TEXTUAL CULTURES

Texts, Contexts, Interpretation

14:2

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Textual Cultures 14.2

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Editors' Note

With this issue of *Textual Cultures*, the STS community commemorates the scholarly legacy of David C. Greetham, October 21, 1941–March 24, 2020. David's commitment to scholarly virtue — that is to say, scholarly excellence that engenders communal prospering — was perpetual and peerless. In his erudition, rigor, and generosity he embodied the spirit of this Society, of which he was a founding member. His many works, among them *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (1992); *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research* (1995); *The Margins of the Text: Editorial Theory and Literary Criticism* (1997); *Textual Transgressions: Essays Toward the Construction of a Biobibliography* (1998); *Theories of the Text* (1999); and *The Pleasures of Contamination* (2010), together unfold a comprehensive account of the evolving practices of bibliography, textual studies, and scholarly editing in and for our times. Concepts such as *Textual forensics* (1996) would have soon proved seminal for the context of digital textuality. His far-sighted vision as an editor for *TEXT,* the earlier incarnation of this very journal, is, we hope, still manifest in these pages.

The contents of the current issue signal the range of David's foundational contributions to the field. Ralph Hanna's opening reflections on a life lived among books and manuscripts, "Adventures in Libraries: Thoughts on Epistemology" and Manuel Portela's closing call for our embrace of "An Evolutionary Textual Environment: The Unfinished Machine", serve as the clasp for an issue that assembles essays on archive studies, bibliography, and scholarly editing (Neville's "The Accidentals Tourist", Bryant's "Editing Versions", Cohen and Gray's "Designing a Variorum", Phillips's "New Approaches to Virginia Woolf's Late Archive"); on the hermeneutic dimension of textual criticism (Young's "Textual Continuity", Dionísio's "Metalepsis in a narrative piece by M. S. Lourenço", Grazioli's "Giacomo Casanova et Cecille von Roggendorff: lettres de sa dernière correspondante"); on early textual traditions in music (Broude's "Music's Textual

Dilemma: Mistrusting Musical Texts", Pfeffer's "Attributing Another Song to Maroie de Diergnau de Lille"), and on textual contamination (Tonello's "Tipologie di contaminazione nella tradizione testuale della 'Commedia' dantesca").

David's early achievements included his substantial contribution to the 1975 edition of John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* (1245), *On the Properties of Things*. Organized into nineteen books spanning a wild range of subjects — God and the celestial realm, the body and the senses, seasons, regions, stones, plants, animals, geometry, and music — Trevisa's medieval compendium was also a vehicle for negotiating and destabilizing the world. To turn into David Greetham's encyclopedic work in our field is to feel the influence of his first muse. His work, moreover, synthesizing and translating key concepts in textual criticism from the past and the present, often rendered the encyclopedic lyric. Thus while David left us no poem separate from his scholarship, Trevisa's devotional verse at the opening of *On the Properties of Things* partly conveys the restlessness that distinguished David's scholarly imagination as well as his joyful openness to the stakes of "this game":

> In nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti, Amen. Assit principio sancta maria meo
>
> + Croys was maad al of reed [red]
> In the bigynnynge of my book,
> That is clepid, "god me spede,"
> In the firste lessoun that I took.
> Thanne I lerned a and Be,
> And othir lettres by here names,
> But alwey "god spede me,"
> That is me nedeful in alle games.
> If I pleyde in felde, othir in medes,
> Outhir stille, outhir with noyce,
> I prey[d]e help in alle wise
> Of hym that deyde vppon the croyce.
> Now diuers pleyes in his name
> I schal let passe forth, and fare
> And auenture to pleye oo longe game.
> Also, and I schal spare
> Woodes, medes, and feldes,
> Place that I haue pleyed inne;

And, in his name that al thing weldes,
This game now I schal bigynne;
And praye help, counseile, and rede,
To me that he wole sende,
And this game reule and lede,
And bringe hit to a good ende.[1]

David C. Greetham's scholarship "hit to a good ende". God spede, friend and dear colleague, god spede.

Marta Werner &
Michelangelo Zaccarello

1. From British Library, Additional MS 27944, f. 8a. (England, c. 1410).

Adventures in Libraries

Thoughts on Epistemology

Ralph Hanna

Abstract

This essay recounts lessons learned over a career studying medieval manuscripts and the stories of those who made, used, and collected them. Medieval books long outlast their intended or original audiences and have fascinating cultural interactions that extend to the present. What this most pressingly throws up for me is ways of knowing things, and the epistemological value of memory. One needs to store away the little anomalies that one encounters — and be prepared for them to surface without bidding in some new context where they might prove generative. If humility might be a first perquisite of scholarly work, certainly memory would be a second. The essay originated as a lecture, delivered remotely in March 2021 for the Renaissance Studies Center at the Newberry Library in Chicago, IL.

Well, as you've heard, my trade is known as palaeography. This I understand in a considerably wider sense than merely being a penmanship engineer; as the old joke says, palaeographers are commonly known as people who will date almost anything. My iteration, although I *can* date many medieval north European scripts and although what I do has made me mainly a library-rat, is the broader 'book-history'. Books are obviously there, in whatever form they take, to communicate texts; as such, they are embedded in communities — of authorship, transmission, and reception. Moreover, medieval books in particular long outlast their intended or original audiences and have fascinating cultural interactions that extend to the present. All this is fun (and may eventually lead to something of interest to someone else), but it's a discovery procedure and what it most pressingly throws up for me is ways of knowing things.

With that in mind, you might look at our first poster-boy, an image of a page from Oxford, Merton College, MS 249 (see Fig 1). For what it's worth (and it's the least of my interests here), this page conveys a piece of a tract written around 1200 to teach preachers how to compose sermons (the hand, another lesser interest, is of c. 1220–1240). More trivial knowledge: the text is by an otherwise unknown Richard of Thetford, it's called

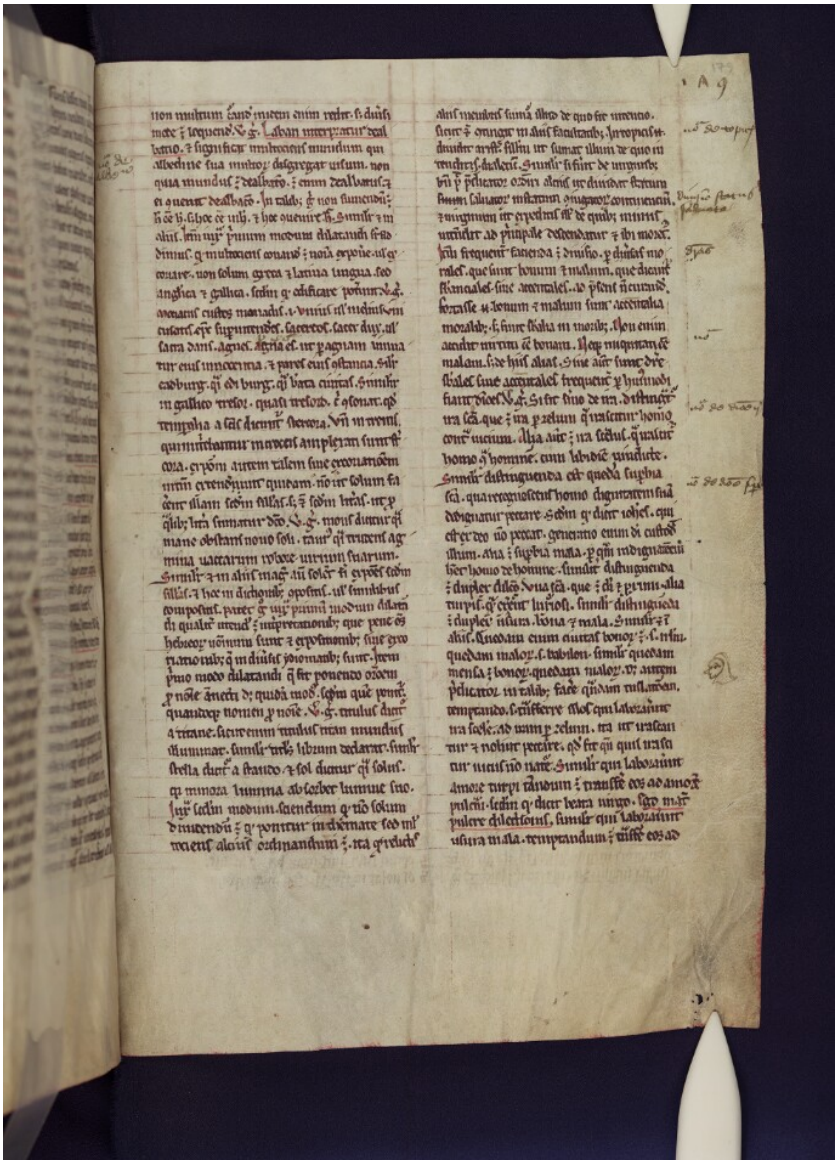


Figure 1. Oxford, Merton College, MS 249, fol. 179r. Image courtesy of the Warden and Fellows of Merton College, Oxford.[1]

1. For a detail of this image, see the cover image of Ralph Hanna's *Patient Reading/Reading Patience: Oxford Essays on Medieval English Literature*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020.

'Ars dilatandi sermones' [the art of expanding sermons] and addresses the basic need to develop and exemplify doctrinal points in a way moving and memorable to an audience; for a tract of this type, it had an unusually extensive circulation, about thirty surviving copies all the way to c. 1500, and a circulation that covered most of western Europe, not just England.

That's what we might call 'old-style-pal'. More important for me is the way I stumbled across this, for stumble I did, and why I treasure this scrap. A text that has engaged me for years and that underwrites much of what I do was written by an Oxford local, the Welshman Walter Map, sometime in the 1160s or 1170s; it's a fake private-letter a fake Valerius sent to a fake recipient, Rufinus, called 'the dissuasion to convince him not to get married'. All this fakery extends to the fiction that the letter was composed late in the first century A.D., and that it's an exchange between two old Roman cronies, wedded to classical authors and to mythology, among other things exchanging literary gossip. It would not be exaggeration to say that every literate European well into the sixteenth century knew this text, or at least pieces of it; while it appears to unearth every conceivable trope of medieval anti-feminism, it wittily exposes all of them as silly. It's a text central to my interests because I'm perpetually fascinated by sober medieval Christians' interest in classical culture, not just texts, citing Seneca or Cicero here and there, but extending to historical minutiae and pagan myth (including such salacious things as Venus's adultery with Mars).

Merton 249 has a pretty old and pretty good text of Map's 'dissuasion'. So, one day in 2013, I thought I would go along and see what I could figure out about its communication to an audience in this copy. In pre-print culture books are always produced for people you know. For what it's worth, I think Merton 249 was originally for Augustinian canons, probably at Coventry or Kenilworth in Shakespeare country, but eventually, after a bout in lay hands not far away in southern Warwickshire in the late thirteenth century, passing through a series of canons of Rochester cathedral in the southeast; one of these Rochester men had mentored a lad who ended up as bishop of Chichester on the south coast, and he, in his turn, gave this, with ninety-nine other books, to Merton in 1374. There's a good deal of stuff for a book-historian to work with here, travels all over southern England, different owners with potentially differing and selective interests, and so forth. But as I pursued my study, I browsed around in the other, not-Walter-Map/Valerius texts in Merton 249, just to get some sense of what the people who had originally assembled the book had thought they were doing. And in the process, I quite literally stumbled across what you've got in front of you.

This passage intrigues me because it is quinti-lingual — implicitly Hebrew and Greek (both presented in Latin), Latin, early Middle English, and early French. I simply give you the last bit of the argument, starting at the end of the sixteenth line in the first column:

> Similarly, in French, the word "treasure/tresor" might be interpreted as "very dirty/tres ord". This is appropriate because holy people call worldly goods dung. Thus, Lam 4:5 says "They that were brought up in scarlet have embraced the dung".

Richard offers all this information to demonstrate how the preacher can expand points by offering etymologies for key terms. Now this little discussion appeals to me for deep reasons that have nothing to do with why I was reading Merton 249 in the first place. I grew up in a quadri- or quinti-lingual household (and where and when I grew up, it was far from unusual for people to be multilingually embedded); it's probably one reason why I'm fascinated by medieval England, where trilingualism was obligatory. But it's a situation that complicates and deepens the notion of community and of transmission; among other things, multilingualism is both sustaining and homey while simultaneously exclusionary and estranging.

That's the story behind the image in Figure 1. It does have a modest, but revelatory afterlife. I ended up doing a fair amount of reading around in Richard of Thetford, including the versions of the text in other Oxford manuscripts, and published a little thing about this passage and Richard's general gambit. I've never returned to Walter Map's contribution to Merton 249 (or to Map in this vein generally), maybe a couple of paragraphs in an article about something else entirely. In terms of what I thought I was doing when I trotted off to Merton that morning, the day was pretty much a wash-out. Except, of course, it wasn't: I had found Richard of Thetford and been stimulated into thinking that general public preaching in thirteenth-century (and later) England might have counted on oral comprehension of languages other than English. This, in its turn, raises some very broad questions about textual transmission, that one might be attuned to hearing the language of the text, however it is recorded, as saying something in a language not overtly present.

But there are broader morals to draw here, ones that have nothing to do with the reception of classical culture, or parodic texts, or even the language mixture that had fascinated me, but simply with being human and pursuing knowledge. I went to Merton with a program in mind. I was going to try to find out how Map's 'dissuasion' had worked in one medieval

context — and I had vague thoughts that this might be something that would extend into 'a project', some kind of extensive view of Map's text and its insertion in various medieval situations. What I found of value, as I see it, was something quite apart from such a project-centredness, entirely serendipitous (I don't think I'd ever heard of Richard of Thetford when I entered the Merton library doors), only adventitiously connected to what I thought I was doing, and only sensible through a kind of lateral leap — it linked up with something else that's valuable to me (as an as yet unindoctrinated child, wanting to know what my parents were saying in Spanish or my great aunts in fractured Galliziener).

I draw from this experience, a pretty typical example of me attempting to do research, several morals, most of them basically having to do with the virtue of humility. First of all, it is all very well to have 'a project', a fixed center for research and a steady eye on what these days is known as 'a research outcome'. But however hard you choose to go at it, you should never let it consume or absorb you. That happens when you keep your eye on 'outcome' — and keep your eye only there. If you determine in advance what your goal is, you will certainly achieve it — and you will achieve only it alone. You're in the position of saying, 'OK, I am now an expert on X. I said I would produce this quantum of X-related material, and now I have done so. Q.E.D.'. The argumentative gambit of announcing 'a project' and then concluding it simply puts you within a closed circle. And consider all the things outside it you haven't addressed — plate-tectonics or astrophysics, for example — and measure what you might guess about them against what you do know.

Those are not just idle examples. Many basic projects are conceived in such a way as to occlude or render others impossible. Many of you may be involved in one or another form of editorial project, perhaps with ancient languages with reasonably fixed spelling systems. When dealing with vernacular texts, the rules are different; one reports only what are conventionally designated 'substantive variants', those affecting sense. But vernaculars have no fixed spelling and are thus localizable, as written reproductions of spoken dialect forms — in the case of medieval English within about a fifteen-mile radius. Reporting only 'substantives' does illuminate the textual transmission; copies that share the same errors must be linked to one another, since they are drawing on the same exemplar, a physical object that had to travel somewhere. Yet the editorial regimen for vernacular texts entirely obscures the data that would actually localize any copy, since it is suppressed as non-substantive spelling variation — and thus one loses

exactly that detail from which one might speculate about patrons, their connections, projected use of the book, etc.

Productive things happen either when you interrogate what you think your goal is, or when you are prepared to modify it (because it no longer suits), or when you are distracted from it and have to ask what your distraction means about the goal you originally had. One of the worst enemies to scholarship is a clear sense that you know what you are doing, that you actually control the data, as it were. The great lesson I learned from my undergraduate mentors was not, for example, 'What is Dickens's novel *Great Expectations* about?' The question they always asked was, bizarrely enough, 'Who are you when you are reading Dickens?' or 'Are you now the same person as you were when you were reading *Wuthering Heights* last week?' The questions were supposed to make you think about the entire educational project in which you were engaged, how it interfaced with being the person you are (or were or might become), what it exposed about your limitations.

Another question out of the same school, 'How do you know what you don't know?' (The alternative, more biographically keyed version was 'How do you know when you are lost?') The question that follows from that one is, 'If you can know what you don't know, how can you go find it out?', an invitation to something other than a 'project', but rather to an imaginative thought-experiment that would lead you to recognize, not control, some gap/hiatus/lacuna, and to imagine what you would need to know to fill your emptiness, and then to imagine what kinds of helps might exist and where you might have to go to find them. That is how knowledge, both of subject and of self, proceeds.

The answer to queries like this lies in memory. That in many ways tells you who you are now and offers you the clues that tell you where you are or should be going. But it is equally the beginning and guide to all scholarship. First of all, you must remember your ancestors, the scholars who came before you and addressed problems like — as well as tangentially like — those that interest you. Whatever the limitations you see in their work (as a scholar, you should constantly recall that that will be your fate as well), there's always something of value there. The only model I ever had for what I wanted to be was Walter W. Skeat, who passed in 1912. Skeat quite simply knew everything, and in a tactile depth that one cannot match today, because he had read — in many cases, edited — every text and every study available to him. He remains a major figure in the institutionalization of English studies as a university subject. At the same time,

I feel deeply estranged from Skeat as a person — an ordained Church of England clergyman who never sought or had a pulpit, did not (until he was middle-aged) have a job, and depended on his father-in-law to support him (and an ever-burgeoning offspring, literal, not his many books). Whatever moral opprobrium one might feel about this 'model Victorian gentleman', one says of him (and one can say it of many analogues) what Dante said about Aristotle, that he was 'the teacher of those who seek to know'.

My memory turns out to be rather peculiar, but peculiarly helpful, in what I do. In the main, I remember visual images, something I discovered was unusual only in my mid-twenties. (Until one of my friends pointed this out to me as strange, I thought it was how anyone remembered anything.) As a book-scholar, it's useful, because visual recognition is a large part of what I do; repeated scribal hands or formats of presentation form one way one joins books that seem to have very little in common. Here we might look at the next image, from a manuscript in California; this is a 'pastedown', a wasted leaf fixed over the inner edges of the leather cover, designed to stabilize the binding of a medieval manuscript (see Fig. 2). As frequently occurs, this example recycles a manuscript leaf deemed expendable; for the record, it's from a fourteenth-century copy of the inspirational twelfth-century humanist John of Salisbury's letters.

Now this leaf — although I decry the destruction that led to this form of survival, and although I have handled the book on several occasions, first sometime around 1980 — only resonates for me because of another library experience. I've spent a protracted amount of time studying one central text of Huntington HM 128, the religious vision poem called *Piers Plowman*, which is the subject of those two scrawls at the foot of the leaf presented here. In one of these bouts, I eventually contributed to an electronic edition of another manuscript of the poem. Now in that book, in Oxford's Bodleian Library, on a blank leaf at the end (see Fig. 3), there's a sixteenth-century inscription, 'Raffe Coppynger Memorandum þat I haue lent to Nicholas brigham the pers ploughman which I borowed of Mr. Le of Addyngton'. In 2002, I looked at this for a while, and had the distinct sense that the hand was familiar. Having a visual memory is all very well, but it doesn't connect the dots; you have to be able to remember where you have *seen* things before (a kind of memory that note-cards or other filing systems do not stimulate at all). But I could visually recall this as having been at the foot of a leaf (not as in Bodley's Laud misc. 581, near the top) and that it was a re-used leaf. That was enough to get me to haul out the image and ascertain that the first note you see, 'Robert or William Langland made Pers Ploughman', is in the same hand as the Oxford note, that of Sir Ralph

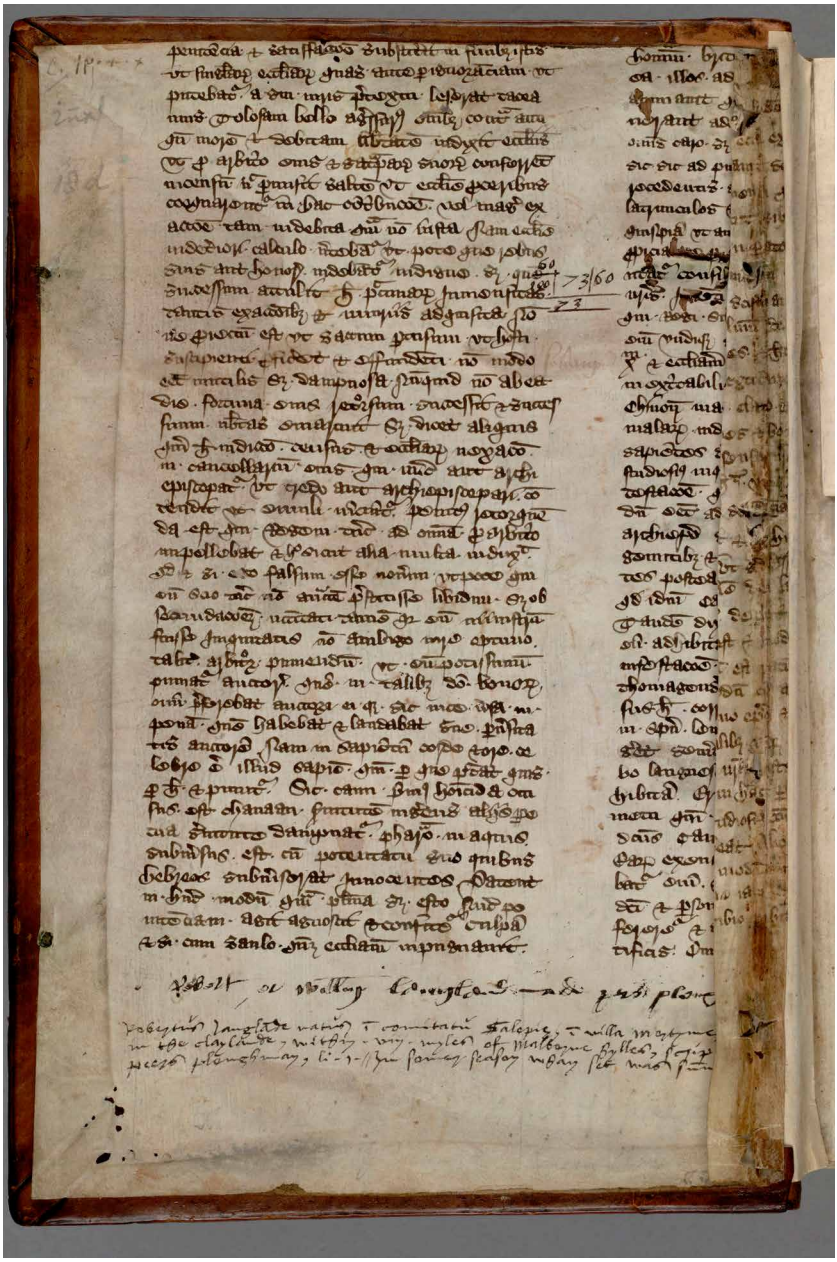


Figure 2. San Marino, The Huntington Library, MS Hm 128, front paste-down.

Figure 3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 581, fol. 93r. Image courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford and the *Piers Plowman Electronic Archive*.

Coppinger of Davington (Kent), who died in 1551. Among the things one learns to do is how to massage various forms of historical archive — here it was the Archbishop of Canterbury's probate records — to identify individuals like this.

Now this would be only what my mother would call a 'nichtsel', something worthless, were it not for the second writing at the foot. That note anyone in my line of work would recognize straight off from the script as the hand of another Skeat-type, a reprehensible individual of inestimable value, John Bale (1495–1563). Bale began life in Roman religious orders, as a Carmelite friar in Norwich in East Anglia, but by the mid-1530s, he had renounced Catholicism, had at least twice been subjected to charges of heresy, married, and become a virulent Protestant flack — mostly of satirical anti-Catholic plays. He was sponsored by and attached to the household of Thomas Cromwell. He, as you will know from Hillary Mantell, if nowhere else, was the person probably singly most responsible, through his suppression of the monasteries, for the first destruction of medieval England.

Bale went on to become an Anglican bishop (of Ossory in Ireland), an exile during Bloody Mary's reign, and died a prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral. But through the 1540s and 1550s, he apparently had second thoughts about what he had conspired to destroy; explicitly as a service to the nation and its unique history, he set about the cataloging and biobibliographical notice of any Englishman who had written in any language. In the process, he visited any library he could find, private as well as the remains of monastic ones. In addition to a formal historical survey, two huge volumes published in Basel, 1557 and 1559, he kept an elaborate notebook that outlines his visits. With his colleague John Leland (who died in 1552), he is a primary source for much of what we know about literary communities of the Middle Ages, particularly Latinate monastic ones.

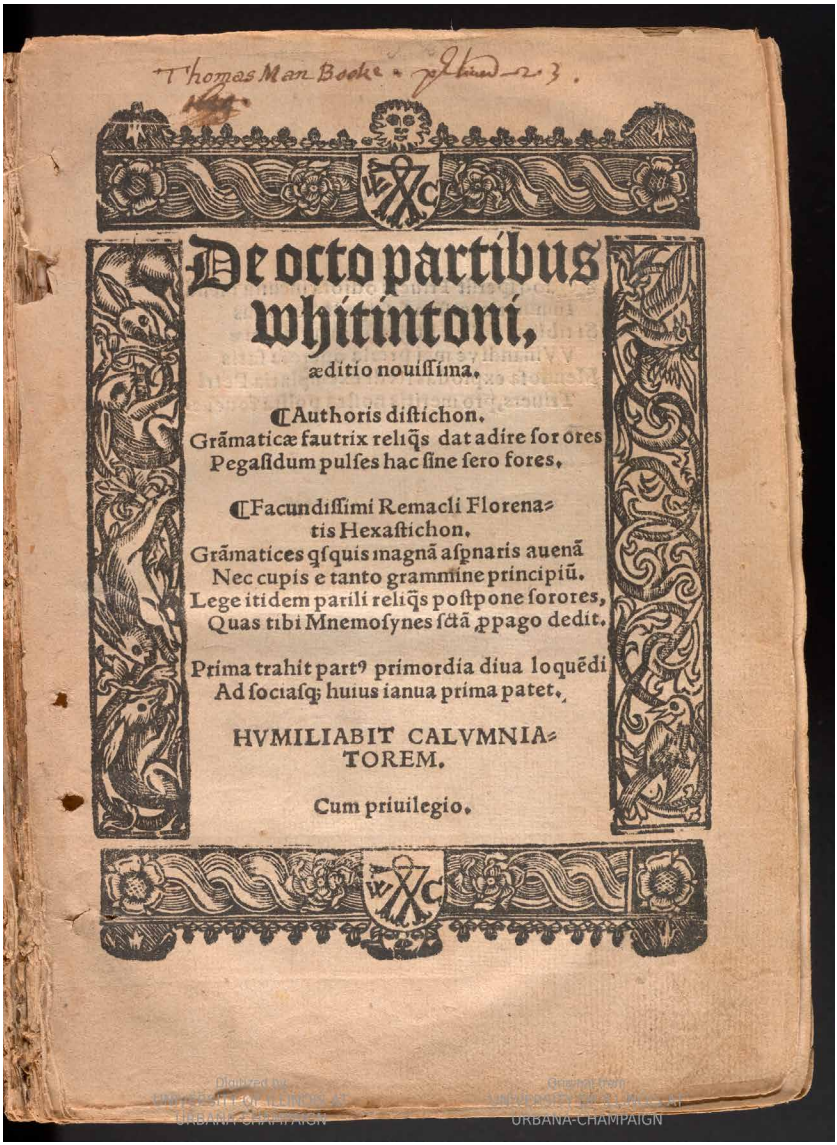
That also is a 'nichtsel', but for one fact. Bale wrote an entry in his catalogue for William Langland, the author of *Piers Plowman*. (You will notice he thinks his name was Robert; Coppinger wasn't sure.) Since he is a model of scholarly technique, Bale customarily names his sources; in the case of Langland and his writings, it was Nicholas Brigham — the same person to whom Coppinger had lent a borrowed copy of the poem. It's no accident (as it often is in inscriptions of this type) that the two notes appear together. Coppinger, Brigham, and a more famous individual, William Thynne, who produced the first collected edition of Chaucer in 1532, all worked together in Henry VIII's customs office, and they apparently formed a small coterie of individuals interested in the English past — and in preserving it. They were a group that knew things and had access to books that Bale other-

wise did not. So there's a small bundle of early antiquaries out there that still await detailed investigation, should anyone want to follow the note I wrote in the online edition of Laud misc. 581. That would lead one much further afield than I needed to go on that occasion — as I've suggested, all scholarship is selective and pointed, never overtly includes the full story. For example: William Thynne, the Chaucer scholar, had a nephew John, another royal servant who built one of the great English stately homes, Longleat House in Wiltshire. John followed his uncle as collector of the past, including at one point having at least handled, if not owned Coppinger's Laud MS; much of his collection is still intact at Longleat, and he was scrupulous enough to produce a still-unpublished catalog of his collection in 1577.

Those are loose bits that I remember — and chose not to pursue at the time. But if humility might be a first perquisite of scholarly work, certainly memory would be a second. It is the catalyst that makes each of us a person, that binds who we were and who we want to be. It is also, as I have described it above, the key to serendipity, probably the most valuable scholarly tool. No project is ever 'done'; all we publish are interim reports, invariably to be superseded. But just as those writings, what we may charitably hope form 'contributions', are open-ended, so is everything one learns by having produced them. Potentially, there is never waste or dead-end, only wasteful minds. One needs to store it, most particularly to store what made no sense, what couldn't be integrated. Anomaly — usually what one hoped one could get away with ignoring — is the life-breath of innovative thinking. One needs to store it away — and to be prepared for it to surface without bidding in some new context where it might prove generative.

All this requires another grand virtue, patience, and I'll close with an example, in which I got a big boost from one of my Newberry hosts, Ian Cornelius. I once made two rather dispersed trips (2003 and 2008) to a fine and underutilized manuscript library, at Jesus College, Cambridge. On the first occasion, I was investigating a Latin sermon with inserted Middle English in MS 13; on the second, a text of Richard Rolle's English prose psalter that appears fragmentarily on the binding leaves of MS 73. But just as I had done at Merton, and as one must do with any book one handles, in both instances, I did a survey of the whole book as a way of contextualizing what I was looking at. In the process, I found that the same seventeenth-century individual, one Thomas Man, had signed both books; they were presumably remains from an earlier collection.

That's memory; I did find this vaguely interesting, but not something I was going to pursue. Until, until. A year or two after my second visit



De octo partibus whitintoni,

æditio nouissima.

¶Authoris distichon.
Grãmaticæ fautrix reliq̃s dat adire sorores
Pegasidum pulses hac sine sero fores.

¶Facundissimi Remacli Florenatis Hexastichon.
Grãmatices qsquis magnã aspnaris auenã
Nec cupis e tanto grammine principiũ.
Lege itidem parili reliq̃s postpone sorores,
Quas tibi Mnemosynes sctã ppago dedit.

Prima trahit partꝰ primordia diua loquẽdi
Ad sociasq; huius ianua prima patet.

HVMILIABIT CALVMNIATOREM.

Cum priuilegio.

Figure 4. Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois Library, IU A13079, title page of the first pamphlet. Image courtesy of HathiTrust and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiuc.5526349.

to Jesus, my buddy Thorlac Turville-Petre took me to see St Leonard's church in Wollaton, Nottingham. (They own one of the largest surviving fifteenth-century books, a splash antiphoner.) On the wall of the nave, there's a memorial plaque for a Thomas Man, who died in 1690. That set me thinking, and I went back to Jesus, on a protracted errand of patience. By the end of it all — you can read about it in *The Library* 2020 (notice the gap between when this all started and the date of publication) — I'd gone through all eighty medieval manuscripts at Jesus, as well as all the early printed books, activities probably more trying for the lovely now-departed librarian Frances Willmoth than for me. Nearly fifty of them had been collected by a Thomas Man, a mid-seventeenth-century vicar in North Yorkshire, and had passed to Jesus from his son Thomas, a fellow there and the individual now buried in Wollaton. That was far from the full haul, as the next image, from a printed book of c. 1530 now in Champaign, Illinois, and generously provided by Ian Cornelius, will show (see Fig. 4).

But mysteries remain. For example, what were a group of Catholic recusant farmers in Whitby, c. 1610, doing with Jesus College MS 63, a manuscript with the letters of Poggio Bracciolini, the humanist who discovered Lucretius's *De rerum naturae*? And — the thought I would leave you with — this whole endeavor was a classic example of what Midwesterners ought to know well, the 'blind pigs find corn' principle. Of the fifty books at issue here, only two in the Jesus collection have any Man signature at all. It is sheer accident that they are the two that, for quite disparate reasons, I initially examined carefully. Only a chain of inferences, predicated on scrutiny of every leaf at Jesus, including those with no text at all, allowed me to reconstruct at a least a substantial part of the Man library. Never despair and never give up.

Keble College, Oxford

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The Accidentals Tourist

Greg's "Rationale of Copy-Text" and the Dawn of Transatlantic Air Travel[1]

Sarah Neville

Abstract

Since the 1980s, editorial theorists and proponents of 'unediting' have chipped away at W. W. Greg's "Rationale of Copy-Text", speculating that the accidental/substantive division is deceptively reductive, as even minor variants can have major implications. This essay contextualizes debates over Greg's "Rationale" by recognizing that his theory of accidentals was a practical affordance designed to ensure that a copy-text (and often a specific document) could be reconstructed by working backwards from a scholarly edition — a vital bibliographic resource in an age before scholars were easily able to fly across the Atlantic Ocean in order to check variant copies. By considering shifting editorial values alongside the rapid development of the technologies of travel, 'The Accidentals Tourist' demonstrates that theoretical texts — and the subsequent revisions and corrections of them — are the products of the affordances of their own historical moments.

> Asks to borrow Rowe's 2nd edition for *The Merchant of Venice*, along with the Praetorius facsimile of Q2 and perhaps the Furness Variorum. If he sends Q1 she can paste it up herself. Discusses stops in stage-directions, and suggests clarifying certain collation notes on punctuation for the sake of the printer. Asks why he uses a pump instead of a water-softener.
>
> —Summary of letter from Alice Walker to R.B. McKerrow, 24 May 1937

1. In 2017, I began to wonder about the ways that New Historicist methods could be applied to critical works of the 20th century. I'm grateful to Andrew Keener and Claire M. L. Bourne for giving me a chance to apply some of these early speculations to a history of editorial theory in their seminar on "Edition/Copy" at the 2020 meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America.

> The design of the Hinman [collator] constitutes a wonderful example of late-1940s and 1950s futurism. Its hulking, metal exterior reminds us that it was invented in a great age of rocket ships, robots, and other types of imaginative technology — so much so that one would not be surprised to find it featured on the cover of *Astounding Science Fiction* or some other futuristic fantasy rag. Nor would it also be completely out of place in the appliance section of a mail order catalog.
>
> —Steven Escar Smith, 2000, 146

§

On September 8, 1949, a paper by W. W. Greg titled "The Rationale of Copy-Text" was delivered to the English Institute. In a delightful irony for the initial publication of a work that has since become one of the most significant bulwarks of authorial intention, Greg himself was not there; the paper was spoken on Greg's behalf by J. M. Osborn — the same J. M. Osborn whose collection of English literary and historical manuscripts now forms much of the Beinecke Library's excellent materials for studying the behavior of early modern English readers.[2] After its initial recital in fall 1949, Greg's paper was soon republished, this time in print, in the 1950/1951 issue of *Studies in Bibliography*, the new journal edited by Fredson Bowers at the University of Virginia.[3] The provenance of Greg's talk thus mirrors a sequence intimately familiar to editors of English Renaissance drama: the text of an initial performance, delivered by a non-authorial agent and the details of which are now lost, eventually becomes a printed document whose existence in multiple copies enables the text to be the subject of a great deal of scholarly analysis.[4]

Greg was unable to deliver his English Institute talk himself, because, as far as I am currently able to determine, he never set foot in North America. In 1949 he was 74 years old and about to be knighted for his lasting service in the study of English literature. His editions of Henslowe's *Diary* and Edward Alleyn's papers had seen print over forty years before; his *Dramatic*

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2. More information about the Beinecke's Osborn collection can be found at https://beinecke.library.yale.edu/collections/curatorial-areas/early-modern-british-european-and-osborn-collections.
3. The first issue of *Studies in Bibliography* was published as *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* in 1948.
4. No doubt simply to delight editorial geeks writing footnotes *even more*, Greg's essay was later reprinted in slightly revised form in his *Collected Papers*, edited by J. C. Maxwell; see Greg 1966, 374–91.

Documents from the Elizabethan Stage (1931) and *English Literary Autographs* (1932) were nearly two decades old; his 33-year long career as the general editor of the Malone Society had come to a gentle close. Greg had, at the beginning of the war, retired to a house in Sussex, yet at the time of his writing "Rationale", he had not slowed down by any means: both his multi-volume *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration* (1939–1959) and his edition of *Doctor Faustus* (1950) were well underway, and soon to come were his *Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1951) and detailed study of *The Shakespeare First Folio* (1955) (Wilson and Woudhuysen 2004). During his lifetime the time needed for a speedy transatlantic crossing from Liverpool to New York had halved from eight days to a blistering four,[5] but in the fall of 1949 W. W. Greg was simply too busy (and perhaps too old) to spend any of his remaining days aboard ship.

In "Rationale", Greg offered an extended defense of an editor's right to deploy critical judgment along with a cogent articulation of how an editor might best approach the documentary witnesses that form the basis of an edition (1950/1951, 19–36). Greg outlined a new, deceptively simple editorial theory in an attempt to free scholarly editors from what he called "the tyranny of copy-text" that plagued "best text" editions, restricting them into accepting all the variants of a particular copy.[6] By separating out textual variants into the distinct categories of "accidentals" (punctuation/spelling variants) and "substantives" (variants which altered syntax or meaning), Greg surmised that it is the former category of readings, rather than the latter, that should ultimately determine the text selected as copy. Once this base text is chosen on the basis of its accidentals, eclectic editors are free to evaluate and select substantive readings from alternate authoritative editions or witnesses in accordance with their larger editorial policy.

It's worth remembering that Greg's 1949 "Rationale", including its measured investment in the contingencies of individual documents, found its origins in the rationale of Malone Society. The society, established in 1906, maintained that "every generation will need to make its own critical editions to suit its own critical taste, but that work of permanent utility can

5. On the timing of the transatlantic crossing, see Rodrigue 2020; also accessible at https://transportgeography.org/?page_id=2135.

6. In McKerrow and later Greg's formulation, I should point out that what is being described as "copy-text" is not necessarily a literal material form but an ideal, a copy of a reconstructed corrected edition that may or may not have ever existed. In short: the collation of copies of printed documents produces an ideal copy-text that only corresponds to existing documentary forms so long as any modifications are recorded.

be done by placing in the hands of students at large such reproductions of the original textual authorities as may make constant and continuous reference to those originals themselves unnecessary".[7] "Originals", in the case of the Malone Society's founding goals, corresponds to the manuscript and printed documentary witnesses that could serve as the basis for scholarship into the texts of the English Renaissance. While originals were confined to library or private archives, edited copies of these documents, reproduced by experts in paleography or bibliography who painstakingly transcribed and translated the texts, could provide valuable surrogates that might spare the originals unnecessary handling. Though "copy-text" is best understood as a term that refers to an abstract concept, W. W. Greg's "Rationale of Copy-Text" effectively extended the Malone Society's practical concern for disseminating data about individual copies into the more theoretical realm of textual scholarship writ large.[8] When coupled with collation notes and the scholarly apparatuses later devised by Fredson Bowers for the Center for Editions of American Authors, Greg's "Rationale" offered a mechanism that could simultaneously represent the unique features of multiple individual documents alongside a considered, information-rich scholarly artifact.

G. Thomas Tanselle has called Greg's 1949 "Rationale" a "watershed", the culmination of Greg's thinking alongside other New Bibliographic pioneers like R. B. McKerrow and A. W. Pollard, figures whose work served to recognize that "the texts of printed books, like those of manuscripts, are affected by the physical processes of their own production" (Tanselle 1987, vii). The New Bibliographers were forensic historians, archeologists of the technologies of text, who used their knowledge of book manufacture (whether in the hand press or machine press periods) to inform the emendations they could and did make as they constructed scholarly editions. What we now call "analytical bibliography" — the study of the forensics of book-making — is thus central to the New Bibliographic attitude towards textual criticism as an inherently practical enterprise.[9] Editorial theory

7. See http://malonesociety.com/about-2/; accessed February 9, 2020.
8. "'Copy-text' refers to that form of a literary text which an editor has decided, on whatever grounds, is the best one for him [*sic*] to follow as the basis for his edition"; see Tanselle 1970, 192.
9. What made the New Bibliographers 'new' was not only their investigations into the mechanics of hand-press and machine printing technologies, but their application of demonstrable bibliographical evidence to the editorial project. As he attempted to explain the field to both granting agencies like the NEH and the general public during a period of vicious attacks from the likes of Edmund Wilson, Bowers would call this kind of work "textual bibliography", though he is

exists to enable editors to make informed and consistent choices when confronted with the problems of textual transmission. In other words, in order to be a critical scholarly editor, one must first and foremost be a materialist, because before an editor can commence editing she must examine the documentary artifacts upon which her edition is based.

"Rationale", a word used repeatedly throughout editorial theory, is largely taken to mean "a reasoned exposition of principles [. . .] an attempted justification for something" ('rationale', n2), as in the title of a 1657 work, *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England* (Wing S4828). But this use of "rationale" is relatively new in English, dating from the 1580s. Far older is the usage that was familiar during the reign of King Ælfred, when a rationale was the name for "the breastplate worn by the Jewish high priest, esp. that which Moses was commanded to have made for Aaron" ('rationale', n1). The word was used in Exodus by both the Wycliff and Rheims bibles, as well as in the works of Thomas Lodge. Aaron's rationale was sometimes termed "the breastplate of judgment" because Exodus 28 explains that placed within it also resides the mystical products of *Urim* and *Thummim* that signify God's will. In the Vulgate, these words are translated as *doctrine* and *truth* — words which we have long associated with the written word (the Yale University crest features *urim* and *thummim* on a book). What better philology could a watershed text of editorial theory ask for, really?[10]

Yet despite the valiant breastplate of Greg's "Rationale", in the intervening decades, the intentionalist editorial practice of the New Bibliographers has often been dismissed as postitivistic, idealistic, and insufficiently historical, especially in contrast to the more relativistic activities of "social-text" editors like Jerome McGann. To some critics, the theories of McGann and D. F. McKenzie offer an opportunity for recognizing how texts are social

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always careful to highlight how the various "catholic" elements of bibliography worked together: "It is a feature of bibliography that in practice the methods of its different disciplines frequently overlap. Thus *critical*, or *textual bibliography* will often call on the help of *analytical*, as will *historical*; or *analytical* will merge with *historical*, and *descriptive* with both" (emphasis in the original); see Bowers [1952], 191.

10. I feel duty-bound to mention that if, in an unguarded moment, you ever find yourself investigating Old Testament cleromancy — the study of the casting of lots — you very quickly find yourself down a rabbit hole of rabbinical scholars arguing that certain interpretations of the materiality of the *urim* and *thummim* exist only because of editorial interference, enabling one's research into the history of editorial theory to eat itself like an ouroboros.

constructs that create meaning in a "collective activity of literary production and reception" (Kelemen 2009, 105). Since the 1980s, proponents of "unediting" have likewise chipped away at Greg's "Rationale", speculating that its accidental/substantive division is deceptively reductive, as even minor variants can have major implications.[11] I wish to contextualize these later debates over Greg's "Rationale" by recognizing that his theory of accidentals was a practical affordance designed to ensure that a copy-text (and often a specific document) could be reconstructed by working backwards from a scholarly edition — a vital bibliographic resource in an age before scholars were easily able to fly across the Atlantic Ocean in order to check variant copies. I've written elsewhere about how this notion of competing editorial approaches creates a false binary predicated on a later misunderstanding of the nature of New Bibliographic thinking; in other words, Greg's "Rationale" is a product of its own peculiar technological age.[12] By considering shifting editorial values alongside the rapid development of the technologies of travel, I hope to suggest that even texts of editorial theory — and the subsequent objections and attempted revisions of them — are the products of the affordances of their own historical moments.

Leisure Air Travel and the Pursuit of Copy

> "Because," said Morris Zapp, reluctantly following, "information is much more portable in the modern world than it used to be. So are people. Ergo, it's no longer necessary to hoard your information in one building, or keep your top scholars corralled in one campus. There are three things which have revolutionized academic life in the last twenty years, though very few people have woken up to the fact: jet travel, direct-dialing telephones and the Xerox machine. Scholars don't have to work in the same institution to interact, nowadays: they call each other up, or they meet at international conferences. And they don't have to grub about in library stacks for data: any book or article that sounds interesting they have Xeroxed and read it at home. Or on the plane going to the

11. While the 1986 *Oxford Shakespeare* separated emendations of accidentals from substantives in the *Textual Companion*, it is indicative of the persuasion with which the uneditors have argued their case that the *New Oxford Shakespeare* of 2017 lists both kinds of emendations within the same sequence of notes in the *Critical Reference Edition*. See also Jowett 2017, xlix–lxiii.
12. See Neville 2014, 91–112.

> next conference. I work mostly at home or on planes these days. I seldom go into the university except to teach my courses."
>
> —David Lodge, *Small World: An Academic Romance* (1984)

As the novels of David Lodge and Malcolm Bradbury make clear, academic air travel straddles a dividing line between the business and leisure markets. While some among us have distinguished colleagues who will only fly if they do so in business or first class, the rest of us plebeians have to make a point of showing our university business services department an economy class ticket before we can get reimbursed for travel. Even legendary Jane Austen scholar Morris Zapp, the American hero of Lodge's *Changing Places* (1975), gets a bargain on his first-ever flight to England by purchasing the international airfare secondhand from one of his former students.

Contemporary editors come honestly by their ignorance of the practical concerns of W. W. Greg considering trans-Atlantic travel in 1949. The world has changed a great deal in the intervening seven decades.[13] Between 1950 and 1984, the number of air passengers increased over twenty-six fold, from 31 million passengers to 832 million passengers; as transport historians note, this increase puts the social changes wrought by mid-twentieth-century air traffic on par with those of the railways on Victorian Britain. The Second World War had left Anglo-America with a surplus of pilots and of flying machines — while also offering a sizable middle class of returned civilians who were experienced in traveling overseas.

There had been some commercial international flights prior to WWII, but these interwar travelers were by and large bureaucrats and missionaries, not bibliographers — those whose undertakings were either financially or spiritually significant enough to be worth the considerable risks and hassles of flight. Initially, international and domestic air travel was government subsidized and plane building was a political exercise; it wasn't until 1952 that scheduled carriers would eventually introduce a tourist class. By 1958, airlines had also introduced an economy class that was 20% cheaper than tourist class, eventually paving the way for the careers of countless university travel officers through the present day.

Technological developments led to better engines and bigger planes, which necessitated the creation of an increased passenger demand — as the prices of plane tickets came down, the leisure traveler was created to

13. Much of what follows is indebted to Peter J. Lyth and Marc L. J. Dierikx's 1994 article, "From Privilege to Popularity: The Growth of Leisure Air Travel Since 1945". *The Journal of Transport History* 15.2: 97–116.

fill this void. And much to readers' delight — and David Lodge's imagination — the high-flying academic scholar who writes his talk on route to the conference was soon created, too. Between 1957 and 1962, the market share of jet engines increased from 7% to 43%, shifting the smaller and less powerful piston-engined aircraft down market to independent, charter airlines. This glut in turn pushed down the prices of air travel still farther, making way for the nascent vacation package tour industry.

Through the 1950s, getting across the Atlantic by air in either direction meant using a scheduled government carrier — a considerable expense, and one that was far beyond the means of most agencies willing to fund academic travel. But in the 1960s, after deregulation, cheaper charter flights gained a greater market share, paving the way for jet-setting bibliographers to investigate the peculiarities of an overseas copy. This is the context in which W. W. Greg wrote 'Rationale of Copy-Text' in 1949, mailed a copy to be read at the English Institute, and arranged for his essay to appear in *Studies in Bibliography* 3 in 1950.

Theory and Practice

As G. Thomas Tanselle notes, in writing "Rationale" Greg himself was motivated by recent history: "the focus of the essay, it must be remembered, is historical: a new approach to editing is set forth as a corrective to what had been developing over the previous century" (1975, 181). In examining Greg's 1949 lecture (and its initial printing and later reprinting in 1950 and 1966), Tanselle is careful to place Greg's thinking in the context of his career up to that point, finding that in order to best understand the essay, a reader needs to appreciate its "historical framework" (1975, 171). Further, Tanselle points out that it is crucial for readers of Greg to "distinguish between theoretical and practical concerns", because "it is no aid to ordinary thinking to treat purely practical questions as if they involved theoretical issues" (1975, 169).

As he conceived of it in "Rationale", Greg's theory of copy-text refers specifically to the establishment of old-spelling editions, not to the modernized editions with which scholars of early modern drama are more familiar. While a modernized edition can anchor its spellings to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, an old-spelling text must rely on some existing document because there are philological difficulties in establishing the regularized spelling and punctuation habits of a particular author at a particular time. At the time of Greg's writing "Rationale", research by his contem-

poraries like Alice Walker and Percy and Evelyn Simpson were attempting to establish norms and distinctive habits for early modern authors, scribes, and compositors, but this work was still relatively untested. (Later scholarship would call such definitive tests into question altogether.) In the meanwhile, however, an existing document with an established authoritative provenance enabled an editor's assurance that there was some historical ground for a scholarly edition's accidentals. After all, compositors and scribes are far more familiar with the possibilities for early modern English spelling and pointing than modern editors ever could be.

Greg's thus is an applied solution to a technical problem. Tanselle makes the point that the words "accidentals" and "substantives" are not "happy choices", yet what is crucial is not their monikers but their relative treatments by the editor — one of these things are observed by default, the other is not (1975, 173).[14] As Greg himself remarks in a 1950 footnote: "The distinction I am trying to draw is practical, not philosophic". He writes that copy-text is selected "on grounds of expediency, and in consequence either of philological ignorance or of linguistic circumstances" (1950, n4). Here's Tanselle again: "[i]n somewhat blunt language, Greg's theory amounts to this: it tells the editor what to do when he otherwise does not know what to do" (1975, 179). In a modern analogy, what Greg suggests for editors in his "Rationale" is more or less what I tell my undergraduates about where they should put a topic sentence in a paragraph: you can put it anywhere you like, but if you don't know why you want to move it, it should be at the beginning, where readers usually expect to find it.

Greg's theory of copy-text provides a rationale for attending to accidentals, because, unlike substantives, editors often have very little evidence on which to base changing them. Moreover, accidentals are more likely to be changed by non-authorial agents in the process of textual transmission than substantives, and authors are generally presumed when they revise to pay less attention to accidentals than they do to substantives.[15] Fredson Bowers's 1953 edition of Thomas Dekker was the first to be produced according to Greg's "Rationale". When Bowers later enumerated the

14. Tanselle's "Editing without a Copy-Text" (*Studies in Bibliography* 47 [1994]: 1–22) goes even further, offering an explanation of how Greg's "Rationale" opens up new avenues for thinking beyond documents and making the editorial process one of selection rather than emendation.

15. Even Ben Jonson, the figurehead for much scholarly musing about contemporary authors' fussiness about punctuation, gave up correcting the punctuation of his 1616 folio.

requirements for collation notes for The Center for Editions of American Authors (CEAA), he drew on the "Rationale"'s practical utility. Collation notes on both substantives and accidentals "are essential for any reader who wishes to reconstruct the copy-text with which the editor worked and to examine the evidence on which the editor's decisions were based" (Tanselle 1975, 193).[16] My very minor contribution to this debate is to point out that the 1950 separation of accidentals from substantives in matters of editorial method has another practical expediency, one that we have since lost sight of in our age of the (relatively) cheap and accessible technology of air travel: scholarly trips to access individual copies of documents are now not only easier for editors to manage, but an expected part of the editorial process.

Conclusion

In her biography of Alice Walker, Laurie E. Maguire writes that for the bibliographer, "compositor identification is inevitably rooted in the personal — the identification of personal spelling characteristics; Walker talks not just about personal habits but about personality" (2005, 330). Maguire is writing in 2005; since then, methods of compositor identification have not only been "refined" (her words) but somewhat rebuked — Pervez Rizvi's study in 2016 has caused editors to rethink their claims about the distribution of composing labor in the First Folio. I'm not invested here in litigating nearly a century of compositor analysis from Charlton Hinman onward — what I am more interested in pointing out, however, is that, just as Hinman's legendary collator developed out of his military service in naval intelligence comparing aerial photographs during the second world war (and during the great age of American science fiction), Walker's commitment to analyzing authors', scribes', and compositors' characteristic orthography developed in a moment when textual scholars' own epistolary correspondence was at an all-time high. The R. B. McKerrow papers now held at Trinity College Library, Cambridge reveal that an extraordinary amount of textual material was flowing between McKerrow and Walker from 1935 through 1939. Notes, "slips", pasted-up copies of F1 and various play quartos, volumes of Theobald and Capell, letters, typescripts, carbon-copies, facsimiles, even detective novels rapidly passed between the

16. See also Bowers 1972, 81–115.

pair. The letters between McKerrow and Walker are combinations of what we would now identify as textual technologies — sometimes McKerrow sent Walker notes that she would later type up and return to him; sometimes she asks for carbons, or sends them, and remarks that she wishes to annotate her own copies of his materials. In one she discusses a stool she uses to scoot between pasted up copies of folios and quartos.

Walker and McKerrow, in other words, were engaging with the material forms of each other's writing far more literally than do modern colleagues working on an editorial project. Did the everyday technologies of text that put them in weekly, sometimes daily, contact with each other influence what teleological possibilities Walker later saw in compositor analysis? To put the question slightly differently, in a world where all scholarly communiqué actually passed through living hands in the form of material documents, is it any surprise that the work of the New Bibliography focused so much as it did on overcoming the inherent limitations in the materials of production? This combination of typed text and handwriting enabled New Bibliographers to be intimately familiar with the relation of print to manuscript, of the creation of and the promulgation of error that results through the processes of textual transmission. (Even in the British Post letters and packages got delayed frequently enough that much of Walker and McKerrow's correspondence simply served to acknowledge receipt.)

In his critical work, David Lodge has espoused the idea that the great achievement of nineteenth-century fiction was its ability to balance private and public concerns, at once "rendering an individual's experience [. . .] while at the same time [making a reader] aware of a reality, a history, that is larger and more complex than [that] individual can comprehend" (1977, 38). G. Thomas Tanselle similarly suggests that a "the process of critical editing is the ineluctable, if unending, effort to surmount the limitations of artifacts in the pursuit of works from the past" (1994, 6). My musings in this article contends that we, late twentieth and early twenty-first century readers of editorial theory, have lost much of our awareness of the historicity of the New Bibliographers. In turning Walker, Pollard, Greg, McKerrow, and Bowers into titans, we have occasionally given them mythologies instead of historical and material realities. I conclude by suggesting that scholars of text technologies and textual transmission would do well to focus some of our energies in considering the technologies of transportation as well.

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Textual Continuity

John K. Young

Abstract

While textual variation has long been understood as a defining element of the genetic process, and indeed of textuality itself, this essay considers textual continuity not as the absence of revision but as potential revision that does not occur. In the archival materials associated with Toni Morrison's and Tim O'Brien's novels, we find various instances of a text remaining meaningfully the "same" across different versions. This emphasis on continuity implies a further possible reorientation, toward a sense of works in development, with individual documents construed less as physical objects or containers and more as "temporal parts".

> "He cut, condensed, expanded; in some cases he decided the original version should stand"[1]
>
> —Jorgé Luis Borges, "The Secret Miracle" ("El milagro secreto") (1998, 162)

In Borges's story, a Czech playwright, Jaromir Hladik, is about to be executed by a Nazi firing squad, but he prays for the chance to finish his work-in-progress, *The Enemies*. God grants Hladik the miraculous ability to do so: while time stops for everyone else in the storyworld, Hladik reviews the entire text of the play in his mind, revising and reorganizing until he considers it finally complete — at which point Hladik returns to the normal passage of time and is immediately killed. This is a fascinating narrative in many respects, not least from the perspective of editorial theory. As far as Hladik is concerned, *The Enemies* exists in an authorized, even definitive version, what David Greetham would call "a 'text that never was' [. . .] immutable in its Platonic ideality" (2010, 46). The problem, of course, as Greetham might well expect, is that the "final" version of *The Enemies* is not transmissible, because its Platonic ideality corresponds to no documentary instantiation (it has no existence at all other than the

1. Omitió, abrevió, amplificó; en algún caso, optó por la version primitive.

second-hand account provided by Borges's narrator; in that literal sense it is a "text that never was" as well). The fully revised play falls literally into the sense of texts as "reports of works" in G. Thomas Tanselle's terms (1992, 69). Indeed, Borges's story eerily anticipates Tanselle's claim that "a version of a work — not just the idea for a work — can exist in its author's mind without being written down or recorded, as when an author has thought of a number of revisions for a new edition but dies before making note of them and before the new edition is called for" (1992, 81).[2]

Borges's story might thus serve as an interesting, albeit fictional, case for thinking through recent debates about the nature of the work in relation to texts and documents, questions to which I will return indirectly in what follows. However, I cite "The Secret Miracle" here to begin making a different case, prompted by Borges's semicolon, which implies an equivalence between textual change (cutting, condensing, expanding) and textual continuity (deciding an original version should stand). The first half of that sentence has, of course, occupied the vast majority of textual scholarship's approach to understanding the nature of the textual condition.[3] Hans Walter Gabler has recently concluded, for example, "One way or another: that texts are always variant is an ontological truth" (2018, 18). Indeed, the European Society for Textual Scholarship defines its journal, *Variants*, as premised on textual change, just as Bernard Cerquiglini's influential account of Italian philology comes *In Praise of the Variant*, Sally Bushell considers *Text as Process*, John Bryant emphasizes *The Fluid Text*, or Sharon Cameron understands Emily Dickinson's composition process as one of *Choosing Not Choosing*, among many other possible examples. I will not be foolhardy enough to dispute the primacy of variability as an underlying ontological condition of textuality (nor would I agree with such an absurd claim in any case). But I will be arguing for a more expansive understanding of variability, one that would encompass an absence of change, at least for the duration of some part of the genetic processes of composition and revision (including post-publication variants), as an equally significant aspect of this textual ontology. As the philosopher Nelson Goodman

2. Peter Shillingsburg counters that "if the work is a mental construct it can only be known through its physical manifestations" (1997, 68n24). Obviously, all versions of *The Enemies* have no physical manifestations themselves, outside of the descriptions of them in the physical manifestations of Borges's story.
3. My own work is very much included here, as I have devoted entire chapters to the presence or absence of a single paragraph in Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929) or the variability of a single word in Tim O'Brien's *If I Die in a Combat Zone* (1973), among various other examples (2006, 37–64; 2017, 31–58).

points out, in a discussion of music which applies to other forms of art as well, "Variation [. . .] plainly depends as much upon difference from as upon likeness to the theme" (1988, 70). Similarly, Daniel Ferrer and Marlena Corcoran identify the "phenomena of persistence" as ultimately "at work at the very heart of the process of writing" (1996, 236), insofar as textual continuity is what identifies versions of a work as related to each other, as parts of a whole.

Lately, grounded especially in work on the revision habits of Toni Morrison and Tim O'Brien, I have come to see Hladik's second option, textual continuity, as just as meaningful as textual revision, indeed as a kind of *potential change that does not occur*, and so as an equally significant aspect of a work's production history for editors and textual scholars. Like revision, after all, continuity represents a choice about the status of a text (made by an author and/or an editor, whether collaboratively or uneasily), even if that choice sometimes leaves less dramatic, controversial, or puzzling material evidence. To be sure, I am not suggesting that texts (or sections of texts) that exhibit continuity rather than variability along the trajectory of textual production constitute a "complete, static, coherent, self-contained, and stable literary work" (Greetham 1998, 206). But I am suggesting that those (relatively) invariant portions of a larger text are not necessarily best understood as contributing to a "fragmented, unresolved, diffuse, and polysemic text" (Greetham 1998, 206). They seem to me, instead, somewhere in between the New Critical and poststructuralist poles in Greetham's account. For that matter, texts might remain unchanged despite authorial or other intentions to the contrary; author's or scribe's or compositor's or editor's error might retain an earlier version inadvertently; similarly, a text might remain unrevised because of an editor's or publisher's or other non-author's wishes, rather than an author's, though I will not pursue such hypothetical instances further here. Nor will I be suggesting that textual continuity implies that two distinct texts are the "same", even when one is understood to be a copy of another (a point I return to in the essay's conclusion, referencing a different Borges example, Pierre Menard's "rewriting" of the *Quixote*). Finally, in a slightly metaphysical vein, textual variation is only apparent against a background of textual continuity. As these two properties are deeply and inextricably linked, not only to each other but to broader understandings of material and immaterial forms of textuality, in the sense of texts and works, local studies of continuity open onto larger questions of textual identity.

The handwritten manuscripts for Borges's story show the kind of "muddy materiality" (Bryant 2011, 148) one might expect, with insertions sideways along the margins organized by a series of Borges's geometric sym-

bols (Balderston 2018, 18–19). This is one of the numerous examples Daniel Balderston deploys in *How Borges Wrote* to demonstrate that "his manuscripts show him working out a poetics of uncertainty, incompleteness, possibility" (2018, 20). Balderston presents overwhelming evidence for this conclusion throughout his fascinating study. I don't disagree (especially from a position of avowedly amateur Borgesian knowledge), except to say — not only for Borges and Balderston, but for authorial processes of composition and revision generally, and the models of textuality editorial theorists have built from those practices — that this kind of "concept of the open text" (Balderston 2018, 20) is only apparent when set against, usually implicitly, corresponding degrees of certainty, completeness, or resolution.

I should note here that I will primarily be referring here to authorial revisions or the lack thereof (in concert with a wider social sphere of textual production) in relation to a text's linguistic code, though of course continuity might apply equally to a bibliographic dimension, as George Bornstein has shown of textual change in the essays collected in *Material Modernism* and elsewhere. Nor will I be focusing on the aspect of textual stability that can result from what Bornstein thinks of as a contextual code, in which an author (Yeats, in Bornstein's example) rearranges the order of contents in a later published volume while retaining the linguistic contents of individual texts themselves. We might also think of something like a performance code, to account for situations like a staging of Shakespeare in a contemporary setting, where the linguistic text remains stable but the context of its performance and reception necessarily and importantly changes. Bob Dylan's infamous habit of revising his songs when performing in concert, both lyrically and musically, would also be of issue for this category. In some cases, Dylan performs lyrics that are substantially different, as in the switch from "he" to "I" in "Tangled Up in Blue" or other more extensive revisions, or in his re-imagining of a song's production on stage, often with instruments and/or backup singers not included on an album recording. Most live versions of "Love Minus Zero/No Limit", for example, remain stable lyrically, but present the song in a musical form that can be nearly unrecognizable at first, compared to the studio version. Thus, we see (or rather hear) Dylan setting one mode in flux against another that remains continuous.[4] While all these modes of variability and continuity

4. See Broude 2011 and 2012. On textual variability in "Tangled Up in Blue" during the 1970s' Rolling Thunder performances, see Denning 2009, 37. On Dylan's recent performance history, see Thomas 2016, Ch. 9. Though outside the purview of my discussion here, such questions impinge on issues of artistic

seem to me worthy of further study, and in principle to follow from my argument here, I will not return to these domains.

For contemporary editorial theory, notions of textuality as premised on variability, instability, openness, fluidity, and related conceptions of change are almost so central as to need no elaboration. So I will offer just a few brief representative statements along those lines: "The textual condition's only immutable law is the law of change" (McGann 1991, 9); "The one true fact of editing, then, is variation" (Robinson 1996, 104); "Texts come in different versions, and variation in texts is inevitable" (Pierazzo 2016, 41); "There is no doubt that texts can change over time and that they indeed change" (Bordalejo 2013, 76); "Fluidity is an inherent condition of textuality" (Bryant 2002, 5); "[. . .] it is necessary to understand the text in a state of process" (Bushell 2009, 228); "[. . .] change is as inevitable in texts as it is in language itself" (Greetham 1998, 208). Obviously, this selection belies many nuanced points of divergence among these theorists, but my point is the centrality of textual change (or possibility, fluidity, energy) to contemporary ideas of textuality and creativity. In coming at these ideas from the opposite direction, so to speak, I will be disagreeing in principle with Hershel Parker's contention that "what goes unrevised to a greater or lesser extent goes unrethought, unrestructured, carrying its original intentionality in a new context where that intentionality is more or less at war with the different intentionality in the altered or newly written passages" (1984, 228–9). While it may well be the case, as Parker suggests, that authors in the process of revision "routinely" leave "hunks" of a text unchanged while focusing primarily on those areas undergoing revision (1984, 228), it is also often the case that an author does reconceive of the static portions of a new version as carefully as those denoting the "author's flare-ups of revisional energy" (Eggert 2009, 210). In that respect, we might think of textual continuity as potential change that does not happen (but could, in principle, at another point in a text's history). As Hannah Sullivan suggests in her study of 20th-century revision habits, an absence of revision "points to the balance between what changes and what stays the same" (2013, 4). My examination of textual continuity takes that term not in a teleological, Whiggish sense, but as cases of variation not occurring.

As an instance of meaningful continuity, consider Glenn Ligon's photographic work *Self-Portrait Exaggerating My Black Features/Self-Portrait Exag-*

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restoration as well. See especially Elgin 1997, 97–109, and Eggert 2009, chs. 4–5.

gerating My White Features (1998), which pairs two identical images of the artist side by side. Here the "inscrutable sameness" of this dyad may at first compel some viewers to look closely at each portrait before realizing that the work "exists to critique notions of racial 'difference'" (DeLand 2012, 507). Ligon's subversive conflation of racialized difference and identity operates through what Janet Neary terms "representational static", as the work "becomes a screen onto which viewers project their understanding of the racial phenotypes generally indicated in the captions" (2012, 166). Upon the viewer's recognition that the two self-portraits are visually indistinguishable, Neary adds, "there is a reversal of object and subject, as the subject of the photograph shifts from the body depicted in the photograph (Ligon's) to the speculative gaze of the viewer" (2012, 166). The question of continuity over time that I will focus on in relation to literary texts is compressed, in Ligon's case, to the few moments of a viewer regarding the paired self-portraits, though of course that temporary experience is designed to open onto much longer personal and social histories premised on ostensibly ineluctable schemes of racialized difference and identity.

Turning to instances of textual continuity over time, let me offer two brief and relatively simple examples of this dynamic, before a detour on the Ship of Theseus, and then more detailed examinations of texts remaining the same in Morrison's and O'Brien's drafts and published works. Siobhan Fallon's short story "Burning", published in a 2008 issue of *The Briar Cliff Review*, centers on Flip Murphy, an American veteran of the war in Iraq who returns home with a severely injured foot (which he reinjures in a bar fight) to find that his wife, Helena, is determined to leave him. There we find the following exchange:

> "Is your foot OK?"
> "No. It's never going to be OK. I couldn't fuck it up any more tonight than it already is." His eyes started to get used to the darkness and he could make out her outline by the alarm clock's light, how she sat at the edge of her bed.
>
> (2008, 7)

When Fallon included this story, now titled "The Last Stand", in her 2011 collection *You Know When the Men Are Gone*, largely focused on the lives of military families, she changed Flip to Kit Murphy, though his wife's name remains Helena, and revised his response to her question about his foot (which is linguistically identical in this version):

> "No." He wanted to say that it was never going to be okay, that he couldn't screw it up any more tonight than it already was. His eyes started to get used to the darkness and he could make out her outline by the alarm clock's light, how she sat at the edge of her bed.
>
> (2011, 153)

Clearly there is a good deal of variability even in this short example, including changes in the text's title and the protagonist's name, a shift from dialogue to indirect discourse, with its accompanying increase in readers' access to Kit's consciousness, and the merger of two paragraphs into one. The rewritten second sentence in the book version seems clearly to be a local case of "horizontal revision", in Tanselle's terms, as it "aims at intensifying, refining, or improving the work" (1990, 53), in this case adapting Kit's broader pattern of reticence to encompass his failure (or inability) to express the depth of his physical and emotional pain, transferring what is an angry rejoinder in the magazine story to an entirely internalized response in the book chapter.

But I also see the unchanged third sentence as manifesting a horizontal continuity, to adopt Tanselle's taxonomy, insofar as these kinds of continuity "spring from the same conception of an organic whole as the original version manifested" (1990, 58). (I am inferring Fallon's decision not to change this sentence on the basis of these two published documents, though the eventual availability of her archive might reveal additional layers of changing away from and then back to this version as she was assembling the collection of stories into a book.) Just as the shift to Murphy's silence is consistent with the story's broader portrayal of his character, so too is his perception of his wife sitting on "her bed" (she has deliberately reserved a motel room with two beds) an important element of his gradual, if begrudging, acceptance of her decision to end their marriage. Thus, I presume that Fallon here is working through the same process as Borges's playwright, revising on the one hand and deciding to let the original text stand on the other, in both cases with an equally attentive eye to these textual moments' standing in relation to a broader conception of the work. It could be the case, as eventual archival evidence might show, that Fallon's revision process falls more in line with Parker's conclusions about a lack of interest in revision in unchanged portions of a text. Fallon's comments on the revision process for this story seem to suggest otherwise, however. In an interview with Christi Craig, for example, Fallon recalls Kit Murphy as one of the characters in the collection for whom she had a particular "soft spot": "I'd say that I worked on his story, 'The Last Stand,' longer and harder than any other. Even after it was published in Salamander Magazine, I felt com-

pelled to keep rewriting it, to infuse it with as much genuine experience as possible" (Craig 2012).[5]

A comparison of the magazine and book versions of Souvankham Thammavongsa's story "How to Pronounce Knife" finds a similar range of relatively minor, but textually interesting, changes and continuities, this time both at the local level of the paragraph and in the arrangement of the text itself. The story's protagonist, an immigrant family's child named Joy, is disciplined at school after insisting that her father's pronunciation of "knife" without a silent "k" must be correct. In response to this incident, Joy's teacher, Miss Choi, allows her to pick a prize from a "red velvet sack" locked in her desk, despite Joy's earlier fear that her error has denied her this opportunity. The paragraphs in question differ in the details of their content, but also in their placement within the story.

Magazine version (*Granta* 141, November 2017)	Book version (*How to Pronounce Knife*, Little Brown, 2020)
When the school day was over, the child gathered up her things. All that she had fit into a white plastic grocery bag. Now, for some reason, Miss Choi was waiting for her near the door and when she got there she asked the child to follow her to the front desk. There, she unlocked the top drawer and pulled out the red velvet sack. 'Pick one,' she said. And the child reached inside and pulled out a paper thing. It was a puzzle with an airplane in the sky (Thammavongsa 2017, 28)	At the end of the school day, Miss Choi was waiting for her by the door. She asked the child to follow her to the front desk, where she unlocked the top drawer and pulled out the red velvet sack. "Pick one", she said. And the child reached inside and grabbed at the first thing her fingers touched. It was a puzzle with an airplane in the sky (Thammavongsa 2020, 9)

Aside from such noteworthy differences as the absent reference to the white plastic bag in the book version, this paragraph also shifts to become the penultimate one in the story overall, just before Joy and her father share

5. Fallon's story "Gold Star", in which Kit Murphy visits the widow of his former commanding officer, was first published in *Salamander* as "Sacrifice" (where his name is Flip Murphy; similarly, the widow around whom the story revolves is Josie Schieffel in *Salamander* and Jose Schaeffer in *You Know When the Men Are Gone*). The book version of that story is revised in other ways from its magazine publication as well, but not to the same extent as "The Last Stand", so I take Fallon's comments here as likely applying to both texts.

in the delight of her prize. The *Granta* version proceeds in chronological order, with Joy's encounter with Miss Choi following immediately from her initial disappointment that her flawless reading aloud might have earned a red yo-yo in the teacher's drawer, and before a double space to indicate the passage of time before a closing section beginning "Later that night". In the book version, the story shifts from the yo-yo remaining locked in Miss Choi's desk to the double space and "Later that night", but adds a new paragraph, in which Joy watches her father eating and "thinks of what else he doesn't know" (2020, 9), before then returning to the revelation of Miss Choi's act of kindness at the end of the school day.

Without access to a future archive, we can infer Thammavongsa's motivations for this instance of horizontal revision as a way to defer (briefly) the effects of Joy's beginning to enter into a world apart from her parents (a more "assimilated" world) through her encounter with Miss Choi. While the story concludes in the same way in both published versions, the route to that destination is subtly different in the book's opening chapter, which also signals to the reader of that volume to be prepared for other disruptions to temporal order, additional manipulations at the narratological level of the discourse. For my purposes, it's worth noting here that the differences in each published version of "How to Pronounce Knife" entail changes not only to specific words and sentences — what we might think of as the "parts" of the textual whole — but also to the arrangement of those words and sentences within the textual whole (perhaps a cousin of Bornstein's contextual code).

But alongside that nascent revision narrative, this story too exhibits a noteworthy axis of continuity. In addition to the paragraph quoted above ending identically in each case ("It was a puzzle with an airplane in the sky"), both stories conclude on the same note: "They take the prize, all the little pieces of it, and start forming the edge, the blue sky, the other pieces, the middle. The whole picture, they fill those in later" (Thammavongsa 2017, 28; 2020, 9). Ferrer observes that "the point of view of the writer constantly changes during the creative process, so that what is already written must be reinterpreted from a — marginally, in most cases, but sometimes radically, new — perspective" (2016, 58), as part of his emphasis on textual variation as a critical lens that "clarifies the dynamic interaction of the versions that takes place during the creative process" (2016, 63). While in the Morrison and O'Brien examples to follow I will examine material from their genetic processes, as Ferrer does in his discussion of the development of a sentence from the "Aeolus" chapter of *Ulysses*, I would suggest

here that authorial rereading and reinterpretation can also entail Hladik's deliberate decision to "let things stand", and that such a determination *not* to revise can be just as meaningful as the introduction of a variant (on the way to becoming a variation, in Ferrer's terms).

Further, we might think of the Fallon and Thammavongsa examples as "temporal parts", as ways of indicating an overarching continuity of identity across time, despite a certain level of variability. The philosopher Matthew McGrath explains that, while "temporal parts" might typically be understood in relation to events — a set within a tennis match, a ceremony as part of a wedding — some metaphysicians also think of objects in this way, ranging from things in the world to people. As I spell out in more detail below, thinking of each version of these stories as a temporal part of a persistent temporal whole would resemble ways of positing a consistent personal identity as well. In that case, rather than thinking of the (ostensibly) distinct selves I have been at age ten or thirty or fifty, I would think of an ongoing, persistent self, with "parts" corresponding not so much to locations in space as to locations in time (see McGrath 2007). This may well seem like a rather roundabout way of saying that the work "How to Pronounce Knife" is constituted by its three published incarnations (including the paperback reprint of the book's hardcover first edition), in addition to an unknown number of drafts, typescripts, proof pages, etc. As I hope will become clear(er) in the discussion that follows, I will be suggesting that reframing such thoughts about works, texts, versions, and documents along a temporal scale of continuity or persistence, rather than in a more object-oriented division of documents that constitute the immaterial whole of the work, will enable more helpful modes of understanding the relationships among texts and documents in relation to works, and in relation to the exchanges of variability and continuity within them.

When is a Version?

As the flip side of variation, textual continuity is inherently linked to questions of how to define works and versions in relation to intentionality (and to each other). As Greetham asks of the originally published version of Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* in 1900 and the "restored" edition, based on Dreiser's unexpurgated manuscript, in 1981, "there is a difference of roughly 80,000 words between 1900 and 1981. Does this difference not make a new novel and force reading and criticism to begin anew?" (2011,

274). Greetham's sense of what constitutes a "new" novel in this case is at once far removed from Hans Zeller's insistence that a "new version comes into existence through a single variant" because "variation at one point has an effect on invariant sections of the text" (1975, 241) yet also lies on the same spectrum; the difference between Greetham's position or Zeller's would derive from how much change is sufficient to produce a distinct version. As Greetham argues elsewhere, the conceptual and pragmatic implications of Zeller's account result in fragmentation and incoherence, as the dozens or even thousands of "versions" that would result from this view would ultimately lead to "the disintegrated work" (1999, 325). I am not interested in adjudicating this question here — or rather, I am interested in coming at it from the other direction, via the question of what, exactly, we might mean by the "invariant sections of the text", a category that Greetham's reading of *Sister Carrie* seems to accept unquestioningly. A quick summary of the extensive philosophical literature on the puzzle of Theseus's ship can, I think, be helpful in working through the problem of invariability.

This is necessarily a condensed summary of various long-standing debates in metaphysics, both for the sake of a more expedient return to editorial issues per se, and because I do not pretend to be a philosopher. The puzzle asks: suppose Theseus has a wooden ship and gradually replaces its planks over time, until he has eventually removed all the original planks and replaced them with new ones. Is the ship at the end of this process the same ship as the one Theseus initially set out on, or is this a different ship? (If the latter, the next question to arise would be at what point enough change has occurred to constitute a "new" ship.) Sometimes this problem involves a second ship as well, which has been built entirely from the discarded planks of Theseus's original ship; is this ship the same as Theseus's rebuilt ship? Or perhaps even more properly thought of as Theseus's original ship? A related version (so to speak) of this problem imagines a statue and a lump of clay, asking what it would mean to say that both are the "same", given that they consist of the same material but have other properties that are (or seem to be) clearly distinct. If one were to smash the statue and reduce it to a lump (or lumps) of clay, would its identity as a statue have ended? Or, if a piece of the statue breaks off while leaving the rest intact, in what respect is the resulting object the "same" statue?

While there is a considerable body of philosophical literature on these topics, Judith Jarvis Thompson's essay "The Statue and the Clay" offers one of the clearest accounts, and one that seems especially pertinent to edito-

rial concerns.[6] Rather than trying to determine the specific point at which *enough* change has occurred, Thomson emphasizes the relations between parts and wholes: "I will simply suppose — with ordinary thought — that artifacts can undergo replacement of a small part, leaving open how small is small, and what happens when (or would happen if) a replacement of a small part is (or if it were) part of a series of such replacements" (1998, 153–54). Thomson thus ascribes a continuity of identity to objects despite the (perhaps inevitable) changes in their particular parts or conditions: "If you get a new windshield wiper for your car, then in one way, of course, your car is not the same: it has a windshield wiper it formerly did not have. Just as if you drive your car through a puddle of mud, then in one way your car is not the same: it is dirtier than it was. But these changes are changes in it, that is, in the very car you have owned all along. We might say that the car isn't *the same*, for it has changed — but it is *it*, the same car, that has changed" (1998, 152–53; original emphasis). Thomson's approach to the problem of objects changing over time is to think in terms of those objects being "constituted" at particular times, so that at one time a statue is constituted (in part) by its lack of an arm that has broken off, while at another time the same statue would be constituted (in part) by the presence of that same arm, just as the car remains the same object, but is constituted in different ways at different times, by the replacement of the wiper blade, the temporary addition of mud, etc.

These kinds of questions are closely related, of course, to discussions of persistence or difference in personal identity over time. Those would comprise both issues of materiality (at the cellular and many "higher" levels, the body that is sitting at my desk now does not seem the same physical entity as the "me" of thirty years ago, or, strictly speaking, of thirty minutes ago or even thirty second ago, etc.) and of a more immaterial sense of personhood (the self I am now does not seem entirely coterminous with the self I was as an undergraduate, or before becoming a parent, or even before pausing this essay to answer an email, etc.). This is a much denser philosophical woods than those pointed at by Theseus's ship, but works of

6. For additional recent discussion, see: David Barnett, "The Problem of Material Origins", *Noûs* 39.3 (2005): 529–40; Catherine Z. Elgin, *Between the Absolute and the Arbitrary* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press),1997; Christopher Hughes, "Same-Kind Coincidence and the Ship of Theseus", *Mind* 106 (1997): 53–67; and Ingvar Johansson, "Identity Puzzles and Supervenient Identities", *Metaphysica* 7.1 (2006): 7–33.

art would seem to lie somewhere in the middle of objects like ships or cars and persons. Most philosophers of aesthetics, and most editorial theorists, would at least roughly agree that material occurrences of the work of art are necessary for the work to be perceived, while the work of art itself also exists on an immaterial plane. As Amie Thomasson maintains, for instance, "works of literature are neither (purely) mental nor (purely) material; nor are they either concrete physical objects or timeless, changeless abstracta" (2006, 246).

Drafts and published texts are not exactly analogous to lumps of clay and statues, but such questions of part/whole and continuity/variability clearly apply to both categories.[7] Such problems often arise during an editorial reconstruction of the genetic process, for instance, when early drafts are making their way toward what will become a published text. At what point, editors would ask, does an early draft "become" (or can be seen to have become) closely enough related to the published text to be considered part of the same work? Or, when might we perceive an early version as distinct enough from the published one to think of the previous version as in some sense a manifestation of a separate work? James L.W. West's edition of *Trimalchio* for the Cambridge Edition of F. Scott Fitzgerald considers Fitzgerald's early draft to be "different enough from *Gatsby* to deserve publication on its own [. . .] as a separate and distinct work of art" (2000, xix). Of course, we find in *Trimalchio* characters named Jay Gatsby, Nick Carraway, Daisy and Tom Buchanan, Jordan Baker, and others who will also populate *The Great Gatsby*; in *Trimalchio*, too, Gatsby has long loved Daisy, Nick narrates the story of his demise, Myrtle Wilson (spoiler alert) dies when Daisy is driving Gatsby's car, and more. As West explains, the "crucial differences" between the "distinct" works arise in chapters VI and VII of *Trimalchio*, where we find "several lengthy passages that do not appear in *Gatsby*", with the result that Nick is less "likable", while his affair with Jordan is "traced in greater detail" and her character is "more fully drawn" (2000, xviii). West thus concludes that the degree of difference in *Trimalchio* is enough to distinguish it from *Gatsby* as a separate work, despite the clear overlap in much of each narrative.

Or consider the case of Morrison's early drafts for *Beloved*, which we can trace back not only to early draft versions but to more general and conceptual plans. These are often sketched on yellow legal pads (though the only access available to scholars working with the Morrison archive at Princeton requires them to view digital scans of all her papers, even

7. As Thomson acknowledges as well (1998, 168).

her original computer files, on a dedicated laptop).[8] While *Beloved* (1987) eventually became the first volume in a thematic and historically chronological trilogy, with *Jazz* (1992) and *Paradise* (1994), at first Morrison envisioned the novel as the opening entry in a more standard trilogy, spanning three generations in a family's history, from the 1880s to the 1930s. The second and third volumes of this trilogy would have focused on the children and grandchildren of major characters in *Beloved*, including Beloved's daughter with Paul D; the grandson of the child Sixo conceives before his death with the Thirty Mile Woman; the granddaughter of Amy Denver, the white woman who helps the pregnant Sethe deliver her child; and even Howardine, Sethe's granddaughter named for one of her sons, Howard, who has already fled the haunted house at 124 Bluestone Road in the novel's opening paragraph. At another point, Morrison imagined *Beloved* as the beginning of a different trilogy, stretching through stories set in the 1920s and 1982, but now with the Beloved character present in all three books, as an essential witness to the female protagonists in the second and third volumes. While Morrison did not go so far as to draft any of these projected sequels — they exist only as "potential versions", in Peter Shillingsburg's terms (1997, 68) — we might still ponder the provenance of these outlines in the genetic dossier for *Beloved*, given how radically different that novel would have become had Morrison's plans continued in these directions. This would hardly seem a controversial designation, but my claim will derive from a reorientation of the ways in which such dossiers are conceptualized, away from a largely spatial sense, as in, say, Dirk Van Hulle's description as a "physical collection of documents" (2014, 11), drawing in turn on Pierre-Marc de Biasi's definition as a "material collection of documents" ("ensemble matériel des documents" [2000, 30, qtd. in Van Hulle 2014, 11]). That is, we might reframe Morrison's schematic outlines for what would become *Beloved* in Thomson's terms of constitution, in which the work *Beloved* is constituted at one time as being part of one or another projected trilogy, and is constituted at later times in other ways corresponding to Morrison's developing plans and the documents they produce. While the documents themselves remain central to this view of how editing and textual scholarship on *Beloved* might proceed — as Marta Werner observes, "For the textual scholar, the document and its strata of cultural and personal intervention holds the story, is the story" (2021, 26) — the telling of that story in the case of *Beloved*, and of O'Brien's novel

8. For further discussion of the Morrison archive in its digital forms, see Kirschenbaum 2021, ch. 1.

Going After Cacciato, as I will claim below, is more authentically told when thinking of these documents as corresponding to temporal nodes rather than only as objects in space.

Variability and Continuity "Tk" in the *Beloved* Archive

The Princeton archive contains at least seven distinct drafts of Morrison's novel, along with early fragments in Morrison's notes; five or six computer files, depending on the portion of the manuscript in question; multiple production texts, such as setting copy, rough pages, and a first pass master rough draft; and proofs for later reprintings. At the same time that Morrison experimented with different global conceptions of the novel(s) *Beloved* might have become, she worked through shorter scenes in numerous drafts, seemingly isolating those portions of the work-in-progress while still developing the larger structure into which they would eventually fit. As a result, both these shorter fragments and larger drafts frequently contain the notation "Tk", either typed or inserted by hand, a proofreading notation for "To come" that Morrison was no doubt familiar with from her years as a senior editor at Random House. Working through the archive enables a view of those aspects of the narrative that were more or less established at a given time, yielding both a synchronic view of the manuscript (how a particular segment fits into a larger whole) and a diachronic perspective (how one smaller part of a draft changes over time). The Princeton archive also offers dramatic visual evidence of the 1993 house fire that nearly destroyed Morrison's manuscripts, along with the oddity of her misspelled name, as "Tony", on a mockup title page.[9]

Morrison most often uses "Tk" (or "TK" or "MTK") to signal a space to which she plans to fill in a sentence or paragraph. In an early draft scene focused on Sethe after she has returned from ice skating with Denver and Beloved, for example, Morrison inserts "Tk" on its own line in between paragraphs, eventually returning to flesh out that moment. But sometimes this notation takes the place of a single word. In an early description of

9. Most notably, the Morrison papers answer the question of her decision to change a word in the novel's closing line, "No clamor for a kiss", at the request of Knopf editor Robert Gottlieb. While Morrison refers to this textual crux in her essay "Home" (1998) she does not reveal the original word. Prior to Gottlieb's intervention, the sentence read "No clamor for the join", one of many instances in which Beloved (the character) and the narrator use the noun form. I examine this textual history in an article that is "Tk".

Sethe working at a local restaurant, for example, from a folder of undated "draft fragments", Morrison writes: "But matches, sometimes a bit of kerosene, a little~~r~~ salt, butter too — these things she took also<,> once in a while<,> and felt ashamed because she could afford to buy them; she just didn't want the embarrassment of waiting out back of the tk general store with the others till every white in Ohio was served before the keeper turned to the cluster of Negro faces looking through a hole in his back door".[10] In this case Morrison eventually names the store, so that the line reads "waiting out back of Phelps store" in the published novel. At other points Morrison uses the notation more elaborately, as in an early description of Paul D's arrival at 124. In an early draft of this scene, Morrison writes, "A blessing, but in its place, he brought another kind of haunting: Halle's face smeared with butter and the clabber too; his own mouth jammed full of iron and Lord knows what else he could tell her if he wanted to", followed on the next line by "TK TK TK".[11] In this instance the full details of Paul D's traumatic past may have waited for Morrison's additional historical research into the brutal daily realities of slavery, or for her readiness to process those details into fiction, or both.

While Morrison typically returns to the site in need of elaboration within the physical space of a subsequent draft, she seems also to work on these moments in more isolated ways. Early descriptions of Sixo telling the other Sweet Home men about his journeys beyond the plantation include such notations as "MTK (language and perception minus deduction)" or "MTK (Sixo's language)" before Morrison eventually inserts a passage physically, taping it onto the subsequent page of a draft labeled "Robert Gottlieb's copy", with a notation in red pencil, "Insert attached".[12] In this case the empty textual space designated by "MTK" has persisted from some of Morrison's earliest surviving draft fragments, until finally being filled in by the point that the manuscript was ready for Gottlieb's reading.

In working through these materials, I have been most struck by the "phenomena of persistence", in Ferrer and Corcoran's terms, that Morrison's papers exhibit. The drafts and other production materials contain numerous instances in which Morrison returns to a particular scene or

10. Toni Morrison Papers, Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Box 13, Folder 17–18.
11. Toni Morrison Papers, Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Box 13, Folder 17–18.
12. Toni Morrison Papers, Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Box 13, Folder 20; Box 13, Folder 21; Box 14, Folders 4–6.

paragraph, making gradual additions, deletions, or other adjustments, yet also leaving much of the text invariant. Given the care with which Morrison clearly treats every word, her decisions about which parts of a section or paragraph should stand, and which to cut, condense, or expand, seem to express not a lack of interest in revising the invariant portions of the text, but rather a conscious decision not to revise — an absence of change, that is, as a potential for change that Morrison considers and declines. As an extended example of this process, I will examine here the nine extant versions of the novel's famous opening paragraph, which range from a paper document labeled "*Beloved* Synopsis and Early Draft, Undated" to a computer file titled "BELOVED.doc".

Morrison's papers at Princeton contain at least six drafts for the novel as a whole, as well as Morrison's copy of the publisher's rough pages and other pre-production materials. While this collection of documents does not necessarily comprise the entirety of Morrison's composition, revision, and proofreading processes, it does offer a fairly comprehensive view of the multiple kinds of documents that resulted from those processes. We can trace in this production history the record of "conceptual hesitation, failure, writer's block, creative undoing and revision" that is common to the pre-publication stages of a work (Van Hulle 2019, 16), though again my governing metaphor will be less a spatial "collection" of documents and more a temporal spectrum along which the developing work *Beloved* is constituted in different ways at different times. This orientation seems very much in keeping with Morrison's own apparent process of maintaining a constancy for certain aspects of a text under revision while experimenting with other local elements, all the while adjusting the larger narrative in progress, even if sometimes deferring those adjustments as "Tk". The material documents themselves would no doubt offer other kinds of insights, from the fragility of typed pages burnt around the edges to the feel of Morrison's legal paper in a scholar's hands, contributing to the ways in which Sally Bushell thinks of as the material draft "as an 'object' in its own right" (2009, 219). An unintended consequence of Princeton's preservation policy, then, is to heighten an awareness of the flow of time within and across the material of Morrison's archive, while necessarily diminishing, or even eliminating, a physical sense of her papers as non-digital objects. As Matthew Kirschenbaum has pointed out of born-digital textual materials, the "concept of a 'primary record' can no longer be assumed to be coterminous with that of a physical object" (2013, n.p.). This is self-evidently the case for the mid-1980s computer files included in Morrison's "papers", but the

remainder of the Morrison archives blurs those lines in a different way as well, by obscuring the physical boundaries and materiality of its scanned objects.

The nine pre-published versions of *Beloved*'s opening paragraph occur in the following files: seven drafts, some undated and others precisely or loosely so ("1984 September 21" or "circa 1984–1987"), including editor Gottlieb's copy of a later draft; a set of publisher's "rough pages" for Morrison's proofing; and a computer file from August 1986.[13] Given the date of "Draft 3" as September 1984 and Morrison's dating of her first conception of a novel based on the Margaret Garner case occurring just after she had resigned from Random House in 1983 (Morrison 2004, xv–xix), we can reasonably identify the earliest drafts, labeled "undated" in the Princeton archive, in the 1983–1984 range. These versions exhibit a fair degree of variability, not at all surprisingly, sometimes modifying and then returning to a particular word or phrase while gesturing toward its eventual form. Most notably, Sethe, the novel's protagonist, is originally called "Rett", though the other members of her family — Denver, Howard, Bugler (later spelled "Buglar"), and Baby Suggs — appear from the start with those names. The second draft finds "Rett" crossed through and "Sethe" inserted above, and she remains Sethe from that point forward. All versions begin the same way — "124 was spiteful. Full of a baby's venom" — but the third sentence, which reads "The women in the house knew it and so did the children" in the published book, does not adopt that construction until Draft 6, referring instead to "~~Rett~~ Sethe and her daughter" in earlier versions. As Morrison notes in her lecture "Unspeakable Things Unspoken", that sentence's reference to "the house" did not appear in her initial drafts, typically reading simply "The women knew it" (1989, 32). Similarly, the early reference to Baby Suggs's death, which arrives in the fifth sentence in the published version, is absent until Draft 6. The paragraph's closing reference to Ohio statehood — "In fact, Ohio had been calling itself a state only seventy years [. . .]" — appears in slightly different form initially, as "In fact, Ohio had survived only seventy years of a troubled statehood", before its modification to the final version within Draft 1 (actually the second extant version, following the "Early Draft" and synopsis).

But for the most part, Morrison leaves the paragraph in stable form, deciding that the original version should stand, even while rewriting (by hand) or retyping the text across these multiple instantiations. In addition

13. Additional computer files contain portions of drafts as well.

to the opening two sentences, which Morrison notes should be grammatically combined, but which she separated as a way of "unsettling" readers right away (1989, 32), several other elements of the paragraph, both syntactic and narrative, remain consistent, either from start to finish or for most of that textual journey. From the paragraph's second iteration on, for instance, a shattered mirror and fingerprints in a cake have sent Bugler/Buglar and Howard fleeing from the house, with their departures also occurring during the "dead of winter" from the second version forward. This tendency toward invariance within revision is hardly isolated to the novel's opening paragraph; instead, it is itself a consistent pattern across Morrison's years of composition and revision, as she returns at various stages to a range of paragraphs or scenes.

I will offer one other example, toward the end of the novel when Denver has decided "to do the necessary" (Morrison 1987, 252), to find a job in order to sustain her household, when Sethe and Beloved have become incapable of bearing such responsibility. The two paragraphs outlining Denver's attempts to find employment in Cincinnati again go through a number of revisions in the seven versions in the *Beloved* archive; initially, this passage is a single long paragraph, before Morrison eventually divides it in half. The sentence that ends the first paragraph in the published novel, "And Beloved helped her out" (1987, 252) appears in early drafts as "And Beloved accommodated her" before Morrison's handwritten marginal question, "Is this Denver's word?" presumably prompted the change. Other changes to language and punctuation pop up as well, but on the whole the main content of the text remains quite stable. Morrison's practice here, as elsewhere in *Beloved*, is to produce an early draft, work through a fairly small number of changes over the next few drafts, but largely to retain the text as initially written. The greatest degree of variability, indeed, comes from those moments she labels as "Tk" initially, with the missing text to be developed at a later stage. But even in those instances, Morrison seems not so much to be changing the narrative itself as to be using "Tk" as a placeholder, as if she has not quite worked out in her mind how best to flesh out those moments. Once she is ready to fill in those gaps, the text that has come typically also remains largely stable, suggesting that, somewhat like Hladik, Morrison has worked through possible iterations mentally before (unlike Hladik) committing them to paper or disk. We might therefore think of a particular *Beloved* draft or other pre-publication stage as being constituted temporally, as exhibiting or not a chunk of text that might be added or revised later, but as always part of an ongoing whole of what will become *Beloved* as the (published) work.

Temporal Parts and "known facts" in *Going After Cacciato*

O'Brien's composition and revision processes display similar modes of variation and continuity, but also open into his more extensive repurposing of the "same" text in different bibliographical contexts. *Going After Cacciato*, the 1978 novel that established O'Brien's career as a major literary voice to emerge from the American war in Viet Nam, works through a notoriously messy plot, as the protagonist, PFC Paul Berlin, struggles throughout to reconstruct a chronology of the deaths in his unit, with those efforts set against Berlin's squad pursuing the title character from Viet Nam all the way to Paris. While the imagined pursuit of Cacciato proceeds largely chronologically, Berlin's efforts to order the past do not; these often occur in a series of interpolated chapters labeled "Observation Post" in which Berlin imagines himself in a peaceful outpost on the coast. (This is, in fact, a double level of imagination, in addition to the impossible journey of the book's title.) Indeed, for the first eight years of the book's published life, a minor character who had been killed at an early point in the narrative's sequence was nevertheless present during a later soldier's death, until O'Brien fixed this problem when making corrections for a 1986 reprint.[14]

Here is an example of a small unit of text focused itself on the problems of change and continuity, two (or originally three) paragraphs from one of the later "Observation Post" chapters in which Paul Berlin is once again trying to reconstruct the sequence of events that have led him to this point. The cross-throughs here are often in thick blank pen, making it impossible to read the text underneath, even with a light shining through the page. Brackets indicate handwritten insertions.

> He tried again to order ~~xxx~~ <the known facts.> Billy Boy was first<.> ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ And then . . . then who? Then a long blank time along the Song Tra Bong, yes, and then Rudy Chassler, who broke the quiet. And then later Frenchie Tucker, followed in minutes by Bernie Lynn. Then lake country. World's Greatest Lake Country, where Ready Mix died ~~xxx~~ on a charge toward the mountains<. A>nd then Sidney

14. See Young 2017, 67–9. See also James Griffith, "A Walk through History: Tim O'Brien's *Going After Cacciato*", *War, Literature, and the Arts*, vol. 3, 1991: 5; and Dean McWilliams, "Time in O'Brien's *Going After Cacciato*", *Critique* 29.4 (1988): 246–47.

> Martin<.> <T>hen Buff<.> <T>hen Pederson<.> ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ Then Cacciato.
>
> Yes, then Cacciato, who led them away in slow motion. But how far and why? Mandalay, Delhi, Tehran<,> and beyond? Order was the hard part. The ~~xxx~~ <facts> even when beaded on a chain still did not have real order. Events did not flow. ~~xxx~~ <The facts> were separate and haphazard and random, even as they happened, episodic, broken, no smooth transition, no sense of events unfolding ~~xxx~~ from prior events. ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~.[15]

O'Brien did not save the earliest drafts of *Cacciato*, so his archive at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas dates back only to this typescript, which he later edited by hand (though exactly how much later is impossible to determine, and O'Brien doesn't remember). The typescript text as emended by O'Brien transfers to the first edition, and it remained in that form until O'Brien returned to it in galley proofs for a 1988 reprinting. At that point he encountered an unintended problem of textual ambiguity, as the line "Then Cacciato" at the end of the first paragraph may imply that Cacciato is himself dead, as indeed some early critics took to be the case (e.g. Scott 1991, 31). In an interview with me, O'Brien explained the "Then Cacciato" line as among the "vestiges" of earlier drafts where he was "trying out different possibilities" for the narrative, including a scenario in which Cacciato has been killed before his apparent decision to go AWOL, the moment that sets in motion the narrative as a whole. Here are O'Brien's corrections for this passage for the galley proofs of a 1988 reprint:

> He tried again to order the known facts. Billy Boy was first. And then . . . then who? Then a long blank time along the Song Tra Bong, yes, and then Rudy Chassler, who broke the quiet. And then later Frenchie Tucker, followed in minutes by Bernie Lynn. Then <L>ake <C>ountry. World's Greatest Lake Country, where Ready Mix died on a charge toward the mountains. ~~And then Sidney Martin. Then Buff. Then Pederson. Then Cacciato.~~ <And then Buff. Then Sidney Martin. Then Pederson.>
>
> Yes, then ~~Cacciato, who led them away~~ <Cacciato led them away> in slow motion. But how far and why? Mandalay, Delhi, Tehran, and beyond? Order was the hard part. The facts even when beaded on a

15. Tim O'Brien Papers, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Box 2, Folder 6.

> chain still did have ~~the~~ real order. Events did not flow. The facts were separate and haphazard and random, even as they happened, episodic, broken, no smooth transitions, no sense of events unfolding from prior events.[16]

When discussing this post-publication variant with students or at conferences, I have sometimes highlighted the change in a manner like this:

Going After Cacciato, 1978–1987	*Going After Cacciato*, 1988–
He tried again to order the known facts. Billy Boy was first. And then . . . then who? Then a long blank time along the Song Tra Bong, yes, and then Rudy Chassler, who broke the quiet. And then later Frenchie Tucker, followed in minutes by Bernie Lynn. Then lake country. World's Greatest Lake Country, where Ready Mix died on a charge toward the mountains. And then Sidney Martin. Then Buff. Then Pederson. *Then Cacciato.*	He tried again to order the known facts. Billy Boy was first. And then . . . then who? Then a long blank time along the Song Tra Bong, yes, and then Rudy Chassler, who broke the quiet. And then later Frenchie Tucker, followed in minutes by Bernie Lynn. Then *L*ake *C*ountry. World's Greatest Lake Country, where Ready Mix died on a charge toward the mountains. *And then Buff. Then Sidney Martin*. Then Pederson.

The oscillation between versions is an interesting and productive case of O'Brien working through several different narrative options, quite in keeping with the novel's resistance to putting the "known facts" into a coherent order, as I have argued at greater length in *How to Revise a True War Story*. More broadly, this example expresses the frequent outcome for the study of manuscripts, which, as Van Hulle and Shillingsburg write, "usually reveals a plurality of intentions" (2015, 38). But, I would suggest, this revision site is not only of interest for its variants, its rewritings, but for its moments of invariance, which, after all, make up much of the passage, even in a comparison of the typescript version to the revised print version. O'Brien certainly could have revised other elements of these paragraphs, or could do so in future reprintings, but has not done so, at least so far (the novel was most recently reprinted in 2014). Indeed, the sequence of events that Paul Berlin puts together here is largely consistent across versions, starting with Billy Boy's death, followed by the "long blank time" and the

16. Tim O'Brien Papers, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas, Box 1, Folder 2.

deaths of Rudy Chassler, Frenchie Tucker, Bernie Lynn, and Ready Mix, before alternating between Sidney Martin and Buff in either order, and ending with Pederson. While there may well be "no sense of events unfolding from prior events", as Paul Berlin thinks, at least at the level of the text there is a partially established order, and those parts of the order that remain constant seem just as significant as those that do not, both interpretively and editorially. That Paul Berlin is able to put the "known facts" into partial order seems equally as meaningful as those places where "Order was the hard part". Billy Boy's death always comes at the beginning, Rudy Chassler's always follows a "long blank time", and so on, and the stability of this sequence not only serves as a counterpoint to the instability of the chronology elsewhere, but also generates its own sense of reliability. Hannah Sullivan proposes that "the property of 'being unfinished' or 'being finished' is not a property of any single piece of paper or a stone slab, seen by itself, but a quality that can be attributed only relationally" (2016, 97). In viewing these stages of *Going After Cacciato*'s composition, revision, and post-publication revision relationally, we can highlight those textual elements that take on the property of "being finished", understood again not in teleological terms but as revision that has stopped, or at least paused, and is meaningful for having done so.

Going After Cacciato, 1978–1987	*Going After Cacciato*, 1988–
He tried again to order the known facts. Billy Boy was first. And then . . . then who? Then a long blank time along the Song Tra Bong, yes, and then Rudy Chassler, who broke the quiet. And then later Frenchie Tucker, followed in minutes by Bernie Lynn. Then lake country. World's Greatest Lake Country, where Ready Mix died on a charge toward the mountains. And then Sidney Martin. Then Buff. *Then Pederson*. Then Cacciato.	*He tried again to order the known facts. Billy Boy was first. And then . . . then who? Then a long blank time along the Song Tra Bong, yes, and then Rudy Chassler, who broke the quiet. And then later Frenchie Tucker, followed in minutes by Bernie Lynn*. *Then* L*ake Country. World's Greatest Lake Country, where Ready Mix died on a charge toward the mountains*. And then Buff. Then Sidney Martin. *Then Pederson*.

This mode of visualization would imply that O'Brien's text is constituted, as a temporal part, at least as much by continuity as by change. This way of thinking about versions and texts in relation to works, as Robin Schulze maintains, operates from a kind of "textual Darwinism". In this

model, Schulze explains, "Each time the author adapts the text as an agent among many material agents or forces, making the text 'fitter' in relation to its conditions, a new version of the text emerges" (1998, 275n9). From this point of view, the "adaptations" of this portion of *Cacciato* make the narrative more amenable to readings that are not premised on Cacciato's death (or on an inaccurate chronology for Sidney Martin's and Buff's deaths), while retaining those textual features that are continue to "fit" the environment of their reception.

Textual continuity is an especially apt lens through which to view O'Brien's career, as he has frequently repurposed the "same" text within multiple works. *Cacciato*, for example, originally included a chapter titled "Speaking of Courage", in which Paul Berlin has returned from the war. O'Brien cut this chapter from the novel, in order to maintain a tighter temporal focus, publishing it instead in *Massachusetts Review* in 1976. In 1989, "Speaking of Courage" appeared in *Granta*, with largely (though not entirely) the same plot, but this time focused on a Viet Nam veteran named Norman Bowker, and with a postscript called "Notes". O'Brien then included revised versions of these two texts as separate chapters in *The Things They Carried* (1990). O'Brien's readers also find considerable overlap among the essays "Ambush!" from *Boston Magazine* in 1993, "The Vietnam in Me", from the *New York Times Magazine* in 1994, and his novel *In the Lake of the Woods*, also published in 1994. Perhaps the most complicated case of continuity and versionality in O'Brien's oeuvre, though, comes in the story "Loon Point", originally published in *Esquire* in 1993, and then repurposed, with notable revisions to character and plot, in *two* novels, *In the Lake of the Woods* and *July, July* (2002). In all three versions, a woman takes a vacation with a dentist with whom she is having an affair; while at the hotel, the dentist dies suddenly, and the woman returns to her unsuspecting husband. In the *Esquire* story and *July, July* chapter, the protagonist is Ellie Abbott, though she is thirty-seven years old in the magazine story and fifty-two in the novel. As a chapter in *Lake*, the woman is Kathy Wade, who is remembering this episode in her marriage before the present of the narrative, in which she disappears under mysterious circumstances following revelations of her husband's presence at the My Lai massacre while a soldier in Viet Nam. I have written about these examples extensively elsewhere (Young 2017, Ch. 4, 19–20, and 166–69), but there I focused primarily on the significant ways in which each text varies from the other: characters take on different names and perform different actions, rendering the *Granta* or *Things They Carried* "Speaking of Courage" non-identical to

the story as first published and written, and similarly generating three distinct versions of "Loon Point". But defining these texts and versions largely in terms of change, I now worry risks misperceiving or misrepresenting the degree to which they are, importantly, the "same" texts. These examples are not quite analogous to Theseus's ship, where the new planks replacing old ones carry an identical function within the ship as a "work". While we might well think of the deleted manuscript chapter and the 1976 "Speaking of Courage" as parts of the work *Going After Cacciato*, and the 1989 "Speaking of Courage" as part of the work *The Things They Carried*, or the 1993 "Loon Point" as part of both the works *In the Lake of the Woods* and *July, July*, we might also — I would argue we should — consider the 1976 "Speaking of Courage" as part of the work *The Things They Carried*, especially in light of how much of the plot and narrative dynamics of the original story are present in its later instantiations.

"A kind of palimpsest"

In contrast to Hladik, whose revised texts exist only in the divinely granted expanse of his mind, Borges's most famous fictional author, Pierre Menard, produces "thousands of handwritten pages" from his "endless drafts" (Borges 2018, 95) on the way to becoming "author of the *Quixote*". Menard's drafts, however, are equally lost to history, as he "took care that they not survive him", leading the story's putative author to a "vain" attempt to reconstruct the contents of these physical manifestations, and to see "the 'final' Quixote as a kind of palimpsest, in which the traces — faint but not undecipherable — of our friend's 'previous' text must shine through" (Borges 2018, 95). Borges himself, meanwhile, produced three published versions of the story, in a 1939 issue of the Buenos Aries magazine *Sur*, and then in two collections of his fiction, *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (*In the Garden of Forking Paths*) in 1941 and *Ficciones* in 1956, the latter a revised version of the original, 1944 edition (Balderston 2018, 207). While a draft of "Pierre Menard" was famously reported stolen to Interpol but then recovered, the through-line from this unpublished version to Borges's post-publication variants "confirms that the compositional processes seen in the manuscripts continued when Borges revised" (Balderston 2018, 208–09). Borges's story features frequently in discussions of the ontology of the work of art, as the indistinguishable contents of Cervantes's and Menard's texts would seem to render them as distinct works insofar as each is produced under importantly different historical circums-

tances, and with different authorial intentions.[17] As Diana Peréz concludes, "if we know the manuscript in front of us was written by Menard instead of Cervantes, different interpretations occur to us" (2011, 87).[18]

Menard's original yet identical excerpts from the *Quixote* return me to the questions of works, texts, and versions that follow from interlocking senses of textual variability and continuity developing through time. Joseph Grigely deploys the Menard case to bolster his claim that all material instantiations of a work are always distinct from each other: "we can no more print the same text twice than we can step in the same stream twice", as even if "two texts are alike in all physical respects", their "difference is instead one that is ontological" (1995, 109). Greetham notes as well that, in relation to questions of textual ontology, the "deeply problematic status of repetition" is "at the core of textuality" (1999, 34). Textual repetition, and the variation and instability that follow inevitably from it, usually manifest themselves in the (non-Borgesian) cases of the "same" work occurring across "different" texts, including those that may be linguistically identical (or very similar) yet bibliographically distinct. While Cervantes's and Menard's iterations of the *Quixote* are ontologically distinct due to the circumstances of their production, the multiple published and unpublished texts of Borges's story fall under the ontological umbrella of the work, where they are distinguished by their differences and united by their overarching continuities.

I will conclude by returning to conceptions of the work in relation to the time of its productions and reproduction. From what Greetham thinks of as a postmodernist editorial orientation, works, and the texts in which they appear, would appear as in a state of "perpetual becoming", based on editors and editorial theorists "preferring process and demonstrable incompletion (or 'becoming') over fulfillment (and 'being')" (2007, 28). Bushell similarly emphasizes the "coming-into-being of the text" as an "organic

17. See Arthur C. Danto, *The Transfiguration of the Commonplace: A Philosophy of Art* (Harvard University Press, 1981); Jesús Aguilar, "Can Pierre Menard Be the Author of *Don Quixote*?" *Variaciones Borges* 8 (1999): 166–77; Christopher Janaway, "Borges and Danto: A Reply to Michael Wreen", *British Journal of Aesthetics* 32.1 (1992): 72–6; William Woof, "Borges, Cervantes, & Quine: Reconciling Existence Assumptions and Fictional Complexities in 'Pierre Menard, Author of Don Quixote'", *Variacones Borges* 7 (1999): 191–230; and Michael Wreen, "Once Is Not Enough?" *British Journal of Aesthetics* 30.2 (1990): 149–58.

18. Peréz, who presumably has never been to an STS conference, suggests elsewhere that "there seem to be no relevant differences between the different instantiations of a given book" (2011, 81–2).

becoming" generated by "construction, revision, and return" (2009, 225).[19] And Eggert, in a recent discussion of the concept of the work, understands its production and reproduction by readers, in addition to authors, editors, and publishers, as an essential part of the "repeated coming-into-being of the work" as part of the "unfolding life of the work" (2019, 176). To conceptualize the work as becoming or unfolding over time, across its draft and multiply published versions and texts, necessarily entails an understanding of the work as an immaterial entity that persists, that is constituted by its continuity and its variability as these aspects of textuality engage each other. For Morrison to maintain an underlying vision of *Beloved* that maintains its invariability as she expands textual moments that were "Tk" before then letting them stand, or for O'Brien to return to "Speaking of Courage" or "Loon Point" in order to repurpose these textual foundations for what ultimately become two different works in each case, implies that these temporal and textual parts of an unfolding whole are constituted along those processes of composition, revision, and return as much by remaining the same as by remaining different.[20]

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19. Though Bushell tends to think of textual "becoming" as emerging from drafts rather than "the stable, completed text" (2009, 229), as the examples of Borges, O'Brien, or many other authors demonstrate, publication does not in any meaningful sense imply "completion".

20. This paper began as a presentation at the 2019 conference of the Society for Textual Scholarship. I am grateful for comments and questions there.

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Tipologie di contaminazione nella tradizione testuale della "Commedia" dantesca

Elisabetta Tonello

Abstract

This essay examines the phenomenology of contamination in the textual tradition of Dante's Commedia. *After clarifying the definition of contamination, and its relationship with the* editio variorum, *the essay explores useful strategies to diagnose this phenomenon in the text and the consequences, from a stemmatic point of view, of the diffusion of the particular type of contamination 'of workshop'.*

> La trasmissione orizzontale, se non di un testo, di singole lezioni si confronta [. . .] con una macchia d'olio, che da un punto determinato si allarga a poco a poco sino a coprire tutta una superficie: fino a dove giungerà allargandosi, nessuno può prevedere con sicurezza.
>
> —Pasquali 1988, 141

Come è noto, l'edizione della *Commedia* rappresenta un lavoro complesso, non solo a causa del testo, sul quale possono nascere mille dubbi e dibattiti, ma anche perché la tradizione dell'opera costituisce uno dei casi più intricati della filologia italiana e romanza.

Essendomi dedicata per piú di dieci anni alla classificazione dei 580 manoscritti superstiti posso dire che, oltre naturalmente al numero elevato di testimoni (per il quale soccorrono i moderni ausili informatici), uno degli ostacoli — e forse l'ostacolo *par excellence* — di fronte al quale più spesso mi sono trovata è la contaminazione. Non una contaminazione extrastemmatica che vale a recuperare lezioni incognite al resto della tradizione e spesso più "alte" — che può essere un valido ausilio per il filologo alle prese con varianti poco soddisfacenti — ma una contaminazione tra rami della tradizione ben noti, tra famiglie i cui contorni sfumano l'uno

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nell'altro, senza permettere di intravedere una separazione netta, persino tra esemplari singoli (o, meglio, antigrafi). Insomma, pare ci si debba rassegnare a diagnosticare semplicemente una contaminazione sistematica e abbondante, una mescolanza profonda dei modelli testuali, una molteplicità di "contatt*i* laterali" (Belloni 2015, 156) in definitiva una dinamica di con-fusione degli antigrafi che costituiva un perno dei meccanismi di copia manoscritta dell'opera in Toscana.

Se dal punto di vista della classificazione stemmatica non si giunge quindi a un risultato troppo brillante — si potranno al massimo riconoscere le fonti di prelievo più vistose nella confezione di un manufatto contaminato e scartare questi esemplari come *inutiles* —, dal punto di vista della metodologia critica la tradizione della *Commedia* si presta a rappresentare un impareggiabile campo di prova per sviluppare riflessioni e teorie di portata generale.

Nel prosieguo di questo intervento affronterò quindi tre ordini di considerazioni, che scaturiscono dall'esame di casi specifici di contaminazione riscontrabili nel grande bacino dei testimoni della *Commedia*.

§

1. Partiamo dalla definizione stessa di contaminazione. In molti pregevoli manuali e interventi su questo tema, il fenomeno della contaminazione viene ricondotto al concetto di *editio variorum*, che è il risultato dell'azione di collazioni multiple, differite e spesso ad opera di diversi soggetti su un esemplare.

Ad esempio, Stussi spiega così la contaminazione:

> il fenomeno si verifica di frequente nei centri scrittori di qualche importanza dove erano disponibili più codici contenenti la stessa opera dai quali attingevano i copisti per migliorare o correggere il testo in singoli punti; c'è ragione di ritenere che talvolta a tale scopo fosse allestito un collettore di varianti (*editio variorum*) cioè un manoscritto dove, sui margini o nell'interlinea, si trovavano annotate le diverse lezioni presenti in altri manoscritti.
>
> (2005, 135)

Similmente la Ageno:

> Accadeva non di rado che non solo un manoscritto contenente un testo greco o latino, ma anche un codice contenente un testo romanzo

> venisse collazionato con un manoscritto di diversa tradizione, e un revisore, attenendosi al nuovo manoscritto, riempisse le lacune, correggesse gli errori evidenti o quelli che lui sembravano tali, segnasse in margine la possibilità di leggere diversamente una parola una frase (in genere, facendo precedere la variante dal segno *al* 'alias'). Quando il manoscritto che aveva subito la revisione diventava a sua volta modello per altre trascrizioni, il copista poteva "scegliere" alternativamente la lezione del testo o la variante segnata in margine: nasceva così un codice il cui testo era "contaminato".
>
> (1999, 73)

Credo che troppo spesso si faccia confusione tra contaminazione fisica tra esemplari e contaminazione testuale. Mi spiego subito. Un processo riguarda il prelievo da uno o più codici, oltre a quello di base, da cui si copia il testo, di lezioni giudicate *potiori*, interessanti, in definitiva migliori consegnate a un supporto materiale, sul quale si trovano a convivere. Da questo processo nasce dunque un prodotto tangibile riconoscibile, un manoscritto con lezioni a margine, in interlinea, con una sua fisionomia precisa e con uno scopo che può essere editoriale, esegetico o di profonda e consapevole curiosità intellettuale. Il secondo riguarda la mescolanza involontaria che si genera, precipuamente in bottega, quando nel testo vengono a confluire diversi rivoli della tradizione, alterandone la fisionomia. Il prodotto di questo secondo procedimento è un testo alterato, contenuto in un manoscritto che può anche avere una veste grafica pulita, nitida, con margini e interrighi liberi e senza stacchi meccanici (di penna, di formato, codicologici).[1]

Si tratta insomma di due entità molto diverse, che in concreto possono rappresentare due fasi interconnesse, ma che in realtà costituiscono due fenomeni intrinsecamente distinti. Il fine della *editio variorum* è infatti la conservazione di più varianti, la discussione delle lezioni concorrenti, la compresenza in un unico esemplare di varie e differenti alternative entro cui scegliere, entro cui promuovere un dibattito, entro cui verificare le molteplici espressioni della lingua, della prosodia e della cultura. Il *telos* dell'atto di contaminazione di bottega è, invece, quasi esclusivamente la rapidità nella confezione della copia e il controllo della qualità del testo; l'epurazione dagli errori che avveniva ad opera di copisti incaricati o capibottega che verificavano, attraverso un codice reputato fededegno, che non fossero presenti sviste.

1. Su questi aspetti si veda Varvaro 2010.

Insomma, esiste una contaminazione materiale, di cui resta traccia, e che è incarnata da quell'esemplare in cui convivono lezioni attinte da diversi modelli, il noto LauSC ad esempio,[2] ed esiste una contaminazione occulta che trova espressione nei tanti codici contaminati che escono dalle botteghe e che rilevano non in quanto singole copie, ma in quanto massa di esponenti di una o più vulgate, i manoscritti *parm&*, la tradizione vaticana e Boccaccio ecc.[3] Oramai sappiamo che in queste botteghe, all'esplodere della produzione in serie tosco-fiorentina, ma già in parte anche a Bologna, la copia avveniva con modalità affini a quelle della *pecia*. Negli atelier scrittori, le *Commedie* modello, afferenti a diversi tipi testuali, si presentavano sfascicolate (divise in fascicoli appunto o in cantiche); le unità di copia venivano quindi copiate e poi sottoposte a controlli testuali e a correzioni da parte di copisti-revisori e solo in fine assemblate, arbitrariamente, in una fase ulteriore.

L'osservazione della tradizione superstite ci conforta in queste osservazioni. Il LauSC, l'*editio variorum* approntata da Villani per svolgere le sue pubbliche letture dantesche, è un codice per cui non si riscontra una discendenza numerosa. Tutt'altro, a patto di considerare il "prodotto finito", ossia la veste con cui si presenta a seguito degli interventi di correzione e marginali, si possono individuare un affine molto stretto, anzi una copia pedissequa, Nap. XIII C 3, che ne assorbe le lezioni a testo e a margine (Manfredi 1994–1995), e altri sette codici riuniti nella famiglia *berlcaetsc*, due dei quali, Caet e Laur. 90 sup. 132, sono di mano dello stesso copista: Luigi di Ser Michaelis. Si tratta di un insieme di testimoni che risalgono a iniziative editoriali colte avviate nella Firenze del Salutati per le quali il pregio della compresenza di più tradizioni in un unico supporto rappresenta un valore da mantenere più che un'opportunità di con-fusione.[4]

Un buon esempio della contropartita è la proliferazione, massiccia e in una certa misura irriducibile a una qualunque classificazione ordinata, dei codici *parm&*. Si tratta dei codici riconducibili alle collaborazioni tra i

2. Il manoscritto, copiato da Filippo Villani alla fine del 1300, è quasi certamente la copia approntata per condurre la sua *Expositio seu Comentum super 'Comedia' Dantis Allegherii* e le letture pubbliche fiorentine, precedentemente tenute da Boccaccio. Il codice presenta numerose varianti al margine e in interlinea, e alcune rasure. Tra le sue fonti si individua con certezza un modello *vatbocc* (= i codici che si raccolgono attorno all'officina del copista di Vat e alle copie di Boccaccio), accanto ad uno di tipo *a0* (= il gruppo di mss. affini di *a*, Mart Triv).
3. Per la definizione di questi gruppi mi permetto di rinviare a Tonello 2018, 105–222; 363–416.
4. Rimando nuovamente a Tonello 2018, 147–57.

copisti di Parm, per l'appunto, di Ashb, di Ricc. 1025, di Fior. II I 30 ecc., studiati approfonditamente da Pomaro, la quale ha dimostrando che, sui prodotti di questi scribi, gli interventi di revisione, parziali copiature estemporanee, rubriche e così via erano affidati ai capomastri che utilizzavano un proprio antigrafo personale, ovvero un modello testuale preciso (Pomaro 1994). A questo fenomeno, che potrebbe leggersi come contaminazione di lezioni, si aggiunge quello della contaminazione per giustapposizione, generato dalla mescolanza delle unità di copia, fascicoli e cantiche, separatamente prodotte da più scribi. Ho chiamato altrove questa combinazione "contaminazione ibrida" (Tonello 2016 e 2018, 141–43 e *passim*); ritengo che si tratti della modalità più diffusa di contaminazione, senza dubbio per la *Commedia*, ma anche in altre tradizioni, e che, come ho detto, differisca sostanzialmente negli scopi e negli esiti dalla operazione di contaminazione per l'approntamento dell'*editio variorum*.

§

2. Passiamo ad un altro ordine di osservazioni. Esistono alcune condizioni che soccorrono la diagnosi di contaminazione di un codice. Si tratta, in prima battuta, della presenza di doppie lezioni, di particolari *explicit* che dichiarino gli intenti del copista, e della presenza del commento, per via di quello che Procaccioli ha felicemente definito "strabismo operante" (Procaccioli 2001, 77) tra testo al centro della pagina e esegesi a lato, che spesso porta a modificare i versi del poema sulla base dei lemmi del commento, fondati su un testo evidentemente diverso da quello che si sta copiando. In secondo luogo, un utile conferma *ex post* può essere la presenza di errori patenti, marchiani. Infatti, in contesto di contaminazione, può essere molto istruttivo osservare gli errori patenti, che spesso sono la spia di una evidente azione rielaborativa del copista. Propongo anche in questo caso un esempio concreto: Chig. L IV 109 presenta errori come: 1.28 *Poi ch'ei posato* un poco il corpo lasso P] mi prese lena e 1.9.53 dicevan *tutte riguardando* in giuso P] tenendo tutte il viso. Sono, oltre che *singulares*, errori così gravi che snaturano la fisionomia del verso rivelando un allontanamento dal testo di partenza molto profondo.

Verosimilmente, la catena di errori che si è prodotta, ovvero il numero di interpositi che si sono succeduti, ha provocato una alterazione del testo tale da rendere possibile il generarsi di tali errori. Laddove ci si trovi di fronte a un certo numero di questi errori patenti si può essere, di fatto, inibiti nella classificazione dal momento che la loro presenza sottrae spazio alle innovazioni congiuntive. Ciò non costituisce un problema nei casi di discendenza

verticale e di tradizione inerte, per cui di solito l'errore patente si genera per cattiva lettura o, più comunemente, per colmare lacune meccaniche. Si riscontrano infatti, di norma, ancora sufficienti errori congiuntivi grazie ai quali la classificazione è comunque possibile.

Ma statisticamente risultano molti di più i casi in cui gli errori patenti si riscontrano nei manoscritti contaminati. Non solo, infatti, in codici molto contaminati, se ne rileva una presenza massiccia, ma in questo stato di cose essi sono davvero in grado di impedire la classificazione. Si sostituiscono infatti alle già scarse e instabili prove di discendenza. Non bisogna però pensare che siano dovute solo al moltiplicarsi degli atti di copia. Ricordo in proposito il punto 6 del celebre decalogo sul problema della contaminazione di Segre: "si può dire che, mentre la contaminazione sporadica corrisponde a un intento di fedeltà, la contaminazione fitta o multipla suggerisce un senso di relatività, invita a raggiungere, con mezzi autonomi, una almeno speciosa scorrevolezza: il copista si fa, di cercatore, creatore di varianti" (Segre 1961, 65). La ragione non è difficile da intuire e risiede nel nesso che lega i copisti per passione alla contaminazione di lezioni. Diversamente dalla contaminazione di bottega che è, come abbiamo detto, per sua natura per giustapposizione — e incidentalmente anche di lezioni —'abitudine dei copisti per passione ad intervenire sul testo, che si concretizza sia andando a caccia della migliore lezione, sia congetturando, finisce per creare esemplari sfigurati, tanto dal punto di vista della discendenza che da quello della corruzione testuale.[5]

Tuttavia, se non m'inganno, stanti così le cose, le serie di errori patenti possono essere recuperate e valorizzate come utili conferme alla classificazione, a patto di interpretarle come indizi confermativi di una avvenuta contaminazione. D'altronde, come afferma Segre, "esiste un legame tra contaminazione e rimaneggiamento" (1996, 65).

§

3. In ultimo, è opinione comune che questo tipo di manoscritti rappresenti un anello terminale della catena generativa della copia, un ultimo tassello che può agevolmente essere tralasciato per la ricostruzione testuale. Ma si dà il caso che i codici contaminati di cui abbiamo parlato, i codici di bottega, siano altamente fecondi, per loro propria natura. E da ciò deriva la difficoltà di riconoscerli, come verrebbe immediatamente da pensare, quali

5. Rimando ancora a Segre 1961, specie per i punti 1–5 e a Varvaro 2010.

inutiles, proprio per il peso che finiscono per rappresentare nella classificazione.

È evidente invece come, in particolare nelle tradizioni sovrabbondanti, i casi di contaminazione possiedano una capacità produttiva. Nella *Commedia* è infatti possibile toccare con mano il processo di generazione di tradizioni autonome a discendenza verticale a partire dalla fissazione di testi contaminati. Fornisco anche in questo caso un esempio. Osserviamo il codice Cors. Ross. 368. Il manoscritto, della seconda metà del XIV sec., sottoscritto da Giovanni da Parma, probabilmente un frate, reca segni evidenti di contaminazione: doppie lezioni, varianti nel margine e in interlinea, rasure e correzioni. In *Inferno* e *Purgatorio* presenta lezioni provenienti da gruppi molto estesi: d' (D5 D6 D10 D13 D15); *vatbocc* (*B5, VB9 [che], *V14, V22) e qualche traccia dall'area del *cento*: PR21 e, in doppia lezione, C28 (2.23.5 vienne *oramai*, ché 'l tempo che n'è imposto] ogi omai).[6] Inoltre lezioni singolari: 1.4.83 vidi quattro *grand'*ombre *a* noi venire P] [grand'] — contro; 1.5.34 quando giungon *davanti* alla rovina] di venti; 2.2.44 tal che *faria* beato *pur descripto* P] parea — per soscripto; 2.32.147 simile *mostro visto* ancor non fue] in vostra vista). Infine, presenta affinità con altri due codici, anch'essi di chiara indole contaminatoria: Vat. 4777' (XV sec. *in*.) e Ver. Com. 2856' (XIV *ex*.–XV *in*.). Ora con entrambi, ora con uno solo dei due. Questi, a loro volta, mostrano un ventaglio di lezioni di diversa provenienza, spesso in comune (Ver. Com. 2856': *B5, D4, *V8, *V14 / C15, L2, D5, D7, D9, D10, D11, D13, D15, D18, D19; Vat. 4777': D1, *B5, VB9 / C15, D5, D6, C19, D9, D10, D11, D12, D13, D14, D15, D17, D18), e poi ognuno lezioni singolari (2.4.72 *che mal* non seppe carreggiar Fetòn P] per mal Ver. Com. 2856'; 2.8.53 *giudice Nin* gentil, quanto mi piacque P] giuditio in vie Ver. Com. 2856'; 1.20.80 *Ne la* qual si distende *e la 'mpaluda* P] Nel — et la padularda Vat. 4777'; 2.9.42 come fa l'uom che, *spaventato, agghiaccia* P] spaventando a caccia Vat. 4777').

Questi ultimi due codici, Ver. Com. 2856' e Vat. 4777', oltre alle lezioni esclusive in comune con Cors. Ross. 368' e alle innovazioni loro proprie, presentano una serie di accordi tra loro, a cui si sottrae Cors. Ross. 368'. Se

6. Impiego qui il sistema di riferimento sintetico messo a punto in Tonello 2018. Ho infatti individuato le innovazioni tipiche delle maggiori famiglie del tosco-fiorentino α e ad ognuna ho assegnato un rimando numerato. Per la famiglia *d'*, che comprende le grandi famiglie *vatbocc*, *parm&* e *cento*, faccio riferimento alla tav. 62, p. 232–35. Per tutte le altre sottofamiglie si rimanda agli elenchi alle pp. 41–51 (ad es. le innovazioni di *a'* saranno compendiate come A1 = 1.1.47 con la testa alta e con *rabbiosa* fame] bramosa *a'*; A2 = 1.2.56 *e* cominciommi a *dir* soave e piana] [e] — parlar *a'* ecc.).

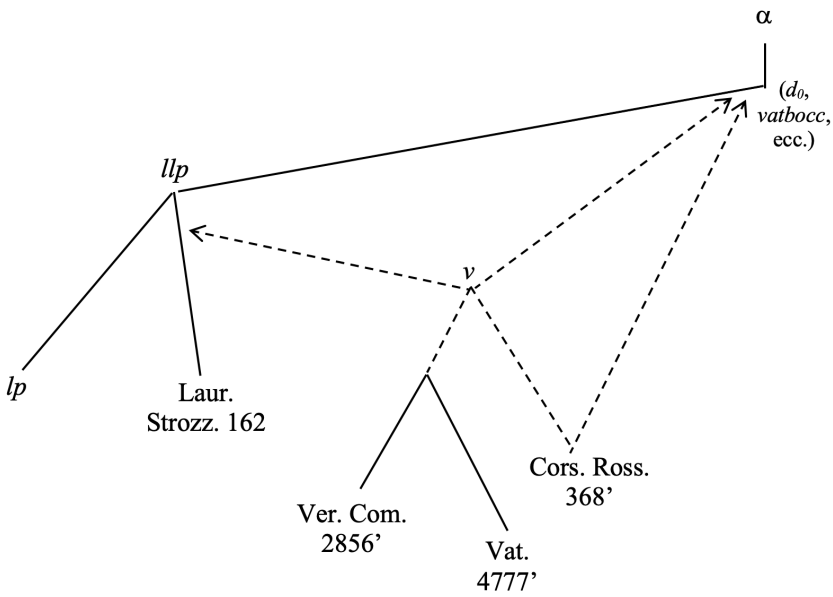

Figura 1. Stemma di *v* in *Inferno* e *Purgatorio*.

ne concluderà che, a monte di Cors. Ross. 368' Vat. 4777' Ver. Com. 2856' vi doveva essere un antigrafo comune, che nominerò *v*, (magari in veste *editio variorum*) cui può aver attinto Cors. Ross. 368'.[7] Ma non è finita qui. Spesso alle innovazioni esclusive di *v* si trova allineato Laur. Strozz. 162, un codice appartenente a una sottofamiglia che fa capo al noto ms. Lau, dalla fisionomia piuttosto indipendente. Da un lato sembrerebbe occupare una posizione più alta rispetto ai suoi consanguinei, sottraendosi spesso all'errore, dall'altro lato compie alcuni errori di distrazione e banalizzazioni, a partire dalla lezione buona o dalla lezione tipica della famiglia *lau&*, che dunque potrebbero essere facilmente ricondotti all'iniziativa del copista.

Ad ogni modo, il contributo testuale di Laur. Strozz. 162 (o un suo affine) nei confronti di Cors. Ross. 368' Vat. 4777' Ver. Com. 2856' è indubitabile. Ecco una rappresentazione stemmatica dei rapporti tra questi codici per *Inferno* e *Purgatorio*.

7. L'ipotesi alternativa, pure possibile, che solo Vat. 4777' e Ver. Com. 2856' derivino da uno snodo comune e rappresentino una fonte testuale alla quale Cors. Ross. 368' attinge è di fatto indifferente (e insondabile) rispetto all'altra dal punto di vista dei risultati ottenuti.

Considerando la poca parte di testimoni giunti fino a noi rispetto all'albero reale non siamo di fatto in grado di ricostruire i passaggi che portano alla nascita di nuove tradizioni. Tuttavia, attraverso casi come questo, possiamo osservare, seppur solo a spanne, come l'intersezione e la mescolanza di tipi testuali *possa* dar vita a snodi stabili, come dimostra l'uso, imprescindibile in casi come questo, della linea continua. Insomma, i codici affetti da contaminazione non solo non sono isolati e dunque sterili, ma rappresentano un valido spaccato per osservare i processi generativi più complessi della copia manoscritta. Insomma, anche se "contro la contaminazione non si è ancora scoperto alcun rimedio" come recita il citatissimo monito di Paul Maas, (Maas 1972, 62) si dovrà tuttavia convenire che la metodologia con la quale la si affronta può risentire della conoscenza fenomenologica di queste pratiche e che le nostre esperienze critiche possono contribuire al dibattito su questo fondamentale ostacolo della critica stemmatica.

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a0 = Mart Triv e affini
berlcaetsc = Berl Caet LauSC e affini
bocc = To Ri Chig e affini
cento = Lau Lo Ricc Tz e affini
d0 = *cento parm& vatbocc*
lau& = Lau e affini
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Editing Versions

Historicism, Biography, and the Digital in Tanselle's *Descriptive Bibliography*

John Bryant

Abstract

G. *Thomas Tanselle's* Descriptive Bibliography *— a monumental compilation of essays devoted to bibliographical theory and practice as they have evolved as a discipline since the 1960s — not only attests to Tanselle's vibrant career but is also an occasion to reflect on bibliography as a "way of thinking" about book history, material culture, the editing of fluid texts, and digital scholarship. In our profession, the field of descriptive bibliography has endured decades of begrudging tolerance as "merely" custodial rather than critical; and yet bibliography — in so far as it records change — is the fundamental grounding for any historicist and materialist project. Melville's so-called "L-word" in* Typee *— once it is tracked from manuscript to first edition to revised edition — records an "oscillating revision" in Melville's thinking and writing that exemplifies the dance between accident and intentionality in the creative process. Tanselle's essays on the practical workings of bibliography also suggest the field's ability to extend its scope beyond idealized notions of the authorial work and to embrace non-authorized reprints, periodical placement, illustration, and non-literary documents, as well as adaptive revision in film and translation. Descriptive bibliography is essential for our deeper engagement with how and why versions evolve. Advancements in digital strategies related to database and display will facilitate the future acceptance of descriptive bibliography among literary scholars and critics seeking to test the interpretive potentials of biography, material history and culture, and the fluid text.*

I am not a descriptive bibliographer, and I am among the least practiced readers of this journal to reflect on G. Thomas Tanselle's comprehensive volume titled *Descriptive Bibliography* (Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 2020). Would not one of Tanselle's equally titanic contemporaries — Hans Walter Gabler, Jerome J. McGann, Joel Myerson, Peter Shillingsburg, James L. W. West, or Michael Winship — be better qualified; or one of his former, highly accomplished students, such as David Vander Meulen; or any of a younger (though graying) gene-

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ration who have made distinguished contributions in not only descriptive bibliography but also textual studies, such as Mark Bland, Maura Ives, Randall McLeod, and Paul Needham? That said, my qualifications lie in my advocacy for the field: its practitioners, its evolving commitment to historicism, and its continued centrality in our understanding of books, texts, images, and, in particular, versions in print and online.

Like many editors of scholarly editions, I have not created a descriptive bibliography — happily, such descriptive bibliographies in my field of Melville studies pre-date me — but editing a writer's work without a descriptive bibliography would be like wandering in an obscure wood without a map, or a Virgil. This is not to say that a descriptive bibliography is merely a tool useful in the making of something more important. It is a discipline in itself, and Tanselle's collection of a lifetime of essays gives you, in somewhat reiterative though invariably engaging ways, the history of that discipline: the fundamentals of the arts, sciences, and technologies of bibliography; the constituent parts of particular kinds of bibliographies; and arguments over the past six decades that represent the vital issues in the modern practice of making a bibliography.

As a non-practitioner in a field that many charitably call dry, I found myself instead engrossed by each chapter and wondering what is at the heart of our unlikely embrace of descriptive bibliography. Most compelling is the magnetism of the paradox of textuality being both material and immaterial. In reading, we transform material words written on the page into images, actions, thoughts, arguments, and discourse, all happening invisibly in the mind. Surprising it is, then, to recognize (which, eventually, we all do) that even these material words, solidly "there" on pages and in books, are artifacts of past writing and publishing processes that are as equally invisible to us as are the transformative processes of reading. Furthermore, does knowing about the past events of a creative process inflect the meaning of our present reading of these words? of the history of a process we call publishing? and of our lives as humans interacting with the stuff of culture? We cannot begin to know the answers to these questions — which get at the origins of the evolving versions of a text, or what might be called a work's textual identities — until we begin to list and describe the traces of words, books, publishing, and culture. In light of Tanselle's book, I want to address the pull — the inevitability and critical necessity — of descriptive bibliography, as well as its connection to other intellectual concerns including the editing of versions of works and the dynamics of revision, and bibliography's future growth in a digital world.

I. The Stigma of Mere

Granted, descriptive bibliography has an uphill battle in claiming anything approaching centrality in the protean fields of literary interpretation. In the disciplines of the humanities as enacted for decades and still today, the origins and evolution of a text are still marginalized by the more immediate need to focus on meaning as it emerges from other social, political, or cultural contexts of the text itself. To be sure, I celebrate the long-time-in-coming diversity of interpretive fields we have witnessed since the shift from New Critical aestheticism to the New Historicism and multiculturalism starting in the 1960s and 1970s. The irony of this still evolving historicist "turn" is that descriptive bibliography remains marginal even though it is nothing if not fundamentally historicist and cultural, not only in its announced pursuit, as Tanselle puts it, of "the production and publication" of books (2020, x) but also in the foundations it lays for fuller material histories of reading and writing. The undeserved neglect is all the more concerning when we consider that the trans-disciplinary nature of descriptive bibliography makes its multicultural applications all the more useful: Its scope ranges from classical to modern texts, from European and Asian to American and African, and from single author to popular culture studies; it serves the needs of non-literary genres such as film, music, and dance, as well as such scientific fields as mapping, botany, and the stars.

Tanselle's book consists of thirteen essays, first published between 1966 and 2006, each with a "Postscript" that updates past discussions to 2020 in light of intervening critical publications. The opening five essays cover broader, theorized concepts (e.g. Cataloguing, Ideal Copy, Edition); the remaining eight discuss practical problems in making a descriptive bibliography (e.g. Collation, Paper, Typography, Presswork, Binding, Dust Jackets). The volume's appendix — consisting of a "Sample Descriptive Bibliography" (of Melville's *Redburn*), a glossary of bibliographic terms, and a useful list of "The Literature of Bibliography" — gestures toward the book's viability as a resource for courses in bibliography and editing; indeed, a pamphlet version of the sample *Redburn* bibliography and glossary, shrink-wrapped with the volume itself, is designed for classroom uses. Regardless of topic, each essay replays in variant language Tanselle's consistent refrain that a descriptive bibliography is "a history of the books [it takes] up" and contributes to "the broader annals of printing, publishing, and human culture" (2020, x). The remarkable breadth of Tanselle's book suggests that by "human culture" he means, at the very least, research, scholarly editing,

biography, book history, genre studies, material culture, literary interpretation, and, I would add, critical thinking in a democratic culture. It is good to know the material foundations of the media that shape our lives, in publishing and online, if finding truths is a goal for representative self-governance.

Despite Tanselle's protestations to the contrary, the long-established field of descriptive bibliography might share some blame for the disciplinary neglect it still endures. A persistent derogation of descriptive bibliography is that it is "merely" descriptive and, for that matter, alienating in its hyper-abbreviated collation formulas; it has been, erroneously equated with cataloging (another "mereness"), and at best useful as data for more important analyses. Literary scholars infrequently consult descriptive bibliographies, literary critics less so. Such neglect and minimizing might prevail in scholarship, unless and until, and perhaps serendipitously, individual scholars find themselves confronting critical problems that, in fact, require the sort of information that is consistently gathered and framed, thoroughly arrayed, and accessible only through a descriptive bibliography. Then suddenly a Melvillean "shock of recognition" takes hold. Suddenly, we know what descriptive bibliography is for; suddenly, descriptive bibliography becomes central, important, and no longer "mere".

I have had such Zen moments regarding descriptive bibliography, to be shared shortly, so I want to know, despite the "mereness" of descriptive bibliography, how the emergence of my own admittedly idiosyncratic, seemingly fortuitous need for descriptive bibliography might be universalized — maybe the word is evangelized — so that the necessary intricacies of the field might be brought more fully into the walled gardens of academic critical thinking. I realize that I am surely preaching to the converted, but the converted can become indifferent to their moments of conversion, and it helps to rehearse arguments as to why descriptive bibliography matters, even as those arguments include changes in our notions of description, textual analysis, interpretation, and scholarly access.

In proposing this agenda, I know that some of these questions have been asked and re-asked for generations. Nineteenth-century bibliographers — the precursors of modern bibliography — made chronological lists, including "bibliographical points" to assist book collectors in distinguishing one printing or edition from another. In short, the initial aim of descriptive bibliography was not history but the pricing and merchandizing of rarities. Early practitioners included not only scholars but also (to use the late bookseller William Reese's term) "operators" (1993), whom the cops call felons.

The infamous turn-of-the-twentieth-century collector Thomas J. Wise was both scholar and fraud: Well-versed in book lore, he concocted and stored "rare" books of his own making, which he in turn described in bibliographical lists that he circulated to unsuspecting buyers (Partington 1946). As scholarly editing, criticism, and the teaching of literature professionalized, so did descriptive bibliography, but not without disparagement. As Tanselle reminds us, though rigorous bibliographers were instrumental in establishing reliable texts, detractors complained that practitioners of the "New Bibliography" — among them the fulsomely-initialized A. W. Pollard, R. B. McKerrow, and W. W. Greg — spoiled the fun for book-collectors with their too-meticulous detail, or what Lewis Mumford (who should have known better) called the "barbed wire" of the editorial apparatus (1968). Apparently, for some among the *cognoscenti*, data is anathema to the immediacy of reading and access to the mind of the writer that texts presumably provide, never mind that texts are always edited and therefore as much an entrée into the selective minds of editors and the readerships they represent as they are into the writer. On bad days, descriptive bibliography continues to be dismissed as the listing of critically inconsequential detail, its collation symbols too "mathematical" — actually mathematicians would call these formulas simply bizarre — and its narratives too laden with technical terms. More charitably though no less vexingly, it is relegated to "mere" librarianship, a relegation that confuses a "book on a shelf" with "books that represent a work" and in doing so manages with deft economy to insult both librarians and bibliographers, who, as Tanselle establishes in his essay on "Library Cataloguing" (Ch. 3), are only as similar as first cousins: valued relations with complementary but significantly different critical agendas.

II. Bibliography and Biography

My shock of recognition regarding the utility of descriptive bibliography came early in my life as an employed scholar. Before that, in college, I was drawn to the phenomenon of revision in literary works: first, the broad strokes of Whitman's successive, augmented editions of *Leaves of Grass* — suggested by James E. Miller's 1964 side-by-side edition of the first and last versions of "Song of Myself", tellingly subtitled "*Origin, Growth, Meaning*" — and shortly thereafter, the mare's nest of a Keats manuscript leaf (reproduced in Jack Stillinger's 1974 *The Texts of Keats's Poems*.) Less evidence of

revision was available in Melville studies at the time because, besides Harrison Hayford and Merton M. Sealts's 1962 *Billy Budd, Sailor*, little had been done with Melville's manuscripts. Moreover, evidence of textual variation from copy-text found in (say) the expurgated American *Typee* and expurgated British *Moby-Dick* — authorial revisions and editorial impositions alike — were, in keeping with intentionalist editorial practice, bundled together as substantive variants in virtually unreadable lists, only selectively discussed elsewhere, and not treated as the kind of revelatory revisions that would give identity and hence validity to versions. Accordingly, in the 1968 Northwestern-Newberry (NN) edition of *Typee*, evidence of Melville's fluid texts — the revisions and versions of his publications — was tucked out of sight (at least to this collegian at the time) in the textual apparatus at the back of the book, with its encoded, *cosìdetto* barbed-wire lists of variants and emendations, highly abbreviated, and encrusted with symbols. But when, as a scholar, I found myself impaled on and scrutinizing the barbed wire, I experienced a series of revelations involving descriptive bibliography, and my interest in the integrative editing of manuscript and print texts began to grow.

By this time, the 1983 discovery of the three-chapter fragment of Melville's 1845 working draft of *Typee* sparked new interest in his first book and, naturally enough, I wanted to compare the three manuscript chapters to their corresponding texts in the first British edition as well as the first American and the American Revised editions, all three published within six months of each other in 1846. In crafting their 1968 eclectic, clear reading text of *Typee*, the NN editors had followed standard bibliographical measures to establish the first British edition text as their copy text, making emendations to it based on possible authorial revisions (rather than the presumably publisher-induced expurgations) found in the American Revised edition, which Melville had also supervised. Even if the complete manuscript of Melville's first draft of *Typee* had been available to the editors in the early 1960s, its text would not have replaced the British edition as the NN copy text because that heavily revised and later on significantly augmented document would not represent Melville's final intentions as he moved his text toward and through publication. Even so, the thousand and more revisions discoverable in my collations of the texts of the three manuscript chapters and their corresponding chapters in the British first and American revised editions were exciting evidence of Melville's *evolving* intentions. I felt this textual data, if made available to readers, would more fully contextualize our reading of *Typee* and broaden our notions of the

scholarly editing of fluid texts. Here, too, I found, descriptive bibliography became a useful tool in identifying the physical and inferred versions of the work we collectively call *Typee*.

Although my initial goal was simply to transcribe the *Typee* manuscript fragment, I quickly found that I could not adequately comprehend the working draft's revisions and main text without integrating physical description and interpretive analysis. The two were symbiotic modes of inquiry. One example is what I call Melville's "L-word". In Chapter 13, Melville's narrator Tommo attempts to translate into English his island servant Kory-Kory's Polynesian harangue against the belligerent inhabitants of neighboring valleys on the island. In the first British and American editions, Tommo says he "*literally* interpreted" (my emphasis) — that is translated — Kory-Kory's Polynesian for the English reader; however, in the subsequent American Revised (AR) edition, "literally" has been changed to "liberally". Although the two words differ by only one consonant, they are virtual antonyms when it comes to the art of translation, and, as I argue in *Melville Unfolding*, that word difference suggests any number of revision scenarios regarding Melville's attitude toward island culture, ranging from a respectful literalness in rendering Kory-Kory's language to a condescending, even mocking need for *liberality* in making proper English sense of what sounds to Tommo like gibberish.

This provocative L-word crux takes us to the problematic core of translation in general. How do you render the idiom of one culture into that of another; how do you balance linguistic exactitude and a necessary poetic license in treating the idiomatic? Happily, the L-word appears in the *Typee* manuscript fragment. Not surprisingly, what I found only complicated matters. In his sometimes inscrutable hand, Melville routinely failed to cross his internal "te" combinations so that a "te" can look like a "be", and vice versa. At first glance, Melville's inscription of the L-word surely looks like "literally", but after comparisons with similar words and upon closer inspection, I finally deciphered the manuscript word as "liberally".

What has this textual condition to do with descriptive bibliography? Hear me out. On the surface, we might imagine a revision scenario in which the manuscript "liberally" confirms Melville's original intention, which was then mistakenly typeset in the British edition as "literally", which was in turn corrected in the AR edition of *Typee* as "liberally". But an equally plausible scenario is that Melville originally wrote "liberally", changed his mind, and printed "literally" instead, so that the later shift in AR back to "liberally" may have been another change of mind, a flip-flop

back to "liberally". Melville's L-word is what I call an "oscillating revision"[1]: in this case, physical evidence of a writer's shifting intentions that also exemplifies the interpretive dimensions of the paradox of translation. So, is this oscillation a series of accidental errors or of intentional revisions in manuscript and print: Which is it? Here is where descriptive bibliography comes into play, not necessarily to resolve the conundrum but to help identify the versions of *Typee* and enrich our pondering of them.

Throughout his collection of essays, Tanselle reminds us that descriptive bibliography is the broader category that encompasses analytical bibliography, a field that uses book (and sometimes manuscript) evidence to inform decisions in identifying versions, establishing copy text, and justifying emendations in critical editions. The AR *Typee* is a particularly juicy case for analytic bibliography, as I learned some decades ago when I first immersed myself in the physical nature of textuality as explicated in the Textual Note for the NN *Typee*, written, as it happens, by G. Thomas Tanselle.

Here we learn that the AR edition was not a new setting of type but the result of breaking up and reassembling the typeset pages of the original American edition. Melville was asked to give instructions for expurgating chunks of his text — ranging from sentences, paragraphs, and pages to an entire chapter — and for revising individual words. To follow these instructions, printers broke apart lines of type in the typesetting of specific pages, removed the type corresponding to Melville's expurgations from the pages containing them, closed up the space between the remaining type (sometimes adding new words to splice the remaining texts together), and rearranged the newly-configured pages in the printer's "formes". A forme encases a sufficient number of typeset pages to fill a single side of a full sheet of paper, with two formes printing an array of pages on both sides of a sheet. The pages of type in each forme — in this case twelve pages per side — are arranged in rows, some rows upside down and paginated out of the regular counting order, but when the double-sided, fully printed sheet is folded, the numbered pages in that particular "gathering" are sequenced properly.

Tanselle's textual note for the NN *Typee* also observed that typos in the AR edition tended to cluster in the vicinity of expurgations and other

1. I developed this term for incomplete revision in describing the more concrete instances of Melville's textual indecision in the digital editing of the *Billy Budd* manuscript for the *Melville Electronic Library* (2019).

instances of repaired typesetting because a good deal of resetting had to occur, and quickly, to fill in the gaps or to fix damaged type, and errors crept into the process. Tellingly, Tanselle found that the word "liberally" does not appear in or around repaired pages, and the appearance of this word as the sole change in a page of unrepaired text would not have been accidental; it had to be a change made at Melville's request; it had to be intentional. Rarely are Textual Notes quite so revelatory. Suddenly, I saw in concrete terms how descriptive bibliography might be relevant to my own critical concern for the way texts might evolve or oscillate. In one moment, I learned not only more about printing but also that a line of critical thinking could be shaped by the materiality of book-making and that the mechanics of a technology could impinge upon the logics of literary interpretation. But while book data revealed in the NN textual note determines the likely intentionality of Melville's change to "liberally", it does not resolve the L-word debate: It does not explain the causes of Melville's intended change.

You might assume that establishing the intentionality of "liberally" in the AR edition settles the case concerning which word the "L-word" represents. Granted, the NN editors — including Tanselle — conclude that because the American Revised edition's change to "liberally" was intended, it must be a correction of the British and American edition's "literally". Indeed, the presence of "liberally" in the early draft *Typee* manuscript supports the suspicion that someone — Melville's amanuensis (his sister Augusta) or a printer — misread Melville's "liberally" as "literally". But a more complicated history of shifting intentions might be at play. The equally plausible revision scenario, noted above, is that "liberally" is a change of mind, another oscillation in Melville's relation to Polynesia, culture, language, and translation. Again, we must ask which is it? Is the L-word a comedy of errors involving bad handwriting, misreading, and correction; or does it represent a writer's meaningful oscillation between two culturally-loaded antonyms?

You might not favor the "oscillation" scenario if only because the two L-words seem to be only accidentally antonymic; that is, the two *look* the same though they are virtual opposites, the one-letter distinction between *literally* and *liberally* being a chance coincidence of English orthography and Melville's bad hand. With this in mind, one might argue that someone's accidental misreading of the miswritten word "liberally" in manuscript as "literally" in print is all the more reason for accepting the "correction" scenario evident bibliographically in the print AR edition. But even accidents can have meaning, especially given the anxious art of translation, which

continually worries over whether a translated work is too literal and lacks liberal adventuring into the translator's own invention or too liberal in its invention as to betray the literalness of the original. In this case, both accident and intention take us to the same dilemma that Melville and his alter ego Tommo confront when trying to make sense of Polynesian language and people: Together they constitute a "shock of recognition" (for Melville/Tommo and for us) about identity in the context of interpenetrating cultures.

Given this textual anecdote, it may be easier for us to understand Tanselle's persistent claim throughout each essay that descriptive bibliography is history or his more sporadic but no less certain claim that bibliography is biographical. We might resist these claims because descriptive bibliographies are not narratives of past events or lives. That said, they assemble, sequentialize, list, and annotate the data crucial to anyone seeking to craft a historical or biographical narrative: the history of a book, the life of a writer. In the case of the L-word oscillation, descriptive bibliography helps us historicize a moment in Melville's life (see also Bryant 2021, ch. 100). More broadly speaking, it assembles data for the material history of writing and book production as phenomena in ways that allow us critical integrations of a writer's thinking and creativity, a culture's conflicts, and our interpretation of texts. In this regard, a descriptive bibliography is not simply a reference tool but is, in itself, a genre of biographical and historical scholarship that facilitates our understanding of the integration of individual events and cultural interventions. More archival than narratorial, it is nevertheless critical as it sets parameters for the histories one might tell. In constructing their data transparently, the best descriptive bibliographies will share with readers the shape and progress of their inquiry, guiding us through the norms and divergences — whether intentional or accidental — in printing and publication.

III. Bibliography and Historicism

In Tanselle's view, descriptive bibliography is not only crucial in assembling data for our histories of lives, works, versions, and textual cultures, but it is also an inherently historicist discipline. The problem, of course, is how one "does" history. The chapter on "Ideal Copy" — first published in 1980 on the verge of the sea-change in scholarly editing and textual studies — goes directly to the challenge of comprehending how books are made and the way a bibliographer constructs data. But no other word in descrip-

tive bibliography is more misleading — so misconceived, misunderstood, and misapplied; so ahistorical — than "ideal". Tanselle bemoans the inept usage, struggles to undo it, and despairs of its continued misuse, even as he continues to use it.

The problem arises out of the processes of largely pre-twentieth-century book production and dissemination. Copies of a single edition of a work — that is, a single typesetting event — do not consist of pages derived from a single printing. Instead, pages are typeset several pages at a time, printed for proofing, altered, and printed in full. The sheets are stored; the type is broken down and reset for printing up a different set of pages, which are in turn run off and stored. The sets of pages may be gathered together at different times with differing arrangements of title and half-title pages, back matter advertising, publishers' bindings, and textual variations throughout. These printing moments — we call them editions, issues, and states — are also occasions for authorial and editorial interventions: revisions of the text. As a consequence, the printing of a book invariably involves copies with significant variants, and the data for a history of a book is only evident through the inspection of multiple sequential copies. This condition applies for any work that exists in a single edition let alone the three 1846 editions of *Typee*. Therefore, no single copy of an edition can stand as a full representation of a published work or the printing process that generated it; instead, bibliographers conceive of a composite that registers all issues and states. Sadly, the term of art decided upon for this conceptualized construct was "ideal copy", a wording that from Plato to Emerson connotes something that transcends the actual and is essentially (as it were) the ahistorical opposite of the historicist thing this "constructed copy" wants to be.

The fundamental historicist challenge is how to describe the sequential, accidental, and intentional changes of an evolutionary process — evident in multiple sequential textual identities — comprehensively, accurately, and concisely. How do you structure the data? Descriptive bibliography begins by imagining for its object of description a composite "copy", that is, a generalized construct — an abstraction — that can accommodate all known differences discoverable from actual copies of an edition; this constructed, or "ideal", copy thereby represents the edition. An alternative approach, perhaps more feasible in the age of digital database, is to describe each of the multiple copies that bear witness to the different issues and states within an edition, but in the age of print scholarship such a choice would have involved enormous, mind-numbing, and costly redundancy. Think, then, of this composite copy as the cumulative, far-from-ideal parent to a brood of biblio-children.

Tanselle's most charitable derogation of the field's continued use of "ideal copy" is that it is an "infelicity of term" (2020, 87). Even though he registers better options, calling it a standard, generalized, hypothetical, or reconstructed copy, he sticks (grudgingly) with "ideal copy", often italicizing it, or putting scare quotes around "ideal". (Clinging to this nomenclature is like classifying a whale as "a fish" but one that looks and acts like a mammal.) Rather than dismissing "ideal" and settling on a better word, Tanselle uses it as an occasion to reflect on the historicity of bibliography:

> Less misunderstanding about *ideal copy* would probably have arisen if the status of descriptive bibliography as history had been better understood. [. . .] Responsible historical accounts [. . .] are more than assemblages of discrete facts; they bring the facts together in such a way as to reveal a meaning or order in them. [. . .] Such an account is thus necessarily hypothetical, but for all its lack of certainty it marks an important advance in understanding; [. . .] A description of a standard or "ideal" copy of a book, in other words, is "truer" than the description of any one copy, even though it rests to a greater degree on subjective judgment.
> (2020, 99)

Later, Tanselle defines the ideal copy as "a historical reconstruction" that "encompasses all states within an impression or issue" of a book evident in variant copies as they were "released to the public by their producer", excluding changes made to copies "no longer under the control of the printer or publisher" (2020, 108). Tanselle's 2020 "Postscript" to his 1980 essay laments continued misunderstandings about "ideal copy", but his succinct definition of what I would rather call a "bibliographical construct" remains useful, especially as it delimits book production boundaries, and even gestures toward expansions of historical description beyond the strict confines of book production. But to go where the discipline of descriptive bibliography might further serve broader frameworks in textual studies, we need first to examine another term Tanselle brings to the fore: the "sub-edition".

IV. Manuscripts, Sub-editions, Adaptations: Describing Versions

Tanselle's fourth chapter reprints and updates his 1975 essay "Edition, Impression, Issue, and State", which distinguishes these four venerable descriptors, and adds to them a fifth, the "Sub-edition". I say "venerable"

because they are commonly understood terms used uniformly by bibliographers and editors for almost two centuries. An *edition* represents copies of a work derived from the impression of sheets pulled from a single setting of type. *Issues* represent distinct publishing ventures in which sheets from an impression can be repurposed upon occasion with new title pages or bindings, presumably to attract different markets. *States* represent copies of an impression or issue that correct imperfections or typos at the line or page level and are not the result of a different, identifiable marketing effort. This nomenclature constitutes part of a critical vocabulary — a "way of thinking" (as Tanselle reiterates one way or another) — in the discipline of descriptive bibliography, and variants associated with them not only help us understand how books are made but also how a written work can evolve. As we know, the variations found in an edition, issue, or state can also have a meaningful impact on readers; they are material data for arguments in the making of a history, biography, textual analysis, revision narrative, literary interpretation, or cultural study.

However, these structural book categories are largely a matter of indifference to those literary and cultural critics who might distinguish one edition of a work from another only on the basis of largely ancillary book features, such as cover or page layout, paper, binding, publishers' ads, an added introduction, or critical essays appended at the back. Granted, these seemingly supplementary features involving the way texts are designed, packaged, and marketed for readers are no less potentially meaningful, and Tanselle devotes fact-filled chapters to most of them; they give us a more precise way of talking about what I like to call the "physical versions" of a published book (2002). But what might be called the interpretive wing of our profession is still largely disconnected from the materialist wing and generally indifferent to this kind of bibliographical exactitude. This indifference is particularly concerning in light of the fact that critical communities (in adaptation, translation, annotation, colonial, even, or perhaps especially single-author studies) are becoming increasingly conscious of physically variant and hence interpretively meaningful textual versions of fluid texts as a cultural phenomenon. This growing awareness is evident for revisions found not only in printed books but also in the manuscripts that precede an edition and the adaptations and translations that follow in the wake of an original, even after the author's demise. Of course, "version" is a conceptual term, broader in scope than "edition", and seemingly baggier; it veers into speculative and interpretive realms of thought. It lacks the thump objectness of a physical "book". And yet a version is no less rooted in material evidence, no less of an editorial or critical construct as an "ideal

copy", and all the more in need of careful description. Needed, then, is an integrated way of describing the various textual identities that constitute the versions of a fluid text, as they might evolve as individual works or in tandem with other works (by the same or other writers). Descriptive bibliography's "way of thinking" need not be restricted to edition, issue, and state; in fact, no fluid text analysis is possible without ways of clearly distinguishing one version from another.

The value of "description" in the study of versions becomes clearer when we consider the bibliographic notion of "sub-edition". Often enough, a publisher will arrange for an impression from an original edition to be processed differently by another publisher: same typesetting, different publisher, and that's one kind of sub-edition. Equally familiar is the "revised edition", in which new text (a preface or appendix) may be added (forward or aft) to the original typesetting, and/or internal text can be altered or removed: this, too, is a sub-edition.

Think again of *Typee*. To revisit but in new terms: The British typesetting of February 1846 is one first edition; the March 1846 American resetting from a British copy is another "first"; but the "American revised" *Typee* of July not only broke up sections of the first American typesetting to expurgate text and alter the L-word but also (in separable actions) removed Melville's original "Appendix", which praised the British cession of Hawai'i, and added "The Story of Toby", a chapter-length sequel to the narrative. The American revised *Typee* is unquestionably a sub-edition of the American edition. Melville's British publisher in late 1846 added "The Story of Toby" but kept the Anglophilic appendix without resetting the original British type: Thus, it is a second but dissimilar sub-edition. As a result, for the rest of the century, and well into the twentieth, two radically different sub-editions, on different sides of the Atlantic, represented what we call "*Typee*". A fifth physical version of *Typee* is the posthumous 1892 edition, which is a new typesetting based on the British sub-edition text with its own set of authorial revisions transmitted as instructions by Melville via his wife Elizabeth Shaw Melville to Melville's literary executor and editor Arthur Stedman.

Physical versions are the proper subject of descriptive bibliography, but as the L-word demonstrates, Melville's oscillating revisions, evident in print, are also evident in manuscript, and taken together they require a broader, more comprehensive scope of vision also to encompass what I have called *inferred versions*. Generally speaking, this type of version exists in fragments or remnants of stages of composition that no longer survive as complete wholes. We infer the reality of such lost versions from textual traces

on (let's say) partial or full leaves affixed to working draft manuscripts and typescripts, inserted and dispersed or layered throughout a document like a patchwork of fragments from earlier drafts. Both these layered fragments in manuscript and the versions inferred from them are as much in need of careful description as more fully evident physical versions of a work in books. The philological practice of stemmatics, which infers the existence of no longer extant copies of a work from scribal variants in extant copies, is one model for describing the genealogy of inferred versions. But given the extraordinarily complicated phenomenon of the cut-and-paste text collage that a working draft manuscript exhibits, tracing the lineage of texts inscribed on slips of paper is more like piecing together a jigsaw puzzle where many if not most of the pieces are lost — think Dead Sea Scrolls — but with the added dimension of time, since the cutting and pasting happens throughout the course of the creative process.

The problems of grasping inferred versions are further complicated when we consider the span of a writer's career. The *Typee* manuscript — Melville's first attempt at a lengthy prose work — is a three-chapter fragment of a first draft that, when compared to the first British edition and the American revised sub-edition, offers sufficient evidence of numerous inferable expansions and digressions that Melville would later add to complete his book. In contrast, Melville's last prose work — the ragged and only nearly finished *Billy Budd* manuscript — is nevertheless a single, complete, and coherent narrative and yet the document itself resembles an archaeological site consisting of the shards of past versions dispersed over 361 heavily revised leaves, which Melville never saw into print or even polished. Forty years divide these two documents: *Typee* represents the beginning of a project at the beginning of Melville's publishing life; *Billy Budd*, the end of a project at the end of his life. These are discrete textual evolutions within the evolution of a career. While the two works evolved through separate modes of expansion — we see evidence of digression and filler in *Typee* but the adding of back story and modulation of narrative voice in *Billy Budd* — they both exhibit similar cut-and-paste and oscillating revision behaviors. Editors of Whitman, Dickinson, and Twain, of Keats, Yeats, and Marianne Moore, of Joyce and Beckett recognize these biographical alphas and omegas and have grappled with the problem of describing their layered, interspersed, inferred versions, and one editorial solution is not likely to suit all textual conditions. But we will not fully comprehend the materiality of versions until we begin to describe them as separable textual identities. There is no doubt that the rigor of descriptive bibliography can be and has been applied to the study of modern working draft manuscripts.

Tanselle's own work in genetic transcription (2017) and on the bibliographical fundamentals of manuscript transcription (1995) is not included in his collection of essays, surely because the focus of descriptive bibliography is on books, but some inclusion, nevertheless, would have been an opening for broadening the discipline's scope. The culture of description is only beginning to become self-aware of the need for a critical vocabulary for inferred versions in manuscript, and the integration of that scholarly endeavor with the study of print versions for a fuller understanding of how texts evolve remains in the offing.

V. Adaptation and the Challenges of the Digital

Apart from the two versions of the version that result from authorial and editorial revision, a third version is rooted in adaptive revision. These generally physical versions exist in the wake of an original work and often beyond the author's control; they include announced adaptations, translations, abridgments, illustrated and children's editions, and anthologized texts; adaptations for stage, opera, film, radio, and TV; appropriations, quotations, and even memes from originating texts appearing in the fine arts, music, sampling, and social media. Generally noted in bibliographies as evidence of the reputation of an author or the cultural and critical impact of a work, these transformations more importantly record the ways in which readers take possession of another writer's writing. Adaptive revision is essentially the embodiment of an interpretation, not through explicit critical argumentation but implicitly through the imaginative (hence critical) recreation of the work itself. Paradoxically, while showcasing and extending the life of the originating source work, such intermedial revision detaches the original from its originating impulse even as it lures readers into a closer comparative inspection of it. Adaptive revision and translation — adaptation's most potent instantiation — are openings into the study of evolving readerships and the evolution of cultures generally.

Tanselle's historicist approach does not restrict the protocols of description to editions, sub-editions, issues, and states of originating works only, for he cites exemplary bibliographies that embrace rather than marginalize post-authorial versions of a work, such as "non-firsts", pirated reprintings, and even selected adaptations. One restriction, however, corresponds to traditional scholarly editing as well, and that is keeping the frame of reference within the lifespan of the originating author, but even here the boundaries are porous. The advent of book history — that is, the material

processes of writing and (re)production as objects of study over time — has given impetus to dissolving such barriers. Maura Ives's 2011 *Christina Rossetti: A Descriptive Bibliography* is a case in point. Beyond its initial attention to familiar bibliographic details, it includes sections on musical settings of poems (with descriptions of sheet music), performance notices, translations, and selected "Rossettiana", up to 1900. Although Tanselle only lists Ives's Rossetti bibliography as a noteworthy publication, he devotes several pages in praise of her earlier essay on Victorian periodicals in his "Postscript" to his 1984 essay on "Arrangement", and in doing so he touches upon certain practical limits to descriptive bibliography. They imply problems all the more relevant if we extend the scope and disciplines of description to include other material instances of cultural production and adaptive revision: I am speaking of the twin dilemmas of human exhaustion and publication costs.

Ives rightly argues that it is not enough simply to list a poem's (or any text's) material appearance in an abstraction of a periodical's table of contents; rather, we are obliged to describe its actual placement in the context of the entire issue in which it appears. The work of the late George Bornstein on the "politics of the page" in modernism (2006), Jerome McGann's digital editing that puts the "writings and pictures" of Dante Gabriel Rossetti in context, and Marta Werner's *Radical Scatters* (1999/2010), which edits into existence the "space of creation" by tracking manuscript versions of certain core Emily Dickinson poems: These critical, archival, and editorial projects substantiate the need for the kind of descriptive contextualization Ives calls for. Tanselle acknowledges the enormity of the materialist approach in bibliography (and laterally, I would add editing). In raising thoroughness to the highest of heavenly virtues in bibliography, he also recognizes human limits. Doing what Ives proposes unto all periodical or anthologized appearances of a poem — whether it is by Yeats, Rossetti (Cristina or Dante Gabriel), or Dickinson — would, Tanselle rightly observes, "increase bibliographers' work beyond what most bibliographers would regard as feasible"; moreover, it would lengthen "bibliographies beyond what most publishers would be willing to consider" (2020, 517).

In short, bibliographic description is labor intensive and can take up a lot of pages, and Tanselle concludes in his 2020 Postscript on "Arrangement" by calling for an abbreviated format. Imagine, then, if descriptive bibliography were to expand the range of physical versions to embrace non-authorized adaptation, let alone periodical appearances: The commitment to editing material culture would be addressed, but the workload and production costs would skyrocket. And while abbreviated bibliographic nota-

tions might lower page counts, they would not lessen (and might in fact increase) the bibliographer's toil. But these realities do not preclude the necessity of description. If you think digital is the solution to these twin dilemmas, you are only mostly right, but more on that shortly.

For the time being, consider how descriptive bibliography is now in a position of having to catch up to textual studies, fluid-text editing, and adaptation studies; and consider, too, what the discipline stands to lose if we do not rise to the challenge of discerning versions, for the versions will diminish its predecessors. Consider some common mistakes. When some say they have "read Melville", they often are speaking metonymically: They mean they have read *Moby-Dick*. Never mind, which *Moby-Dick*: the American original edition or the reset British expurgation, both published in 1851, or the 1988 Northwestern Newberry eclectic *Moby-Dick*, or the 2006 Longman fluid-text *Moby-Dick*. Regardless, there are other human errors: when readers of *Moby-Dick* think of *Moby-Dick*, they often reduce it synecdochally to Ahab, and thinking of Ahab, they imagine Gregory Peck. And when readers think of Ahab's demise, they think cinematically; they see Peck going under, astride a white whale. But that stirring end never happens in Melville's novel. Even so, no less of a great reader than Edward Said made this common mistake in his introduction to the novel by referring to the film ending when speaking of the novel's ending (Bryant 2010).

Film director John Huston's screenwriter, the novelist Ray Bradbury, cleverly devised the cinematic ending. In reducing the novel to film length proportions, he had had to sacrifice Ahab's Orientalized alter ego Fedallah from the film plot, but in a later revision of his screenplay he resurrected him partially by giving Fedallah's demise to Ahab. Melville scholar Jaime Campomar (2019, 2022) has also studied Bradbury's sequential drafts, recording numerous other cuts and revisions in bringing *Moby-Dick* to the screen. A descriptive filmography for *Moby-Dick* would include these physical and inferred versions as well as the 1926 silent *Moby-Dick* with John Barrymore, remade as a talkie in 1930, and remade again, as cultural critic Martina Pfeiler (2021) has revealed, in a 1931 German version directed by Mihály Kertész (AKA Michael Curtiz), not to mention more recent television adaptations. Comparing these films — episode, scene, speech, shot, symbol — to the novel's textual originals is to study *Moby-Dick* not only as text and material book but also as an international cultural phenomenon. But our interpretation of the meaning of the evolution of these versions cannot gain evidentiary validity unless descriptive bibliographies are created that embrace book and film. Adaptation studies has taken us beyond

the insistence upon "authenticity" as an impossible measure of the success or failure of adaptive revision; instead, this burgeoning field — like textual studies and translation studies — assumes equivalent textual and aesthetic status to screenplay and original. All the more reason, then, to broaden the scope of descriptive bibliography to include both kinds of version and to employ its discipline of description to establish their unique textual identities and to pave the way for the editing of adaptive revision.

In complaining that he will never complete his risible bibliography of whales in "Cetology", Ishmael bemoans that all that is needed is "Time, Strength, Cash, and Patience" (Longman 2006 and Bryant et al. 2019b *Moby-Dick*, Ch. 32). If these mortalities delimit any descriptive bibliography project, what, then, is the solution to the task of a larger bibliographic whale: the integration of authorial, editorial, and adaptive versions of a work, or set of works? The answer surely lies in digital technologies, and Tanselle both scouts and skirts the issue. When he began his astonishingly varied and robust career in the 1960s, he early on acknowledged the potential of humanities computing, noting its early presence in library cataloguing — touchingly referring in his 1980 chapter on "Ideal Copy" to their "cathode ray tube" displays (2020, 111) — and in more recent sites, accessed through our flat screen liquid crystal displays (LCD). In several chapters in the book's praxis section, Tanselle underscores the important utility of digital sites that give us (reasonably) reliable representations of paper, typography, publishers' binding fabrics, endpaper designs, dust jackets, and colors. Moreover, Tanselle has been supportive of digital scholarly editing, though that is not his purview in *Descriptive Bibliography*. Tanselle's "Postscripts" to each of his collected essays invariably include digital updates, providing an opening for a fuller discussion of the role of digital in the future of materialist historicism and descriptive bibliography. For those engaged in digital and fluid-text editing, that future lies in at least two areas of development: database and visualization.

The power of database is that different kinds of text and image data can be sorted in different configurations in response to the different scholarly and pedagogical desires of different users. But if database is a solution, what, beyond human exhaustion and production costs, are the problems it resolves? In the conclusion to his unexpectedly probing chapter on "Arrangement", Tanselle puts it succinctly, indeed eloquently, it is "the problem of finding order in the raw material of history" (2020, 516). Putting aside for now the epistemological problems of what kind of order, whose order, and how many orderings, we find in Tanselle's more pragmatic quandaries a fundamental conflict between structure and chronology. That

is, either we might order, or rather "arrange", a descriptive bibliography so that individual works are listed as they appear in their separate structural forms (periodicals, collections, editions, sub-editions, non-firsts, and contributions to anthologies); or we might order these physical versions as they appear in time, in the sequence of their publication. Complications arise when we consider that in a writer's career, sub-editions of an early work might (and reprints invariably do) emerge after the appearance of first editions of subsequent works. Versions also overlap in time with simultaneous or subsequent publications abroad, using the same sheets or not, and with translations based on different versions (including abridgments and other translations). If you want to see a clear genealogy (so to speak) of publications that Tanselle calls the "parents" of subsequent publications, here and abroad, you will desire one kind of categorical "arrangement" of your descriptive bibliography. But if you are a biographer interested in *what* appears *when*, linearly and simultaneously, throughout a writer's career, you will want to arrange the data chronologically. Relating the constituent parts of the bibliography arranged one way in a single main list might be achieved by providing identifiers for each entry or an index to facilitate cross-referencing, and Tanselle considers these page-flipping, print-technology options, cogently discussing the merits of different approaches, and wisely favoring none but advising the descriptive bibliographer to be mindful of what arrangement best suits the material at hand. That said, there is no better way to facilitate this kind of access and mindfulness than in a button-pushing digital environment.

Certainly, though, a digital descriptive bibliography built atop a relational or, better, an atomized database (like the University of the Chicago's OCHRE database service) enables users to query any number of arrangements suited to user needs, independent of the bibliographer's preferred arrangement. It permits users to find different kinds of "order in the raw material of history" (Tanselle 2020, 516). Does this make the labor of bibliographers easier? Not really, but it makes their work more accessible, more comprehensive, more pedagogical (I would add), and more useful. Because databases allow bibliographers to "granularize" the "raw materials of history" — from multiple types of edition down to typos, variants, and revisions — a digital descriptive bibliography is capable of a more detailed historical representation. Does digital bibliography spell the end of books? Not really: a printed descriptive bibliography following one "arrangement" can be linked to a digital workspace where the bibliographical data can be fully displayed and accessed in other arrangements, whence the user can be sent back to the comfort of the printed book. Students can be brought into

the digital workspace for instruction in book history, printing, and publishing, thus opening the field to new generations of learners, heightening the appeal of returning to the library for tactile and sharper visual involvement with books themselves. Strategically arranged, Books and Digital Sites can be gateways to each other.

The benefit of digital visualizations in assisting the description of book production in descriptive bibliography has not been seriously contested. The collation formulary — the inscrutable notation system for outlining the gatherings, signatures, and variant features of a single book or ideal copy — might serve as a test case. I know that "inscrutable" is likely to exasperate practiced bibliographers who can read such formulas with ease, and I would not condone abandoning the formulary for the world, but, for other readers, they are the epitome of the kind of alienating "barbed wire" that Lewis Mumford derided. On the one hand, the collation formulary is a perfectly effective tool for experts, a "technology" that gives us at a glance the distinctive constituent parts of a book, without bibliographers having to resort to redundant and space consuming written descriptions. Of course, this coded abstraction is only a small part of any descriptive bibliography, which in most other respects offers readers more engaging narrative descriptions of editions and sub-editions. But on the other hand, like any code, or nesting of arcane symbols, the collation formula basically says to the non-expert reader: Abandon Hope; Do Not Enter. Bibliographers, like any literary or historicist scholar, want to reach not exclude readerships, and evidence of their outreach is found in rare book schools and other book history related programs. The Folger Shakespeare Library's website *The Collation* provides visuals devoted to book production, including graphic demonstrations of what a collation formula represents (Blake 2016). On a larger scale, carefully strategized digital versions of gateway descriptive bibliographies could be designed to link collation formulas to images of the very books they encoded so that scholars, critics, and students can see the gatherings and odd inserts or absences otherwise abstracted in formula without having to decode the formula on their own; they would have pictures of what the barbed wire represents. In this regard, with time, strength, cash, and patience, the strategic application of digital technologies to descriptive bibliography will only enhance and deepen the protocols of historical description. It will occasion new shocks of recognition for new scholars and new generations of readers regarding the versions of works.

Tanselle's *Descriptive Bibliography* is a monument to scholarship and historicist "ways of thinking". It clarifies and updates a critical vocabulary that lays a solid foundation for book history, textual studies, revision analysis,

and the various approaches to scholarly editing, and it suggests pathways to future digital development. It is a lasting resource for scholars, critics, and students seeking fuller access to the fabric of the cultures of writing, reading, and the making of books.

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Music's Textual Dilemma

Mistrusting Musical Texts

Ronald Broude

Abstract

Music is sound: audible, unique, ephemeral. For music composed before the advent of electronic recording a century and a quarter ago, musical texts — the unique arrangements of musical symbols by which music is represented in visible form — are our principal evidence for how that music sounded when it was created. But the texts in which Western music of the past is preserved are not necessarily accurate representations of the music they record. Although the symbols that make up Western musical notation have remained relatively stable over the centuries, much that they represent has changed. Tunings and temperaments have varied — from repertoire to repertoire and from place to place. So have styles of singing and of playing instruments. So have the instruments themselves. Most important in the present context, the conventions for realizing texts have varied substantially; the idea that performers should follow their texts closely dates only from the mid eighteenth century. In these contradictions lies music's textual dilemma: music historians and performers must depend upon texts, but even supplemented by research in performance practice, texts do not necessarily provide the information necessary to support informed discussion.

To the memory of David Greetham,
whose erudition, enthusiasm, and enterprise
helped change Textual Scholarship

Music is sound: audible, unique, ephemeral. For music composed before the age of electronic recording, musical texts — the unique arrangements of musical symbols by which music is represented in visible form — are our principal evidence for how that music sounded when it was created. Electronic recording began to produce useful reproductions of musical performances shortly before 1900, so for our knowledge of all Western music created more than a century and a quarter ago, including the works of Josquin, Monteverdi, Vivaldi, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Rossini, and Wagner, we must of necessity depend upon texts.

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Although the methodologies editors of music employ for dealing with musical texts are largely imported from the verbal disciplines, in fact musical texts function quite differently from literary, Biblical, or historical texts. A sonnet is experienced by audiences reading its text(s) directly off the page; a sonata is experienced by audiences listening to performers who read from texts that they may not necessarily follow and who, in any event, supplement their texts with musical matter that Western music notation does not specify, the matter that musicians think of as lying "between the notes". Literary historians writing about a sonnet engage with two critical projects: they decide what arrangement(s) of symbols constitute the sonnet's text(s), and they try to extract meaning from those text(s). Music historians studying a sonata engage with three projects: like literary historians, they decide upon the arrangements of symbols that constitute the sonata's text(s), but they must also work out what sounds were produced by the performers who first transformed those texts into audible music; for it is, at least in theory, sounds (and not texts) with which music historians deal, and only after having worked out what those sounds might have been can one settle down to extract meaning from them. However, the original sounds that make up most of the music that music historians study are inaccessible, and over the centuries musical performance has varied in the degree to which it follows texts. The variance has depended on the individual performer, on the nature of the performer's text, and, most importantly, on the conventions of the repertoire to which the work being performed belongs. In some repertoires, performers were expected to follow their texts quite closely (although it is an exceptional performance that follows a text exactly), while in other repertoires performers were granted — and were expected to exercise — considerable license in realizing their texts. Music historians are understandably reluctant to speculate about how performances in repertoires that encouraged "performerly initiative" might actually have sounded; instead, they tacitly agree to accept the surviving texts as representations of the works they record. And so the literature of historical musicology consists largely of discussions not about music, the performance of which involves spontaneity and innovation, but about texts, which restrain and prescribe. In these contradictions lies music's textual dilemma: music historians may prefer to write about music, but the object of their writing must be texts.

Musical texts can be deceptive, especially if they are approached with the wrong assumptions. Today, the default assumption that we bring to reading musical texts — the principle that our first music teachers instilled

in us when we learned to read music — is that musical texts are prescriptive and that the text of a work tells us exactly the notes that performers should sing or play. A corollary of this principle is that a musical text need only be construed literally to serve as a basis for the study and performance of the music it represents. But the performance of music is regulated not only by texts but also by unwritten conventions called performing practices and performing traditions. Performing practices determine how music is performed in particular times and places; performing traditions attach to individual pieces and are created by successive generations of performers rendering those pieces. Performing practices determine (among other things) the quality of sound desirable in a voice or instrument, the density and placement of ornaments, and the degree to which performers are expected to adhere to or depart from their texts. Because elements of performing practice vary with time and place, following musical texts literally will not necessarily — in fact, will probably not — yield performances similar to those that the texts were intended to generate. If one listens to recordings made over the last hundred years, one cannot help but be struck by the rapidity and unpredictability with which performing practices have changed in just a few decades; could one imagine on the basis of their texts alone how a pop song, an opera aria, or a violin concerto could have sounded when performed a hundred years ago?

Today, most music historians and most performers specializing in the music of the past are aware of the quirks and inadequacies of musical texts. But it is only in the last fifty years or so that this awareness has extended beyond a few specialists; by the time this awareness was more widely shared, the premises of historical musicology — the rules by which the game of historical musicology is played — had been securely in place for almost two centuries, and dependence upon texts was one of the foundations upon which the discipline had been built.

The beginnings of historical musicology may be traced back to the decades just before and after 1800. In those years appeared the first general histories of music (written by Charles Burney, John Hawkins and Nikolaus Forkel), the first uniform editions of a composer's entire *œuvre* (Samuel Arnold's Handel edition and Forkel's Bach edition, neither of which was completed), the first substantial biographies of composers (John Mainwaring's biography of Handel and Forkel's biography of Bach), and the first bibliography of writings about music (Forkel's *Allgemeine Literatur der Musik*).[1]

1. Respectively, Burney 1776, Hawkins 1776, Forkel 1788, Arnold 1789, Forkel 1801, Mainwaring 1760, Forkel 1802, and Forkel 1792.

Historical musicology proceeded from the assumption that musical texts could provide sufficient information to support informed discussion and proper performances of the works they represent. This is the assumption from which the music publisher Breitkopf & Härtel proceeded when, in the mid nineteenth century, it began bringing out the first editions in which the principles developed for editing Classical, Biblical, and Medieval texts were applied to music.[2] With their *wissenschaftliche* pedigree, such musicological editions achieved an eminence that enabled them — and has enabled their successors to the present day — to be regarded as a reliable basis for study and serious performance.

The assumption that musical texts are dependable records of musical compositions has also formed the basis of influential approaches to the ontology of musical works. Thus, for example, the distinguished philosopher Nelson Goodman defined a musical work as a class of performances compliant with its score (by which Goodman meant the musical text established by its composer). Goodman argued that to be a work, a musical entity must have a unique text that serves as the guarantor of its identity by providing a document of record against which performances may be measured so that valid performances (those that follow the score) may be distinguished from invalid ones (those that do not).[3]

The idea that musical texts in themselves might not be all that is needed to understand music developed as a result of an increasing interest in music of the past. That interest began about three centuries ago, but until the late twentieth century, it lacked an important element of historical awareness: the belief that to be properly understood, music should be performed so as to replicate the performances that its first audiences heard. Instead, when music from earlier eras was revived, it was played ahistorically, in whatever style was current at the time of the revival. The French began reviving the *tragédies en musique* of Jean-Baptiste Lully in the depressing later years of Louis XIV's reign; they associated Lully's music with happier times. But to make them acceptable to French audiences notoriously sensitive to changing fashions, Lully's works were updated for revivals: at first, harmonies were thickened; later, numbers were re-orchestrated; by

2. Breitkopf & Härtel's output includes collected editions of the works of Johann Sebastian Bach (*Werke*, begun in 1851), George Frideric Handel (*Werke*, begun in 1858), and Ludwig van Beethoven (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, begun in 1864).
3. Goodman 1984, 127–92. Most subsequent discussions of the ontology of musical works do not share all of Goodman's views, but few do not contain some comment on them.

the end of the *Ancien Régime*, works were being substantially rewritten.[4] In 1829, when Mendelssohn made his famous contribution to the Bach Revival with his production of the *Saint Matthew Passion* at Berlin's Singakademie, he recast Bach's work to conform to early nineteenth-century tastes.[5] Twentieth-century orchestras performed Bach's Brandenburgs with large string sections, with continuo parts fully written-out and often played on pianos, and with modern winds and brass. Today, many orchestras still play the Brandenburgs in this way.

It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that there developed a concern with how music of the past had originally been performed, and it was only in the 1970s that conservatories and universities began to offer courses in the history of performance practice. Historians of performance practice studied instructional manuals, musical instruments, criticism, diaries, correspondence, musical texts, and anything else that might provide evidence of how Western music of earlier times had sounded to its original audiences. Like many historical projects, research in performance practice is speculative, but, unlike many forms of history, research in performance practice is expected to yield practical results in the form of specific audible sounds. Practitioners of historically informed performance (HIP for short) set aside modern instruments in favor of reconstructions based on centuries-old originals, they perform "orchestral" works with the smaller groups used in earlier eras, they reject modern editions in favor of facsimiles, and they have discovered that musical texts were not necessarily sets of instructions to be followed slavishly. Quite the reverse, their research suggests that in certain repertoires performers were expected to exercise considerable initiative in realizing texts; for such repertoires, HIP advocates had an epigrammatic warning: "If you've played it right, you've played it wrong".

Ironically, although the study of performance practice had its origins in the late nineteenth century, it began to flourish at just the time that historical scholarship was becoming unfashionable and many historians were expressing doubt that one could ever be confident about historical "facts". Because the passage of time has altered or obliterated performing practices of the past, some cultural historians have suggested that historically informed performances may not after all be authentic. Richard Taruskin

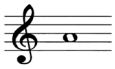
4. On updating Lully's dramatic works, see Cyr & Broude 2019, 16–23.
5. For an edition of Mendelssohn's adaptation, see Winkler 2014. Only the vocal score of this edition has been printed and offered for sale; the full score is available on rental.

has famously argued that the sounds produced by HIP are not historically accurate, and that they seem so only because they are different from those that we have been accustomed to hearing.[6] But whether or not the music produced by HIP musicians is authentic, HIP has made it clear that construing musical texts literally is unlikely to be an adequate basis for understanding that music.

Although many knowledgeable members of today's concert audiences are cognizant of the premises of historically performed performance, mainstream musical organizations usually perform older music ahistorically, i.e., in the modern styles with which their audiences are comfortable. This is a perfectly defensible choice, on both esthetic and financial grounds. Music historians, however, are concerned with how older music originally sounded. Because the original sounds of that music are no longer accessible, and because musical texts have by default become the common currency of music historians, the medium that enables the exchange of ideas, it is useful to remind ourselves of some of the ways in which musical texts may not represent fully or accurately the music they transmit.

§

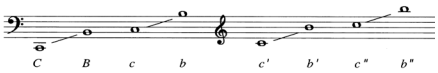
Let us begin our discussion with the most fundamental symbol of Western musical notation, the note, which for the past three quarters of a millennium has specified both pitch and duration. Today, the pitch known as "concert *a*'",[7] the pitch that the oboe tries to sound when the orchestra tunes up before a concert, has a frequency of 440 Hz — i.e., 440 cycles (or vibrations) per second. That pitch is represented by the note head occupying the second space of a five-line staff governed by a treble clef:



But three centuries ago, when Bach was organist at Weimer, three different systems of tuning (*Cornet-ton*, *Cammerton*, and *tiefe Cammerton*) were in use simultaneously, and that same symbol (still designating a pitch called

6. Taruskin 1988.

7. For designating the registers of pitches, the following convention is used:



a′) could represent a frequency of approximately 470 Hz (a half tone higher than 440 Hz, equivalent to a modern *a′*-sharp), 410 Hz (a half tone lower than 440 Hz, equivalent to a modern *a′*-flat), or 390 Hz (a whole tone lower than 440 Hz, equivalent to a modern *g′*). A few decades earlier, at the court of Louis XIV, a similar situation had obtained: in the three French systems, the musical symbol for *a′* represented frequencies of 470 Hz (in *ton d'équirie*), 400 Hz (in *ton de chambre*) and 390 Hz (in *ton d'Opéra*).[8]

A 390 Hz *a′* is not simply a 440 Hz *a′* transposed down a whole tone: played on a harpsichord, the two sounds will differ not only in respect of pitch but also in respect of their other sonic qualities. Analogous differences occur with wind, brass, and string instruments. For many listeners, such differences do not matter. However, for many others, each note and each key has an individual character, and for such individuals a piece played a whole tone above the key for which it was conceived (which is how a piece notated for *tiefe Cammerton* will sound if played at today's tuning) is not the same piece as one played at the tuning in use when its text was inscribed.

The question of pitch is complicated by the problem of temperaments. Temperaments are systems of tuning that adjust pitches so that the same instrument can play in various keys without sounding too much out of tune in any of them. Temperaments do so by altering the relationships of pitches to each other. In theory, Western music is based on the premise that the pitches that make up our eight-note scales have frequencies bearing simple mathematical relationships to each other. Two pitches an octave apart are supposed to have frequencies in the ratio of 1 (the lower) to 2 (the higher); the frequencies that make up a perfect fifth are expected to be in the ratio of 2:3; a major third 4:5; a major second — that is, a whole tone — 8:9. Intervals produced by notes conforming exactly to these ratios are said to be "pure". In practice, however, the system does not hold up: if one carries the calculations far enough, the expected ratios do not materialize. For example, the mathematics tell us that the ratio of two notes exactly seven octaves apart should be 1:128; but if we start with the same lower note and derive that note seven octaves above by cycling through thirteen fifths, the note thus produced will be slightly higher than the note generated simply by multiplying the frequency of the original note by 128. The discrepancy is 1.014:1, or 1.4 per cent, a small but a distinctly noticeable difference.

8. For a convenient introduction to the history of pitch, see Haynes 2002: 95–123 for pitch in France, 133–58 for pitch in Germany, and 183–228 for German pitch with particular reference to the works of J. S. Bach.

Temperaments address this problem by substituting impure ratios for some of the pure ratios. Over the centuries, different temperaments have been devised, each with compromises intended to address the problems that were of most concern at the time. The preferred temperament today is "equal temperament"; it allows us to play satisfactorily if not perfectly in all of the many tonalities in common use at present.[9] Equal temperament does this by making fifths slightly narrower than the 2:3 of a pure perfect fifth and major thirds considerably wider than the 4:5 of a pure major third. We are so accustomed to these adjustments that many good musicians and experienced listeners may not notice them. But in order to realize the intentions of a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century composer, it is necessary to use the same temperament that the composer used when composing.

Equal temperament is favored today because today we use many keys, but as late as the seventeenth century, when the system of modes was giving way to the modern system of keys, the keys in use were few, and keys with more than two sharps or two flats were considered "remote" and were rarely employed. (A sharp is an inflection of a pitch that raises it by four ninths of a whole tone, and a flat is an inflection that lowers it by four ninths of a whole tone; the ability of a single key on the piano to serve for both *c′*-sharp and *d′*-flat, which in fact differ by a ninth of a whole tone, is a product of tempering.) Three centuries ago, temperaments were designed to favor the relatively few keys with two or fewer sharps or flats, since those were the keys most often used. Such temperaments meant that remote keys would produce certain intervals that were mathematically impure but that, for that very reason, might sound interesting. Composers have always liked to test boundaries, and some began to venture into those remote keys to take advantage of the not-quite-pure sounds they produced. When temperaments were devised to "domesticate" the nearer remote keys, adventurous composers moved farther out, to keys with more sharps or flats. But with each move to more sharps and flats there came new temperaments intended to bring those outer sharps and flats into the system. If we use equal temperament to play music composed to exploit the piquant sounds produced by certain keys in certain obsolete temperaments, we lose an important element of that music.[10]

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9. For a critique of equal temperament and a discussion of its place in the history of temperaments, see Duffin 2007.
10. Jean Nicolas Geoffroy, a French organist of the late seventeenth century, is a composer whose music is noted for the unusual effects produced by his use of remote keys. On Geoffroy's music, see Tilton 2006, Part 1, xxiii–xxxvi.

Duration, the other element a note specifies, consists of two factors. On the one hand, there is value, a measure of the length of time for which a note is held relative to the lengths of the times that notes of other values are held: a whole note is held twice as long as a half note, and a half note twice as long as a quarter note. However, music is played at different tempos, so how long a particular note of a particular value is held, measured in absolute terms, varies with the tempo at which the passage in which that note occurs is played. Only with the introduction of the metronome in the early nineteenth century was it possible to specify how long in absolute terms — in fractions of a minute — a note was held. The metronome enabled a composer to specify how many notes of a certain value were to occur per minute, e.g., 84 half notes per minute would be represented as:

When introduced, the metronome was an intriguing novelty, and composers began adding metronome indications at the beginnings of compositions or sections. But the precision implied by metronome markings is deceptive: as good performers play pieces, they vary the tempo for expressive purposes, and to keep strictly to the metronome's tick would be to produce a "mechanical" (and therefore unsatisfactory) performance.

§

Even if we could be confident about the pitches and durations represented by the notes of a musical text, we still would not know how performances before the age of electronic recording actually sounded. This is because over time styles of singing and of playing instruments have changed, as have the instruments themselves. If we listen to recordings of pop singers spanning the past hundred years or so, we can trace the progress from the sort of heightened intoning of Al Jolson to the more relaxed crooning of Perry Como to the speech-like declamation in vogue today. In the twenty first century, we expect a fuller, more forceful sound from a violin than was favored three hundred years ago.

The sounds produced by instruments have changed not only because performing styles have changed but also because materials and methods used to construct instruments have altered. Transverse flutes are now made of metal; 250 years ago they were made of wood. The instrument we call the French horn, with its relatively wide bore and valves, is quite different from its ancestor, the natural horn, for which Mozart and Haydn wrote. The fortepiano for which Beethoven composed his piano sonatas is a much

lighter, softer, and more subtle instrument than the concert grands on which they are mostly played today. So when we listen to any performance that is not either on an "original" instrument or on a skillful reproduction, then no matter how faithfully the performer follows his text, we are not hearing what the composer intended.

We might wonder if we could learn about the sounds that instruments produced several hundred years ago by listening to some of the several-hundred-year-old instruments housed today in museums and private collections. But most several-hundred-year-old instruments have been modified at some point in their existence. Not long after they were built, many seventeenth-century harpsichords were enlarged by adding additional keyboards and sets of strings (a process called *ravalement*). When the nineteenth century decided that it wanted a more powerful sound from string instruments, the fingerboards, necks, and bass bars of older violins were modified; such instruments are said to have been "de-baroqued". Quite a few of the most valuable Cremonese instruments, the ones made by Stradivarius, the Amati, and the Guarnieri, have been the objects of such attentions.

The sounds that made up the music of past eras depended not only on the instruments used to produce them but also on the ways in which those instruments were played. Until the middle of the last century — and still today in many if not most musical communities — it was assumed that the sounds that musical texts should generate were the sounds that are generated by performers following their texts literally and using the current forms of their instruments. Violinists performed Vivaldi's violin sonatas on modern violins, using lots of vibrato and not adding any ornaments to those specified by the editions from which they were playing. HIP was a reaction against this form of presentism. To audiences brought up on ahistorical performances, HIP could be so different as to seem revelatory.

§

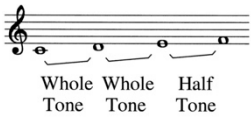
Finally — and most important for textual critics — there is the matter of how accurately over the centuries musical notation has reflected musical performance. The farther back in time we go, the less reliable does notation become as an indication of the relationship between the text of a musical entity and the notes that performers actually played or sang.

The earliest extant examples of post-Classical Western music notation date from the ninth century and take the form of "neumes". Neumes are markings added to verbal texts: they are placed above the words to be sung, and they are similar in appearance, placement, and function to the dia-

critical markings devised late in the Classical Period to help with the pronunciation of Latin. In their earliest forms, neumes did not specify pitch; they indicated only the direction of a melody. A virga — a symbol similar to today's acute accent — placed above a syllable indicated that that syllable should be sung at a pitch higher than the pitch of the preceding note; exactly how much higher the symbol did not specify. A punctum — a dot — indicated a syllable to be sung at a pitch lower than that of the preceding note; exactly how much lower was not specified. Even when neumes were placed on different levels to reflect the general shape of a melody — a practice called "heighting" — or when a horizontal line representing a specific pitch was added to the mix, there was still considerable indeterminacy.

Students of chant have deployed various strategies to ascertain the precise pitches at which the neumes in surviving texts only hint. They have compared various neumated texts of the same chant with each other and with later texts in staff notation. They have considered how strategies employed by ethnomusicologists might be applied to neumated chant. And they have tracked how chants preserved in sources a millennium old have been sung down through the centuries. Chant is an important component of the heritage of Western music, and there is a substantial body of scholarly literature on the subject, but we must wonder to what extent we may be dealing with a case of an elaborate structure raised over a suspect foundation.

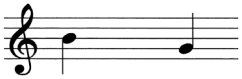
Staff notation, which was invented in the early eleventh century, might seem to offer a means of accurately recording music because it is able to specify pitch. A staff is a form of graph in which the horizontal axis represents the passage of time while the vertical axis represents pitch. Early staff notation does not specify absolute pitch, because there were no fixed pitches — i.e., no pitch equivalent to a modern concert *a′* at 440 Hz — but it could specify the relationships of certain pitches to each other. It was, for example, able to indicate that in a series of four notes the second note was a whole tone higher than the first, the third a whole tone higher than the second, and the fourth a half tone higher than the third:



We might assume that staff notation is a transparent system used to record music that had been there all along, just waiting to be written down. Not

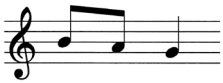
so: music there certainly was, but it is unlikely that staff notation could record all of it accurately. The earliest staff notation recognizes only the notes that form the gamut, the array of twenty pitches, from G to *e″* recognized by medieval and Renaissance theorists (the number and identity of the pitches vary from age to age and writer to writer). These pitches, arranged from lowest to highest, occupy sequentially the lines and spaces of staves. Some adjacent pitches are a whole tone apart (e.g., *c′* and *d′*), while others are a half tone apart (e.g., *e′* and *f′*; see the musical example above). If the staff were a truly objective system, then the distances from line to adjacent space or from space to adjacent line would all represent the same interval. But because the intervals formed by adjacent notes of the gamut vary, in some cases the distance from a staff line to the adjacent space represents a whole tone and in some cases a half tone. Moreover, even though the interval of a half tone was recognized, it was recognized only between certain pitches, e.g., between *e′* and *f′*; until the sixteenth century, when accidental symbols began to be consistently applied to the notes they immediately preceded (which is the convention in use today), there was no straightforward way of representing a half tone falling between two adjacent pitches a whole tone apart. But the repertoire of unwritten chant seems to have included melodies that made use of half tones between two notes of the gamut separated by a whole tone (say an *e′*-flat between *d′* and *e′*).[11] Such melodies could be notated only by misrepresenting them (by recording a sung *e′*-flat as an *e′*) or by relying on singers to make un-notated adjustments in certain circumstances (say remembering that in a certain chant a certain note notated as an *e′* should be sung as an *e′*-flat). Early staff notation is a case in which notation, instead of recording music, has forced the music it records to accommodate itself to the notation's limitations.

Western notation has a long history of conventions in which notation is not realized literally. A tradition current in Renaissance and Baroque music permitted a performer to fill in a leap of a third, creating a diatonic line. Thus, a passage notated



11. The symbols ♯ for sharp (*quadratum*) and ♭ for flat (*rotundum*) originated in the eleventh century, but until the sixteenth, their principal use was to specify the hexachords in which a note was supposed to stand.

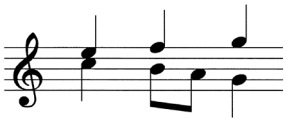
could, at the option of a performer, be rendered:



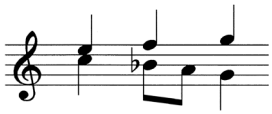
In late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century France, notes notated as even quarters or even eighths could in certain situations be rendered as if they were dotted; the convention is referred to as *notes inégales*. Thus a measure written as

could be performed as:

Musica ficta is a term used to describe Medieval and Renaissance conventions for inflecting notes when the text does not call for inflection. Because the staff notation of the day recognized only certain pitches, when two or more voices were performing simultaneously, following the text literally would sometimes produce unacceptable dissonances. To avoid such dissonances, the performer of one of the voices creating the dissonance could inflect one of his notes. Thus, a passage notated



might have been performed



to avoid the diminished fifth formed by the second note of each voice.

Especially perplexing problems are posed by repertoires in which texts of entire pieces were not meant to be realized literally. An extreme but important example of such a repertoire is the solo music of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[12] This was a repertoire dominated by virtuoso performers, masters of the harpsichord, organ, lute, violin, bass viol, and flute. Each performer composed much of the music that he or she performed. Many of the pieces were simple, general musical ideas that often originated in improvisations that were elaborated and refined in successive performances. This repertoire valued spontaneity in performance, and it was expected that each time a piece was played, it would be played in a different way: organists, harpsichordists, and lutists might vary the texture; flutists and string players might make adjustments to the melody; everybody added ornaments.[13] This repertoire operated to a considerable extent without benefit of text, and the ways in which pieces were created and circulated had much in common with oral traditions. Composers could carry their compositions in their heads, and performers sometimes learned new pieces by listening to performances of them.

Such music resisted textualization: because a performer was expected to vary a piece each time he played it, a musical text could not specify exactly what notes a performer should play. Instead, musical texts were of several sorts serving several purposes. There were manuscript texts which, like modern fake sheets, recorded only melody lines or melodies with continuo; performers were expected to provide *ex tempore* all the detail needed for acceptable performances.[14] There were somewhat more detailed texts intended to suggest to a composer's students how a piece might be performed and from which proper performances, with all the necessary detail added, could be improvised. And there were very detailed texts that were, effectively, transcriptions of specific performances, real or imagined. When the performer/composers of this music began to self-publish editions of

12. On the uses of text in this repertoire, see Broude 2017.
13. Jean Le Gallois tells us admiringly that every time royal harpsichordist Jacques Champion de Chambonnières played one of his compositions, he played it differently. Le Gallois's comment is evidence not only that spontaneity in performance was an important element in this repertoire but also that listeners remembered past performances well enough to be cognizant of differences. Le Gallois 1680, 70.
14. Early eighteenth-century manuscript copies of pieces for bass viol by Antoine Forqueray offer texts of just this sort: simple, unadorned statements of essential musical ideas. As a performer, Forqueray was known for the complexity of his improvised elaborations. For those texts see Cyr 2010, 3–7.

their compositions, they published detailed texts intended to serve as models of the styles in which their pieces were to be performed. Such texts were no doubt realized literally by some less accomplished amateurs, but literal realization was not their intended use because literal realization lacked the spontaneity considered essential to performance.

It was only in the eighteenth century (perhaps a bit earlier in some areas), when a large influx of amateurs changed the demographics of the European musical community, that a closer relationship between text and performance developed. Most amateurs did not wish to acquire the improvisational skills commanded by celebrated professionals: instead, they wanted music that they could perform satisfactorily and satisfyingly by following texts literally. During the course of the eighteenth century, composers and music printers responded to this new demand by creating and offering music that could be performed adequately simply by playing or singing the notes on the page. This development not only satisfied the Enlightenment love of the rational and the orderly but also encouraged the creation of works that, unlike those of the preceding era, were defined in considerable detail and that were stable. By the end of the century, music in which performances were expected to follow texts closely had become the norm.

Notwithstanding the new respect being accorded musical texts, many performers — especially the most celebrated professionals — felt no obligation to follow texts faithfully. When Mozart performed as soloist in his own piano concerti, he delighted audiences — and no doubt frustrated the orchestra musicians — with *ex tempore* interpolations and modifications of the piano parts. Among the great nineteenth-century performers were Paganini and Liszt, well known for their free-wheeling interpretations. Because the best opera singers usually provided their own ornamentation, opera composers ordinarily did not bother to write out ornamentation for their parts unless expressly requested to do so.[15] True, nineteenth and twentieth-century composers often complained about performers who failed to play exactly what had been written for them, but the frequency with which such complaints occur must be seen not only as an indication

15. On Mozart's improvisations during performances of his piano concerti, see Keefe 2009, 185–242; on Paganini as an improvisor, see Borer 2011, 191–216; on Liszt as an improvisor, see Eden 2011, 179–81; on improvised ornamentation in opera, see Gossett 2006, 290–331. The author thanks Professor Mary Cyr for directing his attention to the Keefe article.

of what composers wished but also as evidence of how indifferent performers might be to composers' wishes.

§

The new correspondence of work to text to performance made possible a new way of thinking about music. Instead of thinking about unique and therefore differing performances, the musical community, encouraged by publishers and composers, began to think in terms of musical works, stable entities defined in detail by their creators, who recorded them in detailed texts that performers were expected to follow faithfully.[16] Musical works were artifacts that could be offered for sale in printed form and that, if properly used, could generate many similar performances. Although this new model described only the music being composed in the decades before and after 1800, it was applied retroactively to the music of earlier repertoires, even though in some of those repertoires the relationship of text to performance had been much less straightforward than that contemplated by the model. But this ahistorical approach was accepted by the musical community, partly because that community's historical awareness was not as well developed as it would later become and partly because acceptance facilitated the discussions of music that had become an essential element of musical life.

It must be understood that the belief that musical texts could provide a sufficient basis for the study and performance of musical works was the product of an exceptional moment in the history of Western music. By 1800, improvisational practices in which text and performance were only tenuously connected had been superseded by a reassuringly rational and ordered system in which performance followed text. The importance of performing practice in determining the correspondence of performance to text in historical repertoires had yet to be recognized. And so trust was placed in texts, even though performerly adherence to text has always been more a theoretical ideal than a real-life practice.

This trust justified reliance on the texts offered by the musicological editions that were beginning to roll off the presses of publishers. Using the texts of "standard" editions as a basis for research and discussion was

16. There is a substantial literature on what is called the "work concept". The seminal work remains Goehr 1992, but see also the collection of essays in Talbot 2000. With Mary Cyr, the author is preparing a paper on the eighteenth-century acceptance of musical compositions as works.

an expedient and efficient way to conduct musical discourse. Until quite recently, original sources have been difficult to access, and having the texts of those sources available in reputable editions was a great convenience for researchers and performers. Moreover, being able to discuss a passage that could be quoted from or cited in a readily available musicological edition was an important advantage for music historians and their readers. Over time, there developed a mutually advantageous relationship between the specialist publishers that provided the editions and the historical musicologists and performers who used them. The publishers supplied editions upon which music historians and performers could rely for their research and performance, while the use of those editions by music historians and performers certified to the musical public at large the utility and dependability of those editions' texts. (This arrangement has not been unique to music: scholars in other disciplines have entered into similar bargains with their editions.)

For a long time, reliance upon musicological editions deflected attention from the inadequacies of the texts on which those editions were based. One might question the quality of an edition because it had been based on the wrong source, because it had too many questionable emendations or refusals to emend, or simply because it was filled with mechanical mistakes, but surely, it seemed, if managed by a competent editor, the underlying texts could provide adequate access to the works they represented. Thus, when the arrival of facsimiles in the 1960s and of the internet in the twenty first century rendered access to original sources increasingly convenient, music historians and performers could readily transfer their trust from the texts of musicological editions to the texts of facsimiles and internet images.

There are trade-offs in reading musical texts in facsimiles or internet images rather than in modern editions. Using a modern edition, one is working with a mediated text, but if the editor has been knowledgeable and conscientious, the problems presented by that text will have been identified and addressed; with facsimiles or digital images of an original source, one has the advantage of working with an unmediated text, but the problems presented by that text must be identified and addressed by the user.[17] In neither case can one be certain of how original performances of

17. Mediation involves both editorial intervention and the changes resulting from transcription of earlier sources into modern notation. Such transcription usually involves loss of information, as when clefs that suggested by which instruments a passage was played are converted into the two or three clefs that most modern users can read. Transcription also resolves ambiguities, as when the double bars

the work that the text represents sounded. For example: If one is working with a copy of the 1700 edition of Corelli's violin sonatas self-published in Rome by the composer, one can be confident that one is working with the text in which the composer wanted his collection to circulate. However, one can not be confident that this text contains all the notes that Corelli expected would be played in performance. In fact, it is clear that Corelli expected that in performance quite a bit would be added to his score. We know this because in 1710, the Amsterdam printer Estienne Roger made an arrangement with Corelli that enabled Roger to publish an edition of Corelli's sonatas that included the ornaments for the adagios as the composer himself might have played them ("les agréemens des Adagio de cet ouvrage, composez par M^{r}. A. Corelli comme il les joue".); the presence of these ornaments was an important selling point for Roger, because Corelli's self-published edition had not included them. So Corelli's edition, which is as authoritative as an edition can be, is misleading in respect of how the music actually sounded when played.[18] Suppose for a moment that Corelli's edition were the only source in which his sonatas survive; we might have assumed that the text was elaborated in performance, but even with some knowledge of Corelli's personal style, would an editor have been able to devise with confidence a hypothetical reconstruction of how the pieces were actually played?

Knowledgeable performers dealing with older music are usually aware of the quirks and inadequacies of musical texts, but as their business is to produce actual sounds, they must choose between the two approaches that have long been used to deal with artifacts from ages past. On the one hand, they can try to recover or reconstruct some state of the artifact at some moment in the past — they can do the equivalent of cleaning a painting, restoring a cathedral, or producing an old-spelling edition of a play. Alternatively, they can accept the changes that time has wrought and leave the artifact to take its chances of engaging a modern audience in a modern interpretation. HIP musicians take the former course: they and their historically-minded audiences enter into unspoken agreements in which the musicians undertake to realize their texts in accordance with the best

enclosing dots used in the seventeenth century to mark the ends of strains that might or might not be repeated are replaced with modern prescriptive repeat signs. And it can seriously misrepresent a musical conception, as when a piece that originally circulated in part-book or choir-book layout is presented in score, which distorts how the music was conceived and understood in its own day.

18. For Corelli's self-published edition, see Corelli 1700; for Roger's edition with additional ornamentation, see Corelli 1710.

and most current research while the audience members agree to accept such performances as authentic, and to suspend their awareness that what may be authentic today may well prove to be otherwise when new research is published tomorrow. Alternatively, performers can offer interpretations that ignore the premises of HIP and that are in modern styles. Casals and Landowska played Bach in this way; their performances reflected their distinctive and thoroughly modern musical personalities and usually were musically quite effective.[19]

A competent editor of a musical work can usually produce an edition that is satisfactory in the sense that its text is an arrangement of symbols close to — in some cases, exactly — what the earliest performers of the edited piece saw. But a musical text is useful only to the extent that we know how it was intended to be realized by those who inscribed or printed it, and we know that performances can differ from texts, in some repertoires very much so.

A music historian silently reading the text of a piece for his own instrument — say an organist reading an organ prelude — may imagine how he himself might realize that text, but when he is writing about that piece in an article or monograph, he cannot know what his readers reading the text of that piece will imagine. Perhaps some will imagine exactly the sounds that the symbols in the edition represent, and perhaps some will imagine how they would perform it themselves. Because the text is all that the music historian and his readers have in common, it must serve as the point of departure for discussion, even though its relationship to the actual sounds of a performance may be uncertain. And so, although music history is about music, the music about which music historians write is music imagined through the conservative construction of musical texts. Music historians know that to base their histories on conservative realizations of texts may be misleading, but they fear, with good reason, that to construct histories on the basis of hypothetical performances runs the risk of being more misleading still. No music historian has ever been criticized for following a text too closely. The discourse of music history moves forward as long as all concerned agree to accept musical texts as the bases for discussions. This is a pragmatic strategy: if texts do not correspond exactly to particular performances, each text may be approached as a norm that served as the basis for contemporary performances, and reading that text in the light of

19. Paul Eggert (Eggert 2009, passim. But esp. 19–60) discusses the choice between trying to restore or reconstruct artifacts from the past and letting such artifacts take their chances of engaging us in the states in which they have reached us.

current knowledge about performance practice, music historians and their readers may decide for themselves what a realization may have sounded like. This move enables music historians to acknowledge and move beyond music's textual dilemma. It is not an unreasonable course to pursue, as long as those pursuing it remain aware that they are thinking and writing about musical texts rather than the music — audible, unique, ephemeral — that those texts were intended to produce.

The Broude Trust

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Attributing Another Song to Maroie de Diergnau de Lille

Wendy Pfeffer

Abstract

Maroie de Diergnau is a recognized thirteenth-century woman trouvère to whom one song has been attributed. This article argues that another Old French lyric, Jherusalem grant damage *(RS 191, L 265–939), found in the* Chansonnier du roi *(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844, known as trouvère chansonnier M) should also be attributed to the songstress.*

Dame Maroie or Maroie de Diergnau was a woman trouvère, identified by Petersen Dyggve (1973, 82, 176) as from Diergnau, formerly a suburb of Lille with a feudal castle (see also Guesnon 1902, 160). She is named by Andrieu Contredit d'Arras in his song, *Bonne, belle et avenant* (RS 262, L 7–4),[1] which ends with these words:

> Chancon, va t'en! sans retraire
> Vers Dergan soiez errans!
> Di Marote, la vaillans,
> Qu'elle pent[2] de joie faire.
> (Schmidt 1903, 49)

> [Song, go off without delay / toward Diergnau, set out immediately! / Tell the valiant Marote, / that she can rejoice.]

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1. In the pages that follow, the following abbreviations are used: RS, to represent Raynaud-Spanke number presented in Spanke 1955; L, to represent Linker number, presented in Linker 1979; MW, to represent Mölk and Wolfzettel number, presented in Mölk and Wolfzettel 1972; PC to represent Pillet-Carstens number presented in Pillet and Carstens 1933.
2. *Pent* is Schmidt's reading; the intended word is *peut*.

Andrieu probably died in 1248; scholars assume that Maroie was his contemporary and that she flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century.

In *Songs of the Women Trouveres*, the editors were happy to attribute to Maroie de Diergnau one lyric, *Mout m'abelist quant je voi revenir* (RS 1451, L 178–1, MW 964), included in the Paris manuscript Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 844 (henceforth BnF fr. 844), known as the *Chansonnier du roi* (trouvère manuscript *M*, also known as troubadour manuscript *W* and motet manuscript *R*). This attribution comes from the rubricator of the text, who identified Maroie as the author of this song[3]; the text appears in another manuscript, the *Chansonnier de Noailles* (Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 12615, trouvère manuscript *T* f. 169*r*), whose scribe also gave Maroie credit in the rubric.

The *Chansonnier du roi* contains another text, *Jherusalem, grant damage me fais* (RS 191, L 265–939, MW 596), more often labeled anonymous but recently attributed to Jehan de Nuevile by Anna Radaelli (2016). In this article, I suggest that this second lyric, a crusade song, should be attributed to Maroie instead of to Jehan. Here is the text:

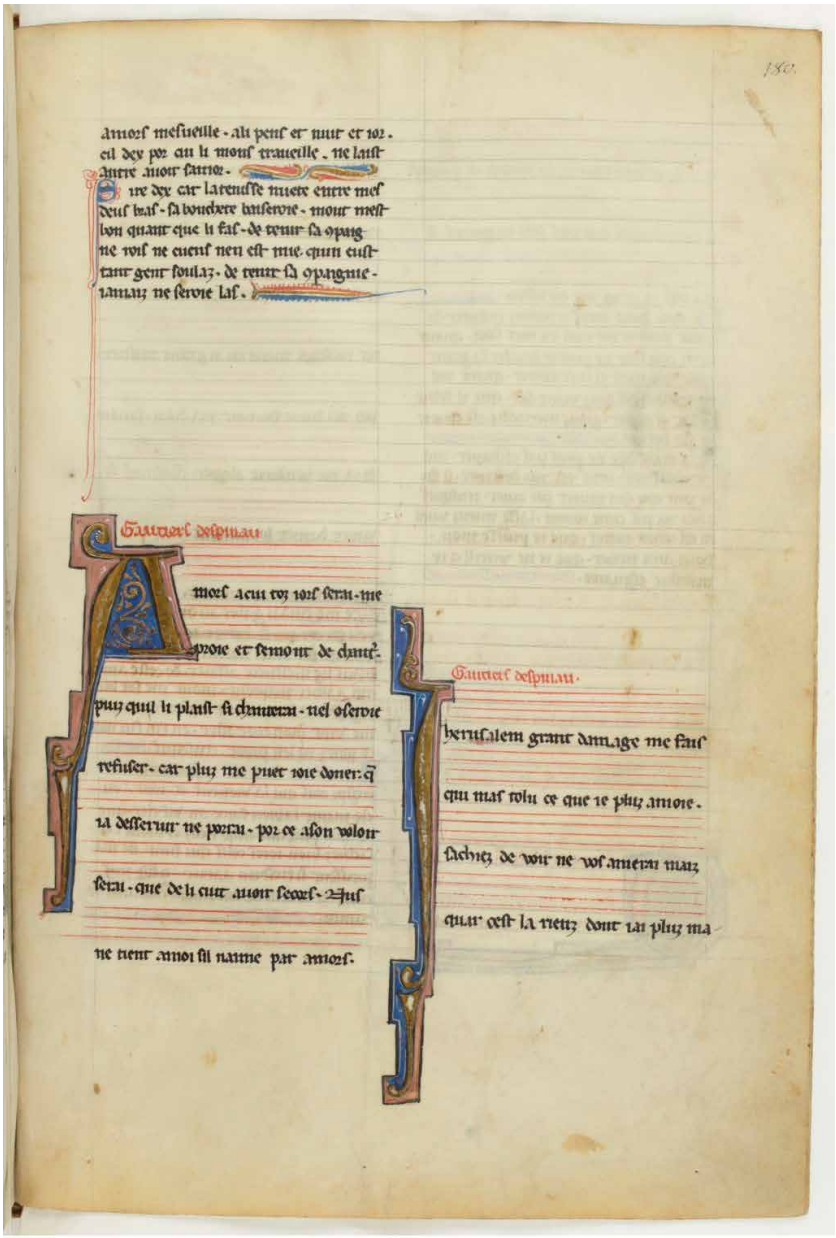
Jherusalem, grant damage me fais,
Qui m'as tolu ce que je pluz amoie.
Sachiez de voir ne vos amerai maiz,
Quar c'est la rienz dont j'ai pluz male joie; 4
Et bien sovent en souspir et pantais,
Si qu'a bien pou que vers Deu ne m'irais,
Qui m'a osté de grant joie ou j'estoie.

Biauz dous amis, com porroiz endurer 8
La grant painne por moi en mer salee,
Quant rienz qui soit ne porroit deviser
La grant dolor qui m'est el cuer entree?
Quant me remembre del douz viaire cler 12
Que je soloie baisier et acoler,
Granz merveille est que je ne sui dervee.

3. See Haines 1998, 105 for a brief discussion of the several rubricators of the *Chansonnier du roi*.

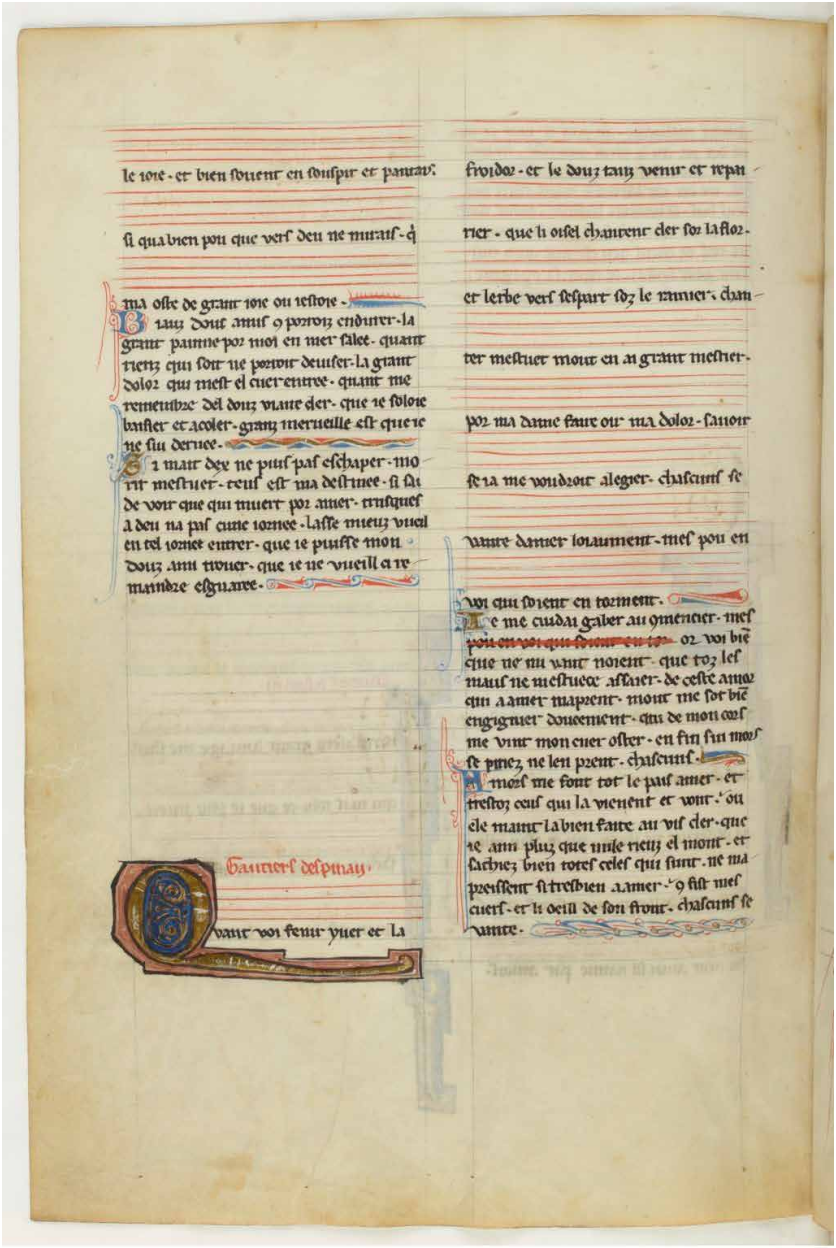
Si m'aït Dex, ne puis pas eschaper:
Morir m'estuet, teus est ma destinee; 16
Si sai de voir que qui muert por amer
Trusques a Deu n'a pas c'une jornee.
Lasse! mieuz vueil en tel jornee entrer
Que je puisse mon douz ami trover, 20
Que je ne vueill ci remaindre esguaree.

[Jerusalem, you cause me great harm, / taking from me what I loved most. / Know in truth that I will no longer love you, / for that is what brings me the most doleful joy; / often I sigh and am so short of breath / that I am on the verge of turning against God, / who has deprived me of the great joy I had. // Dear sweet beloved, how can you endure / such great pain for my sake on the salty sea, / when nothing in this world could ever express / the great sorrow that has entered my heart? / When I recall the sweet, radiant face / I used to kiss and caress, / it is truly a wonder I do not go mad. // So help me God, I cannot escape: / Die I must, such is my fate; / yet I know truly that whoever dies for love / has more than one day's journey to God. / Alas! I would rather embark on such a journey / to find my dear beloved / than remain here forsaken.]



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 1. BnF f.fr. 844 f. 180*r*, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 2. BnF f.fr. 844 f. 180*v*, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

As scholars have long observed, the song appears to be a fragment, composed in *coblas doblas* with the first or second stanza missing (see, for example, Bédier and Aubry 1909, 275). In the *Chansonnier du roi*, sufficient space was left after the text to insert another two strophes (see Doss-Quinby et al. 2001, 147), with the implication that the scribe recognized the fragmentary nature of this text. Although incomplete in this sole witness, the poem's extant stanzas convey a complete message, the despair of a woman whose love has left, or plans to leave, on crusade.[4] There can be no doubt as to the female voice.

The creation of the *Chansonnier du roi* (BnF fr. 844, manuscript M) has been described by John Haines in these terms:

> This [. . .] deluxe songbook *M-trouv.* [was] apparently made for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Frankish Greece). This outstanding *chansonnier*, [. . .] was likely produced in Arras as a wedding gift, perhaps by order of Charles of Anjou, quite possibly for the occasion of William's wedding to his third wife Anna Doukaina of Epiros in late 1258 or early 1259. [. . .] Probably during the chaotic 1260s or early 1270s, when the nearly finished *chansonnier* was likely repossessed by Charles of Anjou, Charles's chancery scribes added some songs to its empty chartae, including a piece praising Charles, *Ki de bons est*.
>
> (Haines 2013, passim; Haines 2019, 108; 119)

The manuscript's contents show clear elements of accrual. As Gill Page notes, the song book is "an unfinished work, a work in progress, [. . .] [to which] additional material was added over a lengthy period to form the book as we now have it" (2014, 297). John Haines, generally recognized as the expert on the volume, and Page suggest that the *chansonnier* grew in this fashion:

> 1) The initial selection of material is made and the process begins to find exemplars.
> 2) An index is created detailing the works to be included.
> 3) The copying of text from the gathered exemplars is begun and staves are drawn up for music to be added later.

4. See Galvez 2020, 98–99 and 108 for a recent discussion of the woman's expression of feeling in this song. Galvez notes Radaelli's attribution (274n20); in her discussion of *Jherusalem*, Galvez finesses the question of authorship.

4) It is decided to add a new selection of 60 works by the trouvère Thibaut of Navarre, and the whole collection is reordered as a result.
5) The text is copied from exemplars (although in many cases blank spaces are left for verses to be added later).
6) Music from exemplars is added into most but not all of the vacant staves.

(Page 2014, 297; Haines, 1998–2002, passim)

It has long been noted that the Index or Table of Contents of BnF fr. 844, M (which carries its own siglum, *Mi* [Haines 1998, 48]) does not always provide the same information as the rubrics themselves (see Lindelöf and Wallensköld 1901, 26). As John Haines noted, "most of the MS (25 gatherings) only agrees in part with Mi. Thirty-eight of Mi's 79 poets, or 48%, follow the MS's order [. . .] and just 48 poets, or 60% have poems identical in number and order to 844" (1998, 48; 1998–2002, 23). Haines himself quoted Brakelmann, noting that the Table of Contents was "une liste des pièces que le scribe se proposait de copier dans les différents recueils qu'il mettait à contribution" [a list of works that the scribe planned to copy from the different collections he had at disposal] (Brakelmann 1974, 67). We would be well advised to accept the information in the Table of Contents cautiously.

It is the folios of gathering xxv that are of most interest to my argument.[5] First, we observe that Gautier d'Espinal was slated, per the Table of Contents, to appear earlier in the codex.[6] Here are the texts that were initially proposed for what would become gathering xxv, in the order presented in the Table of Contents (f. D*v*), a diplomatic transcription (see also Fig. 3):

5. I follow Haines's understanding of the volume, not that presented by Beck and Beck 1938.
6. Earlier in the Table (f. D*r*), Gautier is listed immediately after Guillebers de Bernevile, whose lyrics are largely grouped in folios 131–134; the exceptions are wrongly attributed to Gillebert. These are the titles listed under "Gautiers despinau" on f. D*r*:

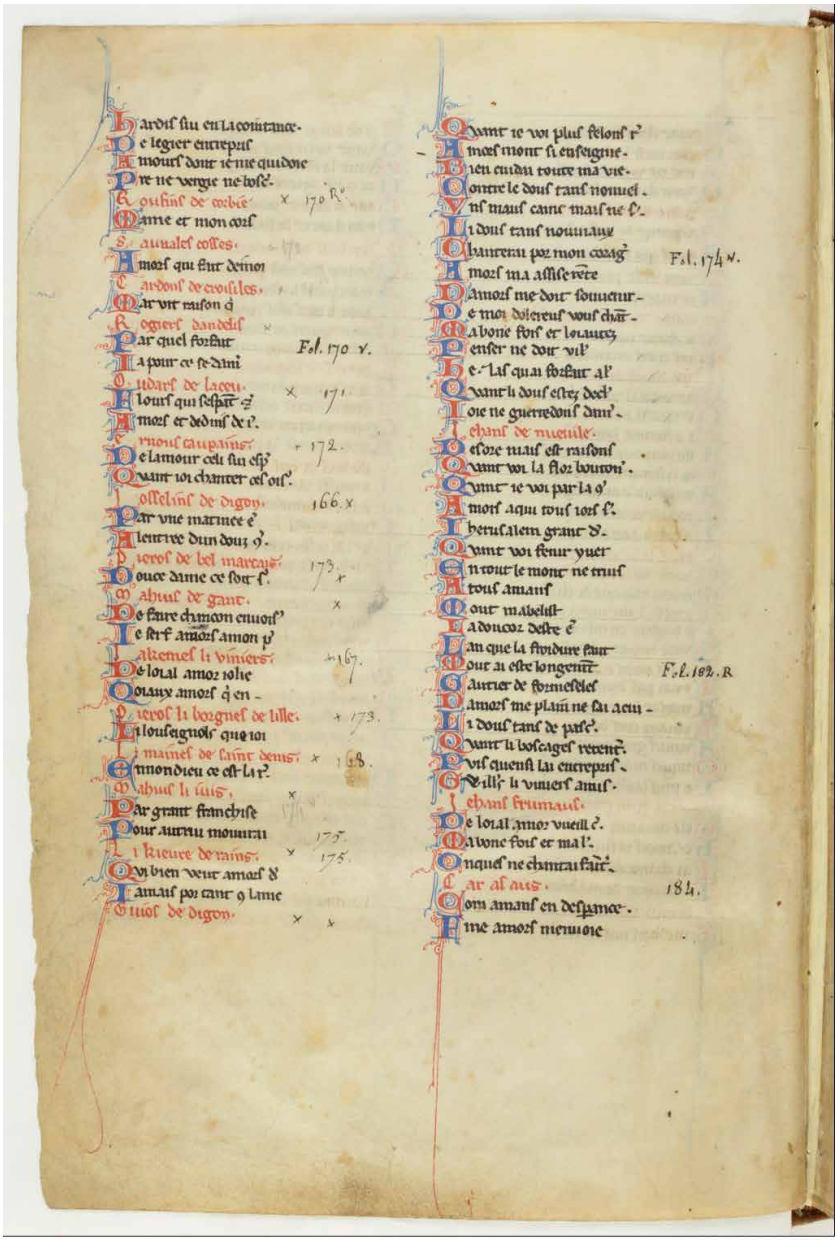
   Comencement de douce s[aison bele] (RS 590, L 77–6), copied on f. 178*r*;
   Aymans fins et verais (RS 199, L 77–2), copied on f. 178*v*;
   Tout efforciez autrui chanter (RS 728, L 77–22), copied on f. 179*r*;
   Outre quiers et ma f[ole pensee] (RS 542, L 77–11), copied on f. 179*v*;
   Desconforte et de ioie parti (RS 1816, L 77–7), copied on f. 181*r*.

The plan for gathering xxv presented on folio Dv

author name in red	Incipit	ID	current location in MS
Guios de digon [L 106]	*Quant je voi plus felons rire*	RS 1503, L106-9	176*r*
	Amors m'ont si enseignie	RS 1088, L 106-2	176*v*
	Bien cuidai toute ma vie	RS 1232, L 65-11	173*r*
	Contre le dous tans nouvel	RS 578, L 132-1	99*r*
	Uns maus c'ainc mais ne senti	RS 1079, L 106-11	173*v*
	Li dous tans nouviaux	RS 1246, L 106-8	174*r*
	Chanterai por mon courage	RS 21, L 106-4	174*v*
	*Amors ma assise rente [sic]**	RS 1088, L 106-2	176*v*
	D'amors me doit souvenir	RS 1468, L 184-1	168*v*
	De moi dolereus vous chant	RS 317, L 84-10	174*v*
	Ma bone fois et loiautez	RS 544, L 155-2	183*v*
	Penser ne doit vilanie	RS 1240, L 154-21	176*v*
	He, las qu'ai forfait a la	RS 681, L 106-7	177*r*
	Quant li dous estez decline	RS 1380, L 68-2	177*r*
	Joie ne guerredons d'amors	RS 2020, L 261-2	177*v*
Jehans de Nuevile [L 145]	*Desore mais est raisons*	RS 1885, L 215-2	177*v*
	Quant voi la flor bouton	RS 771, L 106-10	178*r*
	Quant je voi par le con[tree]	RS 501, L 77-16	178*r*
	Amors a qui tous jors s[erai]	RS 104, L 77-3	180*r*
	Jherusalem grant damage	RS 191, L 265-939	180*r*
	Quant voi fenir yver	RS 1988, L 77-17	180*v*
	En tout le mont ne truis	RS 1816, L 77-8	181*r*
	*A tous amans***	RS 671=1823, L 38–10	19*v* & 53*r*
	Mout m'abelist	RS 1451, L 178–1	181*r*
	La doucor d'este est	RS 588, L 145–2	181*v*
	L'an que la froidure faut	RS 393, L 145–3	181*v*
	Mout ai estre longement	RS 709, L 145–6	182*r*
	Gautrier de formeseles	RS 1822, L 31–1	182*r*
	D'amors me plain ne sai a cui	RS 1036=2072b, L 145–1	182*v*
	Li dous tans de pascor	RS 2003, L 145–5	182*v*
	Quant li boscages retentist	RS 1649, L 145–8	183*r*
	Puis qu'ensi l'as entrepris	RS 1531, L 145–7	183*r*
	Guillaumes li viniers amis	RS 1520, L 7–20	

*On f. 176r, the song begins "Mout mont si enseigne", recognized as a variant reading. This and other alternate readings are the topic of a different article.

**These are actually the initial words of the third stanza of the Chastelain de Coucy's *Merci clamans de mon fol errement* (Lerond 1964, 82–8).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 3. BnF f.fr. 844, Table of Contents, f. D*v*, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The authors and texts of gathering xxv

folio	scribal attribution	incipit	ID	current attribution
177*r*	Guios de digon	*Helas qu'ai forfait a la gent*	RS 681, L 106–7	Guiot de Dijon
	Guios de digon	*Quant li dous estez deduit*	RS 1380, L 68–2	Garnier d'Arches
177*v*	Guios de digon	*Joie ne gueridons d'amors*	RS 2020, L 261–2	le Tresorier de Lille
	Guios de digon	*Desoremais est raisons*	RS 1885, L 215–2	Raoul de Soissons
178*r*	Guios de digon	*Quant voi la flor boutoner*	RS 771, L 106–10	Guiot de Dijon
	[missing]*	*Comencement de douce saison bele*	RS 590, L 77–7	Gautier d'Espinal
178*v*	Gautiers despinau	*Desconforte et de ioie parti*	RS 1073, L 77–7	Gautier d'Espinal
	Gautiers despinau	*Aymans fins et verais*	RS 199, L 77–2	Gautier d'Espinal
179*r*	Gautiers despinau	*Touz efforciez aurai chante souvent*	RS 728, L 77–22	Gautier d'Espinal
179*v*	Gautiers despinau	*Outrecuidiers et ma fole pensee*	RS 542, L 77–11	Gautier d'Espinal
	Gautiers despinau	*Quant je voi par la contree*	RS 501, L 77–16	Gautier d'Espinal
180*r*	Gautiers despinau	*Amors a cui toz jors serai*	RS 104, L 77–3	Gautier d'Espinal
	Gautier despinau	*Jherusalem grant damage me fais*	RS 191, L 265–939	Anonymous
180*v*	Gautiers despinau	*Quant voi fenir yver et la froidor*	RS 1988, L 77–17	Gautier d'Espinal
181*r*	Gautiers despinau	*En tot le mont ne truis point de savoir*	RS 1816, L 77–8	Gautier d'Espinal
	Maroie de dregnau de lille	*Mout m'abelist quant je vois revenir*	RS 1451, L 178–1	Maroie de Diergnau
181*v*	Jehans de nuevile	*La doucor d'este est vele*	RS 588, L 145–2	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehan de nuevile	*L'an que la froidure faut*	RS 393, L 145–3	Jehan de Neuville
182*r*	Jehans de nuevile	*Mout ai este longement*	RS709, L 145–6	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehans de nieuvile	*Gautrier de formeseles voir*	RS 1822, L 31–1	Cardon
182*v*	Jehans de nuevile	*D'amors me plaig ne sai a cui*	RS 1036, L 145–1	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehans de nuevile	*Li douz tanz de pascor*	RS 2003, L 145–5	Jehan de Neuville
183*r*	Jehans de nuevile	*Quant li boschages retentist*	RS 1649, L145–8	Jehan de Neuville
	Jehans de nuevile	*Quis qu'ensi l'ai entrepris*	RS 1531, L 145–7	Jehan de Neuville
183*v*	Jehans fremaus de lille	*De loial amor vueill chanter*	RS 832, L 155–1	Jehan Frumel
	Jehans fremaus li courouce	*Ma bone fois et ma loiaus pensee*	RS 544, L 155–2	Jehan Frumel
184*r*	Jehans fremaus	*Onques ne chantai faintement*	RS 674, L 155–3	Jehan Frumel
184*v*	Car as aus,	*Com amans en desperance*	RS 213, L 30–1	Carasau
185*r*	Car as aus	*Fine amors m'envoie*	RS 1716, L 30–2	Carasau
		[different hand and ink]		
185*r*		*Qui la ve en ditz [Qui la vi en ditz]*	PC 10,45	Aimeric de Peguilhan

*When the illustrated initial was cut from this folio, the authorial attribution was lost.

folio	scribal attribution	incipit	ID	current attribution
185*v*		(*Qui la ve en ditz*, continued)		
186*r*		*Ben volgra s'esser poges [Be volgra s'esser pogues]*	PC 244, la	Guiraut d'Espagne
186*v*		*Sens alegrage [Ses alegratge]*	PC 205,5	Guilhem Augier Novella
187*r*		(*Sens alegrage*, continued)		
187*v*		*Amors m'art con fuoc am flama*	PC 461,20a	Anonymous

We can see that in the Table of Contents, *Jherusalem* is attributed to Jehan de Nuevile (L 145) and that eleven of the eighteen songs attributed to him on this list are now assigned to other poets (an accuracy rate of 38.8%).[7]

In the volume itself, the order of presentation is somewhat different (see above). The rubrics and incipits on the folios of the gathering, which Haines describes as a quaternion (ff. 177–84) to which a single sheet (f. 185) and a bifolium (ff. 186–7) have been added, for a total of eleven chartae (1998, 75). The appended sheets contain Occitan rather than Old French material, content added later (see Haines 1998, 51 and 75) and included in this chart but not relevant to my subsequent discussion. For the record, folios 180 and 181 form a bifolium within gathering xxv (Hatzikiriakos and Rachetta 2019, 148).

Of the twenty-nine Old French songs copied, twenty-eight include an attribution (an excision has removed the rubric and opening of Gautier de Dijon's *Comencement de douce saison bele*); of these twenty-eight, only five are no longer attributed to the trouvère named, a rate of accuracy of 82.1%. The attributions in the chartae of gathering xxv are demonstrably more trustworthy than those of the Table of Contents, but still leave room for doubt.

Radaelli (2016) described this section of the manuscript in these terms:

> [The manuscript] presents the corpus of the nine songs attributed to Gautier d'Espinal (ff. 178*v*–181*r*) immediately after the last section devoted to Guios de Digon (ff. 176*r*–178*r*); after the insertion into f. 181*r*

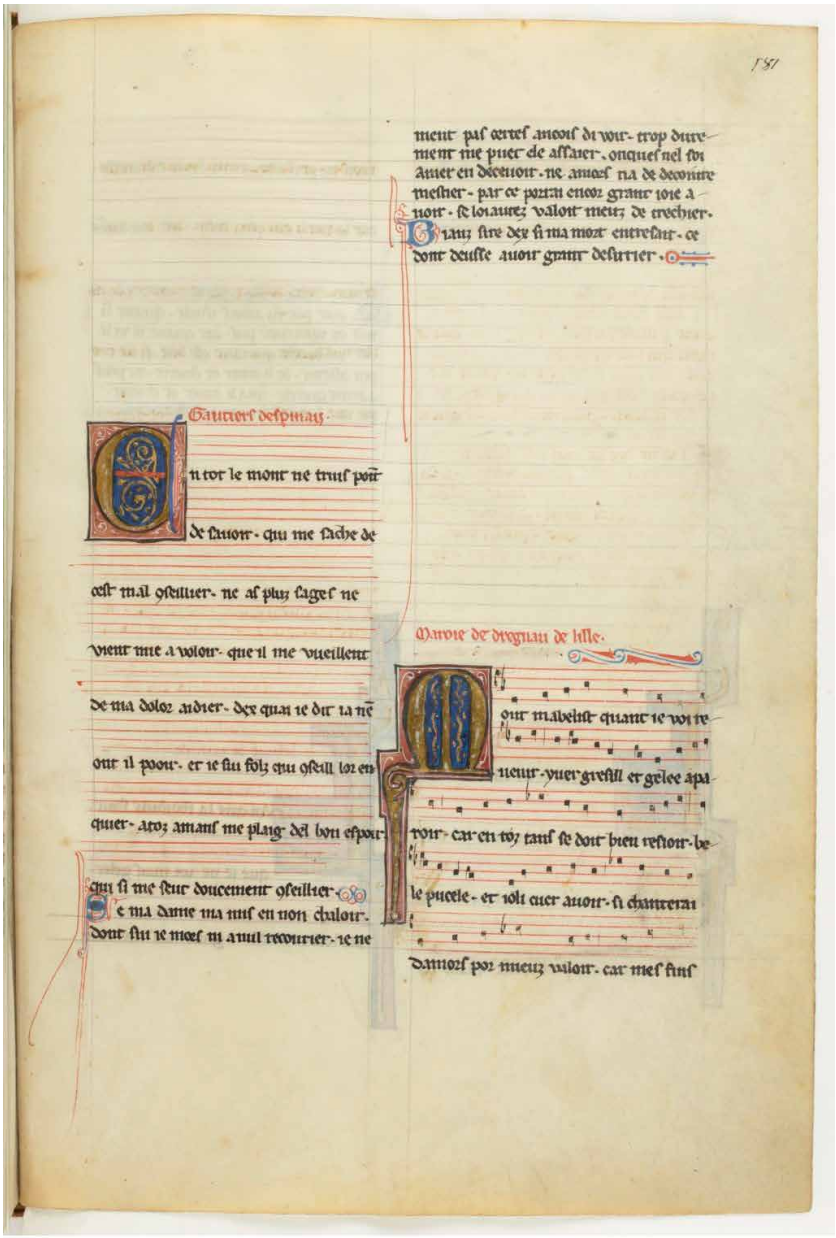
7. In the order of the Table, Raoul de Soissons (L 215), Guiot de Dijon (L 106), Anonymous (L 265), Chastelain de Coucy (L 38), Maroie de Dregnau (L 178), Cardon (L 31), and Andieu Contredit (L 7).

> of the stanza with musical notation *Mout m'abelist quant ie voi revenir* (RS 1451), attributed to the *trouveresse* Maroie de Dregnau de Lille and not recorded in the Table, the sequence continues with the transcription of the corpus of the eight songs attributed to Jehan de Nuevile.
>
> (ff. 181*v*–183*v*)

As I have shown in detail above, *Mout m'abelist* is listed in the Table of Contents; it is highly unlikely that the song was added at a later date as the table was an early element of the production process. While additions were made to the manuscript at several points over its history, gathering xxv, planned as including mostly non-Artesian authors (Haines 1998, 55), is largely in the hand of the original scribe, certainly insofar as *Jherusalem* and *Mout m'abelist* are concerned. Unlike the Occitan texts on folios 185*r*–7*v*, *Jherusalem*, on the central bifolium, was not a later addition.

Scholars accept the attribution to Maroie of *Mout m'abelist*, a song in a woman's voice, attributed to her in both witnesses, the *Chansonnier du roi* and the *Chansonnier de Noailles* (see Fig. 4). *Jherusalem grant damage me fais* is also, clearly, in the woman's voice — there is no doubting the feminine adjectives in its lines 15 and 22. Doss-Quinby et al. included *Jherusalem* in their anthology (2001, 146–47) for this very reason (2001, 6); they followed earlier scholars in calling it anonymous. I propose that we attribute *Jherusalem* to Maroie as well.

One of the general organizing principles of the *Chansonnier du roi* is to put works by the same author close together. Following this principle, it would be logical to place a second song by Maroie close to the one clearly attributed to her. I concede that this argument would be stronger if the two songs, *Jherusalem* and *Mout m'abelist*, were contiguous, rather than separated by two songs attributed to Gautier d'Espinal by the rubricator and by modern scholars. However, the two songs in a woman's voice were copied on the same bifolium, the center section in the initial gathering of four sheets. John Haines remarked that the original compilers of the *Chansonnier du roi* paid remarkable attention to the presentation of texts at the middle of the first two gatherings of the book; opening the book in these locations would make these the first elements seen (1998, 83). He limited his observations to the first two gatherings, which highlight William of Villehardouin, prince of Morea, the initial intended recipient of the volume, and the Emperor John of Constantinople, in whose realm Morea lay (Haines 1998, 83). Haines described this layout as "an unusual but not isolated phenomenon" (1998, 83). I would suggest we extend this observation to gathering xxv, whose original central element forms folios 180 and



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des Manuscrits. Français 844

Figure 4. BnF f.fr. 844 f. 181r, source: Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

181. It is on this sheet that Maroie de Diergnau's lyrics appear, one song properly rubricated on f. 181*r*, the other, on f. 180*r*, misattributed. Again, as Haines noted, "erratic rubrication partly explains the manuscript's characteristic misattributions" (1998, 105–6; 1998–2002, 30).

In their edition of the songs of Gautier d'Espinal, Lindelöf and Wallensköld assigned *Jherusalem* "probably" to Jehan de Nuevile, based on its presentation in the manuscript (1901, 26). The editors considered Gautier d'Espinal's authorship as "very doubtful", "très douteuse" (Lindelöf and Wallensköld 1901, 26), indeed, "more than doubtful", "plus que douteuse" (1901, 60). They suggest that a scribe had inserted Maroie's *Mout m'abelist* into the set of songs by Jehan de Nuevile and that the copyist of the *Chansonnier du roi* assigned authorship to Gautier d'Espinal, the trouvère whose works came before these (Lindelöf and Wallensköld 1901, 26). In discussing *Jherusalem*, the two scholars offer an additional argument against crediting Gautier d'Espinal with the song: it is the only Crusade song connected to this trouvère (Lindelöf and Wallensköld 1901, 31). Lindelöf and Wallensköld published *Jherusalem* in an Appendix to their edition, along with other texts they did not think Gautier had composed (1901, 98).

In his edition of Jehan de Nuevile, Max Richter called attribution of *Jherusalem* to Jehan as doubtful, *Zweifelhafte* (1904, 17; 72). He declined even to print the poem, pointing readers to its publication with the works of Gautier d'Espinal. Subsequent editors have declined to assign an author to *Jherusalem* (see Doss-Quinby et al., 2001, 147 for a list of editions to that date), adding the song to the long list of Old French anonyma.[8]

Anna Radaelli reminds readers that "The song is now generally regarded as anonymous, with recent editors taking this view" (2016). However, she offers this interpretation of the text as presented in the *Chansonnier du roi*:

> If the Table [of Contents] is to be believed, the five texts which conclude Gautier's corpus (including RS 191) should be ascribed to Jehan de Nuevile, adding to the substantial group of eight texts belonging to this trouvère. Since the ordering of the texts may have been influenced by material factors such as a change of source, their displacement with respect to the order in the Table would have occurred at the time of compilation, giving rise to the divergence of attributions (cfr. Battelli

8. I have questioned the tendency to assign medieval anonymous works to men, asking pointed questions as to why a medieval male would chose to assume the woman's voice (see Pfeffer 2003, 125).

> 1993, 287, n. 17). I am therefore inclined to rescue from anonymity this woman's lament for her departed lover (a «planh d'une femme» for Bédier [and Aubrey] 1909 [277]) and to legitimise its assignment in the Table to the repertory of Jehan de Nuevile, an exponent of the municipal poetic school of Arras of the second half of the XIIIth c., whose collection of songs contains numerous unica preserved by M from an individual source.
>
> (2016)

Radaelli based her attribution largely on the Table of Contents, which we have shown cannot be trusted. She discounts the observation of Lindelöf and Wallensköld that *Jherusalem* incorporates "two epic caesuras in vv. 12 and 13, these being the only examples in the Lorraine trouvère's [i.e. Jehan de Neuville's] corpus" (Radaelli 2016, citing Lindelöf and Wallensköld 1901, 39), another reason that Jehan's editors and many others have rejected the attribution of this song in woman's voice to him (Doss-Quinby et al., 2001, 147). Maria Carla Battelli's observations about the *Chansonnier du roi* (1993), cited by Radaelli (2016), have now been superseded by those of John Haines, whose landmark study of the *Chansonnier du roi* formalized the scholarly discipline of musicography (see Haines 1998).

I turn now to versification and poetic style.[9] Comparing *Jherusalem* and *Mout m'abelist*, we observe that both songs are composed in stanzas of seven-line decasyllables. They both use fairly restrained rhyme schemes: *Mout m'abelist* = ababbaa and *Jherusalem* = ababaab followed by cdcdccd. Jehan de Nuevile much preferred the shorter, heptasyllabic line, used in six of his nine firmly attributed songs. The rhyme scheme of Maroie's songs is simpler than any used by Jehan; in Maroie's individual stanzas we have only two rhymes, whereas Jehan frequently inserted a third rhyme sound if not more in his verse (see Richter 1904, 34–41). Significantly, one of the most interesting structural features of *Jherusalem* is that it appears to be composed in *coblas doblas*, a technique that links stanzas in groups of two (consider stanzas two and three). Jehan never used *coblas doblas* in any of the lyrics firmly attributed to him. Lindelöf and Wallensköld observed that Gautier d'Espinal tended not to "change rhymes" in his lyrics (1901, 29), such that we do not see examples of *coblas doblas* in his oeuvre either.

9. I would like to thank Daniel E. O'Sullivan for his suggestions on this point.

For this and other reasons,[10] these editors attributed *Jherusalem* to Jehan de Nuevile (1901, 26).

Richter noted further that Jehan rarely if ever used alliterative techniques (1904, 40), whereas *Jherusalem* has multiple examples of alliteration and sound repetition for emphasis, from the very first line ('Jherusalem' and 'damage'), where the iteration of /d͡ʒ/ connects the city with its effect, to the first lines of the last stanza, filled with repeated m's (marked in italics below) that emphasize the speaker, death, and love:

> Si *m*'aït Dex, ne puis pas eschaper:
> Morir *m*'estuet, teus est *m*a destinee;
> Si sai de voir que qui *m*uert por a*m*er
> (ll. 15–17)

Gautier d'Espinal also used alliteration (consider his *Aimanz fins et verais*, R 199 L 77–2), but other arguments eliminate him as an author of *Jherusalem*.

Doss-Quinby, Grimbert, Pfeffer, and Aubrey made a clear case why *Jherusalem* should be assigned neither to Gautier nor to Jehan (2001, 147). They had no doubt that the author was female but declined to attribute the song to any named woman trouvère. These editors had four criteria which they used to assign female authorship:

> (1) a woman is named within the poem as the author [. . .];
> (2) a woman is referred to, by name or not, as the interlocutor in a debate poem [. . .];
> (3) a woman is named in the rubric or table of contents of a manuscript;
> (4) a woman is the speaking subject — the lyric "I" — of the poem (féminité textuelle).
> (Doss-Quinby et al., 2001, 6)

Jherusalem, responding only to criterion 4, was included as an anonymous song in their anthology.

Jherusalem was certainly not composed by Jehan de Nuevile, as Radaelli has recently proposed. Rather than accept this text as anonymous, I suggest we assign it to a recognized woman trouvère, Maroie de Diergnau. The *Chansonnier du roi*'s gathering xxv includes only one song currently with-

10. Lindelöf and Wallensköld speak of the epic caesura, falling after the fifth beat, in line 12 of *Jherusalem* as further proof that the song is not by Gautier d'Espinal, though they admit it may simply represent a scribal error (1901, 39).

out a named attribution; there is a logic to assigning this song, clearly in a woman's voice, to the only woman trouvère included in the entire manuscript and whose attributed song appears on the following folio. Maroie was active in thirteenth-century poetic circles; she is recognized as the author of one song by two different manuscript rubricators and by modern scholars. Let us add to her corpus and attribute *Jherusalem, grant damage* to this talented medieval poet and composer.

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Printers of the Kosmos

Designing a Variorum of the First *Leaves of Grass*

Matt Cohen and Nicole Gray

Abstract

This essay describes the editorial logic behind a recently released variorum of the 1855 edition of Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass. *The history of the composition, printing, binding, distribution, and reading of this set of books informs the design and apparatus of the variorum, which attempts to represent something of the fundamental textual and material instability of the copies that make up the edition.*

When Walt Whitman took a mind to self-publish a radically new book of poems, he turned to an old, familiar model: Shakespeare. A former printer himself, Whitman would have been accustomed to making print-related calculations, though not perhaps for books of poetry. On a manuscript that may be found at the Harry Ransom Center, he started the process of casting off *Leaves of Grass*. He outlined the intended order for his poems, then added up the number of manuscript pages associated with each. He then estimated the "letters in one of my closely written MS pages like page 2", multiplied that by the manuscript pages (127), then divided by the number of letters on a printed page of poetry, to estimate 181 printed pages. His estimate of 1120 letters on a printed page of poems is based on a count of 28 lines per page and 40 letters per line in, as he describes it, "Shakspere's poems". This count is a close match to what was probably his 1847 copy of Shakespeare's poems, a 279-page octavo volume now held at the Folger Shakespeare Library.[1]

But the printing didn't go as Whitman planned here. Ed Folsom has observed that the printer, Andrew Rome, a friend of Whitman's, was a job printer who at this time typically issued functional documents like legal

1. See Shakespeare 1847. Whitman's name is written on the title page. Page 15 of the volume, part of the poem "Venus and Adonis", has 28 lines (including both printed and blank lines), and the first two printed lines have 40 characters each (including punctuation and spaces).

forms.[2] A broadside at the New York Historical Society, advertising the 1854 auction of lots in Brooklyn, provides another example of the kind of material the firm printed. Perhaps Rome insisted on a larger size for the pages of the book to better accommodate the work of printing *Leaves of Grass* between other jobs; perhaps, with all the blank space poetry would require, the format was a function of how much type Rome could summon to the form. Whatever the case, whatever combination of authorial intention foiled by the forces of economy or concurrent production the decision involved, at some point it became clear that the book was going to be big. And now there wasn't really an easy-to-hand model anymore. On what could Whitman base his calculations — was it like a gift book, or an album, or a scrapbook? How much room would the poems take up, with their long lines, their varying lengths?

Understanding the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*, today the most valuable edition of the title, requires thinking about the intention of the author. There were a lot of people with ambition, healthy egos, and printer friends in the nineteenth century. Only one of those managed to produce around 1000 copies of an outsized, candid book of prosy poetry and poetic prose without precedent in nineteenth-century literary publishing.[3] But the story of the 1855 *Leaves* is extraordinary not just because of that ambition. It is a story of how human determination and explosive imagination ran headlong into the realities of one corner of the printing world in the nineteenth-century United States. It is a story that resulted in a series of objects that incarnate that collision, writ large as a cosmic struggle between human passion and larger social, material, historical, and spiritual forces. And it is the story of passionate subsequent imaginings about how all of this unfolded — of how Walt Whitman the poet and his first *Leaves* came to be.

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2. Folsom 2006, 72.
3. Based on the binder's statement, White asserts that the edition consisted of 795 copies (1963, 353). An 1856 announcement in *Life Illustrated* stated that the "first edition of a thousand copies rapidly disappeared" (Allen 1955, 178). In his 1856 public letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson, printed as part of the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman wrote "I printed a thousand copies" (346). In a letter to unidentified correspondents dated March 31, 1885, he wrote that "800 copies were struck off on a hand press". He may not have had all of the copies bound, although based on later comments it seems unlikely that he kept or distributed any unbound copies. In any case, the total number of copies printed was almost certainly between 795 and 1000. About 200 copies are known to survive today.

In this essay we discuss a digital edition of the first *Leaves of Grass*, recently published on the *Walt Whitman Archive*.[4] The poet who laments the wet paper and cold types between us adapted his intentions visibly and to some extent recoverably in the first edition of his poems. But with this edition we argue that the text must also be edited with some attention to characteristics that betray the processes involved in the manufacture and distribution of the book — shifting type, missing characters, printed insertions, and individual copy variations — as well as to authorial revisions. The drift of type, of the book's contents, and of the copies in the marketplace: all of this has the power to give form. The imagination of reproducibility within and subject to the realities of production and the passage of time — this was all *part of it* for Whitman.

The accounting that goes into editorial and bibliographical work is similar in some ways to Whitman's casting off of his book. It requires counting and calculation as part of a reckoning with the specific evidence in existing copies or manuscript pages, and with the capacity of that evidence to be expressed in a particular medium and format. In this case we counted copies, lines, characters, and pages. We counted manuscripts and notebooks and insertions and variants and gatherings and bindings. This edition, like other editions, is designed to convey and provide access to that kind of accounting, a practical assessment for the purpose of planning, building, investment, or interpretation. But it is also designed to account for the copies of *Leaves of Grass* in a metaphorical way that Whitman describes in his poetry. This kind of accounting tallies the past in concrete ways. But it also tries to create space for the future: the unexpected, like the large page size that Whitman ended up with for the 1855 *Leaves*, or, in our case, the emerging affordances of the digital medium, and the discovery of texts and contexts previously unknown.

This edition, then, is an effort to combine a representation of the counting and accounting that we and others have done with the construction of a framework that can accommodate the counting and accounting yet to be done. Many have pointed out that the digital medium provides opportunities for this well beyond those that were available to printed editions. Yet in addition to considering the affordances of the medium, we had to shift our mindset, to strike a compromise between accuracy and completeness in our descriptions of the past — important goals of both accounting and textual editions — and flexibility and openness to the interpretations, discoveries, and corrections of the future.

4. See Gray 2020.

We refer to our work (and that of the many others contributing to this edition) as a "variorum", an old term to describe an edition that gathers variants of a text, or of opinion about it, across time. Such a definition might suggest that all of the printed editions of *Leaves*, published over almost half a century, should be represented — as they were, for instance, in the New York University Press *Collected Writings* variorum. The variorum form has been imagined as a way to gain mastery, most visibly over the temporality of a text, its chronological development through successive versions or interpretations. With this undertaking, though, we wanted to emphasize the variation within and leading up to a single edition of *Leaves*. Linking that set of changes to those that occurred during and after the production of the books, we hope to show the multiple temporalities constellating this first set of copies of *Leaves of Grass*.

The title of our essay alludes to D.F. McKenzie's essay "Printers of the Mind", invoking our place in a long progression of compositor studies in pursuit of author-based composition chronologies. The goal in those studies was often to establish a definitive text and a reading of authorial intention, or in McKenzie's case, a labor history of the press-room and what Michael Suarez calls the "actual praxis" of the book-related trades.[5] Ours sits somewhere between those goals, and it is also cued by the ways in which Whitman's readers, scholarly and otherwise, have tended to *want* to read the 1855 *Leaves*. Taking McKenzie's warning in that essay to heart, we wanted to create a framework for describing forms of variation potentially meaningful to the ongoing study of America's most famous book of poetry.

It is hard to understand the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* as a fixed manifestation produced at a single point in time for several reasons — reasons that also make it difficult to imagine an ideal authorially intended version of the text. Gatherings were bound apparently without reference to the order of variant text, making it impossible to say that some copies were "early" and others "late". A frontispiece portrait was included, printed from an engraving based on a daguerreotype, but the crotch and pant leg of the engraving were altered at some point in the printing of the copies. One surviving copy has no printed copyright statement, and two more have handwritten versions of it. It is possible that it took weeks or months to print the book; it is possible that Whitman was composing part of it at the last minute. The 1855 *Leaves* was in a state of more or less continuous composition and decomposition. The agents involved in that compositional process were, we might say, a cosmos: Whitman; the workers in the Rome print shop adjusting the forms and type and furniture of the set-up text; the engraver,

5. Suarez 2002, 38; McKenzie 1969.

either Samuel Hollyer or John C. McRae; the binders Charles Jenkins and Davies & Hands; William Horsell, the London distributor whose address was printed onto a label affixed to the title page of some copies; George F. Betts, clerk of the Southern District Court of New York, who wrote out the wording of the copyright statement, and others.[6]

Some copies of the 1855 *Leaves* also include eight pages of essays and reviews, three self-authored, that Whitman had printed and bound into several of the books. An understudied feature of the 1855 copies, these materials present a unique set of challenges. Versions of the essays and reviews, some of them much longer than the extracts Whitman included in his insertion, had previously appeared in periodicals. There are printed proofs, manuscript fragments, and later published versions of some of these materials.[7] Some of the differences between the periodical versions of the reviews Whitman wrote and the *Leaves* versions hint at his shifting imagination of how to represent the book and its author. But the influence of the editors and printers of the periodical versions on the text is one factor that makes it difficult to decipher the role of authorial intention in these revisions. Are the versions bound into *Leaves* examples of Whitman revising back to his original text, which had been altered by editors in their first periodical publication? Or are they examples of Whitman revising his own text to fit better within the context of the 1855 *Leaves*? The reviews were included at the front of the volume in most known cases, meaning that for recipients of the copies of *Leaves* with these materials added, the first encounters with lines of Whitman's shocking new poetry might well have come in reading these reviews, rather than in the body text itself.

In the variorum we have also made an ambitious effort to link textual units in the known manuscripts and notebooks that Whitman kept in the years leading up to the publication of *Leaves of Grass* with textual units in the printed version. We assigned relations between manuscript and printed text, using the line, where possible, as the foundational unit of relation. Because of the generic variety, even indeterminacy (as Virginia Jackson might caution us) visible in these manuscripts, we also created links between chunks of text in prose manuscripts and lines of printed poetry, as well as between manuscript text and printed text in the prose preface to the 1855 edition of *Leaves*.[8] Whitman famously converted some

6. For more about each of these, see Folsom 2006, Genoways 2007, Stern 1971, White 1963 and 1957, and Blodgett 1934.
7. Whitman would use several of the reviews again in the "Leaves-Droppings" section of the 1856 edition of *Leaves* and in the 1860 pamphlet *Leaves of Grass Imprints*.
8. Jackson 2005.

of the preface from prose to poetry in later editions of *Leaves*, but generic shifts happened on the way to the first edition, too.[9] Although we selected a single edition as our focus for this project, the evolution of *Leaves of Grass* did not proceed in neat or orderly stages. Whitman revised relentlessly, retaining his manuscripts and notebooks and using sections from them in later editions. He also used text from the first edition again in revised forms in later editions. These compositional habits make conclusively dating the manuscripts a challenge, and they emphasize the overlap among editions.

Tracing the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* beyond the point of production, our edition also includes a series of links to a list of known surviving copies. Based on data collected as part of Folsom's 2005 census and updated with information from recent sales and examinations of copies, this list includes approximately 200 entries with information about repository, provenance, and bibliographical characteristics. These descriptions offer a sense of who purchased many of the volumes and how they were passed along from the nineteenth century to today. The story of the variation of the 1855 *Leaves* did not end when the books were printed: it continues today, in their ongoing existence in repositories, in the libraries of private collectors, and in the narratives of booksellers and auctioneers.

A Kosmos

One feature that remained consistent across not only all the copies of this edition, but all the editions of *Leaves* to come, was the dramatic announcement of the name of its author, squarely in the middle of its best-known poem.[10] In an unsigned 1855 review of the book, Boston critic Charles Eliot Norton described this moment with a barb:

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9. For one of many examples of Whitman shifting between genres in his revisions, see the passage beginning at lines 982 and 983 in the variorum, part of the poem eventually titled "Song of Myself": "They descend in new forms from the tips of his fingers, / They are wafted with the odor of his body or breath . . . . they fly out of the glance of his eyes" (2020; 1855, 44). We have linked these lines and several others to the prose manuscript "The genuine miracles of Christ".
10. The wording of the line in what would become section 24 of "Song of Myself" changes in the various editions, but, with the exception of the 1867 edition, the word "kosmos" is retained. The line reads: "Walt Whitman, an American, one of the roughs, a kosmos" (1855, 29; 1856, 41; 1860–1861, 54); "Walt Whitman am I, of mighty Manhattan the son" (1867, 49); "Walt Whitman am I, a Kosmos, of mighty Manhattan the son" (1871, 54); and "Walt Whitman, a kosmos, of Manhattan the son" (1881–1882, 48).

> As seems very proper in a book of transcendental poetry, the author withholds his name from the title page, and presents his portrait, neatly engraved on steel, instead [. . .] [T]his significant reticence does not prevail throughout the volume, for we learn on p. 29, that our poet is "Walt Whitman, an American, one of the roughs, a kosmos." That he was an American, we knew before, for, aside from America, there is no quarter of the universe where such a production could have had a genesis. That he was one of the roughs was also tolerably plain; but that he was a kosmos, is a piece of news we were hardly prepared for. Precisely what a kosmos is, we trust Mr. Whitman will take an early occasion to inform the impatient public.
>
> (1855, 323)

Whitman printed this review among the others in the insertions that were bound into some copies. He clearly had a fondness for the term "kosmos", using it five times in the 1855 preface and twice in the poetry. Probably he took it from Alexander von Humboldt's study *Kosmos*, which had appeared in English translation the previous decade.[11] In the 1855 poems "kosmos" appears in the climactic identification of the author and again in the poem later titled "To Think of Time". In the poems the term seems to equate to the poet or poets themselves, as in the case of Walt Whitman being "a kosmos", or, in "To Think of Time", where Whitman writes: "The great masters and kosmos are well as they go . . . . the heroes and good-doers are well".[12] In the preface, however, "kosmos" also describes a world separate from the poet: "The poets of the kosmos advance through all interpositions and coverings and turmoils and stratagems to first principles".[13]

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11. See Reynolds 1995, 244–46; and Matteson 1998. Unfortunately we have not located Whitman's copies of any of the volumes, although unsubstantiated rumor has it that he wrote *Leaves of Grass* with a copy sitting on his desk. See also Walls 2011 and Edwards 2015.
12. Whitman 1855, 68. The poem eventually titled "To Think of Time" (1872; 1881–1882) had previously been titled "Burial Poem" (1856) and "Burial" (1860–1861; 1867). These uses of "kosmos" are consistent with a definition that Whitman wrote in a makeshift notebook about language probably compiled shortly after 1856: "Kosmos, noun masculine or feminine, a person who[se] scope of mind, or whose range in a particular science, includes all, the whole known universe" (White 1978, 669). The 1860–1861 edition of *Leaves* introduced a poem titled "Kosmos". See also Miller 2010, where Whitman's notion of kosmos is related to his exploration of the concept of dilation.
13. Whitman 1855, ix.

A manuscript version of the line in "To Think of Time" shows Whitman working through the idea of the kosmos:

The ~~great~~ three or four poets ^ ~~of the stretch of the~~ are well . . . .

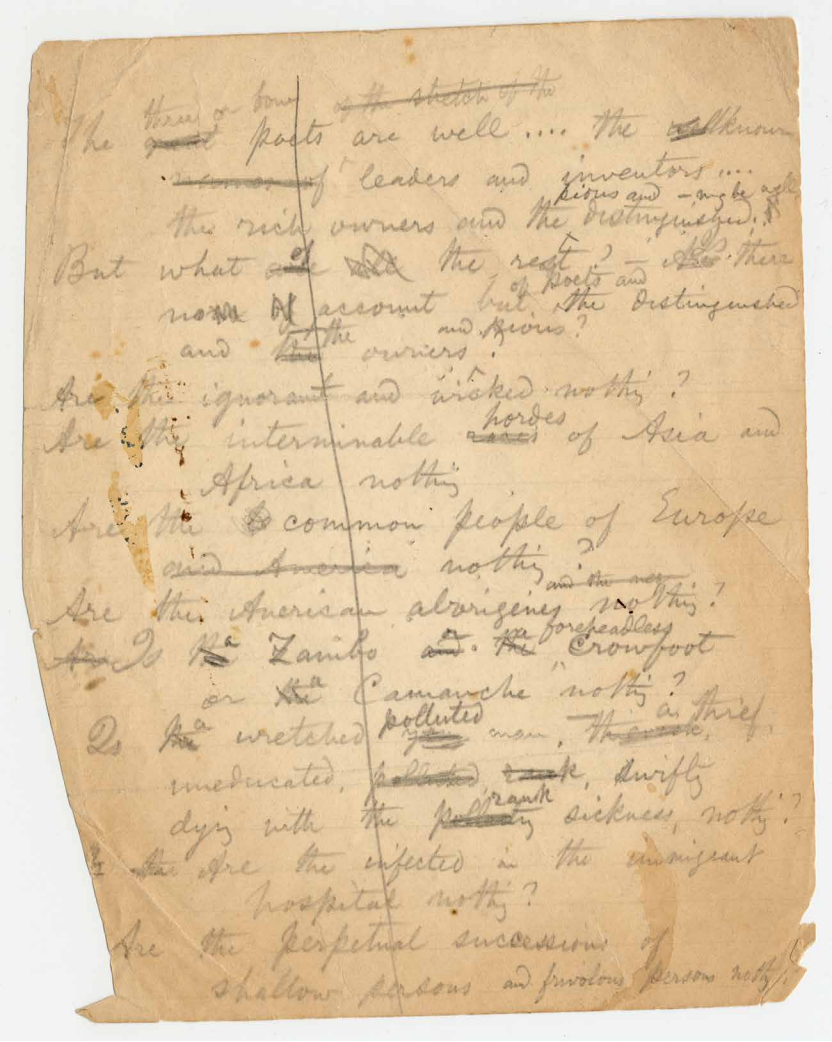
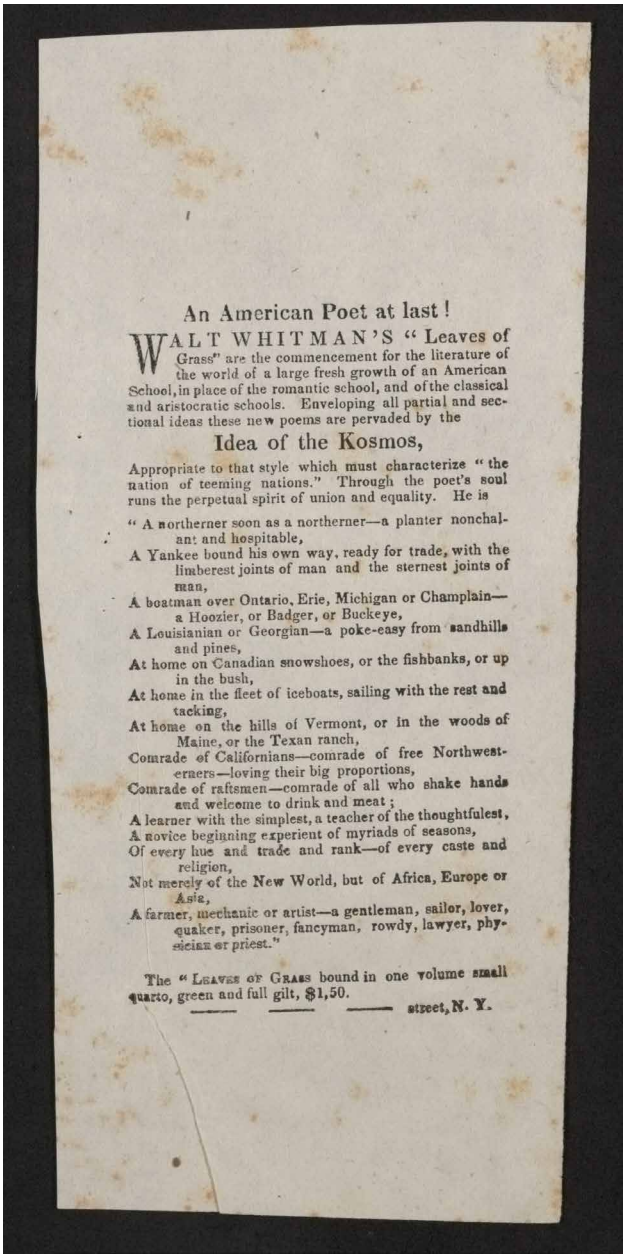


Figure 1. Manuscript draft. Walt Whitman Ephemera. Department of Special Collections and University Archives, University of Tulsa.

What appear in print as "The great masters and kosmos" here take shape as "The great poets", then "The three or four poets", and finally Whitman adds and then deletes the truncated phrase "of the stretch of the". The printed version is a broader, more encompassing vision — "masters and kosmos" rather than "three or four poets" — and the manuscript revision shows Whitman edging toward his notion of "kosmos": poets "of the stretch of the". We are left to wonder what might have been the conclusion of this fragment — the universe? the history of literature? — but evident is the purposeful shift between the poet "of" something broader and the poet "as" kosmos. The poets, the leaders, the inventors, the rich owners, and the pious and distinguished may be well, "But what ~~are~~ of ~~all~~ the rest?" The printed version of the poem provides an answer: "there is strict account of all", from the "ignorant and wicked" to the "American aborigines" to the "infected in the immigrant hospital". The manuscript shows Whitman struggling with the terms to use for his accounting, and his inclusive vision is cast in the language of racial bias common to his era: the "interminable ~~races~~ hordes" that he uses in the manuscript in conjunction with "Asia and Africa" appear as the "interminable hordes of the ignorant and wicked" and the "barbarians of Africa and Asia" in the printed text.[14]

Like a Borgesian library, this accounting of all includes the poet-kosmos, but reaches beyond the poet to the broader cosmos, even as it is contained within the lines written by, and the book produced by, the poet. In a printed slip with text apparently intended as an early, and as far as we know unpublished, advertisement for the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman included the following fragment, culiminating in a subhead: "Enveloping all partial and sectional ideas these new poems are pervaded by the Idea of the Kosmos".[15] The ad goes on to describe the poet in a series of lines that appeared in the 1855 *Leaves*. Eric Conrad speculates that Whitman probably printed the document before the 1855 edition was in press, or early in the process, because the lines of poetry seem to be early versions that differ from the lines as they appeared in the printed copies.[16]

14. Whitman 1855, 68.
15. For more about the rhetorical approach taken in these draft advertisements, see Blalock 2020.
16. Conrad 2013, 35.



An American Poet at last!

WALT WHITMAN'S "Leaves of Grass" are the commencement for the literature of the world of a large fresh growth of an American School, in place of the romantic school, and of the classical and aristocratic schools. Enveloping all partial and sectional ideas these new poems are pervaded by the

Idea of the Kosmos,

Appropriate to that style which must characterize "the nation of teeming nations." Through the poet's soul runs the perpetual spirit of union and equality. He is

"A northerner soon as a northerner—a planter nonchalant and hospitable,
A Yankee bound his own way, ready for trade, with the limberest joints of man and the sternest joints of man,
A boatman over Ontario, Erie, Michigan or Champlain—a Hoozier, or Badger, or Buckeye,
A Louisianian or Georgian—a poke-easy from sandhills and pines,
At home on Canadian snowshoes, or the fishbanks, or up in the bush,
At home in the fleet of iceboats, sailing with the rest and tacking,
At home on the hills of Vermont, or in the woods of Maine, or the Texan ranch,
Comrade of Californians—comrade of free Northwesterners—loving their big proportions,
Comrade of raftsmen—comrade of all who shake hands and welcome to drink and meat;
A learner with the simplest, a teacher of the thoughtfulest,
A novice beginning experient of myriads of seasons,
Of every hue and trade and rank—of every caste and religion,
Not merely of the New World, but of Africa, Europe or Asia,
A farmer, mechanic or artist—a gentleman, sailor, lover, quaker, prisoner, fancyman, rowdy, lawyer, physician or priest."

The "LEAVES OF GRASS bound in one volume small quarto, green and full gilt, $1,50.

——— ——— ——— street, N. Y.

Figure 2. Printed slip with draft ad copy for the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*. Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Some of these differences, for example a switch between "my own" and "his own" in the line about the Yankee, were likely changes made for the sake of the advertisement, which describes the poet rather than speaking as the poet. But other differences suggest the ad lines were based on *or even constituted* draft lines. The "Yankee" line, for example, makes a broader comparison in the 1855 version, even as a later line is more specific.[17] The "nation of teeming nations" in the ad appears on the first page of the preface as "a teeming nation of nations".[18] The draft ad, like the reviews, thus also functions as an example of the broader constellation of documents that manifest the 1855 *Leaves*, a constellation that includes draft lines in both manuscript and print, print in both proof slips and copies, manuscript notations and revisions written after the books were printed. This draft ad and the other proof slips Whitman had printed throughout his career constitute a realm of print ancillary to the world of nineteenth-century publication, catachrestic uses of print — here functionally *as* manuscript, type-writing *avant la lettre* — that facilitated unusual textual and generic relationships and temporalities.[19]

"Slowmoving and black lines"

"To Think of Time" situates the poet's accounting within a larger reflection on death and the renewal of life. Whitman begins the 1855 version of the poem with a meditation: "To think of time", he writes: ". . . . to think through the retrospection, / To think of today . . and the ages continued henceforward".[20] The infinitive form here hovers between an imperative

17. In the draft ad, the lines read: "A Yankee bound his own way, ready for trade, with the limberest joints of man and the sternest joints of man", and "At home on Canadian snowshoes, or the fishbanks, or up in the bush". In the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* they read: "A Yankee bound my own way . . . . ready for trade . . . . my joints the limberest joints on earth and the sternest joints on earth", and "At home on Canadian snowshoes or up in the bush, or with fishermen off Newfoundland" (1855, 23). For more about the differences between the ad lines and the published lines, see Blalock 2020 and Conrad 2013.
18. Whitman 1855, [iii]. Conrad concludes that "Whitman's promotional vision for *Leaves of Grass* was not an afterthought to the publication of his book [. . .] it developed alongside the poetry itself" (35).
19. For further discussions of this phenomenon see Stallybrass 2019 and Grossman 2019.
20. Whitman 1855, [65].

("think of time") and an invitation ("consider what happens when we think about time"). To convey the sensibility toward time described in the poem, of the overlapping histories of individuals, earth, sea, "markets, the government, the workingman's wages", the poet must alter readers' time sensibilities, jarring us out of our quotidian frame and understanding all of these histories to be related, notwithstanding the barriers death seems to set so clearly, so finally. Later in the poem, Whitman includes the lines:

> The difference between sin and goodness is no apparition;
> The earth is not an echo . . . . man and his life and all the things of his life are well-considered.
>
> (1855, 67)

These lines appear in the context of the poet marveling at the meaning of worldly things, discussing the thought that in time and after death such things will matter to other people, perhaps, but not to the reader or the poet. "To think how eager we are in building our houses", he muses; "To think others shall be just as eager . . and we quite indifferent" (66). But the qualifier "to think" is salutary, because after tracing the thoughts and indifferences that might follow death the poet swings back around to insist on the realities of this world, suggesting that it is their very reality that proves immortality. "The domestic joys, the daily housework or business, the building of houses — they are not phantasms", the poet declares, "they have weight and form and location" (67). The ecstatic concluding lines of the poem, in which the poet exclaims, "I swear I see now that every thing has an eternal soul!" and "I swear I think there is nothing but immortality!", combine all the realities inventoried in the poem into a vast preparation, a satisfaction tied to the realization of life in and through accounting for these acts and interests (69–70).

The variorum tracks a series of early manuscript and notebook versions that show Whitman working through these thoughts, the poem emerging reflexively from the very process it seems to describe. A line similar to "The earth is not an echo . . . . " appears as an addition to a manuscript written on the back of the same University of Texas leaf on which Whitman did his printing calculations. The added line — "And I say the stars are not echoes" — appears alongside other lines that ended up in "Song of Myself", as well as lines that were not used in the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*.[21]

21. The fourth and sixth lines do not appear to relate to any text used in the 1855 *Leaves*. The third, fifth, eighth, and tenth lines relate to lines in "Song

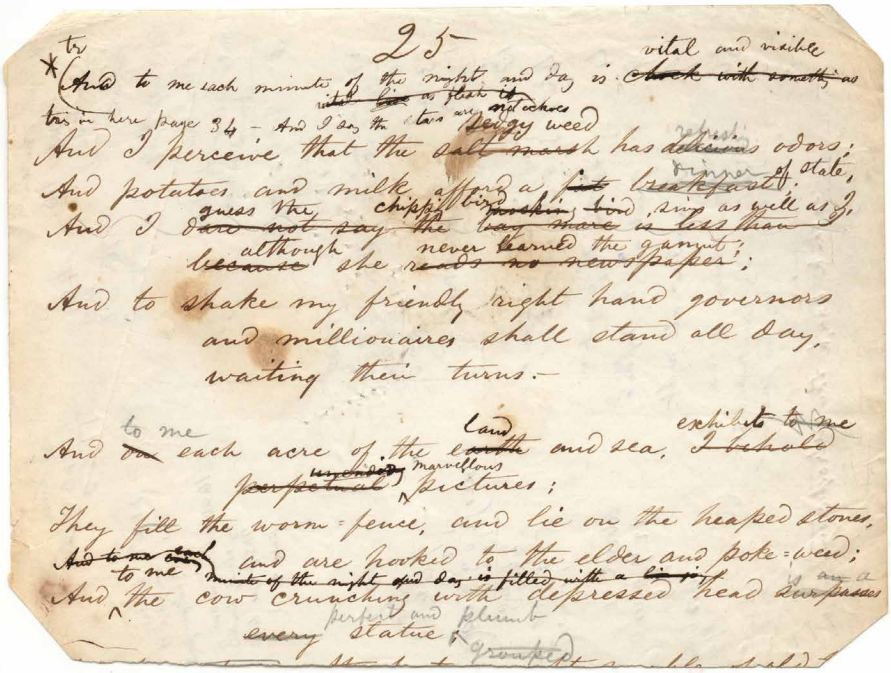


Figure 3. Manuscript draft. Walt Whitman Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

This line, an addition with the note "trs in here page 34", likely was copied over from another manuscript or notebook draft. One possibility is a manuscript now at the Library of Congress, in which the "echo" involves both earth and stars. In that manuscript, a declaration about reality leads into the draft segment:

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of Myself". The first, seventh, and ninth lines are similar to language used in both the preface and a line in the poem eventually titled "A Song for Occupations", as well as a long manuscript poem titled "Pictures", which scholars have loosely dated to the 1850s. Several of the lines in this manuscript appear in other manuscripts and notebooks. For further discussion of this manuscript and its relationships to other drafts, see Folsom and Price 2005, 31–4, and Miller 2010, 52–9.

~~I am the Poet of Reality;~~

———

And I say ~~this~~ ^the ~~earth~~ ~~globe~~ ^ ~~world~~ ~~is not an~~ ^ ~~[earth and?]~~ the stars are not echos,
And ~~[Nor]~~ ~~I say that~~ And I say that ~~man~~ ~~is not~~ ^space is not ~~an~~ apparition;
But ~~that~~ all the things seen or demonstrated are so;
Witnesses and albic dawns of things equally great,
not yet seen.—[22]

Here the unseen is not exactly a structural parallel to the seen, as an apparition or a phantasm might be. Nor is it a short-lived repetition, a phenomenon primarily of space and prolonged disappearance, like an echo. It is a phenomenon not of the future, exactly, but of future *perception*: "things seen or demonstrated" are "witnesses and albic dawns of things equally great, not yet seen".

Probably the earliest draft of the lines appears in "Talbot Wilson", an early notebook:

I am the poet of reality
I say ~~The~~ ^ ~~know~~ the earth is not ^an echo;
~~Man is not~~ Nor man an apparition;
~~What we see is real;~~ But that all ~~I see~~ ^[the things seen?] [all?] is real
~~And~~ ~~It~~ ~~is t~~The witness and
albic dawn of ^things equally real ~~wh[illegible]th~~
~~we~~ ^ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~do [illegible]~~ not ^yet seen,
~~But which~~ ~~is~~ ~~I know to be~~ ~~equally~~
real~~, I know.~~

Moving from echoes and apparitions to witnesses in the manuscripts and notebook associated with these lines from "To Think of Time", Whitman works out a way of expressing the real, the *now*, and what it means for the imagination of the future. The result is the poet's recognition of the eternal soul in everything, his ecstatic vision of immortality — or, as Matt Miller has put it, "the true kosmos poet must not only dilate to include the world but also enter into his audience so that they too shall dilate and 'realise' him, assuming what he claims to assume, which is nothing less than the totality of being".[23]

The lead-in line in the manuscript versions, with its resounding present-tense assertion — "I am the poet of reality" — did not end up in the

22. Whitman, "And I say the stars".
23. Miller 2010, 150.

1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, although it is similar to a line in the poem eventually titled "Song of Myself": "I am the poet of commonsense and of the demonstrable and of immortality".[24] Neither do these witnesses and albic dawns appear in the printed text in 1855, although we have postulated relations to two different locations in "Song of Myself": the early lines "Lack one lacks both . . . . and the unseen is proved by the seen, / Till that becomes unseen and receives proof in its turn", and the line "Witnesses of us . . . . one side a balance and the antipodal side a balance".[25] In "To Think of Time", however, Whitman turns the focus back to the reader:

> The difference between sin and goodness is no apparition;
> The earth is not an echo . . . . man and his life and all the things of his life are well-considered.
>
> You are not thrown to the winds . . you gather certainly and safely around yourself,
> Yourself! Yourself! Yourself forever and ever!
>
> (1855, 67)

There are as many ways to read these lines and the drafts that informed them as there are methods of literary and philosophical interpretation, from formalism to historicism, from transcendentalism to Vedantic mysticism.[26] Perhaps there is an editorial way of reading them as well. For these lines, like the earth and the man which take the place of stars and space in the printed text, are not echoes, although they iterate across versions, through notebooks, and across manuscript leaves. "You are not thrown to the winds", Whitman writes: consideration goes into "man and his life and all the things of his life".

To see the stars and space, the witnesses and albic dawns, that disappeared from this passage when it was printed in the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* is to think of time. And the goal of the variorum edition — of any variorum edition — is, in effect, to challenge the user to think of time. It is to prompt the reader to think of time when reading any line in a digital surrogate of a printed copy of the 1855 *Leaves*. It is to think of time as something that underwrites every line in Whitman's poetry and prose, in manuscript and in print: time in the form of ongoing revision, both of the language and of the material characteristics it assumed in the copies that

24. Whitman 1855, 27.
25. Whitman 1855, 14; 28.
26. For a discussion of a draft of this passage in relation to Whitman's "instinctive materialism and materialistic spiritualism", see Asselineau 1999, 23–6. For a discussion of it in relation to the Vedanta, see Allen 1970, 147–48.

make up each edition. It is to think of the copies that make up the 1855 *Leaves* as witnesses and albic dawns of future editions, not yet seen. But it is also to think of time as retrospection, as a provocation to interrogate what Jerome McGann has called the "textual condition". As editors we are not outside the temporality of the text; we are a part, however small in the grand scheme of things, of its eternal soul. Even as we create an edition that prompts readers to think of time, we recognize a future in which new discoveries will continue to transform the text we are creating.

The two sides of the manuscript leaf at the University of Texas would seem to represent very different forms of accounting. The first was a practical calculation, designed to facilitate the production of a particular, tangible result: a set of books. The second is a kind of poetic accounting, a revisionary stepping stone to lines pervaded by the poet's emerging idea of the kosmos. The variorum attempts to bring both of these forms of accounting together in ways that show them to be more than just two sides of the same leaf. If you look at a copy of the 1855 *Leaves* in a certain way, you can see the preparation and some evidence of the intentions of the author who wrote the lines that appeared in it; you can see the writers and speakers and mystics before him whose words he had read and filtered through himself; you can see the suspicion and the satisfaction of readers and critics and poets to come. You can also see the compositors who set the type alongside the author, the marks of the old press in Andrew Rome's small shop, the other jobs that may have shaped and interrupted it — and the commercial and legal valences of those jobs, the power of paper and ink. You can see the phrenologists and health reformers who sold the books, the reviewers whose words would end up in some copies, the owners who would keep a copy, pass it on, or throw it into the fire. And perhaps you can see yourself, finally, sitting in front of the text of *Leaves of Grass*, an accounting of the characteristics wrought by the old machinery of reproduction calling to your notice the affordances of the new machinery of reproduction: files, web servers, screens and pixels.

§

In an 1888 conversation with his friend and disciple Horace Traubel, Whitman claimed that the complete "printer's copy" manuscript of the 1855 edition was lost. "You have asked me questions about the manuscript of the first edition", he said. "It was burned. Rome kept it several years, but one day, by accident, it got away from us entirely — was used to kindle the fire or to feed the rag man".[27] Other evidence seems to confirm this recollec-

27. Traubel 1906, 1: 92.

tion.[28] And yet the account to Traubel is more than retrospection. Whitman here begins to build a myth of the 1855 *Leaves* that has continued to influence scholarship, the absence of the storied printer's copy fueling the idea of this first book of poems as breakthrough, *sui generis*, pure authorial expression without messy origins, everyday delays, or literary parallels. With the description of the destroyed printer's copy he distances the surviving manuscript and notebook fragments from the printed volumes, separating off the book from the world. Breaking down this myth requires looking closely at everything related to the 1855 *Leaves*: manuscript and notebook antecedents, printed slips and insertions, binders' records, surviving copies, variations and drifts.

The lure of a romantic reading of Whitman's making of the 1855 *Leaves*, with the poet, in a state of cosmic epiphany, composing his big book literally and metaphorically at the same time, is powerful. The slippage between a poet who *is* a kosmos and a poet who *is of* the kosmos is at the heart of the way Whitman prompted readers to imagine the books. When you witness these objects, when you take them in textually and visually, the feeling is uncanny. They are a set of books made in the middle of the nineteenth century, that seem to have been written much later, that look like they were printed in Shakespeare's London. That aesthesis is part of the books' charm.

During another of Traubel's 1888 visits to Whitman, he picked up an old piece of manuscript from the floor of the poet's cluttered room. "Had it ever been used?" he asked Whitman. "Maybe — maybe not", Whitman responded. "Have you much unused manuscript about here?" Traubel (ever intent on collecting it) queried. "Not a great deal", Whitman answered, "though I have made a good bit of manuscript that never got directly into print. Think how many things go to produce the weather — east, west, north, south: things unaccounted for, at least to the eye. Out of such a process of selection *Leaves of Grass* assumed the shape you know".[29] It would be impossible to show comprehensively the process of selection and aggregation out of which the first edition of *Leaves* assumed the shape scholars and readers of the poet now know. But we can begin to do some stricter

28. Whitman's memory is consistent with a note added by Thomas Rome to the bottom of a printed, undated list of Whitman manuscripts for sale "in possession of T. H. Rome, 513 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.". The note reads: "The manuscript of the first edition (1855) was accidentally destroyed in 1858" (Bowers 1955, xx).

29. Traubel 1915, 2: 246.

accounting of all, providing readers with another glimpse into the foreground of *Leaves of Grass* and perhaps some hints about the processes of selection and revision that went into the formation of this extraordinary book of poems. An ongoing challenge for the *Walt Whitman Archive* is to create editorial structures that remain supple and changeable, that capture different moments in the evolution of Whitman's writing and production. It is our hope that the connections and multiple temporalities, the resonances between manuscript and print created by our linking and juxtaposition of similar lines, will enable scholars to create new associations and new interpretations about the meaning and ongoing influence of Whitman's poems.

Near the end of Whitman's life, Traubel and the good gray poet sat discussing Humboldt and a contemporary author and bibliographer, Samuel Austin Allibone. Of Allibone, Whitman said:

> Allibone was a sort of chief-cook-and-bottle-washer in literature — a hunter after dates, — made up of curioish tendencies — a searcher after hidden lines, useless origins, ridiculous gossipries — a sweeper of the literary floorboards — how many editions — and how bound — and where was the cloth bought — and who printed: a literary branch leading mostly into lies — not artificiality merely, but downright lies.
>
> (Traubel 1982, 6: 309)

Accounting for this edition included tasks suspiciously like sweeping the literary floorboards and scanning the records in search of how the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* was bound, and where the cloth was bought, and who printed the books, in pursuit of Whitman's kosmos. Yet with details like these and the revelation of "hidden lines, useless origins, ridiculous gossipries", a view of the book begins to emerge that is temporally rich in ways that resonate with the poetry itself. Each copy appears as a striking combination of intentionality and drift, a powerful dialectic of being in the world and a world unto itself that shapes any book or act of imaginative expression — or the experience of any reader or editor, from the nineteenth century to our digital present.

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Metalepsis in a Narrative Piece by M. S. Lourenço[1]

João Dionísio

Abstract

This article is focused on the role performed by metalepsis in a short narrative piece by the Portuguese writer and philosopher M. S. Lourenço (1936–2009). In the first section an explanation of the ways metalepsis and leitmotif interact is provided, whereas the second section turns to the metaleptic short circuit between fiction and reality. In the discussion of these issues the analysis of textual variation, which is carried out according to textual genetics, plays a fundamental part.

The subordinate function of philology remains evident in titles such as *Philologia ancilla litteraturae*, the *Festschrift* dedicated to Professor Gilles Eckard (Corbellari *et al.* 2013), or "*Philologia ancilla historiae*: An Emendation to lex Burgundionum, 42,2" (McManus & Donahue 2014). According to this ancillary status of philology, the major aim of a textual critic would consist in establishing a text so that afterwards it would be interpreted by scholars of the field that text belongs to. Such a view has been explicitly supported in different quarters of the academy and is still an implicit foundation of text-centred disciplines. Accordingly, philology would be an activity operating in a field prior to the production

1. The research for this article was conducted in the framework of the project *Os Degraus do Parnaso, de M. S. Lourenço. Edição dos manuscritos*, which was funded by Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (P.º 225607), and the project UIDB/00214/2020, FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I.P. The photos are here reproduced by courtesy of Frederico Lourenço and Catarina Lourenço. A preliminary version of its first section was delivered as a paper at the conference "Metalepse e Transmedialidade / Metalepsis and Transmediality", Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 4–5 April 2019; of its second section a preliminary version was presented at the conference "Genetic criticism: from theory to practice", Cracow: Faculty of Polish Studies of the Jagiellonian University / Institut des Texts et Manuscrits Modernes, 12–14 June 2019.

of meaning, as is contended by Greg: "the study of textual transmission involves no knowledge of the sense of a document but only of its form" (1932, 122); or by De Man when he equates the return to philology to "an examination of the structure of language prior to the meaning it produces" (1986, 24). In contrast to the frontier thus drawn between pre-hermeneutic and hermeneutic activities, this article seeks to make use of descriptive sciences (this is how De Man labels philology and rhetoric) in order to approach meaning as derived from the observation of the transmission of literary documents (Greg 1932, 114). The article is focused on the role performed by metalepsis, as a trope and narratological device, in a narrative piece by the Portuguese writer and philosopher M. S. Lourenço. Its first section sheds light on the relation between metalepsis and leitmotif, whereas the second section mostly observes how the metaleptic disruption between "the fictional world and the ontological level occupied by the author" (McHale 2004, 213) is played out. The analysis of textual variation, both pre- and post-publication, and intertextuality has a fundamental part in the following reasoning.

I.

The text that the Portuguese writer M. S. Lourenço (1936–2009) published in his column in the newspaper *O Independente* on the 19th of May 1989 bore the title "Em paisagem tropical | missa branca alma preta" ("In a tropical landscape | white mass black soul") and stood out as an example of autodiegetic narrative, quite different from most of his previous contributions, which would be easily labelled critical essays. Here is the gist of this narrative, according to the matter approached in each of its 11 paragraphs.

§1 – The narrator recalls that Father Luís Mendes regretted the usual way of referring to the capital city of Angola in 1961; §2 – After attending mass, celebrated by Father Mendes, the narrator's routine took him to the Lello bookshop, where he first met the sculptor Paulo Espada; §3 – Both he and the sculptor used to go to the main avenue by the sea, and there the narrator observed Espada sketching drawings of half-naked native workers; §4 – The narrator was then called to join his company, which was based at the Uíge Mountains. He left Luanda, having taken with him two drawings by Espada. One of these drawings he offered to Major Capelo; §5 – Major Capelo was the supreme authority in Uíge, a small city with buildings on both sides of its main avenue, a school, a radio station and a church; §6 – Among those who attended Sunday mass after the narrator's arrival in

Uíge were Major Capelo and the captain of the narrator's platoon. It was Major Capelo who read the daily epistle; §7 – Once mass was over, Major Capelo used to stay for some time in the churchyard talking to the other officers (on this occasion, the narrator and his captain). He spoke of the mountains in front of the yard as the area of the upcoming military operation and suggested to the captain the need to make a raid in the mountains because all the terrorist ringleaders were hiding there; §8 – After talking, the group used to go to a café where the narrator came to know his captain, Jorge Pais, better. In the main, Jorge Pais was not a supporter of Portuguese Angola, or of any other cause for that matter, and he feared the prospect of dying at the age of 35. His fear could be sensed when he told the narrator that the order to make a two-day patrol in the mountains had arrived. §9 – Then Major Capelo gave the narrator the details of the operation which had to be carried out because a coffee farm had been attacked the previous day; one of the workers had died and the others refused to work without military protection; §10 – The mission would consist of attacking where the terrorists had hidden and then setting it on fire. A lieutenant by the name of Teles had the perfect formula: after the attack he used to decapitate two of the dead men and place the heads on staves at the entry of the place which had been taken. When the fog fell and the survivors tried to get back to the "sanzala", they would run away, never to return. If the military unit waited for the fog, the survivors could still be attacked; §11 – In the end, the night was approaching and the fog starting to settle.

Based on this longish paraphrase, some readers will probably say that the conclusion of the narrative brings no "finalization" (Rimmon-Kenan 2005, 122), while others will see a metonymy at work in the last paragraph: as there is a chronologic sequence between, first, the falling fog and, afterwards, the survivors facing the heads on the staves, the reference in the end to the fact that the fog was starting to settle suggests that the narrator is about to go through the horror of what is called Teles's formula. More importantly, I have omitted in the paraphrase the fact that along the narrative another metonymic technique, based on an image, is being developed. I would like to argue from a rhetorical point of view that this technique is metaleptic in nature, bearing on a specific form of intermediality and being particularly apt for a specific type of narrative. What matters here is the rhetorical background of metalepsis as the figure governing the structure of Lourenço's narrative. In this respect, Genette (2004, 7–16) notes that metalepsis shares with metaphor and metonymy the principle of displacement of sense, and he considers it a metonymy of the simple type, expanding it beyond the single word to include an entire proposition. Although

the text by Lourenço would be an expansion of a metonymy according to which the antecedent is understood as the consequent (Pier 2016), it does not illustrate a further expansion explored by Genette. Metalepsis of antecedent and consequent, Genette argues, is implicitly metalepsis of cause for effect or effect for cause and, based on such causal relations, he draws the concept of "author's metalepsis" whereby an author "is represented or represents himself as producing what, in the final analysis, he only relates" (Pier 2016), as well as the transgression between narrative levels and diegetic and extradiegetic fields. In this respect I would like to argue that, generally speaking,[2] the absence of such a transgression in Lourenço's narrative is as relevant to its understanding as the presence of the metaleptic structure based upon the manifestation of a recurrent image.

What is this recurrent image, and how does it work? In the first paragraph, when Father Luís Mendes regrets the abbreviated reference to the capital of Angola, "Luanda" instead of its full name "S. Paulo de Luanda", he is said to have commented that it is as if the city were beheaded. In the second paragraph, the narrator goes to the Lello bookshop in order to collect a recording of Richard Strauss's *Salome*, an opera based on a chain of episodes leading to the decapitation of Jochanaan. In the following paragraph, Paulo Espada's drawings do not depict the human body as a whole, but rather the separate volumes of the head, neck, and torso. In paragraph 4, the drawing that the narrator offered the Major depicts a single torso. Then in paragraph 5, the church in Uíge is St. John the Baptist's, identified according to the name by which Jochanaan is usually known in Christianity. It is in this church, as mentioned in the following paragraph, that Major Capelo made the reading of the daily epistle, taken from Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, namely the passage: "each man's head is Christ and Christ's head is God". Paragraph 7 still refers to the religious building dedicated to St. John the Baptist, for it is in its churchyard that the officers have their conversation. Then, paragraphs 8 and 9 seem devoid of allusions like those I have highlighted. Approaching the end, paragraph 10 contains the description of Teles's formula and the last paragraph again comprehends no allusion similar to those identified in paragraphs 1 to 7 and in paragraph 10.

Therefore, the image which is shaped in various ways consists of a fragmented human head emerging over the narrative in aural and visual rep-

2. As I will try to show further on, there is a moment in the last edition of this narrative in which there might be room to acknowledge an instance, if discreet, of authorial metalepsis.

resentations of discursive, artistic, and religious kinds. Having identified this image, my following contention is that a musical technique lies at the basis of its occurrences in close articulation with the rhetorical dimension of metalepsis and providing the narrative with an intermedial atmosphere.[3]

That M. S. Lourenço resorted to a musical technique to organize his narrative comes as no surprise, for he frequently sought to demonstrate that language is a musical fact and accordingly argued that the most accomplished literary works are musical compositions. In an entry to a literary encyclopaedia, he presents and comments upon the main musical forms applied in literary works, namely the theme and variations form which was explored by James Joyce in *Ulysses*, the fugue form in Paul Celan's "Todesfugue", the sonata form in Álvaro de Campos's "A Tabacaria" ("The Tobacco Shop"), and the Wagnerian leitmotif as developed by Thomas Mann in several novels (Lourenço 2001, 260). It is precisely this form that structures the narrative piece under consideration.

It is known that Wagner did not coin the word 'Leitmotif'[4] and that the first self-aware exploration of the leitmotif principle can be heard in Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique*, whose "representative and recurring themes" were given the name "idée fixe" (Davison 1928, 159).[5] However, although Wagner was not the first composer to use this form, it was due to him that the connection of a short musical idea with a given character, object, emotion, or concept used for purposes of cohesion became widely known. Moreover, he claimed that this structural device was founded on

3. To clarify my intention by pairs of conceptual opposites, the point of view adopted in this section seeks to (i) highlight the rhetorical (not the narratological/narration level transgression) dimension of Lourenço's text; and (ii) to underscore the intermedial (not the transmedial) dimension of the structural device used in it. As to the contribution of music to the transgression of narrative levels, see Heldt 2013a, 197–98, 206–07; 56–7. On the alleged transmedial features of the leitmotif, because of the role it plays both in classical and film music, see Arvidson 2016, 88, n299. In turn, the rhetorical dimension of metalepsis is in this article grounded on traditional literary rhetoric (for an exploration of metalepsis in musical composition, cf. Butler 1977, 57–8).
4. Instead he refers to "thematisches Motiv", "Hauptmotiv", or "Grundthema" (Millington 1998, 127).
5. Davison also recalls that what underlies leitmotif can already be heard in Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion*, in which the recitatives featuring Christ's voice are accompanied by a string quartet, in opposition to the ordinary recitativo secco; later, in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* the trombones are used in association with the character of the Commendatore (Davison 1928, 159; Paulus 2000, 156).

"impulses, either presentiments and reminiscences" (Millington 1998, 127), which is not without interest for the purpose of this article. To use Wagner's vocabulary, one may say that Lourenço's narrative is pervaded with retrospective presentiments, for, since the narrative under observation is a recollection, only by recollection are those narrative components seen as presentiments.

In Lourenço's text the image is subject to variation without losing its recognizability, in accordance with Warrack's definition of leitmotif, that is, a theme or a coherent musical idea which is defined in order to maintain its identity if changed on later occurrences (Paulus 2000, 156). Changes may be of rhythm, intervallic structure, harmony, orchestration, or accompaniment. In the case of Wagner's music, after emerging for the first time, the theme usually reappears with variation, which facilitates the perception of change "on a certain feature of a character, a different view of a situation or some other element of the drama" (Paulus 2000, 156). Whereas variation in the leitmotivic technique thus contributes to revealing a modification in any element of Wagner's compositions, it is my impression that in this narrative there is not a very large spectrum of meaning shades conveyed by leitmotivic variation. Indeed, the main feature shared by the motives is far more relevant than the contingent characteristics belonging to each of them. Apart from the cohesion they communicate to the text, there seems to be a common goal.

In fact, as in Thomas Mann's work (Bolduc 1983, 88), the leitmotif is here used to create suspense. This effect is produced via a balanced insistence on the motive followed by the interruption of its use in a pattern that can be explained through rhythmic design. In order to explain how this works, let us represent an occurrence of the motive in a paragraph as a beat and a paragraph without such a motive as a corresponding pause. Accordingly, the rhythmic design of the text is apparently based on a series of 7 beats, followed by a 2-beat silence, then a single beat, followed by a 1-beat silence. The impression made by such a design is similar to something that is closing in in our direction, first at a distance, and then drawing near us, rapidly accelerating.

Interestingly, the draft of this narrative provides evidence supporting the argument in favor of this structural design. As we saw before, paragraph 8 was published in a version which bore no reference to the governing motive, but in the draft Lourenço started out by including yet another occurrence of the motive we have been examining. When the narrator describes Captain Jorge Pais as someone who feared the prospect of dying at the age of 35, he mentions the nickname the soldiers gave him. Suffering

from an acute attention deficit, he was kindly known among his company by the phrase "the Headless Captain" (see Fig. 1), which is an evident variation of the governing motive.

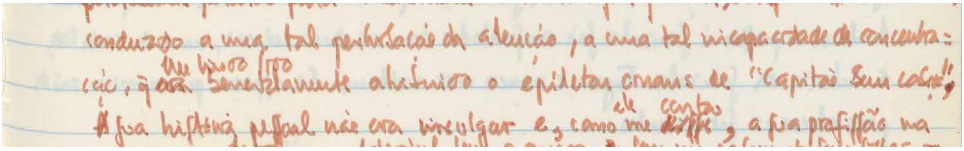

Figure 1. Draft of "Em paisagem tropical | alma branca missa preta". Notebook titled *Notizbuch* (private collection), from now on *siglum N*, f. 54r. See the phrase "Capitão Sem Cabeça" at the end of the middle line.

The inclusion of such a reference would have the advantage of underscoring the "idée fixe" effect, but it would also entail a disadvantage. With it, the structure would have a 8-1 / 1-1 design, which is less persuasive as far as the closing in effect is concerned. True, this alternative design would evoke an even more intense acceleration than that conveyed by the first design, but since there is no change in the second element of the pair, the sense of progression and the impression of imminence would be lost, the undisclosed ending thus losing part of its impact.

It is useful to view this sense of imminence in the backdrop of Thomas Mann's remarks on the composition of *The Magic Mountain* which were included in the 1939 Princeton edition preface to the English translation. Here Mann presents the leitmotif as "the magic formula that works both ways, and links the past with the future, the future with the past", adding that it is "the technique employed to preserve the inward unity and abiding presentness of the whole at each moment" (Mann 2011, 720). Lourenço knew these remarks by Mann well, as can be seen in one of his essays (Lourenço 1991, 24), but ultimately he employs the leitmotif technique to link the past with, say, not so much the future as with the silenced future of the past. In the narrative piece the future of the past is that portion of time that seems inevitable and about which nothing is explicitly said. As a result, it is the sense, not the materialization, of inevitability which is heightened through leitmotif in Lourenço's text. In terms of metalepsis, this suggests that the antecedent is the expression of an ultimate consequent which remains unknown within the borders of the diegetic universe. Accordingly, Lourenço's narrative deliberately resembles an incomplete metalepsis.

Among other features, this undisclosed ultimate consequent leads to the overall impression of a link between the matter of the narrative and trauma. When, in 1920, Freud realized that soldiers who had gone through combat experiences had dreams which were incompatible with the fulfilment of wishes (thus conflicting with the so-called pleasure principle), he posited a new instinctual theory, the compulsion to repetition (Lewis 2012, 308). In respect of war experiences, the compulsion to repetition, or what would be now known as post-traumatic syndrome disorder, is manifested through repeated recollections and/or dreams focused on reliving battlefield episodes. According to Greg Forter, the repetition compulsion consists of "those reenactments in the present of psychic events that have not been safely consigned to the past . . . and that disrupt the unruffled present with flashbacks and terrifying nightmares, intrusive fragments of an unknown past that exceed the self's (relatively) coherent and integrated story about itself" (cf. Kaplan 2014, 5). Why do dreams such as these emerge? Or what is the purpose of their insistent manifestation? Freud argued that traumatic dreams make the dreamer return to the scene of trauma so that he or she will be belatedly protected from an experience which he/she was not prepared to deal with (Rottenberg 2014, 7). The core notion here seems to be preparation, in the sense that the reaction to trauma involves an effort to act imagining oneself preparing for the distressing event. That is also why once diagnosed with post-traumatic syndrome disorder, the patient is expected to solve his problem in analysis by repeating the scene which triggered his anxious state (cf. Lewis 2012, 306; Kaplan 2014, 47; Rottenberg 2014, 2).[6] Hence, the text hosts an impressive number of milestones preparing the narrator (and the reader) for a closure which is not put into words (Kaplan 2014, 5).

In this reading of narrative structure, the absence of a diegetic closure deserves special attention. How is one to understand the undisclosed end of the narrative? Two definitions of metalepsis considered by Henri Morier in his dictionary of poetics and rhetoric might be helpful in this regard: the first definition refers to a focalization metonymy in the chain of action through the suggestion of a consequence via its cause (Morier 1998, 687). Morier thus highlights the metaleptic dimension of verbs such as "to go" when they mean sexual intercourse. The example of this is drawn from the

6. What lies "beyond the pleasure principle", Freud claims, is the "innenwohnender Drang zur Wiederherstellung eines früheren Zustandes" (*qtd.* Kaplan 2014, 47).

book of Genesis: Sarai, Abram's wife, had borne him no children, but she had an Egyptian slave by the name of Hagar who could be instrumental to that end. That is why she instructed Abram: "go in unto my maid", and the husband "went in unto Hagar" (Morier 1998, 688; https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Genesis+16&version=KJV). In this case, as is stated by Morier, metalepsis plays the role of diverting the readers' eyes from a situation that is offensive to decency. Also associated with the preservation of decency is Morier's fourth definition of metalepsis, a presentation of facts based on allusion. Through allusion a textual unit is somehow linked to what is being thought of sequentially or consequentially, with one implying the other. For this definition the example is Racine's Phèdre, who fell passionately and incestuously in love with Hippolyte. In order to mask her feelings, she speaks of her admiration for his father's (Thésée's) courage while not mentioning his vices, which allows for the identification of the person whom she loves (Morier 1988, 690). Euphemism is implied in both these definitions, in so far as a general or indirect expression takes the place of another expression deemed too blunt in its reference to something embarrassing or unpleasant. In the case of Lourenço's narrative, one may acknowledge the role of euphemism, for in the text there is no direct expression of war horrors. However, although the diegetic closure one can imagine is ghastly, rather than plainly embarrassing or unpleasant, there is no verbal substitution for the explicit reference to any horrid episode. Thus, one cannot speak of euphemism in the paradigmatic axis of this story, but strictly in its syntagmatic axis. The reason for repetition of the antecedent and the omission of the consequent seems to lie in the fact that, despite the effort for preparation, one is ultimately always unprepared, an unspeakable form of memory offering resistance to being voiced (Kaplan 2014, 5).

Apart from repetition and silence, other usual features of trauma narratives include the indirect interior monologue and a dispersed or fragmented narrative voice (Van Laetham 2018, 19, 28–29). This is in line with after-effects of trauma such as fuzzy boundaries between the aesthetic and the real, the psychic and the physical, the inner and the outer, the self and the world (Kaplan 2014, 87), in other words, metaleptic ingredients. In narratological terms, John Pier presents a well-known form of metalepsis as being an intentional intrusion crossing over "the world of the telling and the world of the told" (Pier 2016). This two-way street is based on Genette's reference to an extradiegetic narrator or extradiegetic narratee transgressing into the diegesis or else to the invasion of the metadiegetic field by diegetic characters (Genette [1972] 1980, 234–35; Pier 2016). In

Lourenço's narrative there is no trace of a fragmented narrative voice, let alone a transgression between diegetic and metadiegetic fields. There is, however, a noteworthy, if single, example of free indirect speech.

The tenth paragraph, with its description of Teles's formula, is the only one in which a sliding between narration levels may be observed, and a rather discreet sliding it is. In order to become fully aware of it, one should compare the 1st and 2nd book editions of this narrative.

1st ed., p. 73	2nd ed., pp. 171–72
voltou ao tema [. . .] para me dizer que era preciso [. . .] "O já conhecido alferes Teles tem uma fórmula que nunca falha. Quando ataca uma sanzala [. . .]"	voltou ao tema [. . .] para sublinhar que era preciso [. . .] E acrescentou a seguir que o já conhecido alferes Teles tem uma fórmula que nunca falha. "Quando ataca uma sanzala [. . .]"
he resumed the subject of our conversation to tell me that it was necessary to [. . .] "The already known lieutenant Teles has a formula that never fails. When he attacks a 'sanzala' [village] [. . .]"	he resumed the subject of our conversation to stress that it was necessary to [. . .] And then he added that the already known lieutenant Teles has a formula that never fails. "When he attacks a 'sanzala' [village] [. . .]"

The first sentence produced by Major Capelo changes status in the second edition, having been included in the narrator's discourse. The change of status is facilitated because this first sentence refers to a third person, which can be and indeed is referred to in the same terms by Major Capelo and by the narrator: "the already known Lieutenant Teles".[7] Something is then said about this third person through a verb, which again can be and is equally conveyed by Major Capelo and the narrator in the conjugation of third person singular. But in indirect speech, which has been used up until this point by the narrator when he reports what other characters have said,

7. In the first edition "already known" is not anaphoric, meaning that previously in the narrative there is no reference to "alferes Teles". As a consequence, the phrase points to the fact that he was known in the military *milieu* at the time of the events being told. In contrast to this, the same phrase in the second edition suggests that he is known in the field of the telling, i.e., the narrator and the implied reader know Teles *already*. Since there is no previous reference to this character in the piece, the reader would only have the possibility of knowing Teles *already* by being aware of his existence before having started to read the narrative. If this interpretation is viable, it has to be articulated with ways in which the piece by Lourenço feeds on real events, namely perhaps on the person who in certain quarters became known in association with Teles's formula.

one would expect an adaptation of tense since Major Capelo spoke in the diegetic present, whereas the narrator is recollecting an episode that happened sometime in the past. The crux here is that there is no change in the tense: Lieutenant Teles *has* a formula in direct speech and to the narrator's mind he still *has* a formula, thus emerging through free indirect speech the only passage in which the first person and the third person discourse meet.

Commenting on free indirect speech, Eric Rundquist points out that it is often viewed as an instance of "dual voice", that is, "the dual reference of linguistic markers in the style — tense and person on the one hand, deictic adverbs and other subjectivity markers on the other", thus corresponding to two individuals, or *voices* (Rundquist 2017, 46). It is debatable whether the non-speaking voice of the character in the narrative should be classified as "voice" because, while holding a subjectivity feature, it does not produce discourse. That is why Rundquist rather sees free indirect speech as the expression of a character's subjectivity in a language that is not his or her own (Rundquist 2017, 47). Be that as it may, whether one interprets free indirect speech as dual voice or as the verbal embodiment of a character's subjectivity, the point is: it is only in this passage that the impermeability of narrative levels is clearly under menace. Therefore, in the second edition, the status of this passage as an instance of the running leitmotif is underscored, strengthening that whatever is going to happen involves the narrator in a way beyond reporting at a distance. Not by accident, this is the last occurrence of the motive in the narrative and the reason why it should stand out in the rhythmic analogy I mentioned above. Therefore, the first seven beats can be seen as unstressed (meaning they do not highlight any referential experience, only representational allusions), whereas the single beat which occurs later (pointing to a referential experience and directly implying the narrator, that is, the reference to Teles's formula) has to be played *forte*.

II.

In the second section of this article I would like to briefly address a less visible case of the type of metalepsis which, as McHale phrases it, consists of the disruption between the "fictional world and the ontological level occupied by the author" (2004, 213). Only through access to the notebook in which Lourenço drafted his text could the reader discern the existence of such a short circuit, one of those transgressions seemingly absent from the published text. It was during the genesis of the narrative that Lourenço

repressed the transgression of the frontier between diegetic and extradiegetic fields. Whereas at the beginning of the story in the notebook the sculptor who is a friend of the narrator is named "José Rodrigues", already on page 3 of the draft version he is renamed "Espada" and, in partial accordance with this, a revision of the first page led to the deletion of the name which was originally written down (see Figs. 2 and 3).

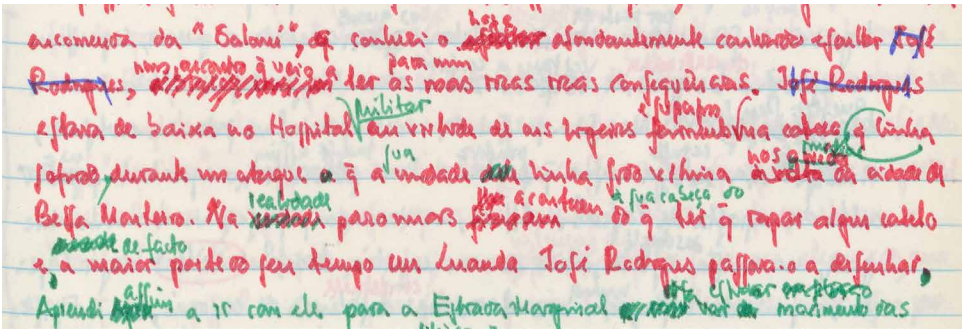

Figure 2. Draft of "Em paisagem tropical | alma branca missa preta". Notebook *N*, f. 53r. Note the two deleted occurrences of the name "José Rodrigues" on the first and second lines, then on the penultimate line an undeleted occurrence.

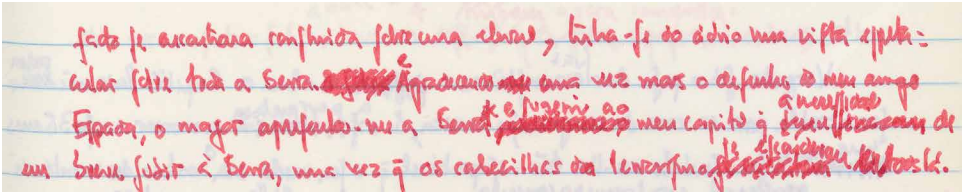

Figure 3. Draft of "Em paisagem tropical | alma branca missa preta". Notebook *N*, f. 54r. First appearance of the surname Espada (beginning of the third line), which will be the final designation of the sculptor who is a friend of the narrator.

It so happens that the sequence "José Rodrigues" coincides with the name of a famous sculptor and painter whose activity was pursued for many years in Oporto, at the Fábrica Social, and who happened to be a friend of the author when he was doing military service in Angola, apart from being the best man at his wedding. In a picture kept by the writer's son, one may see M. S. Lourenço, his wife, and José Rodrigues (see Fig. 4).

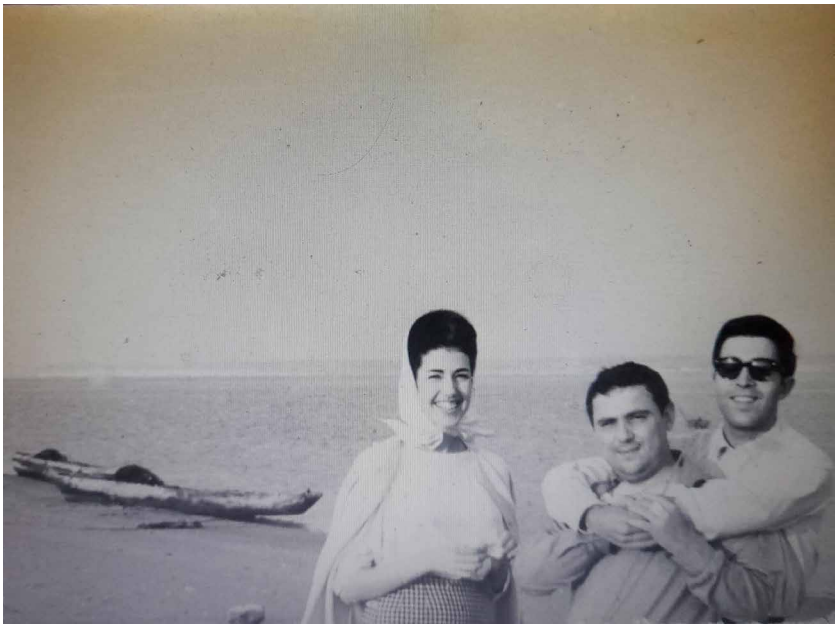

Figure 4. Right to left: M. S. Lourenço, José Rodrigues, and Manuela Lourenço, Luanda. Photo taken at the beginning of 1963. Frederico Lourenço, private collection.

What seems to be at play by repressing the intrusion of extradiegetic into the diegetic data is the author's effort to keep a safe distance vis-à-vis the matter of the narrative, namely its silenced closure.

There are other instances of metalepsis in Lourenço's narrative in McHale's sense that merit a closer look. The manifestations of the image of a severed body in paragraphs 1 to 7 bear some resemblance to dreams and play an indexical function in the narrative. Displacement of accent is viewed by Freud as one of the four aspects of the dream work, since it consists of the substitution of an important latent element by a somewhat trivial allusion to it (Freud 1933, 33–4). In turn, there are some similarities in the way the dream works to the definition Roland Barthes proposed of the index. In his introduction to the structural analysis of narrative, Barthes presents the index as a class of narrative units which signify implicitly and call for a "deciphering activeness and consequence" (Barthes 1975, 249). In Freud's terms, the first seven occurrences of the image under analysis point to the substitution of an important latent element in the narrative,

the experience of decapitation, and allude to it in a trivial way. All seven occurrences of the image are wrapped up in uneventful daily life: what the priest said once, collecting a record in a shop, observing someone drawing, going to church, attending mass, giving someone a drawing. It is this banal wrapping that calls for unwrapping, in the formulation by Barthes, a "deciphering activeness and consequence" (Barthes 1975, 249).

Taking into consideration the 11-paragraph structure presented above, I would now like to focus on paragraph 2, in order to (i) highlight two episodes of textual variation that can be interpreted as contributing to the dream-like, and, say, indexical atmosphere, as well as to (ii) say a few words on Salome as a core motif. The first episode of textual variation that will be approached is genetic in kind: the deletion of "short" and its substitution by "abbreviated" in the characterization of the record catalogue the narrator uses to order a recording of *Salome*. It is convenient to examine how the draft evolved in this zone (see Fig. 5).

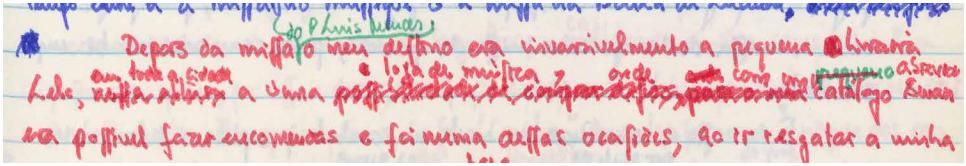

Figure 5. Draft of "Em paisagem tropical | alma branca missa preta". Notebook *N*, f. 53r. Beginning of paragraph 2.

Here is a tentative reconstruction. Lourenço first drafted and revised in red, then used a green marker before concluding the passage with another revision in red:[8]

1. "After mass I always headed to the small ~~and~~ Lello bookshop, at that time the only possibility of buying records,

8. The Portuguese text reads: "Depois da missa do P. Luis Mendes o meu destino era invariavelmente a pequena e livraria Lelo, loja de música, ~~nessa altura~~ em toda a cidade a única ~~possibilidade de comprar discos~~ onde ~~para o meu~~ ~~onde~~ com um ~~pequeno~~ abreviado catálogo Swan era possível fazer encomendas". For a global description of the way the color markers are used by Lourenço while drafting these essays, see Dionísio 2020.

2. "After mass I always headed to the small ~~and~~ Lello bookshop, ~~at that time~~ in the whole city the only possibility of buying records, for my Swan catalogue

3. "After mass I always headed to the small ~~and~~ Lello bookshop, ~~at that time~~ in the whole city ~~the only possibility of buying records~~, the only music store for my Swan catalogue[9]

4. "After mass I always headed to the small ~~and~~ Lello bookshop, ~~at that time~~ in the whole city ~~the only possibility of buying records~~, the only music store ~~for my~~ where with a Swan catalogue it was possible to order [records]

5. "After Father Luis Mendes's mass I always headed to the small ~~and~~ Lello bookshop, ~~at that time~~ in the whole city ~~the only possibility of buying records~~, the only music store, where ~~for my~~ ~~where~~ with a small Swan catalogue it was possible to order [records]

6. "After Father Luis Mendes's mass I always headed to the small ~~and~~ Lello bookshop, ~~at that time~~ in the whole city ~~the only possibility of buying records~~, the only music store, where ~~for my~~ ~~where~~ with a ~~small~~ abbreviated Swan catalogue it was possible to order [records]

Although this succession of stages does not depict with absolute certainty the process of writing, it is possible that six acts of writing were carried out here, the first four corresponding to immediate writing actions, the fifth pertaining to a later revision, and the sixth to an even later revision when the draft had already reached its first complete version. The status of the fifth action is clear because a different pen — a green marker — was used, possibly after the red sequence was fully written and before the following sequence (below), in green, was noted down. As to the status of the sixth action, in spite of the fact that it was penned by the same red marker responsible for actions 1 to 4, its later revisional status can be inferred from the deletion of the previous action 5 and the placement ahead of its correction.

A number of corrections in actions 1 to 6 have to do with cohesion, grammar, and the avoidance of repetition. Avoidance of repetition seems indeed to be the issue when he substitutes "abridged" for "small". The latter had already been used to describe the Lello bookshop and its reappearance on the following line could be viewed as stylistically inadequate (see Fig. 6).

9. Note that the interlinear addition "music store" is meant to substitute "Lello bookshop", even if the reference to the bookshop has never been deleted. There is a dot (deleting the word "and") before "livraria Lelo" and another similar dot before "loja de música" that support this interpretation.

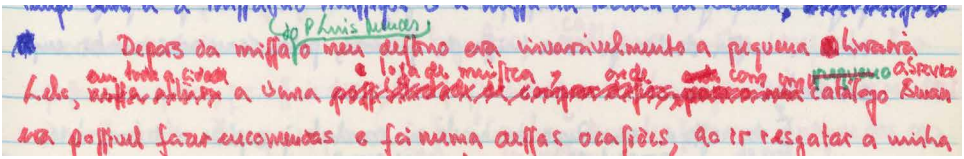

Figure 6. Draft of "Em paisagem tropical | alma branca missa preta". Notebook *N*, f. 53r. Beginning of paragraph 2: see occurrences of "small" ("pequena" and, partially crossed out, "pequeno") at the end of the first and second lines.

This could then be interpreted as a trivial synonymic substitution, an instance of free variation, free, that is, to the extent that it is not determined by grammatical constraints. However, as Daniel Ferrer has argued, no variant is truly free, for any change inscribes itself in one or several systems which constrain it in more than one way. In the game of chess, Ferrer says, it is easy to describe the movements which a piece is allowed to make according to the rules of the game; it is much more difficult to analyze all the connections that, in a given position, associate that piece with all the others constraining its action. These connections are dynamic, changing with every move and evolving according to what the players have in mind. It is the same thing, Ferrer concludes, with textual genesis (Ferrer 2011, 169–70). Taking this draft as a game of chess, the substitution of "abridged" for "small" has to be observed against the general backdrop of the *idée fixe* underlying the narrative. The sense of the change is clearly chronological, narrative, if you will: unlike "small", a word that does not point to a previous condition, "abridged" recalls a former condition of fullness or integrity no longer available in its present state. The substitution is therefore in tune with a text deliberately saturated with allusions to decapitation, abbreviated bodies, as it were, and thus strengthens the impression of post-traumatic syndrome disorder.

The second episode of textual variation I would like to consider is less clearly genetic. It has to do with the name of the record catalogue (an allusion to the famous record catalogue named Schwann?):[10] "Swan", in the rough draft, whereas in the newspaper column the name was spelled "Swann", with a double *n*, likewise in the typographic proofs of the first edition, and also in the first edition and second editions.

10. I acknowledge this possibility to the anonymous collaborator of the Elsevier Language Editing Service who revised this article.

Is the change of Swan into Swann one of those typos the author never became aware of?[11] Or can we infer that he decided to change the name of the catalogue when he was preparing a fair copy of the text for the paper? In the absence of the fair copy, one can only guess. In any event, it is not without interest to read what looks like a prequel of sorts of this narrative, published 24 years earlier in a special issue of the magazine *O Tempo e o Modo* dedicated to the topic "Europe between the two wars", meaning the 1st and 2nd world wars of the 20th century. The editors sought to include a section with articles about the movements that developed between 1919 and 1939 in the fine arts, theatre, literature, film, and dance. Lourenço was commissioned to write the article on literature, but eventually delivered a strange piece of prose on war experience, describing, among other things, the sea travel to Africa of a soldier about to take part in military operations, besides his readings while travelling and afterwards at the theatre of operations. One of the books he took with him was Proust's *À la Recherche du Temps Perdu*, which he started to re-read in the last days of his journey, a work frequently mentioned in this prose piece (Lourenço 1964, 180–82):

> I read part of the first volume, only now and then interrupting the reading to participate in the preparation for war. ["Fui lendo parte do primeiro volume interrompendo apenas, de vez em quando, para participar na organização da guerra"]
>
> The ship swung and I started to feel seasick, sitting in the lounge, lying in my cabin, checking the night breeze. By that time I was getting well acquainted with Combray, the first form of Swann, les aubépines. I was increasingly admiring the traditional construction, the word integrity, the punctuation ["O barco balouçava e eu comeci a enjoar, sentado na sala, deitado no camarote, verificando a brisa da noite. Estava a conhecer bastante bem Combray, a primeira forma de Swann, as aubépines. Estava

11. Incidentally, M. S. Lourenço was in touch with members of the Chicago Surrealist group (e.g. Franklin Rosemont) whose imprint was the Black Swan Press. That, at least in certain quarters, this is a word prone to typographical error can be observed in the outstanding biography that António Cândido Franco wrote of the Portuguese poet Mário Cesariny: "The Rosemonts, having returned to the United States, became much more active, founding [. . .] a publishing house, The Black Swann [. . .]" (Franco 2019, 205). There was also a record label named Black Swan, focused on jazz and blues, and later a Swan label, famous for the release of the Beatles hit "She Loves You" onto the American record market.

> cada vez mais admirado com a construção tradicional, a integridade da palavra, a pontuação"]
>
> One day we were landed (in the passive voice, as is convenient). I then packed Proust, Claudel's translations, the New Testament, and prepared myself for a time of outer and inner darkness. And I had it. ["Um dia fomos desembarcados (na voz passiva, como convém). Eu arrumei então o Proust, as traduções de Claudel, o Novo Testamento e preparei-me para um período de trevas exteriores e interiores. E tive-o."][12]
>
> I remember that occasionally I tried to read, to no avail. By that time I recalled Combray, the warm afternoons when young Marcel read under or next to a hedgerow, the gate of Swann's house. ["lembro-me que uma vez por outra tentei ler sem conseguir. Lembrava-me nessa altura de Combray, das tardes quentes em que o pequeno Marcel lia debaixo ou junto a uma sebe, do portão da casa dos Swann."]

Furthermore, the narrator recalled Swann himself when he was writing his essay about Vermeer, the painting before his eyes; this Swann, he adds, had been inspired by a man by the name of Charles Haas, whom Proust had known and whose photograph was convincing. Lourenço portrays him as having "thin curly hair, a Greek nose and a light on his face that Proust never mentions but which we admit existed" (Lourenço 1964, 182).

In this 1964 prose piece there are other references to Proust's work, but these suffice to consider the possibility that the change of title of the record catalogue from *Swan* (one *n*) to *Swann* (double *n*) may be the result of deliberation. The effect is similar to the metaleptical intrusion of a new dimension into an otherwise realistic narrative: Luanda exists, the Lello bookshop exists, the opera *Salome* exists, but there is no such thing as a Swann catalogue.

In the last part of this section, the key element in paragraph 2 of Lourenço's narrative, the reference to *Salome*, is briefly addressed. In order to understand the central role *Salome* plays as a narrative index in this text, it is useful to quote a passage of another of Lourenço's essays for the series *Os Degraus do Parnaso*. It had come out roughly two months before the one I have focused on up until now. In this other essay he writes about the ways that the biblical story of Salome was explored by Flaubert, Wilde, and

12. One cannot fail to notice here an anticipation of the closure of the 1989 narrative, when reference is made to the approaching night, besides the settling fog.

Aubrey Beardsley, among others. He argues that Wilde was successful in the development of the idea according to which an oath cannot be broken and, consequently, against his better judgment, Herod has to comply with Salome's ghastly wish: having Jokanaan beheaded. In contrast, in a passage of the draft version of this essay that did not make it into the published text, Lourenço includes a critical remark about the way Wilde depicts the Tetrarch (see Fig. 7).

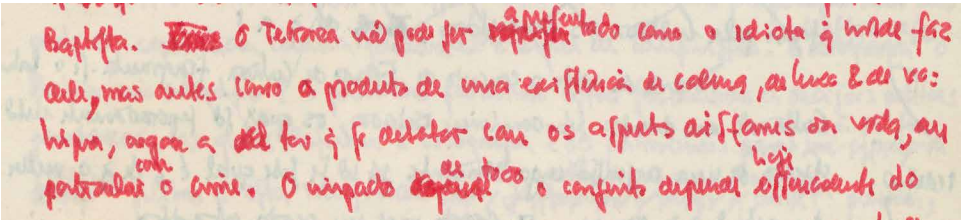

Figure 7. Draft of "Salomé". Notebook titled *Harmonielehre* (private collection), f. 78r.

> The Tetrarch cannot be presented as the idiot portrayed by Wilde, rather as the product of an existence of calm, luxury, and sensuousness, now having to confront himself with the unshapely aspects of life, particularly with crime.[13]

My contention is that Lourenço is projecting himself into this character and that he is similarly haunted by an injunction to transgress a moral frontier because of an oath. The crucial passage in Wilde's *Salome* might be the one in which Herod reacts at Salome's insistence on her request:

> Peace! you are always crying out. You cry out like a beast of prey. You must not cry in such fashion. Your voice wearies me. Peace, I tell you! . . . Salome, think on what thou art doing. It may be that this man comes from God. He is a holy man. The finger of God has touched him. God has put terrible words into his mouth. In the palace, as in the desert, God is ever with him . . . . It may be that He is, at least. One cannot

13. Here is the Portuguese text in diplomatic transcription: "O Tetrarca não pode ser ~~represen~~apresentado como o idiota q Wilde faz | dele, mas antes como o produto de uma existência de calma, de luxo & de vo=|lúpia, agora a ~~deb~~ a ter q se debater com os aspectos disformes da vida, em | particular com o crime".

> tell, but it is possible that God is with him and for him. If he die also, peradventure some evil may befall me.
>
> (Wilde 2000, 325)

However, such an argument does not overcome the constraining power of Salome's line: "You have sworn an oath, Herod" (Wilde 2000, 323).

In the 1960s when they took the military oath, the Portuguese soldiers said out loud: "As a Portuguese and a soldier, I swear to serve the Motherland and its institutions, respecting hierarchy and obedience to my commanders, consecrating myself to the fulfilment of my military duty, even if it means the sacrifice of my own life. I swear" ["Como Português e como militar, juro servir a Pátria e as suas instituições, no respeito da hierarquia e da obediência aos chefes, consagrando-me ao cumprimento do dever militar, mesmo com sacrifício da própria vida. Juro"].

As mentioned at the outset of this second section of the article, displacement is taken by Freud as one of the four aspects of dream work. Here displacement seems to be at play via a shared morphology of actions: the oath sworn by Herod, the oath sworn by a soldier; the decapitation of St. John the Baptist, the beheading of the enemy.

Conclusion

More than pinpointing instances of metalepsis in this text, I sought to interpret Lourenço's narrative through metalepsis as a hermeneutic instrument. I have argued that this text is structured via an incomplete form of metalepsis, the antecedent preparing for a silenced consequent. This technique bears on a specific form of intermediality (leitmotif) and is particularly apt for the representation of trauma. Additionally, it has been suggested that, by suspending diegesis, Lourenço leads the reader to the situation in which the narrator found himself, on the verge of something that is going to happen, falling prey to his or her own ghosts and thereby contributing to extradiegetic imagination. Further, the repression of extradiegetic data during the genesis of the narrative has been underscored. Taking this into consideration, the overall impression given by the text is that it is being told at a safe distance. The style seems to be typical of a detached, if never aloof, and poised narrator who is in control, at least until the moment when, of course, there is something that cannot be told without losing composure, something that can no longer be subject to a displacement strategy or to merely play an indexical role. It has been also observed that

this piece is illuminated by a war narrative that Lourenço published in a Portuguese journal in 1964, in which the experience of war and reading are intertwined, as well as by another text of the *Degraus do Parnaso* series focusing on Salome. Both texts shed light on the displacement and indexical techniques used by the author to structure "Em paisagem tropical | alma branca missa preta". All things considered, unlike baroque, romantic, and postmodern authors, who feel attracted by metaleptic contamination, Lourenço bears the traces of a classical or realist author who knows his bit of rhetoric and manages to observe his narrator from afar (cf. Pier & Schaeffer 2005, 10–11, *qtd.* Pier 2016).

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Giacomo Casanova et Cecille von Roggendorff

lettres de sa dernière correspondante

Elena Grazioli

Abstract

Ce texte cherche à analyser l'échange épistolaire entre Giacomo Casanova et Cecille von Roggendorff, à partir du 6 février 1797 jusqu'à la mort de Casanova, le 4 juin 1798. Cette correspondance encadre non seulement un rapport précepteur-écolière, mais, peu à peu, le vieux libertin agît comme un père inquiet pour sa fille. Nous essayerons de suivre les étapes de cette connaissance réciproque à travers les vicissitudes quotidiennes, les maladies de Casanova et les états mélancoliques de Cecille, la tentative de ce dernier de la placer comme dame d'honneur chez les filles du duc Pierre de Curlande. Le compte rendu lettre par lettre met l'accent sur les interlocuteurs et permet une mise à jour de la narration que l'auteur de l'Histoire de ma vie *a consciemment décidé d'arrêter avant ses dernières années passées à Dux.*

This essay attempts to analyze the exchange between Giacomo Casanova and Cecilia von Roggendorff, during the two years before Casanova's death in Dux, Bohemia (4 June 1798). Such correspondence represents the step-by-step evolution of a teacher-pupil relationship into a father-daughter one, with the old libertine getting increasingly worried about her. Our analysis follows such mutual exchange through everyday matters such as Casanova's illness and Cecilia's melancholy, the former's attempt to place her into the court as the duke Pierre de Curlande's maid of honor. By means of a letter-by-letter account, some light is shed on the interlocutors and Casanova's narration in his Histoire de ma vie, *which omits his last years spent in Dux.*

> Voilà donc le diable, devenu ermite, parle un langage auquel nul ne peut trouver à redire. Suivons-le dans sa courte carrière de directeur spirituel et intellectuel.
>
> —Joseph Pollio et Raul Vèze, *Pages Casanoviennes*

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La première lettre écrite par Cecille von Roggendorff (1775–1814) à Giacomo Casanova (1725–1798) remonte au 6 février 1797, avec celle-ci commence un échange épistolaire qui se limite à la dernière année de vie du libertin.[1] Cecille fut — sans oublier Élise von der Recke — sa dernière correspondante: Casanova meurt le 4 juin 1798 sans jamais avoir eu la chance de la rencontrer.[2] Cependant, le compte rendu lettre par lettre met l'accent sur les interlocuteurs et permet une mise à jour de la narration que l'auteur de l'*Histoire de ma vie* a consciemment décidé d'arrêter avant ses dernières années passées à Dux.[3] Ainsi, d'une certaine manière, le récit est soutiré à Casanova qui n'est plus le chef, ou il ne l'est complètement, de la structure narrative, il n'interagit pas avec celle-ci en mettant en relief ou en cachant certains faits, en ôtant ou en ajoutant ce qu'il désire: l'horizon épistolaire conditionne et enlève le masque du narrateur, le vieux Casanova est toujours mis en scène malgré lui. D'ailleurs, le type humain n'exclut point une autre version de l'histoire, une narration différente.

Le récit épistolaire et le récit autobiographique se reposent sur différentes règles de genre; grâce aux réflexions de Lejeune, dans *Le pacte autobiographique* (1975), nous apprenons que le récit autobiographique exhorte une intention de sincérité, mais il n'oblige pas à l'exactitude, comme les conditions du pacte référentiel illustré par le professeur le soulignent. La correspondance par lettre se structure sur l'émotion du moment et sur un dévoilement honnête de notre être, tandis que l'élaboration du vécu appar-

1. Caecilie von Roggendorff (Vienne, 28 octobre 1775–Vienne, 27 novembre 1814), fille aînée légitime née en secondes noces de son père Ernst von Roggendorff avec Wilhelmine Friderici de Friedwald. J'ai choisi de garder la graphie "Cecille" avec laquelle elle-même signe la correspondance.
2. On peut lire les lettres d'Élise von der Recke (1754–1833) en français dans le volume Ravà 1912, ou en italien dans le livre Orsenigo 1997. Pour approfondir le rapport entre Giacomo Casanova et Élise von der Recke, on peut lire Leeflang 2000, 133–43 ou ma version italienne: Elena Grazioli, *Umori e lettere inglesi delle confidenti di Giacomo Casanova*, dans Korneeva 2019, 137–50.
3. Aujourd'hui nous ne disposons pas d'une étude critique qui analyse, dans sa structure, les années que Giacomo Casanova a passées à Dux; de matière romanesque le volume Vassalli 2002 et Bartolini 1994, même si ce dernier se présente comme plus global, parce qu'il inclut aussi les années de son retour à Venise et celles passées à Vienne; la contribution d'Helmut Watzlawick, *Les tristesses de Dux: critique d'un mythe*, dans Pizzamiglio 2001, 67–77 cherche à renverser, ou tant au moins à atténuer, les aspects négatifs de la sénilité de Casanova; enfin, essentiel pour l'encadrement historique, l'étude Cengiarotti 1990.

tient à d'autres horizons narratifs, ainsi l'explique Bruno Capaci dans le livre *Giacomo carissimo . . .* (2019): "La mediazione della vita portava Casanova a inseguire l'*hasard* e soprattutto a esibire quella teatralità che fa di lui un attore e un affabulatore nel medesimo tempo. Se ci pensiamo bene questo è il processo che conduce Casanova prima al *récit* da salotto, poi all'*istant book* e infine all'autobiografia vera e propria".[4] Également, nous ne devons pas oublier certaines caractéristiques fondamentales de la correspondance qui se manifestent à la fin du siècle: si les missives connaissent une grande fortune dans les pratiques d'écriture au XVIIIème siècle (à voir, par exemple, l'essor des romans par lettres) et elle jouent un rôle stratégique comme dispositif narratif et dramaturgique, il faut préciser aussi que le modèle qui s'impose progressivement dans la correspondance au siècle des Lumières est celui de la lettre anglaise;[5] éloignée des éléments piquants et provocateurs, la lettre anglaise s'encadre bien dans la définition de correspondance familiale qui répond à la fonction de maintenir les relations entre personnes liées d'un rapport de confiance et d'une caractère commun des sentiments avant que d'intérêts;[6] une forme du discours plus immédiate, mais non incontrôlée, qui nous présente la rhétorique du quotidien déclinée dans des caractères de spontanéité d'un réalisme narratif privé d'euphémismes et d'ornements, qui assez fréquemment débouche sur la confiance galénique.[7]

4. Bruno Capaci, *Una sirena con la chitarra e con la penna*, dans Capaci–Grazioli 2019, 36–60, 53.
5. La référence est aux lettres de Voltaire, cf. Voltaire 1830.
6. Je fais référence au modèle de Vincent Voiture (1598–1648), qui représente encore très bien l'esprit précieux du XVIIème siècle dans la diversité de ses missives. Malgré cela, les *Œuvres de M. de Voiture* (cf. Voiture 1650), composées par trois-quarts de lettres privées et familières, connaissent un immense succès: elles sont reconnues par le public et aussi par les lettrés. La publication provoque un débat autour de la littérarité du discours épistolaire et de la modalité avec laquelle ce canon s'est formé au cours du XVIIème siècle. Pour approfondir on peut prendre en examen les contributions de Giorgio Ronconi, *Aspetti della lettera familiare nel Settecento. La corrispondenza tra Egidio e Marco Forcellini e la prima edizione dell'epistolario zeniano*, dans Chemello 1998, 229–43; Rollin 2009, 251–63; Grosse 2017; Forner 2020.
7. Cf. Bruno Capaci, *Modelli e occasioni epistolari del Settecento*, dans Viola 2011, 73–89, 79: "Le notizie sulla salute e sulla quotidianità sono d'obbligo, ma è altrettanto vero che farne argomento non marginale di conversazione, non temere affatto di parlarne per particolari, ma anzi indulgere al privato in alternativa a scambi di riflessioni politiche, letterarie o filosofiche, è cosa del tutto nuova e peculiare del secondo Settecento". Dans la même contribution (Viola 2011,

Fille d'Ernst von Roggendorff et de Wilhelmine Friderici,[8] Cecille von Roggendorff est une jeune comtesse à l'histoire malheureuse: orpheline de mère et de père (sa mère meurt le 31 octobre 1785 et son père le 3 septembre 1790), elle passa son enfance dans un couvent de Salésiennes; elle réussit à entrer, à l'âge des 17 ans, dans l'ordre des Saint-Augustin comme chanoinesse de Hale,[9] mais cela ne l'empêcha pas de passer une jeunesse dans la détresse. Vers l'âge de vingt an sa vie sembla lui montrer un visage moins funeste, grâce à son engagement avec le baron de Vecesey. Malheureusement, le sous-lieutenant autrichien mourut dans la bataille de Bassano, le 17 novembre 1796. Seule et sans affection, Cecille trouva un refuge chez sa cousine, la comtesse Török,[10] à Kaschau (Cassovie). Trois mois après la perte de son fiancé, elle écrivit à Casanova pour lui demander amitié et protection.

Dès les premières lignes, en s'excusant par avance pour son hardiesse, Cecille offre à Casanova un "commerce de lettres suivie" qui se base sur l'argument de transitivité:[11] puisque vous étiez l'ami de mon père (Cecille l'a appris grâce à son frère Ernst[12]) accordez-moi aussi ce titre;[13] et, en adop-

41–72), l'étude de Fabio Forner, *Per una storia dell'epistolografia nel Settecento* (avec une référence précise aux observations au sujet des raisons d'un renforcement des communications dans le panorama européen), me semble fondamental.

8. Le comte Ernst von Roggendorff (1714–1790), épousa, très jeune, Anna Zaruba qu'il abbandona peu de temps après le mariage pour vivre avec sa maîtresse, Wilhelmine Friderici (–1785); avec elle il aura deux enfants, Ernst et Ernestine. À l'âge de soixante ans, en 1774, à la mort de son épouse légitime, il épousa Wilhelmine; en secondes noces naquirent Caecilie et cinq autres enfants.
9. Titre conféré de l'impératrice Marie-Luise, épouse de Léopold II, le 4 mai 1792.
10. La comtesse Aloisia Török née Roggendorff en 1754, épouse de Louis Török.
11. "La transitivité est une propriété formelle de certaines relations qui permet de passer de l'affirmation que la même relation existe entre les termes *a* et *b*, et entre les termes *b* et *c*, à la conclusion qu'elle existe entre les termes *a* et *c*: les relations d'égalité, de supériorité, d'inclusion, d'ascendance, sont des relations transitives" ainsi Perelman–Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008, 305.
12. Le comte Joseph Albert Ernst von Roggendorff (6 novembre 1772–1777 avril 1842), officier autrichien et frère de Cecille. Pendant la campagne militaire du 1793, il se distingua dans la prise de Marchiennes (30 octobre). Il passa une période de sa vie à Dux, en fonction d'administrateur adjoint du château et des écuries; c'est là qu'il rencontra Casanova. Il reçut une pension grâce à son titre d'*Oberstleutnant* et il épousa la comtesse Petrovitch avec qui il aura cinq enfants.
13. Casanova évoque brièvement l'image du père de la Roggendorff dans l'*Histoire de ma vie*, et dans son *Précis de ma vie*: "[. . .] et Vienne où j'ai connu le comte

tant un raisonnent *a fortiori*,[14] elle justifie l'élan de l'écriture 'à plus forte raison' puisqu'il provient des élans d'un cœur malheureux. Avant de poursuivre, il est nécessaire de préciser que Casanova ne s'accoutuma jamais à la langue allemande, même s'il a passé vingt-ans en Bohême, à Dux; Cecille, née à Vienne et encore très jeune, ne pouvait connaître l'italien — bien que, par admiration envers Casanova, elle se déclara disposée à l'apprendre[15] —, l'échange épistolaire se déroula donc sur un terrain commun: les lettres ont été écrites en français. Nous avons trente-trois lettres de la Roggendorff adressées à Casanova et deux réponses de ce dernier, parmi lesquelles le *Précis de ma vie*; ces missives sont conservées à l'Archive d'État de Prague (SOA Praha). J'ai suivi, en les citant, le catalogage introduit par Bernard Marr, le même utilisé dans une brochure qui circule uniquement entre casanovistes et qui contient la transcription diplomatique des lettres manuscrites (Cf. *Lettres de Cécile de Roggendorff à G. Casanova*, texte établi et annoté par Marco Leeflang et Monique Grenier, Utrecht-Paris, s.n., 1996). Il faut préciser que la publication de cet échange épistolaire remonte à l'an 1926, en version complète et en langue française, dans le VIème volume des *Pages casanoviennes*, intitulé *La dernière amie de Jacques Casanova: Cécile de Roggendorff (1797–1798)*, par Joseph Pollio e Raul Vèze, et nous le retrouvons aussi dans une récente édition de poche, *Lettres d'amour à Casanova*, par l'historien Alain Buisine; mais les deux éditions présentent une normalisation totale du texte.[16] Le missives de Cecille ont été aussi en partie traduites et publiées par Aldo Ravà et Gustav Gugigtz dans la collection *Frauenbriefe an Casanova* (1912), mais elles n'ont jamais été traduites en italien. Dans ce travail, j'utilise ma transcription à partir des autographes: je suis intervenue uniquement dans les cas où l'orthographe incorrecte créait des problèmes de compréhension du lemme et de la signi-

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Roggendorf" (cf. Casanova 2018/3, 1197).

14. En ce qui concerne le raisonnement *a fortiori*, je fais à nouveau référence à Perelman–Olbrechts-Tyteca 2008.
15. "Si tot que je verai l'abbé d'Este, je lui ferai vos tendres compliments, mais pour la langue italienne je ne sais comment faire pour l'aprendre, d'après que mes entrevûes avec l'abbé d'Este sont tres rares puisque je vis toujours à la campagne ou [où] je ne voit j'amais du monde. Je lui ai écrie [écrit] pour une grandmere [grammaire] italienne, la reponse fuit [fut] qu'il n'en avoit point" (Marr 8–26).
16. "Nous ne respecterons pas l'orthographe de Cécile de Roggendorff qui la respectait, elle, médiocrement. Prévenue sans doute que Casanova ne connaissait pas l'allemand, ne connaissant pas elle-même l'italien, elle dut s'obliger à écrire en français. Comme tous les correspondants de langue germanique de Casanova, elle y réussissait assez mal": Pollio–Vèze 1926, 4.

fication de la phrase; les interventions de corrections ont été faites dans la marge, entre crochets, pour permettre de comprendre à travers ces passages les compétences lexicales, orthographiques et syntaxiques d'une jeune fille semi-savante dont le français est contaminé par l'allemand et emprunte à l'oralité.[17]

Des attestations d'estime de matrice épidictique se décèlent dès le début:[18] "Vos merittes, votre age, votre experience m'enspire la plus grande veneraison [vénération]",[19] de même, apparaît immédiatement le chagrin de ne pouvoir pas jouir de la compagnie du Chevalier de Seingalt (plus chanceux son frère Ernst qui se trouve à Dux)[20] dont le manque est pallié à travers l'écriture. Cecille n'oublie pas de s'excuser pour son "mauvais stil que ecriture"; d'ailleurs, comme nous l'avons anticipé, elle naît à Vienne en 1775 et elle est donc de langue maternelle allemande. La *captatio benevolentiae* envers Casanova se termine encore par un argument de transitivité qui a un fondement rhétorique assez fallacieux: Cecille construit, dans un premier moment, l'éloge du comte de Waldstein, qu'elle croit être le plus aimable entre les hommes, et, précisément au nom de cette amabilité du comte, Casanova devrait se montrer obligeant et accepter cet échange épistolaire. Comment donc s'y soustraire? D'autant plus que les dernières lignes

17. À propos de l'écriture féminine indispensable le livre de Plebani 2019. Sur la langue française du XVIIIème siècle on peut lire Brunot 1905, en particulier la deuxième partie du huitième volume, rédigé par Alexis François. En ce qui concerne plus précisément l'orthographe de la langue française cf. *Dictionnaire historique de l'orthographe française* (Paris, Larousse, 1995), avec des références ponctuelles à Catach 2001.
18. Au genre épidictique est dédié le neuvième chapitre de *Réthorique* II d'Aristote, la finalité est celle de "riuscire a migliorare (o peggiorare) la realtà di cui si parla e ciò deve essere realizzato all'interno del discorso, il che significa, in ultima analisi, attraverso mezzi linguistici" ainsi Piazza 2015, 85. Dans le domaine de la rhétorique, on peut prendre en examen ces contributions: Battistini–Raimondi 1990; Mortara Garavelli 2018; Piazza 2004.
19. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Cassovie, le 6 février 1797 (Marr 8–25).
20. Les rapports entre Ernst et Casanova étaient houleux, comme le démontre une lettre de Casanova écrite de Dux, le 2 juin 1797: "Ditemi perché non imitate il Conte vostro padre che si faceva rispettare da tutti. Ditemi perché tutti dicono male di voi. Ditemi perché tutti dicono che siete un bevitore, un attaccabrighe, uno che fa dei debiti che non può pagare [. . .]" ainsi Casanova 1969, 424–27, 425.

de la missive esquissent un premier portrait de Mlle Roggendorff, aussi belle qu'Ernst, bien que plus maladroite.[21]

J'ai déjà précisé que les réponses de Casanova ne sont qu'au nombre de deux (y compris le *Précis de ma vie*), toutefois, grâce aux informations que la comtesse nous délivre en reprenant certaines phrases du Chevalier, nous pouvons reconstruire, en partie, la tonalité de la correspondance qui se base sur une affection sans la moindre équivoque malgré ses tendres élans.[22] À mon avis, il n'est pas possible de construire un parallèle avec certaines déclarations de Manon Balletti envers Casanova, qui sont elles-aussi très tendres, mais qui présentent des acceptions bien plus allusives et rassemblent plutôt à ce qu'une épouse est disponible à accorder.[23]

Si nous respectons le statut de vérité du genre épistolaire, la lettre de Cecille a ému Casanova jusqu'aux larmes; et nous trouvons de la douceur même chez le vieux libertin, précisément dans le ton avec lequel il dispense ses conseils à sa jeune écolière. Casanova crée le rôle de précepteur parce qu'il exige encore une position de suprématie, il veut encore être le protagoniste, même s'il est rappelé sur scène par une femme et même si à Dux ne reste des salons qu'une petite table. Le libertin devient précepteur à un certain âge, exactement comme pour la protagoniste des *Lettres de Ninon de Lenclos au marquis de Sévigné* (1750),[24] mais Casanova n'est pas si audacieux et au même temps il ne se transforme guère en percepteur sur le modèle de Giuseppe Parini; ses réflexions philosophiques sont tirées et

21. Nous pouvons lire le portrait plus approfondi que Cecille fait d'elle-même dans Marr 8–110.
22. Nombreuses, dans la correspondance, les occurrences de "Vous dites que" auxquelles fait même suite, dans certains cas, la citation directe du discours de Casanova: "Vous vous nommé depuis l'âge décrepit *un exorther*" (mien l'italique).
23. Je fais référence ici à une lettre de Manon Balletti à Giacomo Casanova, du 10 septembre 1757, dans laquelle elle affirme: "[. . .] sognate tutto quello che vi piacerà e un giorno forse, se la fortuna lo vorrà, confermerò la vostra immaginazione" (cf. Capaci–Grazioli 2019, 162). En ce qui concerne la figure de Manon Balletti et son rapport avec Casanova, qui déboucha sur des documents de mariage, la référence renvoie toujours à l'essai de Bruno Capaci, *Una sirena con la chitarra e con la penna*, dans Capaci–Grazioli 2019, 36–60.
24. À voir en propos la contribution de Bruno Capaci, *'Lettres de Mademoiselle Ninon de Lenclos au Marquis de Sévigné'. Una maschera epistolare della femme au dixhuitième siècle*, dans Forner 2017, 223–37.

de la théorie des Lumières et du discours concernant le plaisir.[25] Encore une fois, il se raconte face à un public, en apprenant même à dévoiler les contenus qui n'amusent pas. Il a fait suivre à l'éloge de la vertu des conseils qui concernent la rectitude des principes, mais il les a exposés de manière si charmante à susciter le désir de s'y conformer; ainsi Joseph Pollio e Raul Vèze dans *La dernière amie de Jacques Casanova*: "Pourquoi ne pas constater simplement — sans la moindre teinte d'admiration — la dualité de cet être, de tout être humain, conscient de la grandeur de son esprit, de la faiblesse de son corps et des ses sens? Ainsi qu'il l'écrivit peu de temps après à Ernest, il a vu une tâche sévère à remplir, il n'a pas cru pouvoir s'y dérober" (Pollio–Vèze 1926, 11). Toutefois, Cecille — nous pourrons dire en tant que jeune[26] — oppose une *lex potentior* selon laquelle la nature "est celle du sentiment du cœur dont l'homme n'est jamais qu'à demie le maitre";[27] elle se débarrasse donc bientôt du joug de la raison. Comme une écolière diligente, la Roggendorff veut mériter cet échange des lettres, mais, grâce à sa franchise, ce qu'elle ressent s'oppose aux maximes casanoviennes et elle ne dissimule point sa réprobation: "je connoit la vertu et des gens vertueux qui cependant ne sont point heureux".[28] Par contre, elle est plus disponible à se consacrer aux études: Casanova doit lui avoir demandé d'apprendre l'italien (ou simplement conseillé) par l'intermédiation de l'abbé d'Este;[29] Cecille

25. "Le percezioni dei sensi sono la garanzia stessa dell'esistenza, la condizione *sine qua non* il piacere vi sarebbe assente. D'altra parte, questa concezione, debitrice del *Traité des sensations* (1754) di Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714–1780) e della filosofia che gli è propria in senso più ampio, si allontana dall'idealismo per avvicinarsi a un'origine materialistica della conoscenza del proprio io. Si apprende rielaborando le sinestesie dell'esistenza con il fine di ri-conoscere e ri-conoscersi" ainsi Elena Grazioli, *Umori e lettere inglesi delle confidenti di Giacomo Casanova*, dans Korneeva 2019, 139.
26. Dans son analyse des *ethe* (*Rhétorique* II, 12–17), Aristote avait distingué trois différents 'tipi di carattere' sur la base de l'âge: jeunes, vieux et hommes mûrs; "i caratteri dei giovani sono schematicamente rappresentati come opposti [. . .]. Se i giovani sono tendenzialmente più coraggiosi, impulsivi, passionali e collerici, i vecchi, invece, sono più inclini ad avere paura e sembrano più temperanti, perché hanno desideri più deboli o si sono abituati a tenerli a bada" ainsi Piazza 2015, 108.
27. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova, le 10 mars 1797 (Marr 8–26).
28. À propos de la connexion entre vertu et bonheur, on peut faire référence aux observations de Michel Delon, dans les chapitres *Bonheur* et *Bonheur, suite*, dans Delon 2011, 245–55.
29. L'abbé italien Vittorio d'Este était professeur à l'académie de Kaschau.

s'excuse immédiatement de ses rares visites au religieux et pour n'être pas parvenue à se procurer une grammaire de la langue italienne, ainsi elle ne peut démontrer son empressement à suivre les conseils de son précepteur.[30] Mais pour remercier son pédagogue, en répondant aux vers qu'il doit lui avoir envoyé, Cecille formule sa gratitude en alexandrins.[31]

La seule réponse de Casanova qui nous est parvenue, en excluant bien évidemment le *Précis de ma vie*, c'est une lettre du 22 mai 1797.[32] Cette fille lui a fait l'honneur de démontrer son estime et sa confiance gratuitement parce qu'elle n'aurait pu savoir s'il les mériterait (elle ne le connaissait pas en personne). Casanova, de son côté, lui montre sa reconnaissance à travers certains préceptes qu'elle peut prendre comme des conseils: "A l'age de vingt ans vous devez commencer à dédaigner tous les pardons imaginables, vous ne devez pas en exiger; vous ne devez jamais en avoir besoin. [. . .]. Faites-vous respecter, et sachez noblement mépriser ceux qui vous manquent, mais sans leur faire voir votre mépris, [. . .]. Bornez vos désirs et banissez de vos rêveries tous les châteaux en Espagne" (Marr 40–3). La tonalité de précepteur qu'assume Casanova est la même que nous retrouvons dans la lettre à Maria Gioseffa, qui remonte à des années bien antérieures.[33] Sa passion d'apprendre est devenue celle d'enseigner; il s'agit, cependant, d'un élan de nature particulière car, en tenant compte de ce que le prince de Ligne affirme assez méchamment, notre Chevalier se sentirait excité à cette tâche uniquement par l'air ravissant des jeunes filles (Ligne 2003). Toutefois, je crois que dans les attentions et les soins de Casanova envers Cecille, il faudrait plutôt parler de l'affection d'un père. D'ailleurs, Cecille elle-même ne configure leur rapport que dans ces termes: "Vous m'aimés comme un pere, dites vous? Qu'elle est donc la tendresse que je Vous porte, est elle moins

30. "Si tot que je verai l'abbé d'Este, je lui ferai vos tendres compliments, mais pour la langue italienne je ne sais comment faire pour l'aprendre, d'après que mes entrevûes avec l'abbé d'Este sont tres rares puisque je vis toujours à la campagne ou [où] je ne voit jamais du monde. Je lui ai écrie [écrit] pour une grandmere [grammaire] italienne, la reponse fuit [fut] qu'il n'en avoit point" ainsi Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova, le 10 mars 1797 (Marr 8–26).
31. "Le plaisir cher ami que tu m'as procuré // me fera bénir cet heur fortuné // ou le ciel te fît naitre, vrai predestiné // qui comble de bonheur des coeurs affligé" (Marr 8–26).
32. Lettre de Giacomo Casanova à Cecille von Roggendorff de Dux, le 12 mai 1797 (Marr 40–3).
33. Lettre de Giacomo Casanova à Maria Gioseffa, petite comtesse Lamberg, de Dux, le 25 février 1791 dans Casanova 1969, 312–15.

vif?"[34] Casanova semble se définir dans un noyau familial et il intervient à l'égard de Cecille exactement à cause des préoccupations qu'elle nourrit pour son frère, il me paraît même qu'il veut presque se substituer à Ernst, en condensant sur lui-même la famille que Cecille n'a plus.

Casanova n'a seulement accordé, au début, sa disponibilité à entretenir une correspondance avec Cecille, mais, avec un égal empressement, il s'est mobilisé pour lui faire obtenir une place à la Cour, grâce à l'intercession de la princesse Clary, la fille de son ami le prince de Ligne,[35] afin de lui garantir un apanage suffisant pour lui assurer une certaine indépendance. Puisque Cecille répond immédiatement que sa tante Salm n'est pas d'accord,[36] Casanova cherche à la placer comme dame d'honneur chez les filles du duc Pierre de Curlande.[37] Le tuteur de Cecile trouve erronée cette decision et, au cas où Cecille se résout à continuer dans cette voie, il la prie de s'assurer, avant d'abandonner son bénéfice ecclésiastique, que ce duc lui fournira une petite pension, même si elle ne sera pas adaptée à la mansion prévue, pour qu'elle ne reste pas sans rémunération. Cecille, si jeune qu'elle soit, ne peut se rendre compte qu'une telle proposition fait offense au duc de Curlande, mais Casanova garantit pour elle la pureté de son cœur et de son esprit.[38] La totalité de l'échange épistolaire entre la Roggendorff et Casanova suit la trace des obstacles et des résolutions en ce qui concerne le départ de Cecille; entre autres, ce démarrage lui permettrait une visite

34. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Kazmer, le 22 octobre 1797 (Marr 8–33).
35. Marie-Christine-Claudine-Léopoldine-Philippine de Clary, née de Ligne (1757–1830), épousa le 31 mai 1775 le comte Jean Népomucène Clary. Elle était amie de l'empereur et brilla à la cour autrichienne et pour son esprit et pour son talent de chanteuse d'opéra. Elle fut longtemps correspondante de Casanova (plusieurs lettres ont été retrouvées à Dux) et elle lui presenta son père, le prince de Ligne, à Toeplitzl, pendant le mois d'août de l'année 1790.
36. Raphaele von Salm-Reifferscheid-Krautheim (1726–1807), comtesse Roggendorff, sœur du père de Cecille — elle prendra le patronyme de son époux une fois mariée — elle est la mère du cardinal Franz Xaver Salm.
37. Duc Pierre de Courlande (1724–1800), fils d'Ernest de Curlande. Le duc avait dû renoncer à son duché en faveur de Catherine II qui lui laissa une rémunération de cinquante mille ducats. Il vivait avec sa troisième épouse, Dorothea von Medem (épousée en 1779), sœur ainée d'Élise von der Recke, et ses quatre filles: Wilhelmine, Paolina, Johanna, et Dorothea.
38. À ce propos, voir la lettre que Casanova écrivit au duc Pierre de Curlande de Dux, le 20 janvier 1798, dans Casanova 1969, 442–44.

à Casanova à Dux. Seulement peu après la mort du Chevalier, Cecille obtiendra définitivement l'emploi et quittera Hale.

Le chevalier de Seingalt ne s'était pas donc trompé quand il avait promis à Cecille, à travers une réminiscence de cabaliste — il l'avait 'lu' dans les livres destinés —, qu'elle aurait été heureuse. Cecille lui répondit avec une antanaclase: "je crois pouvoir dire [de] sentire le commencement de cette felicité quand je reçoit de Vos lettres".[39] Toutefois, dès la fin du mois d'avril 1797, dans l'écriture de Cecille une profonde mélancolie s'était manifestée:

> Hélas, lorsqu' aucupés [occupée] d'un serieux retour sur moi même, sur ma situation presente et future, j'inore [j'ignore] si j'orai [j'aurai] assés de fermeté pour me soumaitre [soumettre] à tout le poix [poids] des meaux [maux] qui va peut être me couvrire. Mais étant convaincue que la pactience est la seule chose qui existe parmis les hûmeuns [humains] qui merite le titre de vertu veritable, toutes autres n'étant qu'effait [effet] du temperament, je crois que, gémissant depuis l'age de 9 ans dans les larmes, je sorai souffrir encore les derniers épreuves avec resignation.
>
> (Marr 8–28)

Si d'un côté Casanova regrette sa jeunesse et sa vigueur physique, la Roggendorff, dans la fleur de l'âge, ne semble pas être touchée par la négritude, au contraire, elle l'invoque comme qui, en proie à la mélancolie, à l'humeur de la bile noire, souffre davantage pour le désespoir intense et la dépression que pour les effets de la déchéance physique. Le soleil noir affecte négativement le corps, dont les symptômes sont toutefois de plus facile définition que les souffrances de l'âme:

> La pâleur de mon visage et mon humeur un peu triste, melancolique, inquiète mes amis, l'on m'ordonne de me rendre au Bain de Rancke pour prendre des fortificasions [fortifiants]. Mon depart est fixée au 30 de ce mois. Je Vous avoûe me preter avec asses [assez] mouvaise grace à la volonté des medecins puisque le delabrement de ma santé na rien qui m'inquiète, ô non, il me charme.[40]

39. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova du 30 avril 1797 (Marr 8–28).
40. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Cassovie, le 25 juin 1797 (Marr 8–113).

> Je me suis plainte dans ma dernier d'un gros hrume [rhume], mais je ne me rappelle pas avoir parlé de santé delabré. Comme je Vous ai écrit que je me preparoit pour aller aux bains de Ranck, alors j'etoit malade sens [sans] qu'on peut [pût] donner un nom à ma maladie, l'ame ne se devine. Vous ne soriés croire comme le chagrien influe sur le phisique: quelques jours de souffrance, et il faut des semaines pour me remettre [. . .].[41]

Les descriptions des bains thermaux rappellent à la mémoire certains tableaux esquissés par la poétesse vénitienne, assidue des salons illuminés, Caterina Dolfin (1736–1793), destinés au patricien Andrea Tron (1712–1785), son futur époux, qui remontent à quelques années plus tôt.[42] Cependant, Cecille ne s'attarde pas sur les aspects mondains des bains et elle ne rappelle pas la présence de la société des médecins, dont on a des descriptions plus amples dans les contes de la Dolfin. Nous ne devons pas oublier que Philippe Pinel (1745–1826) — médecin précurseur de la psychiatrie, exerçant à cette période à la Salpêtrière — fait l'éloge des avantages des eaux thermales, dans un article concernant la mélancolie, pour les troubles provoqués par cette forme de délire partiel.[43] Débile, moins réactive, selon les stéréotypes traditionnels, la femme risque de perdre plus facilement le goût de l'existence. La parole 'vapeurs' s'est imposée au XVIIIème siècle pour indiquer précisément le joug de l'ennui sur la *vita activa*, capable d'arrêter soit des procès psychologiques soit physiques. Joseph Bressy en décrit la symptomatologie dans son traité *Recherches sur les vapeurs*, qu'il publia précisément à cette époque (1789).

L'écoute du malaise des autres est dominé par l'argument de réciprocité, qui se balance entre un pôle positif, représenté par une avantageuse correspondance qui rappelle Cicéron "Longin se porte mieux et Zénobie n'a plus de peines",[44] et un pôle négatif selon lequel l'influence mutuelle assume des nuances saturnines, bien évidentes dans la brillante réplique de Voltaire souffrant pour le chagrin de Mme du Deffand: "J'ai le malheur d'être tout

41. Lettere de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Cassovie, le 10 décembre 1797 (Marr 8–38).
42. Pour ce qui concerne la correspondance de Caterina Dolfin, cf. Bruno Capaci, *Modelli e occasioni epistolari del Settecento*, dans Viola 2011, 73–89, 83 et suiv.; Capaci 1996, 191–228; Damerini 1929.
43. Pour approfondir les bains thermaux, on peut faire référence au chapitre de Jean Starobinski, *L'établissement thermal*, dans Starobinski 2012, 114–17.
44. Noms de plume de Casanova, dans le rôle de ministre et précepteur, et de la Roggendorff, reine de Palmyre.

le contraire de Cicéron: si vous vous portez mal, j'en suis fâché".[45] Dans les mots de Cecille, cette influence mutuelle est même dépassée: la seule figuration dans la pensée de la mort de son ami est cruelle au point de susciter le désir de négocier des années de sa vie au prix du bien-être de la personne aimée:

> Pauvre et resigné ami, que vos lettres me touche, hélas! Je donnerai volontié dix années de ma vie pour racheter à ce prix votre santé; n'alés pas Vous imaginer que ce soit un compliment ou une belle phrace [phrase], c'est le voeu le plus réel, le plus sincère que mon coeur n'ai jamais formée. Vous guérirai, je m'en flatte, j'en suis sûr, et ne me parlés plus de la mort: ce mot me fais un mal affreux, il est cruel de me la faire pleurer si longtems d'avance. Si l'idé[e] que Vous êtes un être mortel ne Vous épouvante pas trop, pensés-y bien toujours, c'est un bon signe à ce que dissent [disent] les bonnes femmes chez les malades, ils aproches [approchent] alors de leur guerrisons [guérison].[46]

Dans ce cas la 'guérison' de Casanova est plutôt celle des maux de la vie. Les aspects du réalisme dans l'écriture épistolaire se profilent non seulement en cette attention au quotidien, mais aussi dans la présence du présent dans la correspondance. Intéressant du point de vue historique est le jugement que Cecille apporte par rapport à la guerre:

> On souhaite la paix, on la dit certaine, mais on semble pourtent [pourtant] prendre des mesures pour continuer la guerre; on commence, d'après les ordres reçues, de preparer toutes choses pour l'insurrection. Le premier de mai tous les comitats doivent s'asambler [s'assembler] et on tiendra une congregation pour prendre des mesures convenables, aussi se trouvent ici tout le monde dans la plus grand consternation: on attent [attend] la post de dimanje [dimanche] avec la plus grand impatience, puisque des lettres de Vienne nous prometes [promettent] des nouvelles sur [sûres].[47]

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45. Lettre de Voltaire à Madame du Deffand du 18 février 1760, dans Voltaire 1832/8 tome 58, 315–17, 315.
46. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Vienne, le 17 mars 1798 (Marr 8–15).
47. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova du 20 avril 1797 (Marr 8–27).

La correspondance de Casanova avec Cecille n'est exempte d'une certaine dimension galante: aux égards de Waldstein, Cecille admet être toujours joyeuse en pensant à lui et elle décide de répondre à Casanova qui veut savoir si cette amitié — il doit en avoir perçu le zèle excessif — se fonde sur un "bon raisonnement".[48] Cecille se confie à sa discrétion en reconnaissant qu'elle n'est pas capable de déchiffrer les sentiments qu'elle nourrit envers le comte, toutefois elle était "enflammé de la plus tendre gratitude" (Marr 8–28). Cecille admet avoir pris des renseignements sur le comte: ses passions, ses goûts, sa figure, ses manières. . . Ces mots prononcés par la personne qu'en a fait l'éloge déclenchent en Cecille l'envie de le connaître en personne, bien qu'elle ignore s'il s'agit d'"amitié, reconnoissance, amour ou un autre sentimens qui me parle pour lui" (Marr 8–28). Elle demande à Casanova, probablement pour cette raison, s'il est bien qu'elle désire le voir si ardemment. Cecille, qui ne cesse de s'encadrer dans la figure de l'écolière diligente, prétend qu'on lui montre ses fautes, pour qu'elle puisse se corriger à l'avenir; l'estime envers Casanova l'amènera à suivre ses conseils: "je ne suis ni opiniâtre ni entêté et [je] sais accepter la contraticion [contradiction] quand on l'apuis [appuie] sur des verités esenciele [essentielles]" (Marr 8–28). Cependant, à la fin de la lettre, elle demande exactement à Casanova de rapporter au comte de Waldstein qu'elle est heureuse chaque fois qu'elle pense à lui. Casanova a dû sursauter face au terme *amour*: le comte de Waldstein a quand même quarante-deux ans, il est célibataire, mais son caractère est peu adapté pour rendre heureuse une jeune fille. Par ailleurs, à ce moment-là, Casanova était outragé par la conduite d'Ernst auquel il avait adressé une lettre âpre contenant des violents reproches.[49] Il doit avoir réagi ainsi envers Cecille probablement parce qu'il se comporte réellement comme un père craignant les déceptions de sa fille. En effet, la Roggendorff se plaint des tons changés radicalement: "Mais, cruels ami, que m'avés vous dit et qu'elles affreuses verités exposés Vous à mes yeux? Vous déchirés un voile pour me desabuser sur un bonheur imaginaire qui n'ora[aura] jamais lieu, je Vous suis redevable de cette probité, mais sachés que Vous m'avés mal approfondi".[50] De manière oxymorique Casanova est défini comme un 'ami cruel' puisqu'il l'a détrompée par rapport à des bonheurs qui existaient

48. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova du 30 avril 1797 (Marr 8–28).
49. Je fais référence ici à la lettre envoyée par Casanova de Dux, le 2 juin 1797 dans Casanova 1969, 424–27.
50. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Kassovi, le 15 juin 1797 (Marr 8–112).

uniquement dans son imagination. Mais Cecille est trop accoutumée aux souffrances pour s'abandonner à des idées chimériques. Dès qu'elle a quitté le couvent, défini comme un "asile heureux séjour de l'innossance [innocence]", les vicissitudes de la vie lui ont fait bientôt comprendre qu'elle n'aurait dû chercher le bonheur en dehors d'elle-même. De plus, elle affirme avoir vu clairement les choses depuis le début, mais elle n'avait pas eu le courage de s'expliquer avec lui. Elle ne peut donc compter sur des bienfaits plus réels; probablement emporté par un sentiment de pitié, Casanova lui a manifesté ce qu'elle aurait voulu se cacher à elle-même: "soyez reconnoissante au comte de Waldstein, précisément parcequ'il ne vous a pas répondu, car s'il vous avait répondu, il n'aurait pas pu s'abstenir de vous donner de espérances, car il a le coeur excellent; mais, hélas, il vous aurait trompé!"[51] Le chevalier de Seingalt devrait au contraire la blâmer, exactement au nom de la *lex potentior*: "plaignés un panchant [penchant] que la nature a formé du quel je ne suis pas la maitresse, qui est plus fort que moi".[52]

Ce penchant est cependant de courte durée puisque Cecille apprend à son égard des propos peu flatteurs:

> Que fait la belle Comtesse? Si elle etoit telle qu'on me l'a depeint, je vouderai l'épouser. C'est à dire jolie, car, pour son morale, je la connoit très bien: elle m'a écrit 5 lettres et a cru se mettre en correspondence avec moi, mais Dieu me garde car, quoi qu'elle à de l'esprit, elle est une petite romanesque qui m'ennuit. Pour me défaire de ses importunités, j'ai engagé et ordonné à Casanova, qui conduit toutes mes correspondence, de lui écrire et il me communique toutes ces lettres; pour son frère, le gueux qui vit de mes bienfaits, c'est le plus grand vorien [vaurien] qui puisse. . . .[53]

Non seulement Ernst a perdu sa réputation, mais Cecille a pu se rendre compte que l'idée donnée par Casanova du caractère du comte de Waldstein n'était pas si mensongère: "j'etoit loin de le croire aussi vil, aussi bas. Cependant il a promis à la même dame de venir surement à Cassovie

51. Lettre de Giacomo Casanova à Cecille von Roggendorff de Dux, le 12 mai 1797 (Marr 40–3).
52. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Kassovi, le 15 juin 1797 (Marr 8–112).
53. Lettre de Cecille von Roggendorff à Giacomo Casanova de Sarkösz, le premier août 1797 (Marr 8–29).

pour me voir, tachés de l'en depersuader, car j'ai si peu d'envie de le voir que de l'épouser" (Marr 8–29).

Cecille reste comme dame d'honneur à la cour du duc Pierre de Curlande moins d'une année, avant de rentrer à Vienne. Le 12 juillet 1802, elle épousera le comte Antal Batthyani-Straettman (1762–1828) et le couple aura quatre enfants: Gusztav (1803), Filippin (1805), Kazmer (1807) e Eleonora (1808). L'époux de la princesse Clary, le comte Charles Clary, postilla, le premier décembre 1814, la mort de Cecille (survenue le 27 novembre) dans son journal avec ces mots:

> Madame Fuchs etoit très jolie. Elle avoit sur la tête un magnifique diadème extremement large appartenant a cette pauvre madame Battyany morte il y a 3 jours. Lorsque madame Fuchs l'avoit demandé, sans doute la pauvre femme vivoit encore, mais il y avoit quelque chose de cruel a le voir sur cette tête aujourd'hui. Il me paroit qu'a la place de madame Fuchs j'aurois mieux m'en passer et avec un peu moins de diamants sur le corps.

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How Should One Read "The Reader"?

New Approaches to Virginia Woolf's Late Archive

Joshua Phillips

Abstract

In the final months of her life, Virginia Woolf worked on two projects. One was the posthumously published novel Between the Acts *(1941). The other was a literary-historical project, which she provisionally titled "Turning the Page" or "Reading at Random", but which is now known by the dual titles "Anon" and "The Reader". Although published in a 1979 eclectic edition, these documents have received little critical attention. This article proposes three novel approaches to this archive of documents. The first takes up the methodology proposed by Woolf's original titles and reads a single folio of this project at random, paying close material attention to what is on both sides of Woolf's typescript page. The second approach expands on the materialist slant of the first approach and offers an anatomy of this archive, while the third approach expands on my previous discussion of cataloging and classification, in order to sketch out a historiography of Woolf's late archive.*

In the final months of her life, Virginia Woolf worked simultaneously on two projects that she would not live to see published. The better known of the two became the novel *Between the Acts* (1941), edited and published posthumously by her husband Leonard Woolf. In the introduction to his innovative edition of the novel, Mark Hussey observes that *Between the Acts* is "not usually considered among the well-known unfinished works of modernism" (in Woolf 2011, xxxix).[1] He collocates Woolf's 1941 novel with Ezra Pound's *Cantos*, Antoni Gaudi's Sagrada Familia and Walter Benjamin's Arcades project. Still less well known is the work of literary history she had started but would never finish. This was provisionally titled "Reading at Random" or "Turning the Page" but is better known now by the dual title "Anon" and "The Reader". In editing

1. While it is customary in *Textual Cultures* to cite editions by editor rather than author; here the many editions of Virginia Woolf's work are distinguished by dates. References to Woolf are to Virginia Woolf unless otherwise noted.

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Between the Acts, Hussey undid some of Leonard Woolf's more enthusiastic emendations to Virginia Woolf's typescripts, producing an edition that hews closer to the last state of the text that Woolf herself had produced.[2] No such textual work has been undertaken with the drafts of "Anon" and "The Reader", which are published only in editions that, this article argues, are flawed. As well as discussing the published editions of the "Anon" and "The Reader" drafts and providing an introduction to the drafts themselves, this essay makes the case for a new edition of the drafts. This edition would be one that aims to be as complete as possible, that makes every page of every draft available; it would be one that aims to be as transparent as possible, that points up and explains the rationale behind every editorial intervention as far as possible. Such an edition would be unruly and contradictory, certainly, but this contradictory unruliness would be apt to the model of literary history Woolf proposes in these drafts.

Woolf wrote a number of drafts towards her literary-historical project, of which seventeen are extant. The draft pages of this project are housed in the New York Public Library's Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English Literature, where the various drafts of "Anon" are catalogued as M.45 through M.54 and the drafts of "The Reader" are catalogued as M.108 through M.113. These drafts are all written, either by hand or typewritten, on loose-leaf foolscap paper, which Woolf tended to number but not to date. In addition to these loose-leaf fragments, there is an extant draft in holograph in M.1–8, a notebook kept 1938–1939, which also contains drafts of contemporaneous essays, short stories, and portions of *Between the Acts*. I will expand on the nature of these documents in the second section of this article and will discuss their classification in the final section.

This article proposes three approaches to Woolf's final work, all premised on the materiality of the documents in her late archive. The first of these approaches is materially informed close reading. I bracket off a single folio from this project where Woolf has typed out a paragraph of "The Reader" on the back of a sheet from the drafts of *Between the Acts* and discuss the ways in which Woolf uses this folio to place "The Reader" in conversation with *Between the Acts* and the ways in which she uses this conversation to model a community of readers. The second approach expands on the materialist slant of the first and offers an anatomy of this archive, discussing the

2. The most noticeable change that Leonard Woolf made to the typescript involved italics. Leonard Woolf set all of the novel's pageant scenes in italic type where Virginia Woolf's typescript had employed roman type. Hussey's edition restores Virginia Woolf's original italicization. For more on these italics, see Hussey in Woolf 2011, lxiv–lxviii and Goldman 2013, 61.

documents Woolf left after her death and how they have been classified and cataloged in the years following her death. My third and final approach expands on my previous discussion of cataloging and classification, using Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever* (1995) as a key analytic to sketch out a historiography of Woolf's late archive. Further, I use this section of my article to point up areas of the drafts where Woolf appears to anticipate this discussion. These three approaches work alongside one another to answer the question posed in my title, "How should one read 'The Reader'?" For now, though, I want to briefly discuss present editions of Woolf's final work to help orient us in this archive.

Woolf inscribes a radical version of literary history in the draft pages of this project, but it is my contention that present editions of Woolf's project do not do justice to her final work: in 1979, some four decades before I came to this archive, Brenda Silver produced an edition of "Anon" and "The Reader" that remains the standard edition of these essays. Silver's 1979 edition of Woolf's essay is reproduced in Bonnie Kime-Scott's 1990 anthology *The Gender of Modernism*, and it also acts as a copy-text for the edition published in the last of the six-volume *Essays of Virginia Woolf* (2011).[3] Silver's edition of the essays is an eclectic one, in that it constructs a single reading text from this constellation of drafts. This edition is in many ways meticulously constructed — Woolf did not date the vast majority of the fragments, but Silver inferred a stemma for the "Anon" drafts from the slow fading of Woolf's typewriter ribbon, dividing them up into three variant traditions, A, B, and C. Silver argues that only the C variants represent the "rough draft of a completed and coherent essay" (1979, 363–64). She gestures towards a potential variorum edition that would display all versions, but instead provides a "clear" reading text as the best use of the space available to her. In privileging later and more "complete" drafts, Silver's edition of "Anon" does not reproduce material from the earliest drafts, instead presenting exclusively material from M.50 onwards — far later in the composition process.

Silver's 1979 edition does not preserve what Edward Bishop in a 2002 paper calls the "wildness" of Woolf's drafts (154). This "wildness" is both generative and speaks to Woolf's generative writing process — these draft fragments do not just describe literary history but rather document Woolf's attempt to work through literary history. Although these fragments are not strictly speaking in Woolf's hand, being typed, they constitute what Hans

3. In an introductory note the volume editor Stuart N. Clarke writes that he is "indebted to Professor Silver's scholarship and [has] followed her reconstruction"; see Woolf 1986–2011a, 6: 580.

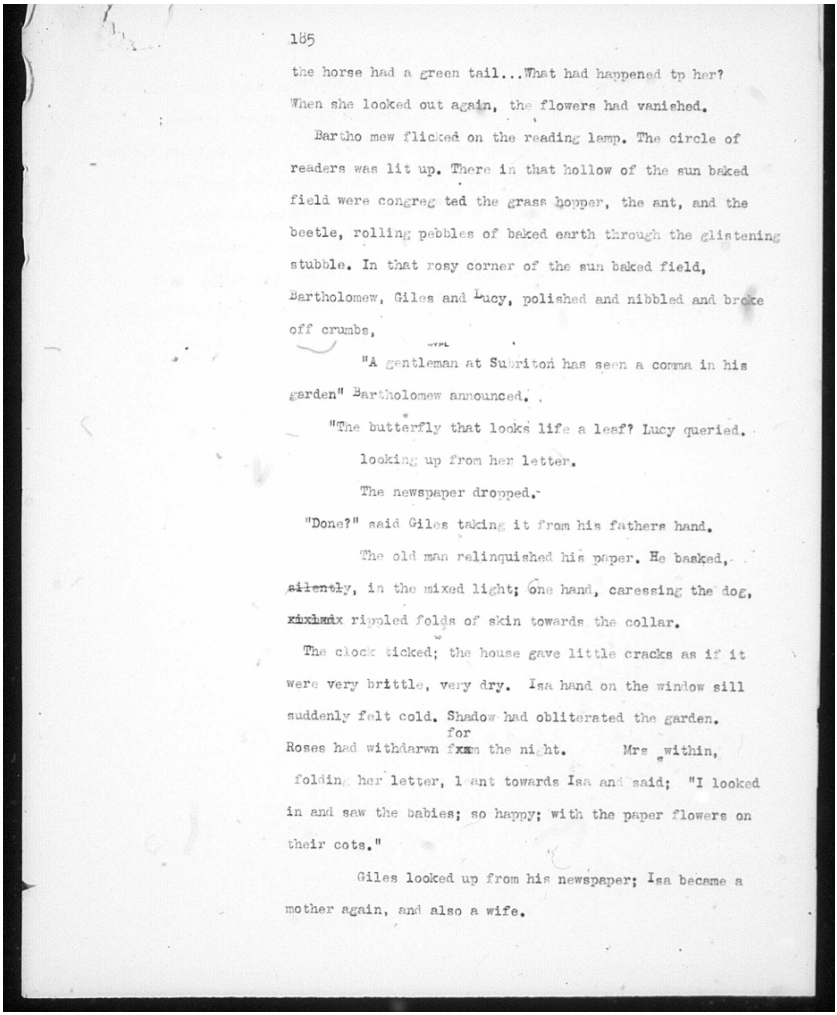
Walter Gabler calls, after Nelson Goodman, "autographic" documents, which are the "material manifestation of writing [. . .] in draft manuscripts" (Gabler 2018, 214). Autographic writing, composition, and drafting, finds a counterpart in "allographic" writing, which inscribes a text for reading, whether as a second draft, a proof or galley, or a published text. Autographic writing is not "vectored" in the same way that allographic writing is. Gabler writes that "the prime function of draft documents and the writing in them is not to record text for reading" as an allographic document does, but rather is to "record, support, and engender further composition" (2018, 211). Being autographic, these documents bear the material traces of Woolf's process of composition, of creative writing, and of working through her radical vision of literary history. I contend that any reading done in Woolf's late archive necessarily has to be of a materialist bent in order to account for the autographic nature of Woolf's final project. The section that follows is an attempt to model such a practice of reading, examining one single folio from a fragment of "The Reader" where Woolf recycles older paper to write her literary-historical project and where she writes back to her substrate.

Approach I — The Fragment and the Substrate

This section of the article turns to one particular folio in Woolf's late archive, a single sheet of loose-leaf paper filed as part of M.111, to illustrate what is at stake when reading in this archive. The folio is typed on both sides, and both sides are reproduced here as Figures 1 and 2 (see below).[4] On one side, in faint type, is p. 185 (numbered by Woolf) of the typescript of *Between the Acts*. On the other side of the page, in darker type, is a single paragraph collected as part of the drafts of "The Reader". That this paragraph is written in darker type indicates Woolf changed her typewriter ribbon before writing it, and Silver proposes that Woolf did so at some point between December 1940 and February 1941 (1979, 363). However, as neither side of the page bears a date, beyond this most basic of insights we cannot know for sure what the timeline for the dual composition of this folio was from the evidence presented to us by the folio itself; nor can we know what else Woolf was doing while she typed the paragraph from "The Reader". Perhaps Woolf wrote this paragraph of "The Reader" while re-typing *Between the Acts*, or perhaps she used a stack of already superceded

4. Transcriptions of these documents appear later in this section of the article.

pages from an earlier draft of *Between the Acts* to type out her literary-historical project. We cannot know for sure, and I do not consider the precise timeline crucial to my analysis in this portion of the article; precise dates and timelines, insofar as they can be determined, will become important in the second and third portions of the article, but for now I wish to bracket off such questions and instead attend to this single folio.



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the horse had a green tail...What had happened to her? When she looked out again, the flowers had vanished.

Bartho mew flicked on the reading lamp. The circle of readers was lit up. There in that hollow of the sun baked field were congreg ted the grass hopper, the ant, and the beetle, rolling pebbles of baked earth through the glistening stubble. In that rosy corner of the sun baked field, Bartholomew, Giles and Lucy, polished and nibbled and broke off crumbs.

"A gentleman at Subriton has seen a comma in his garden" Bartholomew announced.

"The butterfly that looks life a leaf? Lucy queried.

looking up from her letter.

The newspaper dropped.

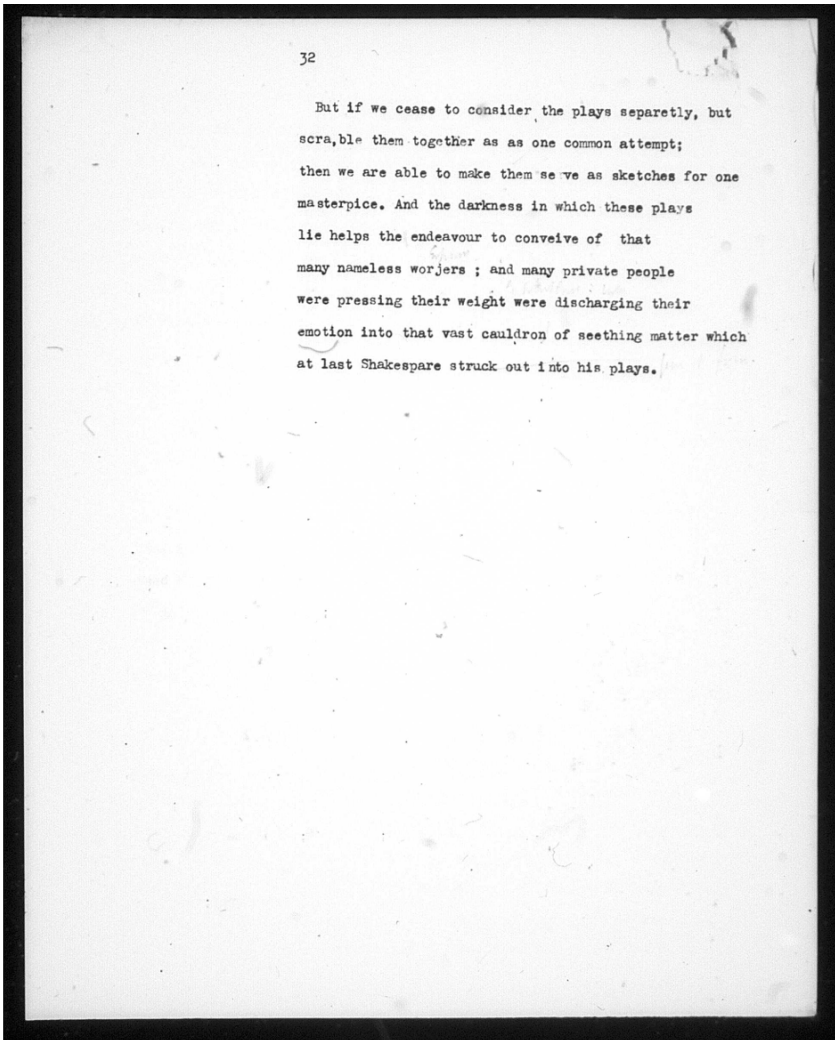
"Done?" said Giles taking it from his fathers hand.

The old man relinquished his paper. He basked, ~~silently~~, in the mixed light; one hand, caressing the dog, ~~xixhaix~~ rippled folds of skin towards the collar.

The clock ticked; the house gave little cracks as if it were very brittle, very dry. Isa hand on the window sill suddenly felt cold. Shadow had obliterated the garden. Roses had withdarwn for the night. Mrs within, folding her letter, l ant towards Isa and said; "I looked in and saw the babies; so happy; with the paper flowers on their cots."

Giles looked up from his newspaper; Isa became a mother again, and also a wife.

Figure 1. Virginia Woolf. 1940–1. M.111: Typescript Draft of "The Reader", Berg Coll. MSS Woolf, Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English Literature, New York Public Library. Set III, p. 32, verso. © Society of Authors.



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But if we cease to consider the plays separetly, but scra,ble them together as as one common attempt; then we are able to make them se ve as sketches for one masterpice. And the darkness in which these plays lie helps the endeavour to conveive of that many nameless worjers ; and many private people were pressing their weight were discharging their emotion into that vast cauldron of seething matter which at last Shakespare struck out into his plays.

Figure 2. Virginia Woolf. 1940–1. M.111: Typescript Draft of "The Reader", Berg Coll. MSS Woolf, Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English Literature, New York Public Library. Set III, p. 32, recto. © Society of Authors.

My analysis of this folio, however, begins not with a reading of what is typed on the paper, but with a discussion of the substrate Woolf used: of Woolf's paper. The English word "substrate" derives from the term "substratum" which itself is borrowed from an identical Latin term meaning "underlying layer" or "background". The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists an

array of possible senses in which the English word "substratum" has been used: it is the "underlying principle on which something is based; a basis, a foundation, a bedrock"; it is used in philosophical discourse (including in Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*) to indicate a "permanent underlying thing or essence in which properties inhere"; it is used in geology to indicate an "underlying stratum", especially one that lies "beneath the soil or any other surface feature"; it is used in linguistics to indicate a "language spoken in a particular area at the time of the arrival of a new language, and which has had within that area a detectable influence on the elements or features of the new language". In *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (1995), Jacques Derrida notes that the term "substrate" indicates a certain temporal and ontological priority, a certain directionality, a model of influence. The substrate lies beneath and comes first. He writes that the "figure" of the substrate "marks the properly *fundamental* assignation of our problem, the problem of the fundamental. Can one imagine an archive without foundation, without substrate, without substance, without subjectile?" (1995, 26–7). Derrida figures the substrate as a material surface on which inscriptions are made but, crucially this surface is not secondary to the marks made on it. Rather, the substrate makes writing possible and conditions the form that writing can take. And just as it makes writing possible and conditions its form, it makes possible and conditions later encounters with that writing: Derrida writes that "the technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future" (1995, 17). The medium is the message, certainly, but the medium also conditions the ways in which later readers can understand the message.

In one sense, the substrate Woolf uses is hardly remarkable: she types on generic loose-leaf foolscap paper. But in another, it is remarkably specific: she types on generic loose-leaf foolscap paper on which she has already typed out a significant portion of a draft of *Between the Acts*. This portion of the draft of *Between the Acts* becomes the substrate for Woolf's writing on literary history, supporting it and conditioning it. The typescript page from the *Between the Acts* draft reads as follows:

> the horse had a green tail. . . What had happened tp her?
> When she looked out again, the flowers had vanished.
> Bartholo mew flicked on the reading lamp. The circle of
> readers was lit up. There in that hollow of the sun baked
> field were congregated the grass hopper, the ant, and the

beetle, rolling pebbles of baked earth through the glistening
stubble. In that rosy corner of the sun baked field,
Bartholomew, Giles and Lucy, polished and nibbled, and broke off crumbs,
"A gentleman at Subriton has seen a comma in his
garden" Bartholomew announced.
"The butterfly that looks life a leaf? Lucy queried,
looking up from her letter.
The newspaper dropped.
"Done?" said Giles taking it from his fathers hand.
The old man relinquished his paper. He basked,
silently, in the mixed light; one hand, caressing the dog,
xixlxcx rippled folds of skin towards the collar.
The clock ticked; the house gave little cracks as if it
were very brittle, very dry. Isa hand on the window sill
suddenly felt cold. Shadow had obliterated the garden.
Roses had withdrawn for the night. Mrs Swithin,
folding her letter, l ant towards Isa and said; "I looked
in and saw the babies; so happy; with the paper flowers on
their cots."
Giles looked up from his newspaper; Isa became a
mother again, and also a wife.[5]

(Woolf 1940–1c, set 3, p. 32, verso)

The sentence that opens this folio is present in both this autographic draft passage and its allographic, published counterpart. I do not intend to trace the development of this sentence through to its published version beyond noting that the sentence is equally allusive in both published and draft versions. In both states of the text, Woolf makes an allusion not to another literary text but to a current event. The "horse with a green tail" refers to the rape of a fourteen-year-old girl by a guard at Whitehall in June 1938. The guard had lured her into the barracks in Horse Guards Parade, where the arch the reader imagines is located, by promising to show her a horse with a green tail. The rapists were tried and the trial was reported in the London *Times* on 28 and 29 June 1938 ("Three Troopers on Trial"; "Two Troopers Found 'Guilty'"). A second trial took place in July 1938.

5. It is worth mentioning at this juncture that I reproduce Woolf's spelling mistakes and typos here, and hopefully without adding any of my own, and only seek to add clarifications where I believe they are helpful. However, for a more thorough theorization of the Woolfian spelling mistake, and the editorial act of correction, see Randall 2015.

The defendant this time was Sir Aleck Bourne, who was charged with the "unlawful use of an instrument" in order to "procure a miscarriage of a woman" — or to use modern terminology, performed an abortion. The woman was the girl who was raped by the troopers. At the time, abortion was only legal in order to "save the life of the mother" or to "save the life of the child" ("Charge Against Surgeon"). Bourne successfully argued that the abortion was necessary to preserve the health of the girl, "in order to save her from mental collapse", and was acquitted ("Surgeon Found 'Not Guilty'"). The case became a test case, setting precedent until 1967 (Clarke 1990, 4).

Returning to the folio in Woolf's archive and reading on, we find that this moment of intertextuality is part of a wider scene of reading, and that this moment models a community of readers. As Bartholomew turns on the reading lamp, "The circle of readers was lit up" (Woolf 1940–41c, set 3, p. 32, verso, ll. 3–4). The presence not just of a single reader but of a reading collective is disclosed and given form at this moment. At this point, the narrator's gaze expands to encompass the "hollow of the sun baked field" (Woolf 1940–41c, set 3, p. 32, verso, l. 4) that Pointz Hall, the grand house that is the scene for *Between the Acts*, sits in. Pointz Hall is surrounded by "congregated" insect life, "the grass hopper, the ant, and the beetle, rolling pebbles of baked earth through the glistening stubble" (Woolf 1940–41c, set 3, p. 32, verso, ll. 6–7). The bugs' labor is not dissimilar to that of Bartholomew, Giles, and Lucy who "polished and nibbled and broke off crumbs" (Woolf 1940–41c, set 3, p. 32, verso, l. 8). Are this folio's bugs here drawn into the circle of readers, or is the readerly labor of Bartholomew, Giles, Isa, and Lucy rendered insectile? Bartholomew then announces the presence of another insect with a distinctly textual and typographic name, a "comma". Lucy glosses this as a "butterfly that looks [like] a leaf" (Woolf 1940–1c, set 3, p. 32, verso, ll. 9–11). Whether she means a leaf from a plant or a leaf of paper is unclear. A newspaper then drops — whether this is the same newspaper Giles takes from his father's hand is not stated.

His hands no longer holding the newspaper, Bartholomew then caresses the dog's neck, "rippl[ing] folds of skin towards the collar" (Woolf 1940–41c, Set III, p. 32, verso, l. 16–17). Again, we encounter a slippage between the human and the non-human akin to the moment earlier in the page where the readers' work becomes insectile and the insects' labor becomes readerly. Woolf says that Bartholomew's hand caresses the dog but stops short of saying that this act of caressing is what ripples skin towards the collar. As readers we once again encounter a moment of indecision — are these folds of skin furry canid skin or hairless hominid skin? And is the

collar the sort that a dog wears or is it the collar of a human's shirt? This moment of slippage is all too brief, however. As Mrs Swithin enters and starts to discuss the babies in their cots, Isa becomes "a mother again, and also a wife" (Woolf 1940–41c, Set III, p. 32, verso, l. 25–26). However, neither Isa nor Mrs Swithin are depicted looking after the infants here. Mrs Swithin looks in on them and reports to Isa: we do not learn who takes care of them in their cots, who has placed the paper flowers upon the cots, who keeps them fed and happy. The page ends, then, with a jerk back to the anthropocentric, and from the possibility (however brief) of a pan-species collective of canid/insectile/human reading laborers to the striated economies of human reproductive labor.

Turning the page literally and metaphorically from one scene of reading to another, on the other side of the page I have been discussing is a single typed paragraph. Neither side bears a date but the fact that the *Between the Acts* side is in lighter type than "The Reader" side indicates that the *Between the Acts* text was composed later. The paragraph of "The Reader" reads as follows:

> But if we cease to consider the plays separetly, but scra, ble them together as one common attempt; then we are able to make them serve as sketches for one masterpiece. And the darkness in which these plays lie helps the endeavour to conveive of that many nameless worjers ; and many private people were pressing their weight were discharging their emotion into that vast cauldron of seething matter which at last Shakespeare struck out into his plays.
>
> (Woolf 1940–1c, set 3, p. 32, recto)

This passage discusses Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre, the early modern drama which "at last Shakespeare struck out into his plays". Although Shakespeare is the only proper noun in this paragraph, his name is invoked not as fundamental or authoritative; rather, he appears "at last", as a culmination or summation of a long process of anonymous and coactive creation. Woolf's argument here bears more than a passing resemblance to her argument in *A Room of One's Own* (1929), that "masterpieces are not single and solitary births" but rather are "the outcome of many years of thinking in common, of thinking by the body of the people, so that the experience of the mass is behind the single voice" (Woolf 1993, 59–60). But unlike this passage in *A Room of One's Own*, this paragraph in M.111 traces a double trajectory, tracking labor both authorial and readerly. The former labor is one of "many nameless worjers ; and many private people" and is rendered in terms that are sensuous, bodily, and sexual: they press their weight, they

discharge their emotion into a "vast cauldron of seething matter" (Woolf 1940–1c, set 3, p. 32, recto).

The historic model of coactive creation in this passage is supplemented by a model of reading that allows contemporary readers to look past the singular writer of singular genius and glimpse the many nameless workers and many private people laboring in anonymity who provide the "seething matter" which Shakespeare "struck out into his plays". This present readerly labor is rendered contingent by a structure of conditionals — "But *if* we cease, to consider the plays separately, *but* scramble them together [. . .] *then* we are" (all instances of emphasis mine) — and that initial "But" reminiscent of the explosive vocative marker that opens *A Room of One's Own*. Undertaking this readerly labor requires contemporary readers (whether in Woolf's time or our own) to disabuse themselves of a model of authorship that that celebrates the author as a singular writing subject and the play as a singular dramatic object. This model does not allow for the possibility of anonymity or flux. Nor does it allow for the prospect that a literary work can be a common "endeavour" created not just by a singular named author but by "many nameless workers" whose contributions go unacknowledged but are recorded nonetheless in the form of the play-text that we receive centuries later. These "nameless" plays by "private people" remain in the "darkness", but reading these relatively unknown plays allows us to recover the anonymous voices of their co-creators.

Other fragments of "The Reader" expand on this model of authorship: briefly, Woolf posits in the "Reader" fragments that Shakespeare represents a watershed moment in the history of authorship. Prior to Shakespeare, Woolf argues, plays were influenced by their audience, who shared in their writing to a degree that was not the case after Shakespeare and after the birth of the singular author, who emerges in the later fragments of "The Reader". Rather, the co-creators of these early plays share in a common and anonymous well of emotion, "seething matter", an excess which has not been recorded directly but whose imprint is left on the plays of Marlowe, Kyd, and other such early playwrights and can be seen and felt centuries later if readers look in the right places (Woolf 1940–1c, set 3, p. 32, recto, ll. 5–6). On this side of the folio Woolf posits a model of reading that seeks to illuminate the "darkness in which these plays lie" (Woolf 1940–1c, set 3, p. 32, recto, l. 3) that is supplemented by the play of illumination that lights up the circle of readers on the folio's other side. Reading between these two scenes of readerly illumination, we find a model of readerly and writerly labor that generates a community of reader-creators that stretches across centuries and perhaps beyond the bounds of the human but is also very fragile. Here this readerly-writerly labor is couched, swaddled almost,

in conditionals as if to protect it against breakages; on the *Between the Acts* side of the page we see it broken by a snatch of dialogue from an interloper entering the circle of readers, by a glance upwards.

The language of this portion of "The Reader" with its vision of early plays as "sketches for one masterpiece" can be read alongside a discussion in "A Sketch of the Past", Woolf's draft autobiography written 1939–1940, more or less contemporaneously with *Between the Acts* and "Anon" and "The Reader", and edited and published posthumously in the collection *Moments of Being* (1st ed. 1976). One of the most striking passages in "A Sketch of the Past" details what Woolf calls "a philosophy" of hers, or

> at any rate it is a constant idea of mine; that we — I mean all human beings — are connected with this; that the whole world is a work of art; that we are parts of the work of art. *Hamlet* or a Beethoven quartet is the truth about this vast mass that we call the world. But there is no Shakespeare; there is not Beethoven; certainly and emphatically there is no God; we are the words; we are the music; we are the thing itself.
> (Woolf 1989, 81)

Although these passages display different rhetoric — the folio from M.111 is couched in an array of qualifiers and conditionals where "Sketch" is "constant", "certain", and "empathic" — they both advance a similar argument. Both "Sketch" and this portion of M.111 ask their readers to consider anonymity not as a lack of name but as something richly generative. In M.111, we are asked to "scra, ble" early plays "together as one common attempt", and as "sketches for one masterpiece". The "darkness" in which these plays "lie" is not to be mourned as a lack of knowledge but rather "helps the endeavour to conveive" of the "many nameless workers" and "many nameless people" who helped coactively shape early drama (Woolf 1940–1c, set 3, p. 32, recto). In "A Sketch of the Past", Woolf's figuration of anonymity as generative is expanded. Anonymous creation is not something that happened in the past, but rather is a continuing process in which "we — I mean all human beings" play a role (Woolf 1989, 81). The "whole world" is figured as an artistic monad, a fractal form wherein the whole inheres in each part, and each part expresses the whole. Individual works of art such as "*Hamlet* or a Beethoven quartet" express the "truth" about this work of art, but crucially "there is no Shakespeare; there is no Beethoven; certainly and emphatically there is no God" (Woolf 1989, 81). In Woolf's anonymous artistic monad, "we are the words; we are the music; we are the thing itself" (Woolf 1989, 81).

Thus far this article has focused on one single sheet of paper in Woolf's late archive and attempted a close reading of the words on that piece of paper and the substrate on which the words are written. I have contended that, within the space of this folio, Woolf's work on "The Reader" writes back to her previous work, which comes to act as a substrate, and that this act of writing back helps to further illuminate the *Between the Acts* draft's circle of readers. Now I want to expand my focus to historicize this phase of Woolf's archive. In the interest of space I do not intend to offer similarly close readings of other portions of "Anon" and "The Reader" but rather to give context to the reading I have given thus far and provide grounds for my last section, which offers a historiography of Woolf's late archive.

Approach II — Historicizing Woolf's Late Archive: What Did Woolf Write?

Woolf had been considering her literary historical project for some years: indeed, Elena Gualtieri writes of Woolf's interest in such a project as predating the earliest drafts of *Melymbrosia*, and identifies the essay "Reading" (1919) as the "remnants" of a literary historical project that "weaves together different temporal planes, from the passage of time within a day to the course of human life [. . .] interlacing these different stages with the history of English literature" (2000, 32). As early as 13 January 1932, Woolf conceived in her diary of a project that would "go through English literature like a string through cheese" (Woolf 1977–1984, 4: 63). It is unlikely that she is referring to *The Common Reader: Second Series* (1932), which would be published later that year and which was largely written by that point, but is rather more likely that she is gesturing towards a future work. Some six years later, Woolf picks up this thread once again, writing in her diary on 14 October 1938 of her intention to "collect, even bind together my innumerable T.L.S notes: to consider them as material for some kind of critical book: quotations? comments? ranging all through English lit: as I've read it & noted it during the past 20 years" (Woolf 1977–1984, 5: 180). On 12 September 1940, while "blackberrying", Woolf "conceived, or remoulded, an idea for a Common History book — to read from one end of lit. including biog; & range at will, consecutively" (Woolf 1977–1984, 5: 318).

On 23 November, Woolf's thoughts "turn, well up, to write the first chapter of the next book (nameless). Anon, it will be called" (Woolf 1977–1984, 5: 340). On 1 February 1941, Woolf wrote her confidante, the

composer Ethel Smyth, that she was "reading the whole of English Literature through". She continues: "By the time I've reached Shakespeare the bombs will be falling. So I've arranged a very nice last scene: reading Shakespeare, having forgotten my gas mask, I shall fade far away, and quite forget. . ." (Woolf 1975–1980, 6: 466). This work occupies Woolf for much of the rest of her life: on 1 March she writes again to Smyth that she is struggling with the work, telling Smyth that she is "at the moment trying, without the least success, to write an article or two for a new [third] Common Reader. I am stuck in Elizabethan plays. I cant move back or forwards. I've read too much, but not enough" (Woolf 1975–1980, 6: 475). On 8 March, she writes in her diary "Suppose, I bought a ticket at the museum; biked in daily & read history. Suppose I selected one dominant figure in every age & wrote round & about?" (Woolf 1977–1984, 5: 358). Only three weeks later, on 28 March 1941, she would take her own life.

From 24 November 1940 to her death on 28 March 1941, Woolf wrote a number of fragmentary pieces towards this Common History, ranging from two to twenty-six pages in length, although many of the fragments are just that, fragments of longer documents which are no longer extant. Some draft material is extant in holograph in a notebook kept 1938–1939, which also contains drafts of contemporaneous essays, short stories, and portions of *Between the Acts*. The remainder of the material encompassed by this project was written, either by hand or typewritten, on loose-leaf paper. Woolf tended to number these pages, which is helpful for contemporary readers in the archive, but almost never dated them, which is somewhat less helpful. Earlier fragments collected as part of "Anon" were handwritten, including the only dated fragment, while later fragments of "Anon" and the majority of the fragments designated as part of "The Reader" were typed.

Woolf collected all of these loose-leaf drafts in one of three Lifeguard Multigrip folders, somewhat like a modern-day ring binder. The first of these Woolf labelled "Turning the Page", and the folder contained an eight page holograph draft headed "Anon Introduction" (Woolf 1940–1f).[6] The document in this folder probably corresponds to M.45.[7] The second folder contained 41 typescript pages. On its front is pasted a monochrome print

6. I am grateful to Emma Davidson at the NYPL for photographing these folders for me.

7. My supposition here draws on classificatory aides produced by the auction house Sotheby's, who helped to handle the accession of Leonard and Virginia Woolf's voluminous archive following Leonard Woolf's death in 1969. I am grateful to Julie Carlsen at the NYPL's Berg Collection for sending me a copy of this aide.

of two roses lying by an urn (see Fig. 3). The number "2" is written on the urn in red ink — an ink that Woolf almost never used, indicating that it might have been written by someone other than Woolf — and on a slip of paper pasted on the spine of the folder Woolf wrote in black ink "Spare sheets T. of P." The third folder contained "c. 50" sheets of typescript, and six pages of holograph writing (Woolf 1940–1e). Woolf pasted a piece of paper on which she had written the title "Turning the Page" on the folder's spine, while on the front are pasted two pieces of paper. The topmost piece

Figure 3. Virginia Woolf. 1940–1. Multigrip Folder: "Turning the Page" (2), Berg Coll. MSS Woolf, Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English Literature, New York Public Library. © New York Public Library.

of paper bears the title "Turning the Page", while the piece of paper below bears the titles "Transformations" and "The Lectures", both written by Woolf and cancelled in blue crayon. Below that, a different hand has written "Sotheby" and the number "3" in a circle (Woolf 1940–1g). According to Berg Collection curator Julie Carlsen, who offered meticulously detailed replies to my emailed questions about these documents, this different hand most likely belonged to Trekkie Parsons, who helped to prepare the material for accession following Leonard Woolf's death (Carlsen 2020, n.p.).

In 1973, these three folders acceded to the Berg Collection. Carlsen writes that they came to the Berg "intact and were subsequently separated by Berg librarians into 'sets' of 'Anon' and 'The Reader'" (Carlsen 2020, n.p.). This separation was undertaken based on internal evidence — cataloging notes on the folders the fragments are stored in cite paper stock and Woolf's typewriter ribbon. In curating this mass of loose-leaf material, the curators identified (or perhaps created — a distinction I will discuss in the third section of this article) sixteen separate manuscripts. Ten of these, designated M.45–54, were labelled as fragments of "Anon". Of these, the first three (M.45–7) are holograph, while the rest are typescript. M.45, 48, and 50 are titled "Anon", while M.45 is the only fragment to bear a date: "Nov. 24, 1940".

Unusually for Woolf, she did not always type on fresh sheets of paper: as wartime shortages began to bite, both Woolfs found themselves short of paper. Leonard Woolf wrote of the war as a "publishing nightmare for the Hogarth Press" and noted that the "blackest spot in the nightmare, perpetually playing on our minds, was the shortage and rationing of paper" (1969, 106). Meanwhile, Virginia Woolf found herself forced to type on the backs of older documents when a fresh supply of paper was not readily accessible. One of these documents was a typescript of *Between the Acts*. This is not, in and of itself, new information: Brenda Silver mentions it in passing in the textual apparatus of her 1979 edition of "Anon", but it seems to me too simplistic to say that Woolf "tended to use the backs of discarded typescript pages when no other paper was readily available" and move on (Silver 1979, 367–68). Indeed, one of Woolf's acts of wartime recycling provided the substrate for the analysis in the first section of this article. We have seen one case in which Woolf used her later work on "The Reader" to write back to her substrate, and any one of the recycled pages in the archives of "Anon" and "The Reader" might provide the springboard for more such materially informed analysis. Two of the "Anon" fragments "dovetail", to use the original curators' phrase, with other works. The first of these is M.49 — two pages of this fragment were written on the back of

a holograph draft titled "People one wd. have liked to have met" (Woolf 1940–1a, 8–9). I have been unable to trace a print version of this work and it may exist only as part of M.49, a fragment within a fragment. The ninth page of M.54, meanwhile, is written on the back of a piece of writing that is unidentified by the Berg catalogue but that I believe to be another page of "Anon" and "The Reader".

The remaining six fragments, designated M.108–113, are cataloged as fragments towards "The Reader", although Woolf rarely uses that title herself. The only fragment that bears a title is M.111 and is divided up by the curators into three sets. Page 31 of the second set is titled "The Reader", while p. 31 of the third set is titled "Some speculations on the life of the Reader". (Woolf 1940–1c, set 2, 31; Set 3, 31). All of the "Reader" fragments are typed, save for a portion of M.109, and this set of documents is far more permeable than the earlier documents: four fragments out of the six have portions typed out on the verso of other works — including the page I discussed earlier. For instance, p. 30 of M.109 is cataloged as part of the *Between the Acts* typescripts, just as p. 185 of the *Between the Acts* typescript is cataloged as part of "The Reader", while the manuscript pages of this fragment are written on the back of typescript drafts of the 1941 essay "Mrs Thrale", the last essay Woolf would publish in her lifetime.[8] The first page of M.113 is written on the back of a typescript fragment, unidentified by the Berg curators but which Bryony Randall has identified as a page of the posthumously published short story "A Legacy" (1944).[9] There are further examples of such permeability that I have not discussed here, any of which might lend themselves to the kind of materially informed close reading I undertook in the first section of this article.

The final section of this article asks how the bibliographic detail I have spent the past few pages recounting helps us to read "The Reader". In so doing this article will sketch out a historiography of Woolf's final literary-historical project and examine a moment where Woolf anticipates such a historiography.

8. This essay was published initially in the *New Statesman and Nation* on 8 March 1941 and was later reprinted in the posthumous collection of Woolf's essays titled *The Moment and Other Essays* (1947); Cf. Woolf 1986–2011c, 4: 20–38.
9. This story fragment is not referenced by Susan Dick in her edition of Woolf's *Collected Shorter Fiction*. I am grateful to Prof. Randall for identifying this page.

Approach III: The Mediating Archive

It is now worth noting that "Turning the Page", the title Woolf had inscribed on the Multigrip folders the Berg received in 1973, has all but vanished, as has the tripartite structure of this material implied by its division into three separate folders. The Berg curators' intervention in this portion of Woolf's late archive has produced a set of documents known by the dual title of "Anon" and "The Reader", and what emerges from this intervention has come to provide the ground for virtually all later encounters with Woolf's final literary-historical project. In the opening pages of *Archive Fever* (1995), Jacques Derrida diagnoses the archive as fundamentally Janus-faced, looking simultaneously backwards in time and towards the future. He reads etymologically, noting that the word "archive" derives from the Greek word "*arkhē*", which "names at once the *commencement* and the *commandment*" (1995, 1). Derrida traces the root of the word *arkhē* to "*arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded" (1995, 2). The *arkheion* was not just the place where the law resided, but "on the account of their publicly recognised authority", it is the place where the archons' documents, official documents, are filed. The archons are "first of all the documents' guardians", but they are more than that:

> They are also accorded the hermeneutic right and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives. Entrusted to such archons, these documents in effect speak the law: they recall the law and call on or impose the law. To be guarded thus, in the jurisdiction of this *speaking the law*, they needed at once a guardian and a localization. Even in their guardianship or their hermeneutic tradition, the archives could do neither without substrate nor without residence.
>
> (Derrida 1995, 2)

The archive becomes both the place where the law begins, its point of commencement, and the place where it is spoken and interpreted, a place of commandment. But just as the archive is shaped by the immutable law of its commencement and its commandment, its relationship to the future is determined. The "technical structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content even in its very coming into existence and its relationship to the future" (Derrida 1995, 17). The archive is concerned not just with the law of the *arkhē* but constitutes the grounds for the possibility of its endurance: "The archivization produces as

much as it records the event" (Derrida 1995, 17). The archive does not just maintain traces of documents but collects and orders these documents and governs the ways in which they are intelligible.

In the case of this portion of Woolf's late archive, this is literal: I refer to "Anon" and "The Reader" as distinct sets of documents throughout this essay, but this is somewhat of a bibliographic-administrative fiction. Indeed, I am not overly convinced that there is a work called "The Reader" given that its title appears so infrequently in this archive. These documents were categorized as such several decades before I came to them, and I use the dual titles more out of convenience than to refer to two distinct works. Referring to the ways in which Silver edited the fragments I have been discussing is instructive here. In constructing her edition of "Anon", Silver interpolated one of the "Reader" fragments into her edition of "Anon" and appended significant portions from two more "Reader" fragments onto the end of her "Anon". On this basis, Silver dubbed what remained of "The Reader" a "series of beginnings, none of them clear as to where the essay, or the history, wanted to go" (1979, 363–65). The "Reader" fragments Silver interpolated into "Anon", which correspond to M.108, M.111 and M.113, fit the chronology described in "Anon" but they speak to different histories and different modes of literary production. The "Anon" fragments describe the death of the anonymous poet-singer at the hands of the printing press and the named author. Meanwhile, the "Reader" fragments delineate the slow creation of the private spectator-reader in the crucible of the nascent Jacobean and Elizabethan theatre. The two are not to be conflated.

Silver chooses to end her edition of "The Reader" with the final sentence of M.112, "We are in a world where nothing is concluded" (Woolf 1940–1d, set 3: 37). Coming to a definitive if ironized end with that statement, Silver's eclectic edition is not entirely adequate either to the content of Woolf's draft fragments, nor to their form: the form of this constellation of documents forecloses definitive conclusions and conclusivity itself. Whether she was right to do so or not, that Silver's edition does this speaks to the contingent nature of these classifications. Archival classifications both in the case of Woolf's late archive, and more broadly as Derrida argues in *Archive Fever*, generate *a* past as much as they do shelter and preserve *the* past.

Woolf points up the historiography of her literary-historical project within the typescript pages of the project itself. She discusses the structures of power that produce history and make it legible, describing in the early fragments of "Anon" a "nimbus" of interpellating forces, a "steeam of influences" (Woolf 1940–1a, 3). Woolf's typo "steeam" is instructive

here — these influences exist in a zone of undecidability between the lexis of the natural, "stream", and the lexis of the mechanical "steam", as in the steam that powers a steam engine. She gives names to these forces, dubbing them Nin, Crot, and Pully. This trio is birthed at the moment of Anon's doubtful death as Caxton prints his first pages in 1477:

> ~~But~~ +With+ the printing press ~~brought~~ +came+ into existence forces that cover over the original song — books themselves and the readers of books. If science were so advanced that we could at this moment x ray the singers mind +[*as she moved?*]+ we should find a nimbus surrounding the song; a steeam of influences. Some we can name — education; class; the pressure of society. But they are so many, and so interwoven and so obscure that it is simpler to invent for them nonsense names--- say Nin Crot and Pully. Nin Crot and Pully are always at their work, tugging, obscuring, distorting.
>
> (Woolf 1940–1a, 3–4)

Silver passes over these names rather too quickly. Nin, Crot, and Pully do not appear in the body of her addition of "Anon" but rather in the introduction, where she takes Woolf's statement that their names are "nonsense names" at face value. Silver refers to Nin, Crot, and Pully as "fanciful names for the complex of political, cultural, and personal forces that influence the writer" (1979, 360). She is right to describe them as a complex of political forces, but I want to dwell on their names for a moment in order to come to an understanding of how this complex of forces operates.

All three of Woolf's names are defined in Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, a work with which Woolf was evidently familiar — Mitchell Leaska convincingly argues for Wright's influence on Woolf's work in the 1930s and 1940s in his introduction to *The Pargiters*, his transcription of the first two manuscript volumes of the drafts of *The Years* (in Woolf 1978, xii). According to Wright's dictionary, "Nin" is a Cornish dialect verb meaning "to drink" but is also cross-referenced to "none", whose usage in various dialects bears similar valences to standard English usage (Nin). "Crot" meanwhile refers to a "dwarf" or a "boy or girl stunted in growth" but is also a "very small part" (Crot). The 1893 first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* records an older usage, however: in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "crot" was used to denote a "particle, bit, atom [or] individual piece", citing the c.1400 poem *Cursor Mundi* (crot | crote, n.). Meanwhile the *Middle English Dictionary* defines "crot" as a "lump or a clod of earth", (crōt(e n.) citing the Paston Letters, about which Woolf wrote

in her essay "The Pastons and Chaucer", published in the first *Common Reader* (1925) (Woolf 1986–2011d). Pully (or Pulley, as it is spelt in some fragments) is probably the most familiar to modern anglophone audiences. Wright defines it as the "wheel placed over a pit over which the rope for drawing coals is passed". The *OED* records historical usages dating back to the 1350s ("pulley, n.1"). Reading between these various definitions we encounter a distinctly mechanical form of control, one where the levers, wheels and "pull[e]ys" of power are in the water we "nin" and saturate every atom, every clod of earth, every single "crot".

Nin, Crot, and Pully are not directly knowable through the literature that they shape, for they are "so many", they are "so interwoven", and "so obscure". Rather, they form the ground upon which literature is written, the unspoken "forces" that "cover over the original song" (Woolf 1940–1a, 4). Woolf implies that we cannot turn to literature for a thorough reading of literature's prehistory, of the influences that pre-exist literature — certainly individual literary works and perhaps literature more broadly as an institution — and interpellate its writers as subjects. Instead we must turn to historians: "To follow his firtunes further, we must turn ~~to an outsider~~ one of those commentators who tell us so much about the invisib influences; about Nin Crot and Pulley" (Woolf 1940–1b, 4). As readers in the twenty-first century, we are, of course, subject to our own time's Nins, Crots, and Pulleys, our own invisible nimbuses of interwoven and obscure influences that shape what is written, what is read, and how we encounter it. Recovering "Anon" and "The Reader" thus constitutes not just an act of reading but an act of negotiation that is at least a double move: reading a history that seeks to account for the unrecorded excess that escapes the historian's pen — and realizing the impossibility of this task — while also simultaneously accounting for the mediations of the archive that govern how we encounter this history.

Conclusion: How Should One Read "The Reader"?

How then should one read "The Reader"? Reading in Woolf's late archive is a tall order. These documents trace a literary history which has at its heart an anonymous excess that necessarily escapes the historian's grasp but which must nonetheless be recovered, which is itself expressed in a constellation of draft fragments that simultaneously work through literary history and what it means to write a history of literature. In "How Should One Read a Book?", which was initially published in *The Yale Review* in

1926 and republished with significant emendations as the final essay of *The Common Reader: Second Series* (1932), and which is the essay that gives this article its title, Woolf asks her readers to practice an idiosyncratic and heuristic mode of reading. "The only advice", Woolf writes, "that one person can give another about reading is to take no advice, to follow your own instincts, to use your own reason, to come to your own conclusions". Rather than relying on prejudice or "heavily furred and gowned" authorities, the reader should not "dictate to your author; [but] try to become him. Be his fellow worker and accomplice" (Woolf 1986–2011b, 6: 573). In the first instance, reading — or at least reading in a Woolf-sanctioned manner — is an act of profound empathy and mutual, coactive creation premised on the reader's unconditioned encounter with the text, premised on collecting impressions prior to aesthetic judgment. If Woolf's reader opens their "mind as widely as possible, then signs and hints of almost imperceptible fineness, from the twist and turn of the first sentences, will bring [them] into the presence of a human being unlike any other" (Woolf 1986–2011b, 6: 573–74). Reading, however, is only the "first process" and readers must "pass judgment upon these multitudinous impressions; we must make of these fleeting shapes one that is hard and lasting" (Woolf 1986–2011b, 6: 579).

Woolf's 1932 essay provides a practice of reading that is almost phenomenological in its method, a method that proceeds from a reader's unconditioned encounter with the text. Woolf asks the readers of *The Common Reader: Second Series* to consider how they encounter books, specifically. The 1929 essay cites novels old and new, criticism, poetry, biography, and drama, but implicit in both the essay's title and its choice of reading is the book as material form — a codex consisting of pages with type printed on them, bound by a spine and sandwiched between covers. But my article has not overly engaged with material published in codex form. Woolf's argument in "How Should One Read a Book", by contrast, deals with allographic, published texts. This is not to say that Woolf's unconditioned encounter with the text is impossible or undesirable here. Rather, it underscores that the unconditioned encounter with the text Woolf theorizes in 1932 is conditioned by the material form of the text. What happens when we do not encounter Woolf's fleeting shapes in codex form, but rather in a constellation of draft fragments? "Anon" and "The Reader" do not present their readers with a straightforward narrative, or even a complicated narrative in a relatively straightforward format with a clear-cut path from beginning to end. So, how should one read "The Reader"?

The passage of M.111 I discussed in the first part of this article bears a vision of flux and fluidity that is apposite to the form of the "Anon" and

"The Reader" fragments more broadly, and which teaches us to read in this archive, which teaches us how one should read "The Reader". This archive is a constellation of documents which should not be read in isolation but rather viewed as "one common attempt" and perhaps even "sketches for one masterpiece" that remains stubbornly unrealized and unrealizable. And this is buttressed by Woolf's chosen substrate — a page from the typescript of *Between the Acts* that gestures outwards to the world. This folio highlights what is at stake when we read in Woolf's late archive. This article has sought to offer a historical and bibliographic overview of the "Anon" and "The Reader" fragments, and to provide a close reading of a small but richly allusive portion of this archive. In so doing I have made the case for future scholars to turn back to Woolf's final project and read it as a constellation of material objects which intersect and dovetail with each other and other works in generative ways, in ways that spark off new readings like the one I proposed in the first section of this essay, which read modes of canid/insectile/human labouring community across the drafts of *Between the Acts* and "The Reader". I further hope that I have made the case for a new edition of the "Anon" and "The Reader" fragments according to modern editorial principles, according to principles of transparency and completeness. Such an edition would be one that allows scholars who do not have access to either the Berg's holdings at the NYPL or the facsimiles of these holdings to undertake such work. There is much left to discover in Woolf's late archive, and such an edition would make this work a "common attempt".

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An Evolutionary Textual Environment

The Unfinished Machine

Manuel Portela

Abstract

This article introduces the notion of evolutionary textual environment as the outcome of a digital experiment. The experiment consisted of transforming a digital archive of Fernando Pessoa's Book of Disquiet *into a changing textual space sustained by role-playing interactions. As conceptual and technical artifact, this living archive expresses an innovative model not only for the literary acts of reading, editing and writing, but also for reimagining the book as a network of reconfigurable and dynamic texts, structures, and actions. The programmed features of the* LdoD Archive *can be used in multiple activities, including leisure reading, study, analysis, advanced research, and creative writing. Through the integration of computational tools in a simulation space, this collaborative archive provides an open exploration of the procedurality of the digital medium itself. The "unfinished machine" metaphor suggests the open-endedness both of the evolving textual environment and of the computational modeling of literary performativity that sustains the whole experiment.*

1. A Digital Humanities Experiment

> Can we conceive of models of interface that are genuine instruments for research? That are not merely queries within pre-set data that search and sort according to an immutable agenda? How can we imagine an interface that allows content modeling, intellectual argument, rhetorical engagement?
>
> —Drucker 2013, §34

The experiment briefly described in this article is an attempt to answer the challenges posed by textual modeling and interface design according to humanistic principles.[1] The work known as Fernando

1. The first version of this text was presented at the MLA 2020 convention in Seattle, on January 10, 2020. This panel (382. "Architextures of Knowledge"), which was presided by Jerome J. McGann on behalf of the Society for Textual

Pessoa's *Book of Disquiet* has been the point of departure for engaging with "a performative approach to materiality and the design of an interpretative interface" (Drucker 2013, §37). As a digital humanities experiment, the *LdoD Archive* is informed, among other things, by the complexities of poststructuralist critical theories, systems theory, software studies, and materialities of literature. Rather than just a functional artifact or an operational platform — produced according to representational models of literary textuality and engineering principles of transparent human-computer interaction —, it is a conceptual and technical experiment that can be described as an evolutionary textual environment (Portela 2019, 98).

After six years of software development and textual encoding, the *LdoD Archive: Collaborative Digital Archive of the Book of Disquiet* was finally published, in December 2017, as a free online resource (Portela and Rito Silva 2017, https://ldod.uc.pt/). At once textual archive and textual machine, the multifunctional and multilayered digital artifact that we published on the web had evolved into something quite different from what I had been able to conceive when the first ideas were set to paper. In April 2009, I wrote down for the first time the title for what would turn out to be a decade-long research project: "No Problem Has a Solution: A Digital Archive of the *Book of Disquiet*". The phrase "No Problem Has a Solution" is the English translation of the incipit from one of the fragments belonging to Fernando Pessoa's *Livro do Desassossego* [*Book of Disquiet*]. I came to the project title entirely by chance: a series of autograph notebooks by Pessoa had just been made freely available, as digital facsimile images, through the Portuguese National Library digital collection. After searching for "L. do D." within the metadada for those notebooks, I discovered the facsimile of notebook 144D(2), and then browsed it until I came to folio 135r, and read the handwritten text dated 18-7-1916 (see Fig. 1):

> No problem has a solution. None of us can untie the Gordian knot; either we give up or we cut it. We brusquely resolve intellectual problems with our feelings, either because we're tired of thinking, or because we're afraid to draw conclusions, or because of an inexplicable need to latch on to something, or because of a gregarious impulse to return to other people and to life. Since we can never know all the factors that a problem entails, we can never solve it.

Scholarship, also included Marta L. Werner ("Editing Dickinson's 'Master' Documents in a New Hour") and Ryan Cordell ("Speculative Bibliography"). I am grateful for their comments. I would also like to acknowledge comments made by the audience during the discussion.

> To arrive at the truth we would need more data, along with the intellectual resources for exhaustively interpreting the data.
>
> (Zenith 2002, Text 333[2])

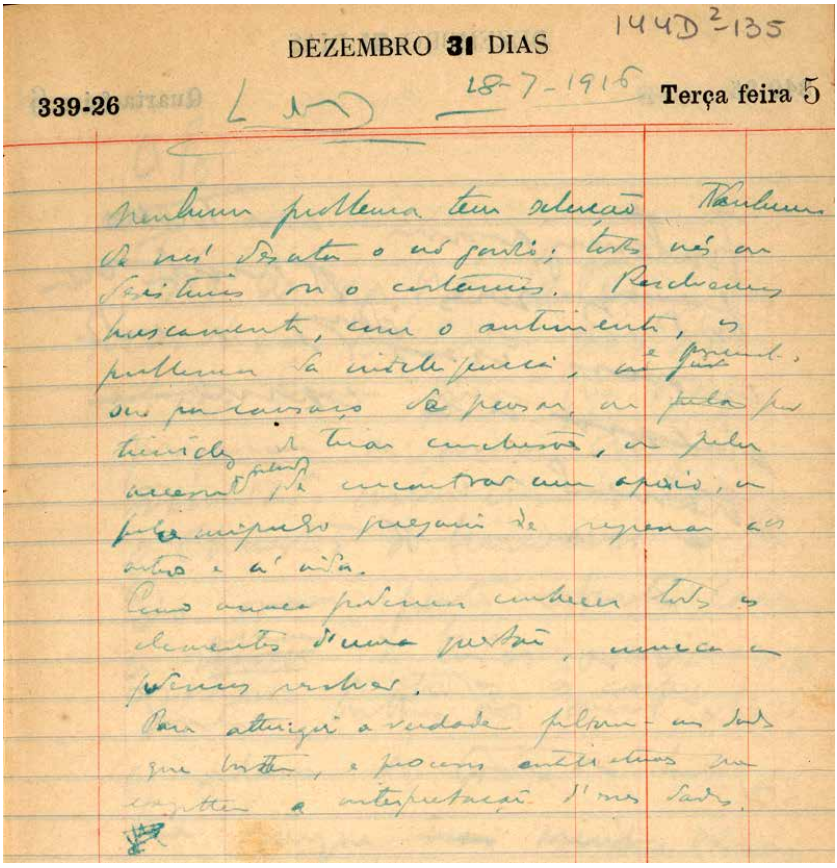

144D 2-135
DEZEMBRO 31 DIAS
339-26
18-7-1916
Terça feira 5

Figure 1. Autograph manuscript containing a piece for the *Book of Disquiet,* included in notebook 144D(2) –135r. "L. do D. 18-7-1916 Nenhum problema tem solução". BN reference for the digital facsimile: bn-acpc-e-e3-144d2_0351_135r_t24-C-R0150. © National Library of Portugal. Reprinted with permission.

Pessoa's reflection (or rather, the reflection of the first heteronym he created for this particular work) about the impossibility of pursuing a course of

2. Texts in Richard Zenith's English E-PUB edition will be referenced by their number (not by page number).

inquiry to its ultimate consequences, and the somewhat uncanny use of the notion of *data interpretation*, resonated with my own sense that digital mediation of textual processes offered unchartered possibilities asking for further conceptual and technical exploration. So this textual fragment was unconsciously invested with an allegorical and speculative significance for the entire enterprise: it was both a material instance of textual processes in the *Book of Disquiet* whose digital remediation posed challenging intellectual problems, and a philosophical comment on the impossibility of thinking problems through towards some satisfactory solution.

Somehow, the phrase "no problem has a solution" implied the need for an entirely open-ended artefactual inquiry into the nature of reading, editing, writing and digital materiality which could use the textual space of this particular work to produce a more general model of literary action. Or, in another equally appropriate implication, the inevitability of failure. Given the technical and conceptual difficulties I anticipated and given the uncertain outcome of our efforts, the building of this archive could turn out to be a generator of unsolvable problems. Besides, the co-occurrence of the tokens "problem", "solution", and "data" provided yet another layer of meaning, in which this piece of text could be read in parodic relation to the typical vocabulary of software engineering. Its resonance thus extended from the material level of autograph inscription to the philosophical and literary level of meaning production, and to the methodological level of computational parsing and processing. Which were the problems that could only not be solved?

My interest in digital editing had started in the early 2000s when I began looking at and working with various digital literary archives that were under development since the mid-1990s. Those early projects were addressing the problem of reediting literary works by adapting established principles of critical and documentary editing in print media to the hypertext and hypermedia capabilities of the networked computer. Computational advances were changing the technologies and practices of textual production and reproduction. Digital editors used those changes not only for migrating the archive of literary production to the new medium, but also for testing forms of textual encoding made according to specific editorial theories, such as genetic criticism or social editing. Although their initial focus was on making accessible and linkable many different types of source materials in verbal and visual media, research gradually shifted to explore other possibilities created by the machine-readability of digitized texts and, later, by the collaborative and socialized processes of the evolving ecology of the web.

It was within this technical and intellectual context that I began to look for a work that would sustain a set of relevant literary interrogations related to material and social processes of textual mediation. As an unfinished modular work composed of an open set of a few hundred witnesses in various stages of completion, the *Book of Disquiet* seemed the most likely candidate for making a new experiment in digital critical editing. Its modular and fragmentary structure matched the modular nature of digital objects. Furthermore, the *Book of Disquiet* is a major literary achievement of modernist awareness of the self, representative of Pessoa's writing practice and of European modernism, and it continues to interest all kinds of contemporary readers. It is the most often quoted text by Pessoa on the internet, as well as his most translated work worldwide. Material form and literary significance thus came together in justifying this choice.

When I started working on the project, it was mostly as a metaeditorial representation of four versions of the *Book of Disquiet*, which would allow interactors to automatically compare them against the autograph sources and against each other at the micro-scale of textual transcription and at the macro-scale of bibliographic structure. The focus would be placed on representing the processuality of editing rather than making a claim for an improved, definitive or final edition of the work. The archive would be data modeled in ways that would give us a sense of the authorial and social processes of textual production that resulted in several versions of the work. This was the version of the project that was written into the original February 2011 application for funding.[3]

Once we started working, in March 2012, the concept of the archive gradually morphed into the concept of the dynamic archive and, soon after that, of the literary simulator (Portela 2017). By early 2013 all of the dynamic functionalities had subsumed the initial archival metaeditorial logic, which by then had been reconceived as one set of functions among several other functionalities to be programmed into the ongoing literary machine. For five years we continued to develop both the critical editing

3. This project was selected for funding by the Portuguese national research agency (FCT — Foundation for Science and Technology), and the *LdoD Archive* was developed by a team of literary and computer researchers between 2012 and 2017. The first release of the *LdoD Archive* was launched on December 14, 2017. New content and new functionalities have been developed since then. Future releases with added layers of virtualization, simulation and analysis are scheduled for the coming years. The source code of the *LdoD Archive* is available here: https://github.com/socialsoftware/edition. For a detailed bibliography of the project see: https://ldod.uc.pt/about/articles/?lang=en.

and metaediting component, on the one hand, and the interactive simulation component, on the other. Each of those components was refined and integrated into a common textual space which was intended to model literary performativity beyond the bibliographic horizon. The *Book of Disquiet* thus became a digital literary space for probing textual processuality in general. It was as if the data processing of this particular work had opened up the entire field of literary performance.[4]

The notions of literary simulation and evolutionary textual environment were unintended creative outcomes of this project, two artefactual embodiments of the intersection between scholarly practice and literary imagination. Conceived as a metaeditorial archive containing several editorial versions of Fernando Pessoa's unfinished work *Book of Disquiet*, the project evolved into a new kind of conceptual and technical artifact, which I now see, in retrospect, as both a scientific and literary invention. Many threads of ideas have fed into this invention, among which I highlight the following: the hypertext rationale for electronic editing as theorized and put to practice by Jerome McGann and other digital critical editors in the 1990s and 2000s (McGann 2001, 2006); the notion of performative materiality as expressed in Johanna Drucker's analyses of codependence between material form and interpretative action (Drucker 2009); John Cayley's creative and critical explorations of programmability and reading, recently synthesized in the concept of grammalepsy (Cayley 2018).

The notion of evolutionary textual environment refers to its evolving structure and functionalities as the researchers continue to experiment with what is possible in this medium, on one hand, and to the changes in its content and uses as interactors perform their various actions according to a role-playing rationale, on the other. The dynamic and socialized functions of the *LdoD Archive* offer an interpretative interface through which subjects are asked to see how their actions are constitutive of the textual environment itself. In this reading-editing-writing space, the conditions of production and reception of the web have been integrated into the ecology of its literary and computational form. The *LdoD Archive* changes its content and the relations among its elements as interventions by this community of users modify the configuration of its textual space over time.

Not only are interactors invited to see the processuality of reading, editing, and writing as it is being presented from multiple perspectives through the *LdoD Archive*'s contents and functions, but they can also experiment with their own acts of reading, editing, and writing by inscribing them into the system. The system evolves as those inscriptions and its analyses

4. A general theory of the *LdoD Archive* can be found in Portela 2022.

of the interactions are iteratively used for changing and adapting its own affordances and constraints. The double rationale of our modeling of literary performativity — as both representation and simulation — generates an evolutionary textual environment, whose content and structure evolve to register the interventions of its interactors and foster their creativity.

This evolutionary textual environment is the unanticipated result of the attempt to offer a theoretical and computational answer to the question "what is the *Book of Disquiet*?" The project was triggered by the initial desire to model the relation between two answers to that question: first, it is an unfinished work, composed of a semi-determined set of modular texts in various stages of composition; secondly, it is also a set of specific editions that have used diverse criteria for transcription, selection and organization of their texts. Once we began to model the relation between those two perspectives, our focus shifted from representing the actuality of those relations as documented in the work's authorial and editorial archive to simulating the processes through which a work becomes a work. These processes were referred to, in the redesigned model, as literary performativity, by which I mean the set of material and social processes that sustain the production of literary meanings, forms and experiences. These processes have been abstracted as reader-function, editor-function, author-function

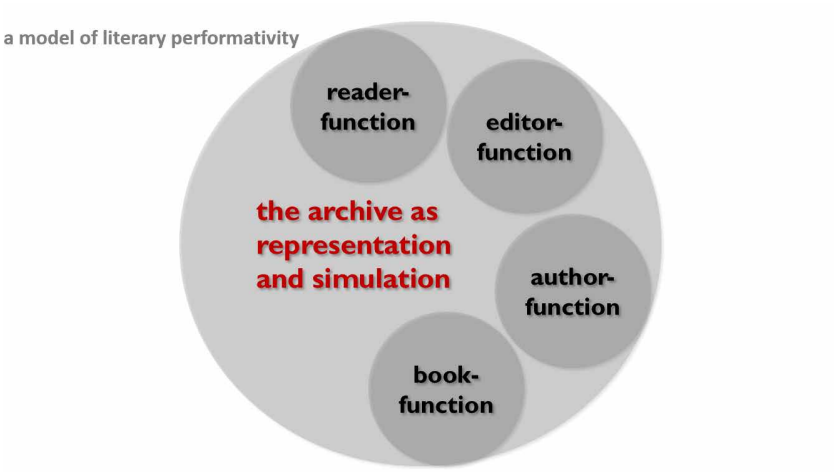


Figure 2. Literary performativity as a network of role-playing actions.

and book-function (see Fig. 2).

The *LdoD Archive* gradually morphed into a far more complex imaginary creature, whose main goal is to develop a data model and a series of functionalities that are able to express the relation between a representation layer and a simulation layer in ways that address an additional set of fundamental questions: how can we represent and simulate the processuality of the book under construction (as both material production and conceptual operator)? And how can we represent and simulate the processuality of the acts involved in its construction, such as reading, editing, and writing? Each of those dimensions of performativity are modeled as representations: writing acts by encoding the *Book of Disquiet* as set of autograph materials; editing acts by encoding the *Book of Disquiet* as set of expert editions of

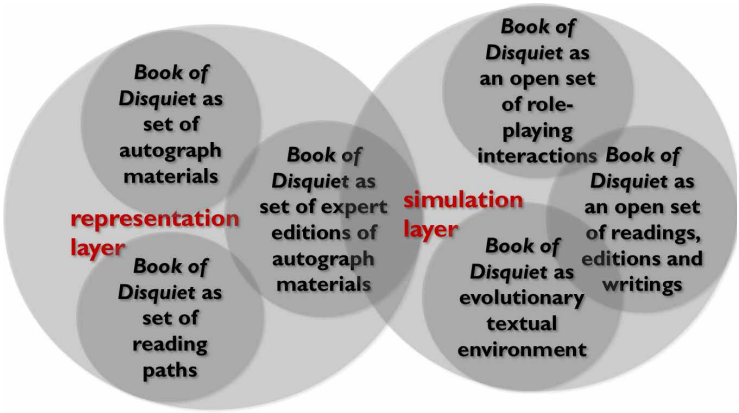


Figure 3. Layers of representation and simulation in the *LdoD Archive*.

autograph materials; reading acts by showing the *Book of Disquiet* as set of actual reading paths.

At the same time, the simulation of those actions as a range of possibilities requires them to be experienced through interventions on the textual materials that feedback onto the representational layer (see Fig. 3). Modeled through this simulation layer, the *Book of Disquiet* within the *LdoD Archive* is transformed into an open set of role-playing interactions — that is, as an open set of readings, editions, and writings — and, ultimately, as an evolutionary textual environment (including its own source code). Insofar as the contents and structure of the system respond to the ongoing actions of its subjects, the processuality and performativity of those literary actions are experienced as constitutive of the system. Given that reading, editing, and writing have been conceived to explore a wide range of human-only,

machine-assisted, human-assisted, and machine-only interactions, the model can also be understood as an experimental digital environment in which a large suite of digital tools can be adapted, used and transformed (see Fig. 4).

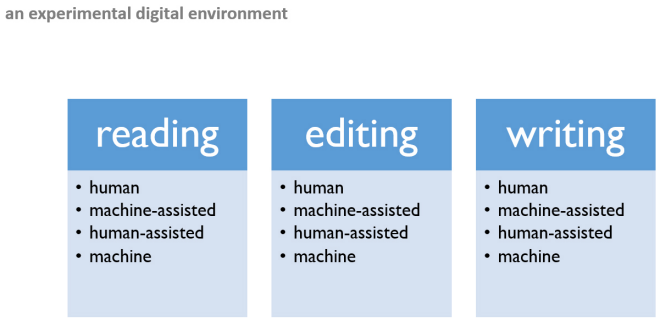


Figure 4. From manual-only to fully algorithmic: an experimentation with the digital medium.

Interactors experience their actions not only as a series of textual possibilities that emerge from a range of predefined values and parameters, but also as an open exploration of literary performativity itself. According to its simulation rationale, each output is the result of a collaborative action in which the algorithmic production of the system is modified by intentions and procedures of the interactor. Outputs — whether taking the form of

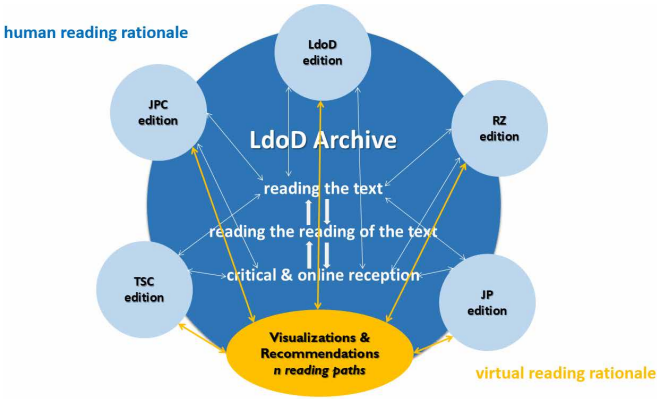


Figure 5. From human-assisted and machine-assisted human reading to human-assisted and machine-assisted virtual reading.

reading trails, edited sequences, classification taxonomies, macro-visualizations or new texts — are not entirely determined by the system's internal logic since they will capture the human processing of its programmed processing.

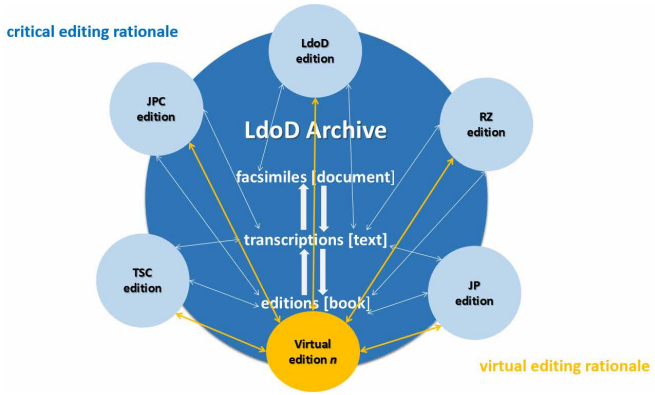
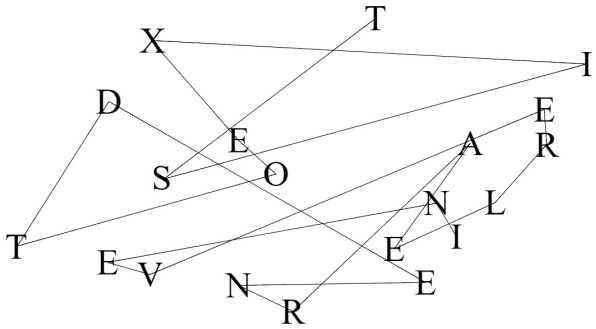


Figure 6. From human-assisted and machine-assisted critical editing to human-assisted and machine-assisted virtual editing.

Figure 7. Human-assisted virtual writing.



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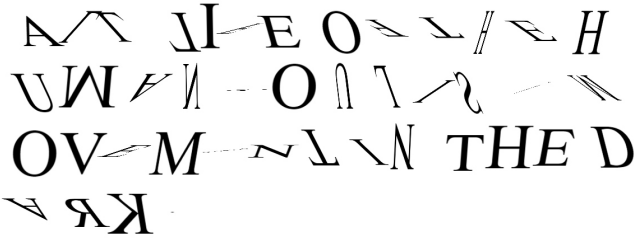

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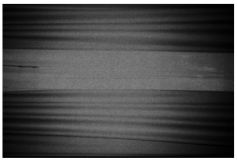

We get tired of everything except of understanding.

IM01 MACHINES OF DISQUIET F T →

Figure 8. Machine-assisted virtual writing. Luís Lucas Pereira, *Machines of Disquiet* (2014–2018). http://mofd.dei.uc.pt/

This openness of the *LdoD Archive* to the interpretative action of its users takes place at two entangled levels. On one level, interpretative action happens according to flexible and shifting perspectives on its textual representations. On another level, interpretative action works according to game-like practices in role-playing simulations (see Figs. 5, 6, 7, and 8). As users inscribe their reading, editing and writing acts, the *LdoD Archive* documents the results of those interactions and offers them for further reading, editing, and writing acts, and further analysis. Both user-created content and reflexive textual analyses are part of the evolutionary textual environment. The evolutionary textual environment itself could be redescribed as an evolving socialized literary practice in networked programmable media. Its fusion of technical and conceptual model, on one hand, with actual acts of reading, editing, and writing, on the other, bring into being the unbounded and iterative nature of the textual condition.

If we think of it in ethical terms, we could say that the *LdoD Archive* is not a system for automating literary production, reception, or analysis. In this respect, it sets itself apart from dominant engineering approaches to computational creativity in artificial intelligence and from dominant digital humanities approaches to textual processing. Rather, its ecology of machine-assisted human action and human-assisted machine action turns algorithmic processes into literary procedures for opening up textual spaces to critical and creative explorations. The result is an evolutionary textual environment fed by the unpredictability and creativity of human interactors in a live, time-distributed, and collaborative social process. Its purpose is to instantiate the conditions that allow the reiteration of the relation between potentiality and actuality for each individual role-playing action. Given that this complex computational environment originated in an attempt to model the processuality of bringing a book into existence (in this particular case the *Book of Disquiet* by Fernando Pessoa), we can say that the bibliographical imagination itself is reconfigured as a linguistic and physical force in the dynamics that produces the literary as material poetics and social semiotic practice.

2. Modeling Literary Performativity

> And I offer you this book because I know it is beautiful and useless. It teaches nothing, inspires no faith, and stirs no feeling. A mere stream that flows towards an abyss of ashes scattered by the wind, neither helping nor harming the soil.
>
> —*Book of Disquiet*, "Perystile", c. 1913, transl. Zenith

The *Book of Disquiet* contains many references to reading, writing, and books, including self-references to the acts of reading, writing, and organizing "this book". Images of reading and images of writing are used to characterize the writing self as the empty being of fictional imagination: "As my feet wander I inwardly skim, without reading, a book of text interspersed with swift images, from which I leisurely form an idea that's never completed" (Zenith 2002, Text 181). Describing the self as "a book of text interspersed with swift images", this passage links reading-writing and self-creation with the imagination of the book. The swiftly skimmed book is an image for the inscrutability of the self, but also for the shifting projective nature of the book. The "idea that's never completed" suggests the incompleteness of self-production through reading-writing feedbacks, but also the ongoing process of creating and perceiving form in literary acts.

In the *LdoD Archive*, processuality has been modeled through the notion of literary performativity. Our aim is to engage the constructedness of literary experience as a shared social practice dependent upon acts of reading, writing, and editing. In this performative space, programmed affordances and constraints enable subjects to move across different positions in its field of literary action: from reading to editing, from reading to writing, from editing to reading, from editing to writing, from writing to reading, and from writing to editing (see Fig. 9). Interactors are asked not only to observe a parametrized ensemble of reading, editing, and writing forms and relations, but to reconstitute those forms and relations by performing according to variable positions in the field. The "idea that's never completed" and the "insolvable problem" can be understood as metaphors for the *LdoD Archive*'s attempt to represent and simulate processuality as an open-ended unfinished (and unfinishable) machine.

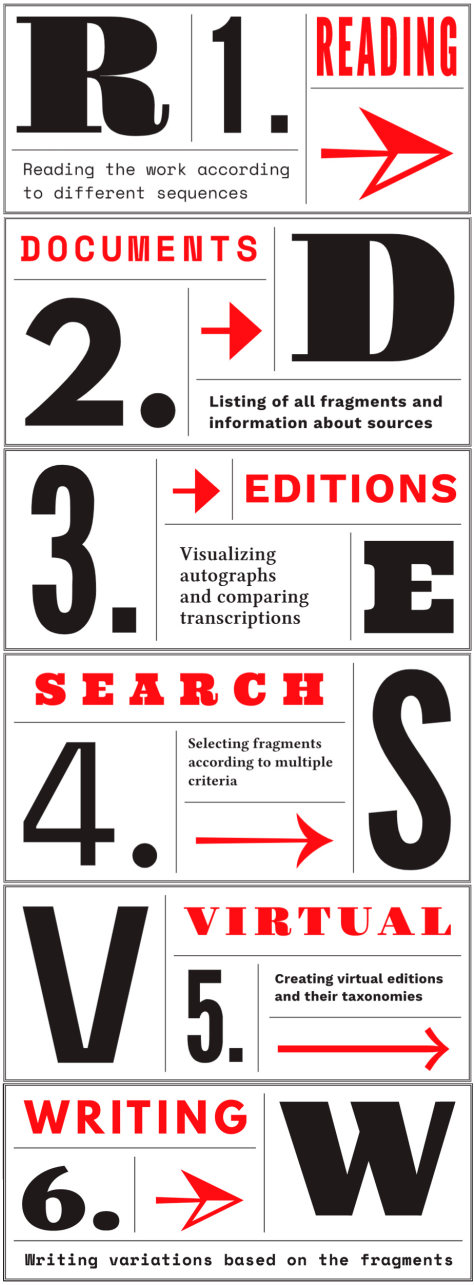

Figure 9. Shifting positions and changing interfaces in the *LdoD Archive:* Reading, Documents, Editions, Virtual, Search, and Writing.

The *Book of Disquiet* itself offers several examples of position shifts which can be equated with the role-playing rationale of the *LdoD Archive*. For example, the shift from reading to writing instantiates the relation of reader-function to author-function:

> I know no pleasure like that of books, and I read very little. Books are introductions to dreams, and no introductions are necessary for one who freely and naturally enters into conversation with them. I've never been able to lose myself in a book; as I'm reading, the commentary of my intellect or imagination has always hindered the narrative flow. After a few minutes it's I who am writing, and what I write is nowhere to be found.
>
> (Zenith 2002, Text 417)

Similarly, the change from reading to editing expresses the relation of reader-function to editor-function:

> In one of those spells of sleepless somnolence when we intelligently amuse ourselves without the intelligence, I reread some of the pages that together will form my book of random impressions. And they give off, like a familiar smell, an arid impression of monotony. Even while saying that I'm always different, I feel that I've always said the same thing; that I resemble myself more than I'd like to admit; that, when the books are balanced, I've had neither the joy of winning nor the emotion of losing. I'm the absence of a balance of myself, the lack of a natural equilibrium, and this weakens and distresses me.
>
> (Zenith 2002, Text 442)

The shift from writing to reading can be equated with the movement from author-function to reader-function:

> In the faint shadows cast by the last light before evening gives way to night, I like to roam unthinkingly through what the city is changing into, and I walk as if nothing had a cure. I carry with me a vague sadness that's pleasant to my imagination, less so to my senses. As my feet wander I inwardly skim, without reading, a book of text interspersed with swift images, from which I leisurely form an idea that's never completed.
>
> (Zenith 2002, Text 181)

The split between embodied self as phenomenological entity and fictional self as an imaginary character constituted by written language is at

the heart of Pessoa's account of literary depersonalization. In "The Art of Effective Dreaming for Metaphysical Minds", depersonalization is divided into three stages, of which the last one leads to the ability to be several selves at the same time: "The highest stage of dreaming is when, having created a picture with various figures whose lives we live all at the same time, we are jointly and interactively all of those souls" (Zenith 2002, Text 495). This multiplication of being is manifest in the proliferation of heteronyms or writing selves:

> We are mere ashes endowed with a soul but no form — not even that of water, which adopts the shape of the vessel that holds it. With this □ thoroughly established, complete and autonomous plays can unfold in us line by line. We may no longer have the energy to write them, but that won't be necessary. We'll be able to create secondhand; we can imagine one poet writing in us in one way, while another poet will write in a different way. I, having refined this skill to a considerable degree, can write in countlessly different ways, all of them original.[5]
>
> (Zenith 2002, Text 495)

Writing selves appear as fictional authors and become independent of Pessoa's self by virtue of their way of writing. Pessoa's fictionalization of heteronymic writing may also be equated with the author-function. The act of writing "in a different way" constitutes the heteronymic author as an emergent function of a specific writing practice (including each heteronym's projected books). In turn, Pessoa's role, in this meta-literary system, is to perform as the author-producing author, i.e., as a second-degree manifestation of the author-function.

The production of the book in the *Book of Disquiet* contains material evidence of the performativity of literary action that we have tried to model in the *LdoD Archive*. Additionally, there are more than a dozen external references to the *Book of Disquiet* in letters to friends, notes, title lists, and plans for publication. Imagining this particular book through self-description is only one instance of the continuing imagination of books as expressions of his various heteronyms, on the one hand, and as expressions of Pessoa's meta-authorial condition on the other. Their existence as fictional authors, as well as his existence as author of authors, depend upon

5. Pessoa sometimes leaves blank spaces for one or more words as if he intended to come back later to that point and fill in the missing words. Here, the □ is the symbol used by the editor to mark these blank spaces in the manuscript.

the complex workings of the book-function as a constitutive element of literary performativity. At once assemblage of written discourse in search of conceptual and material unity, on one hand, and imaginary horizon for each new act of writing, on the other, the book-function is both a physical and metaphysical operator.

The incompleteness of the *Book of Disquiet* as a book in progress reincarnates in the processuality of reading, editing, and writing as acts of inscription of consciousness in the duration of time. Appropriating the time-based nature of digital media, the *LdoD Archive* places representation in a dynamic and complex relation with simulation. Beyond the archival representation of the unique and historical occurrence of a set of texts in several stages of completion, it attempts to model and experiment with the flows of reading, editing, and writing that constitute and maintain a literary space through the literary imagination of the book. The flexibility of the digital inscription is used to explore the potentiality of those actions as an iterative ongoing process, and the material and conceptual operator we designate as *book*, which has become one of the main producers of the literary as a set of practices of evocation and intensification of the human experience of the world.

The performativity of reading is expressed as (1) multicursal visualization of reading paths, (2) analysis of specific reading practices (such as the history of the *Book of Disquiet*'s expert critical reception or its current social media reception), and (3) reading of one's own reading trails. The performativity of editing enables interactors to (1) compare authorial witnesses against their various transcriptions, (2) compare expert editions against each other, and (3) produce their own editions (including annotations and taxonomies) using both manual and computer-assisted processes. The performativity of writing takes the form of (1) exploration of autographic writing processes, (2) new writing acts anchored on specific passages, (3) new writing acts based on machine-assisted procedures and constraints. Each process (reading the book, editing the book, and writing the book) can be experienced in relation to other representations or simulations of itself, and also in relation to all other processes.

The *LdoD Archive* may, ultimately, be described as a conceptual, material, and technical experiment that attempts to simulate literary functions as a dynamic field of discursive interactions for imagining our being in the world through written language. Electronic remediation of Pessoa's text has been reimagined as a meta-reading, meta-editing, and meta-writing exercise that allows interactors to play with and investigate the social dynamics of textual production. They are invited to engage reading, editing, and

writing as performative actions that constitute and sustain a literary field. The problem of writing, editing, and reading a book about the inner existence of a written self becomes a material experiment with the potentiality of literary imagination that takes advantage of the procedural and collaborative affordances of the medium.

Virtualizing the *Book of Disquiet* in a dynamic archive is our way of modeling the literary performance for the current environment of networked reading, editing, and writing spaces. This implies reimagining the dynamics between editing and the codex, and between reading and writing in ways that fully engage the possibilities and constraints of the digital medium, including its diverse layers of encoding, programmability, visualization, and interaction. The *Book of Disquiet* is the ideal work for an attempt at reimagining the textual condition in ways that fully explore the computer as an expressive medium. To engage reading, editing, and writing — inside and outside bibliographic structures — through performative simulations is our material exploration of the medium's processing and participatory affordances for literary potentiality.

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Anglo-American Reviews

Calhoun, Joshua. 2020. *The Nature of the Page: Poetry, Papermaking, and the Ecology of Texts in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp xii + 212. ISBN 9780812251890, Hardback $55.00.

The word "Nature" in the title here means two things: both *nature* as "quality" and *nature* as our larger physical world. The relation of these two meanings is, in fact, a point of the book: paper pages were, are, and will continue to be natural things. With the full foretitle, Calhoun tips his hat to Adrian Johns's indispensable *The Nature of the Book* (2009), and it's worth noting from the outset that one of the many admirable aspects of *The Nature of the Page* is its attention to and respect for existing scholarship. In fact, while this book does many things well, one of the most useful is citing and summarizing a wealth of studies related to book history and its related technologies — particularly, the intertwined, natural histories of parchment, paper, and ink.

An early gesture reveals its overall strategy. Reproducing Robert Darnton's well-known chart of "The Communications Circuit", which sets out a social organization of human actors involved in book production and circulation (authors, publishers, booksellers, et al.), Calhoun pulls the camera back to 10,000 feet, embedding Darnton's fairly synchronic circuit in a much larger context of history and ecosystem. One can summarize the central question as follows: How have human communications been shaped by the natural materials used to fashion the media for those communications? Further, as human culture has moved from plant (papyrus) to animal (parchment) back to a plant/animal hybrid (paper, often "sized" with animal gelatin), how have these various stages, and the overlap of the media ecologies before, during, and after the transitions from one stage to the next, affected the meaning and experience of communication?

Between its introduction and afterword, five chapters contribute to the "story about paper in Renaissance England — about what it was elementally" (ix). These five chapters concern, in turn, the cellulose economy of paper; the role of flax (and hemp) in paper's emergence; "blots" as both thing and idea; the "sizing" of paper in early modern England; and the relation between physical environments and book decay. Some of these chap-

ters bear the traces of conference presentations, but each is scrupulously researched and, even as case studies, connect well with the larger argument of *The Nature of the Page*.

Calhoun is very good at getting us to see — both from 10,000 feet and closer up, through call-outs of texts, leaves, and annotations — the ways in which pages have always been implicated in the world of plants and animals. Even for scholars familiar with early texts, such connections can carry real surprise. An everyday analogy here comes in the domain of nutrition: as with those engaging in new diets (say, gluten-free, vegetarian, or vegan), everywhere one looks, culture has found a way to blend things that we had presumed to be separate. Very little is distinctly one thing or another, and most things (including paper pages) are interconnected. Calhoun continually shows how books — connected elementally to their materials of composition — are, at base, natural things.

To my mind the most important material in the book relates to *sizing*. *Sizing* was the application, to paper, of a glutinous coating typically derived from animal products (bones, skulls, hides, etc.). The word *size* in this sense is quite old, apparently dating to the early fifteenth century, when, according to the *MED*, it referred to a sticky substance used to prepare surfaces for gold or silver overlay (see *sīse* n.(2) and quotations). Because *size* in any discussion of books and paper is likely to produce confusion with *size* as measurement, and because Calhoun is otherwise interested in the history of words, this term might have been defined at more length in this study. But the key thing is his argument concerning the importance of sizing in the period, and its overlooked role in the history of print culture.

Paper appears to have been sized after it was fabricated from pulp, pressed, and dried, but before it was printed on. Sizing was an additional step in the printing process, one which elevated the quality of the paper. Unrequired, this coating nevertheless allowed paper (both in printed books and as writing material) to be written upon. For without this treatment, most ink would seep into, and through the paper — "sinking", in the parlance of readers — not allowing the pen to construct discrete, legible letters and words. As Calhoun points out, the amount and nature of sizing applied to the paper in a book — and of course this could and did vary from sheet to sheet — contributed significantly to its value for readers: well-sized paper made annotations easier and more legible. Sizing also appears to have lent durability and permanence to paper.

In the formulation of B. L. Browning, we can define *durability* as how well a paper holds up to use, and *permanence* how well it lasts (31). With these categories in mind, Calhoun persuasively argues that while we cur-

rently know very little about sizing — what it consisted of, in general and specifically, and the physical properties it lent to paper — it all but certainly played a significant, even central role in the survival rate of print. That is, in its permanence. The implications for our understanding of print history are enormous and will doubtless require many more studies of paper's chemical composition. How can we count the surviving copies of early modern books, making pronouncements about what the figures mean, without attention to the makeup of the pages that survived? As Calhoun points out in his work's afterword, "When we organize books, and our ideas about books, into categories and systems that do not account for the organic nature of the page, we overlook data that can help us to better understand and preserve the Renaissance books we still have with us" (150). Sizing, in this respect, is necessary data.

An elegantly produced book, this is a must read for those interested in book history and archival science. With that said, it's unclear how many of Calhoun's insights can be transported into the undergraduate or even graduate classroom: his observations are about the nature of books that most of our students will never handle. But the narrative he shares is nonetheless a significant one, and discovering the truth about the past will continue to be vital to learning about our present, and our possible futures. In showing us precisely how "the story of paper is as much an environmental story as it is a bibliographical story" (3), *The Nature of the Page* provides an important service to those interested in the history of books and their use.

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In *Postprint: Books and Becoming Computational*, N. Katherine Hayles employs the term *postprint* to refer to publishing after 2000, coming after what she regards as 50 years of revolutionary technological change in the printing industry, from the invention of photocomposition to print on demand. Despite setting up a historical framework, she is not actually aiming to produce a chronicle of an era closely focused on the distribution and reception of texts produced with these innovations or made available as eBooks. Such a study might constitute the traditional (read: stuffy) monograph university presses are moving away from, as Hayles demonstrates in her compelling chapter on that corner of the publishing world. Instead, she draws widely for the interdisciplinary contents of *Postprint*, and readers may be delighted following the paths she takes, as long as they do not mind that the book conforms to a general theme rather than affirms a single thesis. In the end, they will take away plenty on the history of mechanical and digital reproduction, but probably more on the subject of posthuman condition than the textual one, however.

Those who have followed Hayles's scholarship over the years will find *Postprint* the natural extension of her thoughts about technology and posthumanism. In fact, the first chapter unites her theories of *cognitive assemblages* and *media cognition* expounded previously and applies them to the postprint book — the text and its attendant coding that allows the contents to be displayed in multiple forms, electronically or in print. In principle, then, postprint serves as an accessible example of a cognitive assemblage: how humans and computers in tandem participate in the same process of interpretation, with humans interacting with the text as it is read through a digitally constructed interface. Today's devices, she stresses, have the capacity to respond to the reader by offering relevant display capabilities, which illustrates what she calls media cognition, and the reader's experience depends on the features of the interface that she chooses (or is enticed) to use. Hayles's emphasis on "books" means that she sticks to works with a consistent setting text, as it were, even in the digital realm. (This is a smart limitation on her scope for two reasons, which she acknowledges. First, she rightly insists that machine *cognition* — a computer's ability to process information and apply interpretations to create meanings — is not the same as machine *consciousness*, which, bordering

on artificial intelligence, is a much higher bar to clear that comes with another set of implications. Second, studying adaptive content would take her down a different road entirely, one too far removed from even the most flexible notions of the book.)

Consequently, the nature of the interaction with postprint is variable although a book's contents are stable, yet because there can be so many options for display it would be impossible to represent each rendering as a distinct version of a text. For instance, two people reading the same eBook but making use of different features of the interface at different moments essentially render the book's text in unique ways for themselves. Hayles characterizes this not as a shift in the textual condition but as "a change in the distribution of cognitive capabilities" (17): computers now handle aspects of book production and reception that once were solely performed by humans. *Postprint* provides many striking examples of computers' new roles in their shifting relationships with humans, especially on the production side of the publishing industry. The altered interpretive capabilities of humans under these circumstances are harder to pin down, to be sure. To her credit, Hayles recognizes with an assist from Dennis Tenen — his *Plain Text: The Poetics of Computation* (2017) — that much of the code that renders text is kept from readers who are often unaware of how devices shape the textual interfaces humans respond to. (Postprint to me seems like a useful term only when the text's coding is explicitly explored, not merely when granting it is always already there, which is how Hayles passes it off sometimes as a de facto period classification.) However, she accepts that "each (human) reader may vary in the extent to which she accesses the cognitive functions available in an e-reader/e-book, making generalizations difficult" (77). No doubt true, except the consequences are misplaced: it would be all too *easy* to generalize while accounting for the human side of the interaction, based on how we assume audiences could or should read. Hayles's disinclination to offer even qualified inferences on tendencies in reception is unfortunate and leaves me wondering what evidence she believes is lacking — or perhaps a consideration of audience agency simply does not fit a posthumanist framework.

After the introduction establishing Hayles's theoretical framing come two chapters that explore printing technologies, which will likely be of greatest interest to textuists. The first contains Hayes's compelling account of the failure of the Paige Compositor, the first machine for automated typesetting invented in the 1880s, now remembered primarily for bankrupting early investor Mark Twain. Its unruly complexity came from mimicking how human compositors would set and reset movable type letter by

letter with their hands; in contrast, Hayles shows that Linotype soon after achieved the same ends through simpler mechanical means (i.e., casting full lines of type) and became the dominant technology. She follows printing innovations forward into methods of phototypesetting in the middle of the twentieth century and then print on demand exemplified by Xerox DocuTech machines appearing in the 1990s. These examples readily show that there were crucial shifts in how physical books were produced in the latter half of the twentieth century, an era not yet receiving much attention among book historians, and also confirm her claim about the redistribution of cognitive labor.

The next chapter, centered on the state of academic publishing, suggests that computers have freed up publishers' time and energy to concern themselves more with the marketing of books — make whatever value judgment of that you will. Hayles focuses on the monograph, the loss leader of university presses and gold standard of scholarship (and a ticket to promotion for many academics). The chapter is a fascinating read for those researchers who believe they might have another book in them — an invitation to rethink one's assumptions of what presses are looking to publish and of what monograph "publication" actually means today. Hayles interviewed leaders of five major academic publishers and discusses them in succession, and this makes for a very accessible chapter that puts on display the different strategies of the presses. The usual presumptions — scholarly publishers moving away from books of interest only to a single field or university libraries, for example — do crop up but are examined in nuanced ways. Hayles also considers publishers' support for digital projects such as volume-like digital humanities scholarship, open access, networked peer review, and collaborative online annotation. Consensus is hard to find, however, which makes her less insistent on calling out the larger trends — and perhaps that is wise given how fickle the winds of change are right now.

The final two chapters examine the reception side of the cognitive assemblage of reader coupled with the postprint book. "Over decades", Hayles writes, "the resulting redistribution of cognition fed forward into reading devices and consequently into reading practices, where it increasingly affects how (human) readers think of themselves in the mixed-media ecologies characteristic of contemporary society" (53). That last clause conveys Hayles's emphasis in this book — that is, how shifting interpretive contexts resituate readers — but that is not the same as investigating observable practices of reading, which is where I would locate reception and insist that such studies must recognize audiences. These chapters appear to me as interpretations of texts mainly from the vantage point of

ideal readers (plural intended and appreciated). I do not mean to diminish their accomplishment by pointing this out, only to show that Hayles's fundamental concern is exploring the notion of the posthuman interpreter. Her focus is on contemporary fiction and artists' books on the subject of the changing dimensions of language and communication in the face of great technological change. Several of these titles are especially fascinating because they are examples of books that exist in multiple formats at once — true "postprint productions" — and challenge a facile print versus digital dichotomy. One work of fiction Hayles studies, *The Silent History* (2014), attributed to Eli Horowitz, Matthew Derby, and Kevin Moffett, was first produced as an iPhone app that featured geolocation-specific and user-generated content, and was later adapted into a print novel and conventional eBook. Her analysis has all the pleasures of a thorough comparative study, and refreshingly her argument does not merely tally up how the textual presentations differ according to medium. Reading practices, however, do not get much particular attention: Hayles refers to *The Silent History* along with Alena Graedon's *The Word Exchange* (2014) as speculative fiction that dramatizes how humans may come to communicate differently as they become accustomed to the communicative support computers provide in an increasingly online world. What if our use of language depends on chips implanted in our brains (*The Silent History*) or tech companies control the meanings of words old and new (*The Word Exchange*)?

The last chapter of *Postprint* examines texts that foreground radical reading experiences that undoubtedly make human interpreters aware that they are participating in a cognitive assemblage with a text. To read *Between Page and Screen* (2012) by Amaranth Borsuk and Brad Bouse, one must hold codes printed on the pages of a book up to a webcam, capturing body and codex together, to access readable text from a web site. The human-device collaboration implied in augmented reality contrasts with Argentinian conceptual artist Mirtha Dermisache's glyphic drawings that resemble writing, meant to be published in book form and scanned with the eye like lines of text. Her undecodable but still visually expressive letterforms offer an example of a text that cannot be recognized by technology, the ever-pervasive algorithms that convert strings of characters left by humans into machine-readable text. This chapter brings *Postprint* to a fitting conclusion by discussing what Hayles considers a form of resistance to the prevailing technological revolution, or to our becoming computational. (I was getting worried that the slope was too slippery.) While Hayles considers the print book a "cognitive support", the postprint eBook can function as "a cognizer in its own right", to the point where the latter

"becomes in effect a collaborator with the human reader, able to sense and respond to the reader's desires and execute commands of a quite sophisticated nature" (80). I have no problem accepting that such a collaboration exists, just as long as the device or codex, though it may read to me or even with me, is not assumed to read *for* me. What this collaboration tells us about books and culture will require much more study, but the parameters for this exploration laid down by Hayles in *Postprint* are astute, convincing, and pragmatic.

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Stauffer, Andrew M. 2021. *Book Traces: Nineteenth-Century Readers and the Future of the Library*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. 288 + 36 illustrations. ISBN 9780812252682, Hardback $49.95. eBook available.

What do we hope to learn from our textual artifacts? Examining their textuality in conjunction with their materiality, we scour them for signs they were and were not designed to reveal about their ideation, composition, publication, reproduction, remediation, distribution, circulation, reception, and even their destruction. We read them individually; genealogically, to craft narratives about composition and publication, for example; and collectively, in networks and datasets, to uncover social, political, technological, and aesthetic connections. The data thus extracted is deployed to many ends, but however it is channeled, the data extractors, "we", tend to share a deep commitment to our artifacts and a belief in their lasting value — something like a sense of duty to their legacies. These feelings and convictions cluster, finally, around questions of meaning. Let's call it like it is: these are labors of love. What we "hope to learn" is driven by "hope" as well as "learning".

It is refreshing, dare I say bracing, to read a scholarly monograph in which all of that — love, hope, devotion — is right up front, coupled unapologetically with meticulous and imaginative bibliographic scholarship. Andrew Stauffer's *Book Traces: Nineteenth-Century Readers and the Future of the Library* is unusual in this regard, and in at least one other, its evolution. Stauffer's motivations and arguments began as an activity in a graduate course he taught at the University of Virginia, grew into a crowdsourced, multi-institutional digital project (https://booktraces-public.lib.virginia.edu/), then a database at UVA about its own collections (https://

booktraces.lib.virginia.edu/), and now appear in the present volume, more recognizably literary-critical in its format and methods but no less passionate about its ultimate mission: to save the library. Or rather, to be more precise, to save the industrial-era books that remain in the circulating collections of academic libraries — especially those that are eligible for public domain digitization — including duplicates, and in particular those copies marked up by their original readers. *Book Traces*, through canny detective work, extricates stories from and about such books retrieved from several major academic libraries across the country, reading annotations, inscriptions, and insertions in tandem with poetic texts and reception histories. Stauffer's findings are gathered neatly (but not too neatly) into four thematic chapters that explore particular kinds of readerly interventions as exemplary nineteenth-century modes of literary reception, all variations on "the personal appropriation of poetry" that was itself a product of "Romantic reading practices and the sociocultural developments that brought printed books into everyday domestic life in nineteenth-century Britain and America" (20). In these chapters — examining marginal comments, the pressing of flowers and other botanical souvenirs between pages, annotations with dates or other marks of temporality, and evidence of wear, of regard for the book as a beloved object — Stauffer extracts his data with acute observation, skill, and often lyrical grace, attentive not just to the interactions between texts and marginalia, but also to reader biographies, library collecting histories, and page lay-outs, decorations, and illustrations. His analysis is abetted by multiple photographs, including ten full-color plates.

I am a little surprised that Stauffer does not bring scrapbooks, albums, herbaria, commonplace books, or diaries into his assemblages, for in these codical cousins the act of self-inscription, somewhat secretly undertaken in the nineteenth-century annotated book of poetry, was central and explicit — and poetry, whether copied out, pasted in, or composed by an inscriber, was frequently in evidence. Indeed, in one of Stauffer's example books, a stanza of poetry has been carefully excised, almost certainly destined for a scrapbook or album. My guess is that he wanted to stay focused on his format, for reasons to be discussed below. Still, I wish he had made more than passing reference to this class of materials, shown more of the spectrum of personalized codices on which the annotated book of poetry sits, perhaps by engaging Ellen Gruber Garvey's *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (2013), Elizabeth Siegel's *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (2010), and some of the extensive literature on the Vic-

torian diary, such as *The Victorian Diary: Authorship and Emotional Labour* (2013), by Anne-Marie Millim. Nevertheless, his configurations of books that belonged to actual people in the past, caught in the act of responding to poems (some of which did and others of which did not make the twentieth-century canonical cut), give "sentimentality" a new and striking reality. Most notably, in the biographies Stauffer unearths, the mortality of the nineteenth century is inescapable, especially the infant and maternal mortality. A reader in 2021 is certainly primed to empathize with this most ancient woe — and to feel, physically feel, the solace that a beloved poem can bring, speaking directly, intimately, and beautifully of loss.

What are the results of these in-depth, intricate investigations of the personal meanings taken from and given to books, discerned through traces that can be made to speak? In Stauffer's final chapter, he lays out the stakes. Having shown us how much there is to learn from these marked-up copies about "literary works as evolving social acts [. . .] events traceable only within specific documents" (148), he warns his readers about the drastic "winnowing [of] the historical record" that is now taking place in academic research libraries as librarians deaccession circulating copies and move books to off-site shelving locations in favor of digital surrogates and new editions that get more use. He is eloquent and emphatic about the forfeitures this movement portends: a single copy of a particular edition accessible to multiple libraries through sharing agreements or digitization is not sufficient because "many meaningful features of books can be understood only as part of larger contexts of making and use. The books themselves are not merely reports on the nineteenth century; they are individual nineteenth-century scenes of evidence. [. . .] This archive of the history of the making and consumption of books cannot be replaced by representative copies or digital scans, and new scholars of the historical record cannot be trained on simulations" (148). That is to say, there is much that is individual about so-called duplicate copies, and scholars of the nineteenth century should not be deprived of this trove of primary sources just because their "unspecial" collections are not housed in the rare book room.

Here I must take off my hat as a fellow specialist in industrial-era book history and nineteenth-century transatlantic Anglophone literature, absolutely convinced of the bibliophilic poetics of self-hood in this period, and put on my other hat, the more practical headgear of a special collections curator. To be clear, Stauffer is not really blaming librarians; the original Book Traces project was undertaken with the participation of many librarians and library-affiliated folk, along with faculty and students, and in *Book Traces* he shows his awareness of the pressures on libraries, the

complex inter-dependencies at play. "Students and faculty members want more spaces to work and collaborate, but they do not use as many physical books as in the past", Stauffer notes; meanwhile, "every book retained by a library costs between one and four dollars per year to store and circulate" (143). Moreover, "[a]s usage drops, libraries have trouble justifying storing these materials on valuable shelf space in central locations": here my own marginal comment is "Correct!!!" (149). The devaluation of the humanities, writ large, is a factor; the massive costs of licensed digital resources, especially in the sciences, gobbling up huge portions of decreasing library budgets, is another.

Stauffer's proposed solution is a bit vague — "To keep the books, librarians along with humanities faculty members and students will need to find common ground from which to articulate the ongoing value of the print collections and to demand more resources for their preservation" (152) — although I take that vagueness in part as a reflection of his understanding that the situation on the ground might vary, institution by institution. So what would it mean to actually do this work? I can imagine the Book Traces investigations scaled up systemically, with a focus on those libraries most likely to have the kinds of collections in question. The labor to "open every book", as Stauffer insists we must do, simply does not exist in libraries as they are currently staffed — but perhaps this examination could be implemented through inter-institutional "humanities lab" courses in which students investigate their own stacks, comparing their findings with those of peers in other universities. The books yielded by these searches could be repaired as needed and moved to semi-protected status (library use only) if not special collections, and libraries could even build dedicated reading rooms for what we call "medium-rare" collections. . . .

Here, however, my curator hat pinches and the fantasy is checked, as I imagine what these endeavors would require at my own workplace. In my library, we are beginning a long-deferred renovation, necessary to keep people safe and healthy, to preserve collections, to accommodate current practices of study and research. The renovation will result, indeed, in the permanent relocation of a greater portion of the campus collection to our high-density off-site facility — which will be enlarged for the purpose — and we are incredibly happy to have this option, since it means less deaccessioning. There is no space in any version of the renovation plan for a medium-rare reading room that could take the pressure off our special collections reading room, which has to be staffed whenever it is open. But even if we take that dream off the table, constraints abound. What would it cost to update the cataloguing of those books with informed copy-specific

notes? What are the repair options for an industrial-era brittle book? And who would do the work, given that we are already under-staffed?

I air these local considerations to illustrate the types of real-world obstacles that a Book Traces-style recovery program might encounter. Libraries have limited resources and academic librarians often lack the institutional power that humanities faculty might leverage to argue for more funding. (Let us not forget the gendered and raced economy of libraries in this equation: libraries are predominantly staffed by white women; white men are over-represented in leadership; library policies, budgets, and clout are shaped by this historical labor force and its imagined social role.) In most libraries, it would come down to a name-your-poison dilemma: maybe we could find some of these books, reclassify them, and repair a few, but what would we have to give up in return?

This question brings me to a final point about *Book Traces*. Stauffer is frank about the provenance of the books he analyzes. American universities did not have proper research libraries until the twentieth century — and only in the mid twentieth century did academic libraries in the United States begin to operate in the way they do now, with reliable annual funding, special collections, and a specialized workforce. Thus, for decades, library print collections were built up from donations of books; the circulating stacks were often the only place for them to go, and many of them are still there. These donations, from alumni, faculty, local societies and families, constitute "one of the greatest archives of American middle-class reading" (19). And there's the rub. The stories of book affiliation that Stauffer uncovers rely on book ownership, and more than that: in order to be traceable, the names of these book owners, inscribed on fly-leaves, also had to appear in census records, birth registries, newspapers, death certificates, and local histories. Not surprisingly, their lives, as Stauffer conjures them, "[reflect] the inequalities of the nation" just as much as the print collections where their books ended up; these are people who had the wherewithal to read and write, court and marry, practice professions, build up personal libraries — some of whom, as Stauffer reveals, also served in or supported the Confederate army (153). In contrast, I spend much of my budget and time gathering up materials for collections that never had the chance to be — to assemble, with many violent breaks in full view, evidence of lives deprived of such privileges.

The goal, of course, is not to be forced to pit one variety of scarcity against another. Collectively, we should undertake multiple kinds of recovery: we should go "shopping in the shelves" for middle-class readerships, bringing order to that neglected abundance, while simultaneously and seri-

ously investing in primary sources that document marginalized and persecuted communities. Multiple kinds of recovery will require multiple and ongoing resources, of course. Stauffer has done his job, much more than his job, advocating passionately and knowledgeably for the archive he cares about as a scholar of nineteenth-century literature and textual materiality. But it's necessary, if we are to work together on these crucial stewardship decisions of our time, for non-librarians to have a better sense of the bigger picture in libraries — a picture that goes beyond their specific fields of expertise, and opens up all that love, hope, and devotion to unfamiliar objects.

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Totaro, Rebecca. 2020. *The Plague in Print: Essential Elizabethan Sources, 1558–1603*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. Pp. 300. ISBN 9780820704265, Hardback $70.00. ISBN 9780271087283, Paper $32.95.

A remarkable chapter of Maggie O'Farrell's recent novel *Hamnet* traces the progress of fleas transmitting the bubonic plague from Egypt to Warwickshire, with stops along the way in Alexandria, aboard ship outside Aleppo, then to Ragusa, Venice, Barcelona, Cadiz, Porto, La Rochelle, London, and finally Stratford-upon-Avon. O'Farrell also includes agonizing descriptions of Anne (she calls her Agnes) Shakespeare observing the effect of the flea bites, first staring down at the buboes swelling on the body of her daughter Judith, and then holding down her dying son Hamnet while realizing that "this pestilence is too great, too strong, too vicious [. . .]. It has wreathed and tightened its tendrils about her son, and is refusing to surrender him" (O'Farrell 109).

Her experience, as Agnes knows, is common: "there are few in the town, or even in the country" who have not seen it before. The buboes "are what people most dread, what everyone hopes they will never find, on their own bodies or those of the people they love" (O'Farrell 105). Perhaps it is our current experience of pandemic that has made us so sensitive to such descriptions, able to understand how present — and how incurable and terrifying — plague and diseases like smallpox were in the early modern period. Young Hamnet was different only because he had a famous father, but that did not protect him, as Queen Elizabeth had not been protected from contracting smallpox in 1562, a few years after her accession. As we have lost millions worldwide who have contracted the plague of Covid.

Rebecca Totaro has become an expert on the early modern literature generated by the best-known plague, as seen in the analyses in her monograph *Suffering in Paradise: The Bubonic Plague in English Literary Studies from More to Milton* (2005), as well as in the essay collection *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England*, co-edited with Ernest B. Gilman (2010). In the book under review, *The Plague in Print* — first published in 2010 by Duquesne University Press and reissued in paperback in 2020 by Penn State — she transcribes, modernizes, and edits the primary sources on which scholars and novelists alike depend as they study legal, theological, medical, and literary reactions to the recurrent epidemics of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Although the book's subtitle uses the dates of Elizabeth I's reign (1558–1603), the sources actually begin earlier. As Totaro categorizes them, they include Plague Remedies (an example from 1531), Plague Prayers (the Church of England's *A Form to be used in common prayer*, 1563), government Plague Orders (*Orders thought meet*, 1578), Plague Bills (*The Number of all those that hath died,* c. 1583), and two outstanding examples of Plague Literature, William Bullein's *A Dialogue both pleasant and pietyful* (1564) and Thomas Dekker's *The Wonderful Year* (1603). Each piece is accompanied with editorial notes and, where they exist, notes from the original.

The best-known pieces, those by Bullein and Dekker, are also the most substantial. Usefully, Totaro places both in their context and contrasts them. The Bullein, she points out, unlike earlier works such as Boccaccio's, is entirely addressed to the threat of plague, and its author creates "a multilayered, lengthy dialogue to bring comfort to readers by offering them a sourcebook of medical and theological advice" (xii). Comfort is presumably supplied in this "literary entertainment" by its inclusion of "morality tales, travel accounts, humorous husband-wife banter, and satire" (xii). Although Bullein was a practicing physician who had published several plague remedies, nevertheless here he has a "decidedly Protestant, reforming agenda" (50). His conclusion is theological: the origin of plague was Adam's fall. In contrast, Dekker's plague pamphlet, written in the year of Queen Elizabeth's death and after many more outbreaks of plague, "never offers the reader a break from the grim realities. [. . .] It is a seventeenth century critique of earlier efforts, literary and civic, to offer healing in plague-time" (206).

It is interesting to see how sixteenth-century attitudes toward handling plague gradually approached those of our more scientific times, even before the actual source of plague — O'Farrell's traveling fleas — was recognized. *Orders thought meet*, first issued in 1578 but reissued in every subsequent outbreak, "support[s] a human to human contagion theory over both the

competing 'miasma' theory that air tainted by putrefaction was the primary cause of plague and over those theories that focus on the role of the astrological influences prominent in Moulton's plague remedy" (179–80). In a fuller discussion of medical developments in her introduction to *Representing the Plague in Early Modern England*, Totaro elaborates on the way that "secular practices for plague control" developed: "sanitation replaced prayer, Galenic bodily regimens aimed at balance replaced religious fasting, quarantine replaced mandatory church attendance, and the orders were enforced by justices of the peace not clergy" (11). All of this is familiar as we live with hand sanitizer, quarantine, and government orders for shutdowns and masking.

Valuable as this new collection of sources is, readers of *Textual Cultures* may find themselves uncomfortable with the editorial treatment. Totaro's announced goal is to make the included "early modern texts accessible without compromising their character" (xvii). To do so, "Spelling has been modernized, except in the case of archaic verb endings and obsolete words" (xvii). Unfortunately the resulting mixture demonstrates why Stanley Wells, in what has become the standard work on the subject of modernizing Shakespeare's texts, sees no "virtue in conscious conservation of archaic and obsolete spellings" or in any attempt to "suggest a 'kind of linguistic climate' (which was, of course, modern to Elizabethans)" (4–5). The main form of "archaic verb ending" retained is exemplified, for instance, in Dekker's *The Wonderful Year* in "smoakt" and "physickt" (214–15). More importantly, some failures to modernize may seriously confuse the unwary reader, as when (again from Dekker) "catch-polls" is not modernized to "catchpoles" (214), "with violence clime" is not corrected to "with violence climb" (216), the fish under the dead Queen's barge "swom blind" rather than swam (218), and a man is tormented by being "bard up [. . .] in a vast silent Charnel-house" (223). Occasionally an early modern idiom is misunderstood, as when a man in pain is rubbed with "the juice of patience [. . .] So that he left wenching" rather than "wincing" or "winching", the latter form actually listed in the glossary (240, 286). One particularly misleading moment comes when the black-letter "Iuy", where the I looks like a J to modern eyes, is misread as "Jew" rather than "Ivy", with the result that the text reads "Vintners hung out spick and span new Jew bushes [. . .] and their old rain-beaten lattices marcht under other colors" (222). The editorial note says that "Jew bushes were known for their purgative quality", but the *OED* only recognizes the term starting in 1830. Ivy bush, instead, is a standard 16th- and 17th-century term for the "bush of ivy or a representation of it, placed outside a tavern as a sign that wine was sold there; often in

phrase ***good wine needs no ivy-bush***" (*OED*). In fact, later in *The Wonderful Year* Dekker himself writes of the citizen who "spied a bush at the end of a pole, (the ancient badge of a Country Alehouse)" (243). Thus, whenever possible, readers are advised to check the original sources or EEBO before quoting.

The Plague in Print is a useful collection, the introductions and choice of examples excellent, and the three glossaries — a Medical and Herbal Glossary, a Glossary of Names, and a General Glossary — very helpful. Totaro, as a scholar of this critical, if unpleasant, aspect of early modern life, also cogently recognizes its current relevance. Writing in 2010 she reminds us that the sources she reprints, unfamiliar as are some of their genres, "give original voice to current thoughts about the relationship between disease and human populations, even as the world braces for the next pandemic" (xvi). Now, in the midst of that very pandemic, it is enlightening to see how similar our responses — medical, theological, governmental and imaginative — are to those from half a millennium ago.

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Turpin, Zachary and Matt Miller, eds. 2020. *Every Hour, Every Atom: A Collection of Walt Whitman's Early Notebooks & Fragments*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. Pp. xxxiv + 373. ISBN 9781609387037, Paper $25.00. ISBN 9781609387044, eBook, $25.00.

The publishing of the rich fragmentary writings found in Whitman's notebooks and among his other papers began not long after the poet's death, with the poet's literary executor Richard Maurice Bucke's *Notes and Fragments* in 1899. Among others, Clifton Furness, the editors of the New York University Press collected writings of Whitman, Joel Myerson, and most recently the online *Walt Whitman Archive* in various ways followed suit, but even collectively have come far from a complete representation of what remains in the archives. Zachary Turpin and Matt Miller's *Every Hour,*

Every Atom makes no pretense either of thoroughness or of order, but instead appeals to the "joy and excitement" in the discovery and proximity to the poet's composition process afforded readers by these documents (xix).

This collection reproduces eighteen pre-Civil War Whitman notebooks and part of another one, along with fifty-three documents referred to as "fragments", many of which were once integral with the notebooks. Some of these texts, such as "Calamus-Leaves. Live Oak,—with Moss.", have been much discussed in Whitman scholarship, while others are less frequently cited. While digital facsimiles of many of these documents are available at the *Walt Whitman Archive* or among the Library of Congress's online Whitman materials, this edition draws together transcriptions of materials that have not hitherto been assembled in one place. The editors' criteria for what to include are unapologetically subjective and haphazard in a Whitmanian way: "relevance to Whitman's poetry, relevance to scholarship, quality of writing, and insight offered into Whitman's mind, especially his poetic imagination" (xviii).

As those criteria make clear, and despite the mention of scholarly relevance, this is not a scholarly edition, though the transcriptions are detailed and accurate and the locations of source manuscripts and some of the scholarship about them are indicated in a brief set of notes in the back of the volume. Nor is it a facsimile edition; there are only ten photographic reproductions taken from the source documents, and there is no list of these at the start of the book. The collection is a hybrid of which Whitman, whose sense of the fluid relationship between manuscript and print Jay Grossman has labeled "manuprint", might well have approved: something of a type-facsimile of manuscript pages. The pages are, for the most part, diplomatically transcribed, including indications of Whitman's hash marks through entire sections or pages, as well as the circles, lines, brackets, manicules, and other metamarks with which his manuscripts are rife. The editors have rotated text that was written upside down "for readability", but the transcriptions remain challenging in a good way (xxvii). Drawings, and the newspaper clippings and other ephemera that Whitman clipped or pasted into his notebooks are for the most part not reproduced. What results is a kind of post-critical edition, more an evocation of Whitman's poem-generating process than a platform for textual-scholarly disputes about what is represented in the manuscripts or how to read the poems as eventually published.

Miller and Turpin know these materials well. Whitman's notebooks and fragments served as the documentary basis for Miller's monograph *Collage of Myself* and Turpin's bombshell discovery of Whitman's pseudony-

mous novel *Life and Adventures of Jack Engle*. Between this volume and the recently published electronic variorum of the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, readers now have unprecedented access to the composition processes that led to one of the most remarkable acts of poetry in literary history. As Turpin points out in his introduction, that process involved an extraordinary range of material documents and sources of inspiration, as Whitman's notebooks "are crammed to the edges with a hodgepodge of journalistic notes, housebuilder's calculations, lists of men's names, doodles, shopping lists, and trial verses for *Leaves of Grass*", a "compendiousness [that] began seeping into his poetry" (xxii).

With the editors' intention of a handy reader's collection in mind, it seems reasonable to set aside certain questions we might usually ask of scholarly editions. (Though even the casual Whitman-interested reader might wonder why the editors separated out the notebooks and the fragments by format, rather than promiscuously mixing them.) There are, however, other questions that may be worth asking about the appearance of *Every Hour, Every Atom* at this moment, in this form. What might it indicate that a publisher was willing to issue this book, in these digital facsimile-flush times and given the presence of edited versions of many of these texts on the freely accessible *Walt Whitman Archive*? The Iowa Whitman series publishes editions of the Good Gray's work regularly (including *Jack Engle*, for example), and previous print editions of these kinds of materials have been fragmentary, have tended to suppress the non-textual dimensions of these documents, or have been scholarly tomes that were expensive or difficult to find. Perhaps it's simply that there seems to be an endless market for books relating to Whitman, particularly when his own text is represented. But perhaps the appearance of this volume also indicates something about what kinds of readerly needs are met by electronic editions, and what needs remain to be satisfied. Other recent editorial experiments with hybrid forms and formats range from the patently scholarly edition by Marta Werner of Emily Dickinson's "master" letters, available in both print and open-access PDF format, to Barbara Heller's edition of *Pride and Prejudice*, which includes nineteen fictionalized facsimiles of the characters' letters. It is exciting to see Turpin and Miller's edition, given Whitman's own focus on material texts — many examples of his handwriting, including facsimiles of poetry manuscripts, were published during his own lifetime — and the interpretations made possible by the edition's type-facsimile-poetic mode of presentation. But a caveat might be issued that it remains to be seen if non-canonical material can receive this kind of treatment in the digital age, given the shifting priorities of publishers

and granting agencies alike. Writers from the fringes of literary hegemony might show us much about textuality were their manuscripts subject to the kinds of editorial experimentation Whitman, Dickinson, and Austen have long been receiving.

Still, the experiment is an engaging one. Whitman's notebooks are famously capacious — notes to self, annotations on his reading, recollections, self-abasement, and drafts of anything he was writing for publication at the time. The poetry will to many readers seem, in draft form, if anything more daring than the published verse. Prose fragments in some cases hint at texts whose published versions, if they exist, have not yet been found. New York, the United States, the wisdom and angst of a young writer, and the feel of the nineteenth century are all captured there, faceted in fragmentary, evocative ways that would have delighted an overwrought urban wanderer like Charles Baudelaire. Turpin and Miller's transcriptions elegantly capture not only this cornucopia, but the intense struggle with language in which Whitman engaged. His grapplings with the idiom of racial prejudice — "the ~~red~~ ^ ~~brown~~ savage, lashed to / the stump" — with that of nationalism — "~~Primal~~, ^ ~~arrogant~~ coarse luxuriant, ~~coarse, and combative~~ . . . . I ~~make~~ send the poems / of The States" — with that of Eros — "Loveroot, / juicy ~~reacher~~ climber-~~blossomer~~-mine / Verdure, crotch, ~~branch,~~ ~~crotch fruit~~ bulb and vine" — are all palpable here, sometimes riveting in their suspensefulness (4, 136, 342). Indeed, at times the limits of writing itself emerge poignantly as a function of the act of transcription: "The greatest of thoughts and truths, are ~~not~~ never ~~to [illegible] be~~ put in ~~language~~ ~~writing~~ ~~or~~ print.—" (331). While the transitions in the notebooks are at first jarring, one becomes accustomed to them after a spell. "Because the book is a collection of fragments", Miller writes in his foreword, "I suspect many readers will prefer to read it nonlinearly, skipping around and following where their fancies lead them. If a section seems trivial or boring, skip ahead, but do consider returning to such sections again, because these notebooks can give the illusion of having changed while readers are away from them" (xv). For this reader, at least, Whitman's fancies were both linear and nonlinear enough, profound, provocative, and generative. I suspect many others will find *Every Hour, Every Atom* the same.

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On Inner Circulation

Both Jay Leyda and Theodora Ward, who worked with Thomas H. Johnson on editing Dickinson's letters, thought of editing as an activity profoundly shaped by the mind of the editor. For them, there was no practice of editing that would simply follow objective protocols, generating texts as they were intended. Instead, both thought of the final outcome of the process as impacted not only by the editor's understanding of what constitutes a text but also by their aesthetics or ideas, and even by their own personal values and preferences. For both, neutrally or objectively edited texts remain deeply subjective. In Leyda's case, editing is closely related to what kind of narrative the editor prefers: well polished with everything fitting nicely, or rough on the edges, and contradictory. He thus noted that the difference between his way of accepting new evidence that could contribute to editing a text, and Johnson's, lies "in the fact [that Johnson] always seems more disturbed than delighted by troublesome new evidence. He loves neat, finished shapes — and I have to suppress my wish to knock

them down" (24). Ward, for her part, told Leyda that he and Johnson "have entirely different ways of working. You have felt put off sometimes because he does not want to deal with details until they are needed to fill in his constructive plan. You start with the details and build up" (24).

In the tradition of Leyda and Ward, Marta Werner too recognizes the impact of personal approaches to the archive and to the text to be edited; indeed, she even promotes intellectually and affectively charged approaches to the ground on which editing stands. As a result, what emerges above all out of *Writing in Time* is a theory or even a poetics of editing — a poetics insofar as editing is charged also with weighing in on the nature of genre and the form of what is edited. Werner calls such an editing process "intimate [. . .] investigation", by which she means "a critical meditation and devotional exercise" (11). The most precise term to name what these three processes — investigation, meditation and devotion — generate once they are brought together is interpretation. Hence, what Werner produces in *Writing in Time* doesn't amount to altering what became known as Dickinson's "Master Letters". She doesn't change the way R. W. Franklin described and ordered the letters in his 1986 edition, but neither does she simply offer a new edition, even though, were she simply to have done that — the large format of the book allows an unbroken presentation of the conjunct leaves of letters, and the print rendering of Dickinson's handwritten materials — it would still mark an event for Dickinson studies. Rather, what emerges out of *Writing in Time* is a strong reading of Dickinson's "Master Letters", a reading that is in fact so strong that even the criteria dictating editorial practice are made subservient to it.

Everything in Werner's reading hinges on the belief that the three manuscripts that became known as the "Master Letters" are not letters in any colloquial sense of the word, as previous editors (Millicent Todd Bingham, Johnson, Franklin) proposed, even if the writings are addressed to somebody called "Master". Franklin, who got the chronology of the letters right, argued that while Dickinson treated her letters aesthetically — carefully crafting their sentences, writing and rewriting them — she nevertheless didn't treat them as a "fictional genre" (Franklin 5); that is, to the best of our knowledge, she never fantasized an addressee before going on to refer to situations experienced with that addressee, situations that happened only in her imagination. For Franklin, the letters had something quotidian and mundane about them, moving from a "tone" that was "a little distant but respectful and gracious" to oblique reference to something experienced together, and there is in them a practice of "defending herself, reviewing their history, asserting her fidelity" (Franklin 5). To convey palpably the

feel of a correspondence, Franklin's edition even printed facsimiles of the letters on separate sheets of paper, enclosing them in an envelope for the reader to open, thereby reenacting the experience of reading a missive. Werner, on the other hand, doesn't treat the texts as letters at all. She is thus not interested in the question of the addressee's identity because they are not letters and are not addressed to a real person living in a world external to Dickinson's mind. Instead of being "letters" the texts now become "documents", the "Master" becomes a "figure", and the group of texts referencing that figure becomes the "Master constellation".

What allows transformation of the letters into documents addressed to a fantasized figure — what in fact functions as the major criterion on the basis of which Werner also decides which documents can be admitted into the constellation — is whether the texts were circulated or not. Franklin read the documents as letters not only because it isn't known whether Dickinson ever fictionalized the genre, but above all — as is the case with "Dear Master I am ill" — because the condition of the manuscript, the handwriting and the variants suggested a text being prepared for circulation: "Emily Dickinson set out to prepare a finished draft suitable for mailing. She wrote in ink, on letter paper, and in a deliberate, public hand. On the second page, she miswrote 'indeed' as 'inded' but neatly added a second 'e' and continued" (Franklin 11). These indicators suggested to Franklin that the manuscript ended as an "intermediate draft" even if it was initially intended as a final one.

While Werner explicitly acknowledges that "we do not know if other, possibly resolved copies of the 'Master' documents ever circulated beyond Dickinson's papers" (26), which would allow them to be treated as a real world correspondence with an embodied human being, this acknowledgment quickly and inexplicably dissolves into the opposite constative, which asserts that they were never circulated: "none of [the "Master" documents] was ever shared with a correspondent or another reader" (29); Dickinson made the "decision to withhold the 'Master' documents from circulation while other writings from the period of 1858 to 1861, both letters and poems, sped outward" (41); "When we consider the general condition of an epistolary project, that of circulation, Dickinson leads us to recalibrate the notion as explicitly interior" (40); all "Master" documents are "private [. . .] and none was ever bound or circulated" (42); the "Master" documents are "deliberately reserved from the circuit of exchange" (29). And this criterion of non-sharing or circulating, her "deliberately" withholding, is what decides which texts can be included in the "Master" constellation. For, in addition to three texts traditionally regarded as "Master" letters, there is

a whole range of poems in which the word "Master" appears, but Werner treats only two of them as "Master" documents ("Mute-thy Coronation" and "A wife – at Daybreak") because "neither poem [was] ever circulated to or among recipients beyond the writer herself, as far as we know" (28). Thus, of the five documents constituting the constellation two are "are likely epistolary missives ['Dear Master / I am ill' and 'Master. / If you saw a bullet'], two are verses ['Mute – thy Coronation' and 'A wife – at Daybreak'], and one is a draft of uncertain genre ['Oh ' did I offend it']" (42). One may ask this, however: if what appears to be a letter isn't a letter, what is it? How can it be an epistolary missive and yet not be a letter? Is there a relation among the five documents in the constellation and what is its nature? Those central questions guide Werner's thinking and editorial decisions throughout *Writing in Time*, and the answers to them produce what I call her strong reading.

On Werner's argument, whether the five "Master" documents are epistolary or versified in form, they are not "part of an extant correspondence nor part of a poetic set but something else, an experiment of another kind" (26). The first was likely composed or copied in the spring of 1858, thus just months before Dickinson begins binding fascicles (in the summer of the same year); the last — likely from 1861 — "coincides with the single most important formal transition in Dickinson's writing", which Franklin described as a change of method. For "not only did alternative readings begin to appear, but sometimes the manuscripts were a single leaf with a single poem, not a bifolium with many. She now left many sheets and leaves unbound. [. . .] By early 1862, the fascicle idea had itself come apart" (qtd. in Werner 28). In other words, the first and the last "Master" document mark a journey from copying and binding, to alternating, varying and unbinding. And, as Werner puts it, "by 1862, Dickinson's prose and verse clearly exhibit the operant features of the experimental work belonging to the period of her highest style. These years would see an increased torsion of semantic order, marked elision and oblique reference, the integration of multiple voices, the pliancy of genre crossing between prose and verse, and a vigilant resistance to closure" (29). The five master documents thus trace this movement from order, fixity and discreteness to porousness, openness and variability. And this opening is enacted by a "breach of the referential pact [. . .] between speaker-writer and reader-addressee, between 'I' and 'You' through which the Other enters to speak at the limits of ecstasy and insurgence" (29). The breach of pact between writer and addressee indexes the confusion of their difference, so that the writer can become the addressee of her own epistles, reader of her speech, and thus the you of the I that

she is. This destabilization of the I, enacted by the forces of you or otherness residing in it but unknown to it, is what Werner calls the "entering" of the Other, which is the advancement of forces that block the closure of identity into a self-identity, keeping the "I" at the very limit of its shatteredness, which Werner identifies as the condition of ecstasy. And since this Other intrudes in ways that the I can't pre-sense, let alone control, it assumes a transcendent nature, which is why Werner capitalizes it, and why Dickinson calls it "Master", turning the Master into an addressee. The fact of there being an addressee makes three of these documents missives, as Werner calls them; but once this addressee is a transcendent force — an "alterity whose origins are untraceable" (30) — it enters the "I", traverses and even fissures it, making those missives no longer correspondence in any mundane sense of the word, but traces of force of "inner circulation". Moreover, the insurgence of this otherness that sends the "I" out of itself (ex-stasis) is so extraneous to it that Werner says she was tempted to think about a "you" in the "Master" documents in terms of a "thou": "In place of 'I' and 'You', I was tempted to write 'I' and 'thou' to underscore the strange holiness of the pact. While Dickinson does not employ the pronoun 'Thou' in these documents, her use of 'It' [as in 'Oh ' did I offend it'] may come very close to 'Thou'" (29).

What the five "Master" texts document, then, is the way in which transcendent forces, now identified as holy, come to open up the "I", to transport it into ecstasy, making it blank, and requiring it to search ceaselessly albeit unsuccessfully for a way to regain itself, however temporarily or fragilely. This experience of the mind exiting itself to dwell on the limits that cancel it finds its aesthetic correspondence in the dynamic that the "Master" documents establish between prose and verse, the dynamic between the transcendent and the individuated in which "verse [. . .] erupts inside of prose, transgressing the measure of writing and transporting writer, speaker, addressee, and reader beyond the bounds of discourse and nature" (30). The "Master" documents thus reveal Dickinson's search for an aesthetic of the irruption of verse within the order of prose, and document the ways in which language can host meaning when closure and even syntactic order recede. And they exist as an isolated constellation because after 1862 the poet found a way to think without closure, in the open, in sentences that were sometimes not only unbound fragments but variations and remnants of dispersed thought, yet filled with meaning. The "Master" documents, which Werner goes so far as to call the "Master" project, were thus a bridge between two ways of being (the gathered self, and the ecstatic shattering

of the self), and two corresponding ways of making poetry (fascicles, and unbounded poems and fragments).

Werner's reading thus emerges as one of the most profound recent examinations of the workings of Dickinson's poetics; it is an examination that discerns how earlier and later writings are related, and even establishes a continuity between them. It reconstructs the immanent concerns of Dickinson's understanding of what poetry does — to language, to speech, to the mind — and how it can be both pushed to its limits and made to bear the testimony of what it is like to be there. It is also an analysis that finds in Dickinson a thinker and a writer dedicated to incessant experimentation, intentionally trying to disturb any limit imposed on poetic form while simultaneously trying to search for a new one. Thus, much is gained by Werner's attentive and discerning meditation upon Dickinson's "Master" texts. Yet something is also lost in this reading. For, when letters become experimental works of art, internal, never circulated, when they are missives that trace the workings of ecstasy and create an inner "holy pact" with the forces of transcendence, and when the "Master" becomes a name for what fissures the self rather than an ordinary human being in the external world, then what is lost is a Dickinson who was an ordinary woman concerned with mundane matters such as love, acceptance, recognition, fear of hurting the other, fear of losing the finite, rather than transcendent other; lost is someone simply worrying about the health of another, or desiring to leave her room and meet whoever the "Master" was in some real, concrete place. Instead of circulating by means of embodied encounters with others in a concrete world, desire, speech and thought withdraw into the disembodied interior of the mind, where they work by gaining transcendent power capable of sending Dickinson into a rapture of ecstasy that is ultimately holy.

But the most important aspect of Werner's editorial intervention — the aspect that will make a lasting contribution to Dickinson studies — is the print rendition of Dickinson's handwritten texts, their ordering and their contextualization. As Werner explains, her "goal in this edition [. . .] has been to experiment with typographic facsimiles, as opposed to strictly diplomatic transcriptions" (43). Thus, in contrast to all previous "printed transcriptions of Dickinson's manuscripts, these are rendered in italic to suggest the prevailing cursive mode of the late 1850s and early 1860s"; these typographic facsimiles hope to "convey Dickinson's hand as singular, erring, moving" (43) and her "handwriting and punctuation [as] inherently expressive" (42). In addition, each of the five documents is accompanied by three

charts that list writings circulated to known or unknown correspondents, writings not circulated in the year or years each document is presumed to be written, and inventorying historical events surrounding each document. The last of these lists establishes what Werner calls the "external temporality" of the five documents "connecting each to the larger 'Master' experiment as well as to other texts produced in the 1858 to 1861 period", whereas the first two charts seek to "discover the inner temporality of the text's unfolding" (43). And if one starts by following these first two charts, reading the poems written in the same year not only together and chronologically, but in relation to the specific "Master" document, then one will agree with Werner's argument that we witness "those moments when [Dickinson] turned back or rushed forward, when one thought overtook or crowded out another, or when several thoughts in the shapes of authorial variants hung seemingly between rejection and preferred reading" (42). Through this redynamization of Dickinson's texts we thus get a glimpse into her thinking. We get to read less a series of discrete poems but the becoming of a poem. That is the most precious gift of Werner's *Writing in Time*.

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Continental Reviews

Campeggiani, Ida and Niccolò Scaffai, eds. 2019. *Eugenio Montale: La Bufera e Altro*. Milano: Mondadori. Pp. CXVII + 418. ISBN 9788804714477, Paper €24.00.

The edition of *La Bufera e Altro* annotated by Ida Campeggiani and Niccolò Scaffai is part of a wider initiative that aims to annotate Eugenio Montale's entire body of poetic works. The *Bufera* edition ends the series opened by *Ossi di seppia* (2003) and continued by *Diario del '71 e del '72* (2010), *Occasioni* (2011), *Quaderno di quattro anni* (2015), and *Satura* (2018). Two prose volumes edited by Niccolò Scaffai — a selection of *Prose narratives* (2008) and *Farfalla di Dinard* (2021) — enrich the range of annotated works, while *Quaderno di traduzioni* (2021) edited by Enrico Testa is unfortunately devoid of notes. All the volumes included in the Mondadori series share the same organization, which reflects the desire to address an informed but non-specialist readership of, among others, university students and secondary school teachers, offering them a popular and educational edition of a contemporary classic (see *Introduzione*, CXV). The result is a three-part structure: two or more authoritative critical essays at the edges, typically one recent academic essay at the beginning of the volume, and one personal contribution, chronologically contiguous to the annotated works, by a relevant critic, often a poet, at the end of it; a second, paratextual section, including a chronology, an extensive bibliography divided in sections, a list of the abbreviations, an introduction and a brief note from the editors; then, the annotated text. In the specific case of *Bufera*, the opening essay is written by Guido Mazzoni (*Il posto di Montale nella poesia moderna*; already published as part of Mazzoni 2002, 29–61), while the volume is concluded by two famous essays by Gianfranco Contini (*Montale e La bufera*, 1956) and Franco Fortini (*Di Montale*, 1974); the introduction is written by Niccolò Scaffai. For all six volumes, the critical text is obviously the one established by Rosanna Bettarini e Gianfranco Contini in *L'opera in versi* (1980), the large final section of which, *Varianti e autocommenti* (see Bettarini-Contini 1980, 937–72), is used in the commentary.

As we are told in the editors' note (CXVII), Campeggiani annotated the first six sections of the book, while Scaffai worked on the last section (*Conclusioni provvisorie*), oversaw the final revision and, as mentioned

above, wrote the introduction. Some distinctive features of the annotations depend strictly on elements that the two editors consider structural traits of Montale's third collection. First, the mannerist and hyper-literary identity of *Bufera*, which is displayed in several ways: as an allusion and explicit reference to high literary models; as a relation of intertextuality and amplification with *Occasioni*; as a reflection on the "canzoniere" form and the reuse of traditional metrical forms (such as the Elizabethan sonnet, madrigal, ballad); as the symbolic and allegorical nature of the objects, whose ultimate meaning is culturally mediated. This entails the inclusion of many sources and cultural references, as well as the continual pointing out of connections with *Occasioni* (already in Isella 2003), both in the introductions and in the notes. Then, *Bufera* is also a work that deeply interweaves the two threads of collective history and of individual, private and emotional experience: hence the need to integrate the primary text by turning to Montale's letters, self-comments, and other kind of records to correctly identify the objects that inhabit the text. Finally, the style of *Bufera* plays with a plurality of tones and registers, from sublime to colloquial, and with a variety of field specific lexis, from the technological to the literary; this requires the commentary not only to clarify the exact meaning of the single lexeme (denotation), but also to indicate their tone (connotation).

The structure of the commentary is in itself traditional: the introduction proposes a series of data and a hypothesis of global understanding of the text; the text follows, in turn followed by the notes. As with *Occasioni* (de Rogatis 2011), the commentary also contains a brief introduction to each section, setting their general grid references. On closer inspection, this is a detail that reveals a wider trait of the commentary, namely its attention to macro-textual dynamics. Even the articulation of the contents of the introduction conforms to these standards, providing information on the text's previous versions and publications, reporting the author's self-comments useful for the explanation of the text, and summarizing the thematic development of the text. The introduction does not remain silent about unsolved interpretative issues (for example, those related to the identification of the referent behind the feminine "you" present in many poems), discussing the various existing hypotheses and standing with one of them, with the help of new data when this is possible. This process involves the integration and precise verification of previous commentaries and studies, including conversations with the singular interpreter of Montale's poetry Luigi Blasucci. The final part of the introduction is autonomous and consists of a metrical description of the text (*Metrica*). The peculiarity of this

section lies in the fact that not only do we find information on the metrical structures of the text (verses, stanzas, rhymes), perhaps with the addition of the phenomena of phonic recurrence (on which Isella 2003 insists as a matter of great importance), but also we can view notations on syntactic and intonational, rhetorical and textual structures; it is precisely this attention to the poetic form as a whole that constitutes one of the strong points of Campeggiani and Scaffai's commentary. The notes *ad versum*, even more than the introductions to the compositions, are characterized by a distinctive richness. Obviously there are many glosses of syntactic, semantic, referential and figural nature, with the aim of explaining single settings of the text. A very rich section is the one dedicated to intertextuality, where literary texts share the field with other types of sources (such as operatic ones) and where often multiple sources are relevant to the same expression or verse. References to the *Occasioni* and, more generally, to *loci paralleli* and variants are also very frequent. Whether they are sources, *loci*, or variants, they are rarely reported in the notes without critical comment and/or explanation by the annotator.

Compared to previous studies on the *Bufera*, Campeggiani and Scaffai's edition can be placed in the middle. The commentary is extremely rich in data (many of which are new); for this reason it is necessarily longer than Isella's, whose aristocratic conciseness (Contini's legacy) is, on the other hand, not reached here, and than Cataldi-d'Amely's commentary on *Ossi* (2003) and de Rogatis's on *Occasioni*, since this edition doesn't limit itself to the mere explanation of the text. Conversely, like Romolini (2012) and Isella, Campeggiani and Scaffai are committed to interpretation, which, however, is not closed and apodictic, but on the contrary is offered to the reader as something open and intrinsically problematic. The lucid and graceful writing and the abundance of information make it a valuable tool for non-specialists and experts alike.

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Canettieri, Paolo, Lucilla Spetia, and Samuele Maria Visalli, eds. 2020. *Thibaut de Champagne. Edizione, tradizione e fortuna*. Rome–Bristol: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. Pp. XXII + 248. ISBN 9788891321510, Paper €190.00. ISBN 9788891321596, eBook €152.00.

This work of *Gruppo Thibaut* intends to give a preliminary presentation of the critical and digital edition of Thibaut de Champagne's lyrics. The methodology of this project has been developed in the *Laboratorio di Lirica Medievale Romanza* (LMR-Lab), the online platform which grants free access to critical editions of texts from medieval Romance lyrical traditions.

For this project, directed by Lucilla Spetia, an eminent expert in *trouvère*'s production, the *Gruppo Thibaut* is thus supported by the LMR-Lab group and by two researchers in charge of studying the musicological aspects of the corpus: Adriana Camprubí and Antoni Rossell.

Here is the table of contents: Emanuele F. Di Meo, "Per l'edizione di *Ausi com l'unicorne sui* (RS 2075, L 240.3)" (1–36); Antoni Rossell and Adriana Camprubí, "En busca de la tradición métrico-musical de la obra lírica de Thibaut de Champagne" (37–56); Lucilla Spetia, "La *chanson de change* religiosa nella tradizione trovierica e Thibaut de Champagne (RS 711, L 240.51) (e una postilla sul 'genere' *reverdie*)" (57–140); Samuele Maria Visalli, "Appunti per il disciplinare amoroso del Chrétien lirico e sondaggi sulla sua ricezione in Thibaut de Champagne" (141–66); Elisa Verzilli, "Il codice P nella tradizione di Thibaut e nella lirica oitanica" (167–88); Luca Gatti, "Sul canzoniere antico-francese j: Thibaut de Champagne (e dintorni)" (189–204); Margherita Bisceglia, "Il *buon re Tebaldo* di *Inf.* XXII. Un riferimento al *Rex Navarre* nella *Commedia*?" (205–30).

The main scientific aspects are underlined in Paolo Canettieri's introduction [IX–XXI], which explains the aim of the research project. *Gruppo Thibaut* is deeply concerned with its methodological and philological strategy, which combines the digital edition with a large production of information and analysis related to Thibaut de Champagne's lyrics. For this purpose, the group will provide the readers with the photographic reproduction of

the manuscripts, their diplomatic and interpretative transcription, a reasoned *collatio*, the edition of the archetypes and the sub-archetypes. Secondly, these preliminary editions will be followed by a critical text provided with an apparatus, a commentary on the philological and literary aspects of the texts and their tradition. Each critical text will be associated with its iconographic data. The musical tradition related to the lyrics is also at the heart of the project: a complete examination, with a philological analysis and performed compositions will be thus provided.

The project tries to take advantage of a new philological approach, whose aim is both to stress and exploit the *varia lectio*, in order to make it possible for its readers to verify the research group's work anytime, by displaying all the manuscripts and the different stages of the manuscript tradition (at archetype and sub-archetype levels). The reader, in other words, will be able to act as the second agent in the ecdotical work, in a double-check process where the quality of the text's interpretation and edition is constantly controlled. By promoting this innovative method, the group focuses on the public of the critical edition, and the digital devices provide a very complete critical apparatus as well as the edition of the different versions of a text.

The first contribution of the book is Emanuele Di Meo's article: here, the reader will find a concrete example of the team's activity, since it both follows and shows the philological approach of the LMR-Lab's digital editions. This critical edition of the poem *Ausi com l'unicorne sui* (RS 2075, L 240.3) then provides the critical text with a very complete introduction about the manuscript tradition and the construction of the critical text. The commentary is also exhaustive, explaining the *varia lectio* and focusing on the literary characteristics of this lyric poem, for which the researcher identifies a new source (the first part of the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris).

The following chapter shows the comprehensiveness of the *Gruppo Thibaut*'s philological work, focusing, at the same level, on texts, music and reception. Antoni Rossell and Adriana Camprubí present an analysis of Thibaut de Champagne's melodic corpus in the manuscript tradition, setting the examination of the poem's melodic frame in a large perspective of influences and sources. To this end, the two researchers offer a metric and melodic study of Thibaut de Champagne's poems, so as to identify formal and musical elements which show in those lyrics a first example of influence from the liturgical melodic corpus (as well as from the Latin and Romance lyrical repertoires). This examination goes though the analysis

of metric structures compared to the musical forms and their handwritten variants, in order to evaluate Thibaut de Champagne's relation to old and new traditions.

Two contributions of the volume deal with the question of the textual reception of Thibaut de Champagne's lyrics through the manuscript tradition, using a material approach in the examination of the *chansonniers*. Elisa Verzilli suggests a re-evaluation of the stemmatic place of *codex* P in the group KNPX, positing that it is higher in the stemma, contrary to the conclusions proposed by Schwan[1] in his analysis of the *trouvères* manuscript tradition. Luca Gatti takes into consideration the testimony of a fragmentary chansonnier, j, revealing important details concerning the selection and attribution procedures of pieces within the manuscript tradition.

With regard to literary criticism, many relevant questions and related analyses of interdiscursivity and reception of (and in) Thibaut de Champagne's corpus are addressed in the other contributions of this volume. Lucilla Spetia's objective is to study the relationship between three lyrical genres: the *chanson de change*, the *pastourelle*, and the *reverdie*; besides, she shows the dynamics of interdiscursivity between some of Thibaut de Champagne's religious *pieces* and other compositions of the same religious lyrical tradition, managing to underline the central part the spiritual matter acquired in his corpus as a consequence of the desertion of profane love. Afterwards, Samuele Maria Visalli traces the questions raised by the fictional and erudite debate between Raimbaut d'Aurenga, Bernart de Ventadorn, and Chrétien de Troyes on the metaphorical *carestia* (erotic or amorous famine); thanks to the comparison with the second troubadours generation (Jaufre Rudel, Cercamon, Marcabru, Peire d'Alvernhe), the researcher identifies two antipodes in the Occitan ideology regarding love: the *amor corau* and the *amor volatge*. Finally, Margherita Bisceglia studies the presence of Thibaut de Champagne in Dante's *Commedia*, postulating that Dante takes advantage of a literary strategy, which would justify the superposition between the *rex Navarre* and his son Thibaut II in *Inferno* XXII.

We recommend this collective work, from which the reader will extricate an example of a new philological approach which not only intends to navigate a compromise between Bédierian and (neo-)Lachmannian methods, but also offers a critical text as complete as possible, and an accessible and exposed philological work, which can always be evaluated

1. Schwan 1886, 97–9, 104–6.

by the reader. The advantages of this approach, as Canettieri points out, are twofold: on the one hand, it shows the textual instability, and, on the other hand, it makes the most of the critical text's "perfettibilità nel tempo" strategy (XV).

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Chines, Loredana. 2021. *Filigrane. Nuovi tasselli per Petrarca e Boccaccio*. Roma-Padova: Antenore. Pp. 125. ISBN 978-88-8455-720-9, Paper € 16.

Loredana Chines's *Filigrane*[1] is the newest work by the author on Petrarch's poetic production and on the relations, both intellectual and amicable, between Petrarch and Boccaccio.[2] The volume is presented as a map of new information and acquisitions on the topic, which tackles the difficult task of identifying in Petrarch's and Boccaccio's works all the signs and traces of their own, at times common, idea of literature, the revival of the ancient classics and poetry. As the author makes clear in the preface, *Filigrane* aims at unveiling all the correspondences we may find through the lines of a text. Notwithstanding the considerable amount of literature on this specific matter, Chines manages to give an update on the most recent scholarly contributions, availing of a double perspective, philological on the one hand, and hermeneutical on the other.

Watermarks, as suggested by the title, refer to a definition inherited from codicology and philology, that of a translucent design stamped in a paper of manufacture to show the maker, and, similarly, that of a hidden trace to be discovered with the help of critical insight. Chines chooses to explore this field with the constant support of texts, manuscripts, and marginalia, underscoring every time all those references (called by the author "segni di particolare attenzione") which are useful to understand the connections

1. *Filigrane* is the latest book published for the book series *Arezzo-Certaldo*. See also: Rico 2012, Vecchi Galli 2012, Veglia 2014, and Carrai 2017.
2. Chines 2000; 2004; 2010.

between the poets and their books and readings. Thus, we are presented with two authors of the *canon*, who are simultaneously examined from the points of view of their attitude as writers as well as that of readers and scholars.

Before proceeding to the examination of the chapters and main topics, three precious merits of *Filigrane* deserve mention: first, Chines adopts a clear and vivid writing style that takes nothing away from an arduous subject; second, the philological framework provides scholars and students with useful 'work tools' for a critical and philological analysis, even for those who are not expert in Petrarch's and Boccaccio's productions; and, last but not least, the continuous reliance on translations (from Latin to Italian) and the accurate bibliography, besides serving as a first-run reading, supply an example of methodological mastery.

The first of the five chapters, *Tracce ovidiane*, is divided into three subchapters, and points out the importance of specific interpretations of the Ovidian contribution to intertextuality in the *Decameron* and *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*. *Lo stupore di Cimone (Decameron V 1)*, for instance, sheds light on the role of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* in the framework of the novella; Boccaccio was particularly interested in the less famous of the Latin poet's works (*Heroides* and *Fastorum)* and none of Boccacio's codices of *Metamorphoses is* nowadays extant.[3] When drawing inspiration for the description of the epiphany of Ifigenia to an admiring Cimone, Boccaccio had in mind the second book of *Ars Amatoria*, which he owned (Ricc. 489), and where the Certaldese could read "Amor [. . .] et levis est, et habet geminas, quibus avolet, alas"; those words were followed, in Ovid, by the episode of the fall of Icarus. Turning to Petrarch (*Le chiome raccolte di Laura tra Dafne e Diana, Rvf 52*), Chines adds an original interpretation of the famous *topos* of Laura's hair (and, specifically, the moment she ties it), an iconic image which was and still is very successful in Italian poetry, recognizing *Met*. I 474–77 as its specific 'ipotesto'; in those verses, Dafne, managing to avoid Apollo, modestly collects her clothes and hair: "Aemula Phoebes: vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos". The same bashfulness of Dafne and Febe-Diana is attributed to Laura, in madrigal 52, and to Petrarch himself in *Rvf* 23, when the poet, as the hero Atteone, turns into a deer as soon as he notices Laura-Diana bathing. The binomial Laura-Dafne makes sense as long as Petrarch re-uses the ancient myth adapting it to his needs, to 'poeticize' his own experience. This is not exclusively restricted to Ovid's poems. Indeed, on many other occasions Petrarch seeks for heroical and mythological characters who may embody and impersonate features of his own life both

3. De Robertis, Monti, Petoletti, Tanturli, Zamponi 2013, 405.

as a poet and a man; notably, the hero Bellerophon, Omer's invention, serves as the ideal of emotions, features, resemblances: he hangs around, troubled and tormented for the death of his children, in the same way Petrarch does in *Solo et pensoso* (*Rvf* 35). The importance of this reference is examined in the second chapter, *Note in margine al Petrarca- Bellerofonte*, with examples of what Chines calls "l'ansia petrarchesca di proiezione del proprio volto" (21) in Petrarch's poetry, prose (*Seniles, De remediis),* and manuscripts. Here Chines reminds the readers about one of the most interesting of Petrarch's writing habits: as a reader and book collector he used to write his famous *marginalia* (notes containing words or phrases relevant for the annotated passage), which are, for us, precious clues to understanding the analytical depth of his studies and interpretations. The last point is of primary concern, as well shown by Chines in each chapter, when, together with cross-references, the reader finds pictures of some of the most famous of Petrarch's *codices* (see Tavole). Another brick in the wall of Petrarch's 'poetic memory', concerning the topic of *solitudo,* as explained previously, is the strong connection with the story of Abelard and Heloise, which Petrarch knew from the manuscript now Par. Lat. 2923. The renowned correspondence between the teacher Abelard and his disciple Heloise so attracted Petrarch's attention that he felt the need to write some of the well-known 'notes intime' on his *codex*; one of these displays, again, "*solitudo*" and regards the moment when Abelard, expelled from Saint-Denis due to his controversial work *De unitate et trinitate*, looks for a safe and quiet place away from the society. Such a theme, together with Abelard as the character, is assumed as an *exemplum,* in *De vita solitaria,* of an existence lived apart, in thoughtful loneliness. As far as Boccaccio is concerned, the episode of Abelard and Heloid is employed, Chines explains, to build the main character's features in *Decameron II 10*; Bartolomea, a young and handsome woman from Pisa, is married to Riccardo, a stuffy old judge. When Bartolomea is kidnapped by the pirate Paganino, despite being terrified at first, she comes to appreciate all Paganino's devotion and, in meeting her husband again, she confesses to be feeling the same as the pirate. This dialogue, as described through the powerful *verve* of the Certaldese, resembles a theatrical *piece,* filled with irony and enriched with the power of misunderstandings. Bartolomea's words are unscrupulous as she is depicted as a modern, open-minded young woman similarly as Heloise appears in the lines of her correspondence with Abelardo (Epist. II 10).

Given the initial consideration about the lack of a detailed critical and philological analysis of Petrarch's *Bucolicum Carmen,* the fourth chapter, *Un volto nascosto di Laura*, succeeds in revealing all the potentiality of an in-depth study of the bucolic as a poetic genre, which additionally

is the 'meeting ground' for Petrarch and Boccaccio's poetry and a turning point for Italian and European literature. The *Bucolicum Carmen* project took twenty years of Petrarch's life, this due, as Chines illustrates, first to his willingness to make a "manifesto autoesegetico" (47) out of the poem, and second to the difficulties of facing a long-standing tradition for pastoral poems, which dated back to Virgil's *Bucoliche*.[4] This double perspective is assumed to justify Petrarch's long-lasting review, and, similarly, his prime concern is the call of collective history to be portrayed by his poem in both formal and conceptual effort. In other words, Petrarch made use of the bucolic genre to narrate by examples, hiding behind the allegory the truth of human life, which was to be intended as collective and unique to the same extent.

The semantic of Petrarch's poetic vocabulary is one of the most challenging and complex issues; given the number of originals we have for his works, a paleographical analysis is necessary to comprehend the poet's rewriting process. Chines, thus, underscores the importance of technology as an investigative tool in cases like the one she reports, regarding the variants of the name *Dafne* in *Bucolicum Carmen III*. Thanks to ultraviolet rays Chines succeeds in finding traces of Petrarch's reconsiderations on how to refer to Laura's pseudonyms, each time with a different shade of meaning. Boccaccio, for his part, took advantage of the polysemy and the richness of the Aretine poet, to build the figure of Ifigenia who appears as an epiphany to Cimone staring at her (*Decameron V 1*), showing, once again, his debt towards his model.

In the last chapter, *Ombre, parole e silenzi. Petrarca e Giovanni*, Chines focuses on the figure of Giovanni Petrarca in his father's epistles, starting with the less famous but not less dramatic 'nota obituaria' the poet wrote in his manuscript, Virgilio Ambrosiano. Petrarch's words, as presented, are laconic and bare, yet evocative and meaningful. As far as we know Giovanni and Francesco Petrarca (son and father) had a troubled relationship caused by the immoderation and disobedience of the first one; the author of the *Canzoniere* had never clearly written the name Giovanni when referring to his son, except for this occurrence. Aiming to reconstruct a truthful picture of Giovanni, Chines interprets the words and silences of Petrarch's letters with special attention to the texts and their translation from Latin. Nevertheless, the insensibility and reticence

4. For instance, Petrarch's careful consideration of the dualistic nature of the eclogue itself, on his Virgilio Ambrosiano A79 inf., F. 2v he wrote: "idest geminum sensum habens: licteralem scilicet et allegoricum" (47).

Petrarch pretends to show might be a consequence of his pain and torment for how disappointing his son had been in life, dying young before he could experience a real behavior change, a "mutatio in melius". Otherwise, this pain, as a philosophical and universal issue, finds space in the dialogical treatise *De Remediis* (II 44); Chines's investigation, from this standpoint, is summed up with a few final considerations on the importance, for Petrarch and Boccaccio, of focusing the reader's attention and critical inquiry on multiple issues, looking at the two poets and their texts as a complex system: on the one hand, their entire poetical production and, on the other, their *modus operandi,* their *habitus* as readers themselves, interpreters, editors, and scholars.

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Conti, Fulvio, ed. 2021. *Il Sommo italiano. Dante e l'identità della nazione*. Roma: Carocci. Pp. 244. ISBN 9788829011506, Hardback €18.

In the year that marks the 700th anniversary of the death of Dante, Fulvio Conti dedicates an exhaustive volume to "the way in which Dante has been used, through the last three centuries, to decline the identity of the nation" (14). From the "revival" of Dante, that dates to the end of the XVIII century, to the "public use" of him in later times, Conti traces a recent his-

tory of the celebration of a figure that more than any other permeates the Italian imagination. Conti begins his journey through the interpretations and uses of Dante at the end of the XVIII century, when the canon of the four Italian poets — Dante, Petrarca, Ariosto and Tasso — is defined. The aversion to Dante at the beginning of the century (one that has its roots in a more general aversion to the poetry and identifies its exception in Giambattista Vico) gives way to a new feeling of admiration for the poet destined to grow in the following century. This change of course is strictly linked to the new political horizons that introduce the Risorgimento. In this context Dante gives voice to new demands and embodies a new civil idea of literature. It is in this period that the poet's tomb is erected in Ravenna in neoclassical style, between 1780 and 1781, and that, in the nineteenth century, will be visited by poets such as Byron and Shelley.

Conti highlights how this renewed celebratory interest in Dante is due to Alfieri and Monti, as Ugo Foscolo, the champion of the rediscovery of the poet, states in the *Discorso sul testo della Commedia di Dante*, published in London in 1825. At the beginning of the century, the author of the *Sepolcri* introduces an interpretation of the figure of Dante, strongly connoted in a political sense, that will influence future interpretations over the century. In this poem, and later in his English essays dedicated to the poet, Dante is the "ghibellin fuggiasco", in reference to the poet's opposition of excessive papal power. The legacy of Foscolo that encouraged the "process of iconization of Dante as father of the homeland" (26), is carried out by Mazzini, firstly through the article *Dell'amor patrio di Dante*, written in 1827, and, later, through the edition of the *Commedia* with comments by Foscolo.

Throughout the XVIII century a reading of the figure of Dante as a prophet is also affirmed, from Madame de Stael, who defines him as "Homer of modern times" in the novel *Corinne ou l'Italie*, to Byron, whose 1821 poem *The Prophecy of Dante* examines the description of the history of the XIV century made by Dante as an omen of the decline of Italy. Between 1802 and 1803 the debate over the monument that should have celebrated the poet unveiled in Florence. The first project for the statue destined for Piazza Santa Croce, conceived by Luigi de Cambray Digny, was soon abandoned, then resumed again in 1818 — when, for the occasion, Giacomo Leopardi wrote the poem *Sopra il monumento di Dante che si preparava in Firenze* — and finally realized in 1830.

The period of Dante's revival culminates with the celebrations of 1865 that have their dress rehearsal in those made the previous year in Pisa for Galileo but that, differently from these, assume a national connotation, representing the first great celebration of the Kingdom of Italy. In concert,

moreover, with the organization of the sixth centenary of Dante's birth, a debate over the monument that should have been dedicated to the poet results in Enrico Pazzi's 1865 Statue of Dante Alighieri. First conceived for a site in Ravenna, the statue is located in Piazza Santa Croce, a choice that represents both the sign of espionage by the Florentines for the exile inflicted on the poet and the introduction to the Basilica di Santa Croce, which was seen as temple of Italian glories (57).

The organization of the celebration immediately juxtaposed those who intended to keep it in the footsteps of tradition and those who deemed it appropriate to open it to a wider audience. The three days dedicated to the celebration in Florence registered wide participation. On the one hand, the 1865 celebration of the figure of Dante intertwined with the aspiration of the completion of the national unification and confirmed the consecration of the poet as symbol. On the other hand, the event also reopened the Florentines' attempt to bring the ashes of the poet back from Ravenna. This request, however, was denied: only years later, during the works on the area around the tomb, a wooden box holding *Dantis Ossa* was discovered.

The celebrations of 1865 represent a milestone in the fortune of the public use of the figure of Dante, which continued with vigor in the following decades, between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Thus, Dante was confirmed as an icon of national identity. In those same decades Dante societies were born: the Deutsche Dante-Gellschaft was founded in 1865, the Oxford Dante Society was founded in 1876, the Dante Society of America followed in 1880, chaired by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, translator of the *Commedia*, and the Società Dantesca Italiana was founded in Florence in 1888 and boasted such founders as Ruggero Bonghi, Cesare Cantù, Giosuè Carducci, Alessandro D'Ancona e Angelo De Gubernatis and Pasquale Villari. Since the beginning the Società dantesca was dedicated to supporting work on the critical edition of the *Commedia*, the publication of the "Bullettino", a journal dedicated to Dante studies, and the institution of the *Lectura Dantis*, first held in April 1899 by Guido Mazzoni that underlined "the link between the cult of Dante and myth of the Risorgimento" (82).

In this context the importance assumed by Dante's celebrations is highlighted by private initiatives within the residences of those who were fascinated by the figure of the poet. Conti mentions the case of the Count Gian Giacomo Poldi Pezzoli who commissioned to Giuseppe Bertini a reduced version of the stained-glass window *Il trionfo di Dante* (*The Triumph of Dante*) that the artist had presented at the Great Universal Exhibition of London in 1851, destined for the Studiolo dantesco of his Milanese palace. The realization of the Studiolo dantesco, that takes place between

1853 and 1856, refers to the patriotic sentiment that marks the path of the Count that had participated in the Risorgimento. As Conti points out, the use of the figure of Dante in a more popular way begins in this phase. An example of this is represented by the edition of the *Commedia* known as the "Dantino", published in Milan, and the illustrations of the *Commedia* by Gustave Doré on a collection of matchboxes, commissioned by the industrialist Luigi Baschiera of Venice to the lithographic company of the Doyen brothers of Turin. All these initiatives are part of the phenomenon that Conti calls "dantomania", to which are also attributable the establishment of places dedicated to the celebration of the poet and the creation of monuments of him, such as those in Mantua, Naples, and Trento. The last one, in particular, realized in 1896 by the sculptor Cesare Zocchi, is linked to irredentism as the main supporter of the project was the irredentist Guglielmo Ranzi, who set up a promotion committee and raised a significant amount of money for the construction of the monument.

Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the cult of Dante has its epicentre in Ravenna, where the congress of the Italian Dante Society is held in 1902, followed in 1908 by a ceremony, distinguished by religious elements. In the same period, Conti underlines, despite the critics of the avant-garde towards the phenomenon of the "dantismo", both popular cult and philological research mark the path of the fortune of Dante. And in 1911, the highly successful film *L'Inferno* with scenes inspired by Gustave Doré's illustrations and the short-movie with the same title were screened. The other important stage was the sixth centenary of 1921, which, as Conti points out, saw greater government participation than the celebrations of 1865 and was based on a restoration plan involving the towns linked to the poet but that identified Ravenna as the central site. These celebrations were also characterized by the participation of the Catholic world, which set up a committee in Ravenna devoted to the publication of a bulletin.

Many initiatives were organized for the sixth centenary both in Italy, such as the two films, both made in 1921 — the first, conceived by the entrepreneur Giovanni Montalbano, focused on Dante's life (*Dante nella vita e nei tempi suoi*) and the second, entitled *La mirabile visione*, that was ultimately withdrawn — and abroad, particularly in the United States, where the architect Bel Geddes conceived the idea of a theatre devoted to performances of the *Commedia*, a project known as the Divine Comedy Theater. But the project that saw the light of day was the creation of a statue dedicated to the poet and erected in Manhattan.

But there is another significant step linked to the 1921 celebrations and that is the recognition of Dante's mortal remains by two important anthro-

pologists, Professor Giuseppe Sergi and Professor Fabio Frassetto. Frassetto's publication of the work *Dantis Ossa* and his collaboration with the sculptor Alfonso Borghesani Frassetto, who presented a bronze bust of the poet with his likeness according to the studies he had carried out, were essential contributions. The celebrations of 1921 confirm the figure of Dante as a symbol of national identity and anticipate its use by the Fascist regime. Mussolini, in fact, mentioned Dante several times in his speeches and several manifestations of the cult of Dante took place during that regime, including the inauguration of the Dante tribune in the National Central Library in Florence in 1929, which was to have housed Dante's memorabilia and an envelope containing the poet's ashes, later lost, and found in 1999 — and the construction of the Danteum, a temple dedicated to the poet, designed by Giuseppe Terragni but never realized.

The last part of the path outlined by Conti coincides with the second half of the 20th century, when Dante is confirmed as one of the symbols of the Italian cultural tradition and as a global icon, as highlighted by the choice of Dante's portrait for the 2 euros coin and the philatelic series dedicated to him. And it is with the global mobilization that took place on the occasion of the 1965 celebrations that Dante becomes a universal symbol. Committees for celebrations of Dante were set up in many countries all over the world. In New York and Lugano, for example, there exhibitions showing illustrations of the *Commedia* by Robert Rauschenberg and Salvator Dalì. Even the Church states the centrality of Dante within the Catholic world through the apostolic letter *Altissimi cantus*.

As demonstrated in the celebrations of 1965, there are many cases of the use of Dante's figure in a popular way. Dante inspires comedy (e.g., *L'Inferno di Topolino* and Go Nagai's *Commedia*), influences cinema (e.g., Ron Howard's *Inferno*, based on Dan Brown's novel), and even touches the industry of advertising (e.g., Olio Dante). In more recent years the public readings of the cantos of the *Commedia*, performed by Roberto Benigni, have also met with great success, a sign of a global recognition that has recently culminated in the institution of a commemoration day, the *Dantedì*, set for 25 March.

Through his volume Conti highlights how the cult of Dante, which spans the centuries, is deeply affected by the historical and political context of Italy and how, moreover, in all eras, Dante succeeds in being a paramount cultural reference subject to a virtually infinite range of readings.

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Italia, Paola, Giulia Raboni, et al. 2021. *What is authorial philology?* Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers. Pp. 214 and 12 illustrations. ISBN 978-1-80064-023-8, Paper £19.95.

This work, whose first Italian edition came out in 2010, provides a synthetic though complete overview of authorial philology, focusing on its history (Chapter 1) and its methods (Chapter 2), in their development in the Italian scholarly tradition, which is a particularly prolific one, stimulated by the very early preservation of autograph materials and encouraged by the attention on the authorial work since the fourteenth century, that is to say, the century of Petrarch. Indeed, Petrarch's *Codice degli abbozzi* is a fundamental witness not only because of the texts it preserves and the key role that his *Canzoniere* plays in Italian literature, but also because the *Codice degli abbozzi* testifies to a fracture between medieval literature and a new, so to say modern, awareness of the authorial work. The attention of the author to his own work, in fact, inspired Bembo's work as his editor, showing once again an early interest in this 'peculiar' approach to the literary text.

An extremely rich theoretical reflection arose around this historical situation of Italian literature, that is, the early preservation of autograph materials, including the revisions made by the authors to their own texts.[1] The effort to clarify the relation between author and text and between material documentation and interpretation of the literary work has been fundamental to scholars like Pasquali, Contini, and, of course, Dante Isella, who first used the expression "authorial philology" to identify the discipline. The book describes in a very clear manner this fruitful history, following the development of authorial philology as an autonomous discipline through different stages of theoretical definition and practical applications.

The completeness of the historical section of the book goes along with the clearness of the truly methodological section and of the examples of critical editions. Both carried out on the basis of strong methodological criteria and didactic approach, the sections *Methods* and *Examples* (this

1. During the Renaissance, too, there are some famous cases of authorial variants (Ariosto, Machiavelli, Castiglione, Bembo, Tasso) and the eighteenth century presents interesting cases of preserved authorial manuscripts as well (Parini, Alfieri, Monti). However, handwritten witnesses sensibly increase from the nineteenth century onwards, and works by Foscolo, Leopardi, Manzoni, Carducci and others are often testified by authorial documents from the first draft to the printing, giving us the opportunity to follow the entire process of authorial writing and revisioning.

last divided into two chapters centered respectively on Italian examples and European ones) allow us to enter the workshop first of the philologist and then of the author. This gives easy accessibility to philological authorship to non-specialist readers or to philologists from different scholarly approaches. In particular, the sections of examples set out in chronological order (Chapters 3 and 4) provide an overview of some concrete problems related to the treatment of authorial variants in critical editions. The choice of the analyzed editions offers samples of the most common and problematic situations faced by philologists, including the definition of a base-text, the individuation and representation of writing and intermediate versions of a work (an issue typically raised by the *Seconda minuta* of *I promessi sposi*), and so on.[2]

With regard to the Italian version of the book, this chapter is enhanced in the English edition with cases drawn from European literature. Regarding the Italian context, those examples are taken from the already cited Petrarch's *Codice degli abbozzi*, from the *Rime d'amore* by Tasso, from Leopardi's *Canti*, Manzoni's *Fermo e Lucia* and from Gadda's novels and short stories. For the European perspective, instead, Chapter 4 presents cases from Lope de Vega, Shelley, Austen, Proust, and Beckett, provided both by specialists of the authors (Presotto, Boadas, Beloborodova, Van Hulle, and Verhulst) and by Italian scholars (Centenari, Feriozzi, and Marranchino) whose main research interests are Italian literature and philology. This choice promotes a dialogue between Italian philological tradition and experts of foreign literature and gives concrete proof of the applicability of Italian philological methodologies to European literature as well. Moreover, the copresence of authors with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds is a practical application of the spirit which guides the whole book.

In fact, the central aim of this translation is to give a clear overview of authorial philology in other countries. However, I think that it also intends to show a practical possibility of the coexistence of different philological methods and approaches not in the form of conflicting perspectives, but in a dialogical dimension. Indeed, the volume devotes consistent attention to differences and interrelations between specific philological schools,[3] including the digital point of view as well. The natural consequence of this setting is a reflection on how, to cite the book, "thanks to the advan-

2. Not a secondary aspect considered in the textbook concerns the "untouchability" of the authorial text, a matter which still produces interesting debates.
3. See, above of all, paragraph 1.4, which examines the distinction between *critique génétique* and Italian authorial philology.

tages of the digital medium, the relations between authorial philology and genetic criticism, which in the 1990s had been rather lukewarm, have been strengthened in a common effort to enhance philology in general, by promoting seminars, conferences and specific studies on the genesis of texts" (23).

That was already true in 2010 and it is even more true and relevant today, given the widespread dissemination of scholarly digital editions. In fact, to date, the consistent application of digital tools and methodologies to critical editions makes even more imperative the interchanges among philological paradigms. It is crucial to improve the accuracy of their respective comprehension; it would be crucial as well to concretely support the development of digital editions which actually face and solve issues of representability and interpretations of authorial variants and corrections. In other words: since the digital medium presents itself as the perfect environment to support and show the process of the literary work, a strong and broad philological competence is required to make these opportunities productive. This book helps to counter the still deep miscomprehension about authorial philology[4] and prompts the necessary dialogue between philological schools, to guide the creation of digital editions and tools.

Speaking in a more practical way, this publication could have two desirable consequences, reachable also thanks to the availability of the publication in open access (https://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/1231), a not neutral and particularly fruitful choice. First of all, it could stimulate networking, despite the plurality of methodologies of representing corrections and authorial elaborations, in order to establish a common system of representation for similar textual phenomena: an old problem which has not been solved yet and which significantly affects the usability of editions and apparatuses for critical consideration of the authors. Second, and following these good collaborative practices, this volume could help scholars

4. It is of some importance to underline that authorial philology itself is not a monolithic discipline and collects different opinions and points of view. This in terms of general theoretical approach (I am thinking, for example, of the proposal of Isabella Becherucci about the possibility of changing the name of the discipline, see Becherucci 2017) and, more practically, on the editorial praxis. *What is authorial philology?* precisely underlines this latter aspect and examines its consequences both in terms of readability of the editions and also regarding the even more crucial issue of the use of critical apparatuses in order to detect the author's *modus operandi* and the creative mechanisms behind the text.

to avoid an overrepresentation on the digital medium of a restricted philological perspective (frequently partial).[5]

As a further point of reflection, it could be useful to note that paragraph 1.7 (*Authorial philology in the latest decade*) specifically takes into account the importance of the digital medium for philology, frequently mentioned in this review section because of the increasing role the digital environment is playing in editorial praxis and textuality in a broader sense. This section, prepared for the new edition, provides an updated bibliography regarding critical editions and theoretical studies on the topic, for example the series of books *Filologia d'autore*, launched in 2017 and dedicated to the working methods of ancient and modern authors.[6] More than this, these pages cite significant digital tools like the website www.filologiadautore.it and the Grata Franzini's Catalogue of Digital Edition (https://dig-ed-cat.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/) together with samples of international collaborations and innovative projects[7] which testify to the network among scholars, methods and digital technologies mentioned above.

All these examples of integration of different media and perspectives are also presented as a necessary condition to reflect on aspects of authorial work not yet investigated — aspects that encourage ambitious challenges for authorial philology like the possibility of identifying writing common to different authors or the chance of investigating creative thinking through the study of variants. Furthermore, the application of the methods of authorial philology to works of foreign literatures is seen as a new basis to understand whether the methodology of correction depends on the language used or on the genre chosen by the authors.

To conclude, this book will play a key role in the next years for two primary reasons. At a "basic level", as I have already pointed out, it will

5. Even if Mancinelli and Pierazzo (2020) partially disagree, it is difficult to ignore the sensitive preponderance of documentary editions, which *What is authorial philology?* rightly described as "hyper-diplomatic transcriptions, despite being often presented as critical editions" (25).
6. See Raboni 2017, Italia 2017, Montagnani and De Lorenzo 2018, Moreno 2019, Caruso and Casari 2020, and also forthcoming works on Boccaccio (Fiorilla) and Machiavelli (Stoppelli).
7. See, for instance, the mention of *Philoeditor* (http://projects.dharc.unibo.it/philoeditor/), the publication of the monographic issue of *Genesis* focused on Italian manuscripts (Del Vento and Musitelli 2019) and the THESMA PROJECT, an example of the new application of technologies to analyze manuscripts, specifically using imaging techniques like spectrometric analysis and terahertz waves (23–6).

improve the dissemination and comprehension of authorial philology abroad, on a theoretical and practical plane. That will give the necessary basis to an actual collaboration between different philological schools. Linked to that, the book offers the basic skills to investigate non-Italian literary works with Italian authorial philology methods, which I think still may be the best option for representing the revision process in a diachronic form, providing the necessary knowledge to stimulate the interaction between philology and criticism. It is a crucial point, since this interaction is actually the base and the final objective of philological work, regardless of the language or the material situation of the texts. But also, in a more general dimension, the book (and I am now specifically referring to the English edition) is guided by a truly open methodological approach which highlights the importance of a new dialogical perspective among philologists and the value of spreading concrete applications of authorial philology and textual criticism.

Seen through this double lens, the volume offers itself as a useful and stimulating instrument for non-specialistic readers and for expert scholars too, who could benefit from the general setting of the manual and especially from discussions regarding the application of authorial philology to English, French and Spanish authors.

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Beltrami, Pietro. 2021. *À quoi sert une édition critique ? Lire les textes de la littérature romane médiévale*. Traduction de Jean-Pierre Chambon, Yan Greub et Marjolaine Raguin. Paris: Classiques Garnier [Medieval Literary Research, 30]. Pp. 233. ISBN 978-2-406-11340-9, Paper $24.00.

Trovato, Paolo. 2019. *Sguardi da un altro pianeta. Nove esercizi di filologia (Lai de l'ombre, Libro de buen amor, Lazarillo, fonti storiche e musicali)*. Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it [Storie e linguaggi, 33]. Pp. 318. ISBN 978-8833591766, Paper $39.95.

Baker, Craig, Marcello Barbato, Mattia Cavagna, Yan Greub, eds. 2018. *L'Ombre de Joseph Bédier: théorie et pratique éditoriales au xx*e *siècle*. Strasbourg: ELiPhi [Travaux de littérature romane]. Pp. 380. ISBN 978-2-3727-6022-5, Paper €45.

Trovato, Paolo. 2017. *Everything you always wanted to know about Lachmann's method. A non-standard handbook of genealogical textual criticism in the age of post-structuralism, cladistics, and copytext*. Revised edition. Foreword by Michael D. Reeve. Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it [Storie e linguaggi, 7]. Pp. 362. ISBN 978-8862928601, Paper $45.96.

It can undoubtedly be said, without fear of contradiction, that the publication of Joseph Bédier's essay devoted to the manuscript tradition of the *Lai de l'Ombre* represented the greatest "schism" in the "relatively peaceful world of textual scholars" (Trovato 2017, 78). The echo of the telluric shock caused by that "formidable and almost destructive double attack (1913, 1928) on the method of common errors advocated and applied in an exemplary way for the times by his master Gaston Paris" (Trovato 2019, 9)[1] does not cease to reverberate in ecdotic practices and methodological debates. This rupture affected not so much the field of classical philology as that of Romance philology. Composed in the first quarter of the thirteenth

1. Unless otherwise specified, the translation of the texts in Italian and French is ours.

century, the *Lai de l'Ombre* has been transmitted by seven manuscripts, all of which are at least sixty years later than its composition. In 1890, Bédier arrived at a two-branched *stemma*. That same year, Bédier's *maître*, Gaston Paris, proposed an alternative *stemma* in his review of the *Lai*. In 1913, Bédier reproposed the same classification of 1890, but the relevant errors were partially different. In the introduction, after pointing out that Lachmann's method almost invariably produces bipartite *stemmata*, Bédier expresses serious reservations about its scientific nature.[2] In 1928–1929, Bédier proposed, in reaction and with greater vigor, a return to the editorial practice of the *bon manuscript*, adducing several other *stemmata* "that he said were just as likely" (Trovato 2019, 22). Bédier's legacy dominates especially in the French school — where Romanists have accepted the master's lesson, rejecting the common-error method — and in North America, while in Italy a tradition based on the genealogical method continues to dominate. The Italian neo-Lachmannism was able to amend the mechanistic application of the stemmatic method, taking into account some of Bédier's objections (Duval 2015, 7). Frédéric Duval has recently published a critical and annotated edition of Bédier's 1928–1929 essay.

The initiative can be rightly inscribed in a series of essays and publications in which Duval reasons about Bédier's legacy, questions of method, the need to delimit and define the main issues that pivot on the edition of the text, specifically the medieval text; the opportunity, finally, to bring back into the spotlight the founding texts of the scientific debate on textual criticism: texts that, as in the case of Bédier's essay, are often unknown to scholars. This is the intent that animates the publication of the proceedings (Duval 2006) of the conference day *Pratiques philologiques en Europe* (Paris, École des Chartes, September 23, 2005): to measure the impact of academic tradition, language, corpus, and even historical-political events on editors' choices, "to compare different linguistic fields in order to understand, on a European scale, which philological questions were national traditions or debates and which were more commonly shared" (Duval 2006, 5–20). The volume constitutes an ideal recap in which each essay-framework introduces the philology of a country and a language, in order to provide a panorama of publishing practices[3] and philological orienta-

2. "[E]lle signifie que l'on est en présence non point de faits réels de l'histoire de la transmission des textes, mais à l'ordinaire de phénomènes qui se passent dans l'esprit des éditeurs de textes" (Bédier 1913; see Trovato 2017, 21).

3. In its preference for the concept of "practice" over that of "method" or "theory", the title pays homage to Lecoy 1978.

tions in Europe, beyond prejudices, since "the Italians are not all strictly Lachmannian, and the French are not unanimously Bediérists" (Duval 2006, 6). As for the German tradition, it "cannot be reduced to Lachmann and opposed to Bédier, when Friedrich-Heinrich von der Hagen, a contemporary of the Grimms, had already given up the reconstruction of an archetype in order to choose the best manuscript" (Duval 2006, 6). Nevertheless, Duval points out, no philologist can escape the tradition that formed him, and this observation "also concerns the terminology used to speak of philology" (Duval 2006, 12).

Precisely, the volume published by Duval in 2015, *Les mots de l'édition des textes*, is dedicated to the taxonomy gravitating around philological practices. The words of the textual edition crystallize "centuries-old, sometimes multi-thousand-year-old reflections" (Duval 2015, 7); the scholar notes among French editors — at least among medievalists — a lesser mastery of technical textual lexicon, which, moreover, is much reduced in French compared to German, Italian, and Spanish manuals. This is mainly due to the French rejection of the "Lachmann method", which closely follows Bédier's attacks (Duval 2015, 6): the rejection of the method would have entailed the rejection of concepts, and consequently, "of the words that verbalize" these concepts (Duval 2015, 6). Making his own the words of Alphonse Dain, Duval invokes the absolute necessity for the text editor to "adopt a reflexive and non-hereditary approach" (Duval 2015, 8), showing that certain concepts "*a priori* linked to one community (antiquists, medievalists, philologists of the printed text, or geneticists) can stimulate the theoretical or methodological reflection of another, beyond prejudice" (Duval 2015, 9). The reflection on the taxonomy of textual criticism had already found an outlet in the presentation made by the scholar at the colloquium organized at the Free University of Brussels on the centenary of the famous edition of *Lai de l'Ombre* by Joseph Bédier. The colloquium proceedings have recently been published in a volume entitled *L'Ombre de Joseph Bédier: théorie et pratique éditoriales au xx*e *siècle* (Baker, Barbato, Cavagna, Greub 2018).

In his contribution, emblematically titled "À la recherche des bédiéristes et de leurs avatars", instead of presenting the evolution of practices chronologically, Duval chooses to assume (as in the case of *Les mots de l'édition des textes*) the role of an ideal lexicographer, grappling with the definition of the numerous deanthroponymic derivatives of Bédier, starting with "bédierisme" (Duval 2018, 182), whose semantic evolution, alongside that of "bédierism" and "bedierismo" varies from one academic tradition to another, making a diachronic approach much difficult. The question is

far from being minor, if one considers that Bédier himself "was less bedierist than one might expect" (Varvaro 1999, 54).[4] In the contribution devoted to Bédier's deanthroponyms, the lexicographic perspective allows Duval to highlight the paradox of the so-called Bedierist school. Despite the existence of a "bedierist doctrine" being admitted by scholars such as Cesare Segre or Gian Battista Speroni (1991, 46) Bédier did not entrust his ideas to general, organic, and extensive theoretical studies, but rather to reflections tied to certain case studies, in particular those dedicated to the *Lai de l'Ombre* and to the *Chanson de Roland*. If a bedierist academic school can really be identified, it seems rather to be defined by his disciples (Duval 2018, 184), among whom Mario Roques and Félix Lecoy stand out. However, they applied the principles of so-called bedierism much more rigidly than their master.

Today, no one refers to himself as a bedierist *tout-court*, preferring appellations such as "neo-bedierist" or "post-bedierist": behind this choice lies "a semantic inaccuracy inherent to bedierism" (Duval 2018, 198). If Bédier's legacy can be summarized in two main axes — the choice of a good manuscript and the minimal intervention of the editor — each of them is "accompanied by a gray area that Bédier did not eliminate, or at least not sufficiently: his reflections are not explicit either on the criteria for choosing the manuscript to be edited, or on the definition of 'evident errors'" (Duval 2018, 198). It is precisely the desire to bring back into the spotlight Bédier's genuine reflections that animates the recent publication of "*La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre de Joseph Bédier" ou la critique textuelle en question. Édition critique et commentaires*, a publication whereby Duval addresses a wide audience, potentially composed of specialists and non-specialists alike. If the collective work *L'Ombre de Joseph Bédier,* focusing on the reception of Bédier's philological reflections and their contextualization, addressed a specialist audience, the volume published by Champion can also be handled by a non-expert reader. Rereading Bédier, according to Duval, is now more necessary than ever, since he is the "tutelary figure of French philological practice for more than a century, despite being unknown by most editors" (Duval 2021, 11). Indirect knowledge of Bédier has inevitably led to an oversimplification of his observations, "often summarized in a few formulas, beyond any reference to his philologi-

4. The article originally appeared as "La 'New Philology' nella prospettiva italiana" (Varvaro 1997). In the same year, Alain Corbellari wrote that "Bédier was not immediately bedierist; and it is not certain that he would have approved of all those who today refer to him" (Corbellari 1997, 505).

cal work and the publishing practices of the first third of the twentieth century" (Duval 2021, 11). The annotated edition aims at guiding the reader, by situating the reflections in a broader context of writing and reception, underlining the issues and defining key concepts. The reading guide is composed of three moments: the critical notes, which punctually intervene where the text could prove difficult to understand; a commentary, divided into fourteen sections, dedicated to the most important methodological points developed by Bédier; and, three analytical chapters, which inscribe Bédier's essay in the long trajectory of philological reflection, setting the editorial context, and drawing a balance of direct and indirect influence on editorial practices. Duval does not fail to address the epistemological and philosophical problem of truth, at the root of different editorial practices.

The annotated edition of Bédier's essay can be considered as the latest act of an articulated path. We must credit Duval for this extremely refined and meticulous operation that brought back the attention and illuminated with new light the reflections of a master so rich in disciples as little known, especially by new generations. The same spirit seems to animate some of Paolo Trovato's recent publications, in particular the first of the philological exercises collected in *Sguardi da un altro pianeta* ("Glances from another planet"). *Nove esercizi di filologia (Lai de l'ombre, Libro de buen amor, Lazarillo, fonti storiche e musicali)* (Trovato 2019). This essay is dedicated to Jean Renart's work, whose edition by Bédier marked the famous "schism". In the essay, emblematically entitled "La tradizione manoscritta del *Lai de l'ombre*. Riflessioni sulle tecniche d'edizione primonovecentesche" ("The manuscript tradition of the *Lai de l'ombre*. Reflections on early twentieth century's editorial techniques"), Trovato examines the tradition and proposes an alternative classification, "that is, an interpretation", of the few witnesses "(*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*) that, today, preserve the *Lai*." (Trovato 2019, 16). If the long shadow (*l'ombre*) of Bédier (that same shadow to which the volume was dedicated on the occasion of the centenary) has indelibly marked the philological practices and schools of the twentieth century and even today, Trovato emphasizes how the shadow of the French master "has inhibited the many twentieth-century editors of the *Lai*, often anything but philologically unprepared, from attempting any solution other than those proposed by Bédier himself (the editions after 1929 are invariably conducted on the ms. *A* or on *E* rather than on the whole tradition)" (Trovato 2019, 15). Five main criteria are adhered to by Trovato: first, the screening of agreements in innovation, with special attention to the risk of polygenetic, "weakly conjunctive" convergences (Trovato 2019, 24); then, the different density among the witnesses of variously inclusive

or technical rhymes, sparingly used by Jean Renart; and also the high risk of contamination, with the consequent obscuring of vertical genealogical relationships, due to the relative popularity of the work. Finally, the two criteria that are considered the most important by Trovato: Variants that fall into the typology of the error of anticipation or repetition and are disproved by the rest of the tradition are considered erroneous, "in the technical sense of 'unoriginal, secondary'" (Trovato 2019, 26), whereas flagrant quotations from other poems by Jean Renart are considered original, as opposed to variants that dilute the rate of intertextuality, by virtue of what Giorgio Pasquali called "allusive art": the density of quotations and *loci paralleli* between the *Lai de l'Ombre* and Jean Renart's other works.[5]

The volume in which the essay on the manuscript tradition of the *Lai de l'Ombre* finds its place consists precisely of an anthology of exercises in textual criticism and is proposed as a sort of ideal path that winds through autopsy examinations of some case studies. These examinations are aimed to "understand with what adaptations and with what limitations the Neo-Lachmannian method of common errors can be profitably applied to multiple tradition texts of some complexity" (Trovato 2019, 11), thus testing the tightness of the philology to which Trovato adheres, namely "the adjective-free philology of Maas and Pasquali" (Trovato 2019, 10). The anthology closes with some thoughts on recent handbooks, including Trovato's own, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Lachmann's Method. A non-standard handbook of genealogical textual criticism in the age of post-structuralism, cladistics, and copy-text*, edited in 2014 and published again in 2017, in a revised and corrected edition. Placing the moment of theoretical reflection alongside that of practice is more than an opportunity: it is a necessity, for, according to Trovato, as in "any self-respecting science", the work of "incessant revision and verification must never stop" (Trovato 2019, 313). The impulse to write a manual came to Trovato in 2006–2007, when he was a visiting professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. As he was teaching the course dedicated to "Textual criticism", Trovato was able to appreciate the gratitude of his students "for having given them the keys to a kingdom that had been unknown to them, but whose existence they had suspected or caught glimpses of" (Trovato 2017, 17). Just as Duval noted that far too often one has only indirect knowledge of Bédier, so Trovato records, on the opposite side, "a little familiarity with the genealogical or common-error method". Scholars adhering to New Philology often cite

5. See Limentani 2020, 4: Limentani refers to the "viscosity" of Jean Renart's poetic language as "one of his most representative features".

only "a few late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century works, or elementary and at least unwittingly tendentious generalizations" (Trovato 2017, 22); this can lead to the danger of "discrediting the genealogical method by caricaturing it and blaming it for shortcomings that are non-exhaustive or have been overcome or have lost importance over a long and undeniable history of success" (Trovato 2017, 22). Finally, Trovato invokes the need to cleanse terminology of ambiguity — a need, as we have seen, shared by Duval — in contrast with the tendency of some philologists to rename certain key terms in genealogical theory, such as "error" or *stemma*. To this purpose, the handbook is articulated through the examination of some of the fundamental questions and issues that feed the debate on textual criticism, from Bédier's schism to the paradox of two-branched *stemmata* of medieval traditions (see Trovato 2005), from archetype to guiding errors.

The issues that we have brought to the attention in this brief review appear as pieces of a mosaic whose design emerges more and more in focus. On one hand, the refined operation of Frédéric Duval, holder of the chair of Romance philology at the École des Chartes, an operation that — through the instrumentation of textual criticism itself — brings the focus back to the examination of Bédier's reflections, as they were written and published, black on white, clear of the subsequent metacritical speculation. This operation is in turn articulated in an *accessus* to that essay addressed to a potentially wide audience, and in the brilliant expedient of the synchronic gaze of the lexicographer, who anatomizes the taxonomic corpus of textual criticism. Through that same lexicographic examination and a screening of deanthroponyms, he reconstructs the evolution of an academic school "without doctrine". The latter analysis, as we have seen, is part of the wider context of a collective work destined to bring back to the anatomo-pathologist's table the long shadow of Bédier's legacy (Baker, Barbato, Cavagna, Greub 2018). On the other hand, there is the equally refined operation of an Italian philologist belonging to the school that is traditionally opposed to Bedierism. This operation intentionally aims to challenge that same *stemma* of the *Lai de l'Ombre*, which is at the origin of the Bedierist "schism", and to re-examine the classification of the witnesses, in full coherence with the neo-Lachmannian spirit of the Italian critical tradition. Finally, we would like to draw attention to the fine and valuable initiative of two linguists of the caliber of Jean-Pierre Chambon and Yan Greub, who, together with the Romanist Marjolaine Raguin, have made accessible to the French-speaking public — and more generally to the scientific community — a text dense with methodical reflections. The French translation of Beltrami's handbook, *A che serve un'edizione critica? Leggere*

I testi della letteratura romanza medievale ("What is the use of a critical edition? Reading the Texts of Medieval Romance Literature") will certainly prove to be an indispensable tool even for those who do not master Italian, a language now "little read, even among educated people" (Trovato 2019, 312).[6] This initiative ideally follows the French translation — also edited by Chambon and Greub — of the work of one of the greatest philologists, Alberto Varvaro (*Prima lezione di filologia*, "First lesson of philology"), in the belief that the questions posed in the essay "are addressed not only to the philologist and his practice, but also to the linguist and, more generally, to society as a whole, regarding the place that philology should occupy in it" (Chambon, Greub 2015, 636). As Beltrami reminds us, philology is not only a doctrine or a method, but also a "mental habit", "a sort of mental hygiene against carelessness and indifference to facts [. . .] and the degeneration of information, whatever the cause: bad faith, ignorance, accidents, chance, intrinsic defects in transmission, or simply time. In this, philology is a profoundly educational discipline" (Beltrami 2010, 12).

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6. Significantly, the publishing operation coordinated by Chambon, Greub, and Raguin came out only a few days (March 31, 2021) after Duval's edition of Bédier's text for Champion (March 25, 2021).

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The Society for Textual Scholarship

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