copyright and contents pages etc., and for a film it might be the classification card, opening credits and title. Often overlooked, paratexts play a subtle but significant role in creating atmosphere and acting as a vestibule for expectation. There are three primary areas identified for analysis then, firstly the use of typography within the promotional materials, secondly the use within the opening credits and title and finally the use within the films themselves.

Horror films have a rich association with typefaces inspired by hand crafted modes of writing and they often make use of four families, or genres, of typeface in particular: glyphic typefaces (TAPERING TYPEFACES INSPIRED BY STONE CARVING), calligraphic typefaces (*inspired by pen and ink calligraphy*), blackletter or gothic typefaces (**inspired by medieval illuminated manuscripts**), or indeed graphic typefaces (hand drawn typefaces

which could draw on all sorts of literal visualization or iconography but for instance might resemble claws, beasts, and dripping blood). These families of typefaces are all related to one another (indeed there's some overlap) and they draw heavily on media forms which pre-date print media. For the purpose of this chapter we can consider this group of typefaces as stylized (drawing on the etymology of the stylus), and pre movable type. These sets of letterforms existed in the written word prior to the invention of movable type printing and also dominated the first generation of movable type printing as typographers attempted to replicate cursive scripts. The first major book printed using movable type was Gutenberg's bible in 1454, and it was printed in 'Textura' a blackletter font derived from hand scribed biblical manuscripts although 'roman types began to appear as early as 1465' (Shaw, 1998, p 96). From the 1460s we begin to see the introduction of 'old style' typefaces, a set of roman typefaces which take more advantage of the constraints of movable type publishing and turn away from mimicking calligraphic strokes; these became the familiar book publishing typefaces of the 19th century: fonts like

Bembo, Garamond, and Times New Roman.

Figure 1 – Original Illustration of Typeface Genres

Yet removed one step further are the typographic families of didone and the neo-grotesque. Didone typefaces are high contrast typefaces which exaggerate some of the mechanized qualities of post movable type letterforms and generally eschew calligraphic ornamentation; these sorts of typefaces appear on 60s album covers, billboards and fashion magazines. The neo-grotesque, emerging out of the Swiss school, are the plain, neutral, sans-serif fonts that have come to be so pervasive on our streets and in all media; typefaces like Helvetica, Arial and Univers. Neo-grotesque typefaces, which are rendered especially legible on screen based media, have become ubiquitous, especially in the post-digital context.

The analysis summarized in table 1 demonstrates that, while typographic design in the 1970s drew mainly from post movable type families (Old Style, **Didone** and Neo-Grotesque) the sample of Folk Horror films of the same period used primarily pre movable type families (Graphic, *Calligraphic*, GLYPHIC and **Blackletter**). And in the contemporary post-digital context where the neo-grotesque is ubiquitous, the sample of Folk Horror film largely uses Old Style (associated with early printing by hand rather than digital reproduction). An illustration of this trend can be seen in the summary table of section 5. So while typographic design was dominated by either clean, modernist, mechanized sans serif font design, or **decorative typefaces drawing on Art Nouveau designs** and **high contrast Didones**, why and how do horror films, and Folk Horror films more specifically, deviate from the typographical conventions of their era?

TYPOGRAPHY IN HORROR FILMS

The horror genre has a rich history of typographical experimentation in the use of paratexts (cf. Alworth, 2018) and often has deviated from contemporaneous typographical and design trends. Very frequently, and especially in B Movie film posters, this is through literal visual representation and graphic typefaces, 'Where are the claws? The fangs? The hair?' (Alworth, p 1125). And while dominated by graphic typefaces, the horror genre in the late 20th century (both in books and films) tended to draw from the pre movable type set of families.

Figure 2 – Original reconstruction of film titles in the commercial typeface from which they were derived

Taking a look at some of the most iconic movie posters of the 70s and 80s corroborates this general trend in our time frame: **The Exorcist** (1973) for instance, uses a glyphic typeface closely resembling Albertus or ITC Symbol, the **Halloween** (1978) posters and paratexts use a variation of a gothic font, and The Omen (1976) and Frightmare (1983) both use graphic typefaces, the former evoking decay and abstract blotching, the latter specifically blood. So if Horror in general tends to draw on the pre movable type family of typeface sets (and especially the graphic set) how does the sub-genre Folk Horror differ?

The paratexts of classic Folk Horror films tend to draw on pre movable type typefaces, especially the calligraphic set. *Blood on Satan's Claw* (1971) is famous for the use of hand-drawn furry lettering, from which emerges claws and blood, and it has variously been branded using hand-drawn lettering, glyphic typography and calligraphic typography. The opening titles and title (totally anomalously within this sample of six canonical Folk Horror films analyzed here) uses a neo-grotesque typeface: Helvetica (*IN ALL CAPS AND ITALICIZED, WHITE WITH A BLACK SHADOW*). The two original theatrical posters

both use hand-drawn zoomorphic lettering for the film titles, one has jagged serifs resembling hand cut lettering and barbed (devil) tails (1970), and the more famous uses hairy letters with three blood dripping claws emerging from the 'w' (1971). Of course the hand plays a crucial role in the symbolism of the horror in this film and there is substantial reference to both works of the hand more generally and handwriting throughout the film; the priest quotes from a substantial scribed bible while foregrounded by a quill and ink for sermon writing, the doctor looks up the demon in a hand scribed manuscript with illuminations; it is potentially a cursed script which calls up the demon. There is a tension here between Christian and pre-Christian histories, and a dramatization of the extent to which we can trust our hands to write those histories, and this is a debate typical to Folk Horror, Cowdell argues that the sub-genre is analogous to the Folkloresque in that they take an antiquarian approach (Cowdell, p 305), and at least some of the horror is derived from a failure to document or confine to documentation the unstable past.

Of the six Folk Horror films discussed here *The Wicker Man* (1973) uses typographic design in the most bold, iconic, and consistent way. Both of the original theatrical posters, the title credits, and the title for The Wicker Man use Codex, a calligraphic typeface named after a general term for hand-written manuscripts, and evoking Christian and pre-Christian codices documenting pre-Christian phenomena. In occurrences of the actual title 'The Wicker Man,' in both the title of the film and the promotional material, Codex is used in a bespoke way with a modified 'M' and 'N' which has an even longer calligraphic descender than the commercial typeface glyphs. The first card of the film is set all in Codex on a black background and sets the fiction up to be a documentary. From there the opening credits, which depict Sergeant Howie's seaplane journey over Western Scotland to Summerisle, are at 8 minutes and 50 seconds extraordinarily long, and memorably set the names of the cast in

Codex over stunning scenery. There is minimal writing within the film (some humanist typefaces for sign posts for instance) but the calligraphic introductory context is impactful and evokes a conflict that pre-dates print media and the Enlightenment. The 2006 remake of The Wicker Man pays homage to this opening sequence with (by modern standards) a very long opening credit roll at 5 minutes, which uses Codex over the Washington State scenery, although the title itself is not in Codex but a hideous graphic font featuring barbed wire and about as congruous and tasteful as the rest of the film.

Figure 3 – Screenshot from The Wicker Man (2006)

Outside of the British tradition, *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975) is discussed in terms of Folk Horror in Scovell (2017, p. 111), but it has a different topography entirely, as spooky colonial schoolgirls venture into the Australian wild. The film uses a bespoke and highly ornate typeface for the title in both the promotional materials and opening titles. In the original poster (1975) there is a bespoke calligraphic cursive title in red lettering with very substantial hand drawn flourishes on the three uppercase letters. The opening titles also use a very similar bespoke calligraphic and cursive typeface, hand drawn, with flourishes on the uppercase letters, but in this instance the text is white over the largely khaki scenery. This ornamented and stylized calligraphic typeface is reminiscent of stylized 20th century fountain pen calligraphy and although we do not see any text within the film written by the girls, we see them writing frequently (in exercise books and in order to memorize poems) and a

connection can be drawn between the two styles. The fine nature of the strokes in this calligraphic font, and the cursive quality, is very much not glyphic (derived from stone carved lettering) and would be impossible to die cut (i.e. they are necessarily made by a pen and could not be made readily for movable type printing). This tension perhaps speaks to the tension in the film between the supposed delicate and fine standards of the institution and the monolithic stone landscape which threatens and challenges that normalcy; the aesthetic also has colonial connotations as a very European style of writing fails to make sense of the happenings in the Australian countryside.

The short sample of popular 1970s films listed in the summary table would seem to suggest film media at the time relied heavily on standardized post lead type typography, especially old style, didone and art nouveau typefaces. On the other hand, the classic set of Folk Horror films analyzed here employ almost exclusively stylized pre lead type typography and in the main make use of calligraphic typefaces reminiscent of hand scribing. Ideas of documentation, hand recorded history and Christian codices (in some cases attempting to record and document pre-Christian phenomena) are evoked implicitly through the use of typography in the texts and paratexts, and both the written object and acts of writing in these modes, also make explicit appearances in the narrative of these films.

TYPOGRAPHY IN CONTEMPORARY FOLK HORROR FILM

This section provides examples from contemporary Folk Horror film and television all released during the 2010s and which make knowing reference to the genre. In the case of these films the paratexts and in text engagement with writing similarly tends to utilize pre

movable type calligraphic typefaces, but also makes use of the 'old style' set of standardized typefaces.

The Trial of Elizabeth Gadge (2015) is a silly and delightful comic horror and as an episode forms a standalone narrative film within the *Inside Number 9* anthology series written and created by Reece Shearsmith and Steve Pemberton (who also play the lead roles). *Inside Number 9* is a popular BBC black horror comedy series comprising of 25-30 minute episodes, each of which consists of a standalone narrative and takes place entirely within a property whose address is number 9. This particular episode performs a pastiche of *The Witchfinder General* and centres on the farcical botched trial of Elizabeth Gadge by witchfinders Warren and Clark. The term Folk Horror was coined by Piers Haggard, director of *Blood on Satan's Claw* and it came into prominence following Mark Gatiss' interview with him for a three-part documentary in 2010. It is interesting to note that Gatiss is strongly associated with Pemberton and Shearsmith who have also written about horror genres and have other connections with horror and Folk Horror specifically (the three initially met through drama school, and they first met commercial success in their co-creation *The League of Gentlemen*, and Gatiss makes an appearance in later episodes of *Inside Number 9*). So clearly the episode is pastiche, emerging out of a rich context of love for and knowledge of the intricacies of the genre. How does the typography compare? Well both the promotional materials and the episode specific titling for *The Trial of Elizabeth Gadge* (each episode is also framed within series titling of course) use an 'old style' typeface which is very similar to Bembo or Day Roman, but may even be a stylized version of Garamond. Exact identification of the typeface is made challenging because of the semi-graphic presentation. The presentation of this type is somewhat graphic in the sense that it is not solid digital lettering, but it resembles a scan of photographic copy of a blotchy print i.e. rather than use a digital

typeface directly the designers have created a graphic image of a hand printed lead type title with signs either of over inked type or a too absorbent substrate, which is directly connected to and invokes manual pre-mechanized methods. There is also a combination of standard, italics and titling glyphs, reminiscent of title page layouts in pre-19th century printing. The episode title card also makes use of printers ornaments, which are decorative icons used by lead type printers and inspired by some of the ornamentation in illuminated manuscripts. The ornaments used here are two fleurons or perhaps acorns [more rounded but not dissimilar to: ❧], and a cross pattée [✠](i.e. associated primarily with the Teutonic Knights and the crusades). Additionally this title card also presents the *Number 9* building number (in this episode that of the courthouse) as a black cast iron piece in a gothic calligraphic font which could even conceivably be a blackletter number [𝔑]. The episode itself draws on themes of the literal writing and documenting of folk history, which a particular emphasis on judicial and clerical histories; there is a gag about the drawing of the likeness of the judges (rather than a photograph), and the witchfinders Warren and Clark are constantly note taking with pen and quill. Interestingly although the acts of writing depicted within the film are cursive hand-written script the typefaces used in the paratext are from a post-medieval printing practice (albeit old fashioned to the contemporary eye). This is a marked difference from the unholy trinity era of Folk Horror.

Another knowing contemporary revisiting of the sub-genre is Ari Aster's *Midsommar* (2019), which self-consciously engages with Folk Horror and picks up some of the motifs from the midsummer festivities in *The Wicker Man.* This is also a film which could be read as ostensibly about digital detox, in that the protagonist is depicted in a framing scene to have suffered extreme trauma related in part to her use of (or failure to correctly use) digital messaging, before escaping to a remote rural Swedish community that is cut off from mobile

communications. There is a clear typographic shift too as the protagonist, partner and friends travel from the digital text world of the framing scene to the remote village. Central to the village community depicted in *Midsommar* are traditional hand-crafted practices, and the culture of the village is overtly concerned with hand painted text.

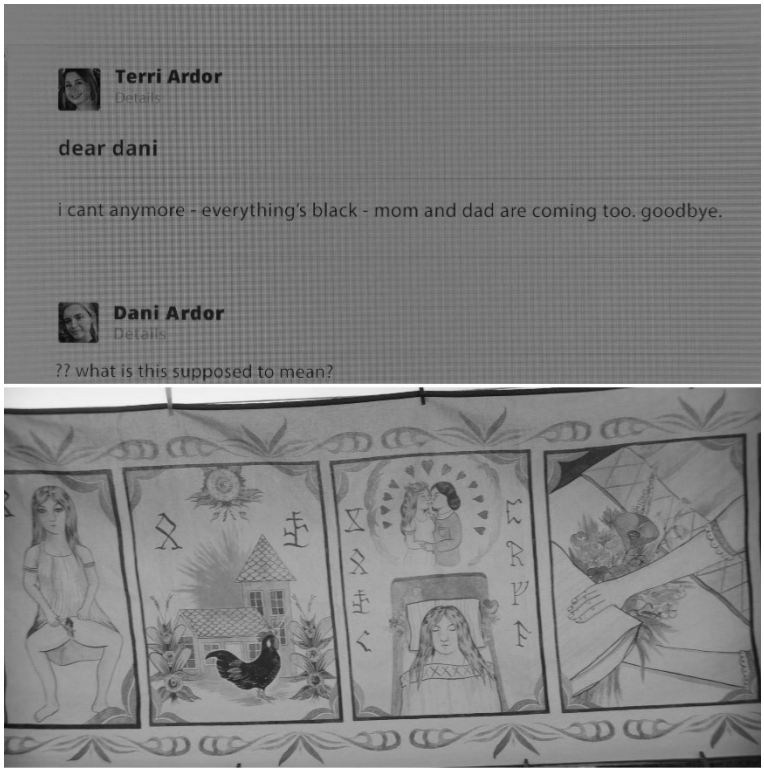

Figure 4 – Typography before and after in the fictive urban US and rural Sweden in Midsommar (2019)

Hand painted text appears on almost all of the internal walls and in the holy-books and folk history (which are presented as essentially the same thing). Indeed access to this handmade folk history and a set of hand carved runic texts is an important part of the plot as competing visiting PhD students transgress the expected code of conduct in the village in a race to document this unique folk history. Apart from the presence of text in the film itself, the marketing material is also quite interesting, both typographically and in the use of a hoax festival advert. Prior to the release of the theatrical trailer *Midsommar* was advertised as a

real festival in a viral marketing campaign (see figure 3). The marketing materials use an old style serif for the titles and subtitles, and in particular a poster serif which closely resembles Perpetua Roman. Much like the typography used for *The Trial of Elizabeth Gadge* this is not a solid digital font, but a graphic typeface which is either hand printed or made to look like it is hand printed, and in this case textured with the grain of woodblock printing (wood type is used in movable type printing for larger fonts and poster titling due to the lower material costs). Here again the content of the film depicts pre movable type writing practices, and the marketing materials use early printing methods which read as old-fashioned and overtly manual to a post-digital audience.

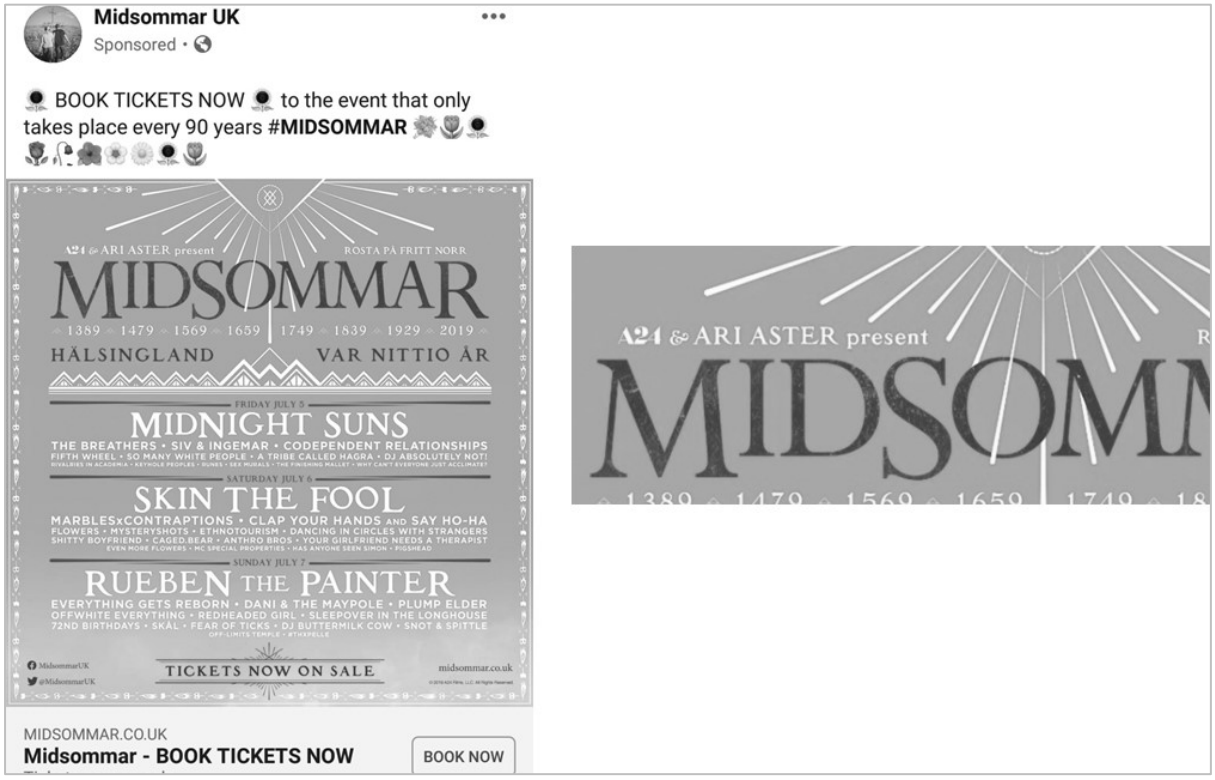

Figure 3 – Midsommar Viral marketing campaign, and enhanced detail (2019)

Finally Ben Wheatley's *A Field in England* (2013), which incidentally also stars Reece Shearsmith, was shot in black and white and is set during the English Civil War, and is another example of contemporary Folk Horror which makes a clear attempt to engage with

the sub-genre. Again there are allusions to *Witchfinder General* (1968), as well as *Winstanley* (1975), and the film depicts the violent clash between Catholic and Pagan traditions. There are two posters used to promote the film (both 2012). The first one uses a hand cut calligraphic typeface (resembling and probably based on Lydian) over a woodcut illustration and the other uses a high contrast stylized didone font '**JUANITA CONDENSED**' in hand cut lettering as part of a screenprint. Both posters use a hand cut font appropriate to their respective traditional and manual printing methods. While within the film there is no substantial representation of the act of writing, the MacGuffin is a set of stolen documents that Whitehead is trying to recover and which he eventually returns to the hedgerow. The title card of the film is also presented in the calligraphic typeface Lydian which is somewhat evocative of traditional sign painting and cut lettering (see figure 2). The film was shot over 12 days in a black and white hand-held style and has the aesthetic of a historic documentary, and this chimes with Wheatley's entry point into the film via historicity, which emerged out of documenting historical re-enactment societies. So in both promotional materials and the paratext (and indeed the visual style of the film) there is nostalgic reference to the media of the past, and typographically there are especially references to the hand-made; the film is concerned with documentation leading to an alchemical treasure which doesn't really exist which runs alongside a depiction of hallucinatory experiences and playing with ideas of what folk histories we can and cannot trust.

In this sample of contemporary Folk Horror films then, which self consciously refer back to the classic set, there does seem to be a slight shift in the use of typography. There is still some use of stylized pre lead type typography, especially calligraphic typefaces, and in two cases the film content makes writing by hand central to the story, but there is also increased use of standardized old-style serifs, albeit in conspicuously hand printed representations. The

short sample of contemporary film typography also seems to indicate a shift in general since the 1970s, and in this case it is emphatically towards the increase use of neo-grotesque sans serif fonts (like Helvetica and Arial); compared with this set of typefaces the old-style serifs certainly look old-fashioned and subtly evoke a generic past, especially when presented in a manual and pre-mechanized style.

SUMMARY TABLE

		Stylized (pre lead type styles)				Standardized (post lead type)		
		Graphic	Calligraphic	Blackletter / Gothic	Glyphic	Old Style Serif	Art-nouveau serifs & didones	Neo-grotesque sans serif
Classic Folk Horror Films								
Blood on Satan's Claw	Promotional materials	X						
	Opening Title							X
	Featured within film	X		X				
The Wicker Man	Promotional materials		X					
	Opening Title		X					
	Featured within film		X		X			
Picnic at Hanging Rock	Promotional materials		X					
	Opening Title		X					
	Featured within film		X			X		
Contemporary Folk Horror Films								
The Trial of Elizabeth Gadge	Promotional materials					X		
	Opening Title					X		
	Featured within film		X					
Midsommar	Promotional materials					X		
	Opening Title					X		
	Featured within film		X		X			
A Field in England	Promotional materials		X				X	
	Opening Title		X					
	Featured within film							
Popular Films of the Early 70s*								
The Sting	Promotional materials						X	
	Opening Title						X	
Blazing Saddles	Promotional materials					X		
	Opening Title					X		
Billy Jack	Promotional materials						X	X
	Opening Title							X
Popular Contemporary Films*								
1917	Promotional materials							X
	Opening Title							X
Avengers End Game	Promotional materials							X
	Opening Title							X
Star Wars: The Last Jedi	Promotional materials							X
	Opening Title							X

**Provided for comparison the highest grossing films in the US between 1971 & 1974 (excluding horror films), and the highest grossing films in the US between 2015 & 2021 (excluding horror films)*

Typography and Handicraft

A common feature across the horror genre is the representation of the trans-temporal Freudian Uncanny, typically appearing as characters are haunted by a monstrous emergence or resurgence as a metaphor for 'something which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which has become alienated from it only through the process of repression' (Freud, 833). In this sense the way that these two sets of Folk Horror films use the typography of historic media to invoke and in some cases depict historical documents, could be seen as in line with common representations of horror more generally. More specifically the displacement of time in Folk Horror is often situated at the point of interaction between two world views: Christian and pre-Christian, Catholic and Pagan, scientific and spiritual, and so the use of calligraphic typefaces which are inspired by medieval manuscripts also aligns to the symbolism of the genre. This historicity has been widely identified in Folk Horror, Walsh for instance notes the 'diligent attention to a range of textual traditions' in *The VVitch* (2015) which continues the sub-genre tradition of generating a feeling of historical authenticity, which in turn might increase the impact of the uncanny.

As well as temporal displacement, and the emergence of monsters from the past, Folk Horror also often represents socio-geographic displacement and emergence of monstrosity in rural environments. Sergeant Howie travels to Summerisle just as Dani travels to the Hårga, the children in *Picnic at Hanging Rock* venture into the outback, *The Witchfinder General* tells the story of witch-hunters from the city travelling through the villages of East Anglia. In many ways what is at stake is the clash between the civis, that is to say city values and "civilization," which is often presented as complacent or even arrogant, coming into contact with potentially potent and surprising forces emerging from rural living. In Folk Horror terms this has been identified as a 'topophobia' of rural landscapes (Thurgill). The depicted writing

involved is often an attempt to map out, chart, document, and rationalize these forces (sometimes in a doomed way), and so evocation of these historic writing styles also makes sense in terms of the use of those modes of writing in the legal and social documents associated with enclosure and governance. Perhaps a modern audience distanced from the idealized manual and bodily nature of rural living and centred in the civis, yearns for the violent disruption of administrative documentation.

While the contemporary Folk Horror films do make some use of stylized typography, especially that calligraphic type evoking the codices, they also make substantial use of standardized old-style typefaces. As these typefaces are increasingly going out of fashion, perhaps this does some of the work of evoking a trans-temporal uncanny, giving a general sense of something old. But the graphical presentation of these old-style typefaces, where they have been printed manually or made to look as though they've been printed manually (i.e by woodcut, movable type or screen-printing), much like the earlier calligraphic and cursive sets, evokes handicraft and literally works of the hand. Why is the hand-made and hand-crafted associated with horror? Could it be that the horror is derived from what we recognize of ourselves in an investment in handicraft, or in other words, that these films are exposing the horrors of the contemporary vogue for the hand-made and hand-crafted? This is an age of craft-ale, sandwich artists, and a proliferation of increasingly technical ways to make a cup of coffee. It has been an age of hipsters, who arguably put the 'I' in handicraft, and attempt to perform authentic experiences of hand crafts. The party of travelers in *Midsommar* for instance move from a digital and connected urban environment, to something "simpler" and more orientated to the hand crafted. Are these cautionary tales of us becoming too technical? If so does the typographic expression reflect that?

CONCLUSIONS

Although of course limited in scope and sample size this investigation does seem to indicate that there is a relationship between handicraft and typographic design depicted within and as used in the promotional materials of Folk Horror films both in the classic 1970s era and the contemporary examples of the genre. While the Folk Horror films of the 1970s rely heavily on stylized pre lead type typography especially the calligraphic set (compared with the contemporaneous normal use of standardized fonts) the contemporary examples do use calligraphic fonts, but also use old style typefaces made to look "printed by hand" (compared with the contemporary preference for sans serifs). So why is there a difference? There have been several attempts to attribute the popularity of Folk Horror in the 1970s and its revival in the 2010s, perhaps most convincingly Sweeney's expansion of 'Hauntology,' but it is convincing because it is open to the presence of multiple hauntings, which might include the spectre of neo-liberalism, the totality of capitalism, nostalgia for the 1970s or indeed the emergence of Brexit, but also any number of international or local political and social phenomena. Sweeney suggests that 'nostalgia for being haunted can only ever be reflective as it is a longing for anything other than stasis,' which might suggest the type of media nostalgia bridged across the two eras of Folk Horror analyzed here, hints at acts of resistance to various principles and discourses. Both 1970s and 2010s sets of Folk Horror film use the same set of techniques (including typography) to evoke trans-geographic and trans-historical horrors disrupting authoritative discourses, but they don't all necessarily frustrate the same specific discourses. For some it might be a response to Brexit, or the horror of the neo-liberal end to history, yet others investigate our fears of the totality of technology and digitization.

Essentially both phases of Folk Horror have typographical uses which represent a bygone media-form and a manual media-form, evoking the displacement of time we might typically

associate with horror genre cinema, but also a clash between a regulated and mechanized discourse and aesthetic, and a more organic and hand-crafted aesthetic. This representational strategy could be seen as a presentation of the failure of regulated and mechanized typography (and to a certain extent writing in general) to codify, rationalize and control, the monstrous phenomena which appear in Folk Horror narratives. These are stories about the failure to capture and contain history in writing, the humanistic fallibility of writing history, and as such the prominence of hand-made written forms should hardly be surprising. Furthermore while the invocation of organic hand-work is certainly humanistic, it also foreshadows the presence of something unutterable, unintelligible and potentially illegible.

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