TEXTUAL CULTURES

Texts, Contexts, Interpretation

16:2

Fall 2023

Textual Cultures 16.2

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ESSAYS

Reviews

A Rationale of Trans-inclusive Bibliography

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Abstract

This article posits a framework for the principles and practices of trans-inclusive bibliography, describing its necessity and challenges, considering historical analogues, and offering solutions for trans-inclusive bibliography in digital contexts. Proper names are the primary way that a person is credited with their scholarly labor, yet using names raises ethical issues. Trans-inclusive bibliography shares many of the same ethical concerns and strategies as trans-inclusive citation practices, but differs in terms of scale and stakes. Given that exhaustive enumerative bibliographies are often used to create individual works cited lists, their choices and practices can reverberate through an entire academic field. This article centers on enumerative bibliography, particularly the challenges and potential solutions for the World Shakespeare Bibliography. *Trans-inclusive bibliography requires accepting bibliography's flexibility and contingency, relinquishing comforting myths about the stability of the historical record. We outline the ethical core of trans-inclusive bibliography and offer practicable scholarly habits to implement it.*

Names are important. Beyond the personal, public, and political use of names, names are also key to the way we undertake scholarship by citing and interacting with the ideas of others. Cis-normative assumptions shape the practices of too many publishers, bibliographers, and individual

We would like to thank all of those who offered us thoughtful feedback and constructive ideas as we worked on this essay, including Simone Chess, Constance Crompton, Joseph Gamble, and Melissa E. Sanchez. Thanks also to the participants of the "Politics of Bibliography, Textual Editing, and Book History" seminar at the Shakespeare Association of America (2021) and our interlocutors at other engaging events, namely, the Digital Humanities and Book History conference (DH+BH; Digital Studies Cooperative, 2022); the Critical Digital Humanities International Conference (University of Toronto, 2022); the Hive for Feminist Research (St Francis Xavier University, 2022); and the Queer Bibliography Symposium (Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2023).

1. Authorship of this article was shared in equal collaboration; attribution is thus listed alphabetically.

scholars (Sanchez). In this article, we offer a rationale of trans-inclusive bibliography and outline what trans-inclusive bibliography can look like.

Names are Heavy: A Reflection by Kris L. May

I have been reminded about the significance of my name over and over throughout my life. As a young teen, I remember my parents telling me stories about how they selected my birth name and what name they would have selected if I'd been assigned male at birth instead of female.[2] Since beginning my medical transition to male just over five years ago, the significance of my birth name and the gender identity it carries with it has become particularly heavy. As the physical changes of transitioning become more pronounced, the urgency of legally changing my name and gender marker greatly increased. About three years ago, I filed for and received a legal name and gender marker change order from a judge. Fortunately, changing my name in Texas was fairly easy; however, the gender marker change was more difficult because it involved filing petitions for the change in a different county (because no one has ever been granted a gender marker change by a judge in my county of residence) and securing doctors' letters to be filed with my petition. I have also updated my name and gender marker on my driver's license, birth certificate, and passport; updated the name on my social security card; and changed my name and gender marker with the Human Resources Department at my university (which means the name and gender marker associated with my medical insurance and prescription service has also been changed). I am constantly deadnamed, as I find myself having to explain my name change, which may or may not out me as transgender, depending on my history with that person or entity, as well as whether or not their file on me includes a gender marker. The misnaming and misgendering I've experienced while trying to negotiate my way through the health-care industry are also incredibly damaging and frustrating; though my legal name and gender marker have been changed on my health insurance, I still find myself having to explain

2. A birth name is the name a person is given at birth. Tarynn M. Witten explains, "When trans persons transition, they [often] change their names to match their new identity. Many of them no longer want to recognize their birth name. If someone uses this birth name, instead of the new name of the individual, it is called deadnaming. Deadnaming occurs when someone, intentionally or not, refers to a person who is transgender or gender nonconforming by the name they used before they transitioned. [. . .] Deadnaming is one of the many microaggressions that nonbinary individuals must address" (2001, 176).

to medical providers and pharmacists that the name and gender marker they have on file for me probably needs to be updated (unless it got changed the first time I mentioned it to them, which rarely happens).

For me, my birth name is tightly intertwined with a female gender identity that I was assigned at birth, and as I get further into my medical transition to male, I think of my birth name as something that I'd like to keep in my past. Though it is not "dead" — it still lives on in print and digital worlds as part of my past — it is still a name by which I no longer wish to be referred. Things for me now are very different than they were before I began transitioning. Now that I am finally living authentically, I feel more secure and confident in who I am, and I am finding it easier to manage anxiety. I'm more comfortable in my body and grounded in myself. Living life as a white male also imbues me with privilege that I didn't have as female (and reminds me of the privilege I have always had as white). Most of the people I interact with on a daily basis knew me before I started transitioning, and for the most part, these people are supportive and truly trying to call me Kris and use male pronouns. I've experienced some instances of deliberate misgendering, and what I've discovered from these interactions is that I do not have much patience for expending the energy it would require for me to maintain these relationships. Still, it hurts.

As a graduate student, I co-authored an article and wrote a few reviews that were published using my deadname. My dissertation was submitted and approved with my deadname, and of course, all of my diplomas contain my deadname. I have published a few more reviews with my deadname, and my deadname appears on the masthead of older print versions of the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*. Five years ago, I changed my name on the *World Shakespeare Bibliography* digital masthead, and also my name was changed (at my request) on my department's website; these changes affirmed my identity before securing my legal name change. Even though my name change is now legal, my deadname remains attached to printed publications. My transness is easily discoverable through the internet and electronic databases, and having my deadname attached to me is something I will probably never be able to completely shed. Given that I started transitioning at fifty-one years of age, I have an entire life of paper and digital documents to contend with, and my publications are among those. However, I can absolutely say that my preference for all citations is that the name on my publications be either "Kris May" or "Kris L. May", and not my deadname. Even in just the short time that I've been going by Kris, my deadname seems to be located far away from me. It is there as part of my past, which is where I'd like it to remain (even though the past constantly encroaches upon and becomes entangled with the present and,

inevitably, with the future). I recognize that my deadname cannot ever really be confined to the past, safely tucked away and hidden, as a name I'd rather not be called today. There is only so much that I can do to maintain some distance between me and my birth name; however, I want my work to be identifiable as mine always (in the past, present, and future), and I'd rather my chosen name be attached to that work as I move forward.

I have become more attuned to trans time — a temporality that disrupts the seemingly "natural" orderliness of a chrononormative timeline — as I am particularly aware of those pieces of me and my history that I might rather leave in a past that I can't ever really escape completely. Trans temporality calls attention to those things that undermine chrononormativity.[3] While I'd certainly like to leave my deadname in the past, it continues to pop up along the way. Maybe I don't want to leave everything about it in the past: all of my past achievements, relationships, and histories that — whether or not they "feel" right — have contributed to who I am today. One of the clearest examples of trans temporality pushing against chrononormativity is adolescence.[4] When does a trans person experience adolescence? Chrononormativity tells us that it's during the years of puberty. Hormone replacement therapy (HRT) necessarily complicates the picture. Transitioning later in life, I experience multiple adolescences: one during my teens and once again when I started HRT. Though I may end up rejecting my first puberty as being inauthentic and out of sync with my subjective view of myself, it is still a part of my temporal experience.

Names are important because they are heavy. They carry with them the weight of what I used to be (or, maybe more accurately, the weight of what I wasn't but was trying to be), as well as the intentionality of claiming something authentic and life-affirming for myself. Calling me by my deadname — whether intentionally or by mistake — damages me. It hurts because I have struggled so hard to get to where I am today,

3. Elizabeth Freeman describes chrononormativity as "the use of time to organize individual human bodies toward maximum productivity" and as "a mode of implementation, a technique by which institutional forces come to seem like somatic facts. [. . .] Manipulations of time convert historically specific regimes of asymmetrical power into seemingly ordinary bodily tempos and routines, which in turn organize the value and meaning of time" (2010, 3).

4. As Gabrielle Owen has noted, "[a]dolescence is constructed as the moment that gendered becoming occurs. And yet this developmental narrative is one we impose on experience, locating moments of transition, change, and rebellion in adolescence and locating moments of arrival, stability, and conformity in adulthood" (2014, 23).

as I struggle to be accepted for who I am. Referring to me by my name affirms my personhood, which, for me, includes a gender identity that I have struggled for my entire life to accept and affirm and am now working on celebrating.

Names, Citations, and Scholarship

Naming people is how we share credit and acknowledge labor. As well as acknowledging the importance of names in systems of academic credit, Jane Pilcher shows how "[o]ur names are both constituted by and help to constitute our sexed and gendered selves, our racialized and ethnic identities, and other identifications that make us both a unique individual and a culturally embedded and socially administered citizen" (2016, 776).[5] In academic publishing, proper names are the primary way that a person is credited with their work, yet using names raises ethical issues.

Grappling with name changes is not a new issue for bibliography. Names change for a variety of reasons, reflective of their deep and disparate significance: gender transition; change in relationship status; political awakening; acknowledging, reclaiming, or rejecting familial, ancestral, or ethnic ties; evading prejudice; or dealing with issues of pronunciation or aesthetics. In the context of academic publishing, people have long used different strategies to protect themselves from ingrained gender and racial bias, such as publishing under a different name, or using their initials. Yet the effort to change one's name is often itself stigmatized — for instance, a person changing their name due to marital status can be caught between the contrasting pressures of traditional gender norms and academic expectations of independence and authority (Peterson 2019; Geurin-Eagleman 2015). Therefore, not only names themselves, but the mere act of *changing* one's name can become the basis of prejudice, which can lead to professional, economic, social, physical and/or psychological harm. Even in the cases where name changes are relatively socially sanctioned (with women changing their names upon marriage/divorce being the most salient example), the change still limits access to women's past work and thereby works to exclude women who change their names. Resisting cis-normative bibliography requires rethinking one's assumptions about names and what they imply about the continuity or discontinuity of identity.

Trans-inclusive bibliography, then, is not a matter of making so-called "exceptions" for a small minority, because scholarship and bibliography

5. See also VanderSchans 2016.

have always been attuned to changing or multiple names. Attending to trans-inclusive bibliography, moreover, does not only help trans authors: inventing and normalizing better name change research practices can help destigmatize all naming and improve research. Trans-inclusive bibliography is about research and access to research that affects the entire academic community and involves both practical and theoretical considerations. That is, trans-inclusive bibliography is both an intellectual and ethical imperative: it reflects sound academic practice, since accurate citation is part of the research process itself. It also recognizes "all scholars who cannot claim the stable and singular identity that is most accessible to scholars who are white, Anglo-European descendent, cis men" (Sanchez).

The matter of name changes adds another layer of complexity to bibliography, but one that ethically-minded bibliographers cannot ignore. The best practices of authorial attribution have long been debated in bibliography (Haspelmath 2008). Citational and bibliographic practices related to name changes often adhere to some hazy ideal of transparency that can actually be humiliating or debilitating for the author in question. In cases where name changes reflect marriage or divorce, private matters can be made undesirably public. In the case of deadnaming trans scholars, this practice can be deadly. Accurately reflecting an author's name, and not outing their personal information without their consent, then, is not merely a minor issue for punctilious bibliographers, but one with major ideological and practical implications. Outing a scholar can lead to economic harm (e.g., termination of employment, negative impact on tenure and promotion), psychological trauma, and physical violence, since institutional affiliations and addresses are often included in publication details. Trans archivist Amy Dobrowolsky (2013c) describes the violence of deadnaming, arguing that "our old names are frequently weaponised against us, often as a precursor to physical violence. And the violence of weaponized old names springs from the same disrespect, mockery, and hatred that informs fatal physical violence".[6] Trans-inclusive bibliography is predicated on the importance of respecting a person's autonomy when it

6. Dobrowolsky (2013a) writes of her discovery that an author was trans because the library record she accessed for a source included the author's full name: "This record robbed the author of their agency to decide, or not, to disclose this to me". Trans people "need to have agency and control over how much of our histories we disclose". Indeed, "dry, ostensibly matter-of-fact bibliographic records aren't value-neutral".

comes to their name choices — this means not automatically associating a person with a name they no longer claim and also respecting when someone chooses multiple names.

This essay posits a framework for the principles and practices of trans-inclusive bibliography. Our intended audience is people who want to enact an ethical practice of bibliography and citation. Some of this material will be familiar to trans scholars; some will be familiar to bibliographers. Ultimately, bibliography and citation practices still have much to learn from trans studies, as this article outlines. "The act of naming is an act of power", asserts Katja M. Guenther (2009, 412); bibliographers and scholars wield this power when we list and cite. The essay considers particular challenges and potential solutions for the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*, but the issues raised here apply to other large-scale bibliographies, online reference works, and individual academic practice. The question seems simple: how do we cite scholars and their works? The answers, plural, require a flexible and deliberate practice of citation that prioritizes the scholar above the scholarship.

Trans-inclusive bibliography has implications for bibliography in multiple senses: analytic and descriptive, citational, and enumerative. This essay focuses on enumerative bibliography, although some of the principles will extend to other bibliographical practices. Martha M. Yee's definition succinctly captures the goals of this capacious field: "Enumerative bibliography (sometimes called systematic or reference bibliography) [. . .] serves to aid the user interested in a particular subject to discover the existence of works on that subject" (2007, 316). Kate Ozment (2019) defines enumerative bibliography as "critical list-making, emphasis on the critical". Enumerative bibliography can often be taken for granted, especially in the age of digital searching, but it is the bedrock on which scholarly practice is built: enumerative, large-scale, digital bibliography shapes how and what we research. Names are foundational to enumerative bibliography, citation, and scholarship.

Trans studies scholarship on the politics and praxis of citation informs this work on trans-inclusive bibliography. Katja Thieme and Mary Ann S. Saunders describe academic citation as "a process that disembodies knowledge" (2018, 87), concealing trans identities that authors may or may not wish to disclose. On its surface, citation may be perceived as an objective practice of acknowledging academic labor, even though, as many studies have pointed out, citations often "reproduce a range of hierarchical relations" that privilege work by white, cisgender men

(Thieme and Saunders 2018, 81).[7] Much of the work around citational politics outside of trans studies has modeled gender as a binary system that assumes gender is fixed and can be neatly categorized. Trans studies pushes against this by calling attention to trans experience through "the process of developing unique community practices that result in distinctive questioning about how their work can and might be cited" (Thieme and Saunders 2018, 82), as they give space to the work of marginalized researchers.[8]

Katherine McKittrick elegantly describes how "citations are tasked to resist racial and gendered violence through the sharing of ideas. [. . .] [T]his does not mean names do not matter; it means, instead, that naming is enveloped in the practice of sharing how we live this world and live this world differently" (2021, 30).[9] For McKitterick, "referencing, sourcing, and crediting [. . .] takes us outside of ourselves", leading us to "unknow ourselves" (2021, 16). McKittrick continues, "The unknowing brings together unexpected intellectual conversations that, together, *resist dehumanization*" (2021, 17, emphasis ours). When it comes to trans-inclusive citation and bibliography, names and how we use names become a part of the intellectual conversation that resists dehumanization. It is both *who* we cite and *how* we cite that matters.

Thieme and Saunders position trans-inclusive citation practices in the broader "scholarly community of care" (2018, 81) from which trans studies was born. They advocate for an "ethics of care" in citation that "problematize[s] citation as a normative value-free writing practice"

7. See also Ahmed 2014: "Citationality is another form of academic relationality. White men is reproduced as a *citational relational*" (italics in the original). Ahmed calls on "white men not to keep reproducing white men". Drawing particularly on the field of geography, Carrie Mott and Daniel Cockayne (2017) offer practical suggestions for "conscientious engagement" in our citation practices that can be applied to many disciplines including citation counting, questioning self-citation, valorizing co-authorship, and reconsidering how we value different scholarly outputs (see esp. 966–69).
8. See the special issue of *Diacritics* on "The Politics of Citation" edited by Annabel L. Kim. As Kim notes, "The politics of citation, if it is to be discerned, requires the suspension of this reproductive citational incitation so that the structures of citation might be examined and critiqued: citation must be turned away from its usual function as a practice to serve instead as the object of inquiry" (2020, 5).
9. Ahmed describes "problems with names" more broadly by demonstrating that we need language to describe and understand, particularly from a feminist and antiracist perspective (2017, 31–36). See also Stallings on the subversive potential of unnaming (2007, esp. chap. 1).

(2018, 88). Trans-inclusive bibliography shares many of these same ethical concerns as trans-inclusive citation practices. Trans-inclusive bibliography differs from trans-inclusive citation in at least two significant ways, however. The first relates to a question of scale: comprehensive enumerative bibliographies are much larger, and therefore take more time and effort to compile, than individual works cited lists and citations. The second relates to a question of stakes: given that exhaustive enumerative bibliographies are often a source for the creation of individual works cited lists, its choices and practices can reverberate through an entire academic field. The stakes of trans-inclusive bibliography are also especially high due to its potential for serious consequences in the wider world: public-facing bibliographical records can inadvertently disclose personal information about a scholar without their consent, subjecting them to economic, physical, and psychological harms.

Trans-inclusive bibliography must take both the labor of the scholar and the bibliographer into account in order to seek ethical, actionable solutions. One labor issue potentially confronts another: while ethically acknowledging scholars' labor is necessary, borrowing habits from ethical citation practices — such as reaching out to individual authors for their names and pronouns — could overburden both bibliographers and scholars. Too often, however, cis scholars' convenience is prioritized over trans scholars' recognition, careers, and lives. As Melissa E. Sanchez notes, "cis scholars benefit from citational/bibliographic business as usual in saved time [and] greater visibility." An ethics of care must transcend the temptation of convenience, which is "tied to the conservation of cis-privilege and power" (Sanchez).

Reference bibliographies have shaped and continue to shape the way scholars undertake literary and cultural research; these include the *MLA International Bibliography*, the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, the *Iter Bibliography*, and author-focused bibliographies such as the *World Shakespeare Bibliography,* the *Marlowe Bibliography Online*, or the *Margaret Cavendish Bibliography Initiative*. The rationale for trans-inclusive bibliography will also extend to other reference projects and digital research projects.

What is Trans-inclusive Bibliography?

Trans-inclusive bibliography is the practice of bibliography (be it analytic/descriptive, enumerative, or citational) that affirms people. Trans-inclusive bibliography challenges binary systems and templates, as it requires

scholars to think through the implications of systems they rely on to acquire trustworthy (and, one could argue, apparently stable and fixed) information about sources. To practice trans-inclusive bibliography, begin with the individual: think about how you present yourself and cite others. Destigmatize name changes. Prioritize people over the artefacts they produce. If a person tells you their name, use it.

Trans-inclusive bibliography posits an author from an intersectional perspective, challenging the "cisgender logic" that a "person's gender matches the biological body they were assigned at birth" (Griffin 2020, 9). Trans-inclusive bibliography allows for change and acknowledges that, as Cindy L. Griffin asserts, "identities shift and change in relation to power, access, equity, and respect" (2020, 9). It requires thinking critically about history, and (potentially misguided) attempts to remain loyal to the historical record, and the relative importance of scholars as opposed to their scholarly work. Simone Chess, Colby Gordon, and Will Fisher (2019) note ongoing systemic bias against trans scholars and their lack of visibility or voice. Trans-inclusive bibliography is about making trans voices heard by making their research findable.

Trans-inclusive bibliography also requires retheorizing bibliography and its practices. Rather than positioning bibliography as a way to capture a stable past, trans-inclusive bibliography focuses on ethically attributing academic labor. Bibliographers aspire to stability, but need to acknowledge, and even embrace, instability. Likewise, aiming for ostensible neutrality, permanence, and historical objectivity is not only a fantasy: it can enact harm by upholding cis normative and transphobic scholarly practices while making them seem merely descriptive. History is a construct and reflects power structures; it is naive and false to think it is stable or objective. Traditional citational, publishing, and bibliographic practices tend to be both chromonormative and white-cis-male normative. Trans-inclusive bibliography draws on trans temporality that pushes against chrononormativity.[10] Trans temporality is "asynchronous and non-normative" (DeVun and Tortorici 2018, 520), thus complicating readability according to "temporal designations" of the trans subject (and trans body) (Snorton 2013, 177). Traditionally, bibliography has been invested in chrononormativity and objective history, assuming that the name attached to a piece should always be cited as it appeared on the

10. For more on queer and trans temporality, see Kadji Amin (2014), who describes the significance of temporality — "the social patterning of experiences and understandings of time" (219) — to trans studies.

published work. Trans-inclusive bibliography operates on "trans time" and rejects this assumption. Moreover, while the harms of traditional bibliographical practices are "particularly pronounced for trans scholars, they also exclude anyone who changes their name over time, and those who change their names tend to be women, BIPOC scholars, and other religious and ethnic minorities" (Sanchez). Trans-inclusive bibliography is for everyone.

When does a name become a deadname? This will vary depending on the person. Some trans people, for example, don't think of a past name as a deadname. Instead, they think of a past name as their birth name — not a name that they use now, but also not a name that is "dead". In fact, as Jules Gill-Peterson (2020) astutely points out, consistency of naming and pronoun usage can also have "the opposite of its intended effect in the outcome". Rather than confirming trans identities, adherence to correct names and pronouns enforce the immutability of sex binaries:

> Would-be allies think they are showing that they take trans people's identities seriously by intensely conforming to contemporary conventions, but what they are really saying is *I need you to be legible, clear, and easy for me to understand. I need your gender to make me comfortable.* The system of gendered naming and pronouns itself is completely untouched, untroubled, by this maneuver.
>
> (Gill-Peterson 2020)

Other trans people very clearly see past names as deadnames — they were assigned the wrong gender marker at birth, and so they change their name to align with their true experience. Trans temporality accounts for both of these responses without assigning a value to either one (in other words, one reaction isn't better than the other one). As Leah DeVun and Zeb Tortorici remind us, "[r]ecent scholarship in trans studies has [. . .] warned against efforts to identify a universal transgender identity across time" (2018, 519). Likewise, trans-inclusive bibliography does not seek or proffer a single solution.

Trans-inclusive bibliography is related to many flourishing fields of study, including inclusive feminist bibliography; data feminism; trans-inclusive digital humanities and data studies; and trans studies. Catherine D'Ignazio and Lauren F. Klein argue for the need for fair credit, equity, and recognition of labor when it comes to data, stating that "data work is part of a larger ecology of knowledge, one that must be both sustainable and socially just" (2020, 200). Bibliography must also position itself in the

larger sustainable and socially just ecology of knowledge. In "Rationale for Feminist Bibliography", which aims to recuperate women's work, Ozment asks "what does book history value?" (2020, 152); this essay asks "what does bibliography value?" and suggests that bibliography should value people and labor over scholarly artefacts.

Laura Horak (2020) articulates some of the questions that a digital humanities project should ask in order to be trans-inclusive. One that applies to digital enumerative bibliography is "How can we represent diverse trans people respectfully and accurately in our database?" (Horak 2020, 2). Trans-inclusive digital projects should aim "not to make trans people more vulnerable to harm" (Horak 2020, 13). Indeed, for many digital projects, trans-inclusivity begins with the very data model itself. For instance, even the most seemingly objective data models, such as those from the International Standards Organization (ISO), can be biased, as with their infamous encoding of sex as binary with 1 for male, 2 for female, 0 for unknown, and 9 for not applicable.[11] Amber Billey and Emily Drabinski, likewise, trace the revision of library standards (notably, Resource Description Access, RDA) related to authors' names so that binary gender is "not encoded into the metadata of library records" (2019, 121). Additionally, the Trans Metadata Collective recently produced a "set of best practices for the description, cataloguing, and classification of information resources as well as the creation of metadata about trans and gender diverse people, including authors and other creators" (2022, 2).[12] As later sections of this article outline, trans-inclusive bibliography is shaped by digital affordances and data models and must speak to — and sometimes change — existing knowledge structures.[13] But automated programs or blanket approaches are often not where solutions lie: smaller solutions at the individual and project level can be both more respectful and effective and have positive ripple effects.

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11. For more on how the TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) grappled with and ultimately rejected the ISO standards for encoding gender, see Flanders 2018 and Schwartz and Crompton 2018.
12. Among other things, "Metadata Best Practices for Trans and Gender Diverse Resources" includes a section on name changes and gender identity in name authority records (Trans Metadata Collective 2022, 18–23). Even if a bibliography is not focused on gender-diverse issues, bibliographers should familiarize themselves with the practices established in this document.
13. For more on data models as pivotal to "digital enumerative bibliography", see Coker and Ozment 2019.

In "Towards a Trans Inclusive Publishing Landscape", a group of trans scholars discuss the roadblocks and objections they encountered from publishers while attempting to change their names in previous scholarly publications (Tanenbaum et al. 2020). Some publishers refused to make any changes; others published errata, which still carries the stigma of error; and yet others changed only some data, thus ensuring that the deadname is still publicly circulated with the authors' previous work. As they note, in addition to harming and discriminating against trans scholars, not changing names when requested "is damaging to scholarship at large. It interferes with the bibliometrics that are used to assess a work's impact, it produces confusion about how to cite and attribute scholarship, and it endangers the tenure and promotion process of an already vulnerable minority. [. . .] Failure to update public facing records increases the risk of inadvertent disclosure, and has material consequences for trans people" (Tanenbaum et al. 2020). Quite simply, "[c]ontinuing to disclose and disseminate their deadname perpetrates an act of violence against a trans person" (Tanenbaum et al. 2020). Trans-inclusive bibliography is only part of the picture: academic publishing, too, will have to make ethical decisions when it comes to names and credit. Recent developments include vendors, laboratories, and journals announcing policies to support author name changes, such as JSTOR, Springer Nature, arXiv, and more.[14] Tanenbaum et al (2021) offer publishers concrete steps for supporting author name changes.

If publishers support name changes but bibliographers do not, however, the system remains flawed. How bibliographers handle authors' names in bibliographical entries has consequences that reach beyond any individual bibliography. A reference bibliography will be used to create further citations, which, particularly when it comes to name changes, can beget further miscitation, and even adversely affect a scholar's academic and personal life.

Trans-inclusive Citation Practices

Scholarly style guides differ in their recommendations for trans-inclusive citations, if they are even discussed. The most recent *MLA Handbook* (9th edition, 2021) added the following caveat to their explanations on how to cite people whose names have changed:

14. See JSTOR 2021, Langin 2021, and Nerzig 2021.

> If you are writing about or working directly with an author whose name changed and you know that they do not use their former name in references to their work — for example, for trans authors — list their works under the name they use, regardless of the name that appears in the source. Do not supply information about the name change or cross-reference entries, and avoid using the former name in your prose.
>
> (2021, 5.15)

The APA style guide points out that in the case of name changes generally (citing trans people as one example), "It is seldom relevant to note that two names refer to the same person" (2020, 8.20). Where it is important to note that two citations with different names refer to the same person, APA recommends that the author "consult the person and respect their preferences in whether and how to address the name change" (2020, 8.20). Although *The Chicago Manual of Style* (2017) does not include anything in the text itself on trans authors or respecting author names, the manual's online Q&A (n.d.) suggests contacting trans authors.[15]

Clearly, scholarly citation manuals are starting to acknowledge the need to recognize name changes in an ethical way. Until recently, however, many style guides recommended including a scholar's actual name alongside their former name, the latter often contained in square brackets — and these recommendations continue to be found online and followed today. Yet the typographically-conspicuous square brackets only serve to draw attention to the fact of a name change. Encouraging the citation of both names in order to adhere to a rigid and outdated notion of "historical correctness" effectively recommends deadnaming trans scholars. Deadnaming with square brackets is still deadnaming. Whether one thinks of their past name as a deadname or as a birth name, that name can still be used against them. Chrononormativity assigns significance to the name assigned at birth (or shortly thereafter) and then to a name change dictated by marriage and family laws and customs. Trans temporality allows for multiple names, as well as acknowledging that names can be harmfully deployed through deadnaming. We do not recommend using square brackets for deadnames unless it is the preferred choice of the scholar in question.

Scholarly style guides and citation manuals are in the process of formulating trans-inclusive citation practices. Guides currently exist for media coverage (GLAAD n.d., Trans Journalists Association n.d.), copy-editing (Kapitan 2017), and academic terminology (Spencer-Hall

15. See also Elletson 2019.

and Gutt 2021). Trans-inclusive bibliographers should rely on these resources especially as a guide for terminology; however, these resources do not address the question of how to cite scholars and the politics of reference works.

If you are uncertain about how to cite a scholar and want to bring an ethics of care to your citations, an easy first step to determine how a scholar wants to be cited is to search the title of the piece you want to cite on ORCID.org. ORCID.org is a site where scholars can claim a persistent and unique identifier to distinguish their work from others'. This is effective for disambiguating people with the same names and can also link a person's body of research even when it is published under different names. The case for using the ORCID registry has been made compellingly over more than a decade.[16] Researchers can claim their ORCID identifiers and then choose their "published name", which is, as the site explains, "How you prefer your name to appear when credited. This is the name that appears at the top of your ORCID record". Researchers can then also list "Additional names" if they so choose, which the site notes "can include an abbreviated first name, variants including middle name(s), former or alternate name(s), or name(s) in a different character set" (ORCID 2020). If you find a researcher has created an ORCID, cite them by the name at the top of their ORCID, even if it does not match the name on the publication. Claiming an ORCID is a way for academics to publicly choose how they want to be named. If you don't yet have an ORCID, making one for yourself is a way to support trans-inclusive bibliography.

Not all people have ORCIDs. Professional or scholarly sites that should display a scholar's name of choice include an institutional webpage or a public profile. In some instances, there will be out-of-date information on some websites; it should take very little sleuthing to determine what is the most recent information. Indeed, in your searching, you might even come across an instance where a scholar cites their own work that was originally published under a different name; in those instances, follow the self-citation.

APA and *The Chicago Manual of Style*'s suggestion to contact authors to ask how they wish to be cited produces mixed effects. On the one hand, scholars are often happy to hear from people who are reading and citing their work, and reaching out could show that you care enough to cite people in the way they choose to be cited. On the other hand, reaching out to a possibly trans scholar places additional burdens on their time (scholars from underrepresented groups already shoulder outsized service loads);

16. See, for instance, Akers et al. 2016, Reed 2017, Vieira 2015, and Vieira 2016.

additionally, the scholar may feel exposed by an email inquiring about their identity. The potential for unwanted exposure via email is doubly true on social media. It is never acceptable to reach out to a scholar on a social media platform if they are not clearly using it for academic purposes. However, if a scholar is active on social media and clearly links their social media presence to their current job, you may cite their name, if it appears, on social media such as Twitter.

Not every scholar will be findable online, and this could reflect their choice. If a cursory search of ORCID yields no results and there are no easily findable public profiles, then simply cite the article by the name with which it was published. There are any number of reasons a person might not want to link a present name with a past one, and ultimately, this choice belongs to the author. The online presences of academics can make it easier to thoughtfully and ethically cite trans scholars, but ultimately, it is attention to the individual that makes these choices trans-inclusive.

Shakespearean Bibliography: Analog and Digital Practices

Creating trans-inclusive works cited lists as discussed above is, indeed, one aspect of trans-inclusive enumerative bibliography. The practical issues change, however, when considering the scale of an exhaustive reference bibliography compared to, for instance, the dozens of works cited entries at the end of a journal article. Citation practices are built on much larger reference structures, including enumerative bibliographies and library catalogues. While individual scholars can take on the labor of writing trans-inclusive works cited lists and using trans-inclusive vocabulary, the work of changing enumerative reference bibliographies is a structural undertaking.

This essay's attention to enumerative reference bibliography focuses on the *World Shakespeare Bibliography* (*WSB*), a searchable electronic database consisting of over 136,000 annotated records of Shakespeare scholarship, performance, and editions.[17] For years, the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*'s practice was to represent names in entries as the names appeared on the sources being annotated. Authors of articles and books, as well as editors of book monographs and edited collections, appeared in entries with the exact

17. At the time of writing, Heidi Craig was the editor, Kris May the associate editor, and Laura Estill the former editor of the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*.

same name as on the published material. Names of directors, actors, and crew members for stage productions and films were listed as they appeared in published programs or handbills, as well as film posters and publicity materials published and distributed by theatre companies and film studios. If an author's name appears differently in an article published in 1995 than it does on the title page of a book monograph published in 2005, then that author's name appeared differently in the two corresponding *WSB* entries. This article stems from the *WSB* editorial team's reconsideration of the practice of unquestioningly copying names from original sources in light of its potential hostility towards trans people named in the *WSB*.

Although it can seem that bibliographies emerge fully-formed from the ether, they are crafted by individuals.[18] Even the most systematic bibliography is liable to be shaped by uneven bibliographic practices, especially if, as with the *WSB*, the bibliography ranges over multiple decades, languages, and tenures of different editors and contributing bibliographers. The global scale of the *WSB* means that it includes entries for non-English articles, books, performances, and so forth, which can produce names that do not fit easily into a taxonomy formulated in English using the Latin alphabet. Languages with other letterforms such as Japanese or Sanskrit are transliterated into English. Inconsistencies in transliterations of names and titles arise because transliteration practices change over time and, indeed, there can be more than one "correct" transliteration. Names themselves are not stable, even when a person does not change their name.

Even the relatively narrow field of Shakespearean bibliography has long had to grapple with how to represent names; decisions about individual names, then, are neither uncommon nor exceptional. The story of Sir Sidney Lee (1859–1926), a respected literary scholar and former editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, offers an example of how name changes impact and are impacted by bibliography. Sources differ both about Lee's prior names and the point at which he changed them; some state that he changed his name from Solomon Lazarus Lee or Simon Lazarus Levi (Halpern 1997, 174). The multiplicity and variety of Lee's names is a useful

18. And while algorithmically created (and often, corporate) bibliographies exist, they are not the norm in literary studies; when they do exist, they often replicate inequalities, particularly when it comes to ignoring voices from the Global South (Gil 2021). The many individuals who have contributed to the *WSB* are listed on the "Acknowledgments" page (https://www.worldshakesbib.org/acknowledgments) and "International Committee of Correspondents" page (https://www.worldshakesbib.org/international-committee-correspondents).

reminder that the best and simplest solution to properly name a scholar is to call them by the name they choose.

Lee was of Jewish descent (Bell and Duncan-Jones 2009); the changes to his first and last names reflected his effort to downplay his Jewish heritage in a moment when anti-Semitism permeated not just society at large but also the academy, and Shakespeare studies in particular as a domain of white Englishness. The early twentieth-century bibliographer William Jaggard refused to acknowledge Lee's name change in his *Shakespeare Bibliography*. As Clark S. Northup observes, in Jaggard's bibliography "the works of Sir Sidney Lee are strangely referred to S. L. Levi, the name which Mr. Lee formerly bore. To anyone who knows of the previous encounters of the two men, the animus of the reference is evident. In a work of this kind such a display of odium theologicum is as contemptible as it is amusing" (1912, 226).[19] Jaggard's appalling treatment of Lee reveals the professional and emotional stakes of bibliography. Moreover, even as Northup recognizes the contemptibility of Jaggard's naming practice, he still calls it "amusing", suggestive of the struggle to be properly named by those mostly sympathetic to the practice.

Modern Shakespeare scholars are accustomed to instability in naming practices. In Shakespeare's plays, characters' names change from one edition to the next, and within editions: Random Cloud describes five speech tags for a single character (1991, 90). Fittingly, "Random Cloud" is one of the many names under which a single scholar publishes, including Randall McLeod, Randall M Leod, Laksmi Cohen MacGregor, R. MacGeddon, Ana Mary Armygram, Orlando F. Booke, and Claudia Nimbus.[20] Cloud's unstable, multiple names underscore the impossible ideal of historical stability and objectivity. Jonah Coman (2018) offers Random Cloud as a productive and vivid example of "authorial citation-breaking". The many names under which Cloud publishes is a useful reminder that scholars are not required to publish under their legal name or to maintain consistency across their careers.

The instability of names necessitates a mindful and flexible citation practice. After years of trying to fit names into chrononormative and

19. We acknowledge that this example relies on revisiting an instance of deadnaming. We chose this example because revisiting this instance will not harm Lee or his reputation.

20. Cloud's multiple names are consolidated on a single University of Toronto faculty webpage in the Department of English (n.d.) assigned to "McLeod, Randall", a page that will likely not persist forever.

objective ideas of bibliography, the *World Shakespeare Bibliography* policy is now to respect a person's name of choice. As its "About" page states, editors welcome emails from creators wishing to update their names.[21] If someone has made a public statement on how they wish their previous works to be cited, say, on a blog, and this comes to editors' attention, they will update the *WSB*'s entries accordingly. If someone contacts editors to request a change in how they are listed in the bibliography, there are multiple ways this can be manifested, including but not limited to the question of square brackets or not and, as discussed below, how to handle links. Each bibliography, catalogue, or digital project will have different metadata structures or specific practices, and as such, each will have to grapple with the data modeling questions and possible workflows towards achieving a trans-inclusive bibliography.

While the *WSB*'s policy on names sounds simple, there are, as always, complicating factors: not everyone will know about the *WSB*'s policy and send a request. Furthermore, if someone changes their name (for any reason), editors will not automatically change all past references to their work, because this might not reflect their choices, either. The current practice of the *WSB* is to accept the name(s) given on a publication until editors hear otherwise from an author. Instead — and as always — editors rely on the community to help them do their best and hope this invitation will also help strengthen that community.

Although the *World Shakespeare Bibliography* began as a printed bibliography, it is now, like most enumerative reference bibliographies, a digital project. A digital project is dynamic, flexible, and revisable. As such, digital projects can be better positioned to respond to trans temporality and name changes than print bibliographies. This section explores how the potential flexibility of digital reference bibliography must be considered in relation to technological affordances and functionality for both bibliographers and users. As an online bibliography, the *World Shakespeare Bibliography* is continually updated and amended; cross-references are added between old and new entries; information from past years that has been previously missed is filled in; typos are fixed; and author names and links are updated to be trans-inclusive.

In the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*, the question of names and data models are directly reflected by the taxonomies on which the site is built. Even something as seemingly minor as a middle initial can stymie digital taxonomies. In the *WSB* name taxonomy, "Jane Li" is separate from

21. See Craig n.d., "About", https://www.worldshakesbib.org/about.

"Jane X. Li" even if they are the same person. There are good reasons for names with initials to be differentiated from names without: it can disambiguate people with similar names. Conversely, if there are two scholars who publish using the exact same name, it is beyond the ability of the *WSB* editorial staff to determine which "Jane Li" wrote which article, and two authors' works would be shown as the output of the same creator.

Heidi Craig, editor of the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*, initially started publishing with a middle initial ("C"); she stopped this practice for later publications. APA's practice of listing authors by only initials rather than given names is sometimes touted as a solution to gender bias, and, in this case, possible transphobia, but is no panacea: not all name changes retain the first initial (or even surname), and, furthermore, people should not feel obligated to publish under initials in order to hide their identity, gendered and otherwise. Using only initials for given names can also lead to disambiguation problems: in Shakespeare studies alone, there are at least three individuals to whom publications ascribed to "H. Craig" can refer: Hardin Craig, Hugh Craig, and Heidi Craig.

Digital solutions that batch process names (such as semantic web technologies) are, at this point, not the solution for trans-inclusive bibliographies; perhaps, in the future, however, ORCIDs and other authority files could be operationalized to send updated information to digital projects. In this imagined reality, someone could update their name in one place and have the changes populate to multiple other sites including reference bibliographies. This is, however, not a current reality, as you will know if you have ever tried to update your affiliation or email.

While changing an author's name in an online bibliography might seem to be the simplest undertaking, that decision has cascading effects. One is that someone searching using the deadname will not find the item represented in the bibliography. (This could be mitigated with the square bracket solution, if an author desires.) As JSTOR (2021) notes in their recent policy to support name changes, removing or changing an author's name can have "potential impacts on discoverability of the work". Another functionality that can be affected by changing names is outward linking. The *World Shakespeare Bibliography* is a bibliography proper: it is not a database that includes copies of the materials it lists. The *WSB* allows users to click on a button to see if their library has access to a given item indexed in the *WSB*.[22] This button (often labelled "Get It For Me" or

22. This system is built on COinS (Context Objects in Spans) and OpenURL. The "Find Text" (or equivalent) button works best for journal articles, many of which

"Find Text") will be familiar to users from other bibliographies or search results. The OpenURL query (that is, the "find text" functionality) uses the metadata associated with an entry in the bibliography to look in a library's digital catalogue to see if there is a potential match. The links to materials outside the *WSB* query metadata fields including author name. As such, to change an author's name in the *WSB* to a name that is not on a published work is to reduce the chance of being able to access that work in a click or two, which, in turn, reduces the chance of that work being cited. To put it bluntly, to be cited accurately can risk not being cited at all.

Changing the given name in the *World Shakespeare Bibliography* will not affect the "find text" link to the article even if the given name is different on the published article. If an article is credited to "Estill, Lane" in the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*, it will lead to the publication by Laura Estill if it is in the subscribing library's holdings. Changing the surname, however, will stymie the OpenURL query so "Estin, Laura" will not link to an article by Laura Estill even if the rest of the metadata is the same (journal title, article title, volume, issue, pagination).

In addition to OpenURL functionality, the *WSB* includes direct links to open access publications, which is one means to maintain findability for publications even if an author changes their name. Where possible, links rely on Digital Object Identifiers (DOIs) and permalinks (permanent URLs) so the link itself will not expire. Linking directly to open-access publications means that if a scholar has changed their name in the *WSB* and with the original publisher, their work can be findable without having a deadname ever revealed to the researcher. If a scholar archives their publication, for instance, in an institutional repository or *Humanities Commons*, the *WSB* can then directly link to the archived version of the publication.[23] Choosing how your work is linked can be just as important as how your name is represented.

The *WSB* does not change people's names in the database without their permission, request, or a public statement that includes both former and current name. Trans-inclusive bibliographers would not want to give one name in the bibliography that links to a source where a previous name

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are available in online databases; it rarely returns results for books, even if the library has access to an electronic copy. It will return no results for productions because there will be no results to return.

23. It is not currently possible to remove the "Find Text" or "Get It For Me" button from a single entry or group of entries in the *WSB*, but the *WSB* can provide direct links to repositories where scholars control their own names. The *WSB* will, when requested, add or update direct links to open access publications.

was not updated, which could "out" someone as trans. Furthermore, when people contact the *WSB* about name changes, editors outline the existing options for external links from the entry, which might affect their choices. While a theatre director might have no qualms changing their name because the mandatory "Find Text" or "Get It For Me" button will not lead to their deadname, the author of a journal article hosted online who is unable to get the journal or vendor to change it might feel differently.

Some may view the prospect of changing names in a bibliography as a threat to the perceived "sanctity" of the historical record. Tanenbaum et al. (2020) cite one computing professional from the Association for Computing Machinery (ACM) who voiced their concern about "the cultural shift to everything being digital" and "the ease with which information can be silently filtered/changed/suppressed". The ACM professional anxiously asked, "Can we trust an archive that modifies its artifacts?".[24] Yet, as demonstrated here, any repository of information — archives, bibliographies, catalogues — makes decisions that modify entries. The flexibility of the digital is a feature, not a bug. Indeed, if the Library of Congress can change its authority files to support individuals (Dobrowolsky 2013b), so can digital reference bibliographies. Bibliographers would do well to realize that stability is a fiction, and that, in every area, change is constant and inevitable.

Digital reference bibliographies impact how citations are shared and circulated — the *WSB*, for instance, allows users to email themselves or someone else with a list of annotated bibliography entries. Furthermore, the *WSB*, like most reference bibliographies, supports citation management software such as Zotero, many of which are in turn equipped with social features where users share citations with one another. It can seem impossible to change a name in every place it appears: but changing a name in a reference bibliography can lead to future use of a creator's correct name.

Updating the *World Shakespeare Bibliography*, or any single bibliography, is only one step towards creating a trans-inclusive academy structured around publication and citation practices that value the individual and their labor. Tanenbaum et al. (2020) recommend that "name change policies [. . .] extend to all instances of the published name, in both the trans scholar's work, and in the bibliographies of all scholarship that cites that

24. Tanenbaum et al. report that, after much negotiation, the ACM did agree "to update all publicly accessible digital materials related to an author whose name has been changed", even though "[t]he previous version would be retained in a separate repository, accessible only when a subpoena is served" (2020, 493).

work"; while this recommendation was written with "bibliography" in the sense of "works cited", it holds equally true for reference and enumerative bibliography. Bibliographers cannot change how names are represented in other places, but bibliographers can make a difference by respecting creators' wishes on how their names are represented. One positive change can lead to positive downstream effects; changes in reference bibliographies could help produce a flood of trans-inclusive academic practices. Moving towards trans-inclusive bibliography is an important step to creating a trans-inclusive academy, because as this essay has shown, bibliographies are inextricably linked (metaphorically and digitally) to research and scholarly practice.

Conclusion: Rethinking Bibliography

Moving towards trans-inclusive bibliography requires rethinking bibliography altogether. Is a bibliographer's job "simply" to "accurately" "describe" "names" as they appear on a publication? Even the most stolid bibliographers have pushed against notions of bibliography's seemingly scientific objectivity: the mid-twentieth century bibliographer W. W. Greg observes, "[i]t will perhaps be contended that bibliography has been, probably that it must be, a descriptive science. In a sense this is true. In a sense every science is descriptive. But insofar as a science is merely descriptive it is sterile" (1914, 40). More recently, Erin McGuirl (2017) notes, "I've often used the word accurate in reference to description. An accurate description might seem like an obvious necessity for the scholar bibliographer, but it is not often easily achieved". The historic record, furthermore, is not guaranteed to be accurate: errors happen at all levels of publishing and citation. For instance, if a work were accidentally printed with a typographical error in a scholar's name, it would not make sense to misspell that scholar's name in a citation out of some fidelity to the so-called accuracy of the source. Accuracy and fidelity to the historical record may seem like obvious goals for a bibliographer, but these goals are neither obvious, uncomplicated, nor ideologically neutral.

Bibliography has not yet had to radically rethink itself in the same way as other disciplines in the arts and sciences, where the notion that history is not a static, objective truth is a given. History is a construct, one that upholds certain biases. Bibliographers play a crucial role in that construction; hence they need to contribute to positive transformation. The function of bibliography is not preserving the sanctity of the

historical record but ethically crediting academic labor. It is not the historical record that is sacrosanct, but human dignity.

Bibliography is a foundational part of the academic publishing and research ecosystem; bibliographers have a large role to play in moving towards a trans-inclusive academy. Practical solutions must meet ideological ones: changes are needed in policy, process, and principles. Presently, the burden of added time and labor (both practical and emotional) falls to the trans person to reach out to publishers in order to "correct" papers they have produced. This is time and energy taken away from research, teaching, and service. At the *WSB*, promoting and implementing a clear policy to support accurate creator naming is one way that bibliographers can begin to redistribute this burden from individual scholars to the field at large. Digital tools can unite different papers published under different names or change the assigned names on older papers while not fundamentally impeding searchability (if humans can change names, so can papers!). And while reference bibliographies begin to grapple with the systematic, digital means to ethically reflect name changes and scholarly credit, individual scholars, too, can enact trans-inclusive bibliography and citation practices by valuing people over the work they produce.

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Two Collections

Type on the Page at the Houghton and Newberry Libraries[1]

Paul F. Gehl

Abstract

The period often considered the golden age of American type design (ca. 1900–ca 1940) saw the creation of a number of library collections specialized for the study of printing history. The most important of these were the John M. Wing Foundation at The Newberry Library of Chicago (founded in 1919) and the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts at Harvard's Houghton Library (established in 1938). Both took inspiration from contemporary advances in bibliography and textual studies and both set out to exemplify printing history with specimens of type on the page for scholarly comparison; but they had differing emphases from the start, determined by the personalities and programs of their founders. The will of journalist John M. Wing (1845–1917), specified a collection that would allow study of "every significant development of the arts of printing and book production." The first curator, Pierce Butler (1886–1953) began with incunabula and collected typeface by typeface through the centuries. Harvard's Philip Hofer (1898–1984) was influenced by Butler's classification scheme, but as an art historian, he began with aesthetic categories and emphasized design issues like illustration. As the two collections developed there were additional divergences, but also parallel interests, and both collaborations and rivalry. All the curators involved (Hofer in Cambridge and three successive librarians in Chicago) responded to ongoing developments in textual studies and in some cases anticipated them, both in their collection building and in their publications on printing history.

In April 1962, the Paris rare book dealer Georges Heilbrun (1901–1977) wrote to the order librarian at Chicago's Newberry Library:

1. This essay owes a great deal to Jill Gage at the Newberry and Hope Mayo at the Houghton. Others who helped include Rob Carlson, Caroline Duroselle-Melish, Giovanna Granata, and Alan Leopold. The material was first offered as the 2013 Philip and Frances Hofer Lecture and in a talk that same year to the Society for Textual Scholarship. Portions appeared in Gehl 2019, 93–120. The following sigla identify archival materials: HPH = Harvard University, Houghton Library, Philip Hofer Papers; NLA = Newberry Library Archives; NWF = Newberry Library, Wing Foundation Documents (Case Wing MS Z 311 .W769).

> Dear Mrs. Erler, I am happy that your cable ordering some books on my last catalogue arrived one of the first, so that the Library has everything wanted. Some of these books have been asked by Philip Hofer, one of my old customers, but he arrived too late. . . . With my kindest regards to Mr. Pargellis, Yours very truly, Georges Heilbrun.

Heilbrun was claiming to honor the courtesy of the trade, first-come first-served, even when clients who might expect special consideration were involved. He was also complimenting the Newberry staff for acting fast in a competitive market. He knew that naming Philip Hofer (1898–1984) of Harvard, who was well known for snapping up desirable books, would flatter Mabel Erler (1904–1988) and Stanley Pargellis (1898–1968), then head of the Newberry. Heilbrun may also have known that Pargellis was a friend of Hofer's. Their congenial rivalry contributed to the creation of the two most important printing history collections in America.[2] But the parallel growth of their holdings is a story that goes back long before the 1960s and it should be viewed in the context of competition among ambitious American librarians. The curators at these two institutions were pioneers in collecting for scholars who conceived texts as material objects.[3]

This American passion for collecting the phenomenon of printing from moveable types did not develop in isolation. The first third of the twentieth century was an age of intense typographic creativity. American designers in particular were busy creating revivals (so-called) of Renaissance typefaces suitable for the machine age.[4] The scholarly study of early printed books, especially incunabula, had matured. Bibliographers were achieving significant results in understanding the original uses of exactly the types that the design professionals were claiming to revive.[5] This essay offers a

2. Indeed, the collections are unrivalled in the twentieth century. Two other collections can now claim equivalent importance in the U.S., namely the Cary Graphic Arts Collection at Rochester Institute of Technology and the Letterform Archive in San Francisco. On Pargellis, see Billington 1965, 3–18; on Erler, see Rosteneberg and Stern 1997, 192.
3. There is an immense literature on library collecting but little on competition for rare books. See, however: Jones 2009 and 2013. For booksellers' views, see Rostenberg and Stern 2004, 11–23; Crichton 2006; Edelman 2013, 7–8 and 14–15; and Osburn 1979, 101–14.
4. For opposing period perspectives see McMurtrie 1927 and Goudy 1937; a good recent account is Kinross 1992, 52–61. The value of revivals is still debated: Kelly 2011; Shaw 2017; Maret 2021, 13–49; Oloccco and Patanè 2022, 10–35.
5. See especially Balsamo 1990, 143–58; Tanselle 1984, 27–28; and Dane 2013, 16–20, 75–89.

case study of two specialized library collections that were formed just when scholars, type designers, and printers were pondering this history together.

Both the independent Newberry and the Houghton Library at Harvard collect printing history in transatlantic, even world-wide terms. Their founding curators faced a fundamental question: what to collect to serve the evolving field of type and printing history. The short answer was to collect *type on the page*, that is, books and ephemera that evidence the design and use of moveable type from Gutenberg forward. The curators would also look for books *about type* and for specimens of illustration, but the most important historical evidence was to be found in telling examples of books and other printed material that *used type* creatively and in collections of sufficient size and breadth to allow useful comparative study. This answer was not entirely obvious. There was no such thing as design history at the period and even printing history was a limited field. The advances in bibliography in the early twentieth century had largely been achieved through close examination of individual typefaces, not from consideration of their application.[6]

Although the two collections have commonalities, their contrasting histories betray differing approaches to the book as a material object. The Harvard collection was the brainchild of a single collector, art historian Phillip Hofer (1898–1984), working from the late 1920s until his death. The Newberry collection, founded in 1919 with an endowment bequeathed by publisher John M. Wing (1845–1917), had three curators with varying expertise across the same years and grew by gift and bloc acquisition as well as by individual purchase. Harvard's collection was intended to support academic research and undergraduate teaching, while the Newberry's aimed to serve a broad public including the many printing industry craftsmen and designers in Chicago, then a vibrant center of the commercial printing industry.[7]

Assembling Type Libraries

Both foundations reflected a relatively new field of book collecting, concerned with printing history as such rather than with bibliography

6. Needham 1988, 14–17; Johnson 1985, 11–12, 22–26.
7. By 1925, the city boasted the world's largest printing plants, linotype installations, and book binderies: *Survey of Advertising, Publishing, Printing and Allied Lines . . . 1904–1925*, 3–8.

or bibliophilia more generally. In America, this new impulse was occasioned in part by the crisis in the printing industry brought about when mechanical typesetting displaced hand setting, disrupted the labor market, and marginalized the typesetters who had been the most literate industrial workers in the Western world. Printers and others began to think anew about the history of metal type. In the United States the technological innovations led directly to the creation of a near-monopoly in the production of foundry type in the hands of a conglomerate, the American Type Founders Company (ATF). Technology also sparked what many consider the golden age of American type design, from about 1900 to 1940, as printers began to demand sophisticated modern types.[8] The new types were industrial products — created with pantographic engravers, typically designed with mechanical typesetting in mind, and intended for high-volume printing. The aim was a modern look on the page, including even color and a high degree of regularity, an appropriate aesthetic for the machine age. The simultaneous popularity of revivals meant that designers demanded historical specimens that could be photographed and measured precisely.[9]

These commercial and industrial impulses led directly to the first type library in the United States, designed for both research and public relations by ATF, which claimed it would rival the best European collections. Curator Henry Lewis Bullen (1857–1938) planned it as a resource for the company's designers, but he also hoped it would become the nucleus of a national printing museum. It opened in 1908 at the ATF headquarters in Jersey City.[10] A decade later the Newberry Library entered this new field with a collection on printing that was conceived in more scholarly terms. The Newberry's collection is named for a benefactor who had imagined a "great typographical library" and provided a bequest for it, but the real creator was Pierce Butler (1886–1953), styled Custodian of the John M. Wing Foundation on the History of Printing. Appointed in 1919, he shaped the Newberry's printing-history collection through the 1920s.[11]

Butler's models were three specialized typographical libraries then in existence: the Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels in Leipzig, the St. Bride Library in London, and Bullen's new library at ATF. The Börsenverein was an association of publishers and book sellers; St. Bride started as a

8. See especially Updike 1962, vol. 2, 202–19, and Kinross 1992, 52–61.
9. On these developments see Maret 2021.
10. Bullen 1933 and 1980. The ATF library is now at Columbia University.
11. Richardson 1992, 21–120; Coale 1997.

school for apprentices in the printing trades; and ATF was a corporate library. Those earlier libraries took their departure from the business end of printing. Butler contrasted his goal — a specialized, scholarly department within a large research library — with that of these commercial libraries. The Chicago collection would present type design and use as the central fact of printing history.[12] Butler may have had in mind the project of pioneering bibliographer Henry Bradshaw (1831–1886) to create a "*museum typographicum*" within the Cambridge University Library.[13] By designating scholarly research as the collection's mission, Butler's work presaged that of Philip Hofer at Harvard.

Philip Hofer was one of the greatest American book collectors of the twentieth century.[14] He established a Department of Printing and Graphic Arts at the Houghton Library in 1938, incorporating his already substantial personal collection into a larger project in the service of his alma mater. While Butler was a medievalist, Hofer was an historian of art. Art history was a developing discipline in the 1920s and 30s.[15] It offered new perspectives on printing history, as Hofer demonstrated in one of his earliest articles, on intaglio book illustration. Hofer's crucial insight was that copperplate engraving was embraced by early modern publishers as a way of attracting sophisticated customers for artistic books. Printing was to be counted among the elite fine arts, and publishing must be understood as a market-driven social phenomenon.[16] These insights, original at the time, are now accepted commonplaces in book history. Building on them, Hofer oriented the new collection at Harvard toward the finest products of the printing art.

In many respects, then, the two collections in the present case study are not strictly comparable, but both were born in the interwar period and each developed as a specialized department within a larger research library across later decades. The collectors involved knew each other, and their contrasting personalities were important to the future of their institutions. They competed for rarities. A focused comparison of printing-history materials at the two institutions allows us to see that Philip Hofer's

12. Butler 1921; compare Bramhall 1921.
13. Oates 1954, 25–33.
14. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Philip Hofer Bequest in the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts* 1988; *Philip Hofer as a Collector: A Symposium in Conjunction with the Exhibition of the Philip Hofer Bequest to the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts* 1988; Bentinck-Smith 1984.
15. Kultermann 1993, 199–229; Summers 2003, 15–19.
16. Hofer 1934.

early collecting for Harvard was influenced by practices at the Newberry and that in turn a new curator in Chicago in the 1950s took substantial advice from Hofer. The two collections are linked as a single chapter in the larger history of library collection development in America because both reflected the scholarly turn toward seeing metal type and type on the page as material conditions of textual history.

The Newberry's Typographical Library

Butler established basic policies for the Newberry's John M. Wing Foundation. It was to center on specimens of printing types in use. The logic of such a collection derived from Wing's bequest of 1917, which specified that the curator was to assemble

> representative and typical specimens of the work of all the typographically or historically important presses of Europe and North America . . . [so that] the typographer, historian, and bibliographer may be able to trace at first hand, from original materials, every significant development of the arts of printing and book production.[17]

That description, however, was broad. The first curator chose to concentrate on type, not to the exclusion of other arts of the book, but as the primary physical fact of Western printing history.

Butler began with the earliest printers, collecting typeface by typeface.[18] In this he was situating the new collection within the established field of incunabula studies. But, since he was starting virtually from scratch, he plunged into a competitive market where the major players were American millionaires. He had enough money to start an ambitious collection, but he had to avoid expensive bibliophile treasures.[19] In a popularizing account of his collecting for *Publisher's Weekly*, he noted that during a ten-week buying trip in 1926 he bought "194 incunabula from 32 cities, and 111 presses, showing 277 different faces of type. Four of these cities are new [to the Newberry] as are 91 of the texts, 30 of the presses, and 97 of the type faces."[20] Note that Butler enumerated fifteenth-century cities, texts, printers, and typefaces,

17. NWF n.d. [1919], 4.
18. Butler 1933, ix–xii; Richardson 1992, 31–35, 48–50.
19. Samuels 1988, 176–77; Richardson 1992, 48–64.
20. Butler 1927, 837.

but said not a word about illustration and ornamentation, nor indeed about beauty, quality, or state of conservation. His approach was distinctly not bibliophile. Even the texts were secondary, included just to show that he was adding to other subjects collected at the Newberry.

Throughout his collecting career, Butler thought in numbers — primarily counts of typefaces, as we have seen, but also prices because his budget was limited. He had arrived in London in July 1926; the city was then taken as the standard market for American book collectors. He reported that prices there were rising rapidly. Bibliophile incunabula were now expensive in London and Paris, but Butler could still find the typographic specimens he wanted relatively inexpensively in Munich, Vienna, Milan, Florence, and Rome, where his average price per volume was less than one hundred dollars. Still, he added that "the English dealers with their common language and closer social relations will always have an advantage in winning and keeping the American trade against their southern rivals whose difficult tongues and more foreign character will always be obstacles."[21] The ever-thrifty Butler was able to take advantage of the early Depression years to make another ambitious buying trip for the Newberry in 1931. He acquired over three hundred incunabula that year for an average price of seventy-five dollars.

Pierce Butler, as instructed by the Wing will, aimed at a public of professional bookmen, among whom he counted designers and practical printers as well as scholars. One early report described three specialist readers: "a type designer who spent many days in minute examination of certain fifteenth-century books", "an authority on the history of punctuation", and finally, a scholar "working on a problem of literary history through typographical evidence". The same report remarked "non-technical visitors" who take away "some definite ideas regarding the history and aesthetics of book-making." Butler wanted to justify the existence of a specialized and relatively costly collection within the library's broader mission, which was then (as now) to provide service to a general public.[22]

Although much occupied with the typefaces of the fifteenth century, Butler also set out to acquire later printing specimens as well as the literature on printing history more generally. He set booksellers in Chicago and London to looking for reference works, landmarks in printing history, and rarities, working systematically through the standard bibliography of the period.[23] He was able to buy heavily at some significant auctions that

21. Butler 1927, 839.
22. See NWF n.d. [1919]. Further on Butler's thinking, see Gehl 2019, 103–04.
23. Bigmore and Wyman 1880–1886.

came along in his early years. Before he left the Newberry in 1931 to teach at the University of Chicago, he had amassed nearly seven thousand volumes including thirteen hundred incunabula and 1,690 sixteenth-century books.[24] As we will see below, he also devised a classification scheme that would foreground the printing history significance of individual books.

Hofer's Unique Collecting

Institutionally, the Harvard collection, inaugurated in 1938, is almost twenty years younger than the Newberry's. But in fact, Philip Hofer began collecting personally in the 1920s and his thoughts about book history were evolving just as Butler was developing the Wing Foundation. Harvard became his principal focus in the 1930s. Hofer did not need to collect incunabula to document early printing since Harvard already owned thousands of them. He would eventually acquire two hundred fifteenth-century imprints on behalf of the university, chiefly books important for their illustrations. One fellow collector characterized them as incunabula "of the choicest artistic quality", but incunabula as such were never his greatest interest.[25] Then too, Harvard's libraries were among the richest in the United States for most historical subjects, so Hofer did not need to buy basic books or standard ones at all. He was free to develop his specialized collection within the larger university context, which included several special libraries and museums. The accession books of his new department show that he was permitted to draw in rare books from existing Harvard collections.[26] In this he was following a widespread American trend to create special collections within existing university libraries. There is evidence to suggest that existing special libraries like the Newberry offered a model to many of these new rare-book departments.[27]

Hofer, however, began with highly original insights he had developed through his personal collecting and writing. His great love was for books with engraved illustrations, by definition not everyday products of the press. His constant term of reference was the book beautiful; the most important dimension of printing history was innovative high-end production. Not incidentally, this preference involved more intaglio

24. Wing accession books, NLA 12/04/51 vols. 39–40; Butler 1933, x–xi: Samuels 1988, 176–78.
25. Vershbow 1988, 35; compare Walsh 1997.
26. Houghton Library, Typ accession book, 1938–1939; compare Mortimer 1964, ix.
27. Harris 1990, 63–71.

printing and correspondingly less relief work, more image reproduction and less typographic design. Hofer steadfastly refused to see bookmaking in isolation from other graphic arts. His name for the new collection, the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, announced his ambitions in this regard. Rather than the specialized type libraries that inspired Pierce Butler, Hofer modeled his "study center for the graphic arts" on the British Museum.[28] In its early years, Hofer gave a series of talks outlining his ambitious plans. He claimed rightly that the Houghton would be the only library in America to attempt a broad synthetic collection bringing books, prints, and drawings together.[29] No wonder, then, that Hofer would eventually be remembered as a "Prince of the Eye", whose aim was "to show the interrelationships among author, artist, scribe, and printer" in the context of a study collection.[30]

Hofer conceived the new department as a teaching collection too, and he frequently specified the enrichment of undergraduate education as a goal.[31] His devotion to Harvard was that of an alumnus. He took delight in meeting with students, served as a freshman advisor for many years, gave talks to student groups, and taught classes on book history.[32] Almost from the start, he was interested in the artifacts of printing processes, and he proudly touted the department's practical printing shop.[33] These two aspects of Hofer's project — a synthetic view of the graphic arts and the cultivation of undergraduates — allowed for a broad collecting scope; almost any well-made or interesting graphic work could be considered useful. Still, Hofer always collected within the context of Harvard's other collections and keeping in mind the power of juxtaposition to stimulate new research and new educational experiences.[34] He devoted time, energy, and financial resources to the Houghton, asking in return "complete freedom to accomplish his ambitions for the Library."[35]

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28. Bentinck-Smith 1988, 6.
29. HPH, scripts for talks to the Harvard Visiting Committee in April of 1939, the American Library Association in June of 1941, the Rowfant Club (Cleveland) in August of 1941, and the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston) in October of 1941. Compare Hofer 1947, 252–53; also Hofer 1966, 3.
30. Bentinck-Smith 1984, 319.
31. Hofer 1947, 252–53.
32. Bentinck-Smith 1988, 6–9; idem, 1984 322–28.
33. Hofer 1947, 253; Duroselle-Melish 2013, 47–49, 60, 63–64.
34. Colleagues and friends insisted on this contextual dimension of Hofer's work: Mortimer 1964, xi–xii; Becker 1980, 8; Vershbow 1988, 39–41.
35. Bentinck-Smith 1988, 8.

Over the years Hofer identified certain areas that seemed essential to printing history including a series of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts that exemplified the basic problems of script, layout, and illustration. Other specializations came to be represented in depth: eighteenth-century illustration, William Blake, Edward Lear. Even within the broad field of illustration, he expressed distinct preferences and followed enthusiasms rather than attempting a systematic approach.[36] He wanted the Harvard collection to be "paramount in some areas", specifically the illustrated books of the European 16th to 18th centuries.[37] For Hofer the great *livres d'artiste* of his own day were the logical development of a tradition of book making and book collecting that could be traced unambiguously to the sixteenth century.[38] He did not ignore type but, as he put it in 1964, "emphasis . . . has been laid upon books that contain woodcuts or engravings by superior artists, rather than the typography of the great printers."[39]

In subject terms, collecting scope, and audience, then, the Harvard collection contrasted with that of the Newberry even though both professed to offer their users resources for studying printing and book history across its entire chronological arc. Other important differences resulted from the institutional contexts. Although he conceived of his collection as made for Harvard, Philip Hofer was both a single-minded and a single-handed collector. His collecting proceeded independently and largely without consulting the potentially contrary opinions or varying priorities of his colleagues. He bought both personally and on the library's budget and did not always make the distinction clear. Some books he kept "on his private shelves" in the Houghton until the time of his death.[40] The curators of the Wing collection had no comparable private means and were dependent on the collaboration of their superiors at the Newberry — head librarians and colleagues, but also interested members of the board of trustees. Although the Wing collection had its own endowment, the spending of it was closely supervised by a trustees' committee.[41] This practice only changed in the 1960s, so that the third curator of the collection, James Wells (1917–2014), achieved more independence in decision-making and came to have a role more like that of Hofer at Harvard.

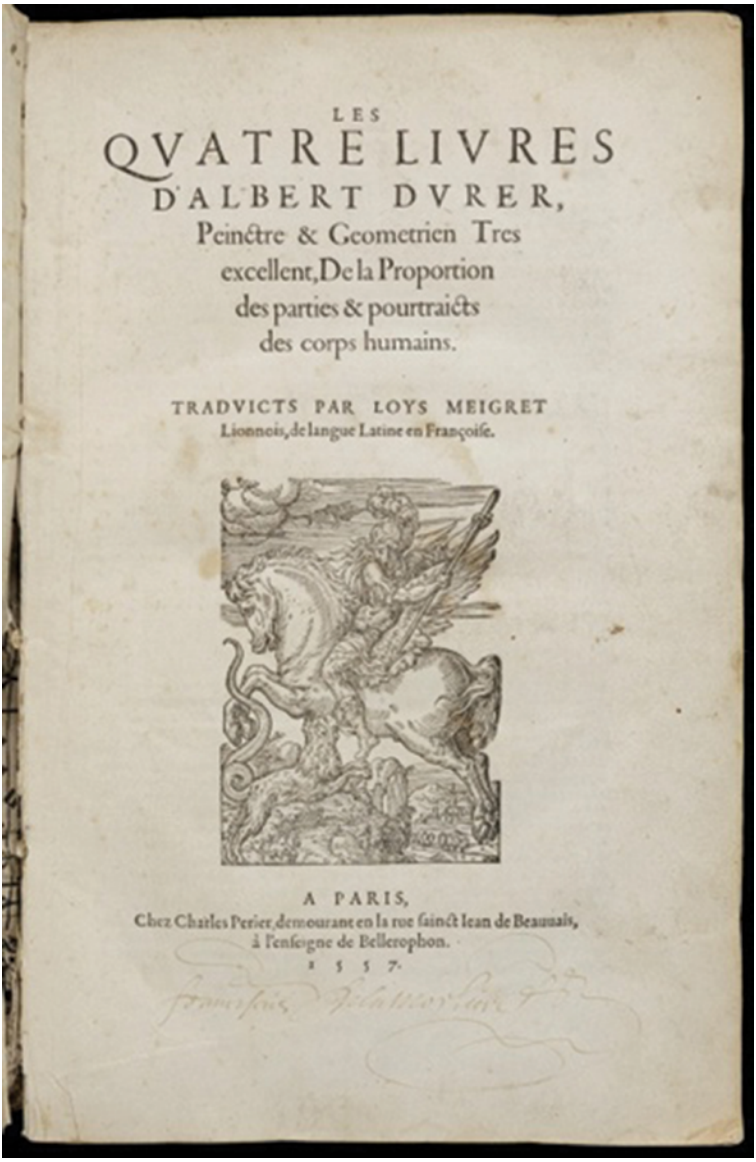
36. Vershbow 1988, 36–37.
37. HPH, talk to undergraduate fine arts majors, December 1950.
38. Hofer 1950, 191–92. Compare his influential introduction to Garvey 1961, 7–10.
39. Hofer, preface to Mortimer 1964, viii.
40. Becker 1997, ix; compare Bond 1988, xi–xiii.
41. NLA 02/02/02 vols. 7–134. Further on book selection at the Newberry in this period: Gehl 2018, 213–28.

Specimens for the Systematic Study of Printing

The new Harvard collection and the older Newberry one had two important things in common. In both libraries, printing history was understood as a specialization within much larger holdings. And from the start each collection included a separate and highly selective run of specimen imprints chosen to provide a capsule view of printing history — the matter of type in use on the page, often together with other graphic elements. As we have seen, the logic of such a specimen collection was suggested by the Wing will, and in 1919 Butler devised a classification scheme to implement it. The classification for Harvard's Department of Printing and Graphic Arts was probably adapted by Hofer from the Newberry system.[42] Although they are similar, the exact degree to which the two differ is revealing.

Compare the classing of almost any book found in both collections. A good example is the French translation of Albrecht Dürer's *Four Books on Human Proportion*, published at Paris in 1557. It is a book worth having for its beautiful typography, for its illustrative scheme by Dürer, and because it concerns proportion as an aesthetic category. The French translation also provides evidence of the reception of Dürer's ideas across Europe. As the accompanying figure shows, both Harvard and Newberry call numbers for books classed as specimens of printing have three lines. The top line indicates the specialized printing collection — "Typ" at Harvard and "ZP" at the Newberry (where both sigla indicate a book arts specimen). Below this is a number that embodies chronology and country of production: in this case "5" for the sixteenth-century at both libraries, plus "39" for France at the Newberry and "15" for France at Harvard. Thus, "539" at the Newberry and "515" at Harvard indicate a sixteenth-century book printed in France (see Fig. 1, below).

42. This seems highly likely, but I have not been able to document a direct influence. It is clear that Hofer knew the Newberry classification system by 1939 when he visited the Newberry for the first time. A draft for the Harvard scheme made in that year (HPH) bears annotations about "Mr. Hofer's desires", including the fact that "He cares nothing about having the individual printers or authors kept together", which directs the catalogers away from their normal professional practice (of classing authors together) and also away from the Newberry scheme (which brings printers together, as described here). For a contemporary view on collecting and arranging printing specimens, see Mason 1926.



LES
QVATRE LIVRES
D'ALBERT DVRER,
Peinctre & Geometrien Tres
excellent, De la Proportion
des parties & pourtraicts
des corps humains.

TRADVICTS PAR LOYS MEIGRET
Lionnois, de langue Latine en Françoise.

A PARIS,
Chez Charles Perier, demourant en la rue sainct Iean de Beauuais,
à l'enseigne de Bellerophon.
1 5 5 7.

Figure 1. Comparison of the Classification of Printing Samples.
Albrecht Dürer, *Les Qvatre livres d'Albert Dvrer*, Paris, Charles Perier, 1557.

Harvard copy classed:	Newberry copy classed:
f Typ	f ZP
515.57	539
.341	.P412

Thus far the principle is the same, and we see that the French sixteenth century will have its own section of specimens in each collection. The Harvard numbers have a decimal extension for the year of publication, thus "515.57" indicates a book printed in France in 1557, so that within the classification scheme and on the idealized shelf, French books of the sixteenth century are arranged in chronological order and all the French books printed in 1557 are together. This is not true at the Newberry, where the shelving order within the French sixteenth century is determined by the alphanumerical construction of the third line. That line, called the "Cutter", determines the exact location of the book relative to others in its class.[43] At the Newberry, the letter at the start of the line is the first one of the surname of the printer, in this case Charles Perier, and the numbers that follow place the book chronologically within his career. At Harvard, the Cutter is a numerical equivalent for the first letters of the author, Dürer, so that sixteenth-century French books shelve first chronologically and then by author.

Book-history research prompted the logic of both classification systems, each of which was intended to create an idealized study collection with comparable books together on the imagined shelf. Both systems privilege nationality and chronology over all other grounds for comparison. In the case of Dürer's *Proportion*, both libraries have the original 1525 Nuremburg edition in German and early reprints and translations (in Latin, French, English, and Italian). One reason for collecting multiple early editions is to compare texts and illustrations. But the several editions of this work do not come together in the classification or on the shelf in either library because they were produced in different countries. Moreover, both systems give absolute priority to the notion of century, following an old bibliophile convention of thinking of incunabula as distinct from books of the sixteenth century and defining the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as equally coherent eras. This scheme often separates first and subsequent editions of important works. To take a single illustrious example, the Latin first edition (1499) of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna sits at many yards distance on the shelf from early Italian (1545), French (1557), and English (1592) editions, even though they are related in typography and share different versions of the same famous illustrations.[44]

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43. The Cutter Expansive Classification system was once widely used in North America; see Miksa 1977, 57–61, 171–89.
44. Hofer published on this book early in his career; see Hofer 1932.

A given French printer's career can be reviewed at the Newberry by browsing the stack or the shelf-list. A comparable browser at the Houghton finds a chronological view of French printing more broadly; each shelf will hold a variety of books produced in France at about the same time. The two systems embody different perspectives on the history of printing. The Newberry system stays close to printing craftsmen and their careers, while the Harvard scheme privileges changing design ideas, with specific reference to national traditions. As the department's cataloger noted, "The relation of illustration to type area is significant," but "emphasis here is on the pattern of publication and illustration rather than . . . textual developments."[45] Thus, the Newberry's collection is more about craft, industrial, and business history while Harvard's is more about art and design history. Behind-the-scenes documents at both institutions confirm the difference in collecting philosophy.[46] Still, both collections assumed that the future of book history lay in close reading of material evidence, specifically type and/or illustration as used on the page and how comparing works from a given period could illumine the visual culture of professionals in the book trade.

As the two collections developed further, other individual emphases developed, specifically with regard to printing specimens that could offer material evidence of printing and publishing practices. Hofer increasingly enlarged the Harvard collection in the direction of prints and drawings, and those items, although housed in his Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, were often excluded from his "Typ" classification. Perhaps the most original of his collecting areas was drawings for book illustration, which he considered works of genius as well as documents of the creative process of bookmaking. By the time the Houghton mounted a major exhibition of drawings of the sort in 1980, the Hofer collection included over a thousand examples, ranging from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.[47] Drawings for specific books received a "TypDR" class, but the Cutter was constructed by artist rather than author. Thus, the imagined shelf envisioned by the original classification scheme does not extend to bringing the various phases of work on a specific book together. A similar enlargement of the classification scheme at the Newberry allowed for bringing together books by individual designers or illustrators in addition

45. Mortimer 1964, ix-xi.
46. See NWF n.d. [1919] and Samuels 1988, 171–75; compare Hofer's many talks, HPH as in note 29 above.
47. Becker 1980, 8.

to printers. The Cutter in these cases was simply assigned to the artist or designer, so that their work (by whomever printed) came together on the shelf.

Meanwhile, Butler's successors at the Newberry were fascinated by the potential of printed ephemera to complement the history of printing as embodied in book form. They acquired extensive files of new job printing, chiefly advertising work, that impressed them as original and interesting. In this they followed the lead of Chicago printing industry professionals who collected such items as specimens of good design.[48] This impulse was encouraged by Newberry fellow Konrad Bauer (1903–1970) in a 1949 report on the state of the Wing collection at the thirty-year mark. He warned against a collection composed only of beautiful books, opining that ephemera were both important in design terms and necessary evidence for understanding printing as a cultural force:

> A collection destined to illustrate the history and development of the printing craft cannot be governed from an exclusively aesthetic point of view. . . . [It] should be able to exemplify the real output of the printing presses, the changing conditions and achievements of the trade. . . . Book printing never has been the only task of the printing trade and today it certainly is not the most important one. . . . The printing and design of handbills, posters, trade cards, letterheads, catalogues, price lists, advertising booklets, folders, book jackets, even timetables offers interest from various points of view to the historian of the art of printing as well as to the practiced printer.[49]

In the 1950s and 1960s, many groups of historical ephemera were purchased. Butler's original classification scheme lumped such items under the catch-all term "Small Printing", but later curators, realizing that that term relegated ephemera to minor evidentiary status, classed individual pieces and significant groups of such things within the "ZP" specimen sequence. For example, broadsides, trial sheets, and proofs printed by Giambattista Bodoni were classed together with great and small books by that much-admired eighteenth-century printer.

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48. Among them Will Ransom, design director William Kittredge, calligraphers James Hayes and Raymond F. DaBoll, and type designers Douglas McMurtrie and Robert Hunter Middleton, all of whose papers eventually came to the Newberry.
49. Bauer 1949; compare Bauer 1950, 54–56.

Calligraphic Rivalries

Personal relationships and mutual interests also developed between Harvard and Newberry personnel. The second Wing curator, appointed in 1931, was Ernst Frederick Detterer (1888–1947), a calligrapher in the Johnstonian tradition who had taught at the Chicago Normal School and the School of the Art Institute of Chicago.[50] Prompted by calligraphy collector and Newberry trustee Alfred E. Hamill (1884–1953), Philip Hofer contacted Detterer in 1939. From 1942 onward Hofer also corresponded with the director of the Newberry appointed in that year, Stanley Pargellis.[51] Before 1938, Hofer's institutional horizons were largely circumscribed by the great libraries of the East Coast. In talks he gave around that time about his new department, he referred to major printing collections only at the Morgan Library, the New York Public, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Library of Congress. He foresaw no other rivals until he visited the Newberry in May of 1939, met with Detterer, and came away impressed. Hofer started to include the Newberry among his shop-talk list of major printing collections.

Hofer shared a passion for calligraphica with these several Newberry counterparts. Perhaps inevitably, they began to compete in the market. Detterer was a dedicated teacher of the art and he maintained that calligraphic study necessarily informed typography. The two techniques of making letter forms developed, he felt, in close parallel.[52] He found an ally in Alfred Hamill who supported the purchase of the immense private collection of Chicagoan Coella Lindsay Ricketts (1859–1941), giving the Newberry in one grand gesture the largest institutional assembly of printed books on handwriting in America. Hofer approached the subject from a different angle, attracted above all by the elegance of calligraphic books and their place within the tradition of making beautiful books. By 1935 Hofer owned some thirty calligraphic titles; he had acquired an additional twenty-eight by 1940, when the prospect of the Ricketts collection going to the Newberry became public knowledge. In 1943 alone he made purchases totaling an astounding 112 new titles.[53] Hofer had become very competitive;

50. Samuels 1988, 178–81.
51. NLA 03/05/02 box 2 folder 62; compare HPH, letters to both Newberry figures. Further on these three individuals, see Gehl 2019, 110–12.
52. Samuels 1988, 178–80.
53. Bentinck-Smith 1984, 328; Becker 1997, ix–xi.

the Ricketts collection at the Newberry represented an achievement against which to measure his own success.[54]

Competition aside, Harvard and the Newberry began a collaboration in these same years, nursed along by the growing friendship between Hofer and Pargellis. Already in 1942, Hofer suggested joint publications. Pargellis in turn proposed they start a collaborative series of calligraphic facsimiles.[55] The initial book in the new series was a translation and facsimile of a portion of G. B. Verini's *Luminario* of 1527, announced in the first issue of the *Harvard Library Bulletin* and in the *Newberry Library Bulletin*.[56] Both men meanwhile continued to collect energetically. In 1947, Pargellis consulted Hofer about an expensive manuscript on offer from the New York dealer William H. Schab; Hofer replied that he did not want to compete for it, and the Newberry purchased it for half the asking price. It seems that dealers believed they could take advantage of the two collectors' rivalry, but Hofer and Pargellis would not play the booksellers' game. Still, they were happy enough to continue their friendly competition.[57]

Hofer's Influence in Chicago

It is notable that in the 1940s, as Detterer and Hofer became acquainted, a significant part of the Wing budget was spent on illustrated books of the French sixteenth century, Hofer's specialty. One of these came from Hofer's personal collection.[58] However, the most significant exchange of ideas between Cambridge and Chicago developed after the appointment of James Wells as the third Wing curator in 1952. Wells had studied the fine press movement in London, and typographer Stanley Morison (1889–1964) recommended him to Pargellis for the Wing curatorship. Before arriving in Chicago, Wells embarked on an intensive reading program to

54. HPH, Hofer to Detterer 9/22/44. Hofer 1947, 252, refers to the good Harvard collections and "still greater holdings in Chicago's leading research library".
55. HPH, Hofer to Detterer 9/22/1940 and Hofer to Pargellis 3/21/44 and 8/29/45; cf. NLA 02/05/02 box 2 folder 62, Hofer to Pargellis 3/2/44.
56. *Harvard Library Bulletin* 1 (1947), 262; *Newberry Library Bulletin* 1, no. 5 (September 1946), 31–32. HPH correspondence on this subject runs from August 1945 to November of 1946; compare Hofer to Pargellis 3/5/46, 1946 in NLA 08/04/03 box 6 folder 221.
57. A similar agreement not to compete was made in 1950; HPH letters back and forth 12/8/47 to 1/8/48; HPH Hofer to Pargellis 3/20/50; Gehl 2019, 113–15.
58. Samuels 1988, 32–33; Gehl 2019, 311.

see what calligraphy and type design were all about, and he took lessons in calligraphy. Hofer was then publishing actively on script history and book illustration and those essays influenced Wells' thinking on several important subjects.[59] One area of influence was calligraphy and its role in type design, another area was French artist's books, and a third was book illustration more generally.

Wells took his most direct inspiration on the matter of calligraphy from Morison, who had also mentored Hofer's collecting. One influential essay of the period, likely suggested to Wells by Morison, was Hofer's introduction to a 1941 facsimile edition of George Bickham's *Universal Penman*, presented as a response to interest in calligraphy by commercial designers. When he arrived in Chicago, Wells discovered that a flourishing calligraphy study group for designers had been meeting at the Newberry since before the war.[60] By the 1950s, the library had the largest institutional collection on calligraphy and Harvard was already in second place. It is no surprise, then, that much correspondence between Hofer and Wells concerned calligraphy. They exchanged research notes and they fretted over the collaborative publication series which they attempted, with little success, to carry forward.

Wells made regular acquisitions of printed books on handwriting throughout his career. Although there is no direct reference to it in their correspondence, it seems that Hofer turned his attention in the 1950s more and more to calligraphic manuscripts while Wells bought manuscripts only rarely. Still, there was cordial competition between the two men. In August of 1959, for example, they exchanged letters about their respective European buying trips. Hofer complained jokingly that he was late in getting to the major dealers in calligraphy who told him that "Mr. Wells" had already snapped up what calligraphica they had had to offer. He continued, "Luckily I do not feel deeply competitive. . . . I found some nice illustrative material" (i.e., prints and illustrated books). Wells replied, "I did not find much calligraphy either," though he then named nice pieces he got from the very dealers who had rebuffed Hofer. He added, "Like you, I think it is a good idea to have more than one back up [field] . . . and I go after typography and printing instead."[61] The

59. Hofer 1941, 1950, 1951.

60. Hayes 1978, 61–66. See also NLA 08/04/03 box 2 folders 69–74, box 9 folder 338a, and box 14 folders 476–82.

61. HPH, Hofer to Wells 8/13/59 and 8/19/59; compare Hofer to Pargellis 6/27/51, 4/24/52, and 6/22/52 in NLA 02/05/02 box 2 folder 62.

competition for calligraphy was direct; and the contrast of secondary fields is instructive. It confirms our sense of the different directions the two institutions had long since taken in building collections on printing and book arts.

After Stanley Pargellis retired in 1962, the head librarian's job was re-styled President and Librarian and his successor, Lawrence W. Towner (1921–1992), delegated overall collecting policy for the library to Wells, who eventually acquired the title of Vice President. Necessarily, this change meant that Wells spent less time on printing-history matters and more on the larger priorities of the Newberry. On the other hand, it gave him considerable budgetary discretion and allowed for purchases beyond the Wing endowment that contributed to the study of printing. Some areas that Hofer embraced in his Department of Printing and Graphic Arts — notably medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and emblem books — were also actively collected at the Newberry, but outside the closely defined scope of the Wing collection.[62] While the Hofer collection grew ever richer as a distinct entity within the Houghton Library, Wing became more and more integrated into that of the Newberry.

A second field in which Philip Hofer established a reputation was in French *livres d'artiste*, not an active collecting field for Americans at midcentury. In his 1950 article on early modern book illustration Hofer enunciated a theme he would repeat many times, that French illustrated books were simply the best in the world both in the twentieth century and for centuries before.[63] Unlike calligraphy, where there are abundant documents of Hofer's influence on James Wells, for *livres d'artiste* there is only circumstantial evidence, namely, that the Newberry had few such books before Wells' time and had an interesting, small collection of them by the time he retired.[64]

Another of Hofer's goals for the Harvard collection was to rival the Spencer Collection on book illustration at the New York Public Library.[65] His influence in Chicago stopped short in this area. Wells clearly shared some of Hofer's enthusiasms, e.g., for the woodcut artist Rudolph Ruzicka.[66] Closely tied by its first two curators to the study

62. Saenger 1989, ix–xiv; Gehl 2017; Gehl 2018, 220–23.
63. Hofer 1950, 191–92; compare Hofer 1951, 13–14.
64. See especially NLA 03/06/02 box 40 folder 1201.
65. Bentinck-Smith 1984, 335–36; Becker 1980, 8–10; Duroselle-Melish 2013, 51–60.
66. Hofer 1978, 328–38; Duroselle-Melish 2013, 55–60. Ruzicka had several Chicago clients who no doubt also influenced Wells.

of letterforms, however, the Wing Foundation had its own tradition which did not emphasize illustration. Wells devoted his limited funds to developing that tradition. He no doubt also felt that both Harvard and the New York Public could do a better job documenting the history of book illustration.

Postscript: Books as Objects

Hofer's influence in Chicago was considerable, then, but it did not change the complexion of the Newberry's Wing collection. The most tangible result was to broaden the curatorial impulse to include more than type and page layout in the formula for understanding the book as an object. This was not an entirely new insight, but James Wells, rather more than his predecessors, thought of books as confected objects with design issues — problem solving — in three dimensions. The more ambitious the book, the more amazing the object. Thus, with the support of trustee Suzette Morton Davidson (1912–1996), Wells began purchasing a few high-end artistic bindings on twentieth-century artist's books. Meanwhile, well beyond Hofer's book-beautiful ideals, Wells was also influenced by post-World War II collectors' preferences for books in presumably "original" condition, which often involved humble, even makeshift bindings. Among contemporary printing specimens he began to include quirky, non-traditional items, down-market artist's books, and commercial printing and lettering at every level of ambition and pretense. He clung to the Wing tradition that the most interesting work had to do with letterforms, but his collecting was catholic in the extreme, embracing ephemera of all sorts, sculptural books, distressed type, dry transfer and rubber-stamp printing, ditto reproduction and Xerography.

If we look at the Harvard and Newberry collections as broadly reflective of the book arts and scholarship of their time, we can see that their curators all worked (perhaps a bit *avant la lettre*) in directions that were taken by book history scholars from mid-century forward. Hofer and his counterparts in Chicago clearly wanted to exemplify the physical book in its many manifestations — from scribal letterforms and type design, through the many intermediate processes, to finished objects embodied on the page or pages, in codex form or otherwise. Starting from the insights of the bibliographers of the early twentieth century, who studied type on the page intensively, they created collections that even today allow for deep research dives into historical and contemporary book-making.

James Wells retired in 1984 and Philip Hofer died that same year. The date represents the end of an era of parallel interests, intermittent collaboration, and friendly rivalry. Although both institutions were indelibly marked by their curators of fifty and sixty years, and although the collecting traditions they had developed continued, the two specialized printing departments went forward with different personalities, differing priorities, and minimal communication. By contrast, the tale told in this essay is largely one of shared interest in a particular kind of book history, that which emphasized the materiality of books printed from moveable type. Both Chicago and Cambridge at mid-century could boast ambitiously growing, research-oriented collections for printing history that included rich, classified series of representative products of the press. Monumental and everyday specimens of type on the page were at hand to document typographical phenomena across time and to inspire present-day practitioners. The classification scheme at each library embodied a notion of printing history that proceeded by juxtaposing specimen books that could inform each other when examined together. The ideal at both libraries was to enable concentrated historical study of embodied printed objects.

The Newberry curators, like Hofer, knew about other collections in their fields of interest. In the first half of the twentieth century collecting was conceived in fairly local terms and would remain so until digital imaging changed ideas about the availability of sources. Rare book collections in particular were the province of "bookmen" (so-called) who competed for the best books.[67] Much of the public for a given rare book collection was going to be local. Both Hofer and the curators at the Newberry understood that it was not enough to collect; they also wanted to encourage scholars to write the kind of printing history in which they believed. They had to bring researchers to their collections. They publicized their work by publishing, public speaking, and teaching, as well as by traveling and participating actively in regional, national, and international associations. They kept up with and promoted new scholarship. And they competed for the books they wanted their communities to have to hand. It is fair to say that these curators and the collections they assembled contributed materially and substantially to the dynamic book history that developed in the second half of the twentieth century.

Newberry Library

67. On competitive, expert bookmen, see Jones 2009, 597–602; Gehl 2019, 95–100.

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Walt Whitman's Trunk

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Abstract

Whitman is often thought of as a chaotic creator, leaving behind an ocean of messy manuscripts, flimsy scraps, scribbled notes, and endless clippings. Nonetheless, this essay argues, storage of his manuscripts and previously printed work was a pressing concern for Whitman in his early and mid-career, occupying his mind even during major life crises. Importantly, he wasn't concerned merely with preserving a bibliographic record but with maintaining a resource for future work. Whitman developed a means of accessing his past writings in a mobile form — a trunk as both an actual object and symbol — as he relocated frequently from place to place. This article presents newly identified, almost word for word borrowings in the 1860–1861 "Brooklyniana" *series, taken from his 1849–1850* "Traveling Bachelor" *series. It connects these new findings to recently identified reviews from the late 1840s appearing almost verbatim in Whitman-edited papers hundreds of miles apart. Framing the "trunk" as both a historical, physical storage medium and an icon of archival practice on the move, "Whitman's Trunk" proposes a new reading of Whitman as a meticulous record keeper and careful practitioner of nineteenth-century copy & paste authorship.*

Critical and biographical accounts of Walt Whitman rarely describe him as a careful record keeper. In fact, at the *Walt Whitman Archive*, researchers like to joke that a late-life photo of Whitman, awash in a mass of clutter, depicts the first iteration of the *Walt Whitman Archive*: a "chaos of papers", as biographer David Reynolds has called this scene, with letters, lithographs, and personal notes, scattered seemingly at random around the aged poet, immobilized by a series of strokes (1996; see Fig.1, below). "Finding order in what appeared to be chaos was a skill Whitman seems to have possessed," notes Matt Miller, marveling at "the poet's attitude toward discrimination and order [that] has at times seemed a bit cavalier, [while] the end result has usually been effective enough to convince us of his methods" (2010, 51). Indeed, if there was a "method" in the organization of the poet's chaotic room, it was highly idiosyncratic and

The authors would like to thank Brett Barney and John Durham Peters for their helpful suggestions.

caused Whitman's housekeeper many headaches (Keller 1909, 331–37). This image of the poet's record keeping is visually striking and highlights the challenge facing those who wish to impose a sense of coherence and chronology on what Whitman left behind.

Figure 1. Whitman in his "chaos of papers" (Library of Congress).

Yet in fact this photograph is more misleading than indicative of Whitman's textual archiving techniques. Partly because of Whitman's own myth-making as a renegade, loafer, and proto-hippie, his textual collection methods throughout his life have received little attention. This essay highlights an unfamiliar aspect of Whitman: his careful safekeeping of his prose writings in particular and his canny repurposing of them. Storage of his own manuscripts and previously printed work, we argue, was a central concern for Whitman especially in his early- and mid-career, occupying his mind even amidst major upheavals in his life. Importantly, he wasn't

concerned for his papers primarily as a means to preserve a bibliographic record but as a resource for future work. Whitman reused his own writings extensively and with remarkable accuracy, even across scores of years and hundreds of miles. When it comes to Whitman's ability to repeat himself, sometimes at length and in surprisingly different contexts, "time or place — distance avails not." All Whitman needed, it seems, was a good trunk.

On March 31, 1863, a few months after he relocated from Brooklyn to Washington, D.C., Whitman wrote to his mother expressing anxiety about his writings: "tell me if my papers & MSS are all right — I should be very sorry indeed if they got scattered, or used up or any thing — *especially* the copy of Leaves of Grass covered in blue paper, and the little MS book 'Drum Taps,' & the MS tied up in the square, spotted (stone-paper) loose covers — I want them all carefully kept" (1863a). A few months afterward, Whitman followed up, reiterating that he "must have a trunk" to protect and preserve his writings (1863b). These letters point to his care for his textual archive. Whitman, we argue, required a means of accessing his past writings in a mobile form as he moved frequently from place to place (Roberts 2004, 136–37; Ryan 2010, 2–3).[1] Despite his unstable living conditions, Whitman's usage of his textual archive maintained a remarkable degree of depth and fidelity. Seeing the "trunk" as both a historical, physical storage medium and an icon of archival practice on the move, we propose a new reading of Whitman as a meticulous record keeper and careful practitioner of nineteenth-century copy and paste authorship — a view we will illustrate by highlighting two significant moments of textual recycling we have discovered.

Other scholars have commented on Whitman's reuse of his own materials. Emory Holloway points out a number of such occurrences in the footnotes of *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*. For example, a single sentence from the sixth number of "Sun-Down Papers" (published in 1840) was repurposed, almost verbatim, in a signed piece of journalism four years later (Holloway 1921, 32–33). In addition, Whitman reused much

1. Ryan 2010 provides a list of the Whitman family residences in Brooklyn and Long Island, along with a list of all of Whitman's homes in Washington, D.C., and Camden, New Jersey — a total of forty different residences.

of the material from an 1845 essay on "Art-Singing and Heart-Singing" (published in Poe's *Broadway Journal*) in an editorial on music that appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* more than a year later. Holloway also notes that some of the material from Whitman's 1850 series "Paragraph Sketches of Brooklynites" was reworked in a *Brooklyn Daily Times* editorial in 1857. Much more material from those "Sketches" was recycled yet again in "Brooklyniana" — more than ten years after their initial publication (Holloway 1921, 234). All of these instances suggest that Whitman had ready access to his past publications, even those published many years earlier and in relatively ephemeral forms such as cheaply printed, daily newspapers.

These small-scale borrowings pale in comparison to Whitman's more extensive and dramatic repurposing of his earlier writing. Between October 1849 and January 1850 Whitman published a series of sketches in the *New York Sunday Dispatch*, which remains one of his better-known journalistic productions. These "Letters from a Travelling Bachelor" mainly recount various scenes of life and the landscape on eastern Long Island with occasional explorations of Brooklyn and Manhattan, all loosely stitched together in a fashion characteristic of many of Whitman's periodical series. When Whitman began to publish a multi-installment history of the city of Brooklyn more than ten years later he must have had copies of "Travelling Bachelor" ready at hand, because he returned to his earlier sketches and mined them aggressively.[2]

The most arresting example is the ninth installment of "Travelling Bachelor", a large portion of which was used to form nearly the entirety of installments 38 and 39 of "Brooklyniana" in 1862 — a reuse of more than 1,800 words (see Fig. 2, below). Similarly, nearly all of the fourth installment of "Travelling Bachelor" — roughly 1,500 words in all — was republished in two separate installments of "Brooklyniana" in 1861, most of the text used verbatim (1862a, 1862b). Hidden in plain sight for decades, these "Brooklyniana" borrowings likely constitute the most extensive instance of Whitman's textual recycling of his prose yet discovered. In the poetry of *Leaves of Grass* textual reuse was overt and fundamental, of course, to his evolving work across six editions (Jaussen 2017, 39–66). In Whitman's journalism, by contrast, his reuse was less easily detected and thus has been little understood.

2. Price 2020, 65–66 noted how one "Brooklyniana" essay echoed an earlier "Travelling Bachelor" piece.

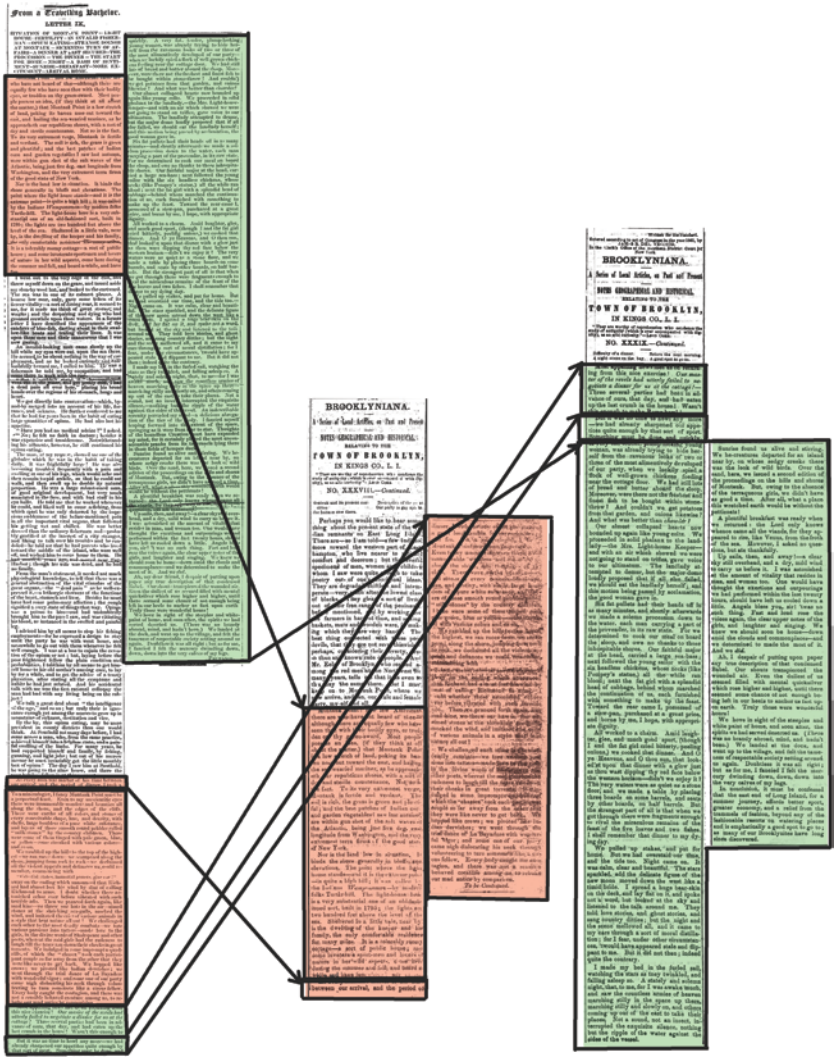


Figure 2. Textual Borrowing from "Travelling Bachelor 9" (1849, left) in "Brooklyniana" installments (1862c and 1862d, center and right).

A look at one example illustrates the lengths to which Whitman went to fit his decade-old prose into the frame of a new series. In "Travelling Bachelor No. 4" Whitman narrates, in the present tense, the sights and sounds of his journey on the Long Island Railroad as he rode east from Brooklyn, opening with a passage describing a railway tunnel — "dark as the grave, cold, damp, and silent" (1849a). Nearly thirteen years later Whitman returned to these lines in "Brooklyniana", but the intervening years necessitated a shift in their framing.

The tunnel Whitman had written about in 1849 was closed and filled in late in 1861.[3] Thus, when Whitman wanted to recycle these passages and offer readers in 1862 a tour of the eastern end of Long Island he was forced to turn his present-tense railroad journey into a reminiscence. After noting that the tunnel had now been closed, Whitman writes that he was "along there a few days since, and could not help stopping, and giving the reins for a few moments to an imagination of the period when the daily eastern train, with a long string of cars, filled with summer passengers, was about starting for Greenport [. . .] We are, (our fancy will have it so), in that train of cars, ready to start" (1862a). With the frame set, Whitman then pastes in the present-tense lines from "Travelling Bachelor", which continue for the next several paragraphs. Also recycled is Whitman's later description of the village of Jamaica as seen along his railroad journey, complete with descriptions of local sites and residents. And while the bulk of the passage is reproduced unaltered in "Brooklyniana", Whitman made slight changes to verb tense and other phrases when necessary to correct what otherwise would have been anachronisms, suggesting that he attended to this piece carefully and with an eye for detail.

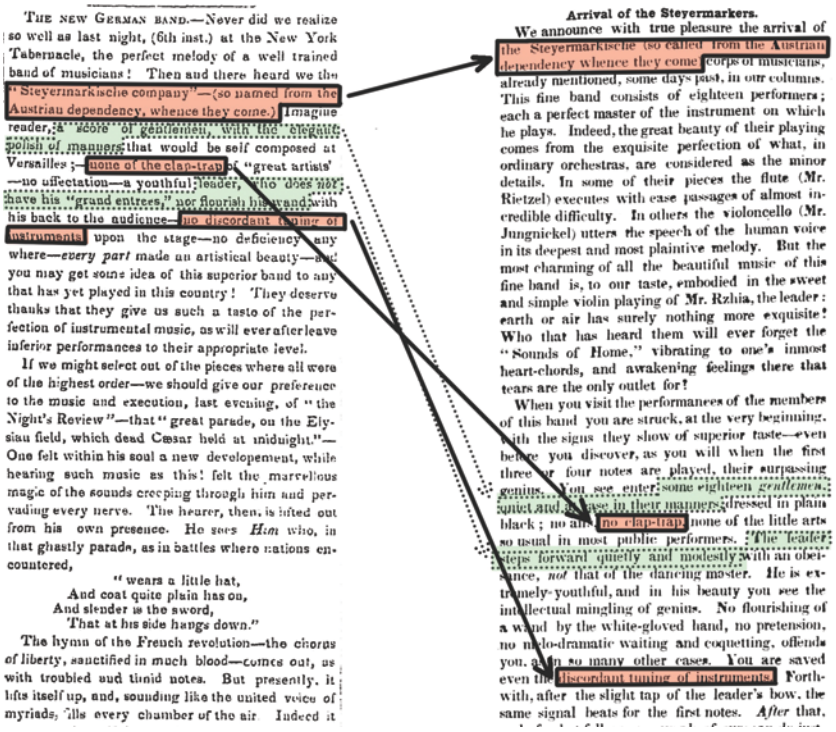
Occasionally, of course, Whitman's habit of reuse resulted in a lack of congruence. For example, also in "Travelling Bachelor No. 4", he reports passing the house of former New York governor John A. King while traveling through Jamaica. "I saw Mr. K. just return from an agricultural fair, somewhere east", Whitman wrote in 1849. "He holds his years well" (1849a). Thirteen years later the then-seventy-four-year-old King was seemingly *still* returning from that agricultural fair somewhere east, continuing to hold his years well (cf. 1862a). Similarly, in his rather unflattering description of the village of Hicksville in 1849 Whitman noted that despite high initial hopes for its prominence, the place contained little more than "a large unoccupied tavern, a few pig-pens, a very few scattered houses, and the aforesaid little enclosures." However, he added, "we shouldn't wonder to see Hicksville gradually pick up, and be a tidy, little hamlet, in the course of five or six years" (1849a). But thirteen years later the description of Hicksville was unchanged — although Whitman seemingly continued to hold out hopes for its future, noting that now it might become a tidy little hamlet in the course of only "a few years" (1862b).

3. For a discussion of the debate over the tunnel and steam locomotion on Atlantic Avenue, see "The Question of Steam on Atlantic Street", *Brooklyn Daily Times* (January 8, 1859), 2. For a notice of the closing of the tunnel, see "Atlantic Street Restored to Its Pristine Beauty", *Brooklyn Daily Times* (December 23, 1861), 3.

In the examples discussed thus far, the extent of borrowing as well as the time separating the borrowings have been noteworthy. One might be tempted to speculate that Whitman stumbled over these older writings by accident and pragmatically decided to recycle them, believing that the source materials were likely long-forgotten by all of his potential readers. (Considering that even with the benefit of digital editions, these borrowings have largely remained undiscovered until now, Whitman seems to have been correct in this belief.) Other instances of textual borrowing, however, suggest a more involved strategy: one that was not based on happenstance rediscoveries but on a purposeful, proactive archiving explicitly for future use. In Whitman's 1848 borrowing for the New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, for instance, what is striking is not the temporal but the physical distance between first use and reuse, and the data storage and transportation challenges implied by it — evidence that Whitman's textual archive remained relatively stable not just across time but across *space* as well.

The topic of the writings in question is as obscure as it seems un-Whitmanian: German folk music. Indeed, Whitman seems to have developed a bit of an obsession with the pathos-laden, earnest emotionality of what he described as "music from the fatherland" (Schöberlein and Turpin 2022, 8–10). In April of 1848, Whitman, who had just relocated to New Orleans, was thrilled to announce to his Southern readers that one of his favorite Austrian singing groups had arrived in town (1848b) — and he repurposed a review of the troupe he had published earlier that year in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1848a). While the *Crescent* piece employs some verbatim borrowing as well as paraphrasing, it is clear that it is based on a version of the previous *Eagle* puff ready at hand — either its final, printed form or a draft of it — which must have accompanied Whitman on his trip to the South (see Fig. 3, below).

The implications here are striking: Whitman certainly didn't plan on writing about the "Steyermarkers" in New Orleans (their tour hadn't been announced when Whitman left Brooklyn early that year). Still, Whitman's mobile archive allowed him access to the review *anyway* — hundreds of miles from home, and after a weeks-long journey involving steamboats, trains, and horse carriages, with only a teenage brother in tow to help. If the power and potential of Whitman's trunk required an "exercise in anticipation [. . .] [an act of] imagining the unknown and attempting to account and prepare for it", as Susan Harlan has described luggage (2018, 66), his sense of authorial preparedness had much wider-ranging implications. Whitman's trunk was an organized storage system for his writing that included both major texts, like his Brooklyn sketches, as well as minor pieces — things kept purposefully for future reuse, as



THE NEW GERMAN BAND.—Never did we realize so well as last night, (6th inst.) at the New York Tabernacle, the perfect melody of a well trained band of musicians! Then and there heard we the "Steyermarkische company"—(so named from the Austrian dependency, whence they come.) Imagine reader, a score of gentlemen, with the elegant polish of manners that would be self composed at Versailles;—none of the clap-trap of "great artists' —no affectation—a youthful leader, who does not have his "grand entrees," nor flourish his wand with his back to the audience—no discordant tuning of instruments upon the stage—no deficiency anywhere—*every part* made an artistical beauty—and you may get some idea of this superior band to any that has yet played in this country! They deserve thanks that they give us such a taste of the perfection of instrumental music, as will ever after leave inferior performances to their appropriate level.

If we might select out of the pieces where all were of the highest order—we should give our preference to the music and execution, last evening, of "the Night's Review"—that "great parade, on the Elysian field, which dead Cæsar held at midnight."—One felt within his soul a new developement, while hearing such music as this! felt the marvellous magic of the sounds creeping through him and pervading every nerve. The hearer, then, is lifted out from his own presence. He sees *Him* who, in that ghastly parade, as in battles where nations encountered,

"wears a little hat,
And coat quite plain has on,
And slender is the sword,
That at his side hangs down."

The hymn of the French revolution—the chorus of liberty, sanctified in much blood—comes out, as with troubled and timid notes. But presently, it lifts itself up, and, sounding like the united voice of myriads, fills every chamber of the air. Indeed it

Arrival of the Steyermarkers.

We announce with true pleasure the arrival of the Steyermarkische (so called from the Austrian dependency whence they come) corps of musicians, already mentioned, some days past, in our columns. This fine band consists of eighteen performers; each a perfect master of the instrument on which he plays. Indeed, the great beauty of their playing comes from the exquisite perfection of what, in ordinary orchestras, are considered as the minor details. In some of their pieces the flute (Mr. Rietzel) executes with ease passages of almost incredible difficulty. In others the violoncello (Mr. Jungnickel) utters the speech of the human voice in its deepest and most plaintive melody. But the most charming of all the beautiful music of this fine band is, to our taste, embodied in the sweet and simple violin playing of Mr. Rzhia, the leader: earth or air has surely nothing more exquisite! Who that has heard them will ever forget the "Sounds of Home," vibrating to one's inmost heart-chords, and awakening feelings there that tears are the only outlet for!

When you visit the performances of the members of this band you are struck, at the very beginning, with the signs they show of superior taste—even before you discover, as you will when the first three or four notes are played, their surpassing genius. You see enter some eighteen *gentlemen*, quiet and at ease in their manners, dressed in plain black; no air, no clap-trap, none of the little arts so usual in most public performers. The leader steps forward quietly and modestly with an obeisance, *not* that of the dancing master. He is extremely youthful, and in his beauty you see the intellectual mingling of genius. No flourishing of a wand by the white-gloved hand, no pretension, no melo-dramatic waiting and coquetting, offends you, as in so many other cases. You are saved even the discordant tuning of instruments. Forthwith, after the slight tap of the leader's bow, the same signal beats for the first notes. *After* that,

Figure 3. Examples of textual borrowing in the "Steyermarker" pieces. Word-by-word copies highlighted solid, slight paraphrasings are dotted. The remainder of the article engages in broader paraphrasing.

well as documents whose potential for such reuse was questionable at best. In this sense, the trunk appears to have functioned like a database: a structured system that wrangled significant amounts of textual data and which Whitman could access and query based on emerging writerly needs, whether it be years, decades, or, in some cases, even half a century later. His 1892 *Complete Prose Works*, for instance, contains an appendix titled "Pieces in Early Youth. 1834–'42", in which Whitman reprinted various poems and pieces of prose from much earlier in his career.[4] That Whitman had ready access in the 1890s to work that appeared in daily newspapers fifty years earlier (and would not yet have been preserved systematically in

4. Although Whitman claims that the pieces stretch back to 1834, the earliest known publication date of any of the texts that he includes is 1841 (when he published the short story "Death in the School Room").

libraries or archives) is remarkable and at odds with the characterization of the poet as a careless hoarder.

To those who came to the poet's home late in his life to converse and pay respects, the secret to Whitman's textual fidelity over time was visible even amidst his "sea of papers": "a mighty trunk having double locks and bands of iron", as one late-life visitor described it (Selywn 1888, 339), which once held the documents now strewn about the floor (Wolfe 1895, 201–17, esp. 212). According to surviving accounts, Whitman's mobile archive had been housed in a piece of luggage typical for the antebellum period but somewhat outmoded by the end of the poet's life. The trunk even had two-factor authentication: it was strapped and double-locked (Whitman 1873b). Additionally, it contained some capacity for document sorting, with a letter from 1873 noting it had a "pocket" for important documents (Whitman 1873a). Like other traveling trunks of the time, it may have also had a tray or dividers — which may explain how it could hold treasured papers alongside clothing items (Whitman 1873b), without the latter damaging the former. Modern suitcases, of course, would not become the norm until the turn of the twentieth century.

The trunk was a visual constant in Whitman's last years in Camden and invited much commentary by visiting journalists and disciples alike. One interviewer described it as "looming" in the corner and compared it to "a receptacle as comes over sea with the foreign emigrants, and you in New York may have seen hoisted by powerful tackle from the hold of some Hamburg ship" (Selwyn 1888, 339). The trunk was so big and antiquated-looking, it seemed alien. Another remarked on the "immense iron-bound trunk" dominating one side of his room (Wolfe 1895, 205), and even Whitman himself suggested that the "big trunk" was hard to miss (Whitman 1873b). The prominent placement of this item as well as the contents suggest that the trunk was quite dear to the poet: besides keepsakes, manuscripts, and correspondence, it even held his will (Whitman 1873a).

There are also other indications that Whitman was much more stringently careful with his papers than generally thought. He was a known scrapbooker, reassembling his work and the works of others into books of clippings, which would then have enabled them to travel, stored in a trunk. Ohio Wesleyan University, for instance, holds within their

Whitman collection a scrapbook of more than 1,000 pages in which the poet compiled portions of textbooks, magazine and newspaper clippings, as well as handwritten notes, all related to matters of world geography and culture. Ever the autodidact, Whitman employed this massive artifact to increase his knowledge of the world and its people in the years between the publication of the second and third editions of *Leaves of Grass* (roughly 1856–1860), and portions of several manuscripts that were stored in the scrapbook were incorporated into poems in the 1860 edition of *Leaves*. Researchers at the *Whitman Archive*, who recently digitized the scrapbook in its entirety, attempted to trace the source of all of the volume's clippings, and found that multiple identifiable texts date from the mid-to-late-1840s (roughly ten years before the scrapbook's compilation), and that Whitman retained them until the end of his life. He possessed at least one other such themed scrapbook, dedicated to texts about literature and writers, which evidence suggests was dismantled by a bookseller in the early twentieth century and sold as separate manuscripts (McMullen 2024). There are also references in Horace Traubel's record of conversations with Whitman in late-life that mention multiple scrapbooks present in the poet's room; upon Whitman's death, Traubel noted that there were "4 or 5 old scrapbooks (containing manuscript beginnings from notebooks, etc.)" amongst the surviving literary effects (Traubel 9:613).[5]

In a particularly memorable anecdote, Traubel noticed one of the scrapbooks "on the floor mixed up with the firewood strewn before the stove. I said: 'O Walt! You must n't forget yourself and use that for kindling'." Whitman replied: "'No indeed: that's too precious, too useful: then besides I'm too much accustomed to it — know it too well. It has been about me now for fifty years: I am very close to it: it is one of my bibles'" (Traubel 3:154). Here again we see Whitman's deep concern, indeed, reverence, for his papers and their safe and orderly preservation. And that the scrapbook was both "too precious" and "too useful" to be sacrificed further underscores the clear utility that such storage mediums held for the poet. The inclusion of these documents within the relative order and between the protective covers of a themed scrapbook rendered them more locatable and more enduring, and thus more easily reused should they ever be needed. Practically, the scrapbooks offered Whitman a means of organizing his manuscripts and clippings, both for storage and organization at home and

5. One of these was dedicated to clippings about Whitman and his work, with Traubel noting that it contained reviews (some of them critical) dating back to 1860 (see Traubel 1906–1996, 4:478).

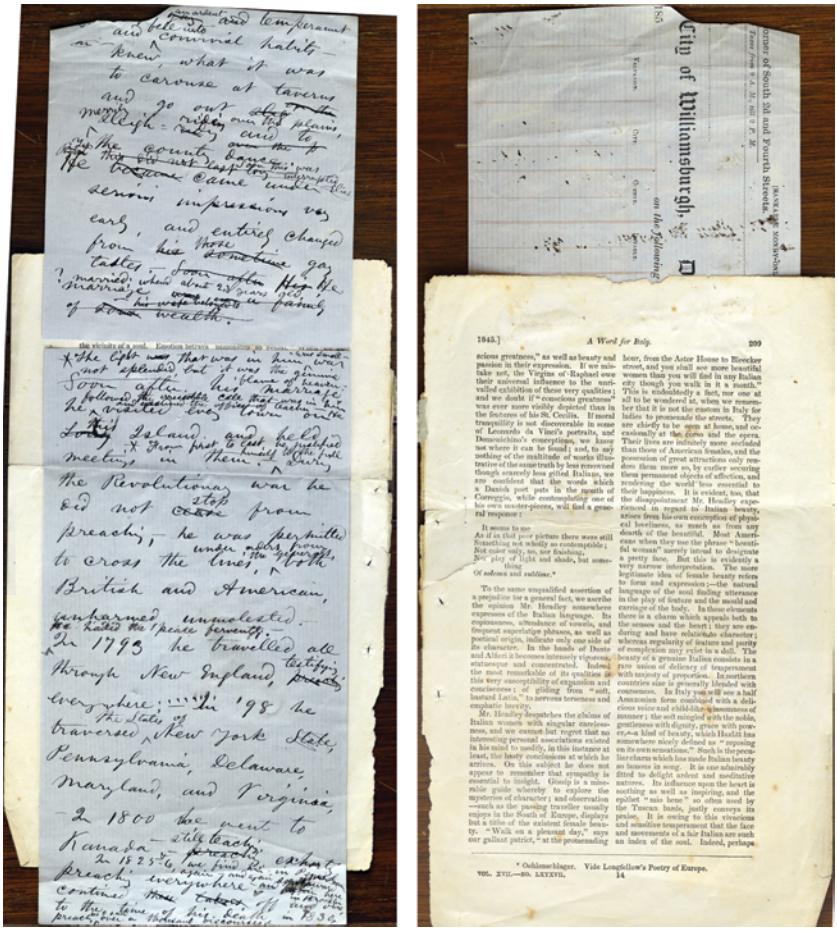


Figure 4. Notes relating to 1888 "Elias Hicks" essay (Library of Congress: The Charles E. Feinberg Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman).

also to make them easier to transport; they could be organized in his trunk, forming a portable archive to which he could return when needed, with the thematic scrapbooks serving like labeled folders on a digital desktop. Kevin McMullen has therefore called these thematic containers a "laboratory space and training ground for the cutting and pasting practices that had already and would increasingly become the mildly maddening norm in the composition of *Leaves of Grass*" (2024, 96). Whitman's trunk and its data — thematically and at times idiosyncratically organized — was more an active workspace than merely a tool of textual preservation, though ultimately it served both ends.

Late in life, Whitman acknowledged his tendency to retain materials for a long time, as well as his tendency to reuse them. His essay "Elias Hicks, Notes (such as they are)", published first in *November Boughs* (1888), for instance, describes itself as a collage of scraps,[6] reassembled into a retrospective essay — a recurring gesture in Whitman's late-life publications. When discussing the project with Horace Traubel, Whitman recalled that "some of these bits were written as many as thirty years ago. Some of them I have written within the past year. They are a miscellaneous lot but they all belong in the same stream" (in Traubel 2, 42). Many of these scraps survive, underscoring Whitman's truthfulness: some are written on tax forms from the late 1850s — during a time the poet was working on church history projects while employed at a local Brooklyn paper — some of which were then pasted on the back of periodical pages from 1845 (see Fig. 4, below). In total, this scrapbooked assemblage thus appears to reflect an ongoing creation process spanning more than four decades.

Documents like these are, then, a striking reminder that the poet's own scrapbooks and trunk were more than storage vessels for his and others' writings: they were key elements of his writing process. Viewed in this light, the photo of Whitman awash in the sea of papers depicts a stage of life when the nomadic Whitman had ceased his wanderings, a time when his infirmities had forced him finally to stay put. He could allow the contents of his trunk to spill: he could live in the midst of his literary remains.

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Whitman's archival trunk stayed with him to the very end of his life — we find ample evidence of its imposing presence between 1873 and 1892. The double-locked trunk may even be the same one that the Whitman family (his mother Louisa, brother Jeff, and Walt himself) sent back and forth during the poet's stay in Washington D.C. between 1863 and 1873 — so much so that Whitman at the end of his life still fondly remembered "the Adam Express man" as his "friend in Washington" (Traubel 9:10). Whitman's phrasing in letters to his mother also indicates that Walt originally owned only one such trunk (he refers to it just as "the trunk")[7]

6. Whitman 1888 notes, "the following are really but disjointed fragments, recall'd to serve and eke out here the lank printed pages of what I commenc'd unwittingly two months ago" (119).
7. Note that it is distinct from "George's trunk" that only appears later (1865) in family correspondence and was likely a significantly smaller soldier's trunk, insufficient for Whitman's filing needs.

and that he associates it with "MSS & books" (Whitman 1863c) — though it apparently also held the occasional cake (Whitman, T. J. 1865). Prior to this period, relatively few letters by Whitman are extant, so earlier trunk references are likely lost. Nonetheless, the existence of *a* trunk is implied by Whitman's travels to New Orleans and his ability while there to draw on his prior writings.

The trunk itself may have been the "ancient and battered trunk" that was rediscovered in 1938 at the Library of Congress (*Sunday Star* 1939), filled to the brim with Whitman materials. Perhaps it had been donated to the institution by a niece, who had inherited "Walt Whitman's leather trunk" when the poet's brother George died in 1901. The label is extant (see Fig. 5), showing, in Walt Whitman's handwriting, that it had even accompanied the poet to Canada.[8] In all likelihood, the trunk itself did not survive. The Library of Congress informs us that it was probably discarded — as most containers were — because it was deemed to have little importance beyond the papers it housed.

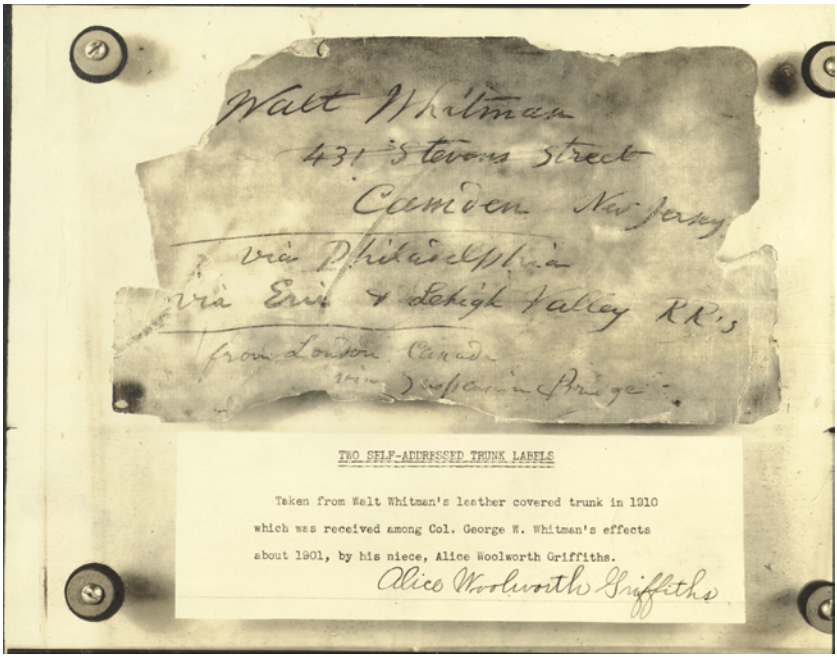

Figure 5. Archival label from Whitman's lost trunk (Courtesy of Trent Collection, Duke University).

8. Item is in the Walt Whitman papers, Rubenstein Library, Duke University, box 11.

From the media historical perspective, this disregard for Whitman's trunk makes sense. A trunk constitutes "domestic equipment" often dismissed as "feminine",[9] as Zoë Sofia has summarized, and functions in line with fellow "technological forms associated [. . .] [with] storage, transformation, and supply, [which] have been and continue to be [. . .] overlooked in histories and analyses of technologies" (2000, 188). Whitman himself seemed to sense an unease over this, as Sean Ross Meehan and John Durham Peters have noted: "Whitman did not simply celebrate the media-operations of multiplying time, space, and bodies [. . .]. Though he always ends with affirmation, he deeply knows the ambivalence of storage media" (2024, 346). For a writer like Whitman, then, whose reception in the public sphere is still very much in line with his own historical myth-making as a free-wheeling literary maverick, attention to his careful archiving and storage practices cuts across the grain of critical practice. Scholarship still emphasizes documents relating to active creation — poetry manuscripts, his Blue Book, annotated print — over seemingly passive, underlying technology relating to preservation, archiving, and storage.

"Containers withdraw from attention, exploited but not noticed", Sofia concludes, and, in the utilitarian form of a trunk, become something "we come to consider as an extension of ourselves" (2000, 188–89). Only very recently have scholars like Ashlyn Stewart and Matt Cohen begun to consider Whitman's "thoughtful self-archiving and its consequences on today's archival efforts" of the poet (2023, 30), though even they tend to focus on the structuring of ideas and concepts — not the tangible underpinnings of Whitman's archiving methods. Whitman himself would likely have agreed with Sofia's ultimate defense of storage as an active, vibrant technology in itself. Surveying his mess of papers, he commented on how "the whole room is a sort of result and storage collection of my own past life", highlighting how "the place with its quaint old-fashion'd calmness also has a smack of something alert and of current work" (Whitman 1892, 517).

And of course, as we have laid out here, there is something intensely "current" about Whitman's stored documents: no matter how old, they are always ready to find their way into — or in some cases back into — print. As Cornelia Vismann has suggested, the process of proper filing is never finished but remains in a constant, quasi-circular relationship with its outcomes (be it law or literature). In Whitman, a draft morphs into a

9. "Protection, storage, enclosure, accumulation, continuity — these contributions [. . .] largely stem from woman and woman's vocations [and as such] we tend to devaluate" them (Mumford via Sofia 2000, 186).

newspaper column, then turns into a file, becomes a draft again, returns to a new piece of journalism or becomes part of a book, then becomes a file again, etc., etc. Whitman scholarship has long noted and celebrated the erosion of the idea of the singular "book" that is *Leaves of Grass*, tracing it first into multiple distinct print editions, then into sub-print run variants, then into a yet-to-be visualized "fluid text" that illuminates a *Leaves of Grass* that works between and across print editions, variants, and manuscript drafts. Whitman's trunk reminds us that this fluidity extends well beyond a single book. It also underscores that readings which have reduced Whitman's other texts to merely an Emersonian "foreground" may have, in their quest to cast Whitman as single-mindedly focused on *Leaves*, fallen victim to selection bias.

Whitman's writing strategies — in *Leaves* but also before and besides *Leaves* — are highly flexible and, in many ways, circular. As such, they are *made possible* by storage. In a very concrete way, he was enabled by his filing technologies. Indeed, it might be said that his archive created Whitman. His recollection was notoriously "tricky":[10] "my memory is bad," Whitman complained, late in life, to Horace Traubel, "always has been bad [. . .]. My memory is more a memory of impressions than of facts" (Traubel 7: 132). The trunk — container of records and prosthesis, as it were, for a struggling mind — was Whitman's organizing principle in composition as well as his material filter: texts too physically flimsy, or oversized, or too hard to remove from their larger physical contexts were removed from his ability to reuse them. The trunk was to Walt Whitman what the Macintosh Performa 5400/180 was to Salmon Rushdie (cf. Alexander 2015): a machine that organized, enabled, and limited textual production along data economies of storage, organization, and retrieval.

Susan Harlan has argued that, on a fundamental level, "our suitcases mark us as displaced, as lacking a home" (2018, 66). Whitman was a nomadic writer, who would not find a long-term residence until very late in life. "What is this boarding-house life?" Whitman once asked in "New-York Dissected": "Simply a place to keep a man's trunk" (1856).[11] His trunk

10. See Traubel 1906–1996, 3:524: "They report against me in the bank: it was my treacherous infernal memory at fault again: I could not have believed it: could not have believed that the check came, was endorsed, banked, never acknowledged — since then totally wiped out of my mind!" His memory had "played" him "tricks before," but "never one equal to this."

11. Miller 2010 comments on this unrooted writerly existence, noting that "Whitman had moved many times as a boy, so he was probably used to a life on the go. Still the intensely nomadic lifestyle he lived while composing his first

offered continuity and consistency in a life marked by an extraordinary number of moves from one lodging to another: in the Brooklyn and New York City years, there were times when Whitman averaged a move a year, and even after he relocated to Washington, D.C., he lived at as many as seven different residences in ten years. What should have resulted in a literary life of permanent disruption Whitman instead leveraged into an innovative writerly preservation and reuse strategy. Unlike, say, Jane Austen's portable writing desk or Thoreau's journal box, Whitman's trunk was not ancillary to his compositional practices but central to it. If even a normal piece of luggage "marks the boundary between inside and outside, private and public" (Harlan 2018, 77), Whitman's trunk constituted an extension of the poet's mind into an external database, a practice more akin to modern smartphone and cloud storage use than packing a few books for a beach vacation. To Whitman, the trunk is not just a memory aid but a memory bank — a bank from which he made repeated and frequent deposits and withdrawals throughout his career.

It is important to note that Whitman's recycling of his earlier writings fell within the norms of journalistic practice in the nineteenth century and its "culture of reprinting" (McGill 2007; Cohen 2017, 56, cf. 15). Individual journalists faced pressure to produce copy day after day, and it was commonplace to re-use from others or oneself. Such repetitions were rarely noted or commented upon and in a pre-professional, quasi-artisan journalistic environment did not violate the standards of industry conduct as it would today.[12] By the same token, the job of a nineteenth-century newspaper editor — a position which Whitman held on numerous occasions over several decades — also involved frequent and creative reuse of previously printed materials. While this fact is widely acknowledged, the individual, archival logistics and infrastructures implied by this fact

major poems must have left its mark. Today, of course, we can move thousands of files and entire libraries in a laptop computer" (49). In contrast, Whitman relied on a trunk.

12. As noted in Cordell 2015: "Antebellum newspaper pages were replete with anonymous or pseudonymous texts, attributed from other papers or merely as 'making the rounds.' In such a textual environment, the value of widely reprinted snippets derived from their movement through the exchange system, not the genius of individual creators. Like some viral content online today, which can become noteworthy because of its virality, the system of newspaper exchanges produced a kind of feedback loop, in which texts circulated because of their perceived value to readers while that perceived value was often tied to a given piece's wide circulation" (418).

are rarely commented upon. Cutting-edge work like the *Viral Texts Project* (Cordell and Smith 2022) consequently favors the near-instantaneous "virality" produced by the "networked author" simulated by newsprint, while — conceptually and practically — eliding the storage and retrieval practices of individual newspapermen and women implied by the, at times, significant and meaningful lag between first appearance and reprint/repurposing.[13]

In many ways, those working with Whitman's manuscripts today are still beholden to the puzzlement of his "sea of papers". Compared to his contemporaries, "Whitman [. . .] left behind a strikingly large volume of material," Stewart and Cohen remind us. "The meanings of that hoard lie partly in the writer's thinking about the material conditions of authorial posterity" (2024, 30). We contend here that Whitman himself curated his archive as much for personal reuse as for posterity — his working archive was both a textual database and a preservation technique. Indeed, what we see in the puzzling chaos of his papers seems to be a transition from the former to the latter: a personal database spilling into a preservation act. It is a dying poet displaying his textual workspace and making it usable and retrievable by his literary executors. Two different archival logics are at play here: one is forward looking, aimed at future creation, one looks back to record and file away. Whitman's archive is *feverish*, a melding of personal idiosyncratic thought and textual (re)production as well as "a movement [. . .] of the future no less than of recording the past" (Derrida 1998, 29). It is "old-fashion'd calmness" but also "something alert and [. . .] current". His textual database focused on retrieval, reuse, and rewriting; it clashed with ideas of chronology, provenance, and context so crucial to textual preservation and authorial legacy.

The trunk constituted Whitman's infrastructure of memory and as such has much in common with the online infrastructure through which many readers of Whitman today encounter the poet: the *Whitman Archive*. Blake Bronson-Bartlett has noted that "digital archives have opened the question of archival storage and organization by offering a digital variation on those functions, and that one of their various roles in literary history is to establish conditions for discussing the archive that have not existed previously" (2017, 493). In a strange way, Whitman Studies is just now moving past

13. Or, for that matter, of geographical distance between original and reprint/rephrasing not explainable by availability of papers on the exchange network, as was the case of the Steyermarker borrowing.

these very questions, posed by the "chaos of papers", and embracing the historical, material dimensions of Whitman's own archiving.

For Whitman, repetition, often with variation, was a life-long publishing strategy. As Paul Jaussen notes, Whitman's "emergent poetry" continually starts anew, revises and grows in concert with the altering circumstances in which it is written (2017, 34–66). Growth combined with abundant and inventive repetition is the primary course of Whitman's poetic development. It may thus be time to reconsider the extent to which Whitman retained a newspaper editor's spirit — with its culture of reprinting and cut-and-paste authorship — long after he stopped primarily being a newspaperman. It may help explain why Whitman would have gone to such lengths to preserve so many clippings from daily newspapers. It was a medium whose content was outdated almost before it was printed. One thus might expect Whitman — a poet of the present, and perhaps more so of the ever-emergent future — to have no time for such ephemeral writings of the past, even his own. And yet there, in the middle of the room, stands Whitman's trunk.

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Reforming Oral Tradition by Elias Lönnrot and Otto Manninen

Nineteenth-century Textual Processes, Textualization, and Genetic Criticism

Niina Hämäläinen and Hanna Karhu

Abstract

Collecting, editing, publishing, and re-writing folklore was an essential part of Romanticism and Romantic Nationalism. The increased interest in folklore and oral poetry was related to the aim of creating elite cultures and literatures. In this process, questions such as what was included in the folklore publications and literature, and what was ignored and hidden are of importance. The focus of this article is on the methods of textualization and genetic criticism used in the study of the making of national heritage and literature in nineteenth-century Finland. Textualization theory emphasizes the practical-technical process whereby oral/written texts are transformed, interpreted, represented, and published, whereas genetic criticism focuses on the study of writing processes of literary works in the context of e.g. linguistic and aesthetic analysis. However, these two approaches deal with similar questions concerning textual processes and variants involved in text-making, particularly variation in the process of creating a nationally-recognized literature.

En mie sen vuoks laulele että heliä on ääni
Laulelen huvitukseksen, tuli heiliä ikäväni
suurta
Laululla mina laimentelen ~~ainaista~~ ikavääni

I don't sing because my voice is so melodious
I sing to entertain myself because I miss my sweetheart
huge
With singing I try to weaken my ~~everlasting~~ longing
— Poet Otto Manninen's rewriting of a folk song from the 1890s.
(A1908, Otto Manninen's archive, SKS.)

Textual Cultures 16.2 (2023): 74–105. DOI 10.14434/tc.v16i2.36766

Writing and editing are always processes in which some textual elements remain while others disappear and still others are rewritten or changed. In studying variants, it is possible to construe something about the genesis and transformation of texts. In this article we look at this phenomenon in the context of folklore and literature and propose guidelines for studying and analyzing the making of folklore publications and literature alluding to oral tradition in nineteenth-century Finland. The analysis reveals how, and on what principles, oral material has been transformed into written material. As illustrated in the above extract from a manuscript by the Finnish poet Otto Manninen (1872–1950), the analysis of different written versions of a work can demonstrate the ways an author modified a folk song text in the writing process. Even small changes to words can profoundly affect the essence of poetic texts, transforming vernacular expression into culturally valued "high literature".

This article[1] draws on the international scholarly discussion of oral and written cultures and their overlapping relationship (Perraudin & Cambell 2017; Bak et al 2015; Kuismin & Driscoll 2013; Baycroft & Hopkin 2012; Leerssen 2008). Our knowledge of oral cultural heritage is based on written documentations or literary representations even though the collected material transcribed directly from the oral tradition and oral sources has generally been regarded as exhibiting the most authentic part of culture or heritage. Images of folklore come from selected written presentations of that material, e.g., the *Kalevala* (1849) and other folklore publications, produced by the educated elite (Kuutma 2006, 15; Anttonen 2012, 325). Literature participated in this project by alluding to folklore in different literary genres (lyric, prose, and drama), e.g., meters and formulas of oral tradition used in poetry, proverbs and fairy tales, and folk songs sung in plays. All these utilizations of folklore in literature were based on certain opinions about the value of the oral tradition and on perceptions about how folklore should be used in literature.

Collecting, editing, publishing, and rewriting folklore into literature was a transnational process in the nineteenth century, and it can be categorized as being a part of Romanticism, nationalism, and a wider interest in folklore in art and research (Perraudin & Campbell 2017; Leerssen 2012). Even though oral and written cultural transmission is by no means only a nineteenth-century phenomenon (see e.g., Kallio et al

1. This article is a part of the research project "The muted muses of oral culture. Ideology, transnationalism and silenced sources in the making of national heritages and literatures", 2019–2023, Academy of Finland.

2017), it increasingly emerged during that century, particularly after Romantic ideas of folk and poetry were introduced by J. G. Herder and James Macpherson's *Songs of Ossian* (1760). Similarly in Finland, due to a rising sense of national identity, language, and history, the social elite[2] sought authentic and appropriate elements of the past in unlettered people and their vernacular culture, especially oral poetry (Anttonen 2012, 333).

The historical material used in this article consists of an early folklore-based publication, the *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland (1849), and Finnish late nineteenth-century art poetry displaying the textual elements of rhymed folk songs. There were two main poetic registers in the oral tradition in nineteenth-century Finland and Karelia. Poetry in archaic tetrameter, known as Kalevala-meter, as it was named after the *Kalevala*, was widely sung in Karelia, on the borderlands of Finland and Russia, as well as in Finland.[3] Rhymed folk poetry, associated with extemporaneity and recklessness (Hämäläinen & Karhu 2021), entered oral poetry late and gradually replaced Kalevala-meter poetry during the nineteenth century (Sykäri 2022, 173). Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884), who edited oral folk poems into the *Kalevala*, and his fellow collectors regarded old epic songs sung in Kalevala-meter as the most valuable. Old songs were also seen as threatened by modernization and extinction, and collectors were in a hurry to write them down. The documentation history of Kalevala-meter poetry and the *Kalevala* itself is rich and thick. By 1848, when Elias Lönnrot finalized the long version of the *Kalevala*, he had approximately nine thousand transcribed text variants as a source for the epic, including other lyric poetry, charms, wedding songs, and proverbs.[4]

For a long time, researchers neglected the rhymed folk songs sung widely in dances and gatherings of young people. To date, with the exception of

2. By the term *elite*, we refer to a group of educated men who were enthusiastic about Finnish language and culture. Many of them had modest backgrounds, but by education and social relations they received higher status in society. The elite is contrasted to the peasantry, often non- or self-educated and illiterate, who formed multi-layered peasant-based communities largely in the countryside. (See e.g. Kuismin & Driscoll 2013.)
3. The Kalevala-meter has been used among Karelians, Finns, Ingrians, and Estonians as well as Seto and Votic people. In nineteenth-century Finland, the most prominent area of the Kalevala-meter poetry was situated at the border of Finland and Russia.
4. Most of the transcribed Kalevala-meter folk poems are published in the series *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot / The Ancient Poems of Finnish People* (1908–1948, 1997), also available online: https://skvr.fi.

some unfinished projects on rhymed folk songs, no proper publication of these works exists.[5] In the nineteenth century and far into the twentieth century, most of the cultural elite defined rhymed folk songs as too modern and morally questionable, and therefore, unsuitable folklore, and this is one of the reasons for excluding rhymed songs from the canon of Finnish cultural heritage (Hämäläinen & Karhu 2021). Although new interest in this oral genre emerged in the 1980s (see e.g., Asplund 1981; Laitinen 2003; Sykäri 2022), the body of research is still much narrower than that on Kalevala-meter poetry.[6]

In this article, the focus is on those textual and writing practices of folklore-based publications and literature of the long nineteenth century that derived from the modernization of culture and society. As a Grand Duchy under Russian rule, the region later named Finland had Swedish as a main language of administration, education, and literature until 1863. Spoken mostly by the peasants, Finnish had no official status in the first half of the century, and Finnish written culture was still developing by 1900. However, as Finland's national school system stabilized — a process set by 1866 — and learned peasants engaged in diverse writing and publishing practices, new media, e.g., journals, literature, and diverse folklore collections, multiplied. Referring to ideas first proposed by Benedict Anderson, Finnish music researcher Vesa Kurkela points out that print culture impacted a nation-state by carrying an implicit notion of shared national identity, language, and culture (Kurkela 2012, 355–56; Anderson 2006, 76–82; Baycroft 2012, 3–5). Printed items became widely available and created new audiences that suddenly had a voice to express their views of social and cultural life. Editing folklore texts for publication strongly determined collective perceptions of Finnish language and culture; literature alluding to folklore also engaged in this project.[7]

The text-making processes and practices of the nineteenth century have already been investigated in the context of textual scholarship and nation-building, where the focus has been on how published text served

5. For example, Elias Lönnrot planned to publish a pamphlet of rhymed folk songs, but did not, probably because of other writing commitments, such as the *Kalevala* (Hämäläinen & Karhu 2021).
6. This is the case despite the vast material of rhymed songs preserved in the archives.
7. Both text-making projects also carried transnational ideas. Instead of concentrating on national or countrywide practices, the transnational perspective considers different phenomena as part of wider cultural and social connections and transactions (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2003).

as a nationalistic endeavor to mold the nation's memory and how nation-building and textual scholarship intermingled in the long nineteenth century (Hulle & Leerssen 2008; Baycroft & Hopkin 2012). In respect to the historical background, we discuss how certain textually-oriented fields of literary criticism and folklore studies can offer new insights into the ways oral cultural heritage was tangibly shaped in writing for different literary and textual purposes. We shall concentrate on two textual methods used in literary and folklore studies, *genetic criticism* and *textualization*, both of which investigate questions of processes and textual variants involved in text-making. Both methods are used to study different versions of the same text and to explore textual variance, and through these methods, we can investigate the following questions: What features of folklore were considered valuable, or, conversely, unsuitable for purposes of written presentations? And with what textual interventions was oral folklore textualized and used for artistic purposes? The methods can be categorized as disciplines of textual scholarship, which is an umbrella concept for distinct approaches that show an interest in the genesis of literary works and textual variation (e.g., Katajamäki & Lukin 2013, 8; Greetham 2007). Variation in processes of forming oral-derived literary texts is the key concept of our article. We ask how variation between different versions can be studied, what can be said about the rewriting and revision processes in which the texts have been transformed from oral works into written works, and what the analysis of variation reveals about the cultural and aesthetic values of the long nineteenth century.

Methods of folklore studies dealing with documentation of historical sources (writing down the oral performance and editing collections from these texts) are closely connected to the questions asked in textual scholarship (Katajamäki & Lukin 2013, 8–9; see also Kuutma 2006, 20–21). As this article emphasizes, textualization within folklore studies offers an especially rich and thick perspective on the processes and practices of writing down, editing, and representing oral sources in the context of written literature (see Honko 2000b). The textualization method asks what has been included; what has been excluded and silenced; to what extent an editor has changed the linguistic, poetic, and textual elements of oral poetry; and how the products were assessed (Bauman & Briggs 1990; 2003). Usually, textualization analysis compares oral text variants and/or the versions of written publications based on them with editors' versions and manuscripts. Genetic analysis of archival materials, such as notes, drafts, and transcriptions of oral folklore, can reveal the selection and rewriting processes by which oral texts were transformed

into written literature. The analysis of writing processes leads us to ask the same questions as the examination of textualization methods: what kind of folklore was included or excluded, and to what extent did the writer change linguistic or poetic elements of oral poetry when drafting new textual entities into written literature? In this article the possibilities of the genetic approach are explored through the analysis of the archival materials of Otto Manninen, who wrote art poetry alluding to rhymed folk songs.

An interdisciplinary approach, combining textualization and genetic criticism, enables new insights into the phenomenon in which oral folklore expression was shaped, utilized, and selected for diverse literary, aesthetic, and textual purposes. However, there are some differences between these approaches. As a comparison of oral and written texts strongly involving oral source material, textualization is mainly used in folklore studies and linguistic anthropology, and the method is not well known in literary studies, which usually defines textualization purely as writing. Genetic criticism encompasses diverse disciplines that investigate the formation processes of creative works, also mainly conducted in writing. Folklore materials/texts have still been only narrowly studied among the geneticists (see however Joosen et al 2019). Prior to this article these two methods have not been concurrently applied by scholars (exp. Hämäläinen & Karhu 2019).

Editor Elias Lönnrot and Poet Otto Manninen

This article focuses on the writings of two individuals who lived and worked in the long nineteenth century: district doctor, public educator, collector, and publisher of oral folk poetry Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) and poet and translator Otto Manninen (1872–1950). Elias Lönnrot is famous for the *Kalevala*, based on oral folk poetry collected and transcribed by himself and his fellow collectors in the field, but created, molded, and interpreted in written form by him alone. Elias Lönnrot grew up in modest circumstances but through education became part of the social elite. He was Finnish-speaking by background and learned Swedish in school. As a district doctor, Lönnrot gained a deep understanding of the Finnish-Karelian speaking peasants, their customs, and their beliefs. Gathering epic songs of male heroes at the border of Finland and Russia and having an example of long epic songs sung in Viena Karelia by his fellow collector Zacharias Topelius, Lönnrot started to think of an extended narrative that could combine different kinds of oral folk songs in one literary entity.

Lönnrot's first smaller anthologies of folk poetry, *Kantele* (I–IV), were published between 1829 and 1831, and the first version of the *Kalevala* (known as the *Proto-Kalevala*) was completed in 1833.

The aim of Lönnrot's textual editing was to unite diverse Finnish and Karelian oral poetry into a single literary entity and thus to raise the value of the tradition and the Finnish language to a shared national level. Lönnrot's textual practices were at least twofold. First, he aimed at authentic epic representation of oral sources by carefully following oral poetry documents and singers. In line with the methods of oral singers, Lönnrot described his method as, if necessary, combining lines of oral poems with his own: "In singing good singers are a little bit hesitant if they are not managing to remember a poem word by word, but still, are singing a piece of the poem totally forgotten by using their own words" (Borenius & Krohn 1895, 2–3). Furthermore, contemporary readers had expectations that Lönnrot aimed to meet in his textualization, e.g., to make oral songs readable and to polish the language and content of oral poetry. In creating a nationally shared knowledge of Finland's past for an educated, largely Swedish-speaking nineteenth-century elite, written representations, such as the *Kalevala*, were made in ways that addressed the needs of readers. The consciousness of modernity embedded in the written publications of oral tradition still affects our comprehension of the Finnish tradition and heritage (see Bendix 1997; Anttonen 2012, 346–47).

For Finnish writers at the turn of the twentieth century, folklore was a common source of inspiration. Writers were inspired by Karelianism, or interest in the Karelian spirit and the *Kalevala* in Finnish arts and music. Many of them traveled to Karelia to experience the sense of the *Kalevala* and its oral poems and singers. Poets were especially interested in rhymed folk songs, a popular form of traditional singing of the era (Karhu 2021). Alluding to folk songs in written poetry was a nationalistic phenomenon in which literature sought the inspirations of folk songs, as well as a transnational phenomenon taken up by poets across Europe (e.g., Akimova 2007).

Otto Manninen is an important figure in the history of Finnish literature, even though he published only four books of poetry (1905, 1910, 1925, and 1938) during his lifetime. His first collection of *Säkeitä* (Verses) appeared in 1905 and the second, *Säkeitä. Toinen sarja*, in 1910. Manninen was also a notable translator of poetry. He published only a few poems that distinctly refer to rhymed folk songs by obeying their meter and other formalistic features, but more implicit references to the folk song tradition are found throughout his oeuvre. Manninen's use of folklore is not well

known, and in certain cases it is noticeable only through familiarity with Manninen's archive, held in the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS), which include transcriptions of folk songs and their rewritings (Karhu 2019b; Lyly 1983). Manninen's first collections are best known for their symbolist features (Rantavaara 1984, 600; Karhu 2012), and in the context of literary symbolism, it is important to note that the French symbolist movement was also inspired by folk songs (Bénichou 1970; Akimova 2007).

Like Lönnrot, Manninen had original notes of folklore in his possession. He did not gather folklore but read and observed the notes on oral songs with great interest. However, as a poet, Manninen had a different approach to altering folklore material. Manninen did not have to consider questions of authenticity, the proper image of folklore sources, or the expectations of readers in the same way as Lönnrot. He could use the material more freely and alter folk songs according to his ideas on aesthetics and poetry (Hämäläinen & Karhu 2019).

Textualization in Practice: The Case of Folklore

Textualization is a methodological research tool to investigate the use of folklore material on a diverse textual, written level. By textualization we here refer to conscious objectives and intentions relating to the process of making folklore into literary productions (Honko 2000a; Bauman & Briggs 2003; Seitel 2012; Hämäläinen 2014; 2012).[8] Questions such as what parts of oral sources are included or excluded, what role removals have in the text-making process, and what other routes textualization could have taken are crucial. In this research, textualization is not a transcription or translation of folklore into literary form,[9] but an interpretative and ideological process of mediating oral tradition for a wider readership.

8. For other concepts of textualization, e.g., in oral performance, see Bauman & Briggs 1990; Reichl 2000; Bauman & Briggs 2003. See also Silverstein & Urban 1996; Foley 2000; Marques 2010.
9. Textualization can also be seen as starting at the very moment of writing down an oral song. Folklore notes might have been rewritten several times before they were sent to archives and can be studied as text-making practices. The stages of the writing process can deepen our understanding of textualization practices. For example, a collector's own aesthetics and general appreciations of the time influence the process (see Karhu 2019a).

As a form of representation, textualization can be regarded both as practical and ideological (see Anttonen 2012, 325; Bauman & Briggs 2003, 15; Kuutma 2006, 21). While a text is defined as a shared cluster of cultural concepts (Silverstein & Urban 1996, 1–2), textualization is a cultural process that enables change, adaptation, and interpretation of texts (Urban 1996, 21). In this process, both traditional and modern demands are referred to and adhered to (see Foley 1995; 2000; Seitel 2012). In oral culture, the understanding of a performance by the audience is dependent on a shared register and knowledge of that tradition (Hanks 1989), whereas in textualization, referential features do not only, or necessarily, concern the traditional features, but also include elements of modern culture (see Anttonen 2012, 343; Honko 2000a, 5, 20–21). It is common for readers of the textual representations to define the edited publication as inadequate or misrepresenting the oral tradition on which it is based (e.g., Foley 2000, 74). This is also the case for the *Kalevala*.[10] John Miles Foley (ibid. 72–6) has addressed the audience horizon of expectation in the textualization of oral tradition into written form. Therefore, textualization (of the *Kalevala*) can also be defined as negotiating and articulating the textual and written representations as the editor strives to balance traditional and modern demands.

The interest in textualization in Finnish folkloristics arises from international research on epics and is heralded by Lauri Honko (e.g., Honko 1999; 1990). Honko called Lönnrot a singing scribe and the *Kalevala* a tradition-oriented epic that has its roots in the oral poetry tradition but that is rebuilt in written form. After finding an epic singer from India (Gopala Naika), Honko (1998) started to examine the composition of the sung oral epic by concentrating on its poetic sections (e.g., formulas, multiforms). Honko's understanding of textualization was based on an oral composition method created by Milman Parry and Albert Lord. Oral-formulaic theory strives to understand how oral poetry and its formulaic language are transmitted by singers and how specific formulas support memorization (see Foley 2000).

Building upon and significantly furthering Honko's vision, Lönnrot's representational work on oral folk poetry has been studied as an editorial and ideological practice revealing contextual choices, add-ons, and

10. Elias Lönnrot was criticized for exaggerating and repeating folk poems and their lines. Those who knew the oral poem material by collecting it defined the *Kalevala* as an inauthentic representation of the folk poetry. See Hämäläinen 2012, 60.

removals of folk poetry texts in national publications such as the *Kalevala* (Hämäläinen 2014; 2012; Hyvönen 2004; 2001). The analysis is usually done at the level of verses, motifs, and formulas in relation to oral sources, and textual choices are compared to a wider cultural and ideological context (see *Avoin Kalevala*, *Open Kalevala*).[11] Lönnrot's editorial work has been investigated since the late nineteenth century to determine the oral basis of the lines in the *Kalevala* (see Borenius & Krohn 1891–1895; Krohn J. 1888; Krohn K. 1896; Niemi 1898). Later, literary scholar Väinö Kaukonen carried out massive line-by-line verse studies of the *Kalevala* to find a precise example verse Lönnrot utilized for each line of the epic (e.g., Kaukonen 1956; see also Hämäläinen 2020). The early research on Lönnrot's editorial method, however, rested at the verse and linguistic level and was not intended to disentangle the ideological meanings attached to his editorial modifications.

To identify the meanings and links the Brothers Grimm used in their textualization work with folklore material, Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs (2003, 208–11) propose the concept of metadiscursive practices: diverse meta-textual methods of making oral text comprehensible and readable, including, among other things, direct quotation and use of other genres. Developing the ideas of Bauman & Briggs, Kristin Kuutma (2006, 21, 28–30) focuses on interactions and collaborations between editors, documenters, researchers, and oral performers by analyzing the language and rhetorical features in the process of making oral tradition as a cultural textual representation in cultural and sociopolitical contexts. Meta-textual uses of textualization have the power to guide reception and to create distance between the oral tradition used by marginalized people and the readers of the textualization, the social elite (see Briggs 1993, 389–90).

The material for investigating Lönnrot's textualization practice is hybrid: it includes all the levels of textualization of the *Kalevala* and its different

11. Open Kalevala is an open-access critical edition of the *Kalevala* (1849) containing the published *Kalevala*, transcriptions, and the manuscript. It is based on a careful analysis of the source material and on commentaries made of the poems and words of the epic. The edition is linked to other digitized sources surrounding the *Kalevala*. There are also short articles on Lönnrot's editorial methods, Kalevala language, oral Kalevala-meter poetry, and ideals of the nineteenth century etc. The main idea of the edition is to provide a solid knowledge and material of the *Kalevala* and its creation on one platform. See http://kalevala.finlit.fi.

manuscript and print versions,[12] as well as the transcribed oral folk poetry Lönnrot utilized in compiling the epic. Furthermore, Lönnrot's editorial work on the *Kalevala* was influenced by his other publications, such as the *Kanteletar* (1840, 1841), the anthology of Kalevala-meter lyric poems. Textual representation of the oral poetry tradition was a lifetime project for Lönnrot, commencing in the 1820s with his first collecting journey and first folk poetry publication (*Kantele* I–IV, 1829–1831) and lasting until the year he died, 1884, when he was still working on an extended version of a folk lyric publication of the *Kanteletar*.

We next illustrate some metadiscursive practices, textual selections, and ideological emphases Lönnrot conducted in the *Kalevala* by using a short example of one poem.[13] The opening lines of Poem 4 of the *Kalevala* narrate the story of a young maiden, Aino, in the forest carrying birch whisks to use in the sauna. Väinämöinen, the old sage and bard of the epic, meets her there and proposes to her.[14] The same story is found in the folk poem models, but Aino is an unnamed young girl and Väinämöinen a mythical wooer, Osmoinen. At a quick glance, these two texts seem similar. However, a closer comparison of lines and words reveals the obvious difference between the oral and written performances (see below).[15] On the left, there is a section of Lönnrot's Aino poem in the *Kalevala*, and on the right, the transcription of the oral folk poem he made in Viena Karelia (Russian side of the border) in 1834. The oral singer is

12. The *Cycle Kalevala* 1833 (manuscript), the *Proto-Kalevala* 1833 (manuscript), the *Old Kalevala* 1835 (publ.), the *New Kalevala* 1849 (publ.), the *School Kalevala* 1862 (publ.). Besides, there is a working version of the *Old Kalevala* (the *Interleaved Old Kalevala* 1836–1837) to which Lönnrot added extra, empty pages to gather and develop more lines for the new version of the *Kalevala*.
13. In this article it is not possible to show all the levels of the earlier *Kalevala* versions that have influenced this precise poem of the epic. See more Hämäläinen 2012; 2014.
14. In the Kalevala, the story of Aino is set up by Joukahainen, the brother, and his promise of giving his sister to an old, steady Väinämöinen to save his own life. Afterwards, Aino gets proposed to by Väinämöinen in the woods and runs crying back home where family members don't understand her grief. Aino mourns her destiny of unwanted marriage, but the mother insists Aino take a traditional role as a woman. At the end of the story Aino drowns or transforms into a water nymph. After Aino's death, the story continues by presenting Väinämöinen fishing, looking for the lost maiden. A fish grabs his fishing rod, and not recognizing the fish as the dead Aino, Väinämöinen is mocked by her.
15. Differences compared to oral poem model are highlighted by colors and bolding.

unknown; this transcription,[16] however, has been referred to as one of the main examples Lönnrot followed while compiling this precise song of the *Kalevala* (Kaukonen 1956; Hämäläinen 2020, 225).

First, Lönnrot added extensive parallelism (green) to the *Kalevala*, even though the oral poem, in trochee form, also contains it. The use of parallelism between and within song lines and poem sections is one of the main differences between the version made by the oral singers and the version produced by Lönnrot (see Krohn K. 1896, 164; Hämäläinen 2014). Lönnrot also added far more frequent alliteration (yellow) than was present in the oral poem. Further, he standardized the language (red), using declensions of words and replacing dialectical or Karelian expressions with written Finnish. Moreover, to create a narrative line in the poem, Lönnrot not only added linkage words (blue) to the lines but also named the characters of the epic (**bold**). The central character of the oral poem is anni tytti (anni girl), but in the *Kalevala* she is named Aino, a sister of Joukahainen, with a qualifier "nuori" (young). Also, a wooer who is described as a mythical male character, Osmoinen, is presented as Väinämöinen, the eternal and wise sage of the epic. Along with these changes, Lönnrot used dialogue between characters and added other genres inside the epic narrative, though this precise example does not include those add-ons (e.g., Hämäläinen 2012).

Tuopa **Aino** neito nuori,	Anni tytti, aino tytti
Sisar nuoren **Joukahaisen**	
Läksi luutoa lehosta,	Läksi vastoa metsästä
Vastaksia varvikosta;	Vassan päitä varvikoista.
Taitto vastan taatollensa,	Taitto vassan taatollase[k]
Toisen taittoi maammollensa,	Toisen taitto maamollahe[k]
Kokoeli kolmannenki	Kolmatta kokoelo[o]
Verevälle veiollensa.	Nuorimmalle veiolla.
Jo astui kohtin kotia,	
Lepikköä leuhautti,	
Tuli vanha **Wäinämöinen,**	Osmonen orosta kirku
	Kalevainen kaskimaista:
Näki neitosen lehossa,	
Hienohelmen heinikössä,	
Sanan virkkoi, noin nimesi:	

16. The documented poem (SKVR I1 234) contains 160 lines and includes diverse motifs such as the Hanged Maiden, which is the main reference to the Aino poem of the *Kalevala*.

"Eläpä muille neiti nuori
Kun minulle neiti nuori
Kanna kaulan helmilöitä,
Rinnan ristiä rakenna,
Pane päätä palmikolle,
Sio silkillä hivusta!"
(*Kalevala*, poem 4, lines 1–20.)

"Kasva, neiti, m[iussa] m[ielin]
Elä muissa nuorisoissa,
Kasva kaioissa somissa,
Veny verka vaattiessa,
Kasva leivän kannikalla,
Veny leiv[än] viploisilla!"
(SKVR, I1 234, Uhtua,
E. Lönnrot 1834, lines 1–15.)[17]

Now, that Aino, the young maid
young Joukahainen's sister
went for a broom from the grove
and for bath-whisks from the scrub;
broke off one for her father
another for her mother
gathered a third too
for her full-blooded brother.
She was just stepping homeward
tripping through alders
when old Väinämöinen came.
He saw the maid in the grove
the fine-hemmed in the grasses
and uttered a word, spoke thus:
'Don't for anyone, young maid
except me, young maid
wear the beads around my neck
set the cross upon your breast
put your head into a braid
bind your hair with silk!'
(The *Kalevala*, poem 4, trans. by Keith Bosley 1999.)

In his ongoing writing process, Lönnrot made notes on his manuscripts to explain the poem in question. His marginalia focused on glossing words in the poem that would present challenges to readers who were not necessarily familiar with dialects of the Finnish-Karelian language[18]

17. In transcribing songs in a hurry, Lönnrot used cut words, or as in this case, wrote down just the first letter of a word. In the volume *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* brackets indicate the missing parts of words from the folk song transcription or dialectical language.

18. Karelian spoken in the border of Finland and Russia was close to Finnish language and therefore understandable to collectors of folklore. However, the

(e.g., lehosta — lehtimetsästä, veiollensa — veljellensä; Lönnrotiana manuscript 38) and commented on specific sections of the *Kalevala*. For example, when Aino has thrown away her jewelry, Lönnrot noted in the margin that "She thought that Väinämöinen was attracted by her jewelry" / "Arveli muka niitä syyksi siihen, että W oli mielistynyt häneen" (Lönnrot manuscript 121, 31–34). As Lönnrot prepared manuscripts for publication, he indicated that a precise line or section was ready by drawing vertical lines besides (Hämäläinen 2014, 106).

Besides marking the textual and poetical changes, marginal notes and vertical lines can also be considered as meta-textual practices used by Lönnrot to guide the meaning of the written representation. With regard to ideological messages, changes and interventions of the textualization work are not particularly evident in the text itself, even though it can be noted that all the changes Lönnrot introduced can be understood as ideological. For instance, the parallel lines that Lönnrot added to the poem (green) frame and stress the shape of the young girl, Aino (e.g., Young Joukahainen's sister — The fine-hemmed in the grasses). To reveal the wider ideological highlights in the Aino poem, we need a contextualization of nineteenth-century culture and premodern society that the oral poem sources reflect. In the source for the Aino poem, the folk poem Hirttäytynyt neito [Hanged Maiden], the meeting is shaped by different threats. The wooer is a hybrid of human being and animal, Osmoinen, who climbs up from the dangerous bog. The girl is outside her home, and therefore, endangered. Very often only seeing the strange wooer upsets the girl, so she removes her jewelry and head scarf and runs crying back home. The poem alludes to sexual violence (the jewelry and scarf are the symbols of a virgin maiden: Siikala 2012, 300), but as usual in the oral tradition, this allusion remains unexplained. Instead, the folk poem emphasizes the social, familial reaction toward the proposal. The message of the poem is that a young girl's chance to get decently married (her only option for having a good life) is ruined by the unwanted, mythical, dangerous proposal.

When reworking this folk poem, Lönnrot made some textual and narrative changes to enhance cultural and societal issues of the nineteenth century. He shaped the proposal by the deep contrast of a young maiden and an old man. By reflecting Aino's grief and, in the end, her death, the *Kalevala* poem fuses the traditional demands on a woman and her role in a family with modern ideas of gender relations. As Väinämöinen proposes to Aino, this indirectly indicates that she has been touched, seduced, and

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Karelian language has many dialectical variants, and it is a distinct language, not a Finnish dialect.

therefore has lost her chances for a culturally-sanctioned marriage. The Aino poem deals with modern questions of marriage by choice and a young girl's right to her own body and emotions (Hämäläinen 2012). Bauman & Briggs (2003, 205) use the term "violence of modernity" to specify, on the one hand, the process of the textual editing of the oral tradition into literature; but, on the other hand, the manipulative and authoritative way of using traditional expressions in a new, unfamiliar context. Here, Elias Lönnrot developed the idea of a young girl and a wooer meeting in the forest to raise modern questions about the role of women. By introducing all these linguistic, poetic, textual, and ideological changes, Lönnrot aimed at making the oral song comprehensible to readers and meeting their aesthetic expectations for a literary product. Paradoxically, his textualization work created a distance between the oral poems and their written representation, the *Kalevala*.

Lönnrot's textualization work can be followed in his detailed notes on both manuscripts and published editions. The text-making process can be analyzed through a comparison of versions, changes, modifications, add-ons, and removals along with the oral poem sources Lönnrot utilized and was aware of in his editorial work. Further, textualization analysis also illustrates other possible textual and oral representations Lönnrot could have approved. As shown in the *Kalevala* example, Lönnrot modified and manipulated oral poem sources by adding parallelism and alliteration, changing characters and creating new ones, and combining different poems and sections (see Kaukonen 1956). Close analysis and contextualization of Lönnrot's textualization expounds how the text-making process was multifaceted and directed not only at a linguistic but also at poetic, thematic, and ideological level. The poem example of the *Kalevala* above, the Aino poem, gives a small but descriptive illustration of what kinds of modifications oral poetry underwent in producing literature.

Genetic Criticism and Rewritings of Rhymed Folk Songs

Genetic criticism, a method to study the processes by which texts are formed from diverse genetic materials, such as notes, manuscripts, and proof sheets, can provide intriguing insight into the use of oral folklore in written literary works. Genetic criticism concentrates on literary expression taking shape *before* the published text and investigated through the *avant-texte* of a literary work. In addition to considering materials preceding the

final text, the method also considers hesitations and stylistic experiments that can only be detected from the manuscripts (see Hay 2002; Grésillon 1994; 2008; Biasi 2005; Deppman, Ferrer & Groden 2004; Hulle 2022).

The chief concern of genetic criticism, the reconstruction and analysis of writing processes, enables us to understand how the meanings of folklore are carried in literature and to what extent the formalist features of folklore have been molded during the process of writing a literary work. Features connected to gathering and handling source material of writing projects from different versions to final, published texts can reveal writers' attitudes toward the oral poetics of traditional communities. Text development is shaped by discourses, and this process affects the outcome (Grésillon 1994, 172; Mitterand 1979). In genetic criticism, the text is not seen as a fixed, finished object, but rather as a dynamic, ongoing process that becomes a contingent manifestation of a diachronous play of signifiers. Genetic critics are interested in the often-contradictory possibilities that different versions manifest. It is said that "genetic criticism is contemporaneous with an esthetic of the possible" (Contat, Hollier & Neefs 1996, 2; Deppman, Ferrer & Groden 2004, 5). Likewise, the study of Manninen's manuscripts testifies to the experimental and dynamic nature of draft writing. Folklore notes served as a basis for Manninen's own creative activity, which manifested in different versions: some of Manninen's experiments were abandoned; some were upgraded later in this process.

Genetic intertextuality and cultural historical analysis are of use when studying how folklore is molded in the process of writing art poetry. Emphasizing the dynamics of writing, genetic intertextuality is focused on the phases and processes in which intertexts, features of earlier works or texts, have been incorporated into the forthcoming literary work through acts of selecting, writing, rewriting, and adapting (Debray-Genette 1988; Biasi 2005, 89–90; Van Hulle 2004; Biasi & Gahundu 2021). The terms *exogenetics* and *endogenetics,* introduced by Raymonde Debray-Genette (1988), conceptualize two stages of evolving intertextuality. The term *exogenetic* refers to "any writing process devoted to research, selection, and incorporation, focused on information stemming from a source exterior to the writing", whereas the term *endogenetic* refers to "the process by which the writer conceives of, elaborates, and transfigures pre-textual material" (Bailey 2013, 33; Biasi 1996, 42–46).

Genetic analysis can explore the way external forces interact with the progress of the text (Deppman, Ferrer & Groden 2004, 5). According to Henry Mitterand, like archaeology, genetic criticism "carries the material strata of history out into the open" (Mitterand 2004, 118). Genetic

cultural and historical analysis is interested in the *context* of a certain moment of cultural and literary history in which a text is written, in the author's evolving expression but also in extra-authorial phenomena. This approach presumes that all preparatory (avant-textual) documents echo both individual creativity and larger social discourses and trends, the thoughts and tastes of the surrounding culture (Deppman 2004, 117).

Working manuscripts of folklore writers and collectors enable us to uncover many aspects of the use of oral folklore for written purposes that are not visible in published works of literature or other finished texts. Publication masks several stages of the working process. Archival materials illustrate the channels through which Finnish writers received their knowledge of rhymed folk songs and their attitudes to the poetics and meanings of oral tradition. At the turn of the twentieth century, not all features of folklore were seen as valuable or potential sources for literary work. For instance, Manninen excluded humoristic songs and dirty jokes, familiar to this folk song genre (see, e.g., Asplund 1981, 105–09), and instead, wanted to work with melancholic and sentimental ones.

As an active form of singing tradition at the end of the nineteenth century, writers were familiar with rhymed folk songs. Manuscripts in writers' archives indicate the writers' methods of handling folklore material and their aims in reading and studying these songs at the very early stage of the writing process. As Almuth Grésillon (2008, 67) has remarked, writers are also readers. Geneticists are aware that reading and making reading notes is often a compulsory part of the creative writing process. Oral-based texts are one such type of reading material. Although he knew the folk song genre well, Otto Manninen worked with written lyrics of the songs and made notes regarding them.

To remember and to materialize ideas and expressions with reading notes is a common part of writers' working methods. In many writing processes, making notes is an obligatory preliminary phase (Biasi 2005, 35). Notes provide us an overview of what has been read regarding a project and enable us to analyze writers' reading practices and to reconstruct early phases of the writing process, e.g., how the reader-writer chooses the readings, approaches them, and transforms, deforms, and cites the texts that have been read (Grésillon 2008, 68). Notes are often the first materialization of an evolving work, and more coherent literary expression is written based on these notes.

This becomes apparent in the markings poet Otto Manninen made while reading folk songs from his notebook. Manninen made slight changes to the transcriptions, and, as we will see, at this point orally-based texts began

to be drafted into high literature. The poetics of folklore transform into the poetics of literature. This notebook[19] of transcriptions of rhymed folk songs and Manninen's writings is an important material artifact regarding both the exogenetic and endogenetic phases of the process. The notebook contains written notes on Finnish folk songs, collected in the middle of the 1890s from different informants (Lyly 1983; Karhu 2019b). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, many students collected folklore from the countryside, inspired by the *Kalevala* and the Romantic idea of gathering folklore (Karelianism). One of them was Manninen's friend, the writer and teacher Antti Rytkönen, who collected and gathered the folklore in this notebook (Lyly 1983, 112; Karhu 2019a).

Apart from the folksong transcriptions, the notebook consists of Manninen's marks in the margins or directly on the folk song texts. In some cases, it is difficult to say whether Manninen is only making comments on the folk songs or beginning to write a new literary text: whether they belong to exogenesis, endogenesis, or both. Manninen's alterations manifest the intertwining of exogenesis and endogenesis. As Dirk Van Hulle (2004, 7) points out in *Textual Awareness*:

> Every writer has his or her own methods, and this division [into exogenesis and endogenesis] is merely a structuring device, for the exogenetic process contains within itself the principle of its own effacement. Documentation is often left unused or changed so thoroughly during the endogenetic incorporation that it ends up disappearing. But these transformations are precisely the reason why the study of this vague transition zone can be valuable.

In Manninen's case, the documentation is clear as the notebook is preserved in his archive; how to read the alterations and understand the exogenetic and endogenetic processes, however, is a matter for interpretation. As Pierre-Marc Biasi (2005, 90) reminds us, the study of writing needs better tools and concepts to capture and analyze the essence of this phenomenon where exogenesis and endogenesis are linked. In the context of oral-literary sources the intersection captures the textual moment in which oral tradition is transformed into literature. What kind of textual acts and aesthetic decisions does this transformation demonstrate? The analysis of the phenomenon is intriguing for genetic criticism.

19. A1908, Otto Manninen archive, SKS.

Most of Manninen's markings in the notebook are in the margins, namely lines and circles made next to certain stanzas. It seems that Manninen marked the stanzas he liked the most (Lyly 1983, 112), and a closer look at the material reveals that he was interested in certain verse structures, especially long verses (Karhu 2023). In Manninen's case the markings manifest his process of selecting certain oral-literary material. Analyzing this exogenetic phase enables us to make observations about Manninen's appreciations of certain features of oral expression that at least partly mirrored the dominant values and aesthetics of the time.

Further analysis of Manninen's poetic material, especially the study of archival rewritings of the marked stanzas, drafts of new textual entities, as well as his published adaptations of rhymed folk songs, disclose why Manninen was drawn by long verses. First, the long verses gave him space to use paeon feet,[20] a rhythmic innovation of Finnish art poetry in the 1890s. Paeon feet were largely used in rhymed folk songs and writers became inspired by this rhythmic feature of folklore (Hormia 1960). Manninen's rewritten folk song verses were often composed of even more syllables than the long verses of the original folk songs. The long verses naturally also gave him space to enlarge and enrich the poetic expression (Karhu 2023). The message of the folk songs was often not too profound; the primary intention was to amuse listeners. Manninen, in contrast, was a serious young aesthete, who wanted to express something weighty with his verses. Long verses offered him a better opportunity to do that.

In altering the folk song stanzas, Manninen partly followed the variation practices of oral poetics. In oral tradition, the formulaic first verse pair remained intact, and the argument verse pair varied (Asplund 1981, 97). The same strategy is observable in Manninen's decisions (Karhu 2023). This feature manifests in the example presented at the beginning of this article. The changes are targeted to the second verse pair:[21]

En mie sen vuoks laulele että heliä on ääni
Laulelen huvitukseksen, tuli heiliä ikäväni
suurta
Laululla mina laimentelen ~~ainaista~~ ikavääni

20. In poetry written in Finnish, this meant that one syllable was stressed and three unstressed.
21. Finnish rhyming folk song (rekilaulu) is composed of two rhyming verse pairs, a priming pair and an argument pair (Sykäri 2022, 172).

I don't sing because my voice is so melodious
I sing to entertain myself because I miss my sweetheart
huge
With singing I try to weaken my ~~everlasting~~ longing

This example also reveals Manninen's affection for full rhymes. Folk songs used assonance and other sound patterns that did not satisfy Manninen's preference for authentic rhymes, and he immediately changed them to full rhymes. In this example, the rhyme pair of the folk songs was ää**ni** — ikävä**ni** (voice — longing), but Manninen changed it into **ääni** — ikä**vääni**, which forms a full rhyme with the same vowel length (Karhu 2021).

Apart from the formalistic changes, Manninen also modified words or parts of verses that changed the meaning and atmosphere of the texts. In the example above, Manninen has changed words of the song relating to courting and the troubles of love into expressions that reflected larger questions touching on modern aesthetics and feelings of fin-de-siècle disappointment (Karhu 2021, 210). The folk songs were often related to momentary pleasures and transitory sentiments, such as dancing and young love (Hämäläinen & Karhu 2021), and Manninen wanted to convey the eternal nature and profound aesthetic pleasure of the songs with his words. In these alterations Manninen was beginning to formulate his own poetics; this type of writing is thus part of the endogenetic phase.

Manninen continued to work with the folk song in question in a poem draft of four stanzas. In this text, the verses are now written in four lines, as was the custom in Finnish art poetry of the time:

En minä sillä laulele ~~että~~
että Heleä ois ääni
Laululla minä laimentelen
Suurta ikävääni.
(A1908, Otto Manninen's archive, SKS.)

I don't sing ~~because~~
because my voice is so melodious
With singing I try to weaken
my huge longing

The rhythm of this stanza differs from that of the original folk song. For example, in the folk song, the latter part of the argument pair consists of three words containing nine syllables in total ("tuli heiliä ikäväni", 'because I miss

my sweetheart'). In the poem draft, the last verse contains only two words with six syllables. With this modification the last verse ("suurta ikävääni", 'huge longing') gets weightier and underlines the words that capture the essence of the whole draft. The rhythmicity has also changed in the course of writing. Manninen had first written the word "että" (because) at the end of the first verse, but then crossed it out and added it at the beginning of the second verse. In doing so, he formed two symmetrical verses. Both now have the same number of syllables, eight in each. (Karhu 2023.)

As noted elsewhere (Karhu 2023), the verses of folk songs in the notebook were composed of varying numbers of syllables, but Manninen preferred regularity and symmetry.[22] As he started to draft his own poetic expression, he regularized the number of syllables per verse. This highlights one major difference concerning the contexts of the stanzas. While the rhymed folk song stanzas were individual textual entities that were mixed freely in an oral singing performance, for Manninen the texts were material for poem drafts, where individual stanzas constituted parts of a longer, more fixed literary entity. Manninen's rewritten folk song stanzas had to act as a functioning part of his poetics.

This is also noticeable in an early draft of the poem "Kosken ruusu" ("The Rose of the Rapids") published in the journal *Koitar* in 1897 and written in Finnish rhyming couplet meter. "The Rose of the Rapids" tells a story about a young man who glides down the rapids in his boat. He sees a red rose on the bank of the rapids and tries to grab it. The boy fails, and the rose looks after him and his apparently sinking boat, with longing.

The beginning of the poem retells a popular folk song:[23]

Ensin oli vettä vellovaa,
Ja sitten kuohuva koski.
Kuohuvan koskenpa reunalla kasvoi
Se ruusu purppuraposki.
(*Koitar*, 1897).

First there was bubbling water
And then the rushing rapids.
In the shores of the rapids there grew
A purplecheeked rose.

22. The lengths of verses in folk songs varied significantly because of the many kinds of metrical feet featured in them. This is seen as the most important part of the rhythmical play of this song genre (see Laitinen 2003, 288).
23. Several variants of this song were collected between 1886 and the 1940's (SKS).

The song also appears in the notebook, where it has been marked, once again, with a line in the margin:

Ens oli vettä sit oli mettä sit oli kuohuva koski,
Kuohuvan kos(k)en rannalla asui riiari punaposki.
(A1908, Otto Manninen's archive, SKS.)

First there was water then there was a forest/honey then there was a bubbling rapid,
Along the shores of the rapids there lived a suitor with red cheeks.

In Manninen's poem the actual living person, the suitor of the folk song, has been changed into a rose, a flower that appears very often in folk songs, especially when describing young beautiful girls.[24]

An early draft of this poem has been written in pencil in the middle of the notebook, after the transcriptions of the folk songs, and then rubbed out. The draft is nevertheless legible, and it consists of two stanzas. Here is the opening stanza:

Ensin oli vettä ja sitten oli mettä
Ja sitten oli kuohuva koski
Ja kuohuvan kosken rannalla [unclear word]
kasvoi
~~Se~~ [unclear word]
Ruusu purppuraposki
(A1908, Otto Manninen's archive, SKS.)

First there was water then there was a forest/honey
and then there was a bubbling rapid
And on the shores of the rapid [unclear word]
grew
~~The~~ [unclear word]
A purplecheeked rose.

Again, the formulaic verse pair remains intact, except from the removal of dialectical formulations, and the argument verse pair varies and introduces the purple-cheeked rose.

24. For example, a broadside ballad of a deceived young man, published for the first time in Finnish in 1873, begins with a description of a girl "red as a rose" (Asplund 1994, 385).

In the published version of the poem Manninen has abandoned "mettä" of the first verse, which has two meanings. It can stand for "forest" or "honey". The word has advantages because of its sonority with the word "vettä", but it can also be interpreted in an erotic context. The rhyming folksongs often contain erotic connotations, sometimes hidden, sometimes more open. As rhymed songs utilized in art poetry, the Finnish literature of that time in general was chaste, as it was expected to express the ideas of virtuousness (Karhu 2023; Karhu & Kuismin 2021, 27 and 35). In light of the material handled here, it seems that Manninen had a stricter approach to formal flaws than to content. He immediately changed the slant rhymes of the folk songs to exact rhymes in his writing process but at least initially approved the erotic tone in his draft, even if it was deleted at a later stage in the process.

The second stanza drafted in the notebook is a variant of the second stanza of the published poem:

Ja koski sen kukkia kuvasti
Ja koski sen juuria juotti

Se kosken tuovaksi vuotti
(A1908, Otto Manninen's archive, SKS.)

And the rapids reflected its flowers
And the rapids watered its roots

The rose waited for the water to bring

This is not a rewritten folk song but a completely original poetic text. It pictures how the torrent reflects the flowers like a mirror, that is to say, it uses one of the key images of literary symbolism. In nineteenth-century symbolism, water was a mirror in which a modern subject could look at themself, identify themself, and see their innermost feelings (Forrestier 1982, 115). The published version of "The Rose of the Rapids" also includes this image. Here, a flower that grows by the shores of a waterway is mirrored in the water:

Koski se ruusua kuvasti
Ja juurta hentoa juotti.
Poimijapoikasen punasessa purressa
Kosken tuovaks se vuotti.
(*Koitar*, 1897.)

The torrent reflected the rose
And watered its delicate root.
The rose waited for the red boat of the boy who will pick her
To come down from the torrent.

The stanza draft is also interesting for another reason: the central third verse of the stanza ("poimijapoikasen punasessa purressa", the rose waited for the red boat of the boy who will pick her) is still missing. This verse is key to the whole poem, introducing for the first time the other agent, "the boy". Unfolding at length with two paeon feet, the verse feels very rhythmically refined (Karhu 2023). In drafting his stanzas, Manninen used several different strategies (Karhu 2012): in this case he just wrote some of the verses to frame the most significant verse that was still in formation.

Manninen's archival documents crystallize the diachronous play of signifiers, the rivalry of different meanings and hesitations, always present in the ongoing, dynamic process of draft writing. The archival documents analyzed here capture many characteristics of the poetics of Manninen's poems based on folk songs, and they show in detail what kinds of textual changes Manninen made while beginning to draft his own poetic expression. Like Lönnrot, Manninen rewrote oral texts to make them adhere more closely to the aesthetic and literary conceptions of the nineteenth-century readership, even though he obeyed the models of oral variation by focusing his changes on the later part of the stanza.

Resemblances and Differences

The variation and processes through which oral tradition has been molded into lofty literature is present in both cases discussed in this article. In their uses of folklore, both Lönnrot and Manninen moved through several textual stages and made diverse textual choices. Textualization and genetic analysis show that the variations were focused on linguistic, poetic, and thematic levels. Furthermore, not only literary aesthetics but also ideological values affected the text-making processes and practices, particularly in the case of the textualization of folklore. The expectations and competence of the readers also guided both projects, and the ideals of the elite, e.g., their perceptions of suitable emotions, had a particular impact on the decisions made in editing and rewriting. While ideological

impacts have not necessarily been seen as essential in genetic criticism, aesthetic values have often been overlooked in the study of textualization. As this article illustrates, both these dimensions of text-making processes can be reciprocally present.

Using two methods to scrutinize different text materials enables us to decode similar processes of literary writing using oral tradition by an editor and a poet. In both cases, the exploitation of oral folklore material was not only crucial, but also quite similar; at the same time, the literary genre, the purpose of writing, and the expectations of readers diverged in each case. Elias Lönnrot aimed at writing a coherent epic based on folk poetry with a fixed storyline that could unite the elite and the peasantry, whereas Otto Manninen composed art poetry for sophisticated readers. In revealing variation between different stages of a text, textualization analysis focuses mainly on the contextualization of oral and written poetry (linguistic, thematic, and ideological changes) with both traditional and modern elements, while genetic criticism focuses on the aesthetic and linguistic aspects of variation. The two main poetic registers of the nineteenth-century Finnish and Karelian oral tradition used by Lönnrot and Manninen reveal the multifaceted and intertwined processes of writing and textualizing folklore into literature. Examining Kalevala-meter poetry and its textualization together with rhymed folk songs used in art poetry concurrently, as we have done here, deepens our understanding of these textual phenomena.

Even in the cases of Lönnrot and Manninen, whose manuscripts and other textual variants are well preserved, we can, however, only substantiate part of the process of documenting oral tradition (Kuutma 2006, 30) and the writers' genetic processes (Grésillon 1994, 24). Nevertheless, even incomplete reconstruction of the textual processes of the past gives us detailed knowledge about how folklore-based publications and literature were formed in the long nineteenth century. The genetic analysis of Manninen's archival material, folklore transcriptions, notes, rewritings, and drafts enables us to locate the writing moment in which oral expression begins to turn into literary expression. From a genetic perspective, even a small alteration in the transcription of a folk song can give birth to meanings that will grow into published poetry.

It is obvious that Elias Lönnrot and Otto Manninen had different creative and literary minds. Lönnrot was above all an editor interested in how oral poetry could be represented in a literary form to a national

audience. As Lönnrot defined his mission, textualization work was driven by readability and followed oral singers' examples. Thus, Lönnrot had to consider both traditional references to oral poetic culture and contemporary expectations of the elite. In textualization, adequate editing skills and plausible articulation are important. Lönnrot's fame in Finland was not based on his faithfulness to the oral tradition in every detail, as his textualization methods distanced folk songs from the orally performed poetry, its dialectical Finnish and Karelian language and rural, everyday context, but on his "authentic" articulation of oral tradition. Lönnrot's way of representing the oral poetry tradition was highly acclaimed because he revised oral texts to make them adhere more closely to the aesthetic, literary, and conventional conceptions of a nineteenth-century readership. The *Kalevala* received status as a national epic because of Lönnrot's textualization methods. As Pertti Anttonen (2012, 349) points out, Lönnrot "believed that he had brought it [folk poetry] back to its original cultural and political context. Lönnrot justified his textual practices with the notion that the folk poems that he used as his sources had their origin in the culture and heritage of the forefathers of all Finns."

As a poet, Otto Manninen aimed at creating lyrical and artistic literary expressions with contemporary aesthetics. His approach to oral tradition was not linked to the question of how to present folklore authentically: rather, with artistic freedom, he was able to re-shape his source texts, rhymed folk songs. His writing process reveals a tendency to balance new meanings with old practices. Manninen wanted to write poetry that arose from the commonplaceness of folk songs but that also transformed oral expressions concentrating on momentary sentiments and pleasures into poetic sayings with a more profound tone. At the same time, he used the same means of variation as the oral singers.

Methods of textualization and genetic criticism lead us to understand not only the making of the canonical texts of the nineteenth century but also of texts disregarded by the literary canon, such as rhymed folk songs and their literary adaptations. These texts are of indisputable importance for comprehending the nationalist objectives and the idea of Finnishness. The two methods introduced in this article shed light on how the elite transformed the oral tradition in the process of writing, or to what extent the aesthetics of written literature and other requirements intervened in the writing process.

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Pourquoi le changement codique a une force créatrice

L'exemple des plans littéraires bilingues d'Alexandre Pouchkine

Julia Holter

Abstract

This essay proposes an example of literary code-switching from the modern period. The plans for three unfinished texts of Alexander Pushkin, "The Guests Were Arriving at the Dacha" *(1828),* "The Russian Pelham" *(1834–1835), and* "In the Waters of the Caucasus" *(1831), abound with alternations between Russian and French, with some use of English and other languages. The current scholarly consensus is that Pushkin used the French language for planning, relying on its analytical features, and the Russian language, expressive but in need for renewal, as a language of textualization. The three fragments may represent a rare opportunity to see Pushkin's bilingual creativity in action. I use Youri Lotman's vision of code-switching as "auto-communication" on different channels (linguistic or not) to show how the ideas bouncing off the linguistic units belonging to different languages, but also sparking thanks to the mnemonic function of drawings, establish a current, a productive creative tension.*

Cet essai examine un exemple d'alternance codique au début de la période moderne. Les plans de trois textes inachevés d'Alexandre Pouchkine ("Les invités arrivaient à la datcha" — *1828),* "Le Pelham russe" — *1834–1835 et* "Sur les eaux du Caucase" — *1831), regorgent d'alternances entre le russe et le français, avec un certain usage de l'anglais et d'autres langues étrangères. Les chercheurs s'accordent à dire que Pouchkine a d'une part utilisé pour la mise au point du plan, la langue française, s'appuyant sur ses caractéristiques analytiques. D'autre part, il a eu recours au russe comme langue de textualisation, tirant parti d'une expressivité qu'il cherche à renouveler. Les trois fragments peuvent représenter une rare opportunité de voir la créativité bilingue de Pouchkine en action. J'utilise la conception qu'a Iouri Lotman du code-switching, comme "auto-communication" usant de différents canaux (linguistiques ou non). On montre comment les idées, rebondissant sur des unités linguistiques appartenant à différentes langues, mais aussi jaillissant, grâce à la fonction mnémonique, des dessins, établissent un courant, une tension créative productive.*

Textual Cultures 16.2 (2023): 106–35. DOI 10.14434/tc.v16i2.36767

Le franchissement des frontieres entre les genres et les supports, le deracinement, le recyclage et l'amplification, toutes ces techniques sont parmi les plus impressionnantes dans les arts à travers les âges. Quand Rubens réemploie son esquisse de la célèbre sculpture antique du centaure de la Galleria Borghese, le peintre représente le Christ avec le torse musclé d'un être mi-homme/mi-bête en le dotant visuellement de muscles convaincants (comme si le pouvoir symbolique ne suffisait pas). Dans le cadre des études génétiques, nous apprécions tout particulièrement d'être confrontés à des décisions créatives radicales de ce type, car nous avons alors l'impression de toucher du doigt ces moments d'illumination que sont le décollage et l'atterrissage de l'imagination sur un nouveau territoire. Ils nous donnent le sentiment d'être au cœur du processus créatif.

Les plans et autres documents génétiques entre nos mains, au-delà de simples plans, croquis avec les contours d'une œuvre à venir, représentent, à certains égards, autant d'étapes différentes de l'œuvre, autant de tremplins potentiels permettant de sauter ailleurs, et parfois très loin.

C'est bien pour cette raison que les chercheurs fouillent les archives en ne se contentant pas de la lecture des œuvres achevées. Ainsi espèrent-ils observer le franchissement des frontières comme un vecteur créatif à part entière, susceptible de conférer au projet créatif une direction inattendue.

Parce que ces plans et brouillons ont été peu explorés, malgré leur grande rareté comme témoignage de la création bilingue, nous avons choisi d'examiner ici les trois textes inaboutis que sont "Les invités arrivaient à la datcha" (1828), "Sur les eaux du Caucase" (1831), et "Pelham russe" (1829). L'intrigue y avance "à sauts et à gambades", particulièrement fréquents entre deux langues, le russe et le français. Ce va-et-vient semble guider la phase de la conception du *plot*. L'intrigue progresse, nous semble-t-il, au rythme des passages du système russe au système français et inversement.

L'idée de conduire une "défense et illustration" de la force créative des sauts de langues en prenant appui sur des projets inaboutis peut paraître contre-intuitive.[1] En quelque sort, il s'agit de tremplins qui n'ont pas servi, ou n'ont pas servi jusqu'au bout. Que la raison créative garde ses secrets quant à ce qui aurait pu être l'aboutissement de ses projets! La mort prématurée de l'auteur y est sans doute pour quelque chose. On se

1. Le format de cet article ne permet pas de proposer une étude exhaustive des nombreuses occurrences attestant du bilinguisme du poète russe, étude inventoriant tous les registres où il se peut observer (poésie, prose, théâtre, fragments achevés ou non achevés, abondante correspondance bilingue, déjà beaucoup sollicitée par les chercheurs).

contentera d'apprécier les fragments qui sont restés au stade de *Urtext*, ébauches saisissant les premiers traits de l'œuvre à venir. Pouchkine y est le plus enclin au bilinguisme, imaginant, sans doute, le monde de manière bilingue, sans retenue, sans aucune censure linguistique. Certaines de ces ébauches seront réécrites en russe, tout en restant inachevées; le français original y sera réencadré en forme des citations réelles ou inventées, des épigraphes ou des paraphrases. Pouchkine gardera toujours en toile de fond un français qu'il laisse transparaitre à travers le vernis d'un russe "natif" impeccable.[2]

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En sautant d'une langue à l'autre, Alexandre Pouchkine (1799–1837) pratique ce que la sociolinguistique et la linguistique appliquée du XXème siècle ont appelé *l'alternance codique*. Ainsi le cas Pouchkine est-il un exemple anachronique, jamais étudié, de l'alternance codique du début de la période moderne. Le terme "alternance codique" traduit un mot apparu d'abord en anglais (*codeswitching*), dans les années 1950, et s'impose juste avant les années 1980, pour désigner un phénomène universel observé chez les locuteurs bilingues ou plurilingues qui, plus ou moins fréquemment, volontairement et/ou à leur insu, ont un usage fluide et naturel de deux langues ou plus au cours du même acte communicationnel.

2. Pour compléter la présente étude, il serait intéressant de voir le rôle joué par la censure dans la déperdition du français (à la fois l'autocensure et la censure par les chancelleries tsaristes ou par les tsars eux-mêmes). Il serait intéressant aussi de se pencher sur la politique à l'égard du français dans chaque réédition de Pouchkine (de Brusov, d'Oksman, de Bondy, de l'époque de Fomitchev et jusqu'à nos jours). Aussi, une étude génétique numérique attend de voir le jour pour établir le pourcentage de la déperdition du français "natif" au profit du "russe" national dans les brouillons par rapport à la version corrigée, puis à la version publiée, accompagnée d'un catalogue des séquences de telles transformations. (Notons que le *Dictionnaire de la langue de Pouchkine* en quatre volumes (1956–1961) ne contient pas d'information de ce type, se contentant d'enregistrer 1,380 mots d'origine européenne occidentale, selon le calcul d'Elena Makeeva (environ 6,5% du nombre total de mots, dont 52% de gallicismes, 40% germanismes et 3,6% d'anglicismes). Chacun de ces mots étrangers doit se confronter au problème de la datation de son entrée dans la langue russe, à celui de l'étiquetage 'internationalisme' souvent contesté, ou encore, à sa disparition de la langue russe (voir Makeeba 2009).

En 1980, Deleuze et Guattari attirent notre attention sur le travail du père de la sociolinguistique, William Labov. Ce dernier donne l'exemple d'un jeune Afro-américain qui, dans une séquence brève, "passe dix-huit fois du système black-english au système standard".[3] Les auteurs en déduisent que, puisque le choix d'un système ou de l'autre se révèle arbitraire, tout système est en variation, c'est-à-dire, souple et polyphonique, ouvert à un usage individuel créatif.[4] Il semble que Deleuze et Guattari se soient informés des travaux du linguiste russe Mikhaïl Bakhtine, notamment de son article de 1934 Слово в романе[5] publié en français en 1978 ("Du discours romanesque") où, sous le nom de l'hétéroglossie (*разноречие*), Bakhtine décrit la coexistence de variations distinctes dans un seul "code linguistique".[6] "Chaque langue, écrit Bakhtine, n'est jamais simplement donnée mais toujours normée et, à chaque instant de la vie linguistique, elle se trouve confronté à une hétéroglossie de fait".[7]

Encore parfois considérée comme un manquement à la norme, la pratique de sauter entre les langues est aujourd'hui saluée et étudiée comme un outil créatif présent chez moult écrivains contemporains. Ajouter à ces études le cas anachronique de Pouchkine ne me paraît pas incongru: nous possédons suffisamment d'éléments biographiques et documentaires susceptibles de justifier une étude du bilinguisme du grand poète russe. Et nous pourrons ainsi mettre à l'épreuve notre intuition selon laquelle l'alternance codique a été toujours une force créatrice.

Poète national russe de la langue maternelle français

Selon les calculs de Nina Dmitrieva, chercheuse à la Maison Pouchkine à Saint-Pétersbourg, 17 à 20% des manuscrits de Pouchkine existants sont bilingues et, parmi ces manuscrits, seuls 3% sont des brouillons littéraires.[8] Ce pourcentage relativement faible s'explique par le fait que la langue principale des œuvres "adultes" de l'écrivain est le russe. Alexandre

3. Deleuze et Guattari 1980, 118.
4. *Idem*.
5. Бахтин 1975.
6. Trad. Daria Olivier (malheureusement, *разноречие* y est rendu par "plurilinguisme"). Bakhtine 1978.
7. "Единый язык не дан, а, в сущности, всегда задан и в каждом моменте языковой жизни противостоит действительному разноречию": Бахтин 1975, 83. La traduction du russe est la mienne, sauf autre indication.
8. Dmitrieva 2019.

Pouchkine a grandi entouré d'au moins trois personnes importantes qui lui parlaient en russe: sa grand-mère Maria Alekseevna Hannibal, Nikita Timofeïevitch Kozlov, le domestique qui l'a servi avec dévouement tout au long de sa vie, et sa nourrice Arina Rodionovna Jakovleva, conteuse hors pair. La maison du père du poète était un lieu de rassemblement des personnalités littéraires qui avaient consciemment choisi le russe comme langue de prédilection (N. M. Karamzine, I. I. Dmitriev, V. A. Zhoukovskiï, V. L. Pouchkine et K. N. Batiouchkov). Cependant, l'oncle du poète, Vassili Lvovitch, reprochait au jeune Alexandre, avant son inscription au lycée Tsarskoselskiï, d'écrire exclusivement en français. V.S. Baevskij, historien de la poésie russe, considère que des deux langues que Pouchkine maîtrisait également bien, le français était la première.[9] Voici ce qu'écrit à ce sujet Lev Sergueïevitch, le frère d'Alexandre:

> L'éducation de lui et de sa sœur Olga Sergeevna a été confiée à des étrangers, des gouvernantes et des gouvernants. Bien sûr, les enfants ne parlaient et n'apprenaient qu'en français. Dans sa huitième année, il savait déjà lire et écrire, et composait de petites comédies en français et des épigrammes sur ses professeurs. En général, son éducation ne comportait que peu de russe: il entendait seulement le français. Pouchkine était doté d'une mémoire extraordinaire et, dès sa onzième année, il connaissait par cœur toute la littérature française.[10]

Dans la maison où a grandi Pouchkine, c'est un vrai ballet de tuteurs français; les Français y sont constamment reçus, et on lit la littérature française dont la bibliothèque paternelle abonde.[11] Il n'est pas surprenant que les premières œuvres soient écrites en français et que les premiers poèmes imitent Voltaire et La Fontaine. Alexandre est sans doute un bilingue "simultané", car dès sa naissance, avec l'ajout de sa deuxième langue quasi-maternelle (transmise surtout par une nounou), sur la matrice française vient se surimposer un autre système linguistique — le russe, mais avec ses variantes folkloriques, dont sa nourrice était la championne; ainsi, vieux russismes, dialectismes, expressions familières entrent très tôt dans son vocabulaire et deviennent ensuite des ressources stylistiques actives.

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9. Баевский 1997, 15.
10. Григоренко 1974, 37.
11. Ainsi, l'écrivain et artiste amateur Xavier de Maistre est reçu régulièrement chez les parents de Pouchkine. Il y lit ses poèmes (ce qui ne peut pas ne pas impressionner le futur poète dont il réalise le premier portrait). Sa femme, Sophie, est la tante de la future épouse de Pouchkine.

Le jeune lycéen est davantage "français" que ses camarades: on le baptise même "le Français", ce qui laisse imaginer une "incarnation" du français jusqu'aux signes les plus extérieurs. A 26 ans, Pouchkine déplore le lent progrès de la littérature russe, remercie Viazemski de plébisciter les gallicismes en l'absence de termes "métaphysiques", c'est-à-dire scientifiques, en russe.[12]

Bien que le bilinguisme de Pouchkine ait fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches, pour tout spécialiste du multilinguisme, la question de l'étape créative intermédiaire reste en suspens: comment s'effectue le passage d'une conception en français à une œuvre de fiction en russe, d'une esquisse à un tableau? Si un seul code linguistique est utilisé dans la conception et la réalisation, la question se pose alors uniquement du déroulement de l'intrigue. Si, par contre, il y a une sorte de traduction (au sens de *translatio*) du sujet, son transfert dans une réalité culturelle et linguistique différente, et non seulement son élargissement, sa complication et sa spécification, alors les contours d'une séparation aussi nette des rôles linguistiques deviennent flous, et une zone grise d'"interlinguisme" apparaît.

La traductrice bilingue franco-russe Luba Jurgenson décrit ainsi la transition d'une langue à l'autre:

> Si à ce moment-là on me soumettait à un examen aux rayons X, on verrait les mots bouger et se métamorphoser. De temps en temps, mon œil intérieur les saisit: un tel, dont les pattes de devant et le museau sont déjà français, traîne encore sa queue en russe.[13]

Jurgenson s'efforce d'imaginer la zone d'interlinguisme afin de répondre à la question *comment* le code linguistique change. La question *pourquoi* il change ne se pose pas avec la traduction: l'opération est commandée par le cerveau. Lorsque Pouchkine réalise ses plans en français, le changement est au contraire suspendu. Fait notable, on constate que le changement survient malgré tout. Dans ce cas-là, faut-il imaginer une bête qui charge sans prévenir, jette ses pattes de devant en éclaireur, puis traîne sa queue?

Les spécialistes de la linguistique appliquée qui ont pour objet l'apprentissage des langues étrangères savent qu'avant l'âge de sept ans, les systèmes linguistiques sont acquis facilement, même s'il y en a plusieurs. Ainsi, les deux structures linguistiques se différencient assez rapidement

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12. "Ты хорошо сделал, что заступился явно за галлицизмы. Когда-нибудь должно же вслух сказать, что русский метафизической язык находится у нас еще в диком состоянии. Дай бог ему когда-нибудь образоваться на подобие французского (ясного точного языка прозы — т. е. Языка мыслей)": Пушкин 1825.
13. Jurgenson 2014, 79.

et avec succès, s'isolant par identification aux locuteurs de l'une ou l'autre langue, ce qui n'empêche pas un mélange spontané et créatif des deux. Le changement de code interne du jeune bilingue est rapide et naturel. Il ne pense pas en deux langues en même temps; lorsqu'il songe à une telle personne, imagine une conversation, le bilingue mobilise plus complètement le lexique de l'une ou de l'autre langue, selon l'interlocuteur imaginé.

À l'âge adulte, sa double compétence linguistique détermine sa pensée créative. Il reste encore beaucoup à explorer dans le substrat neurolinguistique des écrivains bilingues, mais ce qui est clair, c'est que les mécanismes neurolinguistiques du polyglotte adulte sont organisés d'une façon qui diffère du cas de figure où la même personne reste monolingue (une étude récente à l'aide de l'imagerie par résonance a démontré l'existence d'une activité neuronale bien particulière au niveau des zones cérébrales, activité qui est comme une "signature neuronale" du bilinguisme).[14]

Par exemple, au moment de la formalisation des idées et des images, le ou la bilingue sait que tout phénomène n'est pas l'otage d'un seul lexème: il peut être appelé de telle ou telle autre façon. Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que les bilingues sont intrinsèquement plus créatifs. C'est peut-être la polyphonie linguistique qui fait d'eux des adversaires des formules linguistiques fixes, de la normativité linguistique.

La conscience d'un bilingue qui continue à utiliser activement les deux langues, non pas tant dans la vie quotidienne que dans son activité professionnelle (cette condition est importante si l'on veut retracer le bilinguisme dans l'œuvre d'un écrivain), fonctionne souvent comme si elle évoluait entre deux langues, les mélangeant involontairement afin d'accélérer le processus de réflexion, surtout lorsqu'il est nécessaire de formaliser rapidement une pensée en mots, par exemple pour faire une entrée destinée à son propre usage. En passant d'un code à un autre, le bilingue travaille non pas selon une modalité de l'ordre de la traduction (qui est chronophage), mais selon une logique consistant à sauter d'une langue à une autre. Ces va-et-vient peuvent être conscients ou inconscients. Lorsque il s'apprête à parler avec quelqu'un, le bilingue est capable d'organiser rapidement ses pensées en fonction du code requis par la situation.

C'est également le cas de Pouchkine, bien que l'on considère que le poète n'était pas favorable au mélange des codes linguistiques et ne le pratiquait pas *stricto sensu*, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne l'utilisait qu'à des fins humoristiques et à d'autres fins artistiques, comme la transmission de l'authentique langue nobiliaire russo-française qui était largement pratiquée "dans les meilleures sociétés" depuis la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle.

14. Kovelman, Baker, et Petitto 2008, 153–69.

Dans d'autres contextes, Pouchkine, qui a un penchant pour l'exactitude, utilise le *codeswitching* avec beaucoup de précaution, ne voulant pas ressembler à la "dame de salon" qui mélange impitoyablement deux langues.[15] La nuance entre le *codeswitching* et le mélange de codes est intéressante ici. Le premier se fait pour des raisons socioculturelles qui sont sous contrôle du locuteur.[16] Le mélange quant à lui est causé surtout par la pauvreté des moyens linguistiques: la connaissance insuffisante d'une langue est compensée par des emprunts à une autre. Une autre raison fréquente du mélange est le prestige socio-économique exagéré de la langue étrangère, si grand qu'il donne lieu à un recodage partiel de l'idiome local par les locuteurs natifs, ce qu'on appelle le *tagging* (insertion de certaines expressions).

La position de Pouchkine, qui est celle de toute personne instruite, est sans équivoque: le passage habile d'une langue à l'autre ou la néologie créative textuelle, n'ont rien à voir avec un discours médiocre.

La langue franco-russe de la noblesse de salon, malgré son caractère inévitable (depuis la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, la langue cléricale écrite est devenue inadaptée pour la noblesse européanisée), ne pouvait convenir au bilingue averti. Pouchkine entreprend de réformer la langue russe, protestant, en bon karamziniste, à la fois contre la pauvreté expressive de la langue de salon, avec sa littérature "féminine", et contre des gens comme Chichkov qui déplorent le déclin du russe ecclésiastique.

Ainsi, dans la polémique déjà naissante entre "slavophiles" et "occidentaux", Pouchkine occupe une sorte de troisième position nuancée — position qui résulte d'un besoin aigu de création d'une nouvelle langue littéraire.

Choisissant une langue qui semble ne pas convenir à la création, mais qui est totalement ouverte à l'emprunt et à l'enrichissement, Pouchkine entreprend sa refonte à travers le filtre du français. Si le discours de salon accumule les barbarismes, le poète introduit des néologismes, joue avec les interférences.[17]

La collision des deux langues, la matricielle et la deuxième langue quasi-maternelle (*embedded*, en anglais), produit des résultats imprévisibles — la naissance d'une troisième langue.

Selon le théoricien de la traduction Antoine Berman, la création littéraire implique la présence secrète d'une autre langue, à la fois idéale (en tant que "langue-reine") et très incarnée ("substantielle", "iconique").[18]

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15. Sur l'attitude de Pouchkine vis-à-vis de la langue de "dame de salon" voir Виноградов 1935, 195–236.
16. Pour une typologie du *codeswitching*, voir, par exemple, Appel et Muysken 1987.
17. Voir Васильев 2013, 31.
18. Berman 1999, 112–14.

L'écrivain, le poète, cherche à entendre et à produire, par des barbarismes recyclés, des effets euphoniques et des variations à l'intérieur d'une langue, une autre langue, une langue inconnue qui reflète, par son bruit, la nature "barbare" des choses.[19]

Ce qu'Antoine Berman a appelé "la troisième langue" n'est probablement rien d'autre que l'éternelle entreprise, "cratyléenne", de parvenir à une langue poétique où les mots et les choses ne feraient plus qu'un. Cet impossible idéal linguistique et poétique s'applique pleinement à Pouchkine qui s'est donné la tâche d'engendrer, par le biais de son travail, une nouvelle grande langue européenne nourrie de la vigueur et de la musique propres à la langue parlée du peuple russe.

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Aujourd'hui, nous sommes persuadés que tous les écrivains bilingues, dans leur processus créatif, sont guidés conjointement par les deux langues, même si leurs fonctions peuvent être différentes.

Dans leur travail sur la typologie des stratégies multilingues créatives des écrivains, les chercheurs français Olga Anokhina et Emilio Scarino ont identifié deux grands principes: la "séparation fonctionnelle des langues" et le changement de code.[20] Pour illustrer la séparation fonctionnelle des langues, les chercheurs donnent l'exemple de Pétrarque et de Pouchkine, qui utilisent dans leurs notes métadiscursives une langue différente de la langue de textualisation.[21] Mais *quid* de l'interférence et des "erreurs" de la mémoire qui a tendance à nous livrer des unités lexicales "illogiques"? Nous allons introduire le terme d'"incrustation" pour caractériser l'intrusion soudaine d'une langue étrangère dans le processus de création sémantique dans la langue principale. Aussi, la présence simultanée, dans les brouillons étudiés ici, des mots "черкес" et "tcherkesse", "Зелия" et "Zélie", "дуэль" et

19. Quand Deleuze et Guattari (1980, 123) évoquent une langue secrète de la création, qui peut aussi être décrite comme style, ils évoquent le matériel disparate (argot, jargons, comptines, cris des marchands), qui, au-delà de leur inventivité lexicale, opèrent "une évaluation continue sur les éléments communs de la langue" et contribuent, de la façon la plus naturelle, à un certain bilinguisme créatif des écrivains tels que Kafka, Beckett, Gherasim Luca (ou encore le cinéaste Jean-Luc Godard).
20. Voir Anokhina et Sciarrino 2018, 20.
21. *Idem*.

"duel" suggère que les registres linguistiques peuvent être substitués les uns aux autres sans conséquences visibles.[22]

Il nous semble que, malgré la séparation formelle, les deux langues participent à un même degré au processus de création. Les deux langues peuvent être impliquées dans le processus de création contrairement à ce que peut laisser penser toute assignation préalable.

Ainsi, en choisissant une langue pour écrire un plan, Pouchkine ne peut pas "éteindre" complètement l'autre: le "bruit" de cette dernière est toujours présent. Son intrusion satisfait visiblement l'auteur, et dans le cas contraire, les brouillons portent des corrections (segments en langue "intruse" raturés et segments ajoutés en langue souhaitée). Cette manifestation du bilinguisme que constitue l'"entrelacement" des langues nous semble le signal d'une "secousse", d'une "embardée" (cf. le *sdvig*) dans le processus créatif.[23]

Construire le *plot* "à sauts et à gambades" entre les langues:

Les invités arrivaient à la datcha . . .

On sait que les personnes bilingues ont souvent recours à l'alternance codique dans les notes qu'elles prennent pour elles-mêmes lorsqu'elles souhaitent accélérer l'enregistrement d'une information et/ou en mieux saisir les nuances. Les plans des œuvres de fiction de Pouchkine utilisent précisément ce type de prise de notes. "L'enregistrement riche en associations sémantiques pour soi-même est généralement réalisé en français", écrit V. V. Vinogradov.[24] Le spécialiste de la langue de Pouchkine estime que le français était la langue "rapide" du poète, langue d'analyse et de gestation d'un plan, tandis que le russe, vecteur plus expressif, était sa langue de création. Une telle division ne reflète pas le caractère intuitif du changement de code pendant la notation rapide; changement spontané, souvent dicté par les propriétés de la mémoire.[25] En même temps, cette division trouve

22. Voir Дмитриева 2000, 91.
23. Pour le mot *sdvig* voir note 42.
24. Voir Виноградов 1935, 239.
25. Дмитриева 2000, 87 arrive à une conclusion similaire concernant l'ensemble du corpus bilingue des œuvres de Pouchkine: "Dans certains cas on arrive à expliquer le choix de la langue, dans d'autres la préférence pour l'une ou l'autre langue semble complètement aléatoire".

des preuves textuelles, et nous pouvons dire que l'une n'exclut pas l'autre: l'expressif vient plus vite à la mémoire, et cet expressif est individuel.

Ainsi, lorsque nous examinons les plans du roman inachevé Гости съезжались на дачу . . . (*Les invités arrivaient à la datcha . . .*) (1828), on constate que certaines expressions russes semblent s'immiscer dans la ligne organisationnelle du récit, enregistré en français: "L'homme du monde ~~marié en province à une aristocrate~~ fait la cour à une femme à la mode <. . .> il la séduit ~~et en épouse une autre порасчету~~." Concevant un roman mondain, truffé de triangles romantiques complexes, à l'exemple des romans français mais dans le contexte russe, l'auteur construit ses intrigues à partir des clichés du genre en français. Le contexte russe est injecté dans l'ébauche de plan par l'expression "порасчету", écrite sans séparation de proposition "по": ~~порасчету~~.

Il est difficile d'affirmer que l'expression "по расчету" est plus expressive que le français "mariage d'intérêt", ou si elle est davantage "à portée de main". Quoi qu'il en soit, nous pouvons observer que cette intrusion soudaine du contexte russe dans l'élaboration d'un plan n'engage pas l'auteur à utiliser davantage le code russe. Il a des doutes sur la nécessité de compliquer l'intrigue avec l'apparition d'une nouvelle femme: la phrase "et en épouse une autre порасчету" est barrée, puis rétablie: à ce stade, l'auteur est entièrement occupé par la décision d'organisation, et le contexte russe passe au second plan; l'auteur poursuit son brouillon de plan en utilisant le français (voir la figure 1 ci-dessous).

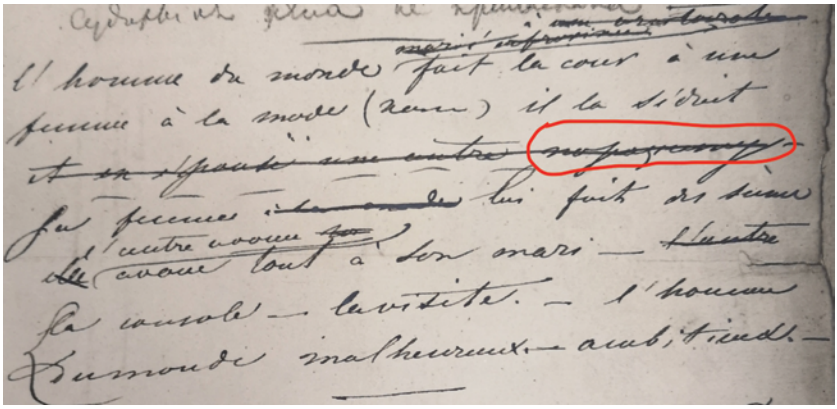


Figure 1. Fac-similé du plan Гости съезжались на дачу . . . (*Les invités arrivaient à la datcha . . .*) (1828), № 108.

On trouve un exemple inverse de *codeswitching* dans un autre passage d'un plan de la même œuvre. Le contexte russe cette fois s'immisce dans le plan du roman "français" et embarque l'auteur dans un début de textualisation, dans l'écriture de l'œuvre en russe.

Arrêtons-nous sur le début de ce manuscrit, sous le chiffre arabe 1, avec la transcription suivante (voir la figure 2):

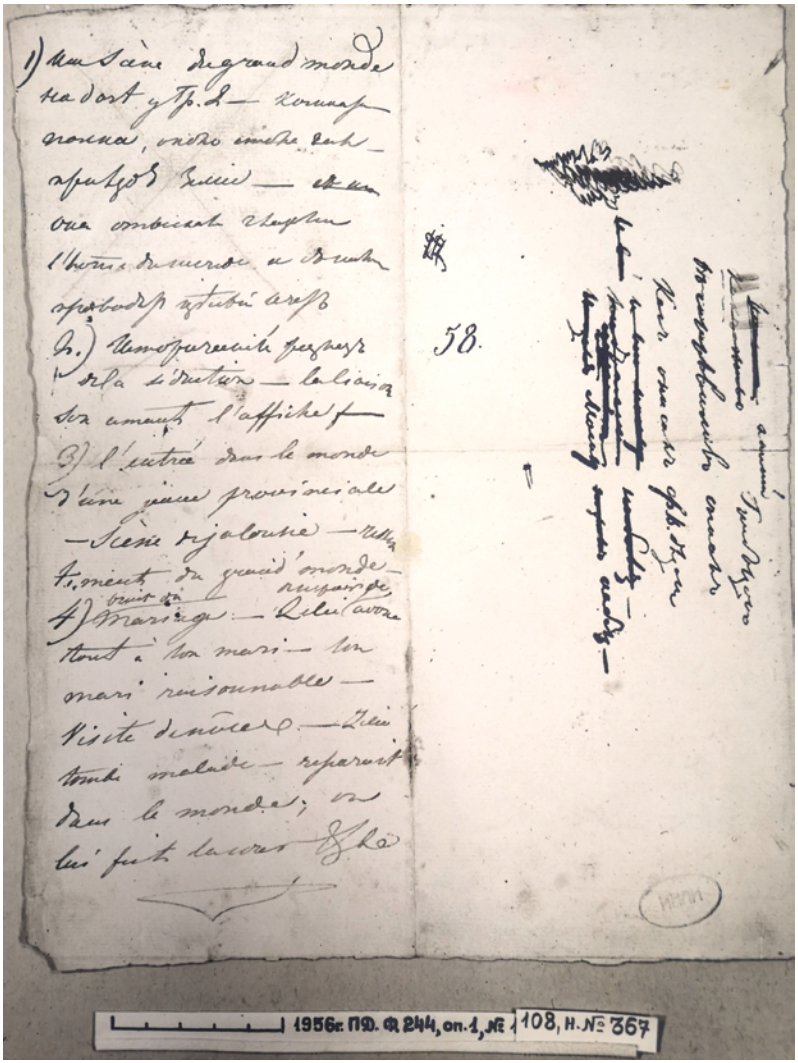
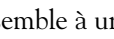


Figure 2. Fac-similé du plan Гости съезжались на дачу . . . (*Les invités arrivaient à la datcha . . .*) (1828), № 108.

1) Une scène du grand monde на даче у Гр. L — комната полна, около стола чая — приезд Зелии — она отыскала глазами l'homme du monde и с ним проводит целый вечер.

L'écriture est précipitée, truffée d'abréviations, de prépositions attachées. "Une scène du grand monde" du début du plan est soudain concrétisée par l'intrusion de "на даче" soigneusement orthographié au début de la deuxième ligne (le "yat" manuscrit ressemble à un *t* latin)  .

Où ailleurs qu'à la datcha du comte ou comtesse L pourrait bien se dérouler une scène de la vie mondaine? La datcha de la comtesse (on pense qu'il s'agit peut-être de la comtesse Laval) donne lieu à une concrétisation de la scène des détails, de la vie russe apparaissant: une salle pleine d'invités, une table, du thé — c'est-à-dire le contexte dans lequel Zélie devient Зелия (et dans le texte en russe de l'œuvre entamée elle deviendra Zinaida Volskaya). L'auteur voit les différentes scènes si clairement qu'il commence déjà à les élaborer en russe dès le stade du plan. Cela n'empêche pas l'*homme du monde* de conserver, au milieu du russe, sa position archétypale semblable à Onéguine[26] en français; le monde tourne autour de lui et Zelia passe avec lui toute la soirée. Suivent les parties 2 à 4, qui commencent en russe et se poursuivent en français:

2) Исторический рассказ de la séduction — la liaison, son amant l'affiche —

L'épisode de la datcha se termine et l'auteur retourne à son plan. La jonction entre les deux codes est particulièrement intéressante ici. La formule condensée "исторический рассказ (récit ou nouvelle historique) de la séduction" semble être le résultat de l'interférence. Est-ce bien la figure dont nous avons parlé précédemment, celle d'une "bête" dont les pattes arrière sont encore en russe et le museau déjà en français? Travaillant rapidement, Pouchkine semble rester dans le code russe pour enregistrer l'intrigue, et se corrige à mi-chemin: ce qui peut-être aurait dû être enregistré comme "histoire de la séduction" est enregistré comme "récit/nouvelle historique de la séduction".[27]

26. En 1828, Pouchkine travaille parallèlement aux derniers chapitres d'*Eugène Onéguine*.
27. Pouchkine travaille ici sur un roman plutôt que sur une nouvelle, sur un roman mondain plutôt qu'historique. Toutefois, E. Gladkova propose une explication

D'autres notes suivent déjà en français, sans interruption:

3) L'entrée dans le monde d'une jeune provinciale. Scène de jalousie, ressentiment du grand monde

4) Bruit du mariage — désespoir de Zélie. Elle avoue tout à son mari. Son mari raisonnable. Visite de noces. Zélie tombe malade, reparait dans le monde; on lui fait la cour etc., etc.

L'œuvre inachevée *Les invités arrivaient à la datcha* comprend aussi un texte de neuf pages élaboré entièrement en russe.[28] Ce texte suit davantage le deuxième plan, "une scène du grand monde на даче у Гр. L" (la figure 2). La qualité de ce texte n'a pas laissé indiffèrent un Léon Tolstoï: dans une lettre à N. N. Strakhov du 25 mars 1873, Tolstoï se confie: "J'ai pris ce volume de Pouchkine une fois après le travail et, comme toujours (pour la septième fois, je crois), je l'ai relu en entier, sans pouvoir m'en détacher, et comme si je le lisais pour la première fois. Mais pas seulement, c'était comme s'il avait résolu tous mes doutes. [. . .]. Sans le vouloir, comme par hasard, sans savoir ce que ce serait, j'ai conçu les visages et les événements, j'ai commencé à poursuivre, puis, bien sûr, j'ai changé, et tout à coup c'est devenu si beau et si frais qu'un roman est né, que j'ai maintenant terminé en brouillon, un roman très vif, très chaud [. . .]".[29] Ce roman sera *Anna Karénine*.

Sur les eaux du Caucase

Il existe trois versions (ainsi que plusieurs ajouts et insertions) des plans du roman *Sur les eaux du Caucase* commencé en septembre 1831. Les deux premiers plans sont bilingues, tandis que le troisième, le plus complet et probablement le plus proche de la textualisation, est presque entièrement rédigé en russe. Les plans bilingues commencent par ébranler sérieusement la séparation fonctionnelle des codes chez Pouchkine: dès le début, le russe s'impose (voir la figure 3).

Par souci d'économie de papier, Pouchkine utilise dans ces cahiers tout l'espace disponible, souvent en marge de ses propres dessins (ici, le dessin d'une souche et des buissons, sans lien immédiat avec les paysages des montagnes chauves du Caucase, précède la notation). Le roman évoque

différente: l'auteur aurait voulu insérer dans ce placement un "récit historique" sur Cléopâtre. Voir Гладкова 1941.

28. Пушкин 1960, T5, 466–72.
29. Толстой 1873–1879, T18.

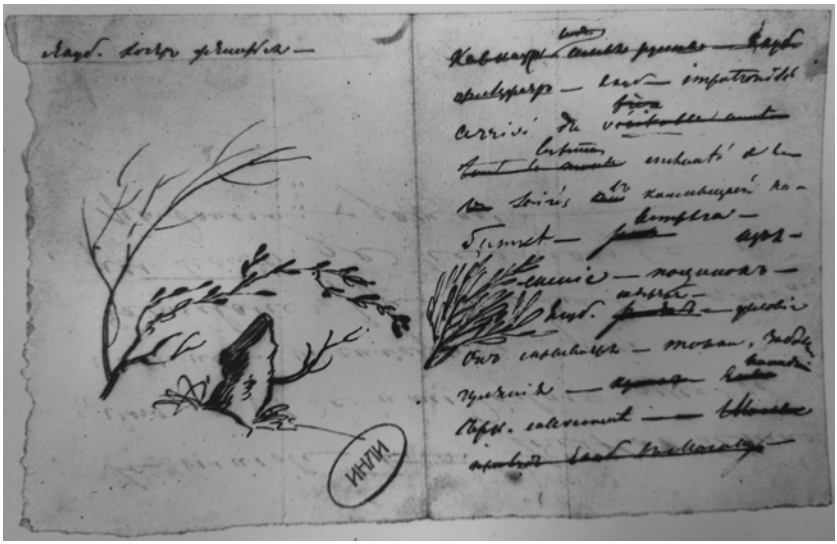


Figure 3. Fac-similé du plan "Sur les eaux du Caucase" (1831), № 270.

la haute société russe prenant les eaux au Caucase, et la prégnance de ce contexte implique un plan où le russe prédomine: "~~Кавказские воды — Семья русская — Якубович приезжает~~ — Якубович — impatronisé". Le mot "impatronisé", d'usage au XIXème, qui veut dire "s'établir avec autorité quelque part, s'y imposer en maître", n'est plus utilisé couramment aujourd'hui. C'est bien ce mot compact et précis qui vient à l'esprit de Pouchkine et l'engage pour un temps dans le code du roman mondain français: "arrivée du ~~véritable amant tout le monde~~ les femmes enchantées de lui ~~on~~ Soirées ~~dans~~ в Калмыцкой кибитке". Ah, ces soirées dans une yourte kalmouke! Les souvenirs propres du poète et son penchant pour la précision interrompent ici le recours au français et le ramènent "sur le terrain".[30] La préposition "dans" qui introduit le complément circonstanciel est barrée et remplacée par son homologue russe "В".

Déjà, au stade de l'élaboration de son plan, Pouchkine voit clairement certaines scènes et enregistre des mots russes qui jouent le rôle de déclencheurs mnémoniques, afin de préparer son travail ultérieur. Ainsi les toponymes et autres termes fortement attachés à la signification d'un

30. Cf. Dans les "notes de voyage" que Pouchkine a conservées de son séjour dans le Caucase et en Transcaucasie au printemps et à l'été 1829, on trouve l'épisode de la visite d'une tente kalmouke (un type de yourte mongole).

contexte culturel apparaissent-ils dans leur code natif, “authentique”. Simultanément, surgit le mot français “jeux”, avec la légèreté et frivolité qu’on devine à l’arrière-plan, suivi du russe à nouveau. Finalement, les deux langues semblent être parfaitement adaptées à ce travail de définition d’un plan. On assiste à leur “dialogue” dans un monologue intérieur de Pouchkine-bilingue, où s’entrevoient leurs rôles complémentaires:

> встреча изъяснение — поединок — Якуб. ~~ранен~~ не дерется — условие. Он скрывается — толки, забавы, гуляния — ~~кунак enlèv~~. ~~нападение~~ Черк. enlèvement — ~~Москва приезд Якуб. в Москву~~.
>
> Transcription: “rencontre explication — duel — Iakoub(ovitch). blessé ne combattant pas — condition. Il se cache — mauvaises langues, amusements, festivités — kunak enlèv. attaque des Cherk(esses) enlèvement — Moscou l’arrivée de Iakoub. à Moscou”.

Est-il concevable qu’écrivant très vite, Pouchkine ait oublié le mot russe “похищение”, pour “enlèvement”? Sans doute l’incrustation “enlèvement” traduit-elle plus précisément, et de façon davantage concise, la coutume “barbare” des Caucasiens consistant à voler une épouse. Pouchkine utilise le mot français chaque fois qu’il parle du vol d’une jeune fille, ayant besoin d’un sens plus précis, absent en russe (“похищение” définit un vol de façon générale et nécessite l’ajout de l’objet, de la fiancée ou de la jeune fille).

Le premier énoncé de cette page, “Якуб. enlève Marie qui . . .”, semble être une fausse piste, puisque Pouchkine le barre soigneusement et recommence (voir la figure 4 ci-dessus). Cette fois, le thème, culturellement très français, ou européen, est énoncé en français (“les eaux — une saison”). Vient ensuite une concrétisation “caucasienne” entièrement en russe. L’intrigue est réécrite et réarrangée à nouveau, sur la base des souvenirs personnels et déjà sous une forme plus construite: l’écriture du plan s’approche ici de la textualisation, certaines scènes étant vues en détail, comme celle où il est question de whist et de jeux d’argent, puisque Iakoubovitch est un joueur. Le roman était supposé se dérouler dans l’atmosphère de danger et d’aventure qui caractérise la vie dans le Caucase dans les années 1810 et qui avait considérablement changé en 1829 lorsque Pouchkine est revenu prendre les eaux. Il évoque des personnes réelles (officiers emprisonnés, docteurs, *kounaks*/amis qui se vivent comme des frères, *uzdénes*/gens libres du Caucase), ce qui en soi occupe l’imagination de l’auteur comme une sorte de langage interne de mots vernaculaires et d’images avec lequel dialogue la langue d’écriture. Le français (langue de portée universelle) attend son tour.

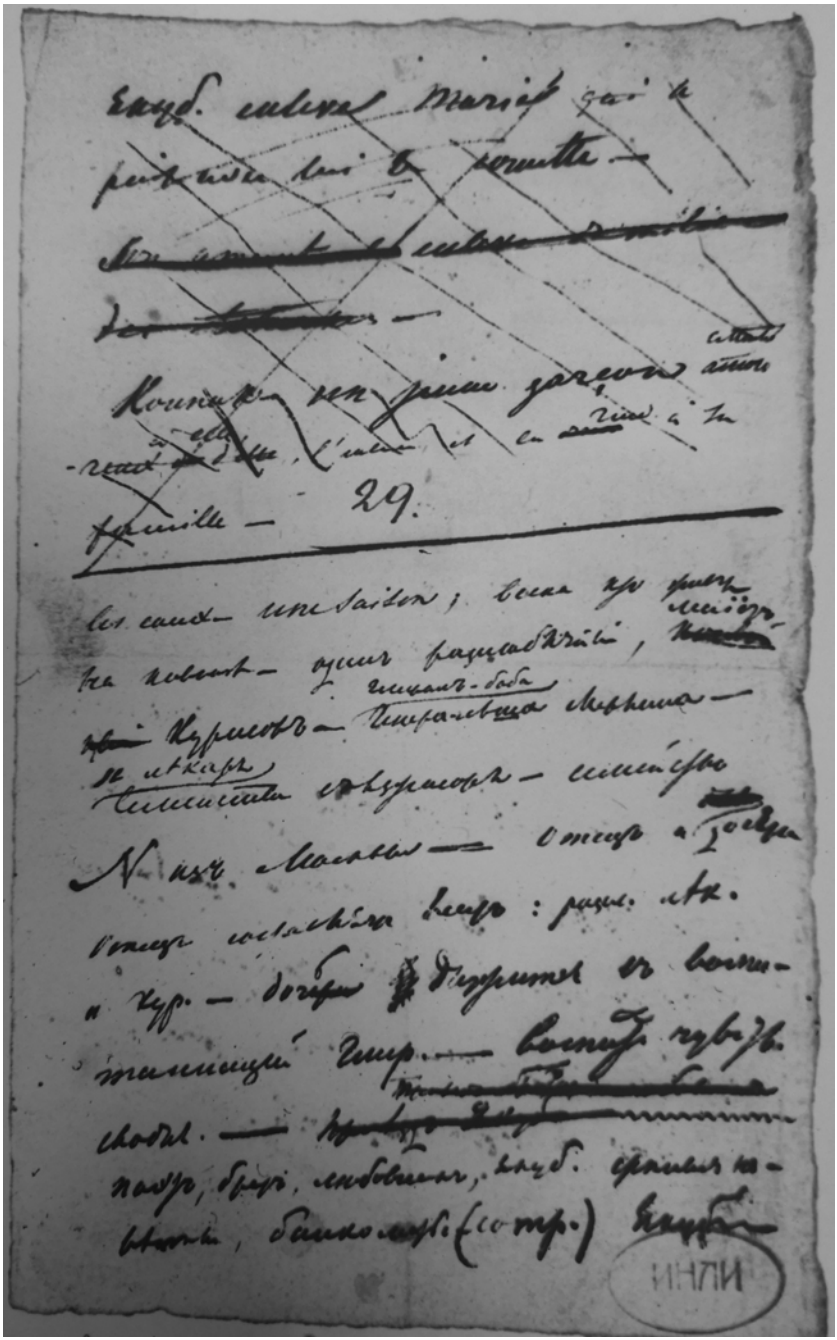


Figure 4. Fac-similé du plan "Sur les eaux du Caucase" (1831), № 271 (recto).

La dernière page de ce deuxième plan nous intéresse comme “tableau” de la création déjà bien avancée, presque entièrement conçu en russe, à l’exception de trois incrustations en caractères latins (en rouge sur l’image): “cavalcade”, “Pelham” et “enlève” (voir la figure 5 ci-dessous).

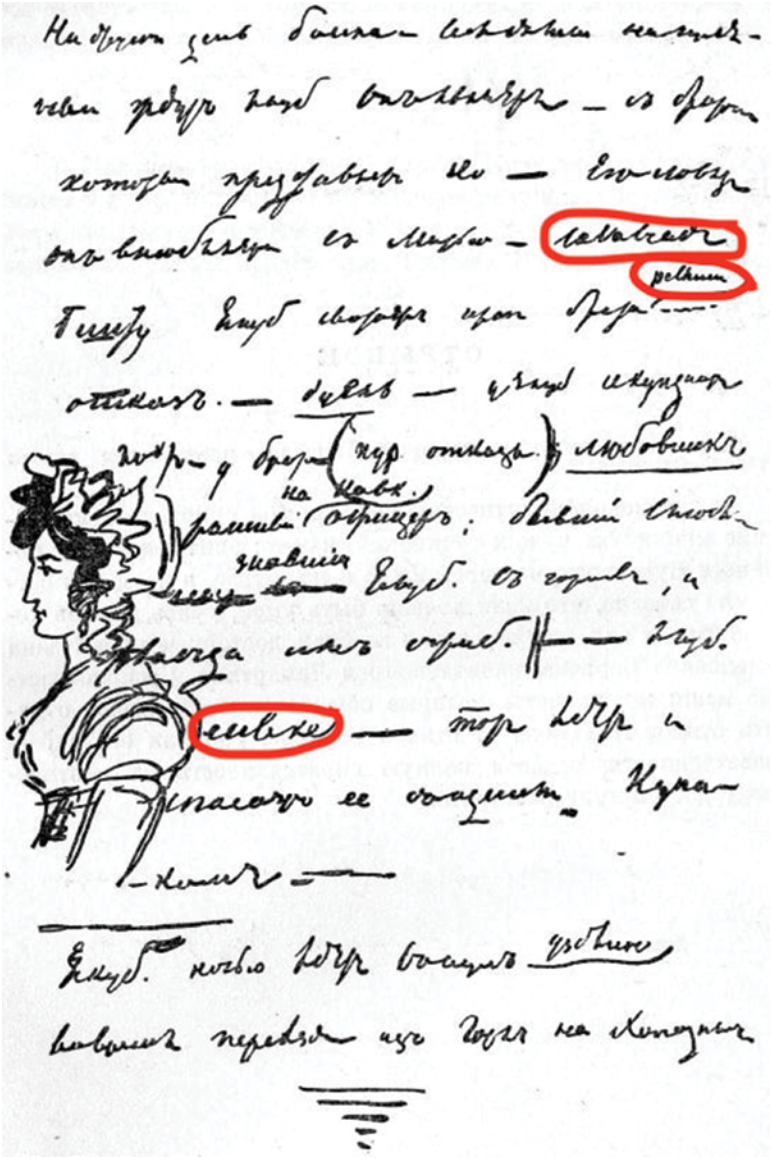


Figure 5. Fac-similé du plan “Sur les eaux du Caucase” (1831), № 271 (verso).

On notera l'apparition du mot "cavalcade" en français (tandis que le même mot existe en russe) pour désigner une promenade à cheval vers la montagne à cinq sommets (Bechta), qui a donné son nom à la ville de Piatigorsk. Le mot "cavalcade" est sans doute plus vivement ressenti par l'auteur en français qu'en russe (l'emprunt du mot tout récent date de la fin du XVIIIe siècle). La forme nominale française, qui contient une idée de défilé ou, du moins, de promenade de plaisir, conserve théâtralité et romantisme, tous les deux absents dans les mots russes *прогулка, поездка*.

Mais qui donc va courir à travers la montagne Bechta? Particulièrement intéressante est la double apparition sur cette page de la beauté enlevée (Maria): à la fois son nom et son portrait. Le prototype de Maria est Alexandra Alexandrovna Rimskiï-Korsakov dont Pouchkine fréquentait la maison et dont il dessine le portrait reconnaissable en bas à gauche du manuscrit.[31] L'auteur pense sans doute à l'enlèvement de Maria en même temps qu'il trace sur la même page le portrait d'Alexandra. Néanmoins, le dessin précède le texte, puisque le dernier le contourne. On peut ici à bon droit songer à la participation du dessin à la tension formatrice du texte. Le dessin, expression non-verbale, avec sa fonction mnémonique prononcée, aide à imaginer une histoire d'amour, avec une cavalcade, un duel et un enlèvement.[32]

A partir des années 1930, les dessins de Pouchkine ne sont plus vus comme des gribouillis accessoires par les spécialistes russes. Ainsi, A. Efros a proposé une lecture du "journal graphique". Le chercheur pétersbourgeois A. Tchernov affirme lui que Pouchkine dessinait "soit les ombres du passé, soit les images de ses amis et ennemis en les appelant pour une conversation silencieuse. Il leur parlait. Et pour qu'ils répondent, il devait reproduire non seulement une forme ressemblante, mais deviner et donc produire une formule [. . .] de l'âme de son interlocuteur".[33]

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31. Tel est l'opinion de nombreux spécialistes: Tsavlovskaïa, Belïaev, Izmailova.
32. Dans ce plan, nous apprenons que, lorsque Iakoubovitch arrive avec son frère, un autre officier, à la fête, tombe amoureux de Maria. La cavalcade vers Bechta intervient alors. Iakoubovitch demande Maria en mariage par l'intermédiaire de son frère (Pouchkine ajoutant à ce terme, comme une étiquette, le nom 'Pelham', sur lequel je reviendrai infra.) Iacoubovitch reçoit un refus. Suit un duel entre les deux rivaux; Iacoubovitch prend pour assistant un poète tandis que son frère prend un ancien amant de Maria, un officier blessé dans le Caucase qui a connu Iakubovitch dans les montagnes, lequel a commis à son encontre un vol. En allant des Sources Chaudes aux Sources Froides, Iacoubovitch enlève Maria.
33. Чернов 2017, 210.

L'importance des dessins des écrivains dans le processus créatif occupe de plus en plus les chercheurs. En 1996, Serge Sérodes posait la question de la répartition des espaces: "lorsqu'il se met à dessiner, l'écrivain change-t-il d'atelier?". Il regrettait la place encore peu valorisante des dessins des écrivains, relégués du côté de la fantaisie, voire de la folie: "la subversion des codes dérange; le recours simultané à plusieurs codes aussi. D'où la surveillance à laquelle on soumet à tous ceux qui brouillent les conventions des divers langages".[34] Mais la situation a beaucoup évolué et les dessins des écrivains sont considérés désormais comme composante essentielle du geste créateur, au même titre que le mouvement de la pensée et de la main qui écrit.

Iouri Lotman, sémioticien estonien, a défendu l'idée de la nécessité de plusieurs codes impliqués dans la création: un seul code ne suffit pas, puisqu'une seule langue "parfaite" de la création n'existe pas. Le dessin peut constituer un deuxième code non-verbal parfait, de même que la musique. Mais même certains bruits et apparitions imprévisibles peuvent aussi entrer en jeu dans le complexe synesthésique et jouer le rôle d'un tremplin pour la pensée créative. Dans l'article "Au sujet de deux modèles de la communication dans le système de la culture" (1970), Lotman cite Pouchkine lui-même qui décrit ce processus dans *Onéguine*:

XXXVI	36.
И что ж? Глаза его читали,	En fait ses yeux lisaient la page
Но мысли были далеко;	Mais ses pensées vagabondaient.
Мечты, желания, печали	Désirs, tristesse, rêveries
Теснились в душу глубоко.	Se pressaient au fond de son âme.
Он меж печатными строками	Entre les lignes imprimées
Читал духовными глазами	Les yeux de l'esprit déchiffraient
Другие строки. В них-то он	Un autre texte, dans lequel
Был совершенно углублен.	Il s'absorbait complètement.
То были тайные преданья	C'était la tradition secrète
Сердечной, темной старины,	D'un sombre passé qu'il aimait,
Ни с чем не связанные сны,	Des songeries éparpillées,
Угрозы, толки, предсказанья,	Des menaces, des prédictions
Иль длинной сказки вздор живой,	Ou quelque conte sans malice,
Иль письма девы молодой.	Ou des lettres de jeune fille.
XXXVII	37.
И постепенно в усыпленье	Il sent doucement s'assoupir
И чувств и дум впадает он,	En lui émotions et pensées.
А перед ним Воображенье	L'imagination distribue
Свой пестрый мечет фараон . . .	Des cartes comme au pharaon (. . .)

34. Sérodes 1996, 104.

XXXVIII	38.
. . . Как походил он на поэта,	(. . .) Il ressemblait à un poète
Когда в углу сидел один,	Lorsqu'il restait seul dans son coin
И перед ним пылал камин,	Et que, devant la cheminée,
И он мурлыкал: *Бенедетта*	Il murmurait *Benedetta*
Иль *Идол мио* и ронял	Ou *Idol moi*, cependant
В огонь то туфлю, то журнал[35]	Que ses pantoufles prenaient feu.[36]

Figure 6. Chapitre 8, strophes 36, 37 et 38 d'*Eugène Onéguine* en russe et en français, en traduction de Jean-Louis Backès).

Et Lotman d'expliquer:

> Dans cet exemple, il y a trois codes rythmiques externes: le texte imprimé, le scintillement mesuré du feu et le motif du "ronronnement". Il est très caractéristique que le livre n'agisse pas comme un message: il est lu sans que l'on en remarque le contenu ("ses yeux lisaient la page, / Mais ses pensées vagabondaient"), il agit comme une sorte de stimulant pour le développement de la pensée. Et il stimule non pas par son contenu, mais par l'automatisme mécanique de la lecture. Onéguine "lit sans lire", comme il regarde le feu sans le voir, et "ronronne" sans le remarquer. Ces trois séries rythmiques, perçues différemment par des organes différents, n'ont pas de relation sémantique directe avec ses pensées, le "pharaon" de son imagination. Elles sont cependant nécessaires pour qu'il puisse lire les "autres vers" avec ses "yeux de l'esprit". L'intrusion du rythme extérieur organise et stimule le monologue intérieur.[37]

35. Пушкин 1937, 183–84.
36. Pouchkine 1996.
37. "В данном случае даны три внешних ритмообразующих кода: печатный текст, мерное мерцание огня и 'мурлыкаемый' мотив. Очень характерно, что книга здесь выступает не как сообщение: ее читают, не замечая содержания ('глаза его читали, / Но мысли были далеко'), она выступает как стимулятор развития мысли. Причем стимулирует она не своим содержанием, а механической автоматичностью чтения. Онегин 'читает не читая', как смотрит на огонь, не видя его, и 'мурлычет', сам того не замечая. Все три, разными органами воспринимаемые, ритмические ряда не имеют непосредственно семантического отношения к его мыслям, 'фараону' его воображения. Однако они необходимы для того, чтобы он мог 'духовными глазами' читать 'другие строки'. Вторжение внешнего ритма организует и стимулирует внутренний монолог": Лотман 1992, 80.

Entrechoc des codes (tension structurale et narrative)

Langues étrangères, dessins et rythmes extérieurs n'appartiennent évidemment pas à la même catégorie de codes. Nous pouvons toutefois les rapprocher comme codes tous susceptibles de pénétrer le monologue intérieur et faire ainsi qu'il devienne un dialogue stimulant la pensée.

Mais il est temps de serrer au plus près la définition du *code* dans *codeswitching*. Pour cela, il nous faut remonter à la source, puisqu'avant d'être repris par la linguistique appliquée, le terme de *code* a été abondamment utilisé en sémiotique, par Roland Barthes et Roman Jakobson du côté français et Iouri Lotman du côté de l'école de Moscou-Tartu. Mikhaïl Bakhtine, déjà cité, avait, bien avant tout le monde, montré le chemin, s'inspirant lui aussi des linguistes d'avant la révolution bolchevique.

Dans le texte de 1934 intitulé "Слово в романе" ("Du discours romanesque") déjà évoqué, Bakhtine a proposé le terme d'"hybridation", le définissant comme "mélange de deux langues sociales au sein d'un même énoncé, de la rencontre de deux consciences linguistiques différentes séparées par l'époque ou la différenciation sociale (ou les deux) dans le cadre de cet énoncé". Et Bakhtine d'ajouter: "Ce mélange de deux langues au sein d'un même énoncé dans le roman est une technique artistique délibérée (ou plutôt un système de techniques). Mais l'hybridation involontaire et inconsciente est l'un des modes opératoires les plus importants de la vie historique et de la formation des langues".[38] Comment ne pas voir dans cette définition ce que dans le jargon linguistique d'aujourd'hui nous avons pris l'habitude d'appeler *codeswitching*?

Notre intuition que l'usage de deux langues (ou plus, à l'occasion) influencent en catimini l'écriture en l'absence même du *codeswitching* trouve sa confirmation chez Bakhtine quand il distingue l'hybridation (гибридизация) de la mutualisation interne et dialoguée des systèmes linguistiques dans leur ensemble (внутренне-диалогизованное взаимоосвещение языковых систем): "Il ne s'agit plus ici d'un mélange direct de deux langues au sein d'un même énoncé mais une langue est actualisée dans l'énoncé, lorsqu'elle est donnée à la lumière d'une autre langue".[39]

Nous trouvons aussi chez Bakhtine un écho de notre souci de dissocier le *codeswitching* comme outil de style *littéraire*, du simple mélange des langues, pauvre et maladroit, de la "dame de salon" dont se plaint Pouchkine:

38. Бахтин 1975, 169.
39. *Idem.*, 173.

"L'hybride artistique demande un travail énorme, écrit Bakhtine. Il est tout stylé, réfléchi, pesé, distancié. Il se distingue fondamentalement du mélange de langues frivole, irréfléchi et aléatoire, souvent à la limite de l'analphabétisme, des romanciers médiocres".[40]

Non moins éclairant (mais largement postérieur à Bakhtine), un article de Iouri Lotman ("Au sujet de deux modèles de la communication dans le système de la culture") contient un schéma linguistique qui nous aide à mieux comprendre encore le fonctionnement de l'alternance codique. Lotman reprend et élargit le schéma de Roman Jakobson reposant sur la dualité destinateur/destinataire (ou émetteur/récepteur). Si Jakobson place toute communication sur le plan d'un seul et même canal, Lotman croit nécessaire d'ajouter un canal spécial pour la communication avec soi-même (dialogue créatif par excellence).[41] Il décrit le premier canal ("Moi-Lui/Elle") comme canal d'échange d'informations avec autrui, où se trouve employé le même code. Le deuxième canal ("Moi-Moi") est le canal d'*autocommunication* ou *autotraduction* des messages à soi-même, où différents codes sont utilisés. Selon Lotman,"la transmission d'un message à travers le canal "Moi-Moi" n'est pas immanente, car elle est conditionnée par l'intrusion de l'extérieur de certains codes supplémentaires et par la présence d'impulsions externes qui modifient[42] la situation contextuelle".[43] Selon Lotman, ce "dialogue" entre "soi et soi" constitue l'un des aspects essentiels de la "tension formatrice du texte".[44]

Ce canal "Moi-Moi" doit être compris comme un dialogue interne: une voix venue de l'extérieur interrompt et remet en question le *statu quo*. Par cette voix extérieure on peut entendre toute fonction culturelle dans laquelle, à travers la transmission de l'information à soi-même dans un

40. *Idem*., 177.
41. Lotman ajoutera que la création littéraire se sert en réalité de deux canaux au même temps, en oscillant entre les deux, cherchant un compromis. Et Lotman de conclure que "La culture elle-même peut être considérée comme une somme de messages échangés entre différents destinataires [. . .] et comme un message envoyé par le 'moi' collectif de l'humanité à elle-même. De ce point de vue, la culture humaine est un exemple colossal d'autocommunication"; voir Лотман 1992, 169–71, 175.
42. Pour dire "modifie", Lotman emploie le mot "sdvig" théorisé dans les années 20 par les futuristes russes, poètes, et artistes, pour désigner un "décalage" du mode de perception subjectif et du mode d'expression artistique causé par un élément additionnel (signe verbal ou signe plastique).
43. Лотман 1992, 78.
44. *Idem*.

autre code (musique, dessin, autre langue), le contenu du code initial est réinterprété, réorganisé, voire changé. Mais tout bruit du monde peut, dans certaines circonstances, jouer le rôle du catalyseur de la création:[45] souvenirs involontaires de type 'madeleine/infusion de tilleul', bruits extérieurs en tout genre . . . Car tous porteurs de signes et de sens utiles à la réflexion. Les intrusions non-culturelles et non-linguistiques ne demandent qu'à être nommées ou interprétées. En effet, pour devenir ingrédient fructueux d'un deuxième code, elles doivent seulement être un peu décalées ou paraître à l'origine incompatibles avec le code principal utilisé.

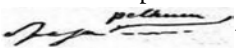
Le principe d'incompatibilité (ou d'incohérence) des codes est une de caractéristiques indispensables de la sémiosphère décrite par Lotman: à l'intérieur de chaque espace sémiotique cohérent règne, selon lui, une intraduisibilité partielle, une imprévisibilité source de liberté sémiotique, indispensables pour la création de sens et la créativité.

Puisqu'un seul code est insuffisant pour la sémiosis, Lotman remplace l'idée d'un modèle optimal, constitué d'une seule langue universelle parfaite par l'image d'une structure dotée d'un minimum de deux ou, plutôt, d'un nombre ouvert de langues diverses, dont chacune est réciproquement dépendante de l'autre, en raison de l'incapacité de chacune à exprimer le monde de manière indépendante. Cela signifie que le poète (tout être humain en tant que poète) peut chercher partout un matériau susceptible de traduction dans son travail créatif.[46] Pour Lotman, la création (et la vie biologique elle-même) semble être un passage de frontière nécessaire, une incessante expérience de changement de code: "La frontière, écrit Lotman en 1983, est un mécanisme bilingue qui traduit les communications externes dans le langage interne de la sémiosphère et vice versa. Ce n'est donc qu'à travers elle que la sémiosphère peut entrer en contact avec les espaces sémiotiques étrangers et les espaces non sémiotiques.'[47] On imagine déjà que tous les conflits historiques, politiques, idéologiques, religieux, et,

45. "Характерным примером будет воздействие мерных звуков (стука колес, ритмической музыки) на внутренний монолог человека": *Idem*.
46. Cf. Chez Mikhaïl Bakhtine, "Pour ce qui est de la prose, elle est une assemblée ou un parlement de voix diverses, parmi lesquelles la voix propre de l'auteur doit pouvoir se faire entendre; ces voix créent un arrière-plan nécessaire, sans lequel les nuances artistiques de cette voix prosaïque demeureraient insaisissables, 'ne sonneraient pas'". [Предмет для прозаика — сосредоточие разноречивых голосов, среди которых должен звучать и его голос; эти голоса создают необходимый фон для его голоса, вне которого неуловимы, "не звучат" его художественно-прозаические оттенки]. Бахтин 1975, 91.
47. Лотман 1992, 14.

bien sûr, romanesques, peuvent servir d'illustration à ce contact difficile mêlant guerre meurtrière et échange enrichissant entre blocs sémiotiques compacts (cf. les polarités symétriques du type "Nous *vs* les Barbares, Nord *vs* Sud, Occident *vs* Orient" . . . autant de frictions qui font naitre dialogue et 'développement'). "Pour qu'un système fonctionne, il faut que deux origines disparates se heurtent et interagissent", écrit Lotman.[48] Telle est aussi la loi de cet espace sémiotique qu'est un texte littéraire.

Pelham Russe

Revenons à présent aux brouillons pouchkiniens et abordons le dernier et très bref changement de code sur la page du fac-similé "Sur les eaux du Caucase" (voir Fig. 5). L'incrustation "Pelham" y est inscrite par Pouchkine pour 'codifier' le personnage sulfureux du frère:  .

Pelham est un archétype de "dandy" similaire à "l'homme du monde", le personnage du roman éponyme, paru en 1828, du romancier anglais Edward Bulwer-Lytton. L'intrigue archétypale du roman de Bulwer-Lytton[49] impressionne le poète.[50] Sa lecture du roman en anglais (la traduction française n'est parue qu'en 1835, et la traduction russe bien plus tard) fait surgir des images parallèles de personnages homologues russes, nombreux autour du poète (joueurs de cartes, par exemple, contre lesquels Pouchkine perd sans cesse et sans recours possible, en 1829 au Caucase). Le désir de créer un roman similaire sur le sol russe se fait jour.

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48. [чтобы система работала, необходимо столкновение и взаимодействие двух разнородных начал]: Лотман 1992, 186.
49. On ne sait pas si Pouchkine a eu quelque information sur l'auteur lui-même. Simultanément romancier brillant, homme politique britannique de premier plan et tyran domestique, Edward Bulwer-Lytton est une figure controversée. Il renonce à la couronne grecque en 1858 et fonde la Colombie-Britannique en 1862, pendant la ruée vers l'or du canyon Fraser, près de Seattle. Le roman *Pelham* a établi sa réputation de dandy et d'homme d'esprit.
50. Certes le français est une langue, un code essentiel à la création pour Pouchkine, mais d'autres langues slaves, l'allemand et l'anglais, pénètrent son imaginaire en guise de codes alternatifs. Pouchkine est avide des traductions des romans anglais en français et en russe, lecteur de Walter Scott (*The Bride of Lammermoor*) et de Washington Irving (*The Spectre Bridegroom*), les deux romans connus pour inciter l'auteur de *Metel*, dans les *Contes de Belkine*, à écrire sa propre version d'un mariage au milieu de la tempête. Ces lectures sont autant de codes à assimiler pour ensuite dialoguer et polémiquer avec eux, et même les parodier (voir Bethea and Davydov 1981, 8–21).

Iakoubovitch, le Pelham russe, occupe sa place dans la galerie d'images antithétiques de Pouchkine. Le roman inachevé *Sur les eaux du Caucase* sera la toile de fond du *Pelham russe* (Русский Пелам, également laissé inachevé), une sorte d'*Eugène Onéguine* en prose. Les clichés du roman mondain européen se heurtent au contexte russe, aux personnages empruntés à la réalité et qui donnent le ton:

> История Федора Орлова. Un élégant, un Zavadovski, mauvais sujet, des maîtresses, des dettes. Он влюбляется в бедную светскую девушку, увозит ее; первые года роскошные, впадает в бедность, cherche des distractions chez ses premières maîtresses, devient escroc et duelliste. Доходит до разбойничества, зарезывает Щепочкина; застреливается (или исчезает). История Пелымова. Он знакомится с Ф. Орловым dans la mauvaise société, помогает ему увезти девушку, отказывается от фальшивой игры, на дуэли секундантом у него. Узнает от него о убийстве Щепочкина, devient l'exécuteur testamentaire de Фед. Орлов.[51]

On constate la mise en marche d'une matrice linguistique franco-russe efficace, dans laquelle la syntaxe et la grammaire propre à chaque langue sont entièrement préservées: l'enchaînement des groupes verbaux en deux langues ("впадает в бедность, cherche des distractions, devient escroc et duelliste [. . .] узнает от него о убийстве Щепочкина, devient l'exécuteur testamentaire ") respecte l'accord en nombre avec le pronom personnel de la troisième personne du singulier. Le contexte russe offre naturellement son propre lexique dans le développement de l'intrigue, mais on s'amuse à noter que des blocs comme "Vie splendide de Zavadovski" sont proposés sous forme de clichés prêts à l'emploi pour un roman mondain français, comme par anticipation, en avance sur la traduction du roman en français. Les codes s'entrechoquent et l'auteur bilingue se plaît à écouter l'effet qui en résulte.

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51. Le plan du roman "Русский Пелам" [Pélame russe]. Transcription: "[Histoire de Fiodor Orlov. Un élégant, un Zavadovski, mauvais sujet, des maîtresses, des dettes. Il tombe amoureux d'une pauvre jeune fille, part avec elle; les premières années opulentes, devient pauvre, cherche des distractions chez ses premières maîtresses, devient escroc et duelliste. Se transforme en bandit, tue Chtchepotchkine; se suicide (ou disparaît). L'histoire de Pelymov. Il fait la connaissance de F. Orlov dans la mauvaise société, l'aide à enlever la jeune fille, refuse de jouer à un jeu truqué, le seconde dans un duel. Il apprend de lui le meurtre de Chtchepotchkine, devient l'exécuteur testamentaire de F. Orlov.]." Voir Пушкин 1960.

Pelham est un aristocrate qui évolue à la fois dans la haute société londonienne et dans ses bas-fonds, bordels et autres établissements douteux. Pouchkine se passionne pour ce type de personnages qui portent en soi une collision des codes: Iakoubovitch est un officier russe fréquentant les stations thermales caucasiennes le jour et la nuit un Tcherkesse. Doubrovskiï est le français Déforge le jour et brigand-protecteur du peuple la nuit. Dans l'intrigue pouchkinienne les codes se heurtent (celui de la vie mondaine opposé à celui du brigand), entraînant le face-à-face de styles opposés et permettant leur coexistence au sein du texte: le noble et l'ordonné d'un côté, la bouffonnerie carnavalesque de l'autre.[52]

L'incrustation 'Pelham' superpose un *codeswitching* russe-anglais et le codage d'un personnage en tant que type antithétique. Du côté de l'auteur, la tension créative est ainsi assurée avec l'apparition de ce personnage-type anglais qui à son tour assurera la tension narrative, apportera de la couleur à l'intrigue, puisque lui-même est doté d'une identité double ("gentilhomme-voyou").

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Tous les plans dont il a été question ("Les invités arrivaient à la datcha . . .", "Sur les eaux du Caucase", et "Pelham russe"), particulièrement riches en alternance codique intra- et inter-phrastique, ne cessent de nous montrer les entrechocs de codes dont les systèmes respectifs (culturels, idéologiques, spirituels) sont porteurs d'espaces sémiotiques distincts. Globalement, on discerne deux pôles: l'un, représenté largement par le français, source pour Pouchkine la plus fiable (mais aussi par d'autres langues européennes), synonyme d'ordre et l'autre, représenté par le russe, synonyme de liberté de la création — les deux étant complémentaires de même qu'on a besoin de deux jambes pour marcher.

La spécificité du genre (le roman mondain) explique la structure du projet, sa grille matricielle: les expressions idiomatiques françaises ("les eaux", "l'entrée dans le monde", "scène de jalousie"), les archétypes

52. David Bethea (1993, 99) dans un article sur ce qu'il appelle la "confrontation dialogique", a rappelé les trois tensions idéologiques dominantes dégagées par Valéri Brussov chez Pouchkine: volonté collective contre volonté individuelle, paganisme contre christianisme, et rébellion contre despotisme. L'auteur ajoute que les générations suivantes de lecteurs ont eu tendance à résoudre ces tensions en mettant l'accent sur l'un ou l'autre des membres des paires opposées.

(Pelham, "l'homme du monde"), sur lesquelles viennent se greffer les réalités russes. Les personnages connus de l'auteur (le décembriste Iakoubovitch, Mme Alexandra Rimskiï-Korsakov . . .), les scènes vécues ("à la datcha du comte L"), la toponymie (le Caucase) complètent le jeu, apportant avec elles leur propre logique et induisant le développement de l'intrigue. En conséquence, les archétypes français ou anglais sont refondus à la manière russe ("Pelham russe"), et un roman mondain d'un nouveau type est conçu.[53] Les hybridations bilingues ("soirées ~~dans~~ в калмыцкой кибитке", "исторический рассказ de la séduction") permettent de voir les points de 'soudure' interlinguistiques. Les deux codes fusionnent et catalysent l'intrigue. Le ricochet d'un code à l'autre favorise son accélération. Parfois, un dessin vient insuffler une tonalité davantage émotionnelle, un "glissement de contexte"[54] plus personnel.

Dans son analyse pré-sémiotique de *La Fille du capitaine*, Lotman montre le caractère évolutif, flexible du code de Pouchkine: ses personnages se recodent facilement.[55] Le code, système de normes morales et culturelles, répond aux exigences de la situation sans se détacher de son fondement. Tel est le cas, selon Lotman, de la figure de Grinev, dans *La Fille du capitaine*: les deux codes idéologiques se heurtent dans le conte kalmouke; ils se heurtent lorsque Grinev rencontre Pougatchev. De la collision romantique des codes, Grinev sort plus fort, plus expérimenté. Pougatchev aussi, après avoir sauvé la vie de Grinev, vit un changement qualitatif à travers cette rencontre. Lotman met en évidence une structure idéologique duelle: d'un côté la noblesse et les fonctionnaires qui parlent le français; de l'autre les gens du peuple, qui parlent un russe dont la sonorité et les couleurs sont

53. Pouchkine cherche à s'éloigner du roman mondain français mais aussi russe: E. Gladkova a montré que les romans russes du même genre de Begichev, Bulgarin, Bestuzhev-Marlinsky (Odoevsky étant l'exception) ne satisfaisaient pas Pouchkine du fait de leur simplicité excessive.

54. Лотман 1995, 78.

55. Sur "le principe du recodage multiple des systèmes" voir Лотман 1995, 425; "Lensky construit son 'moi' sur le modèle de la personnalité de Hamlet et recode toute la situation dans les images du drame de Shakespeare" (Лотман 1995, 427), et, plus abondamment, "Dans le texte réaliste, le personnage codé de façon traditionnelle est placé dans un espace fondamentalement étranger et comme extra-littéraire ('un génie enchaîné à un bureau d'employé de bureau'). Il en résulte un déplacement des évènements de l'intrigue. La perception que le protagoniste a de lui-même entre en contradiction avec les contextes qui l'entourent mais qui sont pourtant considérés comme adéquats à la réalité". (Лотман 1995, 456).

si chères à Pouchkine. La noblesse et l'intelligentsia francophones de son époque ont cessé de s'identifier à la langue russe. La collision des deux codes aura permis à Pouchkine de faire du russe une langue "mondiale" et ainsi d'affirmer l'appartenance de la Russie et de sa langue à l'Europe, à la littérature mondiale et à l'esprit des Lumières.

Ainsi, quand l'entrechoc des codes ne nourrit pas la guerre, il nourrit un dialogue culturel. La même année où Alexandre Pouchkine, séduit par l'archétype du "gentilhomme-voyou" présent dans le roman *Pelham* de l'écrivain anglais Bulwer-Lytton, conçoit des romans mondains à la manière russe, Bulwer-Lytton, enchanté par le tableau du peintre russe Brioulov "Le dernier jour de Pompéi" (1833) exposé à Milan, écrit de son côté le roman *Les derniers jours de Pompéi* (1834).

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The Digitization of Post-World War II Italian Literary Journals

The State-of-the-Art

Elena Grazioli

Abstract

In recent years, the digitization of journals has gained ground as an important way of assessing the production of essays and literary writings within their original context of publication. Periodicals from the second half of the twentieth century, however, have attracted much less attention, despite their vast and diverse production as well as the presence of paramount contributors. Usually printed on cheap paper in very few copies, many of these journals can prove difficult to find and delicate to handle. This article aims to outline the state of the art of Italian literary journals digitized at present and available online, and to examine some fundamental databases in our research: RIDI (Riviste digitali e digitalizzate italiane. Un contributo per l'Emeroteca digitale nazionale), Gino Bianco's library (Emeroteca), CIRCE (Catalogo Informatico Riviste Culturali Europee), *and* Fondazione Mondadori's archives ("Tirature").

Negli ultimi anni, la digitalizzazione delle riviste ha guadagnato terreno come importante modalità di scansione della produzione di saggi e scritti letterari nel contesto originale della pubblicazione. I periodici della seconda metà del XX secolo, tuttavia, hanno ricevuto meno attenzione, nonostante la loro vasta e diversificata produzione e la presenza di autori fondamentali. Di solito stampate su carta economica in pochissime copie, molte di queste riviste possono rivelarsi difficili da trovare e delicate da maneggiare. Questo articolo si propone di delineare uno stato dell'arte in merito alle riviste letterarie italiane effettivamente digitalizzate e disponibili online, e di esaminare alcuni database fondamentali nella nostra ricerca: RIDI (Riviste Digitali e digitalizzate Italiane. Un contributo per l'Emeroteca digitale Nazionale), l'Emeroteca della biblioteca Gino Bianco, CIRCE (Catalogo Informatico Riviste Culturali Europee), *e* "Tirature" Archivi–Fondazione Mondadori.

I. Post-World War II Italian literary journals: the databases

Today, the digitization of post-World War II journals is a critical issue facing the scientific community. The urgency of the situation is underscored by several factors: first, in some cases the journals' paper is

literally starting to deteriorate, leaving the physical artifacts vulnerable in the most fundamental of ways; second, libraries often do not own whole series of journals, thus hindering the potential for serious scholarly research on the journals in their collections; and third, the recent recognition of the fundamental role of journals in clarifying how certain historical and anthropological phenomena have influenced our literary history has underscored the need to prioritize their preservation. We are at risk of losing a substantial part of our cultural heritage, both from a material point of view as well as regarding our historical memory.[1] For these reasons, once we have established the extent of what is available online, we will focus on one key example of a periodical's digitization within our examined timespan, 1948–1968, showing the difficulties inevitably encountered and the possibilities for offsetting them.

The database census of Italian periodicals available online, produced a few years ago in the Library of Philosophy and History of the University of Pisa,[2] includes approximately forty different platforms. Among these platforms is the Digital Newspaper Library (*Emeroteca digitale italiana;* see Fig. 1, below),[3] realized by the Italian Ministry of Culture in collaboration with the Central Institute for the Single Catalogue of Italian Libraries and Bibliographical Information (ICCU), and providing bibliographical descriptions, front-pages, and locations of more than 3,000 periodicals that can be queried alphabetically, by discipline, by date, and by region (an international equivalent can be found in the British newspaper Archive).[4]

In order to approach an examination of digitized Italian journals, we begin by reviewing the databases most essential to our research: RIDI (Riviste digitali e digitalizzate italiane. Un contributo per l'Emeroteca digitale nazionale),[5] Gino Bianco's Emeroteca,[6] CIRCE (Catalogo Informatico Riviste Culturali Europee),[7] and Fondazione Mondadori's archives ("Tirature").[8] We first describe them to see what exactly they contain and to gain a better understanding of how to use them effectively for our research.

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1. See Sutton and Livingstone 2018.
2. https://filosofiastoria.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/emeroteche-on-line.pdf
3. https://www.internetculturale.it/it/913/emeroteca-digitale-italiana
4. https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results?accesstype=free%20to%20view
5. https://giuliopalanga.com/catalog/ridi-riviste-italiane-digitali-e-digitalizzate/
6. https://www.bibliotecaginobianco.it
7. https://r.unitn.it/it/lett/circe
8. https://www.fondazionemondadori.it/tirature/

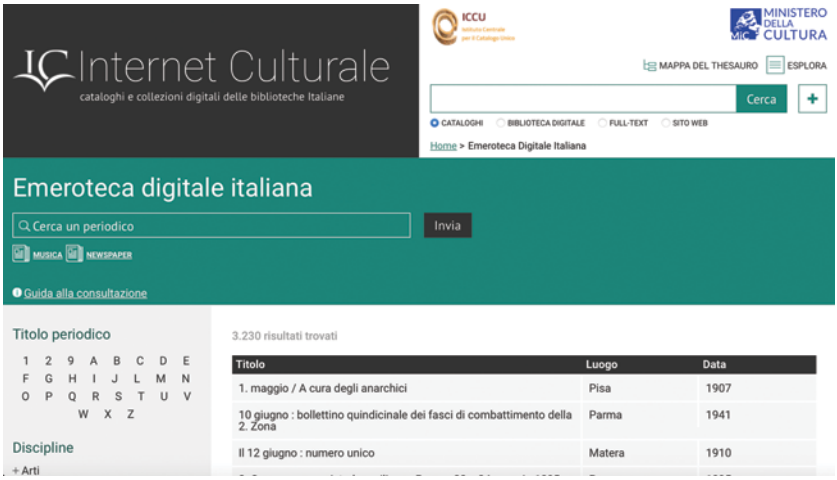


Figure 1. The Digital Newspaper Library.

The result of a timely investigation started in December 2019, RIDI is an online bibliographical hub where it is possible to find open access journals and digitizations of publications originally distributed in print.[9] This bibliographical repertoire is closely linked with the portal of the aforementioned Digital Newspaper Library and with the National Central Library of Rome (see Fig. 2, below).[10]

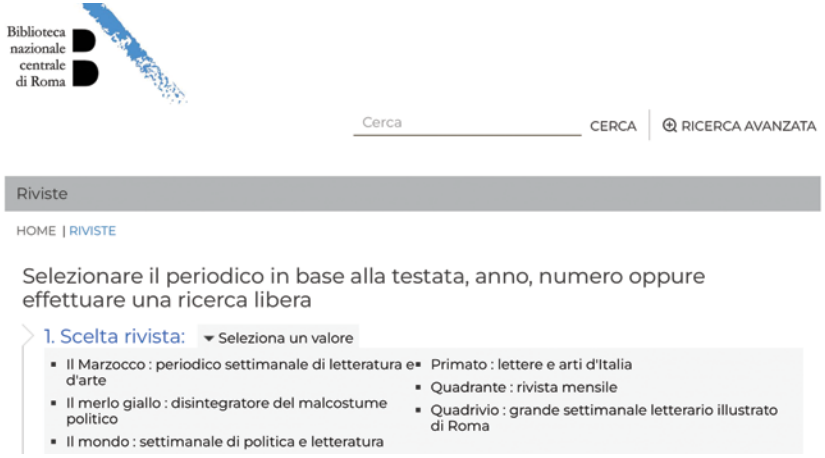


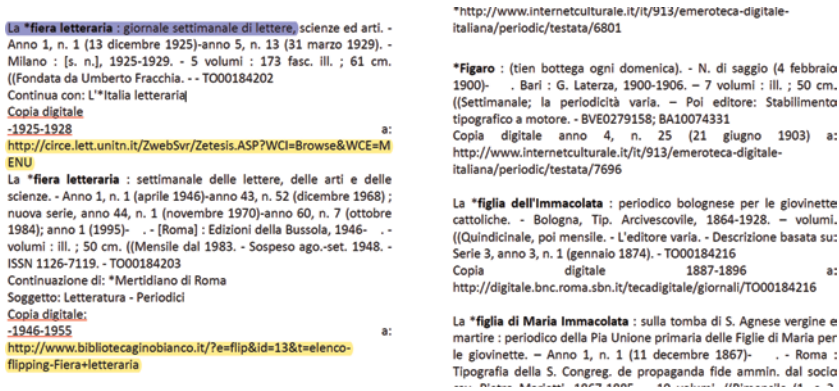
Figure 2. The National Central Library of Rome.

9. See Palanga–D'Orsogna 2022, 143–52.
10. http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/riviste

The Digital Newspaper Library (*Emeroteca digitale italiana*), as of 30 April 2021, hosts the bibliographical data of 12,362 Italian newspapers not included in the OPAC research outputs.[11] The National Central Library of Rome website offers seven journals in total (see below), but only one — "Il Mondo" — is a literary periodical related to World War II. "Il Mondo", moreover, is a weekly publication and therefore more attributable to the category of newspapers than of journals, which are published at least monthly and present a very precise graphic layout, without character limits as occurs with newspapers.

1. Il Marzocco: periodico settimanale di letteratura e d'arte
2. Il Merlo giallo: disintegratore del malcostume politico
3. Il Mondo: settimanale di politica e letteratura
4. L'uomo qualunque
5. Primato: lettere e arti d'Italia
6. Quadrante: rivista mensile
7. Quadrivio: grande settimanale letterario illustrato di Roma

When we consult the RIDI catalogue, in PDF format, all our findings are of relevant literary journals (e.g., "L'Approdo", "Nuovi Argomenti", "Il Verri", "Officina", etc.). In this case, the landing page offers a brief bibliographic description for each result, followed by a link to the online resource where the journal can be accessed (see Fig. 3, below). Among these resources are Gino Bianco and CIRCE.


La ***fiera letteraria** : giornale settimanale di lettere, scienze ed arti. - Anno 1, n. 1 (13 dicembre 1925)-anno 5, n. 13 (31 marzo 1929). - Milano : [s. n.], 1925-1929. - 5 volumi : 173 fasc. ill. ; 61 cm. ((Fondata da Umberto Fracchia. - - TO00184202
Continua con: L'*Italia letteraria
Copia digitale
-1925-1928 a:
http://circe.lett.unitn.it/ZwebSvr/Zetesis.ASP?WCI=Browse&WCE=MENU
La ***fiera letteraria** : settimanale delle lettere, delle arti e delle scienze. - Anno 1, n. 1 (aprile 1946)-anno 43, n. 52 (dicembre 1968) ; nuova serie, anno 44, n. 1 (novembre 1970)-anno 60, n. 7 (ottobre 1984); anno 1 (1995)- . - [Roma] : Edizioni della Bussola, 1946- . - volumi : ill. ; 50 cm. ((Mensile dal 1983. - Sospeso ago.-set. 1948. - ISSN 1126-7119. - TO00184203
Continuazione di: *Mertidiano di Roma
Soggetto: Letteratura - Periodici
Copia digitale:
-1946-1955 a:
http://www.bibliotecaginobianco.it/?e=flip&id=13&t=elenco-flipping-Fiera+letteraria

*http://www.internetculturale.it/it/913/emeroteca-digitale-italiana/periodic/testata/6801

***Figaro** : (tien bottega ogni domenica). - N. di saggio (4 febbraio 1900)- . Bari : G. Laterza, 1900-1906. – 7 volumi : ill. ; 50 cm. ((Settimanale; la periodicità varia. – Poi editore: Stabilimento tipografico a motore. - BVE0279158; BA10074331
Copia digitale anno 4, n. 25 (21 giugno 1903) a: http://www.internetculturale.it/it/913/emeroteca-digitale-italiana/periodic/testata/7696

La ***figlia dell'Immacolata** : periodico bolognese per le giovinette cattoliche. - Bologna, Tip. Arcivescovile, 1864-1928. – volumi. ((Quindicinale, poi mensile. - L'editore varia. - Descrizione basata su: Serie 3, anno 3, n. 1 (gennaio 1874). - TO00184216
Copia digitale 1887-1896 a:
http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/giornali/TO00184216

La ***figlia di Maria Immacolata** : sulla tomba di S. Agnese vergine e martire : periodico della Pia Unione primaria delle Figlie di Maria per le giovinette. – Anno 1, n. 1 (11 decembre 1867)- . - Roma : Tipografia della S. Congreg. de propaganda fide ammin. dal socio

Figure 3. RIDI's PDF catalogue.

11. It is important to note that not all of the works included in this collection are literary journals.

We start with describing Gino Bianco's digital library (see Fig. 4, below) because, compared to CIRCE, it comprises a smaller corpus.

Figure 4. Gino Bianco library's homepage.

Inside the library website is a section that houses the *Emeroteca*, a space dedicated to the Italian journals that have been digitized. The journals are divided into two groups, those that have been completely digitized and those that have been partially digitized:

Table 1. The table shows the Italian literary journals contained in the Gino Bianco database, from the beginning of the twentieth century to 1990.

Digitalizzazione completa	Digitalizzazione parziale o collezioni lacunose
1. Rivista critica del socialismo – 1899 2. Il socialismo – 1902-1904 3. La Voce – 1908-1915 [online fino al 27 giugno 1910] 4. L'Unità – 1911-1920 5. Noi Giovani – 1917 6. Pensiero e Volontà – 1924-1926 7. Pègaso – 1929-1933 8. La Critique Sociale – 1931-1934 9. Uomo: quaderno di letteratura – 1943-1945 10. Mercurio – 1944-1948 11. La nuova Europa – 1944-1946 12. Politics – 1944-1949) 13. Lo Stato Moderno – 1944-1949 14. Nuova Repubblica – 1953-1957 15. Tempo Presente – 1956-1968 [online fino al 1960; in aggiornamento] 16. Quaderni rossi – 1961-1965 17. Quaderni Piacentini – 1962-1984 18. Quindici – 1967-1969	1. Entretiens politiques et littéraires – 1890-1893 [42 numeri posseduti su 57 totali] 2. Critica sociale [56 annate possedute su 66: 1891-1974] 3. La Nuova Commedia Umana – 1908 [34 numeri posseduti su 36 totali] 4. La Critica Politica [10 annate possedute su 12, 4 numeri mancanti: 1923-1926; 1945-1950] 5. Il Quarto Stato – 1926 [17 numeri posseduti su 30 totali] 6. Studi Sociali — 1930-1946 [1 numero mancante] 7. Giustizia e Libertà — 1934-1940 [193 numeri posseduti] 8. Aretusa – 1944-1946) [14 numeri posseduti su 15 totali] 9. Nuovi Quaderni di Giustizia e Libertà – 1944-1945 [6 numeri su 9 totali] 10. Rinascita — 1944-1991) [6 numeri mancanti] 11. L'Acropoli – 1945-1946 [manca num. speciale del 1947] 12. Fiera Letteraria [23 annate complete possedute su 30: 1946-1968; 1971-1977] 13. Volontà

Looking at the above table (see Table 1), it is possible to infer a number of facts: for the most part, these are more political than literary journals, and only a limited corpus concerns post-World War II journals. In the first group, among the journals whose digitization is complete, we have "Tempo Presente", focused on politics, art, and literature — online only until 1960 — and "Quindici", by Gruppo '63; in the second group, whose digitization

or paper reference are still incomplete, we find "Fiera letteraria", a weekly magazine dedicated to literature. In selecting the most relevant case, "Tempo presente", directed by Nicola Chiaromonte and Ignazio Silone, we find a list of the issues, divided by years and numbers (see Fig. 5, below).

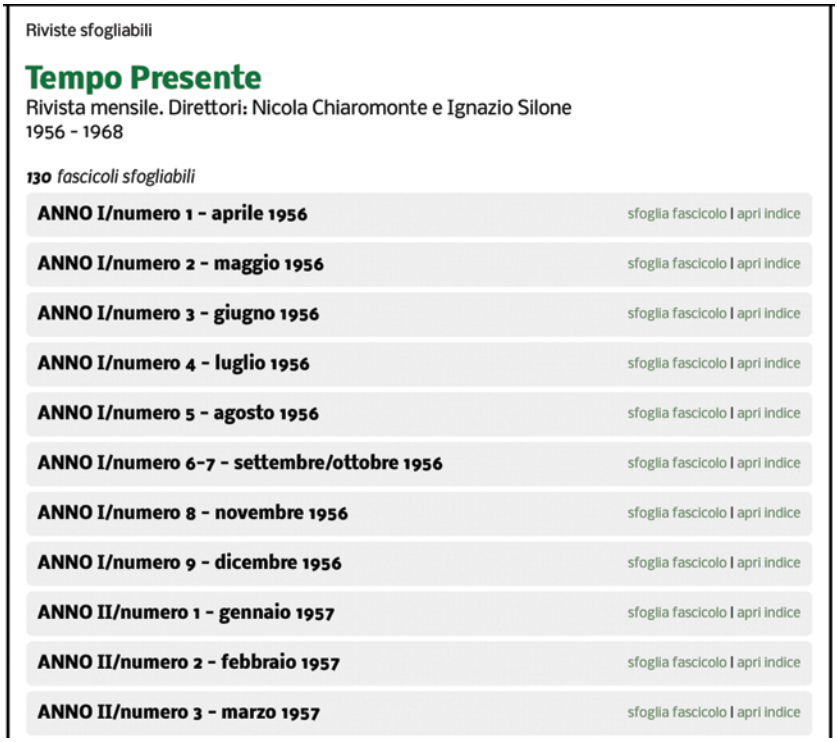


Figure 5. "Tempo presente"'s leafable issues.

Now we can choose an issue and view it in full, or we can consult the index. Here, however, there is only a first degree of digitization, as the pages of the issue — scrolling one after the other as if we were holding the paper version of the journal — are available for visualization only. In the second grade of digitization, it is possible to copy and paste the text and to directly perform research using keywords.

The CIRCE Case: Realization and Limits

We now turn to CIRCE (see Fig. 6, below). Promoted by the University of Trento and directed by Professor Carla Gubert, CIRCE documents the digital preservation and diffusion of literary journals that have had particular

importance in Italian and European twentieth-century cultural history. It promotes the conservation and accessibility of periodicals in a digital format and allows scholars to easily identify authors, texts, and translators through its indexes. The site currently hosts almost 100 journals, mainly Italian but also of other national origins, from the late nineteenth century through the twentieth century. The journals range from very well-known periodicals such as "La Voce", "La Ronda", and "Solaria", to lesser-known publications, which are still important for the reconstruction of the last century's cultural and literary history. Each title is accompanied by critical notes, such as introductory essays, as well as general and specific bibliographies (see Fig. 7, below).[12] To date it is certainly the best resource available regarding the preservation of Italian journals of the twentieth century.

Figure 6. CIRCE's homepage.

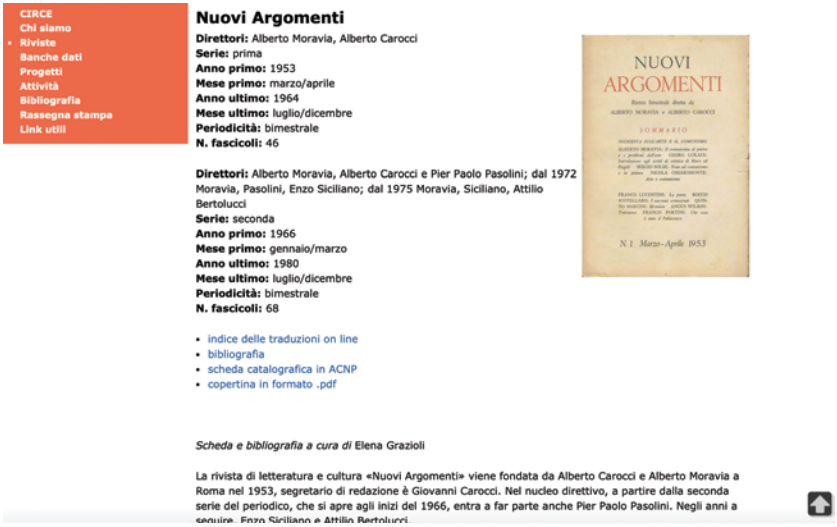


Figure 7. "Nuovi Argomenti"'s critical note.

12. For an in-depth description of CIRCE, see Gubert 2014, 374–89.

In examining CIRCE, we focused specifically on the digitized journals it includes and on those which are missing. Since CIRCE is a database that contains only literary journals, we limited the scope of our investigation by proceeding as follows:

- We did not consider foreign journals;
- We excluded journals before the twentieth century and after 1980 because of their distance from our chronological area of interest;
- We excluded journals that are not bonafide literary journals (e.g. "L'Almanacco dei poeti" is structured as a simple anthology);
- We divided the remaining selection based on the historical rift created by World War II.

Table 2. The table shows the Italian twentieth-century's literary journals contained in the CIRCE database, from the beginning of the century to the Second World War.

Before end WWI	Between WWI and WWII		During WWII
1. Leonardo – 1903-1907 2. Hermes – 1904-1906 3. Il Rinascimento – 1905-1906 4. Poesia – 1905-1909 5. Il Rinnovamento – 1907-1909 6. Psiche – 1907-1914 7. La Voce – 1908-1916 8. L'Anima - 1911 9. L'Eroica – 1911- 1944 10. La Lirica – 1912-1913 11. Quartiere latino – 1913-1914 12. La Torre – 1913-1914 13. Lacerba – 1913-1915 14. La Balza futurista – 1915 15. Vela Latina – 1915-1916 16. La Diana – 1915-1917 17. La Brigata – 1916-1918 18. Noi – 1917-1925	1. Dinamo – 1919 2. La Ronda – 1919-1922 3. Almanacco della donna italiana – 1920-1943 4. Primo tempo – 1922-1923 5. Il Contemporaneo – 1924 6. Galleria – 1924 7. Lo Spettatore italiano – 1924 8. Il Baretti – 1924-1928 9. Il Selvaggio – 1924-1943 10. La Fiera letteraria – 1925-1928 11. Novecento – 1926-1929 12. Solaria – 1926-1934 13. La Libra 1928-1930 14. Petaso – 1929-1933 15. Il Frontespizio – 1929-1940	16. Fronte – 1931 17. L'Orto – 1931-1939 18. Futurismo – 1932-1934 19. Occidente – 1932-1935 20. Dinamo futurista – 1933 21. Sant'Elia – 1933-1934 22. Pan – 1933-1935 23. La Riforma letteraria – 1936-1939 24. Almanacco dei Visacci – 1937-1940 25. Letteratura – 1937-1947 26. Campo di Marte – 1938-1939 27. Corrente – 1938-1940 28. La rinascita – 1938-1944 29. Prospettive – 1939-1952	1. Incontro – 1940 2. Beltempo – 1940-1941 3. Maestrale – 1940-1943 4. Primato – 1940-1943 5. Argomenti – 1941-1943 6. Aretusa - 1944-1946 7. La Settimana – 1944-1946 8. Mercurio – 1944-1948

The results for the first half of the twentieth century are as follows (see Table 2, above): 18 journals founded before the end of World War I, 29 founded between the World Wars, and 8 founded during World War II**.** Much smaller is the aggregate that we find after World War I, within our timespan of interest, and, in particular, when we narrow down the field to journals published after World War II (see Table 3, below).

Table 3. The table shows the Italian twentieth-century's literary journals contained in the CIRCE database from the end of the Second World War to the end of the 1970s.

post-WWII	50-60's	70's
1. Risorgimento – 1945 2. Prosa – 1945-1946 3. Costume – 1945-1946 4. Il Mondo – 1945-1946 5. Sud – 1945-1947 6. Il Politecnico – 1945-1947 7. Poesia – 1945-1948	1. Botteghe oscure – 1948-1960 2. L'Approdo – 1952-1954 3. Nuovi Argomenti – 1953-1964 / 1966-1980 4. Il Caffè – 1953-1988 5. La Chimera – 1954-1955 6. Officina – 1955-1959 7. Il Verri (I serie) - 1956-1961 8. Palatina – 1957-1966 9. Quartiere – 1958-1960 10. Il Menabò – 1959-1967 11. Le Ragioni narrative – 1960-1961 12. L'Europa letteraria – 1960-1965 13. Questo e altro – 1962-1964	1. Tam Tam – 1972-1991 2. Altri termini – 1972-1991 3. Niebo – 1977-1980 4. Prato Pagano – 1979-1980

CIRCE cites the most important and well-known journals, except for "Paragone letteratura", which is not on their list. Looking at this table (see Table 4, below), even at first glance, we can single out two phenomena: first, the period after World War II has received limited critical attention, as the smaller journals haven't been included, and in quantitative terms their number is much smaller than the number recorded in the previous table; furthermore, although CIRCE hosts a descriptive and bibliographic card for each of them, which is fundamental for navigating the vast panorama proposed, most of the 13 post-World War II journals are only available in an "online index" and do not include the "read the journal" option, which is limited to "L'Approdo" and "Le Ragioni narrative".

Table 4. The table shows the Italian twentieth-century's literary journals contained in the CIRCE database, divided according to whether or not they are readable online in their entirety.

Online index	Read the journal
1. Botteghe oscure – 1948-1960 2. Nuovi Argomenti – 1953-1964 / 1966-1980 3. Il Caffè – 1953-1988 4. La Chimera – 1954-1955 5. Officina – 1955-1959 6. Il Verri (I serie) – 1956-1961 7. Palatina – 1957-1966 8. Quartiere – 1958-1960 9. Il Menabò – 1959-1967 10. L'Europa letteraria – 1960-1965 11. Questo e altro – 1962-1964	1. L'Approdo – 1952-1954 2. Le Ragioni narrative – 1960-1961

Upon examination, in fact, we realize that only two of the thirteen journals proposed have been digitized. Among other things, we note that this is a first-degree digitization (in image format): viewers can read the pages online, but there is no application of OCR and therefore no potential for text searching.

Before drawing further conclusions, we turn to an examination of the other catalog that we have mentioned: as noted earlier, RIDI is a PDF catalog connected to the digital newspaper library. In searching the PDF employing keywords such as "literary journal" or "literature journal", we find only thirteen results (see Table 5, below).

Table 5. The table shows the Italian twentieth-century's literary journals returned by the search "literary journal" within the RIDI catalog, then divided on the basis of the watershed of the Second World War.

Before WWII	**post-WWII**
1. La Favilla: rivista di letteratura e di educazione –1869-1948 2. La Vita artistica: rivista letteraria, teatrale, artistica, mondana – 1898-1923 3. La Critica: rivista di letteratura, storia e filosofia – 1903-1944 4. Puglia giovane: rivista letteraria – 1908 5. Novella: rivista letteraria – 1919-1944 6. Il Convegno: rivista di letteratura e di tutte le arti – 1920-1940 7. **Primo tempo – 1922-1923 - CIRCE** 8. **Lo Spettatore italiano: rivista letteraria dell'Italia nuova – 1924 - CIRCE** 9. Rivista letteraria: periodico bimestrale di letteratura italiana – 1929-1938 10. Quaderni di poesia – 1930-1939 11. Ansedonia e poi Lettere d'oggi – 1938-1941	1. **Il Verri – 1956-1989 - CIRCE** 2. **Questo e altro: rivista di letteratura – 1962-1964 - trimestrale - CIRCE**

The latter results refer to the following titles that we divided in two large blocks, i.e. pre-and-post World War II, which we consider a simpler criterion compared to CIRCE's. Only four of the titles refer to CIRCE, and only two of them — "Il Verri" and "Questo e altro" — fall within the time frame we are interested in. However, as noted above, none of these journals are actually available or searchable on CIRCE. We therefore carried out a cross-check in order to directly search for the occurrences of CIRCE in the RIDI's PDF (we could have also proceeded by researching the titles of the journals), as the keyword "literary journal" did not produce any of the expected results. Among the results returned, we also find the two journals available online ("L'Approdo" and "Le Ragioni narrative"). It would certainly be necessary for a catalogue like RIDI's to apply the category of "literary journal" to the titles of all these journals, so that a non-specialist user would be able to find what they are looking for without necessarily having to check the context. As for CIRCE, recently equipped with a new research platform presented by Carla Gubert during a round table dedicated to ongoing journal-related projects, it is clearly one of the best implemented and well-structured platforms.[13] Nevertheless, the persistent

13. The roundtable was held on the occasion of the "Nuovi Argomenti" Conference in Pisa, 26–28 October 2022.

problem remains the actual incompleteness of results: for the most part, only indexes are available, and it is not possible to read the journal online. Moreover, while we could all work to implement the platform, copyright issues still present an impasse.

First and Second Stage Digitization

It is clearly necessary to carry out a more careful examination of post-World War II journals so as to include journals that are minor but significant from the point of view of their contributions to literary studies. Moreover, it seems clear that among the most important journals of the post-war period, those fully digitized and searchable online are few and far between. Before assessing precisely what it is currently possible to access, we will review the treatment of "L'Approdo", the only case of successful digitization to date.[14] In this case, the archive is divided into three chronological arcs: 1952–1961, 1962–1971, and 1972–1977; each of these temporal arcs is further divided by years, with attached photos of the cover of each journal represented. By selecting the year that interests us, a subdivision appears allowing us to select the issue we intend to view, at which point we find links to all the titles of the articles, associated with their authors (see Fig. 8, below). Each article is presented as a black and white PDF. While OCR is not available in these cases, even simple digitization is useful for researchers.

Figure 8. List of 1952 digitized articles.

14. http://www.approdoletterario.teche.rai.it/

This solitary case of a post-World War II periodical digitization reveals a larger problem: a massive digitization campaign of literary journals is necessary. It can begin with the simple aim of making the journals available at the first level of digitization so scholars can first and foremost read them. While copyright issues will remain significant, technological issues are more easily addressed: today we have very efficient labs with scanners that don't damage the material support during the scanning process.

Before concluding, it is worth mentioning the website containing the archive of the journal "Tirature",[15] edited by three teachers of contemporary Italian literature — Giovanna Rosa, Luca Clerici, and Stefano Ghidinelli (University of Milan) — in collaboration the Mondadori Foundation: it represents, in my opinion, a model of ideal realization and accessibility for the user, so much so that it could provide an excellent model for future projects concerning the digitization of literary journals (see Fig. 9, below). Although "Tirature" pertains to recent years (1998–2020), well beyond the chronological limits that have been our focus, it seems appropriate to show how the archive has been made available to scholars. We can search for authors and titles, for keywords and sections, while also cross-referencing search criteria; a short guide explaining how to best use the archive is also available.

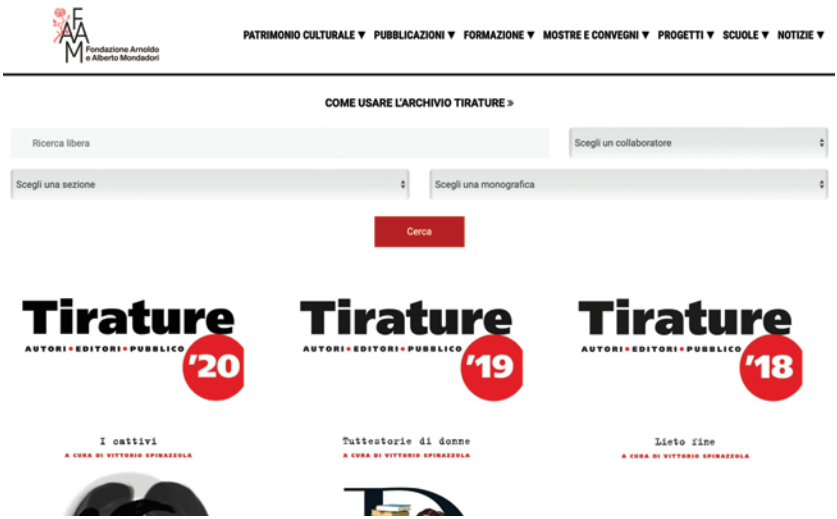


Figure 9. Archivio Tirature's homepage.

15. https://www.fondazionemondadori.it/tirature/

In addition, as can be seen from the following image (see Fig. 10, below), the work on the issues encompasses a second-degree digitization: in addition to display the issues in their entirety, the text of each article can be copied, printed, and downloaded in PDF and shared via social networks.


Torna all'archivio

Torna al sommario

GLI EDITORIALI DI VITTORIO SPINAZZOLA

Chi festeggia il lieto fine

TIRATURE > TIRATURE '18. LIETO FINE > GLI EDITORIALI DI VITTORIO ... > CHI FESTEGGIA IL LIETO ...

Chi festeggia il lieto fine

di Vittorio Spinazzola

Crea PDF

Il lieto fine viene generalmente considerato segno di una narrativa dedicata a fruitori librari di piccolo rango, ma una struttura romanzesca che approdi alla gratificazione dei valori letterari ed extraletterari più positivamente acconsentiti può avere il rispetto dei lettori più esigenti: si pensi alle vicende di Renzo e Lucia, al caso esemplare di Pinocchio, o al sorprendente finale della Romana. *La presenza del lieto fine concerne essenzialmente la prosa della narratività moderna, fino al paradosso del romanzo poliziesco, in cui non è l'eroe dell'opera, il malfattore, a trovare un esito positivo, ma chi lo ha consegnato alla giustizia.*

Il signor Bonaventura, personaggio mitico del «Corriere dei Piccoli», concludeva sempre le sue avventurette in rima parisillabica, alle prese con il bieco Barbariccia, faccia e anima gialliccia, intascando vittoriosamente la regalia di un milione netto. Insieme,

[...]

tipologie secondo cui sono stati plasmati dall'autore. Resta però la prospezione della novità epocale portata dalla civiltà cittadinesca, che ha ingenerato una figura professionale specializzata nel perseguire la soluzione più sagace delle vicende di malaffare più problematiche e controverse. Naturalmente la sicurezza del buon esito della caccia al delinquente, nell'ambito della finzione narrativa, incrementa il fervore concesso negli episodi di caccia poliziesca. Ma nel rapporto tra difficoltà dell'inseguimento e serenità della conclusione sta la chiave di volta delle vicende d'avventura nella socialità del XXII secolo: con una differenza forte tuttavia. Che identifica pienamente la peculiarità statutaria del lieto fine poliziottesco: esso non riguarda l'eroe dell'azione avventurosa, che è il malfattore, ma chi lo ha consegnato alla giustizia, ossia lo ha vinto.

Condividi su

Figure 10. Example of second-degree digitization on an editorial by Vittorio Spinazzola.

The archive's functional design maximizes the potential for research.

In conclusion, we should try to approach the project before us as a series of barriers that need to be dismantled in order to help this immense cultural heritage survive the so-called digital transition, and to keep feeding the larger cultural debate in the near and distant future. The first barrier concerns the actual availability of journals in digital format. In fact, only a small number of journals is available through an online digital index, and an even smaller number is fully digitized; of these, only a tiny fraction has achieved second-level digitization, which would make the text searchable by text strings and keywords. The second barrier concerns the issue of copyright acquisition, which is still in force for most journals of this period. The third barrier concerns the lack of interoperability among the tools we have, each of which represents a metaphoric online island, since it is often coded according to non-standard criteria. The fourth and final barrier involves the obsolescence of the tools we have, due to the continual evolution of technologies related to digital humanities.

With respect to the initial barriers, as a first step we will have to conduct a new, up-to-date census of digitized and non-digitized resources, followed by both digitization campaigns with high-definition scanners and copyright acquisition campaigns, to be completed before the decay of the paper medium causes the texts to become unreadable. Finally, it will be necessary to rethink the system of data integration and publication so as to make it FAIR: Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, and Reusable.[16] As for the last issue, institutions and structures capable of ensuring the long-term sustainability of this project will need to be identified to avoid obsolescence. Before we can move in this direction, we must keep in mind the five Guidelines of the National Plan for the Digitization of Cultural Heritage,[17] which provide models and suggest useful procedures to address the organizational and methodological challenges posed by the implementation of the processes identified in the Strategies section.

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16. For FAIR see: https://www.go-fair.org/fair-principles/
17. https://digitallibrary.cultura.gov.it/linee-guida/. These guidelines define approaches and procedures, as well as providing information and non-prescriptive references, illustrating the main methodological and technical references, with their bibliographical support. Each document accompanying the PND deepens a specific aspect of digitization practices and will be subject to periodic checks to ensure that it is up-to-date with developments in legislation, methods, standards, and technological progress. The guidelines are addressed to staff in cultural institutions involved in digital transformation processes, who are provided with a multi-level operational framework, which can assist in both decision-making and strategic practices, in both the planning and execution of operations.

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Le "Making of" de *Eichmann in Jerusalem* et quelques foyers de sa réception

Michelle-Irène Brudny

Abstract

Thanks to the Arendt/Hannah Arendt Papers (LC) collection, it is possible to discern the geological strata and to grasp the palimpsest of Eichmann's text in Jerusalem in the precision of its transformations, which are not trivial. The materials available for analysis include the following: 1. The articles from The New Yorker *(1963); 2. The first draft of the work (1963); 3. The final draft of the first edition (1963); 4. The corrections for the British edition (Faber and Faber 1963); 5. The answer to Samuel Grafton's questions, which was not published (1963); 6. The interview with Thilo Koch at the beginning of 1964; 7. The German translation revised by the author (1964); 8. The interview with Günter Gaus (1964); and 9. The American edition revised and expanded (1965). To this inventory we can also add the distortions of the citations of the text itself in American and European critiques.*

Grâce au fonds Arendt/Hannah Arendt Papers (LC), il est possible de discerner en grande partie les strates géologiques, de saisir le palimpseste du texte de Eichmann à Jérusalem *dans la précision de ses transformations qui ne sont pas anodines. On dénombre en effet au moins: 1. Les articles du* New Yorker *1963. 2. La première esquisse du livre 1963. 3. La copie finale de cette première édition 1963. 4. Les corrections pour l'édition britannique Faber and Faber 1963. 5. La réponse aux questions de Samuel Grafton qui n'est pas parue 1963. 6. L'entretien avec Thilo Koch début 1964. 7. La traduction allemande revue par l'auteur 1964. 8. L'entretien avec Günter Gaus 1964. 9. L'édition américaine revue et augmentée 1965. On pourrait ajouter à ce bref inventaire les déformations des citations du texte lui-même dans les critiques américaines et européennes.*

Une première esquisse de ce travail a été présentée au colloque international de Paris en juin 2011, pour le 50e anniversaire du procès Eichmann. La question était "Comment Arendt a-t-elle travaillé ?". Une version augmentée figure dans les actes du colloque (Lindeperg et Wieviorka 2016). Le présent article constitue une version nouvelle, à partir d'éléments des Arendt Papers devenus consultables depuis lors et avec des illustrations (LC). Sur la controverse plus spécifiquement (1963–2016), voir Brudny 2016b.

Le *EICHMANN BOOK* (1963) est d'une autre nature que le reste des textes de Hannah Arendt, mixtes *sui generis* ou rédactions souvent aphoristiques. Il est entièrement composite et constitue une sorte de palimpseste. Sa réception, internationale, a donné lieu à des records dans le registre du paradoxe et du contresens. Pour n'en retenir qu'un, d'emblée, qui a aussi été l'un des motifs du colloque international de Paris en 2011 — "Le procès Eichmann: réceptions, médiations, postérités" — la vision qu'Arendt a donnée d'Eichmann et de son procès a longtemps prévalu dans la réception, alors qu'elle avait été contestée presque de toutes parts lors de la parution de l'ouvrage. De manière plus générale, ce qui avait tant fait scandale est devenu, au terme d'un certain nombre de transformations, simple doxa. Or on a tendance, aujourd'hui, à perdre de vue ce renversement complet de perspective.

Il s'agit, pour simplifier, de rechercher dans quelle mesure la nature du texte tient aux sources utilisées par l'auteur, aux conditions de préparation, d'écriture, puis de publication — liées, les unes et les autres, à la chronologie personnelle d'Arendt qui ne coïncide qu'en partie avec celle du procès[1] — voire, de façon plus générale, à sa manière de travailler: "J'en suis à la moitié d'Eichmann et passablement désespérée parce que je n'arrive pas à faire aussi bref que je le voulais [. . .] je vais devoir rédiger une seconde version (ce que d'ordinaire je déteste mais que je ne peux éviter en raison des trop nombreux documents)." Après un temps, cependant, elle prend plaisir à manier "les faits et les choses concrètes" (2009, 218).[2] La nature particulière du texte tient aussi à l'intrication des objectifs de l'auteur, qui sont loin d'être tous explicites, et dont il faudrait de surcroît distinguer minutieusement préjugés et projections.

En parallèle, les recherches présentées ont été effectuées à différents moments de l'accès au fonds Arendt comme de la réception de l'auteur, notamment en France, avec le retard dû à la prégnance du marxisme: 1978–1980, 1986–1991, 2001–2006, 2011–2016, 2019–2021. Elles ont souvent été précisées et modifiées par l'accès à de nouveaux éléments, devenus consultables sur place puis en ligne, à partir de certaines dates, pour des raisons de copyright, notamment, et de remaniement du fonds: Library of Congress (Manuscript Division) à Washington, D.C., Hannah Arendt Center à la New School for Social Research, NYC, et la bibliothèque d'Arendt à Bard College avant la création du nouveau centre. Ces deux éléments — évolution du fonds, de la consultation

1. Nous donnerons au début de la deuxième partie l'emploi du temps détaillé d'Arendt.
2. Arendt et McCarthy 2009, 218. Bien que succinct, un des rares commentaires d'Arendt pendant la rédaction.

et nouveautés dans la réception — n'ont pas manqué, par une ironie involontaire, de faire ressembler la présentation de cette enquête, elle aussi, à un palimpseste, avec des strates, des biffures et des corrections signalées.

Les sources

Arendt a tenu à déposer très à l'avance, à la bibliothèque du Congrès, ses dossiers relatifs au procès, à l'exception des différentes rédactions de son propre texte: "elle a éprouvé le besoin de vider son appartement de tout cela".[3] Ces cartons représentent le 1/7e de ses archives, numérisées depuis 2000 et accessibles désormais en ligne. Cet ensemble est irremplaçable pour savoir comment Arendt a travaillé, préparé et écrit son texte, et pour comparer les sources qu'elle a utilisées à celles dont elle fait état.

Les voici selon l'ordre où elle les énumère dans son Post-scriptum, c'est-à-dire le dernier chapitre avant l'Épilogue, ajouté lors de la seconde édition de *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1965), pour répondre à la véhémente controverse:[4]

- le dactylogramme de l'interrogatoire d'Eichmann par la police;
- les documents soumis au tribunal par l'accusation, ainsi qu'une documentation juridique spécialisée préparée par l'accusation, *Legal Material*, de 44 pages, sorte de *digest*;
- les seize dépositions des témoins présentés par la défense;
- un dactylogramme de 70 pages de la main d'Eichmann, rédigé en Argentine, qui n'a pas été transmis à la presse, porte la mention "*incomplete*" de la main d'Arendt et a pour titre résumé: "Meine Feststellungen zur Angelegenheit 'Judenfragen und Massnahmen der nat soz. Deutschen Reichsregierung zur Lösung dieses Komplexes in den Jahren 1933 bis 1945'" [Mes observations "en matière de questions juives et les mesures prises pour les résoudre par le gouvernement nat soz (*sic*) du Reich allemand de 1933 à 1945."][5]

3. Entretien avec Lotte Köhler, première exécutrice littéraire d'Hannah Arendt avec Mary McCarthy, le 1er juin 1999 à New York. C'est Lotte Köhler qui, à la mort d'Arendt, s'est occupée du dépôt des archives, Mary McCarthy préparant, en partie à Paris, *The Life of the Mind* pour la publication.
4. Voir Arendt 2002, 1289–90. La seconde édition américaine traduite ici bénéficie du travail effectué par Arendt pour l'édition allemande. Voir Works Cited.
5. "Adolf Eichmann File", 43–54. Pour les "Observations", il s'agit de 65 pages dactylographiées selon la longueur, la largeur, voire les deux (54). Pour le détail et le sort des écrits d'Eichmann, voir, désormais, les recherches systématiques de B. Stangneth 2014.

Ces documents, excepté le mémoire d'Eichmann, ont été remis aux journalistes.

Arendt considère que les procès-verbaux des audiences qu'elle possède en anglais et en allemand sont des sources "non autorisées" puisque c'est la version en hébreu qui fait foi. Il est intéressant de noter, au passage, que sa collection de transcriptions en allemand, ne commence réellement qu'avec la session 75 (20 juin 1961), ce qui correspond au début de la dernière audience à laquelle elle a assisté. Elle souligne dans la documentation juridique reçue les notions suivantes: complot ou plan concerté, participant au complot, agent, preuves, "ordres illégaux" ou encore "courroie de transmission".[6] Elle relève: l'obéissance aux ordres ne saurait constituer une défense, parce que "si l'on poussait la logique de ce raisonnement à l'extrême, tout le monde dans l'État nazi pourrait être acquitté, à l'exception de Hitler et, éventuellement, Himmler" (18). L'auteur s'efforce visiblement d'assimiler toutes les notions liées à celle de plan concerté, retient que "les déclarations d'un des participants sont recevables contre tous les autres même s'ils n'étaient pas présents" (4), que "chacun de ceux qui participent à un complot est considéré comme un agent des autres" (5a). Ou encore elle fait un sort, dans un développement central sur la complexité du traitement judiciaire de l'obéissance aux ordres, à une citation de Hans Kelsen, rencontré lors d'un semestre d'enseignement à Berkeley en 1955 — seul collègue du département de Science politique à n'être pas une "âme morte". La phrase est tirée de *Peace Through Law* (1944, 107), et figure dans une longue note: "l'idée de justice n'incite certainement pas à poursuivre des individus qui commettent des crimes de guerre en réponse à un ordre de leurs supérieurs."[7]

Mais ce qui frappe le plus Arendt dans cette partie de la documentation, ce n'est pas que "la constitution" de l'État d'Israël interdise d'obéir à des ordres qui sont "manifestement illégaux", avec la mention du fameux "drapeau noir" qui flotte au-dessus d'un tel ordre depuis le jugement de K'far Qassem en 1958, c'est le critère de "la personne raisonnable" qu'il revient à un tribunal militaire d'établir: "ce n'est pas du point de vue de l'accusé, qui est hautement personnel, que le caractère illégal de l'ordre donné doit être clair. Ce n'est pas aux yeux de l'accusé, mais à ceux d'un 'soldat raisonnable' qui serait à la place de l'accusé." *This is fantastic*, s'exclame en marge l'auteur incrédule mais ravie par cette fiction, avec un triple soulignement, rare chez elle.[8]

6. LC, Legal Material, 48, 18, 4, 5a et 15.
7. Oppenheim 1952, 568, n8, repris dans LC, Legal Material, 28.
8. Legal Material, 31–31a. Dans ce jugement de la Haute Cour militaire, *constitution* est entre guillemets et avec une minuscule. Car l'État d'Israël n'a

C'est à partir de ces exemples de jugements de tribunaux militaires qu'Arendt travaille, et elle citera dans sa bibliographie des classiques dont elle a sans doute découvert certains mais qui avaient servi au procès de Nuremberg, comme Lassa F. L. Oppenheim et Hersch Lauterpacht, *International Law: A Treatise* (7e édition, 1952) ou bien le grand constitutionnaliste britannique Albert Venn Dicey, *Introduction to the Law of the Constitution* (9th edition, 1939). Ce recueil résume en effet une partie des ressources de droit international, militaire et constitutionnel mobilisées ou produites par le procès de Nuremberg et dont elle avait apparemment peu notion.[9]

Avant d'aborder les autres sources, il faut rappeler les remarques formulées par Arendt dans le Post-scriptum, qui entend répondre à de nombreuses critiques et mises en cause, remarques qui touchent la méthodologie des sources. "Les difficultés que rencontre l'auteur du compte rendu[10] d'un procès sont très comparables à celles de la rédaction d'une monographie historique. Dans les deux cas, la nature du travail exige de distinguer par principe entre sources primaires et sources secondaires. Pour traiter le sujet spécifique — en ce cas le procès lui-même — on ne doit utiliser que les sources primaires, alors qu'on fait appel aux sources secondaires pour tout ce qui concerne le contexte historique."[11]

Les autres sources d'Arendt sont des articles de presse, en anglais, allemand et français, qui vont de 1958 à 1964 et qu'elle n'a pas systématiquement

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pas de Constitution au sens strict mais des lois fondamentales. Cette situation remonte à la Déclaration d'Indépendance qui prévoyait l'élection d'une Assemblée constituante qui devint la première Knesset. Or des désaccords politiques importants sur la nature du nouvel État ont alors empêché que soit adoptée une Constitution. En 1951 s'ensuit la décision de compromis Harari: "La Constitution sera composée de chapitres distincts, chacun formant une loi fondamentale." Cette Knesset a cessé ses fonctions avant de produire une Constitution et a décidé de transférer cette compétence à l'assemblée qui lui fait suite. Or c'est ce transfert qui a fait l'objet de multiples discussions juridiques. Le statut normatif des lois fondamentales n'est pas encore tranché, un certain nombre de droits fondamentaux pas encore garantis. Voir Navot 2007.

9. Arendt souligne dans les procès-verbaux des audiences, en anglais ou en allemand selon le cas, de nombreux passages qui ont trait aux ordres ou à la culpabilité.
10. Acception 2 c (1) de l'anglais *report* dans le grand dictionnaire unilingue américain Webster.
11. Quarto, 1291. Penguin, 282. C'est nous qui traduisons car la version française n'a pas été révisée ici.

dépouillés. Elle ne les a pas inclus dans sa bibliographie parce que cela aurait "demandé un travail trop considérable", mais "leur niveau était souvent très supérieur à la façon prétentieuse dont le sujet [le procès] a été traité dans les livres et les revues."[12] S'y ajoutent également des articles plus importants qu'elle a lus avant le procès comme celui de Telford Taylor, procureur à Nuremberg: "Large Questions in Eichmann Case" du *New York Times Magazine* (LC, 47). Pendant le procès, le célèbre psychiatre Karl A. Menninger lui envoie un article de Hans Zeisel paru dans la *Saturday Review*, "Who are the Guilty?", en lui précisant que c'est la meilleure analyse du procès qu'il ait vue avant que celui-ci ne commence et qu'elle "s'y retrouvera" sans doute. "Ce crime [le génocide des Juifs] a été si grand qu'il n'a pu avoir lieu sans que nous n'ayons tous été impliqués, non en y prenant part, mais en gardant le silence, en l'encourageant directement ou en regardant ailleurs."[13]

Enfin, les ouvrages qu'elle cite explicitement sont *The Final Solution* de Gerald Reitlinger et *La Destruction des Juifs d'Europe* de Raul Hilberg. Elle précise que le second a été publié après le procès mais, dans sa biographie d'Eichmann, David Cesarani indique "à la veille du procès" (2010, 432). Cet ouvrage constitue selon Arendt "l'analyse la plus exhaustive et la plus documentée de la politique juive du IIIe Reich". Or de sa part précisément cette appréciation peut surprendre au premier abord. Car il est notoire, au moins depuis la parution de *The Politics of Memory*, l'autobiographie intellectuelle de Hilberg (1996), qu'Arendt avait conseillé en 1959 aux presses de Princeton de ne pas publier l'*opus magnum* de l'historien parce que "sur le plan des faits, Reitlinger, Poliakov et Adler avaient épuisé le sujet" (Hilberg 1996, 149). D'où, pour le lecteur, un double étonnement: onze renvois massifs à Hilberg dans l'ensemble d'*Eichmann à Jérusalem*, comme à l'ouvrage de référence sur la question, bien présenté comme tel. Mais discordance entre l'importance donnée par Arendt à l'ouvrage de Hilberg ("l'analyse la plus exhaustive") et la rareté des renvois explicites au livre en note. Avec sa lecture très précise des archives, Bettina Stangneth a trouvé l'explication. Lors de l'impression de la première édition, curieusement,

12. Quarto, 1290. Précisons que si l'on sait comment Arendt avait prévu, avant le procès, de se faire communiquer la presse internationale en répartissant la tâche entre Blücher, Jaspers et Blumenfeld, on sait moins ce qu'il en a été réellement car les archives ne l'indiquent pas. Jusqu'au retour d'Arendt et à son domicile, Lotte Köhler classait le courrier en trois piles: favorable, défavorable et neutre (entretien du 1er juin 1999).
13. Dossier 6 des "Notes by Arendt and background documents, 1942–1962", 52. Désormais consultable en ligne.

personne n'a prêté attention au système de références abrégé d'Arendt, c'est-à-dire au numéro de page (dans Hilberg) dactylographié dans la marge de gauche qui suit l'abréviation Hilb.[14] Une négligence vraiment surprenante et lourde de conséquences. Cela ne vaut d'ailleurs pas pour le seul Hilberg. Figurent également en marge du dactylogramme ("Corrected final draft", 63) des références aux écrits d'Eichmann et à certains ouvrages de la bibliographie d'Arendt, par exemple JU pour l'article de Bernard Klein "The Judenrat". Le déséquilibre s'accroît avec les citations presque aussi nombreuses de l'ouvrage d'un journaliste, Robert Pendorf: *Mörder und Ermordete*. En outre, certains passages que l'auteur en a tiré et cités avec les guillemets d'usage et entre parenthèses ne sont plus distingués, dans la réception, où ils demeurent souvent comme s'ils étaient de la plume même d'Arendt, sans doute parce qu'ils concernent les conseils juifs et sont très critiques.

Pour ses ajouts bibliographiques à la seconde édition du *Eichmann*, elle déclare précisément s'être contentée de cet ouvrage de Pendorf, de celui de Joachim Fest, *Das Gesicht des Dritten Reiches*, et de *Strafsache 40/61* de Harry Mulisch en traduction allemande. "Mulisch est presque le seul auteur, sur le sujet, qui se soit préoccupé de l'accusé comme d'un individu" [et non comme du type ou d'un spécimen de l'homme totalitaire, veut dire Arendt, soupçonnée de s'être livrée à une telle "projection"] "et ses impressions sur des questions essentielles recoupent les miennes."[15] Sur ces trois livres, deux sont présentés comme des comptes rendus.

Il convient de mentionner un autre élément, même s'il ne s'agit pas d'une source. C'est l'épigraphe en tête du livre, l'un des éléments du paratexte:

> *Ô Allemagne*
> *On rit en entendant les discours qui résonnent dans ta maison* [. . .]

Elle est de Bertolt Brecht. Et si Arendt ne connaissait pas, à l'époque, la remarque de l'auteur au sujet de *La Résistible Ascension d'Arturo Ui* — "il faut écraser les grands criminels politiques; et les écraser sous le ridicule" (Errera 1973, 149) — il ne fait pas de doute que Brecht a été l'une de ses grandes inspirations pour le caractère grotesque du personnage, ce clown[16] qu'elle a "vu" pendant la première partie du procès.

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14. Conversation avec Bettina Stangneth, janvier 2012.
15. Arendt 2002, 1290.
16. Arendt 2002, 1070 notamment.

La question des notes prises par Arendt à Jérusalem

Il faut d'abord rappeler l'emploi du temps de l'auteur, sa chronologie personnelle qui, malgré des ajustements, limités, n'est pas celle du procès. Elle arrive en Israël le 9 avril 1961, l'avant-veille de l'ouverture du procès. Elle y séjourne jusqu'au 6 mai. Le 7, elle part pour se rendre chez Jaspers à Bâle, comme elle l'annonce à l'avance dans sa correspondance et le confirme dans une lettre à son mari la veille, le 6 (Brudny 2016a). Elle retournera en Israël uniquement du 17 au 23 juin, repartant vers la Suisse via Athènes pour bénéficier le plus possible de la matinée du 23 (HA/KJ 1995, 594). C'est en effet le 24 juin que Blücher, son mari, doit la rejoindre à Zurich pour faire, après tant d'années, la connaissance des Jaspers. Ces deux visites donnent lieu à trois confusions de la part de Cesarani: "Bien qu'elle se fût installée en Israël bien avant le début du procès, elle repartit à la fin du mois de mai afin de rejoindre son mari en Suisse. Elle retourna ensuite à Jérusalem pour une brève période entre le 10 et le 24 juin" (2010, 438). Or Arendt est arrivée l'avant-veille de l'ouverture du procès, elle ne repart pas à la fin mais au début du mois de mai, et elle ne reste que quelques jours à partir du 17 juin. Le pointilleux Hilberg, lui, se montre prudent: "À en croire sa correspondance avec Jaspers publiée par la suite, elle quitta Jérusalem au bout de dix semaines, juste trois jours *avant* le début du long témoignage d'Eichmann proprement dit."[17] En outre, elle n'était pas toujours présente au tribunal même pendant son séjour: "Pour le moment je suis du matin au soir au tribunal, écrit-elle le 15 avril à son mari, mais j'espère quand même que ce ne sera plus nécessaire la semaine prochaine." Du reste, "je n'y comprends encore rien mais j'ai le sentiment que cela va percoler [. . .] en moi" (HA/HB 1999, 475–76). Pourquoi toutes ces précisions? L'enjeu, et tout d'abord pour les historiens, est évidemment ici de connaître les dates exactes, la durée et les moments précis de la présence d'Arendt au procès pour savoir au moins quel Eichmann elle a pu observer et a effectivement observé. Car Gabriel Bach, procureur général adjoint, souligne qu'il y en avait plusieurs. Or, au cours de ces rares journées de juin, elle a vu Eichmann répondre "à des questions bienveillantes" de la Cour et parler "de manière parfaitement bureaucratique, sans détails inutiles, en expliquant le cours de sa carrière et la façon dont son bureau fonctionnait" (Cesarani 2010, 480).[18] Elle n'a jamais eu l'expérience directe

17. Hilberg 1996, 141. Mais les "dix semaines" ne sont pas d'un seul tenant et se réduisent en fait à cinq. Hilberg inclut aussi en partie le témoignage d'Eichmann.
18. C'est nous qui traduisons.

du responsable nazi qui répondait avec véhémence au procureur Hausner durant son contre-interrogatoire comme s'il retrouvait le feu de l'action.[19] Cette séquence est postérieure à son départ définitif de Jérusalem. C'est, à notre connaissance, Cesarani, biographe d'Eichmann, qui est à l'origine de cette lecture nouvelle. Celle-ci a connu un certain succès sans doute parce qu'elle évitait de chercher à comprendre au fond ce qu'Arendt visait par son équivoque "banalité du mal". Pour résumer, l'importance objective de ces audiences ne saurait être niée, mais ce qui paraît si décisif aux historiens du début du XXIe siècle n'est pas thématisé chez l'auteur, d'où leur impression d'une "impasse" d'Arendt, notamment sur la virulence extrême d'Eichmann. On ne trouve pas non plus trace de ces questions dans ses commentaires ou correspondances ultérieurs. Au demeurant, l'auteur, partagée entre d'autres priorités, n'a pu suivre la réception immédiate du procès.

Le problème, plus généralement, n'est pas anodin. Établir une causalité simple, c'est-à-dire affirmer que "être témoin d'un phénomène conduit nécessairement à penser celui-ci" peut être tentant ici. D'autant que cela présente l'avantage non négligeable, insistons-y, d'esquiver la question décisive de la nature du mal. Est-on alors face à une sorte de clé d'interprétation hyperbolique qui permet de surmonter en partie une banalité du mal demeurant aporétique? Car le mal, peu après, deviendra sans transition "toujours extrême". Dans la polémique avec Scholem, il demeurera l'opposé du "mal radical", mais sans être davantage défini: "venons-en à la seule question où vous m'ayez comprise et où je suis heureuse que vous ayez touché le point capital. Vous avez tout à fait raison: j'ai changé d'avis et je ne parle plus de 'mal radical' [. . .]. À l'heure actuelle, mon avis est que le mal n'est jamais 'radical', qu'il est seulement extrême et qu'il ne possède ni profondeur ni dimension démoniaque."[20] Radical était censé provenir de Kant avec l'absence de "profondeur". Et "extrême" n'est pas défini ni même annoncé. On ne peut donc pas affirmer avec rigueur qu'Arendt a trouvé chez Kant le mal radical et qu'elle l'a emprunté en toute connaissance de cause pour son propre usage dans les *Origines du totalitarisme*. On peut seulement dire, selon Arendt, que le mal radical

19. Voir, sur la personnalité d'Eichmann, Stangneth 2014. Mais les soulignements d'Arendt sont rares dans le procès-verbal en allemand de la 90e audience (J, KI et LI), et absents en anglais.

20. Arendt et Scholem, 2012, 432. La qualification de "banal" sera analysée plus en détail dans la dernière partie. Le terme de "slogan" (*Schlagwort*) avait été retenu par Bernard Dupuy pour la première traduction partielle de cet échange dans *Fidélité et Utopie* (1978, 221). Dans la traduction complète: "formule" remplace "slogan" et adoucit — pour quelle raison? — la qualification.

est "apparu dans un système où les hommes [. . .] sont devenus superflus" (Arendt 2002, 808). Or les exégètes de l'auteur affirment simplement, sans explication, qu'elle est passée, entre 1950 et 1963, du mal radical à la banalité du mal. Ils opèrent de ce fait comme si le mal radical chez Kant était bien connu, comme si l'emprunt d'Arendt était fidèle, "exact", sans qu'il soit indispensable d'aller voir ce qu'il en est. C'est-à-dire aussi comme si le sens de chacun des deux termes, radical et banalité, était clair. Pour le dire autrement, "la banalité du mal" a fait couler l'encre que l'on sait mais "le mal radical" n'est pas non plus le point de départ transparent et univoque qu'il semblait. Le nœud de l'affaire est qu'Arendt s'était livrée à une interprétation erronée du mal radical, et Jaspers le lui avait tout de suite objecté avec un humour cryptique: "Tu as prononcé maintenant les mots décisifs contre le 'mal radical', contre la gnose! Tu es du côté de Kant qui dit: l'homme ne peut pas être un diable, et moi je suis avec toi. Dommage que l'expression de 'mal radical' vienne de Kant avec un sens tout différent que même Goethe et Schiller n'ont pas compris" (ha/kj 1995, 700). Selon Stangneth, Kant a utilisé pour la première fois le syntagme "mal radical" pour clarifier les différences entre les diverses sortes de mal. Le mal est radical lorsqu'il s'agit d'un jugement anthropologique, d'un jugement sur la nature humaine dans son ensemble. D'ailleurs, "depuis que nous ne croyons plus aux diables [. . .], nous écrivons toujours *stricto sensu* le mal avec une minuscule". Kant distingue entre:

- un acte mauvais
- un individu mauvais, c'est-à-dire mauvais comme qualification individuelle
- la nature ou l'espèce humaine mauvaise

(Stangneth 2019, 101).

Difficile de présenter des distinctions plus claires. Le "mal radical" ne peut pas, si l'on suit strictement Kant, s'appliquer à des exécuteurs individuels. Et ce qui attire l'attention d'Arendt sur la formule, c'est le sentiment, l'idée que la boîte à outils conceptuelle de la tradition philosophique ne puisse suffire à la tâche de rendre compte de l'assassinat systématique. Il convient d'ajouter que les distinctions sont effectuées en n'utilisant pas le substantif "mal" mais l'adjectif "mauvais", comme le prescrivait Spinoza parce que l'entité n'a de sens qu'en rapport avec une théologie.

Et pour revenir à l'échange de correspondance avec Scholem, Arendt ne voit pas la gravité de la critique de son ami, sur ce point notamment. Elle fait un contresens sur "slogan": l'historien objecte que la banalité du

mal sonne comme un slogan, et elle ne comprend pas puisque "personne n'a utilisé cette formulation avant" elle. Enfin, pour changer de niveau, la thèse stylisée de Cesarani est: "il faut voir pour penser car seule la vision ou la pratique concrète peuvent dissiper ou vaincre ce qui n'est qu'une préconception." On croirait presque à une explication par la superstructure . . . Enfin, pareille optique a un dernier effet, non négligeable: philosophes politiques et historiens ne peuvent plus réellement converger en raison de la grande différence entre les deux options herméneutiques. Plus simplement, pour les historiens la banalité du mal équivaut à obéir aux ordres et s'en tenir là. Alors que pour les philosophes, elle est l'absence de pensée, mais aussi l'impossibilité de se mettre à la place de l'autre ou encore agir sans intention mauvaise.

Les épais dossiers "Adolf Eichmann" du fonds Arendt renferment de petits blocs lignés à l'américaine avec spirale horizontale et des carnets plus grands, lignés eux aussi, avec des indications sur des points ou des notions de droit international qui correspondent au début du procès. L'auteur ne semble pas avoir pris de notes au cours des audiences elles-mêmes. Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas dans sa manière. Elle commence vraisemblablement à consigner des points importants dans l'avion Lod-Bâle le 7 mai 1961 ou après son arrivée à Bâle puisqu'elle écrit sur un petit bloc de papier par avion griffé SWISSAIR en filigrane. Ce sont des notes bien lisibles, couchées au calme et qui ponctuent sa relecture de l'acte d'accusation. Sous le titre "crimes contre le peuple juif ", elle écrit, en conformité avec ses rares annotations figurant sur l'acte: "seulement pour l'extermination et pour l'émigration". Pour "crimes contre l'humanité", elle souligne que "ce n'est jamais clair: apparemment les expropriations ou bien?".[21] Et cette remarque ironique: "la personne qui lit l'acte d'accusation voit forcément en Eichmann un surhomme." A la première page du bloc, Arendt note la classification: "Trois sortes de crimes: a) contre les Juifs; b) contre l'humanité; c) les crimes de guerre". Elle commente: "il s'agit à chaque fois des mêmes délits ou presque." Et ajoute: "non seulement trois éléments ont été confondus (crimes contre la paix = préparation de la guerre, crimes de guerre = exécution des prisonniers, crimes contre l'humanité = extermination ou réduction en esclavage), et ce dernier n'est reconnu que s'il est partie intégrante de la guerre — ce, pour des raisons évidentes, la Russie était une alliée!"[22]

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21. Voir dossier 4 des "Notes and background documents", 52/1.
22. *Ibid.*, 2. Nous traduisons ces notes en respectant bien sûr style télégraphique, interrogations et véritables phrases où Arendt poursuit, par exemple, des réflexions qui prolongent *Les Origines du totalitarisme*.

Les autres types de notes d'Arendt sont des listes de références pour la rédaction, des citations, des passages que l'auteur est allée rechercher en partant de la documentation distribuée au procès. En tout cas, elle n'a pas mis en œuvre, dans sa rédaction, la profession de foi méthodologique du Post-scriptum et elle ne distingue pas entre ce qui serait tiré de sa présence au procès (documents mis à sa disposition inclus) et ce qui relève de sa propre élaboration.[23] Elle ne distingue pas non plus les audiences où elle était présente de celles dont elle a pris connaissance sur un mode indirect, par des récits ou en lisant dans les procès-verbaux, le contre-interrogatoire ou, auparavant, des dépositions, comme celle, tout à fait singulière, de Ka-Tzetnik[24] dont elle ponctue la fin, en marge, de grands traits et points d'exclamation car cette évocation de "la planète Auschwitz" lui reste étrangère. La perspective d'ensemble de l'auteur manque de netteté. Et les éléments importants qu'elle a reçus de seconde main ne parviennent pas à modifier sa perception du personnage d'Eichmann. Mais savoir si l'expérience directe aurait eu raison de la représentation surdéterminée de cet "être falot", le "tâcheron besogneux de la solution finale" (Enegrèn 1984, 212) — notion, préconception ou projection — cette question demeure sans réponse assurée.

Étapes de la rédaction et strates du texte

Quand Arendt quitte Jérusalem, son programme pour les vacances et pour l'année universitaire qui vient n'est pas de rédiger son compte rendu. L'urgence est de travailler sur le manuscrit d'*On Revolution*, qui est loin d'être achevé. Des problèmes de santé viennent compliquer encore l'emploi du temps: Blücher a une rupture d'anévrisme et Arendt, un peu plus tard, un accident en traversant Central Park en taxi. Ainsi, c'est à l'automne 1962, plus d'un an après la fin des sessions du procès, qu'elle se consacre à Eichmann de façon suivie, mettant à profit son invitation à Wesleyan pour ce semestre.

23. Nous sommes redevable ici à Édith Fuchs qui a signalé ce point à notre attention et, plus généralement, pour nos échanges très précis au cours des années.
24. Ka-Tzetnik est le pseudonyme choisi par l'écrivain israélien Yehiel Dinur: c'est le nom que lui donnaient les gardes d'Auschwitz [KZ Konzentrations(lager), avec un suffixe russo-yiddish], suivi de son matricule. "Adolf Eichmann File", Minutes of Sessions, 68, folio B1.

Elle avait prévu de n'écrire pour le *New Yorker* qu'un seul article — un article-test, qui plus est. A la suite d'un texte célèbre, ce magazine s'est trouvé associé pour les Américains au style "kitsch haut de gamme"[25] et au commerce de luxe. Le test s'est transformé en cinq articles: les fameuses livraisons hebdomadaires du 16 février au 16 mars 1963. William Shawn, le rédacteur en chef, avait modifié, arrondi ou au contraire aiguisé certaines formulations avant publication dans le magazine,[26] mais pour la parution sous forme d'ouvrage, Arendt revient à son texte d'origine et aggrave elle-même, dès cette seconde rédaction en quelque sorte, certaines des critiques qu'elle avait formulées. De manière plus générale, les passages touchant le procès dans les correspondances avec Karl Jaspers (dès 1960), Mary McCarthy, Heinrich Blücher, et Kurt Blumenfeld constitueraient les foyers d'une première rédaction, souvent plus détaillée et plus vive, de certaines parties du futur livre. Entre les deux éditions américaines paraît la version allemande en 1964, qui est d'emblée augmentée. Une seconde édition de l'ouvrage américain, révisée et augmentée, est publiée en 1965. C'est elle qui constitue l'édition usuelle et de référence, dans l'original comme pour la version française.[27]

Cette version comporte un certain nombre de modifications qui sont pour la plupart des ajouts de fond, à l'exception d'une suppression célèbre: Leo Baeck n'y est plus qualifié de "Führer juif ", formule empruntée sans explication à l'un des "hommes d'Eichmann", Wisliceny, et citée par Hilberg (1988, 385).[28] Ces ajouts aggravent des critiques déjà présentes dans la première édition. Or, dans la Note au lecteur de cette seconde édition, l'auteur présente les corrections et la plupart des ajouts comme étant d'ordre technique. Pour n'en donner qu'un seul exemple, dans un passage bien connu du chapitre VII où Arendt parle des conseils juifs, elle ajoute

25. Depuis l'incisive définition qu'en a donné Clement Greenberg dans son article "Avant-Garde and Kitsch" de *Partisan Review* (1939).
26. Le magazine a donné libre accès à ses archives en ligne pour ses 90 ans d'existence.
27. La traduction française d'origine pour appuyer le lancement de la collection "Témoins" demeure une énigme: méconnaissance réelle de l'anglais, de l'histoire, confusions juridiques, etc.
28. Quarto, 1133. Cette correction ne semble pas figurer dans les feuillets de l'édition révisée que comporte le fonds, "Revisions to Faber and Faber edition of 1963", 65. Pour la première édition, voir "Corrected final draft", 63/100. En outre, il semble que certaines révisions aient été mieux ordonnées lors du remaniement du fonds en 2021. Voir l'analyse des ajouts les plus significatifs dans Brudny 2011c, 192–94.

entre parenthèses une citation de Robert Pendorf: "Il n'y a aucun doute: sans la coopération des victimes, ces quelques milliers de personnes dont la plupart travaillaient dans des bureaux, n'auraient jamais pu liquider des centaines de milliers d'autres personnes [. . .]."[29] C'est l'une des phrases les plus citées et elle est presque toujours attribuée à Arendt. Le deuxième ajout est une citation de Rudolf Kastner, issue de son rapport comme dirigeant du Comité d'aide et de secours. Il demeure le personnage controversé qui a traité avec les responsables nazis pour empêcher la déportation de Juifs hongrois: "Pour ne pas laisser le 'hasard aveugle' opérer la sélection, il fallait que des principes véritablement sacrés guident la faible main humaine qui inscrit sur le papier le nom d'un inconnu et décide ainsi de sa vie ou de sa mort" (Kastner). Et qui étaient ceux que l'on sauvait en vertu de ces "principes sacrés"? Ceux "qui, toute leur vie, avaient travaillé pour la *tsibour* (communauté)" — c'est-à-dire les fonctionnaires — et les "Juifs les plus éminents" (EJ 2002, 1133).

Sans compliquer l'analyse avec l'étude des divers brouillons en amont ou les compléments spécifiques apportés par l'auteur à l'édition allemande, par exemple, il apparaît que le texte est de nature évolutive. Nous avons déjà quatre strates: la première version d'Arendt, la version "éditée" par William Shawn pour le *New Yorker*, la première édition de l'ouvrage, puis sa version révisée et augmentée. Il conviendrait d'ajouter à l'intertexte les interventions d'Arendt entre les deux éditions du livre: la parution de l'échange avec Scholem dans la *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, en octobre 1963, l'article du *Listener* "Responsabilité personnelle et régime dictatorial" en août 1964, l'entretien avec Thilo Koch "Le cas Eichmann et les Allemands" (janvier 1964) et l'entretien avec Günter Gaus pour la ZDF en octobre de la même année: "Seule demeure la langue maternelle".[30] Ce dernier entretien a lieu à l'occasion de la parution de la traduction allemande. Ainsi, même avant que la controverse ne fasse subir des déformations au texte d'Arendt, et n'induise, par exemple, des confusions lourdes de conséquences entre sa position et celle du procureur Hausner — "assassin de bureau" et "pourquoi ne vous êtes-vous pas révoltés?" sont des formules uniquement du second —

29. Quarto, 1131–32.

30. Les versions françaises sont évidemment plus tardives: l'échange avec Scholem est traduit dans *Fidélité et Utopie* (1978) et l'ensemble de la correspondance conservée en 2012. L'article du *Listener* a été traduit par nous dans *Penser l'événement* (1989), l'entretien avec Koch dans *Ontologie et Politique* (1989), enfin celui avec Gaus, en volume dans *La Tradition cachée* (1987). Les traductions de ces deux entretiens figurent désormais dans Arendt 2011.

nous sommes en présence d'un texte qui semble être stabilisé de manière contingente et évoque nécessairement une sorte de palimpseste.

Statut du texte

La nature même de l'ouvrage requiert de s'interroger sur son statut. Cette question ne semble pas avoir été posée pour elle-même tant étaient nombreux les foyers de controverse qui ont pu faire écran. Arendt a-t-elle été tentée par un chiasme stylistique entre le terme relativement concret de l'anglais *report* et la formule extrêmement abstraite, sinon métaphysique, de "banalité du mal"? Comme nous avons davantage évoqué jusqu'ici le déroulement du procès, nous avons parlé de *compte rendu*. Mais il faut déployer à présent toute la palette connotative du français, qui répond aux acceptions distinguées dans l'entrée *report* du grand dictionnaire unilingue américain Webster. La première acception est celle de *récit*, qui se décline en *récit historique* et *chronique judiciaire*, et les deux sont présents dans *Eichmann à Jérusalem*. Ensuite figure celle de *rapport*, ce que cet ouvrage n'est finalement pas. Puis *reportage* qui pourrait être justifié en partie par la qualification de la rubrique du *New Yorker* "Reporter at Large", proche de grand reporter ou correspondant au procès. Mais la présence limitée de l'auteur à Jérusalem rend le terme de reportage moins fondé: il a au contraire induit longtemps en erreur et ajouté à la confusion. *Compte rendu* paraît le terme le plus approprié, même si la réserve formulée pour reportage vaut encore, en partie, dans ce cas. La concision de l'anglais fait merveille dans l'annonce d'Arendt au début de son Post-scriptum: "This book contains a *trial report* "/ "Ce livre présente le compte rendu d'un procès".[31] L'ouvrage constitue aussi, d'un point de vue objectif, un témoignage, même si telle n'était pas l'intention de l'auteur qui tenait surtout à *voir* "ces gens".[32] Définir *Eichmann à Jérusalem* comme une réflexion juridique — ce qui est plus fréquent qu'on ne l'imagine — ne correspondrait qu'à l'une des composantes de l'ouvrage et serait réducteur. Resterait le genre de la réflexion en philosophie morale. Arendt a, certes, souligné en marge de rares passages touchant la "morale" dans sa documentation juridique comme: "c'est un caractère transgressif visible pour chacun et qui fait se révolter le cœur dès lors que les yeux ne sont pas aveugles et que le cœur n'est pas endurci

31. Quarto, 1289. C'est nous qui traduisons.
32. Lettre d'Arendt du 20 décembre 1960 à la Fondation Rockefeller pour demander un report de sa bourse afin d'aller suivre le procès.

ou mauvais."[33] Mais la part réelle de la philosophie morale *stricto sensu* dans *Eichmann à Jérusalem* est finalement réduite. Et quand Susan Neiman affirme sans attendus, dans "Banality Reconsidered", qu'il s'agit d'"un des plus grands textes de philosophie morale du XXe siècle",[34] son énoncé est volontairement provocateur puisque le livre en esquisse seulement quelques linéaments.

Cet éventail des genres et des qualifications ne serait pas complet sans celui du pamphlet, littéraire ou non. Comme le souligne l'écrivain et critique littéraire Alfred Kazin qui avait procédé, avec Rose Feitelson, à l'*Englishing* de l'âpre manuscrit des *Origins of Totalitarianism*: avec son *Eichmann*, "Arendt avait atteint un niveau extraordinaire de performance en langue anglaise" (Kazin 1982). Or la linguistique possède un vocable irremplaçable pour désigner une occurrence unique: le *hapax*. Et *Eichmann à Jérusalem* est un hapax dans la catégorie des textes. On pourrait être tenté d'objecter, dans un premier mouvement, que toutes les œuvres d'Arendt constituent des hapax, en particulier, les *Origines du totalitarisme*, avec le mélange *sui generis* de sociologie, d'histoire et de philosophie politique par exemple, si souvent souligné depuis Raymond Aron (Aron 1954).[35] Mais *Eichmann à Jérusalem* va bien au-delà, et son caractère composite est d'une tout autre nature. Une lecture attentive du texte fait apparaître de réelles contradictions et des confusions, dans les deux cas sur la personne même d'Eichmann ou sur ses positions. Les mauvaises conditions de rédaction et de correction n'excluent pas la présence d'apories véritables. Il devient en conséquence difficile au philosophe comme à l'historien de reconstituer un canevas cohérent de l'argumentation d'Arendt dans son détail, même en se limitant à une partie de l'ouvrage. Cette difficulté qui n'est nulle part signalée n'est pas anodine et constitue une sorte de "test" de l'ouvrage.

La nature composite de l'objet, ses visées polymorphes, sa rédaction à la hâte qui a sans doute favorisé les confusions, n'ont naturellement pas manqué de donner lieu, dans la réception, à des déplacements et des

33. Legal Material, 31. C'est la célèbre formulation de Benjamin Halevi dans la décision de K'far Qassem. Sur cette question de la responsabilité dans un contexte militaire Arendt a aussi lu attentivement un chapitre de Schwinge, *Militär-Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (MStGB), Berlin, 1936, 113 et suivantes ("Notes and Background Documents", 6).

34. Communication présentée au colloque "Hannah Arendt at One Hundred: Crisis of Our Republics", Yale, septembre 2006, et reprise dans Benhabib 2010, ch. 15.

35. Dans la présentation de l'édition en poche de *Eichmann à Jérusalem* (1991), nous avions expliqué que ce texte n'était pas un "hapax" du point de vue de sa genèse dans l'œuvre entier puisque certaines contributions d'A*ufbau* le préparaient déjà.

déformations qui vont — phénomène remarquable — jusqu'au renversement complet de la vision arendtienne d'Eichmann. Et pour éclairer les effets de la nature de l'ouvrage sur sa réception, nous retiendrons ici trois topoi liés, le dernier touchant l'existence et l'itinéraire entièrement autonomes, depuis longtemps, de la banalité du mal (Stangneth 2019, 106).

L'obéissance aux ordres

La multiplication en France, au début du XXIe siècle, des références à l'obéissance aux ordres selon Milgram était de nature à alerter. Elle incitait à examiner de plus près cette célèbre expérience et ses conditions. En effet, même dans la littérature spécialisée, ses dates sont éminemment variables, et elle est présentée comme une corroboration d'*Eichmann à Jérusalem* alors que les phases essentielles de l'expérience sont antérieures à la parution des articles et du livre.[36] Au demeurant, fonctionnement en séquence, corroboration, convergence, les "lectures" varient et l'antériorité des travaux de l'un par rapport à l'autre varie tout autant, ce qui est pour le moins curieux.

Stanley Milgram "a placé le nom d'Eichmann dans le premier alinéa de son tout premier article sur l'obéissance", et c'est cette stratégie qu'il poursuivra. Selon Cesarani: il "connut la gloire principalement parce qu'il rattacha son travail au procès Eichmann et qu'on l'associa aux travaux d'Arendt, et non parce qu'il aurait entrepris d'expliquer le phénomène Eichmann. Il s'empara ainsi d'Eichmann et d'Arendt de manière plutôt opportuniste" (2010, 448).[37] Le problème du financement des laboratoires existait déjà à l'époque, même à Yale, et le psychologue, selon un de ses confrères, s'était avisé que "le moment [les Sixties] était bien choisi pour parler de l'obéissance aux ordres" (Parker, 2000, 115). On ne peut donc exciper d'*Eichmann à Jérusalem* comme d'une "corroboration indépendante" des travaux de Milgram. En revanche, à partir des années 1960, "une sorte de synergie entre ce que symbolise l'Eichmann arendtien et les sujets de Milgram se fait jour et on les fait intervenir aussi bien pour critiquer la guerre du Vietnam que les cigarettiers et, bien évidemment, pour réfléchir de manière rétrospective à la Shoa" (Novick 2000, 137).

36. Pour une présentation sérieuse des dix-huit variantes de l'expérience, voir Terestchenko 2005, 122.
37. C'est nous qui traduisons.

Et d'ailleurs, très tôt, le second se trouve instrumentalisé à son tour. On perd d'abord de vue la nature de l'autorité dont il voulait éprouver les effets. Et ce processus d'instrumentalisation semble atteindre des sommets de nos jours avec des expériences totalement controuvées qui visent à pointer le bourreau en chacun de nous et qui clament reproduire l'"expérience" de Milgram, présentée de surcroît comme la référence scientifique ultime en matière d'obéissance, d'assujettissement, de torture ou de n'importe quoi. Selon de Swaan, "la vulgarisation de la doxa Arendt-Milgram-Browning" allait "accoucher du grand cliché de notre époque: nous sommes tous des génocidaires en puissance, mais nous ne nous sommes jamais trouvés dans la situation susceptible d'actualiser cette potentialité" (de Swaan 2016, 53). Il en sera question avec un film, *le Spécialiste,* et une fiction, *les Bienveillantes*.

Les "hommes ordinaires"

Arendt dit parfois qu'Eichmann est "normal", plus souvent qu'il est "un être banal", mais elle ne le qualifie à aucun moment d'ordinaire.[38] Le passage de "banal" à "ordinaire" constitue déjà un premier glissement non thématisé. La situation change avec l'emploi du syntagme lié "les hommes ordinaires". Ceux de Christopher Browning ont d'ailleurs une généalogie plurielle. Ils remontent naturellement à Hilberg d'un côté, à Milgram de l'autre, mais aussi à Arendt. Browning ne traite pas de la "banalité du mal" ailleurs que dans la note 5 du dernier chapitre, éponyme, des *Hommes ordinaires*. Il n'estime pas avoir "discuté ni analysé Arendt et sa lecture (*understanding*) de la banalité du mal en relation avec son propre travail".[39]

Or, à y regarder de près, le commentaire de Browning dans sa note articule de manière subtile, sans les définir ni les thématiser, des formules de Hilberg et d'Arendt où la seconde sert en partie à corroborer le premier, bien qu'elle n'ait "pas entièrement réussi avec sa 'banalité du mal'". Récapitulons brièvement. "Hannah Arendt présente Eichmann comme un 'bureaucrate [terminologie de Hilberg] banal' [. . .]. Eichmann n'est sans doute pas le meilleur exemple du bureaucrate banal [ici Arendt *est devenue* Hilberg], mais la notion n'en est pas moins *utile* pour comprendre bien des responsables du génocide nazi. Cet historien et d'autres ont montré à quel point les bureaucrates ordinaires [. . .] ont rendu le génocide possible. Le

38. Sur le banal et l'ordinaire, et, plus largement, sur ces aspects de la réception, voir Delpla 2011, notamment 143.
39. Communication du 29 septembre 2010.

mal n'était point banal; ceux qui l'ont commis l'étaient" (Browning 1994, 42).[40] Suivant les guides d'une logique qui paraît toute naturelle, on passe de la banalité du mal à celle du criminel. Et Browning de conclure: "c'est précisément ce fossé [. . .] qu'Arendt a tenté de combler avec sa notion de 'banalité du mal'" (Browning 1994, 172). Ce qui est une erreur: l'énigme pour la philosophe est plutôt celle d'une difficile commensurabilité entre agent et acte, articulée à "l'absence de pensée" qu'elle a pourtant martelée sans ambiguïté. Au demeurant, la "théorisation" de l'historien dans cette note semble se situer, comme il arrive parfois, en deçà de ce qu'il a accompli dans son livre, qui instaure précisément des médiations (Delpla 2011, 15). Browning n'a sans doute pas été entièrement satisfait par la succession de ses propres hypothèses explicatives.

La banalité du mal

Nous nous limiterons à quelques indications essentielles sur cette formule qu'Arendt a par la suite regrettée — dans un entretien télévisuel de 1971 très rarement cité — parce qu'"elle l'avait entraînée dans un piège" (Elon 2006, XVIII). La question n'est pas celle de l'apparence d'Eichmann car, sur l'insignifiance du personnage, les impressions convergeaient, que ce soit celle de Joseph Kessel ou de Marcelle Joseph de l'AFP: "On s'attendait à une sorte d'ogre, étant donné l'ampleur de ses crimes, mais Eichmann avait seulement l'air d'un petit fonctionnaire. Banal, moche quoi".[41] Ou encore celle, plus analytique, qu'exprime l'historien Trevor-Roper en fin de procès: "A l'évidence, il n'est pas le symbole visuel approprié du génocide auquel son nom est associé".[42] De manière plus générale, si l'on y réfléchit, Eichmann ne pouvait que décevoir les anticipations d'imaginaires terrifiés ou sidérés.

Au demeurant, Arendt n'a pas, à strictement parler, défini la banalité du mal d'un point de vue philosophique ni produit de véritable argumentation à son sujet. L'auteur s'est d'autant moins efforcée d'élucider la formule que celle-ci n'apparaît *dans la première édition* qu'à l'extrême fin de l'ouvrage, dans une sorte d'envolée, et dans le sous-titre.[43] Une simple esquisse,

40. Browning 1994, 272. Nous avons réintroduit le terme de "notion" pour l'anglais *concept* (souvent conception en français), et c'est nous qui soulignons.
41. Sur l'Eichmann d'Arendt et celui des chroniqueurs judiciaires, voir Delpla 2011, 15.
42. Trevor-Roper 1961.
43. Comme c'est la seconde édition avec son Post-scriptum qui est l'édition de référence, on a tendance à oublier que l'expression "banalité du mal" concluait la

à l'origine, une intuition. Mais le propos est clair. Il s'agit d'abord de désesthétiser le mal, "de détruire la légende de la grandeur du Mal, de sa force démoniaque, de retirer aux gens l'admiration qu'ils ont pour de grands malfaiteurs comme Richard III" (Errera 1973, 149). Arendt n'a pas non plus défini la "banalité du mal" dans la seconde édition avec Postscriptum, mais elle l'a bien reprise en sous-titre, ni oxymore ni catachrèse: *chronique de la banalité du mal*. Elle l'a également conservée pour clore le chapitre XV. Pour le dire de manière très imagée, la formule a été comme première par rapport au sens. Déjà précédées par les échos de la controverse aux États-Unis et en République fédérale d'Allemagne, la préparation et la parution de la version française de 1966 ont été émaillées d'incidents divers. Il se trouve que l'auteur n'a pas pu lire la traduction quand elle lui a été soumise alors qu'elle avait travaillé méticuleusement sur la traduction allemande, préparant même ainsi sa seconde édition américaine comme paraît le confirmer l'ordre suivi dans le fonds.[44] Et, plus généralement, cette séquence de ses relations avec les éditions Gallimard constitue un record de malentendus et d'occasions manquées: la traductrice avait envoyé des questions, l'auteur ne les a pas reçues; quand l'auteur reçoit le texte avec les dernières modifications avant impression, elle n'a pas le temps d'en prendre même cursivement connaissance. On ignore toujours au fond, après la lecture des correspondances dont le dossier n'est pas complet — manquent au moins les télégrammes (LC 28) — , si quelqu'un a vraiment relu en français cette "dynamite", comme Nora a présenté l'ouvrage à la presse.[45] D'où des erreurs incompréhensibles dont certaines sont de vraies aberrations. Elles ont été signalées peu après la parution, puis rectifiées en partie, plus tard. Pendant ce temps, en France, les diverses catégories de lecteurs continuaient, de prendre connaissance de l'ouvrage dans les éditons américaines et anglaise. D'où la difficulté, pour les linguistes et pour les spécialistes des réceptions, de savoir ou même de tenter d'imaginer quel texte/quels textes ont été reçus en France ou en français entre 1963 et 1967, problème qui était rare même à l'époque du "retard à la traduction" structurel en France.

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première édition, sans autre attendu, juste avant l'Épilogue. Voir Brudny 2011b, 134–45.

44. LC, 63: ce dossier intitulé "German Edition" s'ouvre sur "Preface for the German edition" en anglais, en partie biffée, en partie utilisée pour le "Postscript".
45. Dans sa lettre du 4 janvier 1967, Nora explique à une Arendt très irritée qu'il cherchait ainsi à éviter d'éventuelles "intempérances de plume" de la part du journaliste de *Candide*, Déméron, son ancien camarade de classe.

Sans vouloir porter le coup de grâce, la dernière phrase du corps du texte de l'édition initiale (1963) se conclut sur ce syntagme:

> Original: the fearsome, the word-and-thought defying banality of evil.
> (Penguin Classics: 252, éd. actuelle)

> Traduction: la terrible, l'indicible, l'impensable banalité du mal.
> (Gallimard 1966/2002: 1262)

> Traduction proposée: la terrifiante banalité du mal qui constitue un défi pour l'expression et la pensée.

Le fait que les qualificatifs mobilisés (*indicible*, *impensable*) sont désémantisés par l'usure d'un emploi excessif peut à la rigueur expliquer que la contradiction dans les termes qui consiste à *dire un indicible* soit passée inaperçue. Certes, l'envolée rhétorique se trouve freinée en français dans la seconde traduction, mais la première n'est pas ce qu'Arendt a écrit et elle est surtout contraire à sa conception de la pensée. On nous pardonnera peut-être de situer l'analyse et la discussion à un niveau aussi trivial, mais il n'est pas fréquent que la traduction trop approximative de deux adjectifs aille, par effraction, à l'encontre de toute la philosophie d'un auteur qui, loin de tout impensable, appelle dans de "sombres temps", à la suite de Lessing, à "penser par soi-même". Citons un exemple d'influence de la traduction française du *Eichmann* sans qu'elle ait été confrontée à l'original, ce qu'une traduction devrait par ailleurs rendre inutile. Von Busekist, qui travaille à la croisée des langues, veut prendre la traduction française à la lettre et infère: pour Arendt la langue allemande "est doublement perdue puisqu'elle est aux prises avec 'la terrible, l'indicible, l'impensable banalité du mal'" (von Busekist 2001–2002, 2, 104). M. Revault d'Allonnes (2008, 4.36) qui prend pour objet la banalité du mal ainsi qualifiée trouve un biais: elle passe habilement d'impensable entre guillemets à la traduction exacte — "défi à la pensée" — que Dupuy a tôt procurée du célèbre échange de correspondance entre Arendt et Scholem (1978, 228; 2002, 1258). Mais l'obscurité demeure. Une controverse ne se refait pas plus qu'une réception et la traduction de Dupuy n'a pas été reprise. Plus généralement, la question vertigineuse subsiste de savoir sur quel texte, original, traduction, artefact ou autre, a porté le segment non négligeable de la controverse qui s'est déroulé en français. *Eichmann à Jérusalem* a d'abord été directement reçu à partir de l'original américain (1963–1965), au point que Nora, dont c'était le second ouvrage de sa collection "Témoins", a jugé utile sinon prudent de

faire précéder la traduction française de la seconde édition américaine d'un Avertissement de l'éditeur de plusieurs pages.

Or le grand déplacement qui s'opère dans la réception d'*Eichmann à Jérusalem*, au sens large, est que, après un temps, la banalité est imputée au "grand criminel" et non plus au mal. Ce déplacement s'accomplit avec un succès remarquable. Mais, en passant de la banalité du mal à celle du criminel, on s'approche inévitablement de la banalisation des crimes eux-mêmes. Et c'est en ce point précis que s'opère non plus le déplacement, non plus la distorsion, mais un basculement décisif dans la postérité de la "banalité du mal". Dès lors que le criminel est défini comme "banal", il est à notre image, en quelque sorte. Et c'est précisément ce que Brauman et Sivan veulent signifier, en complète contradiction avec la perspective arendtienne, que leur "montage" revendique pourtant haut et fort, lorsque, dans la dernière séquence du *Spécialiste,* ils effacent la cage de verre, et présentent un Eichmann en vert et brun qui se rapproche visiblement de nous.[46] Si le criminel nous ressemble, nous sommes tous frères et chacun de nous pourrait devenir criminel tout autant, comme l'indique Jonathan Littell dans l'ouverture/envoi des *Bienveillantes*. Et dès lors, avec l'interrogation "Quel être humain aurait agi différemment dans les mêmes circonstances?", nous avons quitté le déplacement pour le contresens complet.[47]

L'expression "banalité du mal" est ainsi passée, dans sa postérité, de la formule frappante, en partie énigmatique, sans doute, en raison du chiasme entre ses termes, critiquée de surcroît avec une véhémence proportionnée à son caractère "frappant" pendant toute la controverse, au véritable *lieu commun* contresensique et désémantisé, en tout cas en France et aux États-Unis où l'on assiste à "un usage incessant du terme pour des actes criminels courants et ordinaires" (Kohn 2005, 14). Il est rare qu'une réception fasse apparaître un renversement aussi complet. Aussi ne faut-il pas s'étonner: lorsqu'il s'agit de chercher un "spécialiste" de la banalité du mal pour débattre des *Bienveillantes* avec Jonathan Littell, à l'École normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm en avril 2007, on invite Rony Brauman. Celui-ci estime avoir été instrumentalisé avec Médecins sans frontières, sans le savoir, alors qu'il livrait des vivres à des populations africaines. Il est donc *ipso facto* habilité à critiquer la coopération des conseils juifs. Il considère en effet qu'il s'est retrouvé, involontairement, dans le même type de situation. Et le cercle se referme.

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46. Pour l'étendue et la signification de la falsification opérée par Sivan et Brauman à partir des archives filmées du procès, voir l'analyse de Tryster dans Lindeperg et Wieviorka 2016, 227.
47. Pour l'analyse détaillée de cette constellation, voir Brudny 2011a.

Le film de Margarethe von Trotta (dont la préparation a commencé en 2002 et qui est sorti en 2013) se situe en partie dans une perspective analogue. La fiction prend, par définition, des libertés avec la vérité (historique), mais elle n'en constitue pas moins un moment de la réception. En effet, montrer, vers le début, Barbara Sukowa/Hannah Arendt occupée à dactylographier dans la salle de presse fait nécessairement penser que l'auteur a écrit des éléments de sa chronique pendant le procès. Le film conforte aussi une distorsion que son large public ne saurait percevoir et qui commençait à se répandre dans la réception. Le discours-performance qui clôt cette biographie partielle formule, de manière assez précise et exacte, une réponse générale à la controverse autour de *Eichmann à Jérusalem*. Et "le mal extrême" qu'Arendt a forgé pour répondre à Scholem est substitué là aussi à la banalité.[48] Il n'est pas davantage défini même s'il est commenté par Arendt dans sa lettre ou d'autres réponses, et il remplace désormais la banalité. L'aporie est ainsi contournée. Comme une partie des riches correspondances d'Arendt est mobilisée avec bonheur pour le scénario, cette assise garantit le sérieux et aussi le succès de l'entreprise. Mais le problème des "sources" et, partant, de la perspective adoptée demeure. Imagine-t-on Elisabeth Young-Bruehl (auteur de la biographie de référence) ou Jerome Kohn (l'actuel exécuteur littéraire d'Arendt) admettre, alors qu'ils conseillaient la réalisatrice et sa coscénariste, que leur reporter a pu donner dans le piège du tâcheron bureaucrate et qu'elle est ambivalente ("y aller pour voir ce désastre en direct et dans toute cette étrange inanité" (HA/KJ, 554)? L'apparence falote fait partie de la stratégie de défense d'Eichmann mais elle n'est pas aussi insignifiante qu'on veut bien le dire. On n'entend jamais Young-Bruehl ni Kohn déplorer qu'Arendt ne connaisse pas assez le contexte historique — reproche le plus constant et fondé de Scholem — et, notamment, la situation des conseils juifs, puisqu'eux-mêmes n'en avaient aucune notion, ce qui ne les a pas empêchés de défendre l'ouvrage depuis le début? Incidemment, la manière d'analyser situation et rôle des *Judenräte* pourrait servir, désormais, de test de colportage d'un obstacle "idéologique" comme il existe des obstacles épistémologiques.[49] Ce film pose une question

48. Scholem 1978, 228. Voir également "Réponses aux questions posées par Samuel Grafton": Arendt 2011, 666.

49. Combien de fois faudra-t-il citer encore l'objection tôt faite à Arendt par Poliakov qui prend pour exemple l'Union soviétique où les organisations juives avaient été dissoutes. C'est aussi l'occasion de rappeler qu'"il n'est qu'en partie exact que *Eichmann à Jérusalem* a donné l'élan à l'étude des conseils juifs et, plus généralement, de la collaboration", comme le rappelle Laqueur. On peut d'ailleurs s'interroger sur le fait que bien des historiens, à l'époque de la

plus générale au regard de la longue réception d'*Eichmann à Jérusalem*: pourquoi un film qui présente l'Arendt iconique, seule contre tous, sort-il et avec un tel succès à un tel moment de l'histoire et de la réception de l'ouvrage?

Ainsi, à un objet composite hors genre et à un texte révélé par strates, "évolutif" en quelque sorte, répond, du point de vue philosophique et historique, une réception à métamorphoses qui va jusqu'au contresens. Ce processus est d'autant plus remarquable qu'il va à l'encontre de la règle bien connue, en histoire mais en philosophie aussi, qu'on ne puisse refaire une première réception ni revenir sur elle. Certains historiens considèrent que la prise de position d'Arendt a utilement interpellé en son temps grâce à son caractère scandaleux, mais qu'elle ne semble plus jouer de rôle dans la définition des débats actuels. D'autres estiment que malgré sa nature et sa composition fort disparates, quantité d'erreurs historiques et d'assertions controuvées qui ont été pour les premières, rectifiées et les secondes, réfutées, *Eichmann à Jérusalem* "résiste". Voilà qui constitue un vrai défi pour l'interprétation, si ce n'est pour la rationalité. Mystères de la captation?

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Appendix

Text and reception. The text of Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963–1965) is like a palimpsest. And its reception has been paradoxical: Arendt's vision of the trial, and of Eichmann, was criticized from all quarters when the book first came out; however, since then hers has become the general view. One important factor allowing this complete turn-around is that her aim remains unclear.

Sources. The various types of sources appear only in the 2nd edition. They are listed in the Postscript added in reaction to the fierce international controversy. In the documentation provided to journalists, the author underlines concepts of international law, sometimes with a short comment.

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publication ou plus tard, aient considéré que ce champ n'était pas ouvert du tout, alors qu'il en existait une bibliographie, certes plus limitée. C'est pour ces raisons que nous parlons d'"objet idéologique".

References. Although Arendt explains that she is greatly indebted to Hilberg, and quotes him at length, comparison between her final draft and the published text shows that Arendt's references have disappeared. They must have been dropped towards the end of the process. Other abbreviated references had the same fate.

Presence at the trial. The more recent issue is Arendt's presence at the trial. As her passport shows she was there five weeks only, in two separate stays. For Cesarani, Eichmann's biographer, the fact that she did not witness Eichmann's forceful defense during his cross-examination — many days after she had left for good — is the key to her "banality" concept. She was misled by his ghostly appearance and humble attitude.

Evil. Arendt misused Kant's concept of "radical evil" as Jaspers immediately pointed out to her. Bettina Stangneth made things even clearer (2016), stressing that Kant would use "radical evil" only in an anthropological judgment, one on human nature in general and not in reference to an individual. Arendt was most likely aware of this error since she quickly shifted from "radical" to "extreme".

Philosophers and historians. Philosophers, even when in doubt, find it a little harder to accept Cesarini's basic causal link (Arendt did not see the real Eichmann in action at the trial and therefore she could not imagine him that way or understand him. Also, the fact that she did not take notes during the trial matters less for philosophers as the book *in fine* is not a report.)

Writing Eichmann in Jerusalem: *stages and strata (summarized)*

- private letters give a first account, more spontaneous and uninhibited than later accounts;
- the five *New Yorker* issues;
- the first edition of the book itself;
- the German translation revised by Arendt, which helped prepare the second enlarged American edition; and
- a few interviews (Koch, Gaus) and even fewer replies to critics (between the two original editions, Arendt avoided taking any part in the controversy).

Second edition. The chapter where Arendt inserted the highest number of additions is chapter VII on the Jewish Councils (*Judenräte*). She added for instance two passages of Pendorf's *Mörder und Ermordete,* which appeared

after the trial, and some critics were only too happy to comment on them as if they were the author's. Arendt had stressed in her "Note to the Reader" that the changes she made were mostly technical ones.

Status. What then is the status of this evolving text? The well-known subtitle of the book is "Report on the banality of evil". So, report, review, trial chronicle, or moral philosophy essay? And what does Arendt mean by her perplexing "banality of evil"? The thinker's aim was to de-estheticize evil, to not estheticize it, to strip from it any grandeur. She cites the example of a man, Richard III, who expressly wanted to be evil, who did want "to prove a villain".

Reception. In Browning's *Ordinary Men*, "banal" morphs surreptitiously into "ordinary". And just a few years later, in the pseudo-documentary *Le Spécialiste* and in Littell's *The Kindly Ones*, Eichmann abruptly becomes *mon semblable, mon frère*: anybody can turn into an Eichmann, which is the exact opposite of Arendt's thought and stand. Such is the seduction of the "banality of evil".

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Methods for Exploring Indeterminate Textuality in John Cage's Practices of Bibliographic Encoding

The Case of *M*

Zack Lischer-Katz

Abstract

The increasing ubiquity of algorithmically mediated digital texts continues to generate debate about the instability and indeterminacy of texts. The American composer John Cage is well known for disrupting traditional Western aesthetics by incorporating chance operations, algorithms, and indeterminacy into his musical compositions and literary texts. This article analyzes materials found in the pre-print archive of Cage's printed book, M *(published in 1973 by Wesleyan University Press), in order to understand how Cage brought his aesthetic of indeterminacy into print. Through analysis of archival materials, it is argued that Cage exercised control over the performance and reading of his texts, even as he ceded authorial control to the aleatory processes of the* I Ching *— the ancient Chinese book of divination — and to the arbitrary choices of the typesetter/printer. This article offers new understanding about algorithms and indeterminacy in the performance of bibliographic codes.*[1]

In the present "age of algorithms" (Lynch 2017) that we now find ourselves in, there is increasing concern about how digital texts are produced algorithmically[2] and their impact on digital culture and preservation,

1. An earlier version of this paper, entitled "The *Book of Changes* and Print Fixity: John Cage's Aleatory Publishing Practices", was presented at the 2014 Society for the History of Authorship Reading and Publishing annual conference in Antwerp, Belgium (September 17–21).
2. Computer scientist, David Knuth (1996) defines an algorithm as "a precisely-defined sequence of rules telling how to produce specified output information from given input information in a finite number of steps" (5). In the age of social media platforms, algorithms help construct the content that we see, by processing massive databases using input variables derived from analyzing the

particularly with regards to how social media platforms assemble and serve to users assemblages of texts and images (Acker and Kreisberg 2020). The emergence of new forms of digital texts has continued debates about the instability of texts and the indeterminacy of their production. Alan Galey points out that "even as we design new digital artefacts, we are still learning how books work, as well as manuscripts and other textual materials" (2010, 116). He also questions the assumption that digital texts are inherently less stable than written or printed texts: "As print- and manuscript-oriented textual scholars have long argued, past textual forms were never so immutable to begin with" (Galey 2010, 116). Clifford Lynch suggests that the use of algorithms and complex interface structures makes digital texts indeterminate, such that a social media feed will produce different outcomes depending on who is accessing it and when: "While the 'feed' may be algorithmically generated, in a very real sense it's not meaningfully reproducible" (2017, para. 10) because it depends on the user's profile, the interrelations between their friends, and the content of dynamic databases. Looking to histories of indeterminacy and the use of algorithms in printed texts may offer some insight into current developments in our *textual condition* (McGann 1991).

In this article I examine how the American composer John Cage (1912–1992) produced his books to understand the role of algorithms and indeterminacy in printed texts. Cage is well known for disrupting traditional Western aesthetics by incorporating chance operations and indeterminacy into his compositions (Nicholls 2002). He emphasized that all sounds (even silence) were potential ingredients in performances and sought to remove (to varying degrees) the composer's intent from processes of musical expression. In each medium he worked in,[3] chance and

activities of each user and their interrelationships. It is not always possible to predict the particular output of a complex algorithm, even if you know the inputs (Lynch 2017).

3. Cage's musical work has seen extensive scholarly inquiry through a series of books, dissertations, websites (recently the New York Public Library produced an innovative participatory website "John Cage Unbound: A Living Archive", presenting Cage's scores, alongside crowd-sourced performances of the scores: http://exhibitions.nypl.org/johncage/), forums, and general discussion in academic and popular sites of discourse. His work in other artistic media, such as printmaking, painting, and book publishing, has typically garnered less attention. Some notable exceptions include Brown 2000, 2001, who writes about Cage's painting and printmaking activities, as well as an increasing number of articles over the last two decades on his literature, poetry, and word

indeterminacy played important roles in his creative process. These roles are most clearly seen in his use of the ancient Chinese book of divination, the *I Ching*. Analyzing Cage's under-examined book production process (Patterson 2002) helps me explore how themes of indeterminacy in textual production were negotiated in print. Cage's literary experiments offer important insights into how an author working within an aesthetic of indeterminacy negotiates the relative fixity of the printed text. How does Cage negotiate his philosophical and aesthetic concerns, guided by the *I Ching*, through the fixity of print? I argue that the answer to this question helps us understand the role of indeterminacy more broadly within the performance of bibliographic codes in printed and digital texts. This has implications for the value of analyzing today's world of algorithmically arranged texts from a bibliographic perspective.

Indeterminacy in Digital Textuality

Looking at Cage's printing practices in the production of his books has implications for textual scholarship concerned with bibliographic analysis in the age of digital texts. First, chance and indeterminacy are relevant to current discussions about digital texts. The variability of computer code is understood to be the foundation of the performance of digital texts' bibliographic codes.[4] In other words, the production of digital texts introduces new dimensions of variability and indeterminacy to the production and consumption of texts. While digital texts require hardware and software environments that shape how the text appears, and the incorporation of interactivity and aleatory algorithms add variability, printed texts are often seen as relatively fixed.

An important distinction that has been made between print and digital texts involves the relative fixity of bibliographic codes. Printed texts are cast as fixed objects and digital texts are cast as indeterminate processes. From this perspective, a book is a stable object, while an eBook or other text is different each time it is "opened" and displayed on a screen.

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art: see, for example, Braune 2012, Brown 2012, Edmeades 2016, Gillott 2020, Patterson 2002, Retallack 2015, Spinosa 2016, Thompson 2003, and Weaver 2012, among earlier studies by Perloff 1981 and others.

4. McGann 1991 argues "meaning is transmitted through bibliographical as well as linguistic codes" (p. 57), which include non-linguistic, physical elements of texts, including ink, paper, typography, layout, and other elements that facilitate the reader's material engagement with the text.

N. Katherine Hayles (2006) has characterized indeterminacy and instability as distinctive characteristics of the material performance of the digital text that differentiate digital texts from print:

> It is true that print texts also are affected by their conditions of production; a printing press with a defective letter *e*, let us say, will produce different artifacts than a press without this defect. Yet once the artifact is created, it remains (relatively) the same. With digital texts, changes of some kind happen virtually every time the text is performed, from small differences in timing to major glitches when a suddenly obsolete program tries to run on a platform that has not maintained backward compatibility.
> (186)

Since a digital text is rendered at the time of its reading, when digital code is processed and displayed, its bibliographic codes can vary each time the text is interpreted. In addition to this inherent indeterminacy in the decoding and display of a digital text, affordances of viewing technologies encourage readers to actively shape bibliographic codes through reading practices. For example, they allow for the resizing of typeface and layout (which may change the pagination). In contrast, the bibliographic codes of a printed book remain little changed, beyond wear and tear each time a book is opened. However, while the material form and the indeterminacy of their bibliographic codes in digital texts are distinct from printed texts, awareness of their continuities has also been increasing.

In his bibliographic investigation of eBooks, Alan Galey (2012) suggested that the same epistemic orientation and concern for the materiality of texts that bibliographic analysis directs at printed texts can also be applied to digital texts. The visual, organizational and interactive components of digital texts have been shown by book historians and digital humanists to have antecedents in earlier printed forms.[5] Focusing on the materialities of a text and how they become activated as bibliographic codes is increasingly important for understanding digital texts as bibliographic objects. Those materialities allow the textual analyst to go "deep" into the underlying databases, computer code, and software. Galey (2012) argues for the importance of "unveiling" an eBook's underlying source code using digital tools. This level of analysis provides insights into the political, economic, and cultural factors that shape the text's transmission, variants, and

5. See Drucker 2014 for a historical perspective on visualization and textual forms as *knowledge generators* in print and digital contexts.

forms. Yet, even as digital texts may be suitably analyzed with traditional bibliographic tools, this unveiling is always only partial; the complexity and depth of the layers of computing technology resists full knowability by the senses.

Analysis of digital texts also faces epistemological limitations imposed by their phenomenology, as Galey (2012) describes:

> the different forms of e-books may have no rocky bottom, no absolute Real that serves to anchor the evidence of our senses. The reason is simple: e-books, like all digital texts, require us to interpret phenomena not directly observable by the senses. We must rely on layers upon layers of digital tools and interfaces. [. . .] A purely empirical and forensic perspective assumes that objects speak for themselves and yield up their evidence to the observation of human senses and the inquiry of human reason.
>
> (240)

Galey makes an important distinction between digital and printed texts by using a metaphor of the "veiled" code of digital texts, always mediated by another technical layer at each level of analysis.[6] He presents an epistemological divide between printed and digital texts that rests on differentiating objects of analysis based on what attributes are directly available to human observation with technical mediation. However, if textual theory acknowledges the archive as a site for recovering the indeterminate performance of the bibliographic codes of print, we can see that Galey's (2012) claim that digital texts require researchers to "interpret phenomena not directly observable by the senses" (240) remains true for the performance of bibliographic codes in the medium of print.

Digital texts present new types of traces that can be analyzed as evidence of the production process in the form of computer codes and display technologies. However, this article stresses that printed texts also maintain depths of hidden evidence related to their materialization that are not proximate in space or time, up to the moment of reading or interpretation. Colophons are present in both contemporary print and eBooks, specifying some of the choices made by printers and typesetters when designing typography and executing layout. Yet only the eBook

6. See Owens 2018 for a discussion of digital systems as "platforms layered on top of each other" and the implications of this for researchers and digital preservationists.

carries within or adjacent to itself some of the technological agents by which the text is materialized. The physical book, on the other hand, carries no printing press. Manuscripts are not accompanied by the pen, ink, bones, or flesh of the scribe's hand. For the printed book, the evidence of the activities of production lie elsewhere in space-time, distributed, and perhaps unrecoverable if the materials have been lost or destroyed. They may lie in the printer and the typesetter's offices, the pre-print archive, or in the editors and author's notes on the proofs.[7]

Considering more closely the genesis of a text's bibliographic codes — regardless of temporal and spatial displacement — offers a new methodological approach to compare printed and digital texts. The bibliographic codes of the digital text can be conceptualized as being performed in the present, at (or very close to) the time of reading. The printed text is partly indeterminate as well, but the performance of its bibliographic codes is temporally and spatially distanced from the materialization of the text into human readable form while reading. Recovering this aspect of the indeterminacy of print requires going beyond the extant text to its archive.[8]

The traces of the pre-print archive of a printed text can be analyzed in terms of its traces of the encoding and performance of bibliographic codes. In this way, my analysis opens a horizon for textual analysis by accounting for the displaced nature of textual performance. This feat involves different skills and activities than those required by digital texts, which may involve media archaeology or digital forensics over traditional archival research. But by acknowledging the continuity of an underlying, indeterminate

7. This is not to say that eBooks contain a complete archive that contains all traces of all agents involved in the performance of a text. A range of agents, from the code of the eBook authoring software and the human agents responsible for properly formatting the eBook file, may or may not leave discoverable traces within the code of an eBook. Thus, while an eBook does not necessarily offer more potential traces of its production open to analysis than a printed book, the material fixity of bibliographic codes and the moment of interpretation of those codes in the case of the eBook can be seen to be proximate, offering a rich site for analysis for eBooks that is only recoverable in the print world through a trip to the pre-print archive.
8. What this means is that print can only be said to be fixed when speaking from the space-time of the printed page, which is always a past process (*printing*) sedimented within the present material of an object (*page*), and thus, investigating the history of the text's production can recover lost moments of indeterminacy in the production of bibliographic codes.

source or archive of bibliographic codes in both digital and printed texts, the analytic models of analysis for each can be brought closer together. Uniting these methodologies thus allows for clearer theoretical and empirical investigations into the nature of textuality, such as the question of indeterminacy within the performance of bibliographic codes.

In order to recover Cage's techniques for integrating an aesthetic of indeterminacy into the fixity of print, the following sections will examine John Cage's archive from his book *M* (published by Wesleyan University Press in 1973). Specifically, I'll interpret Cage's techniques for encoding bibliographic codes by analyzing his instructions to the printer found on the edited typescript of *M* and contextualizing these techniques within his general aesthetic philosophy. To lay the groundwork for conducting a closer analysis of *M*, I'll first discuss Cage and his aleatory aesthetic practices.

How Cage Uses Indeterminacy

By integrating chance and indeterminacy as generative aesthetic forces in composition, Cage questioned the traditional construction of authorship and the supposedly determinate relationship between musical notations and sounds. He blurred distinctions between music and noise, sound and language. He also mingled and merged distinct literary forms such as poetry, word art, essays, and experimental prose. For instance, "Indeterminacy" (1959) is composed of ninety short stories, each of which is supposed to be read in the space of sixty seconds. It was recorded and released by Folkways Records as a record (Vinyl LP), in which Cage read the stories and David Tudor provided piano accompaniment. It was also published by Edition Peters in the form of a score, consisting of a booklet with instructions and a set of ninety cards (one for each story) that could be reordered to modify the performance. Barry Alpert (1975) discussed Cage's performance in the context of "post-modern oral poetry", but confining Cage's work to a single genre is problematic. Through his practice, Cage himself questioned the role of the composer/artist/writer in "authoring" an aesthetic work. Cage even took steps to remove authorial intention from certain aspects of the production of his texts by using "chance operations" — algorithmic processes that produced randomly-generated outputs — while maintaining strict authorial control over other aspects.

Cage frequently used the *I Ching* to bring chance into his compositions and explore how to remove the decisions or tastes of its creator. His use of the *I Ching* began in the 1950s and continued throughout his career.

Cage said that he was initially introduced to the *I Ching* by composer Lou Harrison as early 1936, but he did not use it for generating random values in his compositions at that time (Cage 1988). Around 1950, Christian Wolff gave Cage a copy of Cary F. Baynes's translation of the Richard Wilhelm edition (Wolff and Patterson 1994; Cage 1988), which inspired Cage to use it in his compositions, greatly contributing to his 1951 *Music of Changes* (Smith 2012).

The *I Ching* was traditionally used as an oracle. Important questions about an individual's life and political decisions could be asked of this "ergodic text". Espen Aarseth (1997) coined the term "ergodic literature" to refer to literature in which "non trivial effort is required to allow the reader to traverse the text" (1). In fact, Aarseth cites the *I Ching* as one of his prime examples of *ergodic literature*, since real work is necessary (i.e., the throwing of coins or yarrow stalks, the calculation of the hexagrams, and use of the index to locate the appropriate section in the book where that hexagram's prophesy is located) to make the text function and become interpretable. In conjunction with randomly generated numbers, it would present statements of wisdom to the inquirer/reader (Smith 2012). The traditional Chinese practice of divination utilized a bundle of yarrow stalks, but the common Western version adopted the practice of tossing three coins a total of six times to produce the six marks of a hexagram (Smith 2012).[9] Once the hexagram has been visually identified on the included chart (a foldout between the index and the flyleaves of the Wilhelm/Baynes edition), a number between 1 and 64 is generated (Cage 1961). This number is used to locate the place in the book where a description of that hexagram's "wisdom" is located — the oracle's answer to the question posed in the form of enigmatic prose — and is open to interpretation (Smith 2012). Thus, the numbers generated through the process served a basic indexing function for linking randomly generated hexagrams with numerically associated "wisdoms" within the pages of the book.

For Cage, the *I Ching* was a mechanism for generating random number values to guide the composition of his works (Smith 2012). Randomness was part of his effort to remove some aspects of his intentionality (and psychological baggage) from the creative process (Shultis 1995) and generate new aesthetic properties (Turner 2013), unexpected sonic events

9. The hexagram is drawn out from bottom to top as a series of broken and unbroken lines, with the potential for change lines, which are broken lines that may be in the process of changing to complete lines and complete lines that are in the process of changing to broken lines (see Smith 2012).

and arrangements of sounds that the composer could not predict in advance. According to Kyle Gann (2002), Cage was primarily concerned with the number-generating capacity of the *I Ching* over its mystical dimensions. In describing the composition of his 1951 musical pieces, *Music of Changes* and *Imaginary Landscape No. 4*, Cage explained that the *I Ching* enabled him "to make a musical composition the continuity of which is free of individual taste and memory (psychology) and also of the literature and 'traditions' of the art" (Cage 1961, 59). For Cage, the ritual of throwing the coins became increasingly irrelevant to his creative process. At times he would use a computer program, developed by Ed Kobrin of the University of Illinois, to produce the *I Ching* hexagrams and values (Kobrin 1970).

Cage's use of chance operations reveals an essential part of Cage's creative process. It relied on establishing a system in which *I Ching*-generated values could produce effects, rather than determine precisely what effects would occur. For instance, he might associate certain sections of a piano keyboard with *I Ching* hexagrams 1–8. Then he could assign playing techniques (for instance, plucking the piano strings) to hexagrams 9–16, particular dynamics to 17–25, and so forth (Cage 1961). And then, he would consult the *I Ching* to generate values that determined how these elements would be assembled. Different compositions would involve the *I Ching* in various ways, but its function as a random number generator was central to the process. The generation of certain *I Ching* hexagrams would produce variations in the generation of sounds following a pre-designed plan linking sound parameters to numerical inputs. In this way, Cage established an algorithmic system of composition that takes randomly generated numbers for its input. Cage's constitutive authorial gesture lies in his selection and assembly of certain quantitative and qualitative musical parameters that could be varied using the discrete values produced as output from the *I Ching* procedures.

Christopher Shultis (1995) has explored Cage's approach to "nonintentionality", seeing his use of chance operations as stripping away the author's intention by remaking words into sounds or music. By analyzing his texts more closely, Shultis (1995) shows how Cage's creative process works against attempts at nonintentionality, re-introducing structure in significant ways:

> Thus what initially appears to be an improvised and haphazard text is actually extremely well-organized. Some aspects of form are the result of chance operations and some aren't. The contents, on the other hand, are clearly the result of trying to meet the extraordinary demands of

> numerical form, subject matter and personal taste. Even though the juxtapositions, as Cage points out, are chance-derived, the composer's role is so pervasive that the resultant collage of text is, if not completely determined, at least predictable.
>
> (336)

Cage takes similar care in the production of his published books. Cage's books, as compilations of his textual experiments, offer an important way to examine how he negotiated the tensions between the fixity of print, avant-garde aesthetic practice, and the role of performance in textual production. Between 1961 and 1983, Cage published five full-length books with Wesleyan University Press: *Silence: Lectures and Writings* (1961, 276 pp.); *A Year from Monday: New Lectures and Writings* (1967, 167 pp.); *M: Writings '67–'72* (1973, 217 pp.); *Empty Words: Writings '73–'78* (1979, 187 pp.); and *X: Writings '79–'82* (1983, 187 pp.). His third book, M, is the focus of this essay because it was published in the middle of this series and offers an inflection point in Cage's writing practice. As noted by Arthur Sabatini (1989), within his first two books published with Wesleyan, *Silence* and *A Year from Monday*, "Cage still remained within the bounds of conventional linear form and the writings employ ordinary syntax. [. . .] With M, Cage's writings become more minimal, graphic, and harshly disciplined" (86). M also offers a cross section of Cage's main literary innovations — the diaries and mesostics[10] — which provides a sample of his creative process at this important point in his career.

Archival Investigations of Cage's *M*

M contains writings by Cage from 1967–1972 and was published in 1973 by Wesleyan University Press. I chose M for closer study because of the availability of pre-print materials related to it within Cage's archive and because it offers insight into Cage's philosophic approach to textual

10. Shultis (1995) notes that Cage's writings, for the most part, are not formally innovative from a literary or poetic point of view, except for his mesostics and his diaries. He analyzed Cage's notebooks to show the process of writing the diaries, including the role of the *I Ching* and other chance operations to produce the form of the diaries. These diaries would appear in various forms in the 1960s in academic journals, exhibition catalogs, and in small press pamphlets and university press books, including reprints in three of his WUP books, *A Year from Monday* (1967), M (1973), and X (1983).

production in the middle part of the series of books he published with Wesleyan. As noted earlier, Arthur Sabatini (1989) sees *M* as an important transition in Cage's literary approach. Looking at Cage's turn towards the more extreme, literary analysis of *M* provides a case for how far the "encoding" of printed typography can be pushed by presenting the author as "composer" of the indeterminate performance of the text's form by the printer. The pre-print archive for *M* offers the typographic "source code" for the printed book, giving insight into the role aesthetic indeterminacy can play in the performance of bibliographic codes.

At first glance, *M* appears to be a collection of essays, poetry, and word art, at home alongside other texts in the history of experimental literary works. Examining the edited typescript of this book makes manifest Cage's efforts to introduce chance operations and algorithms into his text. Behind the scenes, they often frustrate the requirements of print fixity even as Cage rigorously encoded a system for specifying the final form of the printed book. Three sections of this book will serve as exemplars of Cage's process: "62 Mesostics re Merce Cunningham", "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' (continued 1968; revised version)", and "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' (continued 1970–71)". Analysis of these sections will help identify the range of strategies that Cage employed in producing the final form of his printed book.

The piece "62 Mesostics re Merce Cunningham" appears in Cage's *oeuvre* as both a musical score and a written text. "Mesostics" is a term coined by Cage that refers to a modified version of the familiar word play known as "acrostics", wherein the first letter of each line (or other division) of a poem or other literary composition spells out a word, sentence, or the alphabet. In Cage's mesostics, a selection of words is made from other texts. They are arranged in a column by using the *I Ching*, such that their middle letters spell out a new word if read vertically from the top of the column to the bottom. Cage has stated that "62 Mesostics re Merce Cunningham" is meant to be sung, not just read. Cage explained the reason for his typographic complexity in a note on the typescript for the musical score version of "62 Mesostics" (held by the New York Public Library): "To raise language's temperature we not only remove syntax: we give each letter undivided attention setting it in unique face and size; <u>to read</u> becomes the verb <u>to sing</u>."[11] Looking at this sequence of 62 mesostics distributed

11. John Cage, "Sixty-two Mesostics Re Merce Cunningham, For Voice Unaccompanied Using Microphone, 1971" [typescript] (1971), JPB 95–3, Folder 479, John Cage Manuscript Collection, New York Public Library, New York, NY.

throughout the pages of M, constructed and dispersed based on *I Ching*-activated chance operations,[12] the typography disrupts reading and makes singing difficult.

The explosive, seemingly random arrangement of typographic faces, sizes, and weights disrupts silent reading, breaking down linguistic codes and requiring greater focus on the part of the reader to engage with each individual letterform as they attempt to read the text (see Fig. 1, below). Cage's mesostics appear as destabilized texts that oscillate between image and sound, graphic form and linguistic signifier. Here, Cage describes his intentions to shift the page as a site for reading — an often silent, linguistic activity — to a musical performance that engages with (formerly) linguistic signifiers stripped of most of their syntax.[13] By vocalizing the words, the reader becomes a performer of the text, and the results are compositionally

Figure 1. Mesostic #1, from "64 Mesostics for Merce Cunningham" (M, 4). © C. Peters, Inc. and Henmar Press.

12. These 62 mesostics appear separately on the following pages of M: 4, 6, 9, 11, 14, 19, 23, 29, 39, 53, 58, 62, 64, 66, 68, 71, 73, 79, 82, 85, 87, 89, 92, 93, 97, 100, 104, 108, 112, 123, 125, 130, 131, 135, 136, 138, 139, 143, 146, 148, 150, 151, 154, 155, 159, 162, 163, 169, 173, 179, 182, 184, 185, 189, 191, 193, 194, 200, 202, 203, 208, & 214. Their random distribution offers evidence of further *I Ching*-guided assembly of Cage's book.
13. Cage's readings of his own works were also often framed as musical performances, as in the case of the recording of "Indeterminacy" discussed earlier.

indeterminate. That is, the reader/performer is given latitude to read or perform the letter forms at their liberty. Cage does not provide indications for pitches or tempo, for example.

In "62 Mesostics" Cage is attempting to free vocalized sounds from the deterministic realm of conventionalized linguistic codes by stripping them of their semantic meaning and transforming letters to graphic forms. However, the text of the mesostics is difficult to read without added effort, which Cage himself acknowledged. For instance, in the performing notes for the musical score version of the piece, Cage provides a version of the "Mesostics" in which the bibliographic codes are normalized to the same typeface, size, and ink weight. Normalization helps to, in his words, "facilitate study",[14] and yields a performance in which the performer is less likely to fumble when reading the difficult typography. Because there is no notational convention for interpreting this typography for musical performance, each performer's performance of "62 Mesostics" becomes highly indeterminate and unique.

Cage's remarks to Daniel Charles about "62 Mesostics" suggest that we may freely interpret the varying typography as akin to the range of symbols that dot his musical scores, through performative enunciation and/or ludic reading: "Typographic changes, like the 'mosaic' [*sic, likely intended* 'mesostic'] form are noises which erupt in the book! At one and the same time, the book is condemned to nonexistence and the book comes into being. It can welcome everything."[15] The types of performances and readings allowed by Cage's mesostics can be seen as indeterminate from the positions of authorial intent or notational convention. However, the notes he made on his corrected typescript for the following sections of M reveals an artist closed to liberated interpretation. He was very precise in his communications with the printer, showing how he dealt with indeterminacy differently in the production of bibliographic codes than in the freedoms given to performers/readers to interpret texts. In fact, his comments at the proof stage are fairly conventional and do not deviate much from the corrections that other authors might make at this stage in book production. Cage provides more freedom to the compositor and printer in early stages, as will be discussed in the next section.

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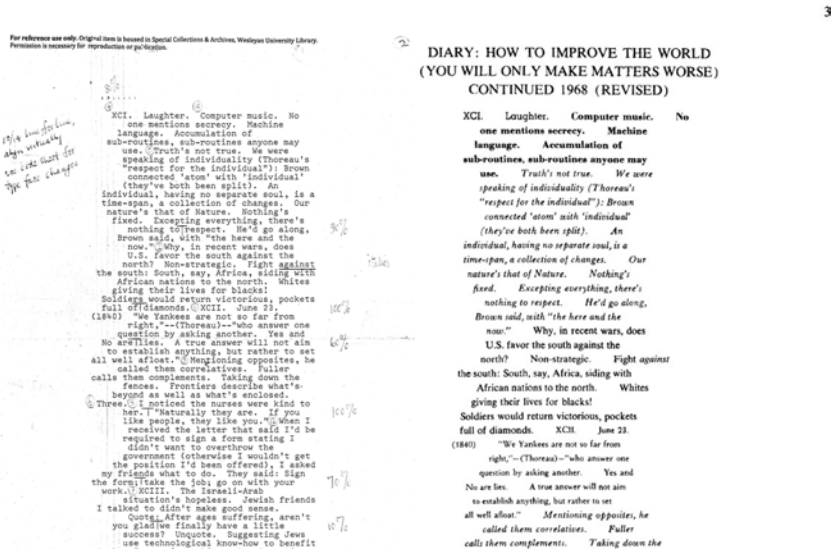
14. John Cage, "Sixty-two Mesostics Re Merce Cunningham, For Voice Unaccompanied Using Microphone, 1971" [typescript] (1971), JPB 95–3, Folder 479, John Cage Manuscript Collection, New York Public Library, New York, NY.
15. Cage, quoted in Sabatini 1989, 85.

Encoding Bibliographic Codes

Further analysis of the edited typescript for M initially reveals other conventional notes concerning layout and typeface. For instance, the title page of the corrected typescript specifies "14/18 Times Roman set as three centered lines." However, the following sections of the typescript reveal an increasingly complex array of notes to the printer. In the case of "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' Continued 1968 (revised version)", the margins of the pages are dotted with unusual, circled numbers (ranging from 1 to 12) in red pencil, with various percentages (ranging from 10% to 100%) running along the right margin (see Fig. 2, below), likely written by Cage. Cage also drew precisely spaced vertical lines (in pencil, drawn with the aid of a ruler or T-square) to precisely align the otherwise seemingly arbitrary placement of lines of text.

These precise vertical lines give the horizontal lines of text a metric quality akin to a musical score, graph, or timeline. However, the intended effect of the placement of symbols is to produce indeterminate results; the meaning of the notational system is not specified, nor does it follow a known conventional scheme. The apparently arbitrary alignment to very precise lines suggests that Cage may again be utilizing the chance operations of the *I Ching* to align lines of text as well as to generate the numbers and percentages along the margins of the edited typescript. The percentages running along the right margin of "Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' (continued 1968)" are likely ink weights, while the circled numbers seem to refer to different typefaces. In a note written on the right margin in Cage's hand we find the following instruction: "10/14 line for line, align vertically [,] see code sheet for type face changes."[16] The first half of this instruction refers to type size and alignment using conventional printing instructions, while the second half indicates that the bibliographic codes of M have an underlying encoding schema. The aforementioned "code sheet" could not be found in Cage's archive, so it is unclear whether Cage provided it to the printer, or if the printer generated it.

16. John Cage, "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' (continued 1968)" [edited typescript], Box 8, Folder 23, John Cage Papers, Special Collections, Olin Library, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.



XCI. Laughter. Computer music. No one mentions secrecy. Machine language. Accumulation of sub-routines, sub-routines anyone may use. Truth's not true. We were speaking of individuality (Thoreau's "respect for the individual"): Brown connected 'atom' with 'individual' (they've both been split). An individual, having no separate soul, is a time-span, a collection of changes. Our nature's that of Nature. Nothing's fixed. Excepting everything, there's nothing to respect. He'd go along, Brown said, with "the here and the now." Why, in recent wars, does U.S. favor the south against the north? Non-strategic. Fight against the south: South, say, Africa, siding with African nations to the north. Whites giving their lives for blacks! Soldiers would return victorious, pockets full of diamonds. XCII. June 23. (1840) "We Yankees are not so far from right,"--(Thoreau)--"who answer one question by asking another. Yes and No are lies. A true answer will not aim to establish anything, but rather to set all well afloat." Mentioning opposites, he called them correlatives. Fuller calls them complements. Taking down the fences. Frontiers describe what's beyond as well as what's enclosed. Three. I noticed the nurses were kind to her. I "Naturally they are. If you like people, they like you." When I received the letter that said I'd be required to sign a form stating I didn't want to overthrow the government (otherwise I wouldn't get the position I'd been offered), I asked my friends what to do. They said: Sign the form; take the job; go on with your work. XCIII. The Israeli-Arab situation's hopeless. Jewish friends I talked to didn't make good sense. Quote, After ages suffering, aren't you glad we finally have a little success? Unquote. Suggesting Jews use technological know-how to benefit

3

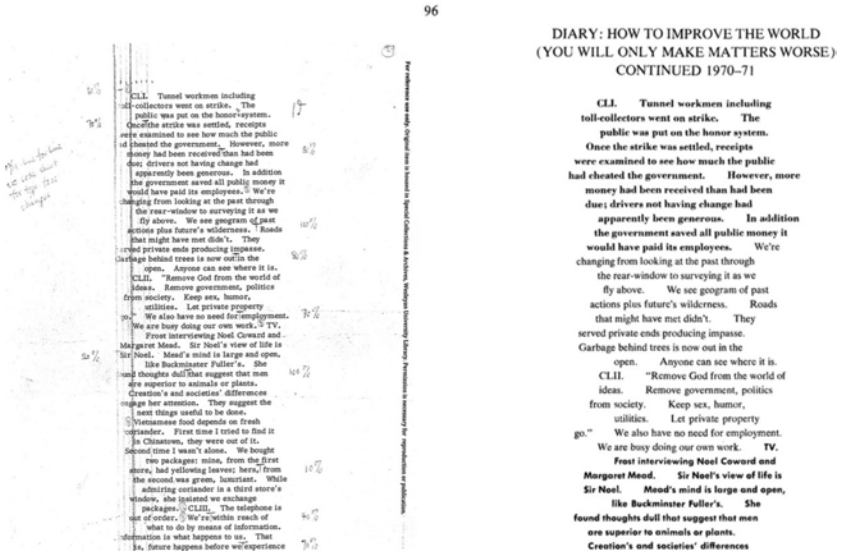
DIARY: HOW TO IMPROVE THE WORLD
(YOU WILL ONLY MAKE MATTERS WORSE)
CONTINUED 1968 (REVISED)

XCI. Laughter. Computer music. No one mentions secrecy. Machine language. Accumulation of sub-routines, sub-routines anyone may use. *Truth's not true. We were speaking of individuality (Thoreau's "respect for the individual"): Brown connected 'atom' with 'individual' (they've both been split). An individual, having no separate soul, is a time-span, a collection of changes. Our nature's that of Nature. Nothing's fixed. Excepting everything, there's nothing to respect. He'd go along, Brown said, with "the here and the now."* **Why, in recent wars, does U.S. favor the south against the north? Non-strategic. Fight** *against* **the south: South, say, Africa, siding with African nations to the north. Whites giving their lives for blacks! Soldiers would return victorious, pockets full of diamonds. XCII. June 23.** (1840) **"We Yankees are not so far from right,"—(Thoreau)—"who answer one question by asking another. Yes and No are lies. A true answer will not aim to establish anything, but rather to set all well afloat."** *Mentioning opposites, he called them correlatives. Fuller calls them complements. Taking down the*

Figure 2. "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' Continued 1968 (Revised)" Typescript [Left] and Final Printed Layout [Right] (M, 3). © John Cage Trust.

In the case of our third example, "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' (continued 1970–71)" (see Fig. 3, below), we find the following text scrawled in Cage's hand on the title page of the corrected typescript: "Note for Printer: Without reference to the text, choose + number 12 different type faces (having more less the same size) then set text following the circled red numbers. Ink percentages (10–100%) are given marginally + take effect after a T mark."[17] Cage drew the rigid arrangement of equally spaced vertical lines down the page to show how the precise alignment of his text was a counterpoint to the freedom he afforded to the typesetters/printers to "perform" the finished textual product as they see fit, by assigning numbers to typefaces. For this text, Cage demanded precision in his words and their execution in text but left the specific selection of typefaces — their bibliographic encoding — to the discretion of the printer.

17. John Cage, "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' (continued 1970–71)" [edited typescript], Box 8, Folder 23, John Cage Papers, Special Collections, Olin Library, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.



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DIARY: HOW TO IMPROVE THE WORLD
(YOU WILL ONLY MAKE MATTERS WORSE)
CONTINUED 1970–71

CLI. Tunnel workmen including toll-collectors went on strike. The public was put on the honor system. Once the strike was settled, receipts were examined to see how much the public had cheated the government. However, more money had been received than had been due; drivers not having change had apparently been generous. In addition the government saved all public money it would have paid its employees. We're changing from looking at the past through the rear-window to surveying it as we fly above. We see geogram of past actions plus future's wilderness. Roads that might have met didn't. They served private ends producing impasse. Garbage behind trees is now out in the open. Anyone can see where it is.
CLII. "Remove God from the world of ideas. Remove government, politics from society. Keep sex, humor, utilities. Let private property go." We also have no need for employment. We are busy doing our own work. TV. Frost interviewing Noel Coward and Margaret Mead. Sir Noel's view of life is Sir Noel. Mead's mind is large and open, like Buckminster Fuller's. She found thoughts dull that suggest that men are superior to animals or plants. Creation's and societies' differences

Figure 3. "'Diary: How to Improve the World (You Will Only Make Matters Worse)' (continued 1970–71)". Typescript and Final Printed Layout (Cage 1973, 96). © John Cage Trust.

Printing as Performance

While Cage assigned the indeterminate encoding of bibliographic codes to the printer, he did not give them complete freedom, nor did he allow for any errors in their work. For Cage, chance and indeterminacy are only acceptable when they unfold within the confines of the rules he establishes. Printers' errors were unacceptable deviations from Cage's copytext, even though they too were products of chance. This letter of complaint to the printer, issued by Cage after the printing of his later book *Empty Words* (published in 1979 by Wesleyan University Press), shows how even minor inconsistencies between text and his corrected typescript and galleys would not be tolerated: "[Dated Sept. 1, 1979 (returned Sep 04 1979)] I have just noticed that the mesostic on pg. 122 of Empty Words is incorrect. I then checked the galleys which are correct. Something went wront [*sic*] after that. The first line should read 'She', not 'She does this'. And the eighth line should read 'and She does this', not 'and She'. Should there be

another printing please have this correction made."[18] While Cage sought to collapse distinctions between chance and authorial purpose, this shows that unacceptable errors (to Cage) could emerge when the printer acted outside the rules that Cage specified.

These sorts of printing errors operated outside of the acceptable dimensions of indeterminacy sanctioned by Cage (and one might wonder if Cage meant to misspell "wrong" as "wront" in his complaint?). In his corrections to the typescript for the earlier book, *Silence* (published by Wesleyan University Press in 1961), we see only a few changes requested by Cage. For instance, he requested replacing "psychoanalysis" with "psychology", and some other minor proofreading marks in his essay, "Experimental Music".[19] Besides his notes on alignment and typography, the bibliographic codes and the text change little in his corrected typescripts. He also did not appear to welcome any changes made by the printer, since there were no instructions similar to those on the typescript for *M* that would give the printer permission to modulate the typography.

Cage's efforts to lock his aleatory processes into the regular layout of the material page positions Cage alongside other modernist authors who were very concerned with the layout and typography of their books (e.g., Ezra Pound), but who did not use random or automatic processes. In fact, his efforts seem less experimental than the avant-garde of the earlier 20th century, embodied by the Dadaists, Surrealists, and other movements that sought to manipulate the form of the book in more extravagant ways. What mattered to Cage was injecting chance into the construction of his books in precise ways and at precise times, all the while ensuring that those bursts of randomness were tightly constrained and regulated within the systems that he devised. Chance was allowed to enter into the parts of the book where Cage allowed it in, producing texts that followed his instructions, but were still unpredictable in some ways. Even though chance operations played an important role, Cage's writing could be better characterized as "algorithmic", rather than "automatic", i.e., the result of the interplay between a carefully constructed set of instructions for data processing and a carefully curated linguistic corpus, rather than the emergence of subconscious or otherworldly writings.

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18. John Cage, "Correction to Printing of Empty Words" [Letter], Box 5, Folder 7, John Cage Papers, Special Collections, Olin Library, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.
19. John Cage, "Experimental Music (*Silence*)" [corrected typescript], (Winter 1957), Box 5, Folder 8, John Cage Papers, Special Collections, Olin Library, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.

While the precise visual forms that his words take in their bibliographic encoding have some degree of indeterminacy, the printer's performance must otherwise strictly conform to the author's intent. Similarly, in his musical compositions, Cage often maintained strict control over the visual qualities of his scores by employing photographic printing techniques. While the corrected typescript for M has the appearance of a set of experimental instructions directed towards a printer who Cage constructs at times as a "performer", the typescript's formal specifications are precisely structured, allowing for improvisation only when selecting the set of typefaces to be used for several sections of the book. This follows Cage's compositional strategies in his scores, in which he gives the performers freedom to make decisions in the execution of various musical parameters, such as leaving the choice of instrumentation open but precisely specifying the notes.

In other compositions he would specify the instrumentation and timing, but leave the choice of such parameters as pitches, durations, and dynamics up to the performers. Thus, while the construction of the book is guided by Cage's preoccupations with chance operations activated by the *I Ching* — from the placement of the mesostics on particular pages throughout the book, to the alignment of lines of text and the distribution of codes and font weights — the performance of the text into a fixed form remains highly constrained by the author's design. The process of producing the form of his books, as the playing out of instructions of the author by the printer, itself becomes a performance that is mediated by random numbers generated by the *I Ching*. This performance remains concealed within the text, observable only when accessing the book's archival materials.

Cage's Indeterminacy within the Fixity of Print

These cases drawn from M and contextualized within Cage's other writings show that at times, Cage took more control over the form of the book. While incorporating chance and indeterminacy into some aspects of book production, his edited typescript for M also shows that he exercised considerable authorial control over the final bibliographic codes of the book. Cage took steps to maintain his authorship by working to constrain the process of socialization inherent to all texts and allowing indeterminacy into only certain aspects of his works.[20]

20. McKenzie 1999 encourages bibliographers "to consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption" (15). See also Broude 2011.

These findings from an examination of *M* support Arthur Sabatini's (1989) suggestion that Cage's printing practices ran counter to the discourse of his radical aesthetics. He argues that Cage naively mobilizes his aesthetics of indeterminacy to create a system that ignores the complex relationship between the author and the reader:

> As for certain techniques Cage selects, the utilization of common typographic materials serves to collapse the reading/writing process — by implying that the commercial intermediaries (editors, publishers, printers, distributors) between author and reader are nonexistent. But, ultimately, these meanings are part of the invisible operations that constitute the history of a book [. . .]
>
> (85)

Thus, Cage's use of indeterminacy to circumvent authorship and unconscious biases assumes a modernist ontology that dichotomizes social and natural phenomena, even as it attempts to break it down by removing authorial intent. Benjamin Piekut (2013) explains, "like any good experimentalist of the modern era, he claimed to have attenuated his own role in his musical trials so that we might have direct, unmediated access to this world. And yet, his compositional practice contradicted this modernist ontology of nature at every turn by actively *forming* that world that he purported merely to discover" (135). In his work, Cage uses the algorithmic *I Ching* to overcome the division between nature and culture by putting nature into the authorial role. Linking chance and indeterminacy shapes the outcome of musical and textual performance. However, by reifying nature and assuming the tools of artistic production are pure conduits for artistic events to unfold, he reproduces this modernist division. Furthermore, just as digital algorithms are misleadingly promoted by their creators as efficient and unbiased mediators that produce fairer results, insulated from the prejudices of human decision making,[21] Cage's "algorithm" also turns out to be a human construct. The process of selecting what inputs and outputs to utilize shows the taste and biases of the users of the algorithm.

21. Recent critics point to the ways that algorithms, in fact, embed human biases in hidden and pernicious ways that resist transparency and accountability. For example, see Noble 2018 and O'Neil 2016 for discussions on current concerns about racism (among other biases) in the deployment of algorithms into policy-making and institutional evaluation and decision-making practices.

This analysis of the archive of M also suggests that Cage was aware of the contingencies in book production that shaped a book's bibliographic codes. However, he worked to conceal this messiness of printing within a closed system of textual transmission that he constructed and maintained control over. We can see that the few degrees of freedom that Cage offered to the printer are minimal in comparison to the strict guidelines he provided and enforced. Instead of proposing radical new printing techniques, Cage used the traditional materials and forms available to him. He effaced the social processes of bibliographic performance by using a variety of aleatory techniques to give the appearance of a radical text. In fact, he produced a text amenable to printing practices — it still fits within the margins of the page, is bound, and can be shelved next to other books — and to authorial control over the resulting bibliographic codes. The five books he published with WUP also share similar covers and formats.

Cage provides some explanations in M about the printing process, but he keeps most of it hidden. For instance, in the Foreword of M, Cage explains the process of selecting the title of the book: "The title of this book was obtained by subjecting the twenty-six letters of the alphabet to an I Ching chance operation. As I see it, any other letter would have served as well, though M is, to be sure, the first letter of many words and names that have concerned me for many years (music, mushrooms, Marcel Duchamp, M.C. Richards, Morris Graves, Mark Tobey, Merce Cunningham, Marshall McLuhan" (1973, ix). Cage puts the traditional acknowledgement of the design and printing of the book into tension with the generative agency of aleatory machinations when he writes, "this book was printed by the Halliday Lithograph Corporation and bound by Stanhope Bindery. Designed with the aid of I Ching chance operations" (1973, 219). By explaining some elements of his process (the selection of typefaces for several pieces), but concealing others (the notes to the printer only appear on the edited typescript), Cage reveals only what he wants to reveal, precisely defining where in the process of the text's socialization he wants to position the reader and what he allows them to observe.

Sabatini (1989) suggests that Cage's use of italicized notes throughout his books to introduce and explain his texts delimits the text's interpretation and controls the reader: "Reading is only truly reading, the italics imply, when it follows Cage's rules (e.g., each story in 'How to Pass, Kick, Fall, and Run' [in *A Year from Monday*, published in 1967 by Wesleyan University Press] takes one minute to read)" (80). A critique of control fits into a commentary on Cage's art in general, in which his conceptions of chance and indeterminacy — as methods of liberation from oppressive formulas

of Western aesthetic convention — are in tension with his heightened authorial control (Shultis 1995; Piekut 2015). Cage subverts artistic intentionality through the algorithm of the *I Ching* and other techniques even as his taste and aesthetic interests still guide the selection of texts, how the chance operations will activate the bibliographic codes, and the final arrangement of textual products in each book (including his efforts to correct any printer errors).

Even as Cage exercised more control over the text in many ways, the randomness that he incorporated into his writing had the effect of dispersing authorship between the algorithmic processes of the *I Ching*, the databases that held textual elements, and the performance of the reader of the text. As Spinosa (2016) suggests in regard to the Cunningham mesostics:

> the poems are written by a sort of collective involving Cage, who asks the questions, and Cunningham, whose work dictated the source texts Cage would choose from and which books he ultimately chose, but also including the I Ching and the Letraset typefaces, all working together. Finally, we must also include the reader in this collaborative view of the poems' production. As the reader enters in the comunis of communication with the texts and takes value from the intensities of the noise produced in the asyntactical poems, she engages in this production in a manner that Cage, as author, can neither control nor predict.
> (37)

It is also clear that Cage assembled his texts using algorithmic logics (based on the procedure and random values assigned by the *I Ching*) and database logics (breaking down collections of literary sources into individual units that could be assembled and "processed" through the *I Ching* and his instructions and selection process). Together, these logics gave him great control over how his systems of texts functioned, even if he was unable to predict how the final output would appear. Cage maintained control over the selection of his source materials and processes of assembly, and in the final edit, selected texts that fit with his taste and aesthetics.

Examination of Cage's *M* suggests that indeterminacy may best be conceptualized as a relative rather than absolute attribute of texts and can emerge in a range of bibliographic practices. Such an adjusted concept of indeterminacy fits within the history of other avant-garde literary practices that employed chance. Jonathan Baillehache (2013) sees parallels between the aleatory text-generating practices of 1930s avant-garde artists and more

recent experiments in randomized, algorithmic assembly of electronic texts: "Whether using computational algorithms to create generative poetry, shuffling bags to produce Dada poetry, mixing various print techniques to craft Futurist poetry, or creating new writing protocols to generate Surrealist prose, avant-garde literature performs a misuse of our most familiar media that brings forth their respective materiality" (54). The surrealists employed cutups, random word grab bags, and automatic writing techniques to incorporate randomness and indeterminacy into the production of texts. Similarly, hypertext, electronic poetry from the 1990s–2000s, and more recent glitch-based and digital texts constructed from unpredictable computer algorithms continue to play with the relationship between chance, textual performance, and the constraints of the medium of expression. Aesthetic indeterminacy can thus be seen as a hybrid mode of engaging with the expressive affordances of the landscape of available media formats to produce artistic works that simultaneously remove the will of the creator, promoting new and unpredictable aesthetic elements to emerge, while at the same time putting the creator in the role of creating the rules and systems by which those elements may emerge. The creation of those rules and systems is social as much as it is aesthetic and aleatory.

Conclusion

Analyzing Cage's M brings new insights about indeterminacy into the performance of bibliographic codes. Cage's practices of assembling this book suggest that a key distinction between printed and digital texts may lie between the space-time configuration of the indeterminacy of bibliographic performance and that of reading/interpretation. While the indeterminacy of digital texts can be attributed to the fact that their bibliographic codes are performed *at* the space-time of reading/interpretation, the indeterminacy of printed texts often remains hidden away in the archives of print production. The indeterminacy of a printed text can thus be conceptualized to unfold not just at the time of reading, but earlier — during the printer's interpretation of copytext as a bibliographic performance. This bibliographic performance is indeterminate to some degree in the production of all types of texts — after all the compositors and printers may make mistakes, errors might crop up, paper quality might fluctuate, etc. However, the degree of indeterminacy is intensified for experimental texts that actively work

against conventions and that may require that the printer take an active role. The fixity of print, seen as a process that occurs over time-space, is thus indeterminate — given to chance and the unpredictable and contingent actions of human and machinic actors — both in terms of its bibliographic codes (which typically appear fixed) and its linguistic codes that emerge at the time of reading. These tensions play out in all books, but experimental texts often use indeterminacy as part of their aesthetic, and often this is foregrounded and made apparent to shape the time of reading. These tensions play out in different ways over time, with indeterminacy of bibliographic performance and the indeterminacy of reading having different meanings in different historical moments. Marjorie Perloff (1981), for instance, defines the anti-Symbolist poetry that emerged in late 19th and early 20th-century, "from Rimbaud to Stein, Pound, and Williams by way of Cubist, Dada, and early Surrealist art", as a mode characterized by its "indeterminacy and undecidability" (vii). Indeterminacy in linguistic codes thus has a history of its own, but it begs the question of how these different forms of indeterminacy, especially with the rise of digital texts, can be understood and contextualized within particular historical configurations.

The case of Cage's book publishing offers an intriguing way to investigate practices of aesthetic indeterminacy in printed texts, and for exploring how the pre-print archive can be incorporated into conceptualizing the encoding of bibliographic codes and their performance as print. Investigating Cage's practices of bibliographic encoding through an examination of the documents available in his archive offers insight into how pre-print archives can be used to recover the hidden "source code" of printed books. Since the bibliographic codes of Cage's books are shaped by elements of indeterminacy and chance generated through the algorithms of the *I Ching*, analyzing them helps to further conceptualize the continuities and discontinuities between printed and digital texts around the role of indeterminacy in shaping a text's bibliographic performance and its underlying code.

Applying a blend of bibliographic and historical analysis to Cage's *M* helps identify new directions for considering how avant-garde aesthetics of indeterminacy and chance may negotiate the restrictions of the fixity of print. Notes from the author to the printer are important evidence of negotiation between philosophical concerns and the materialization of bibliographic codes. This helps us reconsider the continuities and discontinuities in bibliographic practices around printed and digital texts. While eBooks and other digital media have greater complexity

in terms of the technical operations required to properly render them for human viewing, they can offer greater potential for recovering the context of the performance of the text because material traces are present within the substance of the eBook and its sites of manifestation. At the same time, for print, while the moment of textual performance may be recovered through archival research, its origins are typically absent from the substance of the printed book and the time-space of reading. In terms of temporality, the bibliographic codes of a printed text are performed at the site of printing and then disseminated to readers, while digital texts can be seen to be distributed and then "performed" at the time of reading, as the underlying code is used to generate an image on the screen of the digital viewing device. Thus, a key distinction between digital and printed texts lies in the varying degree of temporal displacement between a text's bibliographic performance and the time of its interpretation/reading. The temporality of the *I Ching*'s algorithmic performance in Cage's work places it further in the past (days, months, or years between drafting the manuscript and printing instructions, approving proofs, and printing the book) than the temporality of the rendering of digital texts on a mobile device or computer screen (in the milliseconds of digital transmission, storage, and display).

While clearly Cage's work draws on aleatory processes in the production of bibliographic codes, we can also see other layers of indeterminate processes occurring throughout a text's "circuit of communication" (Darnton 1982). Every reading of every text for every reader is indeterminate, from the historical contingencies of binding, distribution, and purchasing, up until the point of reading. Thus, avant-garde practices that incorporate chance operations and indeterminacy into the encoding of bibliographic codes can be seen as one type of indeterminacy, perhaps best described as *aesthetic indeterminacy*, when randomness, chance operations, or unpredictable systems are used as expressive aesthetic elements within an artist's aesthetic practice. On the other hand, we can acknowledge the social and historical contingences by which all texts are socialized and the indeterminate and unique interpretive event of each reading. Investigating the pre-print archive and the underlying "code" used to perform a printed book's bibliographic codes shows that printed texts and digital texts perhaps have more in common than is often acknowledged. Thus, bibliographic analysis needs to consider indeterminacy as a property of all texts, emerging at different points throughout a text's performance and transmission.

Analyzing Cage's archival materials reveals a process of bibliographic encoding that is algorithmic and determined by chance, yet also highly aesthetic and driven by Cage's personal taste. This fusion shows how printed texts often embed some of the same tensions we see being discussed in the context of digital texts: the relation between code and text, and the role of human and non-human agents in the production of bibliographic codes. The algorithm that determines those codes (even when hidden in a "black box") remains enmeshed in the social landscape in which algorithms, data sources, and the results of algorithms are selected by and interacted with by human agents. We need to ask the question, who chooses the datasets and the algorithms, and determines what forms those outputs will take to be human-readable?

Nick Seaver (2018) suggests that an anthropological approach to algorithms can help to overcome the myth that they are "powerful, inhuman, and obscure" (377). While algorithms in contemporary discourse are constructed as autonomous technical agents, Seaver (2018) points out that they are constantly being changed and refined by humans, and that "by attending to the ordinary life of algorithmic systems, anthropology can contribute some much-needed empiricism and particularism to critical discourses on algorithms" (381). Seaver's approach can perhaps be expanded by a bibliographic approach that consider the algorithms as texts. Malte Ziewitz (2016) describes the mythology of algorithms as founded on what he calls the "algorithmic drama", constituted by three themes that he identifies in discourses on algorithms: *Agency* (algorithms are agents or participants in social life), *inscrutability* (algorithms are difficult to observe or fully know), and *normativity* (algorithms engage in the "political, ethical, or accountable") (2016, 8). These are important dimensions to consider for the study of the figure of the algorithm in scholarly investigation, but each is fraught and its meaning unsettled, which for Ziewitz is precisely the point: "Once converted to an object of critical inquiry, however, the figure tends to disappear into a range of other concepts and relations. In light of this multilayered contingency, the goal cannot be to come up with an ultimate recipe, a set of more or less detailed instructions, for studying algorithms [. . . .] Rather, the goal should be to keep our inquiries generative enough to invite us to revisit some of our own assumptions and beliefs of what an algorithm actually *is*" (2016, 10).

The aleatory aspects of algorithms in today's information platforms have been downplayed in favor of their predictive capabilities in a wide range of systems (determining who gets loans, who gets hired, who goes

to jail, and who is a national security risk). A sociology or anthropology of algorithms can give insight into these trends and can be complemented by bibliographic approaches that examine archival materials. In the case of algorithms, this archive could include the code repositories used to construct them and the writing and editorial process that is often tracked through version control and commenting systems. The databases that feed the algorithms can also be studied bibliographically and socially, as data is "cleaned" and datasets are "curated". In research and industry, data may be "massaged" or even potentially fabricated as demonstrated in the recent #SpiderGate controversy involving irregularities in datasets describing spider behavior (leading to numerous paper retractions from prestigious academic journals) (Kozlov 2022).

Thinking about algorithms in the context of printed books also helps us to explain why algorithmically produced non-book texts have flourished in the current post-Web 2.0 era. We see the displayed outputs, but not what went into them. If we can unpack these algorithms by looking at their inputs and outputs and their shaping by human and non-human agents, we can gain insight into the human agency at work in the design and selection of algorithms and databases. This will not be easy for many platforms, given the care taken by corporations in protecting their proprietary algorithms. Still, my invitation is for textual scholars to develop a set of tools for unpacking the algorithm and identifying what traces of human and non-human agents can be studied in the current universe of digital texts, an approach guided by engagement with printed and hand-written texts, a close reading of their materiality, and engagement with new types of archival collections.

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Testi teatrali tra *performance* e lettura

Il caso studio de *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* dell'Accademico Intronato Alessandro Donzellini

Anna Terroni

Abstract

The following essay sets out to investigate the complex nature of theatrical texts by taking into account the fact that in the field of dramatic textuality there aren't any certain authorships, but instead a polymorphy of testimonies in which it is difficult and inappropriate to aspire to consumptive "ne varietur". The analysis of sixteenth-century comedies should therefore attempt to combine textual philology with the history of performance. A suitable case in point for this work is the unpublished comedy "The excess of love and fortune" *composed between 1571 and 1592 by the Intronato academic Alessandro Donzellini, whose manuscript and printed tradition reveals a series of macro-variants that can be organized into recurring typologies, demonstrating the fact that in the field of dramatic textuality there is no standard version of the text, but as many versions as were required by different performance contexts.*

I. La complessità del testo teatrale e alcune proposte metodologiche

Lo studio critico dei testi teatrali richiede necessariamente che si abbandoni l'applicazione di qualsiasi principio di economia che, data la natura intrinsecamente complessa di questi ultimi, rischierebbe di sfociare in soluzioni eccessivamente semplicistiche. In realtà, negli ultimi anni, la discussione sulla plausibilità di delineare uno specifico campo di attività di una filologia che possa definirsi "teatrale" ha portato a cristallizzare il dibattito attorno a due poli che sembrerebbero apparentemente distinti: "da un lato c'è il teatro-testo, dall'altro il teatro-spettacolo" (Scannapieco 2014, 27). Secondo questa netta partizione, l'esigenza di

riconoscere l'esistenza di uno specifico campo d'attività filologico per i testi drammaturgici non sussisterebbe perché il filologo che ha a che fare con testi teatrali si confronta con una tipologia di testi che, come tutti gli altri, deve rispondere alle esigenze basilari della pratica ecdotica; cioè, la ricostruzione del testo in una forma che sia il più adeguata possibile alle evidenze emerse dal vaglio critico della tradizione. Per quanto riguarda la distinzione netta fra teatro sulla scena e teatro letterario si tratta in realtà, come ha ben notato Fumaroli, di un "falso dilemma" (1990, 7) che impone di scegliere fra termini assolutamente incompatibili. Il rischio è, infine, quello di ridurre l'estrema vitalità delle opere teatrali attraverso una semplicistica separazione che spoglia le stesse dei propri elementi costitutivi. Proprio per questo è fondamentale individuare un campo d'azione specifico della filologia dei testi teatrali che, proprio per la loro natura poliforme, richiedono un peculiare approccio metodologico che rifugga ogni tipo di generica semplificazione. Un contributo essenziale nella descrizione delle opere drammaturgiche come "aperte", destinate ad un "perpetuo rinvio della definitività" (Scannapieco 2014, 30) è sicuramente quello di Donald F. McKenzie, che così ha efficacemente individuato una delle difficoltà maggiori di una filologia del testo teatrale:

> Non solo il testo drammatico è notoriamente instabile, ma, qualunque sia il copione, è sempre niente di più che un pre-testo per l'occasione teatrale, una soltanto delle sue parti costitutive. Le componenti di un simile evento sono il drammaturgo, il regista, lo scenografo, i compositori i tecnici; i messaggi sono trasmessi mediante il corpo, la voce, il costume, le impalcature, la scena, le luci; i segnali sono resi in forma di movimenti, suono, colore e perfino odori; le onde luminose e sonore indirizzano i messaggi delle forme dialogiche e sceniche, del gesto, della musica ai sensi del pubblico.
>
> (1999, 155)

Effettivamente, l'opera teatrale è molto più che un'opera esclusivamente letteraria; essa è intrinsecamente legata al contesto performativo per cui è pensata, contesto che di volta in volta può variare e che presuppone una serie di messaggi comunicativi non verbali che sono per loro natura effimeri e che dunque non possono essere ricostruiti a posteriori, almeno non nella loro interezza. Certo, il lavoro è più semplice per il teatro più vicino ai nostri giorni, per il quale gli strumenti di registrazione hanno reso possibile, attraverso l'audio e il video, la conservazione dello spettacolo (Vescovo

2022, 153).[1] Ma per il teatro antico, nello specifico per il teatro popolare dei secc. XVI e XVII,[2] tecnologie di questo tipo non possono essere applicate per ovvie ragioni. Questo assunto non deve però portare a desistere dal "fare filologia" su questi testi, ma anzi ad applicare ad essi un metodo di analisi che sia specificamente adatto alle loro caratteristiche. Più che in altri casi, infatti, il testo teatrale è caratterizzato da una genetica instabilità, dovuta alla sua intima relazione con il contesto scenico, che "obbliga la scienza del testo a contaminarsi con molto altro" (Pieri 2022, 167) in quella che potrebbe essere definita una "filologia del contesto" (Pieri 2022, 167).

Un altro problema non secondario dei testi teatrali è quello riferibile all'autorialità. Infatti, in relazione alla composizione di testi teatrali prodotti per essere messi in scena, l'autore "figura come elemento, e sia pur decisivo, di un ingranaggio che, se da un lato inevitabilmente ne alimenta e al tempo stesso ne modella la creatività, dall'altro ne mette anche in ombra la centralità, o l'univocità, 'autoriale'" (Scannapieco 2014, 33). Basti pensare che il capocomico acquistava la proprietà sul testo attraverso regolare compravendita, il che significava esercitare un "libero esercizio sull' 'originale', trasponibile in una serie potenzialmente illimitata di copie non conformi, o conformi solo alla fisiologica esigenza di adattare il testo in funzione di nuovi contesti spettacolari" (Scannapieco 2014, 34). La crisi del concetto di proprietà influisce inevitabilmente sulla tradizione del testo che, venendo meno i principi fondamentali della pratica ecdotica come quello di "originale" e di "volontà d'autore" (già concetto di per sé problematico), si presenta inevitabilmente come una tradizione centrifuga in cui ha poco senso orientare gerarchicamente i testimoni in funzione dell'ultima o della prima volontà d'autore. Piuttosto, sarebbe necessario individuare, attraverso un attento spoglio variantistico, i diversi momenti redazionali a cui ciascuna testimonianza può essere ricondotta. Ciascuna redazione rappresenta, dunque, una diversa modalità in cui l'opera è stata concepita per adeguarsi agli innumerevoli fattori esterni che già sono stati

1. In realtà, strumenti di questo tipo non "conservano" lo spettacolo, ma lo "documentano", in una forma comunque parziale e non sostitutiva della performance vera e propria.
2. L'analisi delle commedie del XVI sec., scritte in un epoca in cui il teatro di ascendenza classica si contaminava con forme di teatro popolare laico e religioso, farse, sacre rappresentazioni etc., dovrebbe cercare di coniugare la filologia testuale con la storia della performance, analizzando in particolare il contesto materiale in cui i testi sono stati prodotti e diffusi. Come nota Pieri nei suoi studi più recenti (2022, 165–79).

elencati, modalità che non può essere considerata di minore o maggiore importanza rispetto alle altre. Il riconoscimento della natura paritaria delle testimonianze non deve essere interpretato come indifferentismo, come rifiuto o impossibilità di prendere una posizione interpretativa sul testo, ma anzi come raggiungimento della consapevolezza riguardo a quelle caratteristiche consustanziali al testo teatrale, che l'editore ha il dovere di evidenziare e conservare. La conseguenza editoriale più significativa "è ravvisabile nell'impaginazione dei testi, che esclude una distinzione gerarchica al loro interno: non si relega insomma in apparato (o più verosimilmente) in appendice la redazione che, a diverso titolo, può essere giudicata non conforme all' "originale" o di valore storico-critico ed estetico accessorio, per la semplice ragione che, nei casi specifici, si sono riconosciuti come non sussistenti tali parametri valutativi" (Scannapieco 2014, 37).

Uno dei nodi cruciali di una filologia che voglia definirsi teatrale è, dunque, quello di coniugare la critica testuale con una tradizione amplificata e duplice, letteraria e spettacolare (delle quali la seconda potenzialmente illimitata). Se è pur vero che ogni testo, e quindi ogni edizione, è a sé, sembra che ancora non si sia trovata una metodologia comune, un *modus operandi* condiviso che possa essere applicato in ambito di filologia drammaturgica. A questo proposito, si proporrà nella parte successiva del saggio un interessante caso di studio che non pretende di risolvere il complesso dibattito sul teatro, ma che può essere utile ai fini della comprensione di queste problematiche perchè obbliga a confrontarsi con molte delle difficoltà ecdotiche sopra illustrate. Si tratta della commedia inedita *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* dell'accademico Intronato Alessandro Donzellini, databile alla fine del XVI sec. Sebbene il lavoro sul testo sia ancora ad una fase preliminare di approfondimento, l'analisi della struttura dei testimoni superstiti della tradizione ha portato alla luce alcune scoperte molto interessanti.

II. Il caso studio: la commedia *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* di Alessandro Donzell

Cenni biografici

Alessandro Donzellini nacque fra il 1542 e il 1545 a Bolsena, nel Lazio, dal matrimonio fra Bernardino Donzellini (detto Bonte) e Antonia di Latino.

Alessandro ebbe sei fratelli, con cui trascorse la giovinezza nella casa "posta nel *borgo dentro* di Bolsena sul lato dell'antica piazza del Comune verso il lago e a confine con due strade vicinali" (Fagliari 1993, 11). Il primo atto pubblico in cui compare il nome di Alessandro Donzellini risale al 6 maggio 1561, quando a Roma diventò notaio a soli 19 anni. Sempre nello stesso anno, cominciò a esercitare la professione nella sua città d'origine dove visse con la famiglia fino all'inverno 1568, quando decise di sposare Celia Ronzetti. Dall'unione con la donna nacque, poco dopo le nozze, il primogenito Giovanni Battista. Dopo la morte della moglie, Alessandro decise di prendere gli ordini sacri e "il 21 settembre 1612 dal vescovo di Orvieto è nominato canonico della collegiata dei Santi Giorgio e Cristina" (Fagliari 1993, 14). Morì appena un anno dopo, nell'estate del 1613. Durante la sua vita, Alessandro Donzellini ricoprì vari incarichi pubblici nella zona volsenese: fu non soltanto notaio, ma anche cancelliere e priore del Comune di Bolsena e più volte maestro della scuola pubblica locale. Collaborò con importanti famiglie romane, fra cui i Farnese, i Colonna e i Conti: proprio a Orazio Conti è dedicata, infatti, la commedia di nostro interesse, *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna*. Quello che però maggiormente interessa ai fini del nostro studio è sicuramente l'attività letteraria di Donzellini, che fu parte della senese accademia degli Intronati[3] con il nome di accademico Stordito. Fra le sue opere, numerosi testi storici, agiografici e drammaturgici. In particolare, la sua produzione teatrale conta una tragedia, la *Tyria*, due commedie pubblicate a stampa vivente l'autore, *Tempesta amorosa* e la nostra commedia, *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna*, e una commedia mai pubblicata a stampa, la *Madonna Fiammetta*. Sebbene la produzione di Donzellini sia ad oggi considerata marginale, prova dell'apprezzamento che gli fu riconosciuto fra i suoi contemporanei, che

3. L'Accademia degli Intronati, fondata nel 1525, prese questo nome per significare il desiderio dei fondatori di ritirarsi dal rumore del mondo, dal quale erano come storditi ("intronati", appunto), per dedicarsi alle commedie e agli studi di lingua e letteratura. L'inizio della sperimentazione drammaturgica degli Intronati è tradizionalmente considerato il 1531, quando fu messa in scena la commedia *Gl'ingannati*, firmata collettivamente dagli accademici. Un elemento particolarmente significativo per comprendere l'attività e l'impegno degli Intronati è, ad esempio, la loro partecipazione attiva ai festeggiamenti per il soggiorno dell'imperatore Carlo V a Siena nel 1536. La messa in scena di un'opera teatrale, *L'amor costante*, proprio per questa occasione non può essere considerata un evento occasionale, ma piuttosto una precisa volontà di rischioso schieramento ideologico e politico di intellettuali particolarmente influenti. Per maggiori informazioni sull'Accademia si rimanda a Seragnoli 1980.

dimostra l'importanza fondamentale del recupero e dell'analisi approfondita dei suoi testi, è per esempio la recente scoperta che Pierfrancesco Cambi, uno degli accademici cruscanti che per primo lavorò alla composizione delle schede lessicografiche per il primo Vocabolario della Crusca (1591–1593 circa),[4] effettuò, fra gli altri, anche lo spoglio della commedia di nostro interesse, di cui registrò e segnalò alcuni modi di dire e usi linguistici significativi.[5]

La commedia Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna

Dopo la tragedia *Tyria*, Donzellini diede alle stampe *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* nel 1585 per i tipi del fiorentino Bartolomeo Sermartelli. La commedia, dedicata a Orazio Conti, è un'opera giovanile dell'autore, la cui composizione è difficilmente inquadrabile dal punto di vista cronologico, come dimostra la sua complessa tradizione testuale. L'opera, infatti, si caratterizza per una complessa *mouvance* testuale che avvalora l'ipotesi secondo cui il testo teatrale non nasce immediatamente per la lettura, ma è concepito per la messa in scena; di conseguenza è un testo continuamente variabile a seconda delle esigenze dell'ambiente scenico, che potevano cambiare anche da una rappresentazione all'altra in funzione dei gusti del pubblico e del contesto. In questo senso, si può affermare che l'opera sia databile fra la fine del 1571 e il 1585. Il 1571 è *terminus post quem* che si ricava da un indizio storico interno al testo della commedia: durante la narrazione, infatti, si fa riferimento alla liberazione dalla schiavitù di uno dei personaggi principali della vicenda, Partenio, che era stato fatto prigioniero dopo la battaglia di Lepanto;[6] quindi è necessario che la commedia sia stata scritta dopo la battaglia stessa. Il *terminus ante quem* è invece, allo stato attuale degli studi, il 1585, quando l'opera fu data alle stampe per la prima volta. Tuttavia, la datazione è provvisoria e parziale, dal momento che uno dei testimoni più recentemente scoperti dell'opera, che sembra tramandarne una redazione del tutto diversa, è datato al 1592: è possibile, dunque, che a una prima stesura del testo della commedia fra ultimo terzo del 1571 e 1585, poi data alle stampe, sia seguita una versione successiva e completamente nuova, non è chiaro se autoriale o meno, probabilmente destinata a un diverso contesto performativo.

4. Benucci 2018, 299–315.
5. Per la parte dello spoglio del Cambi relativa alla commedia *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* si rimanda all'immagine 1, appendice II. Il manoscritto consultato è il ms. 10 (ex VIII), Manoscritti, biblioteca dell'Accademia della Crusca, c. 366*r*.
6. Il passo ha quindi il *terminus post quem* del 7 ottobre 1571.

Descrizione dei testimoni:

1. Il primo testimone scoperto della commedia è il manoscritto 844 conservato alla Beinecke Library presso l'università di Yale, New Haven (sigla Y). Cartaceo, cc. 106, 225x170 mm. Il testo è scritto in un' unica colonna in campo aperto e risulta copiato, probabilmente da un'unica mano, in umanistica corsiva con vari gradi di rapidità. Sulla maggior parte delle pagine la carta è gravemente danneggiata da macchie di umidità nel centro e nel margine alto e la lettura risulta così spesso compromessa. Alla carta 105*v* il manoscritto è datato al 1572, ma la data sembrerebbe aggiunta in un secondo momento visto che né l'inchiostro utilizzato né la grafia corrisponderebbero con quelli della mano principale. La filigrana è la stessa su tutto il codice, probabilmente raffigurante un'ancora iscritta in un cerchio, ma non presente nel *Dictionnaire* di Briquet. La legatura è coeva in cartoncino e pelle.
2. Passando ai testimoni a stampa della commedia, l'*editio princeps* (sigla A) è stata stampata nel 1585 a Firenze per i tipi di Bartolomeo Sermartelli ed è conservata in 13 esemplari. 149 cc., [3] p., 8° (EDIT16 CNCE: 17739), impronta: raa- i.et a.a- meri (3) 1585 (R). Sul frontespizio, così come nel *colophon*, è presente una marca tipografica raffigurante una tartaruga che tiene sul guscio una vela con giglio fiorentino racchiusa in una cornice figurata. Nel *colophon*, la cornice della marca tipografica è arricchita nella parte inferiore da uno scudo su cui è inscritta l'iniziale B.
3. La seconda edizione a stampa dell'opera (sigla B) è stata stampata nel 1592 a Firenze sempre nella stamperia Sermartelli (più precisamente per i tipi di Michelagnolo Sermartelli), è stata effettuata sul modello della *princeps* ed è conservata in 8 copie superstiti. 175 cc., [5] p., 12° (EDIT16 CNCE: 42680), impronta: nodo b-,e e.a- Mede (3) 1592 (R). Sul frontespizio, così come nel *colophon*, è presente una marca tipografica identica a quella descritta per la *princeps*.
4. Il testimone della commedia più recentemente scoperto è il manoscritto H.XI.28 conservato alla Biblioteca comunale di Siena (sigla S). Cartaceo, cc. 36 (bianche le cc. 28–36), 290x210 mm. Il testo è scritto in una unica colonna in campo aperto e risulta copiato, probabilmente da un'unica mano, in umanistica corsiva con vari gradi di rapidità. Sulla maggior parte delle pagine la carta è gravemente danneggiata da macchie di umidità nel centro e nel margine alto e la lettura risulta così spesso compromessa. Alla

c. 27*r* il manoscritto è datato al 1592. La filigrana è la stessa su tutto il codice, probabilmente raffigurante una pantera (o un felino simile) iscritta in un cerchio, ma non presente nel *Dictionnaire* di Briquet. La legatura è moderna in cartone.

Partendo dall'analisi della vicenda narrata in Y e in A, la trama della commedia risulta essere estremamente intricata, secondo lo schema tipico dei testi drammaturgici del XVI sec., nella cui tradizione si inserisce l'opera. Sullo sfondo del Palazzo romano di Ottavio Farnese, la vicenda mette in scena attraverso complesse vicissitudini il contrasto fra Amore e Fortuna, caro alla cultura dell'epoca. Senza entrare troppo nel dettaglio, lo schema è il seguente: Olimpia, detta Ifigenia, ama Cleandro, che è però innamorato di Amata, che a sua volta ama Partenio, che è invece innamorato di Ifigenia. Questa prima catena amorosa è già abbastanza efficace per rendere la complessità della trama. Attorno a questi personaggi principali ruotano poi tutta una serie di personaggi tipo del genere comico: il vecchio padre avido, la cortigiana spregiudicata, il servo fedele e quello stolto, il capitano, vile fanfarone. La trama si svolge senza una vera e propria agnizione finale e porterà al ricongiungimento di Olimpia e Partenio: Partenio rivela di essersi liberato dalla schiavitù in cui lo tenevano i Turchi dopo la battaglia di Lepanto (1571) e di essersi stabilito a Roma perché credeva che la sua amata e futura sposa Olimpia fosse morta. Ma anche Olimpia credeva che Partenio fosse morto così, quando scopre la verità, i due si ricongiungono e le altre vicende amorose si risolvono di conseguenza.

Come già affermato, *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* si offre come caso di studio particolarmente calzante per dimostrare la mobilità dei testi teatrali proprio per le caratteristiche della sua tradizione, manoscritta e a stampa, che rivelano una serie di macro-varianti suddivisibili in tipologie ricorrenti che dimostrano il fatto che in ambito di testualità drammatica non esista una versione standard del testo, ma tante versioni quante ne erano richieste dai diversi contesti performativi. Occorre innanzitutto specificare che la tradizione del testo è stata organizzata in due rami principali: il primo, che comprende, in ordine cronologico, Y, A e B e il secondo che include S. Lo studio partirà, dunque, dal confronto specifico dei due testimoni Y e A. La ragione di questa scelta è motivata dal fatto che il testimone B presenta una redazione conforme alla *princeps* (A), sulla cui base è modellato; S, invece, sarà trattato indipendentemente, dal momento che sembra appartenere ad un ramo completamente distinto della tradizione del testo. Partendo da queste precisazioni preliminari, si cercherà, dunque, di individuare le principali tipologie di varianti desumibili dal confronto fra Y e A per

proporre infine un approccio metodologico che tenga conto della natura intrinsecamente variabile del testo.

Prima tipologia: modifiche del testo per renderlo più agevolmente recitabile e comprensibile dal pubblico attraverso la performance. In questa categoria rientrano tutte quelle varianti, emerse dall'analisi della tradizione del testo, che sono giustificabili nella loro evidenza come tentativo, da parte dell'autore o di un copista, di migliorare la resa scenica dell'opera e la sua efficacia sugli spettatori in un determinato contesto performativo. Caso emblematico per comprendere questa prima tipologia di varianti è sicuramente quello del prologo della commedia, che anche a una prima lettura risulta molto differente in Y rispetto ad A. Il prologo di Y si presenta come un preambolo discorsivo, estraneo all'azione, in cui la voce narrante si rivolge direttamente al suo pubblico con finalità programmatica; si specifica infatti la materia della commedia e la sua finalità: "che il principale intento di questa Comedia che pur hora appresentarvi intendiamo, altro non è, che dimostrarvi il modo di vincere AMORE, e FORTUNA, empî tiranni del mondo, sotto i cui stipendî vanî accidenti in Roma spiegar vedrete".[7] Particolarmente interessante e non molto frequente nei testi comici del XVI sec. è il fatto che nel prologo di Y. si faccia riferimento non soltanto alla rappresentazione scenica della commedia ("Ora non aspettate, che io vi reciti l'argomento della favola, perchè questo è uffizio de i primi, che usciranno in su la scena"[8]), ma anche alla lettura del testo teatrale come testo di diletto e intrattenimento con funzione edificante: "Il contenuto solo della Comedia vi faria di mestieri, e quella si potria ancor leggere da ciascuno nelle sue case, e quivi apparar(e) di schifare e fuggire i vitî, e apprendere modesti costumi".[9] Di natura completamente diversa è, invece, il prologo della *princeps* (A) che innanzitutto è preceduto da una dedica al destinatario dell'opera, Orazio Conti, e da una favola allegorica, su modello delle favole classiche di Esopo, destinata ai lettori. Segue il prologo vero e proprio che, abbandonato l'andamento discorsivo, torna ad essere dialogico e allegorico (quindi pensato per la performance scenica), secondo il modello plautino.[10] Il dialogo si svolge fra due personaggi che poi non

7. Immagine 2, appendice II.
8. *Ibidem*.
9. Immagine 3, appendice II.
10. Nelle edizioni a stampa de *Gli oltraggi*, il prologo è conforme alla consuetudine cinquecentesca nella quale esso è recepito nella sua codificazione classica. Basilarmente, il prologo ereditato dalla tradizione latina si presenta come un personaggio vestito di una toga bianca e coronato di alloro, più o meno esplicitamente presentato quale *alter ego* dell'autore, e proprio con queste

prenderanno parte alla vicenda, Sterope, allegoria della Notte, e Prologo, tradizionalmente presentato come vestito con una toga bianca e coronato di alloro, qui personificazione della Luce. Anche in questo caso, il discorso verte sull'insegnamento che la commedia si propone: solo negli animi forti vive l'amore puro, perché sono capaci di vincere la Fortuna ricorrendo all'intelletto e alla virtù. Se accettiamo che la *mouvance* testuale proceda dal ms. di Yale alla stampa e non viceversa, ipotesi che risulta essere la più plausibile per giustificare nel modo più economico e coerente il tracciato variantistico del testo e la sua funzione, allora l'esempio del prologo è esemplificativo della tipologia di varianti in cui è inserito dal momento che la resa dialogica di quest'ultimo per renderlo recitabile sulla scena attraverso un dialogo risultava sicuramente più agevole e comprensibile dal pubblico rispetto a un monologo della voce narrante.[11] Nella stessa casistica rientra anche il fenomeno dell'eliminazione delle scene a una sola voce: monologhi, spesso lunghi e articolati con funzione digressiva e didascalica rispetto alla trama vera e propria dell'opera, che avrebbero potuto annoiare gli spettatori o, cosa ancora peggiore, distrarli dalla vicenda principale, spesso già di per sé molto articolata e complessa. Non stupisce dunque che nella versione a stampa di *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* siano eliminate tutte le scene a una sola voce, per velocizzare e rendere più appetibile lo spettacolo in funzione della sua ricezione. Un esempio significativo di questo fenomeno all'interno della commedia è la scena seconda dell'atto I: in Y essa è occupata da un monologo del personaggio Pedante, nella *princeps*, invece, il monologo è eliminato e la scena seconda è un dialogo fra Ifigenia (Olimpia) e la sua balia Ercolina, che compare come scena terza dell'atto I in Y.[12]

Seconda tipologia: modifiche al testo necessariamente introdotte per supplire a disagi "esterni" all'opera, cioè a esigenze materiali e/o economiche della compagnia teatrale o dello spazio di messa in scena. Nel Rinascimento italiano, infatti, le commedie erano rappresentate, con vari gradi di fedeltà ai loro modelli classici, in una varietà di luoghi: piazze

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caratteristiche è presentato nella versione a stampa della commedia di nostro interesse. Il prologo del teatro latino, in cui compaiono figure allegoriche e divinità, viene recuperato e reinterpretato dal teatro popolare cinquecentesco in cui lo spazio introduttivo è destinato a riflessioni metaletterarie portate avanti sempre più spesso da personificazioni di concetti astratti (nelle edizioni a stampa de *Gli oltraggi* il prologo è un dialogo fra *Prologo* simbolo della *Luce* e la *Notte*). Refini 2006, 35 n3: 61–86.

11. Immagini 4 e 5, appendice II.
12. Immagini 6 e 7, appendice II.

pubbliche, case private, teatri o contesti "cortesi" di vario tipo. Diversi spazi scenici richiedevano dunque spesso cambiamenti radicali nella struttura della commedia: fattori come la lunghezza della vicenda, la disponibilità di attori e di spazio per le quinte e per la recitazione, la possibilità di rapidi cambi di costume potevano condizionare pesantemente il lavoro dell'autore, portandolo inevitabilmente a inserire modifiche al testo per renderlo adeguato alle nuove esigenze esterne. In questa casistica rientrano tutte quelle varianti che riguardano l'eliminazione di personaggi minori: la rimozione di alcuni personaggi secondari era, infatti, frequente dato che più personaggi implicavano una complicazione dell'organizzazione dello spazio scenico se si pensa, ad esempio, che uno stesso attore doveva recitare più parti, che richiedevano tempi tecnici da rispettare, come quelli per il cambio di costume. Questo creava non pochi problemi, soprattutto se il numero stesso degli attori era esiguo. Anche in questo caso, la commedia di Donzellini è un esempio chiarificatore: nel passaggio dal ms. di Yale alla *princeps*, infatti, sono eliminati alcuni personaggi minori, fra cui per esempio Pedante, la cui eliminazione si spiega plausibilmente con il fatto che con la loro presenza avrebbero complicato la messa in scena. L'eliminazione del personaggio Pedante comporta anche il taglio di tutte le scene in cui lo stesso compariva: proprio per questo nel passaggio da Y ad A, per esempio, è eliminata la scena sesta dell'atto III, a cui prendevano parte appunto Pedante, Cleandro e Moschetto: in A la scena sesta corrisponde alla settima di Y, ovvero quella a cui prendono parte Rutilio, Rondone e Vignarolo.[13] Le macro-differenze che emergono fra il testimone manoscritto di Yale (Y) e la stampa (A) supportano l'ipotesi che queste modifiche siano state effettuate molto probabilmente per rendere la commedia più performabile. In questo senso, se sosteniamo che la *mouvance* testuale proceda dal ms. alla stampa, anche soltanto dagli esempi citati si evince come effettivamente i cambiamenti avrebbero potuto avere proprio questa finalità. Viene così a definirsi meglio il grande divario esistente tra i testi teatrali pensati per la rappresentazione scenica vera e propria e altri che venivano pensati per la lettura a esclusivo scopo di intrattenimento. Molto probabilmente, nel nostro caso, Y conserva una prima stesura della commedia che, più lunga e articolata, era destinata alla lettura; al contrario A testimonia una forma del testo, più sintetica e agevole, che è stata poi cristallizzata dalla stampa e che probabilmente rappresentava una struttura più vicina a quella pensata per la messa in scena. Un elemento che potrebbe avvalorare la nostra ipotesi è il fatto che, nel prologo di Y, si faccia riferimento alla commedia

13. Immagini 8 e 9, appendice II.

come testo di lettura e diletto, precisazione completamente assente nel prologo dell'edizione a stampa.

È possibile tuttavia che, quando le modifiche e gli adattamenti risultassero troppo numerosi e complessi o quando il contesto storico-sociale in cui l'opera veniva rappresentata fosse troppo lontano da quello per cui inizialmente era stata concepita, si procedesse alla realizzazione di una nuova redazione della commedia. Sembrerebbe proprio che *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* presenti anche questo caso: S, il testimone più recentemente scoperto, databile 7 anni dopo la prima edizione a stampa e ben 20 anni dopo la datazione presente su Y, presenta un testo della commedia completamente diverso da quello presente negli altri testimoni. Diminuisce il numero e cambia il nome e il ruolo di numerosi personaggi, cambia completamente la trama e l'organizzazione degli atti, IV e non più V e con un numero ridotto di scene. Sebbene lo studio delle varianti strutturali di questo testimone, e la loro rilevanza ai fini della tradizione testuale, dovranno essere valutate attraverso uno studio più approfondito del manoscritto, già ad una prima analisi sembra evidente che S sia stato composto, non è chiaro se da Donzellini o da un altro autore, per esigenze performative completamente nuove, a distanza di molti anni dalle prime rappresentazioni della commedia.

La natura molto instabile di questo testo richiede un'analisi approfondita delle varianti tra i testimoni e di quelle di S, che sembra appunto costituire una rielaborazione completamente diversa del testo, a riprova di quanto appena detto. L'obiettivo finale dello studio sarà quello di proporre un'edizione critica dell'opera che tenga conto della sua fluidità e metta in luce l'importanza di Donzellini e della produzione teatrale tardo-cinquecentesca, troppo a lungo trascurata. Il lavoro editoriale procederà dunque con attenzione a non appiattire la mobilità testuale, ma anzi valorizzando le diversità fra i Y e A. Per quanto riguarda B, trattandosi di una redazione conforme alla *princeps*, l'attenzione si focalizzerà sulla ricerca di eventuali varianti interne che potrebbero essere state effettuate nel passaggio dalla prima alla seconda edizione a stampa. Per S invece, trattandosi di una redazione completamente diversa dell'opera, si procederà con un'analisi indipendente dal momento che il confronto con gli altri due testimoni e la riduzione delle novità di S in apparato risulterebbe non soltanto troppo complessa, ma rischierebbe di far perdere, come già affermato, la percezione di S come testimone indipendente e di paritario valore rispetto agli altri. *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* rappresenta, dunque, un caso di studio particolarmente interessante che ribadisce il fatto che nel campo della testualità drammatica non esiste una versione standard

del testo, "né originali manoscritti, né autorialità sicure" (Pieri 2022, 167), ma una molteplicità di forme che ci tramandano tante versioni del testo (potenzialmente illimitate) quante ne richiedevano i diversi contesti di rappresentazione.

Università di Pisa

Appendice I

Tabella 1: schematica raffigurazione della struttura dell'opera nei testimoni analizzati.[14]

Testimoni	Atti totali	Prologo	Atto I	Atto II	Atto III	Atto IV	Atto V
Y	Cinque	Discorsivo	12 scene	12 scene	12 scene	12 scene	15 scene
A/B[14]	Cinque	Dialogico e allegorico	10 scene	10 scene	11 scene	11 scene	13 scene
S	Quattro	Non presente	7 scene	10 scene	8 scene	6 scene	Non presente

Tabella 2: schematica rappresentazione dell'organizzazione dei personaggi[15] dell'opera nei testimoni analizzati.

Y	A/B	S
1. Corinthio Sorrentino, detto Partenio innamorato d'Ifigenia, servo di Rutilio. 2. Broglia servo di Cleandro 3. Capriccio famiglio del Capitano 4. Pedante 5. Olimpia Sorrentina, detta Ifigenia innamorata di Cleandro 6. Ercolina sua balia	1. Corintio Sorrentino detto Partenio 2. Broglia servo di Cleandro 3. Capriccio famiglio del Capitano 4. Olimpia Sorrentina detta Ifigenia 5. Ercolina Balia 6. Clitia Artemidora Cortigiana 7. Cleandro innamorato 8. Avarista ruffiana	1. Rutilio scultore 2. Calidonio mercante 3. Dorico detto Adone innamorato 4. Curzio servitore 5. Aquilina Ruffa 6. Egidia cortegiana 7. Aspromonte capitano 8. Capriccio servitore 9. Porzia detta Serpilia 10. Fagiulo servo scemo di Rutilio 11. Frondosa balia

(*Continued*)

14. Essendo B redazione conforme ad A, i due testimoni verranno per comodità analizzati in una sola colonna della tabella, dal momento che sono identici per organizzazione del testo e personaggi.
15. Il sistema dei personaggi della commedia è estremamente complesso e mutevole nel passaggio da una redazione all'altra. Tuttavia, a livello onomastico, è

Tabella 2 Continued

7. Clizia Artemidora Cortigiana innamorata di Cleandro 8. Avarista sua madre 9. Calidonio vecchio padre d'Ifigenia 10. Vignarolo del medico 11. Viscardo medico padre di Cleandro 12. Cleandro innamorato di Amata 13. Aspromonte capitano 14. Amata figliuola di Rutilio, innamorata di Partenio 15. Rutilio innamorato di Clizia cortigiana 16. Colorita fante di Amata 17. Moschetto ragazzo di Cleandro 18. Rondone famiglio del Rutilio 19. Farfaricchio ragazzo di Rutilio 20. Bargello 21. Notaio	9. Calidonio il vecchio 10. Vignarolo del Medico 11. Viscardo Medico 12. Aspramonte Capitano 13. Amata figliuola di Rutilio 14. Architetto 15. Rutilio 16. Colorita fante di Amata 17. Moschetto ragazzo 18. Rondone famiglio 19. Bargello 20. Notaio	12. Circenia moglie di Rutilio 13. Colorita fante di Egidia 14. Anteo forestiero 15. Riccardo servitore 16. Bargello

possibile individuare alcune scelte molto interessanti da parte dell'autore: molti personaggi, infatti, sono dotati di no mi parlanti che ne evidenziano fin da subito le caratteristiche fisiche o caratteriali (in questa sede si forniranno soltanto alcuni esempi più emblematici). Il nome Rutilio, per esempio, deriva dall'antico gentilizio romano, diventato poi nome personale, *Rutilius*, a sua volta dal soprannome latino *rutilius*, "rosso", con chiaro riferimento al colore dei capelli. Ancora, il nome Partenio continua il nome greco Παρθένιος (*Parthenios*), derivante dal termine παρθένος (*parthenos*), che significa "vergine", "puro", nome scelto probabilmente per identificare fin da subito il personaggio per la castità che effettivamente nella narrazione lo contraddistingue. Per concludere con un esempio di nome femminile, la regalità e la nobiltà di Olimpia, detta Ifigenia, è già interna al suo stesso nome: Olimpia, infatti, è nome che deriva dall'antico nome greco Ολυμπιας (*Olympias*), tratto dal nome del monte Olimpo, come adattamento femminile o come etnonimo, quindi "[abitante] dell'Olimpo", allo stesso modo Ifigenia continua il nome greco Ιφιγενεια (*Iphigeneia*), composto dalle radici ιφιος (*iphios*, "forte") e γενης (*genes*, "nato") o γενος (*genos*, "nascita", "generazione", "stirpe"), nome che può essere interpretato come avente il significato di "[donna] di forte stirpe"

Appendice II

Immagine 1: ms. 10 (ex VIII), c. 366*r*, Biblioteca dell'Accademia della Crusca, Firenze. L'immagine mostra la pagina dello spoglio per il primo Vocabolario della Crusca dedicata da Pierfrancesco Cambi alla commedia *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna* di Alessandro Donzellini.

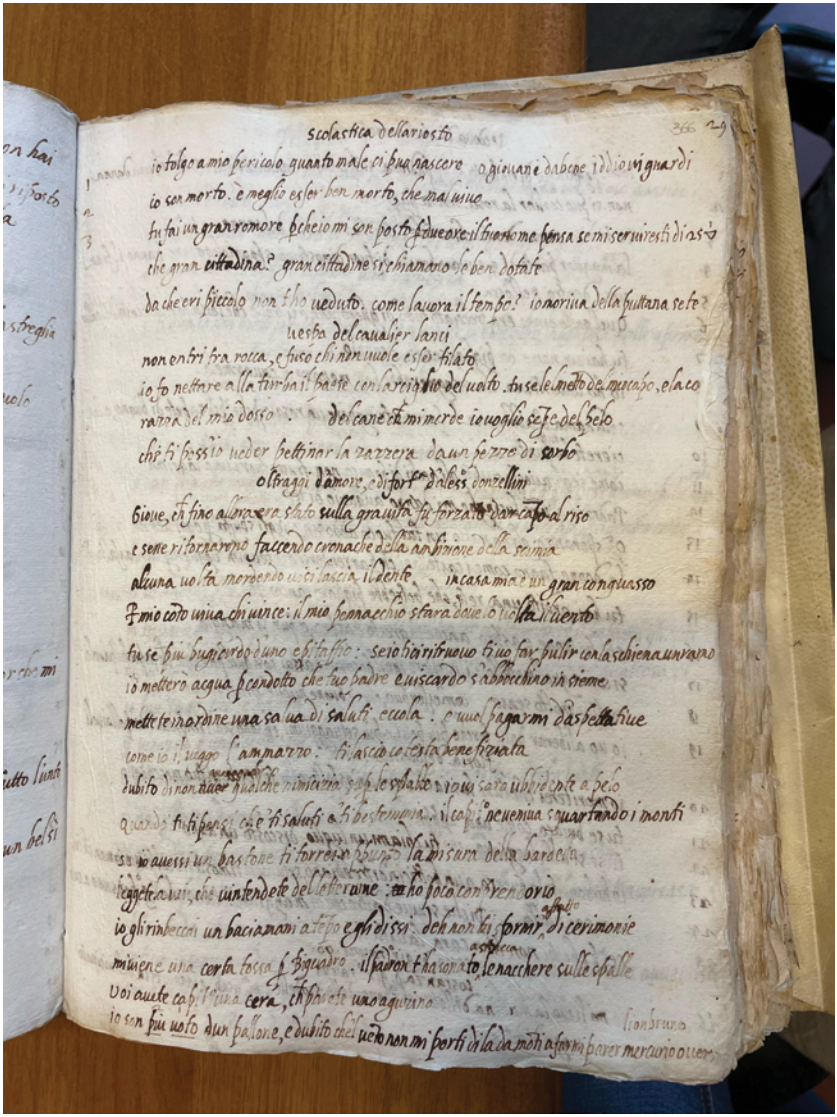
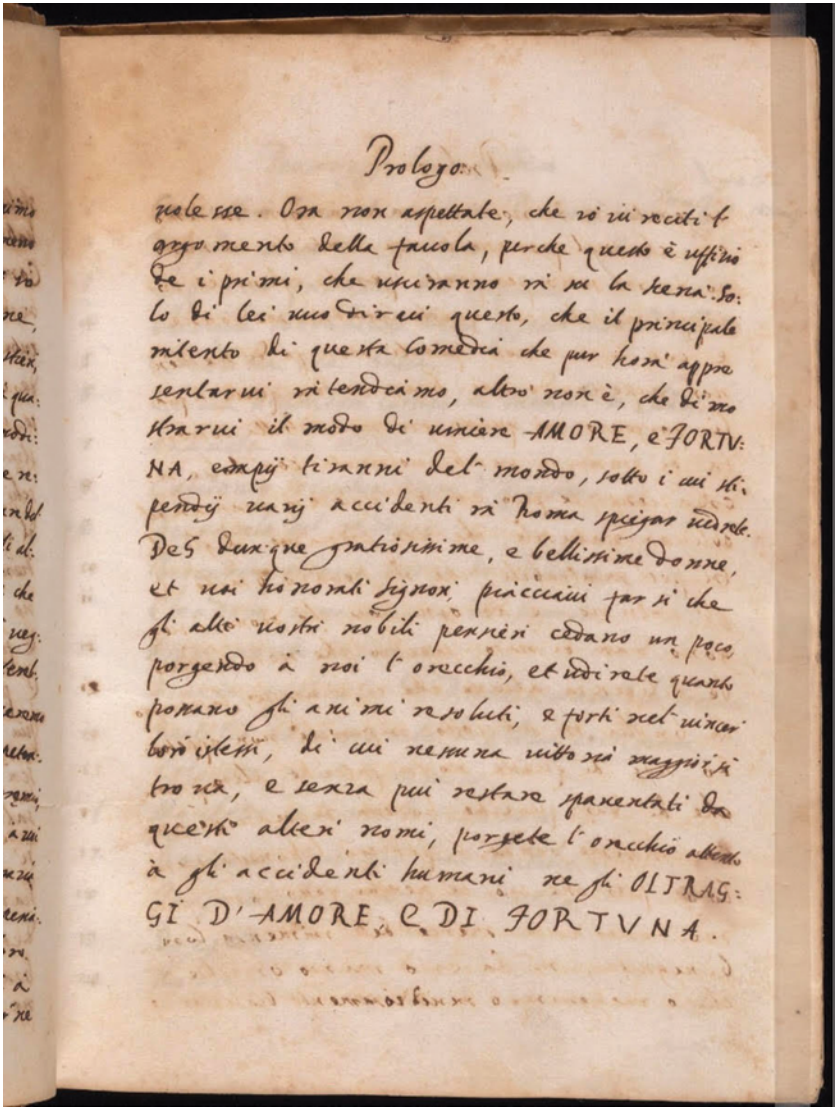


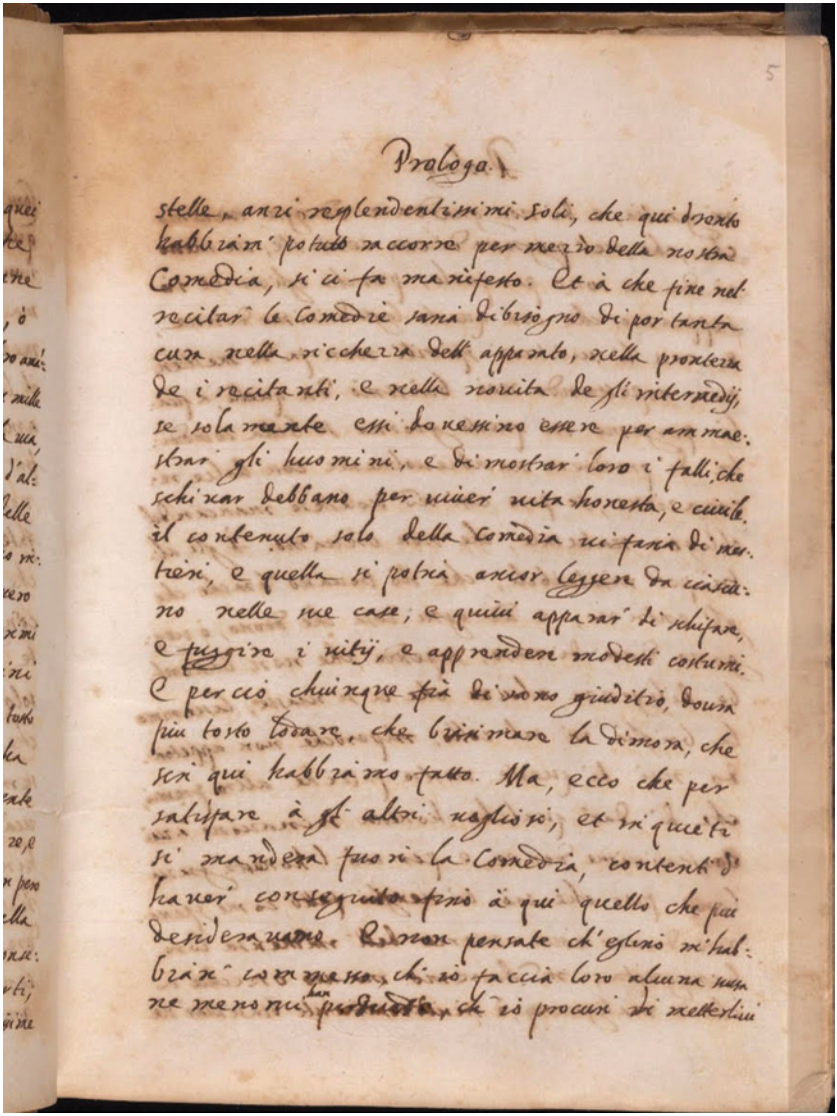
Immagine 2: ms. 844, Medieval and Reinassance manuscripts, Beinecke Library, Yale's University, New Haven (Y), c. 6*r*. L'immagine mostra la parte del prologo di Y che allude alla lettura della commedia come testo di intrattenimento.



Prologo.

quale sse. Ora non aspettate, che io vi reciti l
argomento della fauola, perche questo è uffizio
de i primi, che seruiranno vi se la scena. So:
lo di lei vuo dirui questo, che il principale
intento di questa Comedia che pur hora appre
sentarui vi tendeciamo, altro non è, che di mo
strarui il modo di uincere AMORE, e FORTU:
NA, empij tiranni del mondo, sotto i cui sti
pendij varij accidenti vi Roma spiegar vedrete.
Des Dux gne gratiosissime, e bellissime donne,
et voi honorati signori, piacciami pur vi che
gli altri vostri nobili pensieri cedano un poco
porgendo à noi l'orecchio, et vedrete quanto
possano gli animi resoluti, e forti nel uincer
bori istessi, di cui nessuna vittoria maggiore
trouarà, e senza più restare spauentati da
questi alteri nomi, porgete l'orecchio attento
à gli accidenti humani ne gli OLTRAG:
GI D'AMORE, E DI FORTVNA.

Immagine 3: ms. 844, Medieval and Reinassance manuscripts, Beinecke Library, Yale's University, New Haven (Y), c. 5*r*.

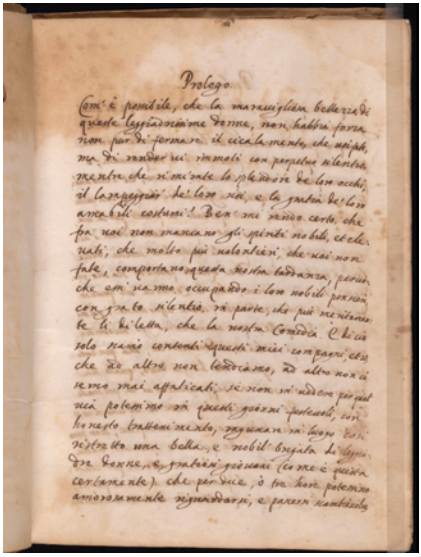


5

Prologo.

stelle, anzi resplendentissimi soli, che qui dovuto
habbiamo potuto accorre per mezzo della nostra
Comedia, si ci fa manifesto. Et à che fine nel
recitar le Comedie sarà di bisogno di por tanta
cura nella ricchezza dell'apparato, nella prontezza
de i recitanti, e nella novità de gli intermedij,
se solamente essi dovessero essere per ammae-
strar gli huomini, e dimostrar loro i falli, che
schivar debbano per vivere vita honesta, e civile.
il contenuto solo della Comedia ci farà di mae-
stri, e quella si potrà andar leggere da ciascu-
no nelle sue case; e quivi apparar di schivare,
e fuggire i vitij, e apprendere modesti costumi.
e perciò chiunque sarà di buono giudicio, dovrà
più tosto tornare, che biasimare la dimora, che
sei qui habbiamo fatto. Ma, ecco che per
satisfare à gli altri vagliosi, et ai quieti
si andarà fuori la Comedia, contenti d'
haver conseguito fino à qui quello che più
desiderauamo. Non pensate ch'eglino mi hab-
biano commesso, che io faccia loro alcuna sum-
ma ne meno mi han prodotta, che io procuri di metterlui

Immagini 4 e 5: ms. 844, Medieval and Reinassance manuscripts, Beinecke Library, Yale's University, New Haven (Y), c. 4*r* e 17739: Donzellini, Alessandro, *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna*, *editio princeps*, 1585 (A), 12. Le immagini mettono a confronto il prologo di Y e di A per evidenziare le differenze strutturali che ne emergono.



Prologo

12

Il Prologo lo fanno due personaggi, vno in abito di Sterope ministro di Vulcano con vn martello nella destra, & vn tizzone spento nell'altra mano; che con ispauento fa la prima cõparsa veduto il lume. L'altro personaggio è il Prologo in abito corto, e risplendente, con corona di lauro, e vn ramo d'oro in vna mano, nell'altra vna torcia accesa.

La Scena è Roma, e la principale prospettiua è il Palazzo del Duca Ottauio Farnese.

STEROPE, E PROLOGO.

Ste. *MBRE mie fide amiche, non lasciate di oscurar con atro, e tenebroso velo quest'aura à me nimica tanto: e pria che l'odiata luce mi tocchi, là conducete i miei passi doue al mio gran Padre Vulcano possa apportare aiuto di qualche sorte.*

Pro. *Ritorna grata, e dolce aurora, sorgi con l'aureo crine, e con la fronte di rose, scarca di nebbia, come far suoi nella stagion nouella; quando riscalda al Tauro il sol le corna.*

Ste. *Ma se piu graue, e noioso horrore aggiugner puoi negro tizzone; densa tu via maggiormente, il negro, e tenebroso volto di questa oscura notte.*

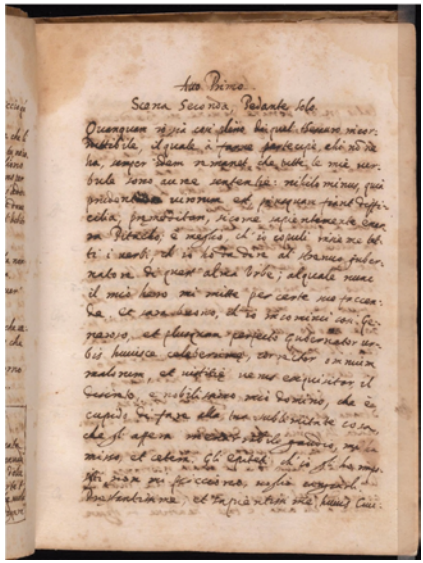
Pro. *Io lieto in tanto mouerò sicuro il piede, guidato da questa risplendente face; là doue quest'aurato ramo à nuouo onore di Minerua cõsecrare mi sia oõcesso.*

Ste. *Ma qual nemica improuisa luce m'offende? hoime.*

Pro. *Qual'ombra a' miei celesti disegni auuersa m'impedisce il corso de' miei felici affetti? Ombra noiosa, e graue, doue riuolgi tu il nero, e tremante piede, à destar forse il fatal tizzone di Meleagro?*

Ste.

Immagini 6 e 7: ms. 844, Medieval and Reinassance manuscripts, Beinecke Library, Yale's University, New Haven (Y), c. 11*r* e 17739: Donzellini, Alessandro, *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna, editio princeps*, 1585 (A), 23. Le immagini mettono a confronto le scene seconda e terza dell'atto I fra Y e A per dimostrare come, a causa dell'eliminazione delle scene ad una sola voce, la scena terza dell'atto I in Y. corrisponda alla scena seconda dello stesso atto in A.



PRIMO. 23

Par. Metterò Ratilio ne gli auuisi, voglio lenarmi di qui che venendo il Capitano, non mi riuscirebbe seco in quel modo che m'è riuscita con il famiglio.

Bro. Tu hai ragione andiamo, e se innanzi che sia giorno hai da andar'in altro seruizio andiamo pure.

Par. Ti ringrazio, a riseruirti.

SCENA SECONDA.

Ifigenia, Ercolina.

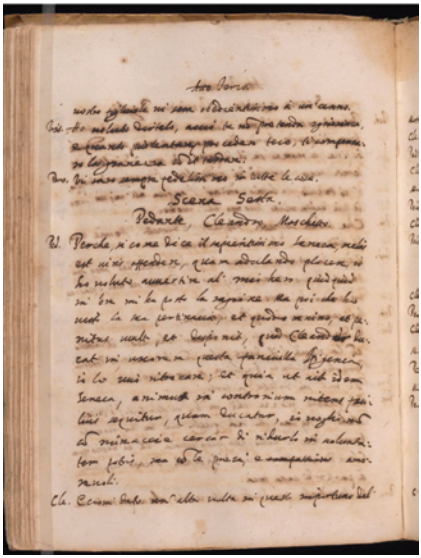
If. STRANA, & infelice sorte è la tua, misera sfortunata Ifigenia, che destandoti pur hora dal sonno, onde pensaui di quietare i lunghi trauagli, che tu sostieni, nella dolce & amara ricordanza di colui, che con la sua morte t'vccise; tuttauia colma di quel maggior trauaglio, che suole apportare amore à chi ama, e tace; ne ardisce di sfogare il fuoco che l'arde, d'inuisibile incendio mi consumo. & in così graue ardore, non pure non trouo luogo di quiete, ma quelle ombre che turbar mi sogliono nell'interrotto sonno, maggior pena m'accrescono, e maggior tormento. Ah balia mia, rouina del mio tranquillo, e sicuro stato.

Er. T'ho pur'io ingrata con le mie proprie orecchie intesa, questo è l'amore, che tu mi mostri? questo è il pagamento che mi dai del latte che ti diedi ne' tuoi teneri giorni.

If. Vh perdonatemi che non m'ero accorta di voi, e non ho detto così per farui ingiuria nò, ch'io di cuore m'ingegno d'amarui, e ben mi ricordo dell'obbligo che vi tengo. Ma non vi rincresca d'ascoltar

B 4 lo

Immagini 8 e 9: ms. 844, Medieval and Reinassance manuscripts, Beinecke Library, Yale's University, New Haven (Y), c. 57*v* e 17739: Donzellini, Alessandro, *Gli oltraggi d'amore e di fortuna, editio princeps*, 1585 (A), 91. Le immagini mostrano, nel passaggio da Y ad A, l'eliminazione della scena sesta dell'atto III, a cui prendevano parte Pedante, Cleandro e Moschetto: in A la scena sesta corrisponde alla settima di Y, ovvero quella a cui prendono parte Rutilio, Rondone e Vignarolo.



TERZO. 91

Ma ti dico per risoluerla, che tu disponga Cleandro alle nozze d'Ifigenia, ò vero risoluiti à partir da casa mia.

Bro. Sollecitate pur dal canto vostro, che vi prometto che vostro figliuolo vi sarà obbedientissimo à vn cenno.

Vis. Ho voluto dirtelo, acciò tu non pretenda ignoranza, e quanto piu lentamente procederò teco, ti compenserò la grauezza con il tardare.

Bro. Vi sarò fedelissimo in tutte le cose.

SCENA SESTA.

Rutilio, Rondone, Vignarolo.

Rut. TI s'è ancora passato il vino.

Penso di sì.

Rut. Ti ha fatto vtile quel rimedio.

Ron. Non so piu vbriaco nò.

Rut. Ti ricorderesti hormai com'è andata la cosa della collana.

Ron. Ho fatto quel che m'hauete detto io.

Rut. Quando tu gli hai parlato, come hai detto.

Ron. Non vi fidate, come hauete detto voi, ma non mi ha inteso.

Rut. Perche hoime.

Ron. Perche voi mi hauete detto, quando vò per vn seruizio à casa sua, che io dica le cose, che non senta nessuno, e perche nessuno non senta, non ha inteso manco lei.

Rut. O sfortunato Rutilio, anzi insensato à fidarmi del vino.

Piano

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Questioni di filologia dantesca

Le parole del cibo nella *Commedia*

Francesca Cupelloni

Abstract

This essay offers some linguistic remarks on food-related words in Dante's Comedy, with particular attention to variants in the manuscript tradition. This preliminary analysis is related to the research conducted within the Project PRIN AtLiTeG (Atlante della lingua e dei testi della cultura gastronomica italiana dall'età medievale all'Unità), *which aims to provide the first Corpus, Vocabulary and Atlas of ancient and modern Italian food language.*

Il Progetto PRIN *AtLiTeG* (*Atlante della lingua e dei testi della cultura gastronomica italiana dall'età medievale all'Unità*) ambisce a fornire per la prima volta una descrizione "storica, ragionata e critica" della lingua italiana del cibo (Frosini e Lubello 2023, 14). L'obiettivo è triplice: allestire una banca dati informatica dei ricettari e dei testi di interesse gastronomico preunitari (le cosiddette "fonti collaterali"), redigere il primo vocabolario storico del linguaggio della gastronomia (*VoSLIG*), realizzare un atlante geotestuale secondo un innovativo sistema di georeferenziazione.[1]

Il segmento cronologico iniziale, che va dagli inizi del Trecento alle soglie del Cinquecento, risulta uno dei momenti più ricchi e complessi. I più antichi ricettari che vi sono inclusi sono inquadrabili all'interno delle prime due grandi filiere testuali d'area italiana: la tradizione federiciana e quella cosiddetta dei "XII commensali".[2] Se i ricettari federiciani rappresentano probabilmente la più remota tradizione gastronomica del

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1. Per la descrizione e i primi risultati del Progetto, coordinato a livello nazionale da Giovanna Frosini (Unità di Siena Stranieri) e a livello locale da Sergio Lubello (Unità di Salerno), Rita Fresu (Unità di Cagliari) e Nicola De Blasi (Unità di Napoli Federico II), si rinvia a Frosini e Lubello 2023, Pregnolato 2023 e al sito ufficiale: https://www.atliteg.org/.
2. La nuova dicitura accolta dal PRIN, più denotativa e meno letterariamente o moralmente connotata rispetto a "XII ghiotti"; sulle ragioni della scelta si rinvia a Pregnolato 2023, 1028.

nostro Paese, i "XII commensali" sono invece senz'altro la più nota in àmbito italianistico in quanto a Dante tradizionalmente legata. Mantiene infatti ancora oggi un certo grado di suggestione, per quanto sia priva di elementi probanti, l'ipotesi ottocentesca che tentava di identificare i dodici ricchi goditori, destinatari di numerose ricette, con la brigata senese descritta in *Inferno* XXIX e poi consacrata come "spendereccia" o "godereccia", "la brigata in che disperse / Caccia d'Ascian la vigna e la gran fonda, / e l'Abbagliato suo senno proferse" (Redon 1993, 45; Laurioux 1996, 268–69).

All'estremo cronologico opposto del corpus testuale troviamo un ulteriore, significativo punto di contatto con Dante. Un ricettario di fondamentale importanza linguistica e culturale che documenta la straordinaria e ininterrotta fortuna della *Commedia*, anche a tavola: la *Scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene* di Pellegrino Artusi. Com'è stato recentemente notato (Frosini e Lubello 2023, 97), Artusi "costella" il proprio manuale di riferimenti danteschi; nella ricetta dell'anguilla arrosto scrive ad esempio: "Potendo, preferite sempre le anguille di Comacchio che sono le migliori d'Italia se non le superano quelle di Bolsena rammentate da Dante" (Artusi 1911, 343). Chiara è qui l'allusione a *Purg.* XXIV, 23–24 e alla vicenda di papa Martino IV che "purga per digiuno / l'anguille di Bolsena e la vernaccia";[3] è al papa dugentesco che, in virtù della proverbiale ghiottoneria, sono state peraltro ricondotte anche preparazioni come il *brodium martinum*, deonimico gastronomico presente nelle fonti culinarie latino-medievali della tradizione federiciana (Lubello 2008, 320). Il gastronomo di Forlimpopoli non si lascia dunque sfuggire l'unica menzione esplicita nel corso della *Commedia* di un cibo e di una bevanda; una menzione che potrebbe idealmente collocarsi all'origine delle odierne denominazioni d'origine protetta, insieme almeno al pane "sciocco" toscano di *Par.* XVII, 59 (Di Lauro 2023, 21).

Nonostante la rarità di terminologia culinaria *stricto sensu*, il riferimento al mangiare (e al bere) è comunque variamente presente in tutte e tre le cantiche con una distinzione marcata tra il valore proprio, ricorrente nell'*Inferno* e nel *Purgatorio*, e l'uso figurato, che è invece tipico del *Paradiso*. Lo ha dimostrato con grande chiarezza Luca Serianni (2007), che ha fornito il primo studio delle due fondamentali parole dantesche dell'area del mangiare, *fame* e *cibo* (rispettivamente, 17 e 16 occorrenze). Nove anni dopo è tornato

3. Dove *vernaccia* indica un "vino di provenienza ligure (il nome è una variante fonetica dell'odierna Vernazza, una delle Cinque Terre) e non, come oggi, il nome di un vitigno coltivato in molte parti d'Italia" (Serianni 2007, 63, n3).

sull'argomento Rosario Coluccia (2016), estendendo l'analisi alla parola *gola* e valorizzando, in linea con la prassi del nuovo *Vocabolario dantesco* (http://www.vocabolariodantesco.it/), una lezione scartata dall'edizione Petrocchi: la variante di *Par.* X, 111 "nea gola" (da leggere "ne à gola") del manoscritto Ashburnham 828 (c. 78*v*), generalmente giudicata *facilior* rispetto a "ne gola" (terza persona del presente indicativo di *golare* 'desiderare ardentemente'), preferita in tutte le moderne edizioni critiche (Coluccia 2016, 166).[4]

Più di recente, nel suo studio sulle parole del cibo e della manducazione nel celebre episodio di Ugolino — contraddistinto da una straordinaria "dismisura" lessicale: un verso su cinque contiene almeno una parola afferente al campo semantico alimentare — Fabrizio Franceschini (2023) ha richiamato l'attenzione anche su lezioni come *manuca*, recata da vari manoscritti antichi in luogo di *manduca* (*Inf.* XXXII 127), e *manducar* (invece di *manicar*) del manoscritto Riccardiano 1105 (*Inf.* XXXIII 60), dimostrando come un'attenta considerazione delle singole varianti possa precisare meglio alcune tendenze generali finora rilevate dagli studiosi (nel caso specifico, la specializzazione della variante *manicare* nelle forme rizoatone e di *manucare* in quelle rizotoniche).[5]

Il recupero di lezioni come queste assume dunque particolare importanza non soltanto nell'ambito di una valutazione stemmatica della tradizione della *Commedia* — che esula qui dal nostro interesse — ma anche per le notevoli ricadute storico-linguistiche, lessicali e lessicografiche, integrando (e, viceversa, essendo integrate da) una ricca quanto eterogenea documentazione quale quella gastronomica, che richiede un intenso lavoro di ricomposizione per poter essere correttamente interpretata. A questi "avanzi" apparentemente decidui relegati in apparato sarà dedicata gran parte delle pagine che seguono, offrendo alcuni primi assaggi che tengano sempre conto della reale circolazione testuale o geolinguistica delle forme, che sarà sondata attraverso i principali strumenti oggi a disposizione (incluso il nuovo corpus *AtLiTe*G).[6]

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4. La variante del codice Ashburnamiano "riappare in codici tardi e viene preferita da taluni chiosatori (Buti: 'n'ha desiderio') e dagli editori, dal Nidobeato e da Aldo ecc. sino alla '37, trascritta come 'ne ha gola' ovvero 'n'ha gola'" (Inglese 2021, 4: 167).
5. Per le varianti in esame si rinvia all'apparato Petrocchi (1966, 2: 558, 569); per la tendenza richiamata a Tavoni 2011, 1284.
6. Gli apparati indagati saranno quelli delle seguenti edizioni: Petrocchi 1966; Sanguineti 2005; Inglese 2021. Il piccolo repertorio presentato in queste pagine si basa sul testo critico della *Commedia* stabilito da Petrocchi. Quanto al

Avanzi ittiologici dalla *varia lectio* dantesca

Tra i membri della già citata brigata spendereccia s'annovera tradizionalmente Niccolò di Bonifazio de' Bonsignori, al quale, giusta l'identificazione,[7] Dante attribuisce l'importazione nella cucina toscana di una spezia ricercata e costosa come il chiodo di garofano: "e Niccolò che la costuma ricca / del garofano prima discoverse / ne l'orto dove tal seme s'appicca" (*Inf.* XXIX, 127–29).

Se voci come *garofano* (dal lat. *caryŏphyllum*, a sua volta dal gr. καρυόφυλλον) sono concordemente attestate dalla tradizione manoscritta della *Commedia*, altre parole del cibo presentano invece numerose varianti che restituiscono, non di rado, diverse forme d'uso locale. Si riportano di seguito alcuni esempi.

A una notevole variabilità si presta anzitutto *scardova*, pesce d'acqua dolce dalle squame molto grandi e dalle carni assai spinose e poco saporose, tipico della cucina popolare (*Scardinius erythrophthalmus*). La voce è antologizzata nell'unico florilegio ad oggi disponibile della letteratura gastronomica italiana ("ormai da rifare": Frosini e Lubello 2023, 7) curato negli anni Sessanta da Emilio Faccioli (1966 e 1987), che include *scarda* (e *scardola*) con la definizione di 'pesce della famiglia dei ciprinidi'. L'ittionimo d'origine germanica (da **skarda* 'tacca, crepa', poi passato in varie lingue romanze nel significato di 'scheggia, scaglia')[8] è documentato a partire dalla *Commedia*, dov'è *hapax* all'interno della similitudine di gusto comico-realistico che accosta le unghie degli alchimisti — afflitti, come si ricorderà, da un'eterna lebbra — al coltello con cui il cuoco raschia le grosse squame della scardova prima di cucinarla: "e sì traevan giù l'unghie la scabbia, / come coltel di scardova le scaglie / o d'altro pesce che più larghe l'abbia" (*Inf.* XXIX, 82–84).

D'uso raro e di forte colorito idiomatico (Bembo citerà il passo per esemplificare la frequente presenza in Dante di un lessico concreto e realistico), il sostantivo non può che ingenerare "qualche perplessità nei copisti" (Petrocchi 1966, 498–99). Tuttavia, accanto a forme patentemente

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corpus AtLiTeG, la banca dati, presto consultabile attraverso il web, è per ora strutturata come una piattaforma di lavoro condivisa dal gruppo di ricerca.

7. "Bonsignori, per i figli del poeta, Guido da Pisa e Benvenuto da Imola; Salimbeni, per il Lana, l'*Ottimo* e il Buti" (Canova 2023, 40).
8. Per l'etimologia della voce si rimanda al *DEI, Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*, s.v. *scardova*, che si limita tuttavia a rinviare al lat. mediev. *scarda*. Per la radice germanica cfr. *LEI. Lessico Etimologico Italiano, Germanismi* (voce non ancora redatta; è stato possibile consultare il prezioso archivio su cortese autorizzazione di Elda Morlicchio, che ringrazio).

erronee, si può osservare — con Inglese — la presenza di alcune alternative ammissibili (benché non fiorentine):[9]

- *cardona* (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, codice Parmense 3285; poi *u* sopra *n*);
- *scaldeva* (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, codice 10186);
- *scardina* (Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, codice 88);
- *scardona* (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, codice 40 22).

Alle forme elencate devono aggiungersi almeno *scardeva, scardola* e *scavarda*, di cui dà notizia Petrocchi (1966, 499) con generico riferimento a codici seriori,[10] nonché *scardapa*, con occlusiva bilabiale sorda, usata dal Maramauro nel suo commento (gli antichi esegeti toscani leggono invece concordemente *scardova*): "E dice: como scame di quelo pesce chiamato *scardapa*, o de altro pesce che l'abia più large". Non mancano poi i casi di perdita dell'ittionimo, come nel codice Italiano 538 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, dove "coltel di scardova" diventa "choltello discharna": il copista ricorre qui al dantismo *discarnare* (*Inf.* XXX, 69: "che 'l male ond'io nel volto mi discarno") e alla forma non apocopata *choltello*, uno di quegli utensili che insieme a *striglia* e *teglia* "sono tolti dall'ambiente popolare proprio della poesia comica, che è il registro scelto da Dante per questa bolgia" (Chiavacci Leonardi 1991, 874).

Quanto alla circolazione delle varianti, è la forma *scardona* del codice Laurenziano (alla quale potrebbe ricondursi anche *cardona* del Parmense, con perdita della *s-* iniziale)[11] a trovare il maggior numero di riscontri nella documentazione, letteraria e non. Compare ad esempio (ma al maschile) nel volgarizzamento fiorentino trecentesco del *Trattato d'agricoltura* di Piero de' Crescenzi, dove lo *scardone* è uno dei pesci che "son nelle parti di Lombardia" insieme a *cavedini* e *barbii*. Lo stesso elenco, in forma accresciuta, riaffiora significativamente nei *Banchetti* del ferrarese Cristoforo Messi Sbugo, recentemente editi per le cure di Veronica Ricotta (2023, 74): "barbi, cavedani, soette, scardoe".

All'Italia del nord rinviano anche la maggior parte delle attestazioni di *scardova*. I dati provenienti dallo spoglio dei vocabolari storici, dialettali e

9. Nell'elenco, ordinato alfabeticamente, si fa seguire a ciascuna variante il riferimento al codice relatore.
10. *Scavarda* trova riscontro ad esempio nel piemontese (Massimino 1986, 188) e nel novarese (Belletti 1988, 200).
11. Non si può escludere a priori l'ipotesi di riaccostamento al fitonimo *cardone*, pure documentato negli antichi volgari toscani e settentrionali (*Sermoni subalpini*).

del latino medievale mostrano infatti una particolare concentrazione del tipo lessicale in area padana;[12] si registra *scardova*, fra gli altri, nella *Rima lombarda de vallore*, in cui il pesce è posto in antinomia con la ben più pregiata trota (*TLIO. Tesoro della Lingua Italiana delle Origini*, s.v. *scardova*, https://tlio.ovi.cnr.it/TLIO/; Canova 2023, 40): "E de la Marcha la mior, ch'è Padova, / per so' maiori chi fom sì divisi / apreciava per truta la scardova."

I dizionari italiani e dialettali documentano analoghe opposizioni nel comparto paremiologico (il Cherubini attesta ad esempio il proverbio *dar la scardoa per ciappar al pess* 'dar poco per avere assai'),[13] rendendo evidente la fama di specie di qualità scadente che doveva probabilmente interessare la scardova già ai tempi di Dante. Che si trattasse di pesce di scarso pregio gastronomico per le sue carni liscose e amarognole è certificato, del resto, dal *De arte coquinaria* di Martino: "Scarde. Quocile come ti pare, ché non v'è grascia, né è pesce da farne stima" (Benporat 1996, 147). Ciò si riflette nelle stesse definizioni fornite dalla lessicografia, che è stato possibile passare agevolmente in rassegna grazie alla consultazione dell'archivio dei germanismi del *Lessico Etimologico Italiano*. Di seguito alcuni esempi rintracciati sotto la voce *scardola* (forma anch'essa documentata, come abbiamo visto, nella tradizione seriore della *Commedia*), preceduti dalla marca geolinguistica e seguiti dalla sigla del dizionario dialettale: veneziano antico *scardola* 'pesce vilissimo d'acqua dolce' (Rossi 1888), mantovano *scardola* 'pesce tenuto a vile che abita il lago' (Arrivabene 1882), veneziano *scàrdola* 'noto pesce d'acqua dolce che serve di cibo al popolo' (Ninni 1890).

A rimarcare ulteriormente la natura vile del pesce è l'adagio documentato in alcuni dialetti settentrionali: *la scardva a n'al l'ha voluda gnanca 'l diàol in sla so tàola* 'la scardova non l'ha voluta neppure il diavolo alla sua mensa' (Arrivabene 1882). La stessa connotazione infernale si rileva nella nomenclatura peschereccia lombarda: nel linguaggio dei pescatori la scardova è nota infatti come *pess del diavol* (Vivaldi 1968, 120). Considerati nel loro insieme, tutti questi elementi contribuiscono ad illuminare il contesto e le ragioni della scelta dantesca, rinviando concretamente a quella cultura materiale e domestica che Dante aveva avuto certo modo di "captare, assimilare, metabolizzare" (Pertile 2021, 18), specie nelle varie

12. Per il latino medievale cfr. Sella 1944, 511, s.vv. *scardeva, scardua*, con attestazioni settentrionali (Cavalpone 1307, Statuti rurali veronesi) e rinvio a *scarbata*.
13. Anche il *GDLI. Grande Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* riporta ad esempio sotto la voce *luccio* il seguente modo proverbiale: *gettare, buttare una sardella o una scardona per pigliare un luccio* 'dare poco per avere molto'.

tappe del suo esilio: "è la cucina che Dante può aver visto nei castelli e nei palazzi in cui, esule, è stato ospite, con l'agitarsi affannato di cuochi e sguatteri" (Frosini 2015b, https://www.casartusi.it/it/files/giovanna-frosini/download/?inbrowser=1/).

Di liquor d'ulivi e altri condimenti

Alla cucina monastica e alla sua dieta, composta principalmente di piatti di magro, rimandano invece i "cibi di liquor d'ulivi" di cui si nutre Pier Damiani assorto in contemplazione: "che pur con cibi di liquor d'ulivi / lievemente passava caldi e geli, / contento ne' pensier contemplativi" (*Par.* XXI, 115–17).

In una *varia lectio* formata principalmente da varianti fonetiche (*licor* con riduzione all'elemento velare, *olivi* con *o-* iniziale, ecc.: Petrocchi 1966, 4: 353), si registrano due varianti lessicali: *liquor d'ulivi* diventa *color d'ulivi* nel codice Egerton 943 della British Library e *lucor d'olivi* nel citato manoscritto Ashburnamiano; in entrambi i casi, la *varia lectio* risulta banalizzante, poiché semplifica la perifrasi (*color*) o la interpreta erroneamente (*lucor* 'luce', con successivo tentativo di correzione in *luquor*). La lezione promossa a testo, al pari delle sue varianti, non risulta altrimenti attestata nella letteratura delle Origini, dove figura soltanto l'espressione sinonimica *liquor d'olio* (Boccaccio, *Leggenda aurea*, ecc.).

Subisce variazione del determinante anziché del determinato il sintagma *cibo rigido* di *Par.* V 28 che indica, col valore traslato tipico della terza cantica, la "difficile lezione" (Serianni 2007, 66) impartita a Dante da Beatrice sul significato del voto: "convienti ancor sedere un poco a mensa, / però che 'l cibo rigido c'hai preso / richiede ancora aiuto a tua dispensa" (*Par.* V, 37–39).

Il cibo *rigido* diviene *ruvido* nel codice Laurenziano Pluteo 40 22, altro aggettivo attestato a partire da Dante (TLIO, s.v. *ruvido*); a variare è pure il sostantivo *dispensa*, che presenta la lezione alternativa *difensa* trasmessa da tre codici, Italien 539, Riccardiano 1014 e Trivulziano 1077. Viene così a formarsi la locuzione *a tua difensa*, che "potrebbe intendersi 'a tuo riparo', 'a tuo vantaggio', ma trivializzando così la non facile metafora della dispensa (in rima equivoca con *Par.* V, 25) come 'dispensamento e digerimento del cibo nel corpo'" (Inglese 2021, 3: 71).

In altri casi ancora è in gioco invece l'interpretazione dell'editore, come accade nell'unico luogo dell'*Inferno* "dove si vedano colori, giacché altrove tutto è grigio, o rosso di fuoco" (Chiavacci Leonardi 1991, 522):

"mostrando un'oca bianca più che burro" (*Inf.* XVII, 63). Com'è noto, si suole anche leggere — "o meglio si soleva" (Petrocchi 1966, 2: 284) — *ch'eburro*, con riferimento al latino ebur 'avorio', mentre è accolta concordemente dagli editori moderni la lezione *che burro*, con *burro* 'grasso alimentare ottenuto dal latte bovino'. Si tratta di un francesismo documentato nella tradizione letteraria italiana proprio a partire dal primo decennio del Trecento (Bencivenni e Dante); dalla ricerca compiuta nel corpus *AtLiTe*G se ne ricava però la quasi totale assenza nei libri di cucina italiani anteriori alla metà del XV secolo a significativa eccezione della tradizione dei "XII commensali", nella quale la voce risulta attestata nell'accezione di prodotto d'origine sia animale, sia vegetale.[14]

Tra *bolliti* e *bolenti*: modalità di cottura infernali

Nelle visioni medievali i dannati sono spesso trattati come cibi, "cotti, bolliti o fritti, o più spesso arrostiti, talvolta da abili diavoli cuochi, che li infilzano con spiedi e li girano sapientemente sul fuoco ardente come in un girarrosto, mentre altri diavoli versano su questo infernale arrosto umano non deliziose salse saporite ma incandescenti metalli fusi" (Ledda 2011, 97). Qualcosa di simile accade ai *bolliti* del dodicesimo canto infernale. Com'è noto, il termine qualifica i dannati immersi e "cotti" nel liquido bollente del Flegetonte: "Or ci movemmo con la scorta fida / lungo la proda del bollor vermiglio, / dove i bolliti facieno alte strida" (*Inf.* XII, 102).

L'aggettivo sostantivato, nella forma plurale, non è l'unico a comparire nei manoscritti della *Commedia*. Al netto di poche varianti grafiche, si registra una variante di sostanza nel codice Riccardiano 1005, che legge *bolenti*. La forma sarà da ricondurre al lemma *bogliente*, aggettivo solitamente impiegato in italiano antico nel senso proprio ('che è in ebollizione, caldissimo, ardente'), ma qui col valore di sostantivo e nell'accezione di 'chi è immerso e cuoce in un liquido bollente', il che rende la forma una peculiare (e infrequente) variante di natura lessicale (Coluccia e Manni 2021, 812). Quanto invece alla circolazione testuale di *bollito*, l'uso figurato e sostantivato, esclusivo del poema e dei suoi commentatori, è preceduto nella documentazione da quello proprio, aggettivale, che domina dalla fine del Duecento nelle scritture pratiche, e in specie nei ricettari di cucina. Si allega, a mero titolo d'esempio, la ricetta della torta di battuto, la numero 32

14. I dati sono tratti dalla voce *VoSLi*G a cura di chi scrive (s.v., in corso). Sulla forma dantesca cfr. Migliorini 1960: 415, 480; *LEI*, 8: 492 e n41.

del Riccardiano 1071: "e di questo battuto fae salsicce lunghe come raviuoli e fritte in olio assai molto bollito" (Pregnolato 2019, 270).

Oltre a *bolliti*, anche il co-occorrente *bollore* presenta un'interessante variante: *bulglion*, *lectio singularis* tràdita dall'illustre codice Palatino 313 della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (il cosiddetto "codice Poggiali"), di copista fiorentino e presumibilmente di datazione piuttosto alta (Inglese 2021, 80–82). Il francesismo gastronomico, col significato di 'brodo ottenuto mediante ebollizione' (da *bouillon*: *LEI*, 8: 141–42), è già duecentesco (*Memoriali bolognesi*, Rustico Filippi), benché assai raro: cinque occorrenze totali nel corpus *OVI* (http://gattoweb.ovi.cnr.it/). In casi come questo, la considerazione delle lezioni in apparato consente dunque di integrare le poche attestazioni restituite dalle attuali banche dati informatiche, a ulteriore riprova dell'utilità di un futuro "database delle varianti", inteso secondo gli auspici di Lino Leonardi (2021, 83).[15]

Sapor di forte agrume

Infine, qualche altra spigolatura a partire da un caso interessante non tanto per le sue lezioni alternative (esclusivamente grafo-fonetiche),[16] quanto per le sue sfumature semantiche. Nel diciassettesimo del *Paradiso* Dante ricorre in chiave figurata al sostantivo *agrume*: "a molti fia sapor di forte agrume" (*Par.* XVII, 117).

Il *TLIO* e il *Vocabolario dantesco* lo definiscono genericamente come cibo o ortaggio dal gusto forte e pungente. A tale altezza cronologica la parola indica infatti — "in conformità al linguaggio dei medici" (Carnevale Schianca 2011, 22) — un ortaggio e non un frutto; il significato di 'frutto delle rutacee appartenente al genere *Citrus*' non risulta documentato prima del Cinquecento (*LEI*, 1: 355).[17] Ma di quale tipologia di ortaggi potrebbe trattarsi più nello specifico? Lo spoglio della letteratura culinaria medievale

15. "L'ambiente digitale che si potrebbe costruire aumenterebbe sensibilmente le potenzialità di ricerca sulla tradizione manoscritta, sulle ricorrenze e viceversa le singolarità all'interno della varia lectio di un testo, ma anche di più testi diversi contenuti in uno stesso manoscritto, o dei testi di una data fascia cronologica, o trascritti da un dato copista" (Leonardi 2021, 82).
16. *Acrume, agrumme*, ecc. (Inglese 2021, 3: 290).
17. Il dato è confermato (e lievemente retrodatato) grazie al corpus AtLiTeG, che attesta il significato moderno a partire dal ricettario noto come *Cuoco napoletano* appartenente alla tradizione indiretta del libro di Martino (fine XV sec.-inizio XVI sec.).

d'area centrale e settentrionale consente di precisare meglio la definizione fornita dalla lessicografia storica mettendo a fuoco ciò che Dante potrebbe forse aver avuto in mente come figurante della sua metafora: un ortaggio da bulbo (cipolle, agli, porri e così via). Si allegano di seguito due esempi tratti dal repertorio di Carnevale Schianca (2011, 22–23):

- Acrumi sono de molte specie [. . .] como aglio, cepola e simile cosse (Ugo Benzi, *Tractato utilissimo circa la conservatione de la sanitade composto per il clarissimo et excellentissimo philosofo e doctore di medicina Messer Ugo Benzo di Siena*, Milano, 1481, a c. 12r);
- là dov'è acrume come cevolle, aglio, schalogne, porru e simele cose (Anonimo Padovano, ms. R 3550 Collection of the Guild of St. George, Ruskin Gallery, Sheffield, a c. 48v).

A riprova, si aggiunga la testimonianza precoce dello *Specchio della vera penitenza* di Passavanti, che sembra inserire gli agrumi nel novero degli ortaggi da bulbo: "Dicono i savi che porri, cipolle e agli e ogni agrume crudo [. . .] fanno avere i sogni terribili e noiosi" (Polidori 1856: 330).

All'osservazione della *varia lectio* ci riporta invece il caso di un ortaggio a foglia, *biado*, che compare due volte nel testo Petrocchi:

> erba né biado in sua vita non pasce / ma sol d'incenso lagrime e d'amomo, / e nardo e mirra son l'ultime fasce" (*Inf.* XXIV, 109–11);
> Come quando cogliendo biado o loglio / li colombi adunati a la pastura, / [. . .] / se cosa appare ond'elli abbian paura, / subitamente lasciano star l'esca, / perch'assaliti son da maggior cura (*Purg.* II, 124–29).

A differenza di Petrocchi e di Sanguineti, che accolgono *biado*, Inglese (2021, 20) mette a testo la variante adiafora *biada*, trasmessa da un numero notevole di testimoni. La scelta di Inglese trova corrispondenza nei dati linguistici: se è vero che *biada* e *biado* si alternano nei testi fiorentini a partire dal Duecento, spesso in riferimento — come nella *Commedia* — a un alimento per animali (*LEI*, 6: 230–35; *TLIO*, s.vv. *biado*, *biada*; *Vocabolario dantesco*, s.v. *biado*; Castellani 1952, 2: 841), è altresì vero che è la forma femminile a essere di gran lunga la più usata a Firenze nel Due-Trecento, con 724 occorrenze a fronte di 58 occorrenze del maschile (dati *OVI*). Inoltre, nel corpus *AtLiTeG* *biada* è il tipo esclusivo.

Appendice: verbi del consumo alimentare

Un nucleo specifico del lessico gastronomico dantesco è composto dai verbi. In questo settore, oltre a evidenti banalizzazioni (è il caso di *prandere* di *Par.* XXV, 24 — "laudando il cibo che là su li prande" — semplificato in *si prende* nel codice Poggiali, e di *cocea* di *Inf.* XII, 125 — "sì che cocea pur li piedi" — sostituito da *copria* in tre codici dell'antica vulgata), si registrano varianti lessicalmente più significative. È il caso del parasintetico *insaporare* 'prendere sapore', documentato esclusivamente in Dante e nei suoi commentatori (*TLIO*, s.v. *insaporare*): "sì come una schiera d'ape, che s'infiora / una fiata e una si ritorna / là dove suo laboro s'insapora" (*Par.* XXXI, 7–9). Come si può vedere nell'apparato Inglese (2021, 3: 510), il codice Ambrosiano C 198 inf. legge *si sopora* 'si quieta', verbo rarissimo, documentato con tale accezione soltanto in Bencivenni e Boccaccio: "il rogo già si soporava" (glossato *spegneva* nelle chiose al *Teseida* autografo alla carta 128*v*: Agostinelli e Coleman 2015, 350; Faleri 2020: 106; per l'esempio del Bencivenni, cfr. *GDLI*, s.v. *soporare*). Anche in tal caso il recupero della *varia lectio* dantesca offre dunque ulteriori e importanti riscontri per forme poco documentate nel panorama letterario antico.

Non attestata prima della *Commedia* è pure la voce comica *rinfarciare* 'infarcire, inzeppare', neologismo di forte espressività formato secondo note modalità di composizione strutturale (*re*-seguito da derivato nominale: Frosini 2015a, 450): "ché, s'i' ho sete e omor mi rinfarcia, / tu hai l'arsura e 'l capo che ti duole" (*Inf.* XXX, 126). Negli apparati Petrocchi e Sanguineti si registra la lezione alternativa *rifarcia* dei codici Ashburnamiano e Trivulziano; quest'ultimo, tuttavia, come osserva Inglese (2021, 1: 247), reca la scrizione *mīrifarcia*, con *titulus* per la nasale collocato su *mi*, e viene dunque impropriamente assimilata alla variante *rifarcia* del primo manoscritto.[18]

Una *varia lectio* ben più ricca è quella del verbo *ruminare*, che si affaccia soltanto in Bono Giamboni e sarà poi promosso dall'uso dantesco: "Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse? / Nullo, però che 'l pastor che procede, / ruminar può, ma non ha l'unghie fesse" (*Purg.* XVI, 97–99).

Accanto a *ruminar*, promosso a testo, e a *ruinar* del manoscritto Egerton 943 (per il quale si rinvia a Petrocchi 1966, 2: 272), troviamo *rugumar* nei codici Martini, Trivulziano e Parmense, con la caratteristica forma popolare fiorentina che si ritrova anche in altre aree romanze e che è persino più

18. Per la lettura interpretativa *mi ('n)rifarcia* cfr. Trovato 2007a, 345, n40.

attestata negli antichi volgari toscani rispetto alla forma concorrente (dati OVI). Nella fattispecie, *rugumar* rappresenta senz'altro una soluzione in stile "umile" che "non bene si motiva" entro un discorso di alta dottrina come questo, ma che ben si addice ad altri contesti di occorrenza del verbo, come nel caso di *Purg.* XXVII, 76 ("Quali si stanno ruminando manse"), dove "si tratta di capre in senso proprio, e *rugum-*, di Triv, può essere conservativo" (Inglese 2021, 2: 135).

Un verbo che ha generato una notevole diffrazione nell'antica vulgata e nei primi esegeti è anche *scuffare* (d'etimo incerto, forse connesso a *cuffiare* dal lat. co[n]flāre 'gonfiare' con prefisso intensivo ex-: *DEI*; *REW* 2135), che indica il rumoroso soffiare di chi mangia ingordamente "sicut facit porcus in caeno":[19] "Quindi sentimmo gente che si nicchia / ne l'altra bolgia e che col muso scuffa, / e sé medesma con le palme picchia" (*Inf.* XVIII, 104). L'"oscuro" *scuffa* (Trovato 2007a, 69), messo a testo da Petrocchi (1966, 308), è stato interpretato per lo più nel senso di 'soffiare rumorosamente con bocca e narici come fa chi mangia con ingordigia'. Un significato che ben si attaglia ai lusingatori del primo canto di Malebolge che, sommersi nello sterco, sollevano il capo grufolando col muso ("non colla *bocca*, che più si adatterebbe allo *sbuffare*": Vandelli 1985, 147). A riprova, si osserverà con Inglese (2021, 1: 149) l'importanza di un esempio pulciano con connotazione affine: "[i monaci] scuffian, che parean dell'acqua usciti" (Pulci 1989, 14).

Accanto a *scuffa*, la tradizione della *Commedia* trasmette diverse varianti; di seguito le principali:[20]

- *atuffa* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Hamilton 203);
- *sbuffa* (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 828; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, Urbinate latino 366);
- *stuffa* (Cortona, Biblioteca Comunale e dell'Accademia Etrusca, codice 88).

Tra le forme elencate assume particolare rilievo *sbuffa*, tràdito dai manoscritti Ashburnamiano e Urbinate e di conseguenza messo a testo da Sanguineti. A differenza di *scuffare*, preso in esame soltanto da commentatori "linguisticamente periferici" come Maramauro e Serravalle

19. In Benvenuto da Imola, dove tuttavia la lezione accolta è *sbuffare*.
20. Ci si limita all'indicazione dei manoscritti relatori considerati negli apparati di riferimento; per gli altri codici della tradizione settentrionale cfr. almeno Trovato 2007b.

(Trovato 2007a, 69), *sbuffare* — derivato da *buffare*, già in uso a tale altezza (*REW* 1373) — è voce accolta da Francesco da Buti, Benvenuto da Imola, Landino e altri. Assenti nell'antica esegesi sono invece *stuffa* del codice cortonese, che come intensivo di *tuffare* è *hapax* cinquecentesco nella lessicografia storica (*GDLI*, s.v. *stuffare2*), e *atuffa* del manoscritto Hamilton (da *attuffare* 'immergere, spingere giù; inghiottire, sommergere': *TLIO*), che compare anche altrove nella *Commedia*. Particolarmente significativa l'occorrenza all'interno della metafora infernale, anch'essa di carattere gastronomico, che viene a indicare la palude dello Stige:[21] "E io: "Maestro molto sarei vago / di vederlo attuffare in questa broda" (*Inf.* VIII, 53). La concentrazione di germanismi nel passo non sarà casuale: come nel caso di *scardova*, essi paiono infatti "connotare zone di particolare violenza e bestialità nel registro comico del testo" (Ferretti Cuomo 2012, 147). Nella fattispecie, *attuffare*, derivato da *tuffare*, a sua volta dal longobardo **taufan*, co-occorre con *broda*, variante femminile di *brodo*, germanismo precoce di derivazione diretta (*LEI Germanismi*, 1: 1418). La base germanica **þruþa-* indicava letteralmente il 'cibo bollito, cotto' che diventerà poi il nostro *brodo* come 'liquido di cottura di cibi (in particolare della carne)' (Lubello 2020, 99–101). L'attestazione più antica è quella del trattato duecentesco napoletano del *Regimen Sanitatis*: "Mangia con brodo semplece la carne del montone" (*TLIO*, s.v. *brodo*); l'uso figurato che ne fa Dante mostra già a questa altezza un'elevata diffusione della pietanza e testimonia, ancora una volta, la "fecondità del confronto" fra storia della lingua e storia della cucina (Frosini e Robustelli 2009, XV).

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21. Il traslato culinario è già riconosciuto da Boccaccio: "Il proprio significato di *broda*, secondo il nostro parlare, è quel superfluo della minestra, il qual davanti si leva a coloro che mangiato hanno: ma qui l'usa l'autore largamente, prendendolo per l'acqua di quella palude mescolata con loto, il quale le paludi fanno nel fondo, e per ciò che così son grasse e unte come la broda" (Padoan 1965, 461).

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Dante and Aristotle on Voluntary and Involuntary Action

Nicomachean Ethics 3.1 in *Inferno* 5 and *Paradiso* 3–5

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Abstract

Nicomachean Ethics *3.1 is a text of great significance for Dante's meditation on the will. Aristotle offers two examples of involuntary action in* Nicomachean Ethics *3.1; the first surfaces in* Inferno *5 and the second in* Paradiso *3. In* Inferno *5, Dante uses Aristotle's first example of involuntary action (a wind that carries us against our will), imposing it onto a context, the pursuit of carnal pleasure, in which the action was not in fact involuntary, but was willfully experienced as such. In* Paradiso *3–5, Dante uses Aristotle's second example of involuntary action (powerful men who carry us off against our will), importing it into a context in which violence occurs, but the victims of violence are nonetheless held to have behaved voluntarily. Dante thus disrupts the Aristotelian analysis, revealing the fault line between Aristotle on voluntary and involuntary action and the Christian doctrine of free will.*

This essay addresses Aristotle's role in shaping Dante's thought on voluntary and involuntary action, or — in more Dantean phrasing — on free will versus determinism. My point of departure is an observation of many years ago, when I suggested that, in forging the contrapasso of hell's circle of lust, Dante draws on *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 and on one of Aristotle's examples of involuntary action.[1] The philosopher offers two examples of involuntary action in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1: "e.g. if he were to be carried somewhere by a wind, or by men who had him in their power"

1. See Barolini [1998] 2006a, 74: "In a passage that has not, to my knowledge, been brought to bear on *Inferno* 5, Aristotle illustrates compulsion by offering precisely the example of a person being carried by a wind". Citations are to Barolini 2006a. I wish here to record my gratitude to Matteo Pace and Wayne Storey, particularly helpful and insightful interlocutors as I worked on this essay.

(*EN* 3.1.1110a3–4).[2] In this essay I explore both, moving from Aristotle's two examples of involuntary action to an analysis of *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 as a Dantean intertext: an intertext that is kept in check in *Paradiso* 4, and yet is always foundational to Dante's meditation on free will, as first manifested in *Inferno* 5. According to the thesis here put forth, the presence of Aristotle on compulsive force in *Inferno* 5 connects to the *Commedia*'s great meditation on the will and compulsion in *Paradiso* 3–5, where not coincidentally we find the second of Aristotle's two examples of involuntary action from *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1.[3]

This essay does not explore the scholastic overlay onto Aristotle, which in my view is best added to the analysis subsequently, as a next textual and chronological layer.[4] The focus is instead kept steadily on understanding how Dante uses the *maestro di color che sanno*, and specifically how he deploys *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1. My starting conceit is to emphasize the importance for Dante of Aristotle's two succinct examples of involuntary action from *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1. The rationale for this hermeneutic move is straightforward and goes back to the observation noted above: Dante himself gives significance to these examples, invoking both in the *Commedia* and using them to frame a discussion of the will that spans *Inferno* 5 and *Paradiso* 3–5.

Aristotle's two laconic examples of involuntary action from *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 inspire rather different responses from Dante. Simply put: Dante adapts the first example, where Aristotle posits as external agent of coercion a meteorological force, and he also adapts, but in more circumspect fashion, the second example, where Aristotle posits as external agents

2. The translation cited is Ross 1980, revised 2009. I reference passages, both in Latin and in English translation, from Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* (*Nicomachean Ethics*) as *EN* rather than *NE*.
3. An earlier version of this essay, focusing on Aristotle's first example, was published in Italian in the proceedings of the centennial conference of the Accademia dei Lincei: see Barolini 2022b.
4. In my view the most significant commonality between Aquinas and Dante, with respect to *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1, is their Aristotelian understanding of appetite or desire. Aquinas' Aristotelian clarity regarding the voluntary and intrinsic nature of concupiscence may well have informed Dante's decision to use Aristotle's wind of compulsion in *Inferno* 5, as a means of signifying the sinners' insistence that their lustful desires were compulsory and led them to involuntary action. See *Summa Theologiae* 1a2ae.6.7, on whether concupiscence causes involuntariness. On the human choices offered as examples by Aquinas and Dante, see note 29.

of coercion other human beings. In *Inferno* 5 Dante preserves and adapts Aristotle's wind and, while he necessarily transposes a key feature, turning a meteorological wind into a metaphysical wind, he does so in order to make Aristotle's point effective in an eschatological context. Dante offers a more disruptive response to Aristotle's example of violent men who are capable of applying sufficient coercion to compel involuntary action, perhaps indicating that for him no violence of this sort is sufficient to merit classification as a cause of involuntary action.

Although the two examples provoke different responses, their presence in the *Commedia* serves an identical purpose. In both cases Dante uses Aristotle in order to emphasize the importance of free will.

In the third book of his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle discusses the conditions of voluntary agency, arriving at definitions of voluntary and involuntary actions, conceived as actions that are worthy of praise, blame, pardon, or pity.[5] Having announced the thesis that involuntary actions "take place by force or by reason of ignorance" (*EN* 3.1.1110a1), chapter 1 of Book 3 of *Nicomachean Ethics* begins with the analysis of the first condition: force. In what does an involuntary action that occurs through force — synonyms used by the translators are compulsion, constraint, coercion, duress, and violence — consist?[6] An involuntary action that occurs through force requires that the beginning of the action, the "moving principle", be outside the moved object, "being a principle in

5. Ross 2009: "Since virtue is concerned with passions and actions, and on voluntary ones praise and blame are bestowed, on those that are involuntary pardon, and sometimes also pity, to distinguish the voluntary and the involuntary is presumably necessary for those who are studying the nature of virtue" (*EN* 3.1.1109b30–35). I cite the translation of David Ross because it tracks the traditional nomenclature of "voluntary" and "involuntary" with which Dante was familiar from Latin. The translation in Rowe–Broadie 2002 has substituted for "involuntary" the term "counter-voluntary", a decision that takes us too far from the Latin that Dante read and internalized, which uses *voluntarium* and *involuntarium*. Here is the opening of *Ethica Nicomachea* 3.1 in William of Moerbeke's revision of Robert Grosseteste's translation: "Virtute itaque et circa passiones et operaciones existente, et in voluntariis quidem laudibus et vituperiis factis, in involuntariis autem venia, quandoque autem et misericordia, voluntarium et involuntarium necessarium forsitan determinare de virtute intendentibus" (Grosseteste 2016, cited hereafter according to the standard divisions of the Latinized *Ethica Nicomachea*; here *EN* 3.1.1109b30).
6. Ross 1980 uses "compulsion" in the heading of *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1, whereas the subsequent Ross 2009 uses "force". The Latin translation uses "violentum".

which nothing is contributed by the person who acts — or, rather, is acted upon" (*EN* 3.1110a2–3). At this point Aristotle offers his two examples of coerced action. Here is the entire passage:

> These things, then, are thought involuntary, which take place by force or by reason of ignorance; and that is forced of which the moving principle is outside, being a principle in which nothing is contributed by the person who acts — or, rather, is acted upon, e.g. if he were to be carried somewhere by a wind, or by men who had him in their power.
> (*EN* 3.1.1109b35–1110a4)

Evidence of Dante's great attention to the above passage is his verbatim citation of Aristotle's definition of force in *Paradiso* 4, verses 73–74. The Latin — "Violentum autem est cuius principium extra, tale existens in quo nil confert operans vel paciens" (that is forced of which the moving principle is outside, being a principle in which nothing is contributed by the person who acts or, rather, is acted upon [*EN* 3.1.1110a2–4]) — is rendered by Dante thus: "Se vïolenza è quando quel che pate / nïente conferisce a quel che sforza" (If violence means that the one who suffers / has not abetted force in any way [*Par.* 4.73–74]).[7] More broadly, each of the two examples of compulsion offered by the philosopher in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 finds a location in the *Commedia*. Aristotle's example of a man being involuntarily "carried somewhere by a wind" becomes the infernal windstorm that batters Francesca and the other lustful in the fifth canto of *Inferno*, while the example of a man being involuntarily carried off "by men

7. Vanni Rovighi 1971, 77 notes that these verses are a verbatim translation of the definition of violence from the *Ethics*: "Qui Dante espone la dottrina del volontario e l'involontario del terzo libro dell'*Ethica Nicomachea*, da cui riprende quasi ad verbum la definizione del violento. Dice infatti la traduzione medievale: 'Violentum est cuius principium extra, tale existens in quo nihil *confert* (*conferisce*) operans vel *patiens* (*pate*)' (*Ethic*. III, cap. 1)"; so too Chiavacci Leonardi 1997, 116 *ad loc*.: "Nella soluzione di questo dubbio Dante si rifà ai concetti definiti nell'*Etica Nicomachea,* al cap. III, da cui i vv. 73–4 sono tradotti alla lettera, con gli stessi termini: l'atto violento, dice infatti Aristotele, è quello 'in quo *nihil confert* operans vel *patiens*' ('nel quale colui che agisce e colui che subisce non sono in nessun modo concordi'), termini ripresi e spiegati da Tommaso nel commento all'*Ethica* e in *S.T.* Ia IIae, q. 6 aa. 4–6". Passages from Dante's *Commedia* are cited from Petrocchi 1966–1967. For the translation of the *Commedia*'s longer passages I cite Mandelbaum 1980–1982. Occasionally I alter his translation to highlight the literal meaning.

who had him in their power" resonates in the story of violence narrated by Piccarda Donati in *Paradiso* 3 and analyzed using Aristotle in *Paradiso* 4. These Aristotelian examples are key signposts with respect to the presence of the philosopher's analysis of voluntary and involuntary action within the *Commedia*.

Let us begin with Aristotle's first example of involuntary action, in which the moving principle that is outside and that compels without any contribution from the person who is acted upon is meteorological: a wind. The intertextual presence of the wind from *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 in *Inferno* 5 reinforces Dante's definition of carnal sinners, labeled those who "subjugate reason to desire" ("che la ragion sommettono al talento" [*Inf.* 5.39]): this definition of lustful behavior engages directly with the concepts of voluntary and involuntary action, and also with the ideology of courtly love that features so prominently in Francesca's discourse on love as a compulsive force — a force that compels humans to set aside their reason and to submit to passion. Dante debunks the ideology of courtly love as a system of thought by indirection in *Inferno* 5, given that its proponent is a carnal sinner. He returns to this error in *Purgatorio* 18, where he clarifies that desire is not compulsory (a point emphasized by Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 and, following Aristotle, by Aquinas). Love, he tells us, is the inclination of the soul toward the internalized image of an object of desire; because humans possess free will, we have the ability to refuse our consent to such objects, when they appear at our "threshold of assent": "innata v'è la virtù che consiglia, / e de l'assenso de' tener la soglia" (there is in you, inborn, the power that counsels, keeper of the threshold of your assent [*Purg.* 18.62–63]).[8]

There are, as Dante well knew, no literary materials that are more suited to raising the issue of love as a compulsive force, and thus to foregrounding the ethical issues of *Inferno* 5, than the courtly lyric. As a young poet, Dante was continuously exposed to the idea of love as compulsory, for the idea was a staple of the lyric tradition. We can see the imprint that this idea leaves on him at the beginning of his lyric career, in the sonnet *Savere e cortesia* that Dante Alighieri addresses to Dante da Maiano. Writing the sonnet about a decade before the *Vita Nuova*, in the early 1280s, Alighieri

8. Dante here treats consent as entirely internal, as a function of the will, rather than in law. On the importance of verbal expression with respect to consent in the law, see Delmolino. Based on this standard, it is evident that Dante treats Piccarda's and Costanza's behavior in *Paradiso* 4 as a matter of will and not of law.

faces the topic of compulsion in love and embraces a deterministic position that accords with the ideology of courtly love. He declares that there is no force that can impede love, "for nothing has the power to take him on": "ché nulla cosa gli è incontro possente" (*Savere e cortesia*, v. 13).[9] In this context consent is neither given nor required. Translated into the language of the *Ethics*, which the young poet had not yet encountered, to state that love is a force that cannot be impeded means that love — like Aristotle's wind in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 — is an external force that produces involuntary action.

Moving to the final phase of Dante's lyric production, we find more instances of a deterministic conception of love as compulsive force. One example will suffice: the post-exile sonnet *Io sono stato con Amore insieme*, the sonnet that accompanies Dante's third Epistle (circa 1303–1306). In *Io sono stato* Dante declares that, in Love's presence, free will has never been free: "Però nel cerchio della sua palestra / libero albitrio già mai non fu franco" (Thus within his arena's bounds, free will was never free [*Io sono stato*, vv. 9–10]).[10] This is an exceptionally strong declaration: in Love's presence, Dante states, free will is not free. In effect, then, in Love's presence, there is no free will. We note how the personification of Love, a rhetorical move that is so prevalent in the love lyric of the period as to become effectively invisible, results in the rhetorical creation of an "agent" who is not the poem's "I", thus further muddying the clarity of the moral issues involved.

Of even greater interest to us than the sonnet *Io sono stato* is Dante's third Epistle, to which he bound the sonnet. The letter includes an explicit reference to the accompanying poem, "sermo caliopeus inferius" (poetical discourse attached below [Epistle 3.4; in Baglio 2016]). Here we see that Dante does not shy away from formulating in philosophical terms the problem of involuntary action that occurs in an erotic context. He formulates the issue as a *quaestio* about the mutability of the soul with respect to passion: "utrum de passione in passionem possit anima transformari" (whether the soul can move from passion to passion [Epistle 3.2]).[11] He then proceeds to treat the issue not only in generically philosophical terms,

9. The text is from De Robertis 2005. The translation is Richard Lansing's, from Barolini 2014. For a discussion of compulsion in *Savere e cortesia*, see Barolini 2014, 55–57.

10. For the text, see De Robertis 2005. The translation is from Foster and Boyde 1967.

11. Baglio 2016, 83 translates the passage: "sul problema se l'anima possa trasformarsi passando da una passione a un'altra passione", and glosses: "il

but in specifically Aristotelian ones. However, the text that Dante cites here is not *Nicomachean Ethics* but the treatise on natural philosophy, *De Generatione et Corruptione*: *On Generation and Corruption*, also known as *On Coming to Be and Passing Away*. An anomalous choice for a discussion of love, this text offers Dante a way to inscribe mutability in love into the existential reality of mutability in life, into the coming to be and passing away that governs all earthly experience, rather than into a moral discussion of constancy versus errancy.[12]

Supported by Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione*, Dante is able to respond in an affirmative manner to the question he has posed: yes, the soul can "be transformed", it can change, it can move from one passion to another. Just as all things that are born pass away and die, and "the corruption of one thing is the begetting of another", so a passion for one object is born and then dies, yielding to a new passion for a different object: "amorem huius posse torpescere atque denique interire, nec non huius, quod corruptio unius generatio sit alterius, in anima reformari" (love for one object may languish and finally die away, and — inasmuch as the corruption of one thing is the begetting of another — love for a second may take shape in the soul [Epistle 3.4; trans. Toynbee 1966]).[13]

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termine è utilizzato secondo la dottrina aristotelica a indicare una qualità in grado di produrre alterazione".

12. For the importance of the moral discussion that Dante is here reframing, see Barolini 2021, "Errancy: A Brief History of Dante's *Ferm voler*". For Dante's use of *De Generatione et Corruptione* to achieve a "scientific" and non-judgmental approach toward inconstancy in the third Epistle, in comparison to *Convivio* 2.8, and for a framing of Dante's ideological slippages in a non-linear taxonomy that categorizes texts as more "scientific" and philosophical (e.g. Epistle 3) versus more judgmental and moralistic (e.g. *Convivio*), see Barolini 2022a, "Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli on Love and Compulsion: The Epistle to Cino, *Io sono stato*, the Third Heaven", 243–65: "*Convivio* 2.8 is calibrated very differently from *Epistola* 3, with respect to the degree of its ideological commitment to Aristotle's natural philosophy. In the Epistle to Cino, as in *Io sono stato*, there is no defensive shading of the citation of *De Generatione et Corruptione*" (253).
13. Baglio cites the following passage from the *De Generatione et Corruptione* as Dante's source for the above: "quocirca propter huius corruptionem alterius esse generationem et huius generationem alterius esse corruptionem inquietam necesse est esse transmutationem" (Is it, then, because the corruption of one thing is the generation of another and the generation of one thing is the corruption of another, that the change is necessarily unceasing? [*De Gen.* 1.3.318a24–25]).

By discussing the possibility of yielding to a new love not in love poetry but in the more serious medium of a Latin prose epistle, and by citing Aristotle as a relevant authority, Dante explicitly confers philosophical dignity on the question of compulsion in love and indicates that it cannot be separated from the larger question of involuntary and voluntary action. Later, in *Inferno* 5, he demolishes the cultural and ideological assumptions that sequester the omnipotent Love of medieval lyric production, a context in which the idea of compulsion in love is so commonplace as to seem almost banal, from the broader philosophical investigation of involuntary action, where the idea of compulsion — lack of consent — is never banal. It is worth noting that the contemporary philosopher Cecco d'Ascoli (1257–1327) was not averse to attacking Dante's love poetry on philosophical grounds, condemning what he considered its deterministic views. Cecco d'Ascoli, who also accuses Dante of harboring deterministic views in the *Commedia*, does not erect a barrier between love poetry and the deterministic positions that are implicit in it, as instead our critical tradition has done.[14]

For example, in his philosophical work *Acerba*, Cecco d'Ascoli cites with disdain the fatalism of the concluding verses of *Io sono stato*, the sonnet that Dante attaches to his third Epistle.[15] These are the verses in which Dante affirms the inevitability of a new passion, referred to as the "new

14. "In his long philosophical poem, *Acerba*, Cecco indicts Dante for deterministic belief and treats determinism in the erotic sphere as no less pernicious than determinism in the social sphere. By disagreeing with the philosophical positions expressed by Dante in vernacular poetry, Cecco dignifies Dante's lyrics as vehicles of philosophical positions. He shows that Dante's love poetry is not out of bounds for philosophical dispute" (Barolini 2022a, 243).

15. In *Acerba* 3.1.1977–82 Cecco d'Ascoli deliberately echoes verses 12–14 of Dante's *Io sono stato* and the sonnet's imagery of Love pricking the lover's flank with new spurs, "novi speroni" (ed. Albertazzi 2016):
"I' sono con Amore stato inseme":
qui puose Danti co' novi speroni
sentir può al fianco con la nuova speme.
Contra tal detto io dico quel ch'io sento,
formando filosofiche ragioni;
se Dante poi le solve, io son contento.
"I' sono con Amore stato inseme": Here Dante affirms that one can feel new spurs that prick one's flank with new hope. Against such a statement I say what I think, making philosophical arguments. If Dante can then solve them, I will be content. (my translation)

spurs" ("nuovi spron") of Love: "Ben può co· nuovi spron punger lo fianco; / e qual che sia 'l piacer ch'ora n'adestra, / seguitar si convien, se l'altro è stanco" (Love can indeed prick the flank with new spurs; and whatever the attraction may be that is now leading us, follow we must, if the other is outworn [*Io sono stato*, 12–14]).[16] Here the language of *Io sono stato* is directly tied to the language of Epistle 3: "se l'altro è stanco" in the last verse of the sonnet becomes *torpescere* in the Epistle. The third Epistle's explanation that a passion may "languish [*torpescere*] and finally die away" so that "a second may take shape in the soul" is crafted in the language of Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione*: "quod corruptio unius generatio sit alterius" — "inasmuch as the corruption of one thing is the begetting of another". Aristotle on coming to be and passing away is thus intertwined, in the final tercet of Dante's sonnet *Io sono stato*, with the old lyric *topos* of Love as the rider of the human steed, as an external force that compels the lover to involuntary action, spurring the lover/horse to follow a new passion, if the old one is worn out: "se l'altro è stanco" (*Io sono stato*, 14).

Against this background of love and compulsion, of eros and determinism, let us now return to *Inferno* 5, where Dante, in order to reject the idea of love as an irresistible force, features a sinner who claims, in the language of courtly love, that love is a force that cannot be resisted: "Amor, ch'al cor gentil ratto s'apprende [. . .] Amor, ch'a nullo amato amar perdona" (Love, that can quickly seize the gentle heart [. . .] Love, that releases no beloved from loving [*Inf.* 5.100, 103]). As we saw previously, the wind of *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 is an example of a force that is compulsory, defined as follows: "that is forced of which the moving principle is outside, being a principle in which nothing is contributed by the person who acts — or, rather, is acted upon" (*EN* 1110a2–4). Dante's wind, the wind of *Inferno* 5, serves to conjure but also to profoundly modify the wind of *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1. Aristotle's wind is a meteorological wind: it is a real, material, external force against which we humans do not have the physical capacity to resist. It is an external force of which we can literally and accurately say, in the above-cited words of Dante Alighieri to Dante da Maiano, that nothing is powerful against it: "nulla cosa gli è incontro possente" (*Savere e cortesia*, 13). With respect to such a wind, irresistible force is indeed possible, and consent is clearly not an issue. What is not true about desire, whose force is not irresistible and to which the will must consent, as *Purgatorio* 18 declares, is instead incontrovertibly true with respect to the wind of *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1.

16. De Robertis 2005, 500 glosses: "co· nuovi spron: ossia per un nuovo oggetto".

So, what does Dante achieve by evoking Aristotle's wind in *Inferno* 5? He engages a rigorous Aristotelian analysis of voluntary and involuntary action and, building on that analysis, he indicates that the carnal sinners of the circle of lust justified their carnal passions *by conceiving them as involuntary actions*.

Dante's lustful classify love, incorrectly, as a compulsive force, a force that they cannot control and over which they have no dominion. As Dante had already noted in his earlier moral canzone *Doglia mi reca*, such people do not know what love is. They misclassify love and even misname it, for they dignify bestial appetite with the name of love: "chiamando amore appetito di fera" (calling bestial appetite [by the name] love [*Doglia mi reca*, 143]).[17] If we bear in mind that (1) Aristotle's wind is one of the philosopher's two examples of involuntary action, action that is compelled by an external force, and if we consider (2) what it means that Dante defines the carnal sinners as those who (voluntarily) subordinated reason to desire, thus imagining desire as an external force that can compel reason, and if we then add (3) the ways in which Dante builds courtly love and its codification of erotic compulsion into his analysis of lust — if we bear in mind all the above, we can formulate as follows: Dante's analysis of lust features a state of mind wherein voluntary action is conceived of and treated as involuntary action.

In other words, Aristotle's wind of compulsion serves in *Inferno* 5 as a means of signifying the sinners' insistence that their lustful desires were compulsory and led them to involuntary action.

When Aristotle invokes the example of a wind in his discussion of involuntary action, he indicates the existence of real and material external agents that create real and material force and, therefore, real — and not invented — involuntary action. The sinners of Dante's circle of lust instead conceived of their desire *as though it were* an external force, as though (like love in Dante's sonnet to Dante da Maiano) their passions were an overwhelming external force that nothing is powerful enough to resist. Consequently, according to the logic of the *contrapasso*, the torment assigned to them is a raging wind that evokes the wind of Aristotle's *Nicomachean*

17. For a discussion of *Doglia mi reca* in this context, see Barolini [1998] 2006a, 91–97), which considers Dante's engagement with erotic compulsion in his lyric poetry. "Errancy" (Barolini 2021) looks systematically across Dante's *oeuvre*, showing the non-linear trajectory whereby, even after the moral correction of *Doglia mi reca*, *Epistola* 4 claims that "terrifying and imperious love held me" and "fettered my free will" (Epistle 4.2, 4; trans. Toynbee 1966).

Ethics 3.1 but that is categorically not the philosopher's meteorological and material wind. The lexicon of *Inferno* 5 includes meteorological words — "tempesta" (29), "venti" (30) and "bufera" (30) — but the adjective that modifies "bufera" is "infernal". The adjective "infernal" signals that Dante's *bufera* is not meteorological or material, but metaphysical and divine, governed by the eschatological laws of providence as Dante imagines them:

> Io venni in loco d'ogne luce muto,
> che mugghia come fa mar per **tempesta**,
> se da contrari **venti** è combattuto.
> La **bufera** infernal, che mai non resta,
> mena li spirti con la sua rapina:
> voltando e percotendo li molesta.
> (*Inf.* 5.28–33 [my emphasis])

> I reached a place where every light is muted,
> which bellows like the sea beneath a tempest,
> when it is battered by opposing winds.
> The hellish hurricane, which never rests,
> drives on the spirits with its violence:
> wheeling and pounding, it harasses them.

Through his deployment of an "infernal windstorm", Dante accomplishes an analysis of human psychology in two steps. First, he considers how it happens that we humans are given to imagining forces external to ourselves, forces to which we assign the responsibility for our internal moral weaknesses, and how we then work to codify these invented external forces into actual laws that can compel our action (as in the codification of the so-called laws of courtly love). Second, Dante transfers this ethical analysis to the afterworld, in order to forge the post-mortem status of those souls who consented to allow a purely internal force, one that they imagined and projected as an external force, to dominate their reason.

As we know without the help of Aristotle, but can now profitably map onto Aristotle, the divine windstorm of *Inferno* 5 is the external representation of the erotic passions that a given individual, in mortal life, did not seek to dominate with reason. Translating this set of conditions into Aristotelian terms, we can say that the infernal windstorm is the manifestation of an internal force that Dante's lustful preferred — because of moral weakness — to define as an external force. That which during the lives of the carnal sinners was not a true external principle has become

a true external principle in death: the hurricane of their desire, which in life was internal and had no real existence as an external force, and consequently no real power to compel a creature endowed with free will, has become the eschatological hurricane that powerfully flings about the carnal sinners for all eternity after death.

Dante has knowingly transposed Aristotle's wind.[18] He has moved it from a context in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 in which it is the explicit example of an external agent that cannot be resisted to a context in which the carnal sinners justified their submission to a not-at-all external agent — their desire — by classifying that desire as an external agent. Now the non-external agent that these sinners self-indulgently classified as an external agent is fashioned by divine justice into the specifically designed eschatological torment ("così fatto tormento") of the lustful: "Intesi ch'a così fatto tormento / enno dannati i peccator carnali, / che la ragion sommettono al talento" (I learned that those who undergo this torment / are damned because they sinned within the flesh, / subjecting reason to the rule of lust [*Inf.* 5.37–39]).

In *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1, Aristotle lays out the very analysis that Dante will use in his consideration of carnal sinners. While these passages do not figure in scholarship on *Inferno* 5, they certainly inform Aquinas' discussion of whether concupiscence causes involuntariness (see *ST* 1a2ae.6.7 and note 4 above). For Aristotle effectively foresees the possibility of a person who, transported by intemperate passion, then declares that the resulting action was involuntary. In a remarkably trenchant analysis, the philosopher observes that we are never compelled by those things that give us pleasure. He explains that it is not possible to affirm that pleasing things are capable of forcing us, as though they were external forces, because if that were the case everything we do would be forced: "But if someone were to say that pleasant and noble objects have a forcing power, compelling us from without, all acts would be for him forced; for it is for these objects that all men do everything they do" (*EN* 3.1.1110b9–11). Aristotle continues by observing that it is absurd to make external circumstances responsible for that which we do with pleasure: "And those who act by force and unwillingly act with pain, but those who do acts for their pleasantness or

18. Dante appropriates Aristotle's wind of compulsion again, in *Inferno 9's* magnificent simile comparing the angelic messenger to a mighty wind (*Inf.* 9.64–72). The angel-wind scatters the recalcitrant devils and opens the gate of Dis. While this simile of an Aristotelian wind that cannot be resisted is eschatological and Christian, it is otherwise not transposed with respect to *NE* 3.1, for the angel is precisely an external force that compels genuinely involuntary action.

nobility do them with pleasure; it is absurd to make external circumstances responsible, and not oneself, as being easily caught by such attractions, and to make oneself responsible for noble acts but the pleasant objects responsible for base acts" (*EN* 3.1.1110b13–15).

Toward the end of chapter 1 of Book 3, Aristotle lays out what will become the core of Dante's analysis in *Inferno* 5 (and of Aquinas' discussion of concupiscence in *ST* 1a2ae.6.7) when he observes that "acts done by reason of anger or appetite are not rightly called involuntary" (*EN* 3.1.1111a24–25). And, in concluding chapter 1, Aristotle makes that point again, even more bracingly. He stipulates that irrational passions are as human as reasonable actions and cannot on that basis be disavowed as involuntary: "the irrational passions are thought not less human than reason is, and therefore also the actions which proceed from anger or appetite are the man's actions. It would be odd, then, to treat them as involuntary" (*EN* 3.11111b1–3). With these assertions the philosopher nullifies everything that will be, in the distant future, the ideological foundation of courtly love. Aristotle's wind of *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 dismantles Love's arena, where free will was never free: "Però nel cerchio della sua palestra / libero albitrio già mai non fu franco" (*Io sono stato*, 9–10). And Dante, sustained by a rigorous ethical analysis of voluntary and involuntary action from pagan antiquity, begins the poetic journey of the *Commedia* "come persona franca" — as a free person (*Inf.* 2.132).

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We turn now to the second of Aristotle's two examples of involuntary action in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1, that of a person who is "carried somewhere by men who had him in their power". So doing, we turn from Francesca da Rimini to Piccarda Donati. Although commentaries on *Paradiso* 3–4 are well versed in the presence of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 in canto 4, Patrick Boyde in *Perception and Passion in Dante's "Comedy"* is the only commentator on the episode of Piccarda Donati who, to my knowledge, specifically notes a connection between her story of forced abduction from a convent and Aristotle's second example of involuntary action. Boyde writes that the example of being carried somewhere by powerful men "could hardly be more pertinent" to Piccarda's story, and he is right.[19]

19. Boyde 1993, 198 introduces Piccarda by noting: "Incredibly enough, the challenge posed to Christian justice by the misfortunes of an obscure Florentine nun will be met and turned aside with the aid of concepts, arguments,

Building on Boyde's insight, I ask why Dante invokes Aristotle's second example of involuntary — blame-free — action, only to move subsequently to an analysis of Piccarda and Costanza that considers them blameworthy.

In *Paradiso* 3 the pilgrim learns from Piccarda Donati that the lowest rung of paradise, the heaven of the moon, is the celestial home of those who on earth were neglectful of their vows. This information triggers the paradoxical revelation that all the blessed are together in the empyrean and yet at the same time are hierarchically distributed, according to their differential experience of beatitude: "per sentir più e men l'etterno spiro" (some feel the eternal spirit more, some less [*Par.* 4.36]).[20] Dante's embrace of paradox throughout *Paradiso* results in a narrative texture that willfully sharpens the two horns of a given dilemma to their maximum and then frequently uses *solutio distinctiva* to import a "resolution", as he does in the heaven of the moon and repeatedly thereafter.[21] Moving from the plot point whereby the lowest heaven in his paradise is used to designate souls who in life displayed some degree of failure of the will, Dante unleashes a sustained meditation on the ethics of voluntary and involuntary action. This meditation culminates in a discussion of the commutability of religious vows in *Paradiso* 5, a discussion that includes what I will call a Dantean analysis of the ethics of consent.[22] The issue of the commutability of vows is founded in the belief that free will once freely renounced cannot be revoked. As Boyde aptly comments with respect to the vows discussed in *Paradiso* 5, "there is no 'admixture of compulsion'" in the making of a

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distinctions and examples which all derive from the analysis of voluntary and involuntary actions given by Aristotle". Boyde does not note the link between *Inferno* 5 and Aristotle's other example of involuntary action.

20. Barolini 1992, 166–93; on *Paradiso* 3–4, see 182–89.
21. On this technique in general, and on the contradiction first created and then resolved between Piccarda and Beatrice in *Paradiso* 4 in particular, see Barolini [2018] 2022a, "Dante Squares the Circle: Textual and Philosophical Affinities of *Monarchia* and *Paradiso* (*Solutio Distinctiva* in *Mon.* 3.4.17 and *Par.* 4.94–114)", 137–61: "Dante-narrator has carefully crafted an impasse between Beatrice and Piccarda. As the narrative denouement of the discussion on will of *Paradiso* 3–4, he creates a logical contradiction that pits the two Florentine ladies against each other. We can have no doubt regarding the structural importance of this impasse within the narrative arc of *Paradiso* 4, for Beatrice presents it in verses 91 to 93 as an obstacle that the pilgrim cannot resolve on his own" (153). Citations are from Barolini 2022a.
22. Sustained discussion of the ethics of consent as treated in *Paradiso* 5 must await a further treatment of this topic.

religious vow: "Making a vow is not an *operatio mixta*. Renunciation of freedom is a free act of the will" (1993, 204).

Boyde's point that "there is no 'admixture of compulsion'" in a freely given vow is also an accurate reminder that Aristotle is still present in *Paradiso* 5, where the intensely religious and biblical framing of the discussion of religious vows may make the *materia* seem quite distant from the Aristotelian treatment of voluntary and involuntary action in *Paradiso* 4. But such is not the case. As an investigation of the ethics of consent, the *materia* of *Paradiso* 5 is the legitimate continuation of the Aristotelian discussion of voluntary and involuntary action in *Paradiso* 4, which Dante concludes by bringing in the crucial issue of consent: "Voglia assoluta non consente al danno; / ma consentevi in tanto in quanto teme" (Absolute will does not consent to wrong; / but it consents to it in as much as it fears [*Par.* 4.109–10]).[23] The back-to-back occurrences of *consentire* in the above two verses of *Paradiso* 4 look forward to the double use of *consentire* in one verse of *Paradiso* 5, where the contractual nature of a vow is emphatically underlined by the repeated verb: "l'alto valor del voto, s'è sì fatto / che Dio consenta quando tu consenti" (the high worth of a vow, if it is so done that God consents when you consent [*Par.* 5.27]). *Consentire* is not a common verb in the *Commedia* or in Dante's writing: of the eight occurrences of the verb *consentire* in the *Commedia*, four appear in *Paradiso* 4 and 5.[24]

Picking up from Boyde's "Making a vow is not an *operatio mixta*" cited above, we come now to the category of mixed actions (*operatio mixta*) as

23. Dante's treatment of consent in *Paradiso* 4 as entirely internal rather than expressed verbally and externally, makes it a function of the will, not of law, as I observed in note 8 above. Here Dante elaborates his internal analysis, adding the concepts of absolute and conditioned will. The abductions of Piccarda and Costanza, ripe for treatment as a legal matter, do not provoke that response from Dante, who in *Paradiso* 4 does not take the opportunity to frame the issue of consent legally.

24. *Consentire* appears in the sonnet *Gentil pensero*, located in Dante's *Vita Nuova* 38 (Barbi's 1907 numbering), where it is the fourth of the five sonnets in the *donna gentile* sequence. In what is plausibly Dante's first use of *consentire*, the young poet narrates an experience of compulsion in love; a noble thought comes to him and "talks of love with such great tenderness / that it compels the heart to yield consent": "ragiona d'amor sì dolcemente, / che face consentir lo core in lui" (*Gentil pensero*, vv. 3–4; the translation is by Richard Lansing, from Barolini 2014). The other early use of *consentire* belongs to *Per quella via*, a sonnet that also describes conflict between two loves and that is contemporary with the *Vita Nuova*.

discussed in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1. This is the category to which Dante, somewhat surprisingly, assigns the behavior of Piccarda and Costanza. To understand mixed action and how Dante uses the category of mixed action in *Paradiso* 4, let us return to the diegesis of the canti of the heaven of the moon. In *Paradiso* 3 Piccarda recounts the violence inflicted on her by men who kidnapped her from the cloister in order to use her as a pawn in dynastic politics. In a model instance of Dante sharpening the horns of his manufactured dilemma (a sharpening to which the gender of the protagonists lends an additional edge), the pilgrim subsequently wonders, in *Paradiso* 4, why the violence done to Piccarda does not excuse her from the charge of having neglected her vows. Why, he asks, should there be any decrease in merit for one whose good will persists but who is thwarted by the violence of others: "Se 'l buon voler dura, / la vïolenza altrui per qual ragione / di meritar mi scema la misura?" (If my will to good persists, / why should the violence of others cause / the measure of my merit to be less? [*Par.* 4.19–21]). Why indeed? The short answer is that the violence done to Piccarda decreases her merit because Dante has classified her behavior not as an example of involuntary action, but rather as an example of mixed action.

In Beatrice's reply to the pilgrim's query, Piccarda's actions are characterized according to the definition of Aristotle's category of mixed actions, so called because they are a mixture of involuntary and voluntary. The key point for us is this: although carried out under the pressure of threats and violence, mixed actions are ultimately classified as "more like voluntary actions", because they are chosen to avoid greater evils. Here is Aristotle's explanation:

> But with regard to the things that are done from fear of greater evils or for some noble object (e.g., if a tyrant were to order one to do something base, having one's parents and children in his power, and if one did the action they were to be saved, but otherwise would be put to death), it may be debated whether such actions are involuntary or voluntary. Something of the sort happens also with regard to the throwing of goods overboard in a storm; for in the abstract no one throws goods away voluntarily, but on condition of its securing the safety of himself and his crew any sensible man does so. Such actions, then, are mixed, but are more like voluntary actions, for they are worthy of choice at the time when they are done, and the end of an action is relative to the occasion.
> (*EN* 3.1.1110a4–14)

The complexity of the issue of mixed actions, situated between voluntary and involuntary but "more like voluntary", is attested by commentaries on the *Ethics*, which tend to intervene with a gloss, and by interest in Aristotle's examples of mixed action: the example of a tyrant using loved ones as leverage to extort base action and the example of throwing goods overboard in a storm in order to save the ship's crew are very popular in discussions of this chapter.[25] Dante, interestingly, does not engage with Aristotle's well-known examples of mixed action, but instead draws on Aristotle's less cited examples of involuntary action.

Dante unfolds his classification of Piccarda's and Costanza's actions as mixed, and hence more akin to voluntary, in increments as *Paradiso* 4 proceeds, clarifying as he goes. He begins with the Aristotelian definition of violence and its negative implications for the conduct of Piccarda and Costanza in verses 73–75, and then details and criticizes their conduct in verses 82–87; I will return to both these passages. Later, in verses 100–02, Dante engages the Aristotelian doctrine of mixed action quite explicitly, explaining that many times people have, against their desire, done what they should not have done, and that they did so in order to "flee harm", that is to avoid a worse outcome: "Molte fïate già, frate, addivenne / che, per fuggir periglio, contra grato / si fé di quel che far non si convenne" (Before this — brother — it has often happened / that, to flee menace, men unwillingly / did what should not be done [*Par.* 4.100–02]). Finally, as a way of introducing the scholastic distinction between absolute and conditioned will, Dante comes to the mixing of the will to do right with the pressure to do wrong. When force and will are mixed, there is a voluntary component despite the existence of force and as a result the offense cannot be excused: "la forza al voler si mischia, e fanno / sì che scusar non si posson l'offense" (force is mixed to will, so that the offenses cannot be excused [*Par.* 4.107–08]). These verses are followed by a further emphasis on the voluntary status of mixed action, and thus by a further sharpening of the dialectical dilemma that has been manufactured, in the explanation that in the case of mixed action the conditioned will consents, but not the absolute will: "Voglia assoluta non consente al danno; / ma consentevi in tanto in quanto teme, / se si ritrae, cadere in più affanno" (Absolute will does not concur

25. See Ross 2009, 218: Brown comments: "Aristotle rightly insists on his initial, narrow definition of forced actions. Actions that are thought of as forced or compelled, but which really are chosen to avoid a worse alternative, must be considered in their actual circumstances, hence they are voluntary".

in wrong; / but the contingent will, through fear that its / resistance might bring greater harm, consents [*Par.* 4.108–10]).

Despite the explicit citations of Aristotle, always noted by commentaries, there are great divergences between *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 and *Paradiso* 4, not noted but also important. The presentation of historical characters in *Paradiso* 4, of real people like Piccarda Donati and Empress Costanza, is in itself a first clear indicator of what will be significant Dantean aberrations with respect to *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1. The inclusion of historical characters who possess real lives, lives whose parameters are known to the poet and — in the case of the Empress — also somewhat to his readers, dictates a narrative that is more detailed than the philosopher's. Aristotle offers no historical characters who, as per the philosopher's stated introductory reason for investigating voluntary and involuntary action, were either to be praised, blamed, pardoned, or pitied.[26]

The only human example that Aristotle discusses at length in this chapter is that of mythological Alcmaeon:[27] the negative example of a character who was not able to resist a perceived constraint and who therefore acted when it would have been better not to act. Discussing actions that should remain involuntary at all costs, actions that "we cannot be compelled to do, but ought rather to face death after the most fearful sufferings" (*EN* 3.1.1110a26–27), Aristotle writes of Alcmaeon that "the things that 'compelled' Euripides' Alcmaeon to slay his mother seem absurd" (*EN* 3.11110a29). Dante reprises the example of Alcmaeon in *Paradiso* 4, where he inserts him following the claim that, to avoid wrong choices, worse ones are sometimes made: "come Almeone, che, di ciò pregato / dal padre suo, la propria madre spense, / per non perder pietà si fé spietato" (so did Alcmaeon, / to meet the wishes of his father, kill his mother — / not to fail in filial piety, he acted impiously [*Par.* 4.103–5]).[28] *Paradiso* 5

26. "Since virtue is concerned with passions and actions, and on voluntary ones praise and blame are bestowed, on those that are involuntary pardon, and sometimes also pity, to distinguish the voluntary and the involuntary is presumably necessary for those who are studying the nature of virtue" (*EN* 3.1.1109b30–35).

27. Later in chapter 1 there is also a glancing reference to mythological Merope, an example of ignorance: "Again, one might think one's son was an enemy, as Merope did" (*EN* 3.1.1111a.13).

28. Alcmaeon is mentioned by Dante also in *Purgatorio* 12.49–51, where Alcmaeon's mother, Eriphyle, is among the examples of pride; see Pertile 1995. Interestingly, Eriphyle is not named, while Alcmaeon is, giving me the impression that even

boasts two more examples of men who carry out perverse vows calqued on the behavior of Aristotle's Alcmaeon: the Hebrew judge Jephthah and the pagan Agamemnon (*Par.* 5.64–72). Dante's analysis of the ethics of consent with respect to the commutability of religious vows, an analysis whose explicit frames of reference are biblical and theological, thus factors in moral issues that derive from Aristotle.

The shift to the biblical and theological in *Paradiso* 5 is signaled by the immediate prominence given to the affirmation of free will as God's greatest gift to mankind: "Lo maggior don che Dio per sua larghezza / fesse creando [. . .] / fu de la volontà la libertate" (The greatest gift the magnanimity / of God, as He created, gave [. . .] / was the freedom of the will [*Par.* 5.19–20, 22]). This characterization of free will is anticipated, as we shall see, by verse 76 of *Paradiso* 4, "volontà, se non vuol, non s'ammorza" (for will, if it resists, is never spent), a verse that Chiavacci Leonardi (1997, 116) heralds in her commentary as a great hymn to free will: "prorompe qui il grande inno alla libera volontà dell'uomo, centro portante di tutto il mondo morale dantesco e ispiratore di tante tra le sue più alte e commosse pagine di poesia" (here erupts the great hymn to man's free will, the load-bearing center of Dante's whole moral universe and the inspiration of many of his highest and most emotional pages of poetry). We shall return to verse 76 of *Paradiso* 4: it is a verse that does not belong to the Aristotelian analysis in which it is situated, and its impact on that analysis is, I suggest, both destabilizing and illuminating.

Continuing our comparison of *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 and *Paradiso* 4, another important point of divergence between Aristotle and Dante, which should be given more weight in discussions of *Paradiso* 4, is that Aristotle furnishes no names of persons, historical or mythological, who were able to resist violence absolutely and without qualification. Dante alters the analysis significantly in this regard, giving examples not only of those who make egregious moral errors (Alcmaeon) and those who make lesser moral errors (two nuns who were unable to maintain their vows, Piccarda and Costanza), but also of those who are capable of absolute heroism, in one case of resistance unto death. To Aristotle's analysis, Dante adds two examples of men whom he describes as having absolutely and heroically resisted violence: one is the Christian martyr Saint Lawrence and the other is the Roman youth Gaius Mucius Scaevola, famous for the bravery

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here the poet's interest seems centered on Alcmaeon's unwarranted killing of his mother.

that led him to burn off his own hand.[29] The result is a non-flattering contrast between two male heroes who possessed "volere intero" (whole will [82]) and "salda voglia" (firm will [87]), and two non-heroic females, whose wills were not so whole or so firm:

> Se fosse stato lor volere intero,
> come tenne Lorenzo in su la grada,
> e fece Muzio a la sua man severo,
> così l'avria ripinte per la strada
> ond'eran tratte, come fuoro sciolte;
> ma così salda voglia è troppo rada.
> (*Par.* 4.82–87)

> Had their will been as whole as that which held
> Lawrence fast to the grate and that which made
> of Mucius one who judged his own hand, then
> once freed, it would have pushed them back on
> the road along which they had been dragged;
> but all too seldom is a will is so intact.

Here Dante's vivid conditional contrary-to-fact evocation of how Piccarda and Costanza should have behaved, "if their will had been whole", spreads a patina of blame over the two nuns. In the very moment in which they were physically freed from the violence of their persecutors, Dante tells us, they should have immediately resisted, turning back toward the cloister from which they had just been forcibly removed. Dante also stipulates that they could have returned to the cloister: "possendo rifuggir nel santo loco" (being able to flee back to the holy place [*Par.* 4.81]). But the nuns did not do what they could have done; they did not return to the cloister. Drawing on Aristotle's doctrine of violence as force to which the victim contributes nothing, Dante now explicitly clarifies that the two nuns enable the violence done to them: "Per che, s'ella si piega assai o poco, / segue la forza; e così queste fero / possendo rifuggir nel santo loco" (So that,

29. Giannantonio 1980, 17 notes: "il riferimento al martire Lorenzo era già nel commento di Tommaso all'*Etica Nicomachea*". I will add that Aquinas refers to Saint Lawrence à propos Aristotle's example of Alcmaeon, offering the martyr as someone who accepted the cruelest death rather than do what should never be done, thus as a counter-Alcmaeon (see §395). Dante offers a far more elaborate and balanced and complex set of examples.

when will has yielded much or little, / it has abetted force — as these souls did: / they could have fled back to their holy shelter [*Par.* 4.79–81]).

We need here to briefly pause our analysis to consider the discomfort caused by Dante's use of two female characters to make his point about complicity with violence and weakness of will. I sympathize with Pierson's view that "The doctrine of free will becomes extremely problematic in view of a situation like Piccarda's" (2019, 73). However, discomfort with the gendered components of Dante's pointed dialectic in *Paradiso* 3–4 (not equivocal or confused, as per Pierson's essay, but pointed and deliberate)[30] does not derogate from my stated conviction that his portrayals of Piccarda and Costanza, like his portrayals of Francesca and Pia, were advanced for their time in highlighting the social and legal plight of women and in assigning agency to women; also, perhaps most importantly, Dante acted as the historian of record for abused women otherwise consigned to historical oblivion (Barolini 2000 and 2006b). Moreover, Dante's consideration of the issue of the nuns' inconstancy with respect to the execution of their vows must be placed in the context of the *longue durée* of Dante's thinking on constancy versus errancy, a meditation that is grounded in the poet's thinking about himself and his own "amorosa erranza" and that begins with the episode of the *donna gentile* in the *Vita Nuova*. This foundational moment is developed by Dante in complex ways across many texts and features a culminating gender reversal of the ancient *topos* of female inconstancy: the character who is most strongly chastised for fickle and inconstant behavior in the *Commedia* is a man, Dante himself, not a woman.[31]

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30. For the reading that Dante's dialectic in *Paradiso* 3–4 is pointed and deliberate, as it is throughout *Paradiso*, the better to import *solutio distinctiva* as a "resolution", see my discussion in "Dante Squares the Circle: Textual and Philosophical Affinities of *Monarchia* and *Paradiso* (*Solutio Distinctiva* in *Mon.* 3.4.17 and *Par.* 4.94–114)": "The manufactured nature of this new *dubbio* underscores the importance of the issue at stake for Dante. He seeks to dramatize the ways in which committed argument can lead to genuine social crisis, in that one or the other of those debating risks being labeled a liar. He further dramatizes the resolution of such an impasse through the application of a method that can mitigate the crisis, allowing one to be 'mitior' toward one's opponent by not revealing her to be a liar: *solutio distinctiva*" ([2018] 2022a, 153).
31. I refer to Beatrice's reprimands of Dante in *Purgatorio* 30–31. In the same way that Dante breaks down the ideological barriers between love as a compulsive force and the philosophical idea of involuntary action, so he treats constancy in love as a philosophical and ethical issue, as we see in *Epistola* 3 and the

In the conditional contrary-to-fact conjuring of two nuns endowed with absolute will such that, upon being released from their captors, their wills would have immediately pushed them back down the very road on which they had previously been forcibly carried off, Dante has begun his operation of diverging from Aristotle. It is theoretically possible that Dante intends us to see two distinct stages of the nuns' behavior, moving from involuntary action to mixed action. According to such a theory, first is the moment of their involuntary abduction, subsequently followed by the many moments in which they chose not to attempt to return to the cloister. Because their wills are conditioned by fear to stay away, fear that causes them to waver when faced with the dangerous return, the two nuns are now engaging in mixed action. My point is not to deny the possibility of the above scenario, but to note that it is disconcerting to arrive at a discussion of mixed action, in Aristotle's definition "more like voluntary actions", by way of an event, abduction, that is consistent with one of Aristotle's two examples of involuntary action.

Rather than accepting as unproblematic the categorization of the nuns' behavior as examples of mixed action, we should acknowledge that Dante has chosen an example — that of two abducted but blameworthy nuns — that pushes his thinking to the extreme. The moral cost of Dante's decision clearly weighs on readers of *Paradiso* 3, and is visible in the commentary of Chiavacci Leonardi, who reports the challenges of past readers.[32] Moreover, Dante's decision to use victims of abduction to make his case about blameworthy mixed action inevitably casts doubt on the very category of blame-free involuntary action, by suggesting that it will always (at least when the external force is applied by human beings, with whom one can negotiate) devolve into mixed action.

Most of all, Dante's discussion of the behavior of the two nuns is irretrievably non-Aristotelian in tone. In his discussion of forced action Aristotle does not offer examples of historical women who were unable to behave heroically, embroidered with vividly realistic descriptions of what they could have done instead of what they did do. In his discussion of forced action Aristotle does not further sharpen a critique of historical

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Commedia. See "Errancy", Barolini 2021, for a fuller account of Dante's "amorosa erranza" (the phrase, with the hapax "erranza", is from the *Vita Nuova* sonnet *Tutti li miei penser parlan d'Amore*).

32. See Chiavacci Leonardi 1997, 116, *ad loc.*: "*come fuoro sciolte*: non appena furono fisicamente libere dalla violenza. Molti qui si domandano: ma quando e come lo furono? se erano sposate, come potevano lasciare i mariti? e Costanza, una volta vedova, come avrebbe lasciato il figlioletto di tre anni?".

women by also offering counter-examples of historical men who, by contrast, were able to behave heroically. Finally, in his discussion of forced action Aristotle does not include a full-throated proclamation regarding free will, like the one expressed in *Paradiso* 4.76.

To appreciate fully the destabilizing effect of the introduction of free will into Dante's analysis, we will look more closely at the passage in *Paradiso* 4 that begins with the definition of force. As previously noted, Dante's definition of force — *violentum* — is taken word for word from *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1, where the definition is buttressed by the two examples of involuntary action:

> Violentum autem est cuius principium extra, tale existens in quo nil confert operans vel paciens; puta si spiritus tulerit alicubi vel homines domini existentes.
>
> (*EN* 3.1.1110a)

> that is forced of which the moving principle is outside, being a principle in which nothing is contributed by the person who acts — or, rather, is acted upon, e.g., if he were to be carried somewhere by a wind, or by men who had him in their power.

In verses 73–74 of *Paradiso* 4 Dante cites this very passage, stating that violence occurs when the one who suffers — the victim in today's language — contributes nothing to the one who uses force: "Se vïolenza è quando quel che pate / nïente conferisce a quel che sforza" (If violence means that the one who suffers / has not abetted force in any way [*Par.* 4.73–74]). As we can see, the Latin sentence from *Nicomachean Ethics* cited above moves very precisely from the definition of violence to the two examples of involuntary action. In sharp contrast, Dante's sentence moves from the definition of violence to the fact of the two nuns' blameworthiness:

> Se vïolenza è quando quel che pate
> nïente conferisce a quel che sforza,
> non fuor quest'alme per essa scusate
> (*Par.* 4.73–75)

> If violence means that the one who suffers
> has not abetted force in any way,
> then there is no excuse these souls can claim

Immediately following the statement that violence occurs when "the one who suffers / has not abetted force in any way", in the exact location where the Latin moves to the two examples of involuntary action, Dante veers the other way, stating that Piccarda and Costanza are not to be excused: "non fuor quest'alme per essa scusate" (75). Why? The explanation for verse 75, which affirms the culpability of the two nuns, is verse 76, the textually unexpected and riveting assertion that will cannot be extinguished unless it wills to be extinguished. Verse 76 communicates that Piccarda and Costanza are culpable because human beings possess heroic will, which is capable of absolute resistance. Like a flame that will always rise, no matter how many times violence attempts to push it down, such will cannot be stamped out:

> Se vïolenza è quando quel che pate
> nïente conferisce a quel che sforza,
> non fuor quest'alme per essa scusate:
> ché volontà, se non vuol, non s'ammorza,
> ma fa come natura face in foco,
> se mille volte vïolenza il torza.
> (*Par.* 4.73–78)

> If violence means that the one who suffers
> has not abetted force in any way,
> then there is no excuse these souls can claim:
> for will, if it resists, is never spent,
> but acts as nature acts when fire ascends,
> though force — a thousand times — tries to compel.

There is nothing in *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1, the source text for verses 73–74 of the above citation, that is comparable to verse 76, in which Dante states that a will that does not want to be conquered can always prevail.[33] In *Paradiso* 4 Dante has appropriated the definition of violence from *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.1 (a definition that he underscores with his lexicon: of the *Commedia*'s five uses of "violenza", three are in this canto) and recontextualized it in order to promote an absolute will that, he tells

33. The closest hint of such a statement is Aristotle's comment on Alcmaeon, where the philosopher tells us that there are actions that "we cannot be compelled to do, but ought rather to face death after the most fearful sufferings" (*EN* 3.1.1110a26–27).

us, is capable of never giving consent: "Voglia assoluta non consente al danno" (Absolute will does not consent to wrong [*Par.* 4.109]). Thus, in Chiavacci Leonardi's paraphrase of the examples of violence in *Paradiso* 4, the victim always contributes in some degree to the violence done to her, unless the victim dies resisting: "Come si vedrà dagli esempi subito portati, vera vittima della violenza è colui che si lascia uccidere pur di non cedere ad essa" (As we shall see in the examples that immediately follow, the true victim of violence is he who allows himself to be killed rather than yield to it).[34]

In *Paradiso* 4 Dante both appropriates from the master and simultaneously distances himself from him. On the issue of free will Dante takes a heroic stance that is not Aristotle's. He reaches the strongest affirmation of his non-Aristotelian position in verse 76 — "ché volontà, se non vuol, non s'ammorza" — immediately after conducting what until this point is a fully Aristotelian analysis of violence. Two blessed souls, Piccarda and Costanza, are deserving of their "lesser" status in paradise because they did not resist violence absolutely. One wonders: Is there in fact such a category as authentically involuntary action for Dante? Verse 76 seems to come quite close to disputing the very possibility of a completely external force, at least as deployed by a fellow human being.

Dante presents the two nuns as historical exemplars of human frailty in contrast to heroic constancy. Not content with noting that Piccarda and Costanza did not display absolute will, Dante inserts two examples of absolute will, thus showing us that absolute will exists in humans. At the same time, let us be clear: Dante is also showing us that the assertion of absolute will is not required for salvation. The inability of Piccarda and Costanza to confront violence with absolute will does not preclude their eternal blessedness in paradise. The two women may not have been capable of heroic choices, like Saint Lawrence and Gaius Mucius Scaevola, but neither did they make perverse inhuman choices, like Alcmaeon, Jephthah, and Agamemnon. It may be, and here we come back to the gender issue, that Dante views these women, who are implicitly compared to both the

34. Chiavacci Leonardi, 1997, 116, *ad loc*. Chiavacci Leonardi's statement is imprecise with respect to Dante's two examples: unlike Saint Lawrence, who is martyred at the hands of the prefect of Rome, Gaius Mucius Scaevola was not killed by Lars Porsena. In other words, the two examples of absolute will that are offered by Dante do not have identical outcomes: Saint Lawrence is martyred, Gaius Mucius Scaevola does not die, and so we must nuance Chiavacci Leonardi's claim that the only true guarantee that an action is involuntary is the death of the victim.

perfect and imperfect sets of men, as the most persuasive rendering of an in-between set, a human set: they are at once fully human, with human frailties, and fully saved.

Dante often uses Aristotle in ways that add nuance and flexibility to his positions. In *Paradiso* 4, instead, his deviations from Aristotle suggest that the Christian doctrine of free will — "the greatest gift that God in his magnanimity made when he created mankind" (*Par.* 5.19–20) — requires him to take a more inflexible stance than that of the *maestro*, one that is summed up in "volontà, se non vuol, non s'ammorza" (*Par.* 4.76). This verse creates a framework for thinking about Dante's effort to destabilize the Aristotelian analysis, via his importation of non-Aristotelian features.

In her gloss on "volontà, se non vuol, non s'ammorza", Chiavacci Leonardi cites a passage (previously cited by Giannantonio 1980) from Saint Anselm, *De Libertate Arbitrii*, chapter 5: "No temptation compels one to sin against his will". In the 2000 Hopkins and Richardson translation the passage reads:

> No one deserts this uprightness except by willing to. So if "against one's will" means "unwillingly," then no one deserts uprightness against his will. For a man can be bound against his will, because he can be bound when he is unwilling to be bound; a man can be tortured against his will, because he can be tortured when he is unwilling to be tortured; a man can be killed against his will, because he can be killed when he is unwilling to be killed. But a man cannot will against his will, because he cannot will if he is unwilling to will. For everyone-who-wills wills that he will.
>
> (199)

These words, as both Giannantonio and Chiavacci Leonardi note, were written before Aristotle was known in the West. The annotation is on point: "volontà, se non vuol, non s'ammorza" is a line that fits poorly with Aristotle. By assigning blameworthiness to the abducted nuns right after inscribing the Aristotelian definition of violence into his text, and then bursting out with his great proclamation about a will that will always prevail, Dante reveals a fault line between the teachings of the pagan philosopher on voluntary and involuntary action and his ardent Christian convictions regarding free will.

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The Original Wordle

Gary A. Rendsburg

Abstract

The article calls attention to an ancient Ugaritic bilingual word game, written c. 1300 B.C.E.*, in which the correct response requires rearranging the given letters to create a sensible word or name. But since the word/name is actually in Hurrian, a second step is necessary, namely, to render the Hurrian into its Ugaritic equivalency. So while not quite the original Wordle, this short ancient text reminds us of the enduring allure of word games in literate cultures.*

Well, not quite the original Wordle, but as the reader soon will realize, the bilingual word game presented here is worth bringing to our attention, given the current world-wide fascination with Wordle (along with similar word games).

In c. 1300 B.C.E., an Ugaritic master scribe wrote out the short school exercise which appears on a small clay tablet (3 cm x 4.4 cm x 1.5 cm), using the Ugaritic alphabet to present both the Ugaritic and Hurrian material in the text (see Fig. 1, below).

The wording and contents of the document suggest that the master scribe used this short text to teach an apprentice scribe.[1]

First, though, some background information for the uninitiated. Ugaritic is a Semitic language that was used at ancient Ugarit (= modern Ras Shamra, on the Mediterranean coast, in northwestern Syria), which flourished c. 1400–c. 1200 B.C.E. (that is, during the Late Bronze Age). Ugaritic belongs to the Northwest Semitic group, closely related to Hebrew, Phoenician, and other Canaanite dialects.[2] The Ugaritic scribes used a 30-letter alphabet to write their language, though unlike the linear alphabet used for Hebrew, Phoenician, etc., their alphabetic symbols were cuneiform style, created under the influence of the Mesopotamian writing system.

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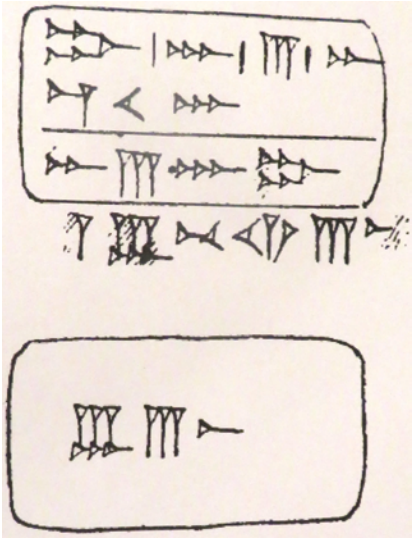
1. On scribal training at Ugarit in general, see Hawley 2008; and Hawley, Pardee, and Roche-Hawley 2015.
2. Some scholars, the present author included, would include Ugaritic within the Canaanite sub-group of Northwest Semitic, while other scholars classify Ugaritic as a separate language within the Northwest Semitic group.



r . n . l . a
mʿn

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alnr
ṣdqšlm

dlt

Figure 1. Line-drawing of Ugaritic tablet RS 12.64 = CAT 5.7 (published by Virolleaud 1951, 24; 1957, 198), reproduced here with kind permission granted by Valérie Matoïan (Collège de France).

As befitting an ancient cosmopolitan metropole, the archives at Ugarit also revealed additional scripts and languages, including Hurrian, a non-Semitic language, native to northern Mesopotamia, but whose influence reached unto the Hittite realm, the city of Ugarit, and elsewhere.[3] Typically, Hurrian is written in the traditional Mesopotamian cuneiform script, used for Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, etc. — though at Ugarit occasionally one finds Hurrian material written in the Ugaritic alphabetic script (see, e.g., Lam 2011 and 2015).

We now return to our small tablet presented above. As an aside, note that the tablet was found by Claude Schaeffer, *maître archéologue* of Ras Shamra, in 1948, the first season of renewed excavations after a decade of non-activity due to the ravages of World War II — and then quickly was published by his colleague Charles Virolleaud, chief epigrapher of the *Mission de Ras Shamra* (Virolleaud 1951, 24), with the excavation number

3. Hurrian, attested in the 2nd millennium B.C.E., is closely related to Urartian, attested in the 1st millennium B.C.E.: most likely the latter is a 'niece' language (and not a 'daughter' language) of the former. The Hurro-Urartian group, in turn, is related to the modern-day Northeast Caucasian languages spoken in Chechnya, Dagestan, etc.; see Diakanoff and Starostin 1986, even if not all scholars accede to their hypothesis.

RS 12.64 (that is, Ras Shamra, season 12, text no. 64).[4] In time, the text received the official designation CAT 5.7.[5]

In the first line, the scribe wrote four letters separated by word dividers — the vertical strokes on the tablet, transcribed with full stop (period) in the transcription. As such, each of these letters stands alone: *r . n . l . a* [6] — which is to say, the scribe does not intend for the four graphemes to be read as a word, but rather as four letters. And in any case, no such potential word *rnla* exists in the language, nor could any meaning adhere to such a string of letters.

In the second line of the small tablet, the scribe wrote the single word *mʿn*, meaning 'answer' (cf. Hebrew מַעֲנֶה *maʿanɛ* [Job 32:3, 32:5, etc.]), followed by a horizontal line to separate part one of the tablet from part two of the tablet. The use of the word 'answer' indicates that line 1 presents some sort of puzzle or riddle which needs to be elucidated by the clever reader — hence, a word game.

Line 3 of the tablet provides the response: *alnr*, the self-same four letters as appear in line 1, though this time in (simple) anagrammatic fashion, and without the word dividers, indicating a complete lexeme unto itself. If our Wordle-like tablet was in color, the four letters in line 1 all would be highlighted in mustard, indicating that the four letters are present in the actual word, though they are not in the correct place, while in line 3 they all would be highlighted in green, indicating the correct word.

Now, the word *alnr* does not resonate with anything in Ugaritic, but one may observe two Hurrian elements, which occur both as independent lexemes and as components within personal names: *al* and *nr*. The former equates with the Hurrian word *allai,* 'lady, queen', while the latter equates with the Hurrian word *niri,* 'good' (Laroche 1980, 42 and 185, respectively; Wegner 2007, 246 and 269–70, respectively).

And indeed as a personal name, the form *alnr* is attested in another Ugaritic document, to wit, CAT 4.16 (line 6), an administrative text found during the very first season of excavations in 1929 (hence its excavation

4. See also Virolleaud 1957, 198.
5. CAT = Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 2013. This standard reference work organizes the c. 1600 Ugaritic tablets into various categories, with classification no. 5 (per the siglum of our tablet) incorporating the scribal exercises.
6. Note that the Ugaritic script does not indicate vowels, except in the case of *ʾaleph* (glottal stop), for which three different symbols are used, one indicating *ʾa*, one indicating *ʾi*, and one indicating *ʾu*. Hence, the final letter in the first line normally would be read as glottal stop followed by the a-vowel, that is, *ʾa*.

number RS 1.15) (Gröndahl 1967, 216, 243).[7] Moreover, the name is known from the site of Alalakh, 110 km northwest of Ugarit, in modern-day south-central Turkey, written as *alli-niri* in the cuneiform syllabic script, from a few centuries earlier (Wiseman 1953, 112 and plate xliv [text no. 438, line 11]).[8] All of which is to say, the form *alnr* inscribed in line 3 of our small Ugaritic tablet is a relatively well-attested Hurrian personal name in the general region of northern Syria during the Late Bronze Age, with the meaning 'the lady is good'.

Since the scribe-in-training most likely was not (yet) expert in Hurrian, line 4 (written on the lower edge of the tablet) provides an additional step, as it glosses the Hurrian term *alnr* with the native Ugaritic equivalence: *ṣdqšlm*.[9] As with *alnr* above, we may note that the personal name *ṣdqšlm* occurs elsewhere in the Ugaritic corpus, in fact, in four different administrative texts: CAT 4.102 (line 23), 4.103 (line 28), 4.165 (line 11), 4.616 (line 5).[10] Naturally, we cannot know whether any or all of these people are the same person as *ṣdqšlm* in our tablet, CAT 5.7, but at least we are able to determine that the name is relatively well attested at Ugarit.

Note the equivalencies of the individual components in the two names on our tablet: Hurrian *nr* (*niri*) 'good' = Ugaritic *ṣdq* 'just, lawful, righteous' (hence within the same semantic field as 'good'); and Hurrian *al* (*allai*) 'lady, queen' = Ugaritic *šlm* 'Shalim', the deity often associated with Venus as the Evening Star.[11]

One further observes the different word orders between Hurrian *al nr*, that is, 'lady' ~ 'good', and Ugaritic *ṣdq šlm*, that is, 'good, just' ~ '(goddess)

7. As an aside, note that in CAT 4.16, the Hurrian personal name *alnr* (line 6) is immediately preceded by another Hurrian personal name *iwrnr* (line 5).
8. The name also may occur as a toponym in the Alalakh region, for which see Astour 1963, 226.
9. This is how the text was originally understood by Virolleaud, and even though subsequent scholars offered different analyses (see below, n. 14), I for one believe that Virolleaud's interpretation remains the most likely.
10. In the second and third of these passages, the name is written completely. In the first instance, the text is broken, but *ṣdqš*[*lm*] may be safely restored; ditto for the fourth citation, where [*ṣ*]*dqšlm* may be safely restored. Note further the dialectal variant form *ṣṭqšlm*, which occurs 4x in CAT 3.12 (formerly CAT 2.19) (lines 1, 4, 10, 14), the legal record of manumission of a (now former) royal slave by this name. For the phonology of this latter form, see Gordon 1965, 33, §5.24.
11. In actuality, the gender identification is much more complex, since in one Ugaritic mythological text, "The Birth of the Gracious Gods" (CAT 1.23), the god *šlm* 'Shalim' appears to be masculine.

Shalim',[12] due to the different syntaxes of the two languages, especially in the construction of personal names. In the former, the subject precedes the predicate, for example *enna-madi* 'the gods are wisdom' (Wegner 2007, 122; Wegner 2020, 83); while in the latter typically the predicate, especially in the form of an adjective or stative verb, precedes the subject. Examples include Ugaritic *ytrhd* 'Haddu is excellent', Phoenician כבדמלקרת KBDMLQRT 'Melqart is honored', Phoenician כבדעשתרת KBDʿŠTRT 'Ashtart (Astarte) is honored', Hebrew טוֹבִיָּה *ṭobiyya* 'Yah is good' (whence Greek Τωβίας and the form 'Tobias' in various European languages), etc.[13]

Hence, in the present tablet, we may observe the attempt to equate Hurrian *al nr* 'the lady is good' with Ugaritic *ṣdq šlm* 'Shalim is just', as part of the process to educate the apprentice scribe in the workings of Ugaritic-Hurrian bilingualism.[14] As intimated above, almost undoubtedly the two forms are personal names, perhaps even the names of the two scribes (mentor and pupil) at work, whose two names have a certain bilingual resonance with one another. Alternatively, the two wordings could represent the name of the single scribe who has created our little puzzle, with one form of his name in its Hurrian guise and with another form of his name in its Ugaritic guise.

Regardless of how the equivalencies are understood, at a distance of more than three millennia, it is truly remarkable to observe this teacher-student moment.

In sum, our word-game tablet incorporated two parts: a) scramble the four letters in line 1 to create the proper response (see line 2), as elucidated in line 3; and b) render the Hurrian name into its Semitic equivalency, as explicated in line 4.[15]

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12. As indicated in the transcription above, there are no word dividers in the strings *alnr* and *ṣdqšlm* (especially since they are personal names), though for clarification and for ease of reading I include here spaces between the two elements in both forms.
13. For further examples and details, see Gröndahl 1967, 43–44; Benz 1972, 221; Fowler 1988, 82–84; and Golub 2017, 36 (Table 6).
14. For earlier treatments of our text, with different analyses, see Eissfeldt 1952–1953, 118–9 (reprinted in Eissfeldt 1963, 368); and Dietrich and Loretz 1988, 183–4. Though all scholars agree that this small tablet is a scribal exercise of some sort.
15. We actually possess more than one hundred Hurrian-Ugaritic lexical equivalencies, as preserved in the polyglot S[a] vocabulary texts found at Ras Shamra, though the two items under discussion here are not extant and/or

Finally, line 5 (written on the reverse side of the tablet) includes the single word *dlt* 'tablet'. The basic meaning of this word is actually 'door' (cf. Hebrew דֶּלֶת *dɛlɛt*), but since architectural terms frequently gain additional connotations relating to writing culture (consider our English word 'column'),[16] the word also came to mean 'tablet, document, column of text, etc.' (see most famously Jeremiah 36:23 where דֶּלֶת *dɛlɛt* means either 'column of text' or 'sheet of a papyrus scroll').

Why the scribe may have written this word on the reverse of the tablet is unclear, but there it is, nonetheless. Notably, the lexeme belongs to the realm of scribal culture, and so perhaps the three-letter word *dlt* 'tablet' represents another teachable moment.[17]

Scholars of writing culture more broadly will recognize *dlt* 'tablet' as the source of Greek *deltos* 'tablet', a word used, for example, by Herodotus, *Histories*, 8.135, with reference to Carian writing, and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, 2.27, with reference to the Roman Twelve Tables.[18]

But back to the main point, the bilingual scribal exercise which constitutes the main content of our small Ugaritic tablet: word games are nothing new, but rather have been present in literate cultures for millennia.[19] Our short text may not be "the original Wordle" *per se*, but it reminds us of the enduring allure of words as a most pleasant intellectual pursuit.[20]

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simply were not treated. See the standard study by Huehnergard 1987, esp. 21–45.

16. Other examples include Arabic *bayt* 'house' > 'poetic verse', and Hieroglyphic Egyptian *ḥwt* 'house, temple' > 'stanza'. I plan one day to devote a more extensive study to this cross-cultural phenomenon.
17. Bordreuil 2006 proposed that *dlt* in CAT 5.7 (line 5) should be understood literally as 'door', with reference to the entrance to the royal palace, and that the one or two individuals mentioned in our text should be understood as palace guard(s). He reached this conclusion on the basis of another Ugaritic text, RS 17.25 = CAT 6.66 (a cylinder seal), though note that the final line there (line 10) expressly states *dlt bt* 'door of the house' = 'entrance to the palace'. As intimated above, given the word-game essence of CAT 5.7, the meaning 'tablet' inscribed on the reverse is much more likely.
18. Also related is the Greek letter name *delta* borrowed from Phoenician דלת dlt.
19. Of similar antiquity, though much more complicated, are the ancient Egyptian crosswords, for which see Zandee 1966 and Stewart 1991.
20. My thanks to colleagues Richard Hess (Denver Seminary), John Huehnergard (University of Texas), and Joseph Lam (University of North Carolina) for their constructive comments and suggestions upon reading an earlier version of this article; I alone, though, remain responsible for the conclusions herein.

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Book Reviews

Centenary Calvino, *Here and Elsewhere*

> Lettore, è tempo che la tua sballottata navigazione trovi un approdo. Quale porto può accoglierti più sicuro d'una grande biblioteca? [. . .] Finalmente ti s'apre una giornata libera e tranquilla; vai in biblioteca, consulti il catalogo; ti trattieni a stento dal lanciare un grido di giubilo, anzi: dieci grida; tutti gli autori e i titoli che cerchi figurano nel catalogo, diligentemente registrati.
>
> — *Se una notte d'inverno un viaggiatore*

Celebrating the centenary of an author such as Italo Calvino entails a correct critical posture of due compromise between the scientific and memorial needs that such a historical occurrence arouses in academics, and namely the necessity to recombine the *tiles* of writing, fortune, and authorial reception into an organic mosaic, and, on the other hand, the "entirely stateless"[1] identity of this writer-funambulist of the mind, of this picaresque "archaeologist" of narration, who has always preferred to shield himself through Perseus's mirror,[2] to disrupt the tiles and start all over again. The hypostasis of the authorial self, which comes to assert itself (or to dissipate) through studies and interpretations of the style — or, to put it better, the *manner*[3] — of that author, will always be susceptible, in Italo Calvino's work, to a deeper hypostasis of the Other's gaze, of the numerous Others and Elsewhere that fragment the identity among the infinite chrisms of writing and reading.

For these reasons, to retrace Calvino's literary work is always to "think about the drawing of a bush or a tree, not the wake of a ship"[4] — reusing a

1. Rubini 2023, 33.
2. Cfr. Belpoliti 2006, 190–93.
3. Cfr. *Prefazione* of G. Agamben, *Disappropriata maniera*, in Caproni 1991.
4. Barenghi 2007, 11–12.

visual metaphor adopted by Mario Barenghi: in hindsight, the fortune and reception of his work has always moved into the territory of multiplicity, in an uninterrupted circularity of studies and perspectives characterized by divergent, even contradictory approaches.

The success of Italo Calvino's work in Italy and around the world is, to this day, undisputed and continually growing. As an essential figure of the twentieth-century's cultural *intellighenzia*, a tutelary presence of the Italian literary canon, and an imperishable critical subject for school anthologies and academic studies, Calvino represents an equally successful *unicum* among the ranks of the most extensively read and studied Italian authors in the world. First in terms of the number of translations and editions of twentieth-century Italian compositions abroad, his works have circulated in more than 67 countries and have been translated into 16 alphabets of more than 56 languages, becoming compulsory reading even for freshmen in the 2018–2019 academic year at Hanyang University in Seoul.[5] Since at least the 1980s, we are still witnessing the undoubted consecration of Calvino "from international writer to international classic".[6]

As the author of the very recent, and equally valuable essay *Italo Calvino nel Mondo* suggests,[7] the "profound reasons" for such transnational success "remain inexhaustible and hidden", like the *protean* figure of the author behind these processes of intellectual nomadism; but undoubtedly, the roots of this circularity can be traced back to the "elliptical" trajectory of an author who — as we read in the essay's colophon — "appears to be a writer more in step with the times than ever before, for the variety and complexity of his reading of the world and for the agility and effectiveness of his literary inventions", but of whom, at the same time, it would be an "unforgivable critical error"[8] to forget the historical resistance of the past. Calvino thus leaves behind for his contemporaries and future generations the image of a narrative *ellipse* with two fires, an archetypal fire, which draws nourishment from a "concrete, real and decisive"[9] history, profoundly linked to the historical experience of his homeland, and a fabled, vertiginous, cosmopolitan fire, which speaks indiscriminately to

5. Rubini 2023.
6. Rubini 2023, 19.
7. Rubini 2023. The essay provides essential information on the most recent studies regarding fortune, international reception and tradition in translation of Italo Calvino's works.
8. Barenghi 2007, 9.
9. Ibid.

all, "a sort of world *koinè* of a fantastic-postmodern literary style".[10] It will be Calvino's superior metaliterary sensitivity and profound self-reflexive capacity that will best explain the extent of this vertiginous, inexhaustible duplicity: "Ho sempre cercato d'essere, per quanto potevo un "cosmopolita'. (E forse questo è l'unico modo vero di essere italiano)".[11]

Embracing these tensive and powerful antinomies that run through the figurative and textual reality of the *hermit at home,* Italo Calvino, it is deeply significant that the works dedicated to the author on the occasion of the centenary start precisely from his "ideal and material nomadism that leads him to inhabit *other* spaces",[12] pointing out, first and foremost, the relevance of *transversality* and *multiplicity* as a gaze-shifting paradigm for a *truly* global and *objectively* current author. On closer inspection, the cultural initiatives, which see at the forefront the activities promoted by the Laboratorio Calvino,[13] the Arnoldo and Alberto Mondadori Foundation and the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome, with the supervision and participation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and the Italian Cultural Institutes abroad, embrace the legacy of wider-ranging studies, integrating and relaunching interdisciplinary and collaborative work of a philological, linguistic, critical, and librarianship nature, dedicated to the cultural and literary history, the publishing and graphic tradition of the author's works in Italy and around the world.

For the reception of Calvino's work, the occasion of the centenary furthers the possibility to reaffirm the value and profound sense of the practice of multiplicity, intrinsic to every element of Italo Calvino's life and writing, and to "look from above", or rather, *from the outside*, the evolutions and contradictions of the narrative, editorial and translation history of an author who is always *Here and Elsewhere*, a history nourished "by dazzling encounters and uncertain harmonies, by broad and systematic publishing projects and isolated initiatives, by delays and accelerations, by scrupulous dedication and unscrupulous manipulations, by great successes and silences".[14]

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10. Gnisci 1998, 90.
11. Cfr. Baranelli 2000, 949.
12. Rubini 2023, 27.
13. Collaborative Workshop of the Department of Humanities and Modern Cultures of the Sapienza University of Rome, with the State University of Milan, the University of Milan Bicocca, and Oxford University.
14. Rubini 2023, 17.

It is precisely the spatial dichotomy, *Here and Elsewhere*, that acts as the common thread of the critical experience at the dawn of the Calvinian century. *Here and Elsewhere* inaugurates a course of study, begun in 2018 under the guidance of Laura di Nicola, one of the first to have explored the depths of the author's library[15] and now director of the Laboratorio Calvino, with a distinctly international and multidisciplinary critical approach, involving universities and cultural institutes around the world, and enabling the author's literary experience to be clarified within a broader, organic horizon of global reception. Also under the sign of the *Here and Elsewhere*, the project for a new series of books, published by Carocci in Rome, operates as a base to re-launch philological and critical studies on Calvino's work. Among these, there are Claudio Milanini's essay, *L'utopia discontinua. Saggi su Italo Calvino, a new revised and expanded edition*, and the aforementioned work reconstructing Calvino's publishing experience around the world by Francesca Rubini, *Calvino nel mondo. Opere, lingue, paesi (1955–2020)*.

The third component of the thematic "sylloge", the exhibition *Calvino Here and Elsewhere*, hosted by the Laboratorio Formentini and realized by the Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori Foundation in collaboration with the Laboratorio Calvino and with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, aims to disseminate, through the medium of Calvino's works in foreign editions and the transformation of their editorial and graphic design, the sense of a broader international and multicultural belonging, of the evolution of narrative practice through a renewed understanding of the concepts of *authorship* and *editorship*, of the history of the literary text as a broader history of *editing*.

In the form of a future touring exhibition, the project intends to retrace, through the diplomatic-consular network of the Italian Cultural Institutes, the stages of a journey through the places closest to the author, reconstructing a *geography* of cultural and existential apprenticeship in which Calvino profiles himself as a tireless *editor of others* and *translator of himself*, and, through this dual filter and means of distancing, gradually becomes aware of his own role as an intellectual and writer. Through the folders of his works and correspondence with his international editor of choice, Erich Linder, preserved at the Agenzia Letteraria Internazionale-Erich Linder Fund (ALI; since 1999 part of the patrimony of the Arnaldo e Alberto Mondadori Foundation in Milan), the exhibition *Calvino*

15. Cfr. Di Nicola 2001; Di Domenico and Sabba 2020, 99–111.

Here and Elsewhere presents a twofold, critical cross-section of Calvino's literary macrocosm: on the one hand, it allows us to rethink, in a more systematic way, the importance of the editorial *forge* as the place where Calvino "found his identity as a modern intellectual";[16] on the other, the role and importance that the panorama of editors, literary mediators, and translators had in the *asymmetrical* transmission and transfiguration of the Italian writer abroad, and thus the sense of the different degrees of *intentionality* acting on the text, in the continuous dialectic of *author's will*, *publisher's will*, and *translator's will*.

The exhibition, as more broadly the set of essays and cultural initiatives arising under the sign of *Calvino Here and Elsewhere*, thus makes it possible to clarify the role of co-authorship and multi-authorship played, for example, by Erich Linder's Agenzia Letteraria Internazionale, by François Whal in France, and by Archibald Colquhoun and Vera Frank for the Anglo-Saxon world, as privileged interlocutors of a textual phenomenology that does not merely have editorial and commercial repercussions, but also involves the broader process to which Calvino entrusts the sense of his artistic making. The text, understood as a work of *poiesis* and at the same time of *material*, *documentary* reality, evolves and transforms itself continuously in Time and Space, "non irrigidito in una immobilità minerale, ma vivente come un organismo".[17]

The field of study opened up by *Calvino Here and Elsewhere*, moreover, benefits from a privileged philological and bibliographical situation: the ALI Fund collection, part of the main Calvino Translated Fund, part of the Laboratorio Calvino since 2018 and deposited, in its over 1,100 volumes of translated works of authorship, at the Sala Calvino of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome, and the third Fund of translated works, at the Italian Institute of Culture in Paris (since 1995). It represents for Calvinian *scrutinizers* a rare patrimony of more than 1,500 catalographic units for the comparative study of the complete reception of authorship on the international scene. The uniqueness of this cultural heritage, therefore, has made it possible to recognize and define, in the succession of projects orbiting *Calvino Here and Elsewhere*, a detailed *diachrony* of three cultural seasons in which to distinguish the evolution of Calvinian reception in Europe and the world (from the first volume translated into France in 1955, *Vicomte pourfendu*, to 1970; from 1971 to 1985, and finally

16. Barenghi 1995, lvi.
17. Calvino, cited in Barenghi 1995, 688.

the path of consecration as a world classic, from his disappearance to the second decade of the twenty-first century), as well as a differentiated *topography* of the different modes of reception and authorial intervention, which is uninterrupted and dialogic in places such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States, alternating and selective in the Iberian peninsula, South America, and the Scandinavian countries, asymmetrical and late, but of significant diffusion, in the countries of the Asian continent.[18]

Compared to the potential acquisitions on Calvino's workshop of narrative and editorial construction, the centenary activities dedicated to the experience of *being translated*.[19] bring out more clearly the Calvinian *impasse* concerning the sense of an irreducible impoverishment, of inadequacy and intrinsic *betrayal* of every *translation*, combined with the sense of a deeper, peremptory *will* of dialogue with his ideal Reader, of a necessary *sacrifice*. Initially experienced with irrelevance and frustration, therefore, the practice of translation becomes much more often a teleological path deeply experienced by the author, as a strong-willed protagonist of editorial and paratextual choices, of lexical and symbolic trans-coding, of graphic compositions and advertising mechanisms linked to every process of international cultural mediation. Translators, publishing mediators, and literary agents will thus become as many *agency* processes for the recognition of the authorial Ego, a device of profound narrative self-awareness, as well as a fundamental alter ego of deflagration and multiplication of the Self through those "second-degree mirrors"[20] that are the works of translation, mechanisms that allow one to "scomparire" behind the hermeneutic practice of reading, to unhinge the "scomodo diaframma"[21] of one's own person; and — the logical counterpart of every Calvinian reflection — to acquire *more of* oneself through this distancing, through the paradigmatic *pathos* of distance.

The effects of the projects that link the centenary of Calvino to the *Here and Elsewhere* pathway, therefore, do not only intercept Calvino's hermeneutic value and narrative practice, but also establish a broader reflection on the value of the intellectual figure in a transnational twentieth

18. For a complete and detailed case history, I refer to Rubini 2023 and the reference bibliography on the subject. For the concept of *translation asymmetry*, see in particular Schwartz 2021.
19. Cfr. Rubini 2023, 30–37.
20. Ibid. 29–30.
21. Italo Calvino, *Se una notte d'inverno un viaggiatore*: see Milanini et al. 1992.

century, on the sense of a different projection of identity in a postmodern global horizon, no longer in terms of comparison, but in relation to the sense of being *irreducibly different* as a collective paradigm of *possibility*. It is on this path, then, that we establish the cognitive, historical, and cultural presuppositions that allow us to define what it means, today, to *become a classic*.

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Italia, Paola, Monica Zanardo, et al. 2022. *Il testo violato e lo spazio bianco. Varianti d'autore e potere*. Roma: Viella. 979-12-5469-308-7. Pp. 220. Paper. € 28.

Since authorial philology was recognized as an autonomous discipline, with its own history and methodologies, and the study of authorial variants has proven to be significant and fruitful for a profound understanding of texts and their genesis, new challenging questions have arisen about the interaction between power and literary creation concerning the outcomes of this conflicting relationship: in what way did the author's intent have to yield to the demands of censorship, and what visible transformations or mutilations affected the original text? What "creative" strategies were employed to circumvent and limit censorial pressures?

The relationship between power, whether in a political or ideological-moral sense, and the author has indeed produced, over the centuries, two different yet interrelated reactions. The work of conceptual artist Emilio Isgrò, which suggests the title of this volume, perfectly exemplifies the peculiarities of each. The erasure method applied by Isgrò to a series of anastatic copies of the second edition of *Promessi Sposi* (1840–1841) — which involved two types of excisions, one with black ink and the other with white tempera — precisely recalls the two censorial methods studied in this book: the "violated text", representing censorship through deletion, resulting from external interventions; and the "white ink", signifying censorship through rewriting, including a set of strategies adopted to either proactively protect or retrospectively reinterpret texts.

To investigate the complex relationship between these two forces, it is essential to undertake a thorough examination of literary archives as well as to reconstruct the entire tradition of the work under consideration, both manuscript and printed. The effects of power, in fact, leave visible traces throughout the entire course of text genesis, up to the editorial and post-editorial phases, and authorial variants serve as an indispensable key to access the meanings inherent in textual changes and to study the impact of censorial actions on the work.

The studies collected in the volume *Varianti politiche d'autore* (published in 2019) had already employed the method of variant criticism to examine cases where the author's differing intentions regarding his own text pertained not to matters of language or style, but to precise political content; however, limiting the scope of investigation to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as was done in that volume, did not allow the systematic nature of the phenomenon throughout literary history to be recognised.

Thus, Paola Italia and Monica Zanardo take a further step by expanding their perspective to inquire whether, in the centuries before and after the eighteenth century, the dynamics of interaction with power and the diversified strategies of resistance in textual correction have changed.

The essays collected in their volume — comprising thirteen contributions — are therefore dedicated to authorial variants, both manuscript and printed, spanning a very wide chronological range from the Renaissance to the last century. They examine all those texts — not just literary — for which an authorial tradition can be documented.

The volume opens with an essay by Dario Brancato, dedicated to the three Florentine histories commissioned by Cosimo I, respectively authored by Benedetto Varchi, Giovan Battista Adriani, and Scipione Ammirato. Brancato immediately underscores the relevance of the historiographical genre in understanding the level of engagement of these works with power. He highlights how instances of "textual violence" occurred at multiple levels and at different stages of these histories' development: during their conceptualization, in the writing process, and both during and after the editorial phase, due to ecclesiastical censorship. The scholar suggests the necessity for new critical editions of these three works, shedding light on the intricate editorial events that impacted their composition and final textual outcomes.

Margherita De Blasi's contribution demonstrates how the complex relational dynamics between authors and power can also be intertwined with economic and familial interests. She shows that Pietro Verri kept his *Osservazioni sulla tortura* in his drawer "out of the necessity not to antagonize the Senate" (41), upon which he depended for financial independence. Aware that his highly critical writing about the use of torture as a legal instrument would jeopardize not only his relationship with the State but also his private interests, Verri practiced a specific form of self-censorship as he conceived the text as consciously posthumous, meant not to be published. This decision, while preemptively self-censoring, actually reveals a profound need to express his views freely, bypassing potential upstream and downstream censorship interventions. Verri thus bequeaths to posterity an unconditioned text, free from Senate approval, and the revision process analyzed by De Blasi between the first and second drafts moves towards intensifying the criticisms rather than mitigating them.

Pietro Verri's case is not isolated: Vittorio Alfieri, who dedicated the most incisive pages of his treatise *Del Principe e delle lettere* to the relationship between power and literature, asserting the duty of the writer to emancipate themselves from any compromise with power, also employed

specific strategies of "textual protection" to preserve his *corpus* from potential manipulation. As the scholar highlights, the author's archive plays a central role, collecting deliberately posthumous texts — thereby exempting them from censorial interventions — as well as annotations and self-commentaries that help reaffirm the author's intent and prevent potential later interventions.

The revision process undergone by Vincenzo Monti's writings, as explored by Claudia Bonsi, was of a different nature, often driven by ideological shifts. Monti's political opportunism influenced his literary works in various ways, leading to alterations in his texts that aligned with political expediency. In order to safeguard himself in a politically unstable climate, Monti sometimes chose to leave his works incomplete or published different editions of the same work, modified to match the politically opportune stance of the time.

From an operational standpoint, a similar case is presented by Christian Del Vento regarding Ugo Foscolo's work. Del Vento dedicates his contribution to the analysis of certain passages in *Ajace* that were subjected to revision by the poet before being incorporated into the *Grazie* section known as *Versi del rito*. These passages had aroused the fears of the viceroy to the extent that the tragedy was removed from the stage after its initial performance, thus requiring a revision and a change in tone before they could be published. However, as noted by Del Vento, the corrections made by Foscolo to the text did not entirely eliminate the original meaning, which was preserved even in the recontextualization of the verses: the exhortation to the viceroy to definitively break free from the Napoleonic regime, far from being silenced, is reaffirmed and reasserted.

Continuing with the review of case studies within the twentieth century, Michele Fagotti dedicates his contribution to examining the variations introduced by Curzio Malaparte in the reportages he wrote for the "Corriere" during his tenure as a war correspondent. As the scholar recalls, war correspondents operated under close scrutiny, and many writers had to adhere to forms of self-censorship or employ literary stratagems to convey what could not be explicitly stated. Malaparte himself employed rhetorical and literary devices — such as dialogue, allusion, and semantic ambiguity — with the aim of establishing a secret dialogue with the reader, enabling the perception of those more subversive elements that fascist censorship would not have tolerated if made explicit.

The phenomena of censorship and self-censorship, however, did not automatically vanish with the fall of Fascism; rather, they persisted even in the cultural context immediately following World War II. This is clearly

demonstrated by the case of Ardengo Soffici — explored and examined by Serena Piozzi — whose diary *Sull'orlo dell'abisso*, compiled during the war and initially published in magazines (between 1958 and 1959) and later as a book (in 1962), was not immune to textual alterations imposed by the new post-fascist cultural system. A comparison between the published text and the original diary confirms that Soffici had to rework or wholly eradicate thoughts that were overtly critical of the regime (164) in order to present a more consistent image of his past commitment.

The indirect pressure experienced by Soffici shows that textual violations and censorial impositions are not exclusive to totalitarian regimes; rather, they can also occur in seemingly democratic contexts, not necessarily driven by political reasons.

Among the essays collected here, Alessandro Vuozzo's contribution illustrates the unfortunate fate that befell the essay Franco Fortini had dedicated to the reception of Lukács in Italy. Fortini's statements in the essay — differing from the new theoretical and ideological premises of the journal — indeed sparked a conflict with the new demands of militant criticism within the "Officina" editorial team. The essay, initially rejected, was eventually approved with substantial modifications. Fortini himself accepted the compromise, only to realize, after the piece was published, that additional changes had been made without his approval: this constituted full-fledged censorship, violating Fortini's freedom of expression.

Furthermore, four specific contributions address the issue of power in a "cultural" sense, aiming to censor what is perceived as obscene or morally unacceptable: the works of Pirandello, Testori, Pavese, and Gadda, respectively examined by Chiara Ferrara, Flavia Erbosi, Liborio Pietro Barbarino, and Milena Giuffrida, represent the cases affected by this form of moral censorship.

Balancing between the two poles of the "violated text" and "white ink", a dual strategic practice guides Pirandello's revisions. On one hand, he "maintains a submissive attitude [. . .] resulting in more or less coerced authorial variants", while on the other hand, he reacts through "a creative mechanism aimed at seeking new expressive and communicative forms" (115). This latter case is exemplified by the novella *C'è qualcuno che ride*, which employs allegory to convey the hidden message of discontent towards the regime.

Due to moral censorship reasons, numerous external hands intervened in the scripts of Testori's *Arialda* to mitigate the more trivial aspects of its portrayal of urban periphery; similarly, four poems from Cesare Pavese's

Lavorare stanca (*Pensieri di Dina*, *Paternità*, *Balletto*, *Il dio-caprone*) underwent censorship due to the persistent erotic allusions within the compositions.

In the first case, external pressure led to compliance; in the latter, Pavese proved to be less accommodating towards the censors as he preferred to sacrifice his "masterpiece", *Il dio-caprone*, rather than modify one of the flagged verses.

Closing the volume, Milena Giuffrida's study reanalyzes, in light of the categories of "violated text" and "white ink", the tumultuous revision process of Gadda's *Eros e Priapo*, which serves as an emblematic case of the wide range of violations to which a text can be subjected, encompassing forms of resistance, self-censorship, and intrusive editing.

The discovery of the original manuscript of Gadda's pamphlet in the Archivio Liberati allowed the scholar to delve into the types of interventions that guided the text from its initial draft to the 1967 Garzanti edition. By examining a selection of variants within Chapter II, the comparison of the original with the final edition and its intermediate stages revealed the trajectory of a process that initially attempts to circumvent self-censorship, then resigns itself to censorial directives, ultimately delivering a mutilated text quite different from the author's original project and intentions.

Milena Giuffrida's work prompts us to reflect on the relevance of philological reconstruction for the redefinition of the meanings and history of the texts as we know them; it emphasizes the importance of preserving an author's intent, often compromised and concealed from the modern reader by cultural, psychological, political, and editorial factors.

Explored through the dual lens of the "violated text" and the "white ink", the study of authorial variants conducted in this volume once again proves to be a valuable tool for a deeper and more authentic understanding of texts and their histories. The collected contributions, in addition to providing a comprehensive essay on how the socio-political and cultural context can influence literary production at various stages of its life, bring to light and highlight the inherent creative power within writing itself, which transforms and reinvents itself in response to more or less direct forms of coercion. It becomes evident that institutional power must contend with another form of power, that of the literary text itself.

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Leclercq, Nathalie. 2020. *Les Figures du narrateur dans le roman médiéval*. Le Bel Inconnu, Florimont *et* Partonopeu de Blois. Paris: Honoré Champion [Essais sur le Moyen Âge 74]. Pp. 352. ISBN 9782745354013, Paper € 55,00.

Drawn from the author's doctoral research, this monograph belongs to the field of narratology (inspired, in particular, by Marnette 1998) and aims to analyze the figure of the narrator in three Old French *romans* in verse: *Partonopeu de Blois*, *Florimont*, and *Bel Inconnu*. As explained in the introduction, the choice of such romances relies not only on similarities in plot, but also on the peculiar presence of metaleptic intrusions by the narrator,[1] who establishes similarities and oppositions between the intradiegetic and extradiegetic levels by means of comments on the story itself and on his relationship with the beloved lady, the first dedicatee of the work.

After the introduction, the work is divided into three main sections, which are in turn tripartite; these are followed by the conclusions, an extensive bibliography, and the indexes.

The first section studies the liminal space of the prologue, in which the enunciator addresses the dedicatee and becomes the narrator. Although *Partonopeu de Blois* opens with a homage to God and *Florimont* addresses an audience of noble and courteous gentlemen, all three romances include a dedication to the beloved lady. In this light, the enunciator exists as both lover and narrator and the creative act of narration, considered a true gift of love, is inextricably linked to the lady. This is made explicit in *Bel Inconnu*, for instance, where the will of the dedicatee influences the very course of the tale. In its epilogue, it is said that Guinglain will only know happiness in love if the narrator receives the favors of his beloved. Besides such dedicatory space, the prologues also share a similar attention to the question of genre, or rather literary form. Although the three romances belong to the same narrative genre, they stand at the crossroad of various literary forms — e.g., *Bel Inconnu* employs the terms *cançon*, *roumant*, and *conte d'avanture* — which allow the narrators to insert lyrical interventions. The transition from the dialogic discourse of the prologue to the proper narration is marked by a change in verb tenses as the present indicative of the prologue gives way to the imperfect or the simple past of the narration.

1. According to Genette's theorization (cf. 1972, 2004), metalepsis consists in any kind of interference between extradiegesis and diegesis, or between diegesis and metadiegesis: in short, it is a phenomenon of contamination between the various narrative levels.

The second section focuses on the directing function of the narrator, who exhibits his role as omnipotent orchestrator of the diegesis either through metatextual interventions, which emphasize the passage from one episode to another / from one character to another, etc., or through the technique of *entrelacement* (*Partonopeu*, *Florimont*). The narrator also asserts his role of creator through various strategies of managing narrative tension, such as preteritions, prolexes, and reticences. For instance, in *Florimont* and *Partonopeu*, the narrators do not fully describe the erotic scene in which the protagonists are involved under the pretext of ignoring what has happened as they were not present in the intimacy of the couple's room. The narrative illusion is thus broken through a metaleptic mechanism (cf. Perret 1988).[2] This section then divides the narrator's intrusions into two types: impersonal and subjective. Intrusions of the first type mainly consist in the use of paremiology — whose didactic-moralizing function brings the three texts close to the genre of the *Speculum principis* — while subjective intrusions imply the narrator's direct intervention in the text as he explicitly comments on the events of the adventures and/or the characters. The last chapter of this second section concerns the delegation of the diegesis to internal narrators. The antagonist too can be considered an intradiegetic narrator as he can oppose and alter the course of the main plot, also provoking new vicissitudes, by means of crafting a false tale (in the tale). Among the characters in charge of narration often figures the Melusinian fairy type, who represents the perfect double of the narrator given her omniscience and omnipotence over the hero's destiny. This is a kind of *mise en abyme* of the narrator's role (cf. Grüber 2021): the fairy's account too thus becomes a form of metaleptic writing.

The third section addresses the polymorphism of the narrator who often assumes the role of courtly lover, inserting his own personal experience as well as lyrical interventions in the tale. In this context, the hierarchy between these pseudo-autobiographical additions and the narration seems to be reversed as the romance itself becomes nothing more than a pretext to conquer the dedicatee. Precisely by virtue of this overlap between romance and love speech, the characters become doubles of the narrator and his beloved. The heroines of the three novels — described as hyperbolically beautiful and initially inaccessible but then available to the lover — seem to stand for role models (or "identification traps", [236]) that the narrators want to propose to their dedicatees. Also, the interior

2. The concept of metalepsis in modern narratology is inextricably linked to that of infraction, rupture, transgression, short-circuiting, etc. For an interpretation and discussion of metalepsis in medieval production that departs from the idea of infraction see at least Uhlig 2018 and 2019.

monologues assigned to the three heroines in which they voice their hesitations just before conceding themselves to the protagonists can be considered literary ambushes set by the narrators to their reticent beloved. In fully identifying themselves with the compliant heroines, the female dedicatees are expected to more easily follow their example and return the narrator's love. By the same logic, the male character is a double of the narrator himself, with whom he initially shares the role of *mal aimé*, only to become the embodiment of the narrator's erotic desires once he has secured himself a night of love with his lady. The metaleptic porosity of the text, its openness to the exchange between diegetic and extra-diegetic levels, is also somehow ironical in proposing an anti-heroic vision of the narrator who fails where his own character succeeds.[3] The last chapter is dedicated to the figure of the narrator-author, unveiled anytime the narrator shows his writing skills and poetic savoir-faire through the use of enumerations, wordplays, and daring metaphors. In *Partonopeu de Blois*, the narrator-author even relies on metalepsis as he explains the change of verses from octosyllabic to alexandrine through a commentary which emphasizes his creative process.

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3. For a critical reflection on the possibility of irony, see Marnette, forthcoming in *Medium Aevum*.

Delale, Sarah. 2021. *Diamant obscur. Interpréter les manuscrits de Christine de Pizan*. Genève: Droz [Publications romanes et françaises 271]. Pp. 815. ISBN 978-2-600-06065-3, Paper € 55,00. PDF € 44,00.

This important study by Sarah Delale expands on her doctoral research carried out under the direction of Prof. Sylvie Lefèvre at the Université Paris-Sorbonne. The title of the volume as well as the titles of three out of the four sections into which it is divided are taken from the *Advision Cristine*. In the latter work, Christine de Pizan is strongly affected by the *débat* on the *Roman de la Rose* and poses, through the allegorical character of *Opinion*, the very important and worrying question on how to control the reader's interpretation of a literary text.

The Introduction (*Tabernacle Truble* — a quotation from *Cité des dames*) opens with a brief list of the most 'pop' and contemporary rewritings and appropriations of Christine de Pizan as historical figure and of her work. This opening seems a happy preamble to the object of the volume, which analyzes the link between form, genre, and interpretation of de Pizan's literary texts. Relying on the most recent codicological studies on the original manuscripts (*Album Christine de Pizan*), Sarah Delale investigates de Pizan's role as both author and editor of her own texts.

The textual corpus is *pour cause* reduced to the less clearly defined genres of the *dit*[1] and the *livre*[2] in the time span from 1400–1408, which stood for the most productive period of the author's career during which the activities of textual composition and copying of manuscripts constantly overlapped. In addition, two works of more hybrid status are included in the analysis: *Mutacion de fortune* and *Descripcion et diffinicion de la prodommie de l'omme*, later reorganized in *Livre de Prudence*. A complete list of manuscripts (divided by original and non-original copies) in which the works of the corpus are transmitted is provided in Appendix 2. The introduction is closed by a much welcomed as well as necessary note (62–65) where Sarah Delale justifies her choice to call Christine de Pizan *auteur* (masculine-neuter form) and not *autrice* (feminine form).

The study is organized in four parts according to four thematic nodes: literary career, disposition, interpretation and authorship.

1. Namely: *Debat de deux amans*, *Dit des trois jugemens*, *Dit de Poissy*, *Dit de la rose*, *Chemin de long estude*, *Dit de la pastoure*, *Duc des vrais amans*.
2. Namely: *Fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V*, *Cité des dames*, *Trois vertus*, *Corps de policie*, *Advision Cristine*. Therefore, livres post 1408 are excluded: *Fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (1410) and *Livre de paix* (1412–1413).

In the first part (*"La premiere est en forme de dyamant": une carrière littéraire*), the scholar reconstructs de Pizan's literary career in chronological order (shown in Appendix 3 as a useful tableau for the years 1400–1414) and highlights some of its key moments and turning points. In particular, in 1404 with *Charles V*, de Pizan inaugurates a new style of narration as she perceives this work as a moment of aesthetic rupture where verse evolves into prose. This transition partly overlaps with the passage from *dit* to *livre* — terms that are in reality not perfectly discrete (*Charles V* itself is now called "diccié", now "livre", now "traittié", cf. 141) — whose formal characteristics are reconstructed by the scholar. Whereas the *dit* is generically and aesthetically porous, available to accommodate allogeneic forms such as the *débat*, the prose letter and lyric pieces, the *livre* refers to a form that is more codicological (hence material) than literary or aesthetic. Also, the *livre* is always characterized by a division into three sections and then into chapters.

The second part (*"La seconde est le kamayeu": composition et disposition*) analyses the process of the creation of the text from a theoretical and then practical point of view, which in turn focuses on the double facet of reception and genesis. For the theoretical analysis, the author employs the Aristotelian theory of the four causes (material, formal, motive, and final) known by de Pizan through Thomas Aquinas's *Commentaire sur la métaphysique*. De Pizan believes any literary work comes into being by the act of giving form to matter (potency) thanks to a driving cause (the author) to meet a moral end. The two moments, that of the work in potency and that of the work in act (i.e., concretized in the *mise en livre*), ground the literary relationship between author and reader. For the author (the driving cause), the purpose of the text acts as the final cause and generates the creation of a material form: the abstract disposition, a mere vision of the mind, is thus embodied in a concrete disposition. For the reader, on the other hand, the understanding of the text is "an archaeology of its creation" (250). Thus, interpretation consists in reconstructing an abstract arrangement from the concrete book and it seeks to find the final cause through the imaginary guidance of the author figure, the driving cause behind the writing.

This theoretical premise introduces the codicological analysis of de Pizan's original manuscripts, starting with their *mise en livre* in its various components: text, incipit and explicit, rubric, *table des matières*, chapter number, decorated initial, miniature, pilcrow, etc. These elements have a typological and hermeneutic function at the same time since they tag the text and guide the reader in the interpretation. The process of creation is then explored from a genetic point of view: through the study of the

chronological process that leads from the manuscripts of edition to those of publication (moments that are not necessarily discrete).

The third part (*"La tierce au rubis precieux": forme et lecture*) addresses the aforementioned distinction between *dit* and *livre en prose* and analyses their respective characteristics. The former is marked by a binary structure, the latter by a ternary structure. In the *dit*, the subjective person of the author-narrator cannot act as guarantor of interpretation, which, although suggested by the textual arrangement, will be sought by the reader outside the text. The ending remains open, suspended. Instead, the *livre* is a genre with an explicit didactic purpose, where the meaning is made clear by the omniscient narrator and coincides with the textual arrangement. The two genres are not to be considered in a 'syntagmatic' but in a 'paradigmatic' relationship: i.e., the *livre* succeeds chronologically to and outdoes the *dit*. Moreover, the *livre* exerts a retroactive influence on the *dit* so much that the *dits* copied in later collection manuscripts tend to take on the characteristics of the *livre*'s *mise en page*. The contemporary scholar must therefore ask themselves the question of which version to edit. In fact, the author's last will does not necessarily correspond to the best version of their work: "sometime after composition, the author disassociates himself from the creator and becomes, in respect of his own work, a reader among others, simply more authorised than others" (517).

The fourth and last part (*La quarte est la place à prendre: auteur et interprétation*) is dedicated to the figure of Christine de Pizan. Claiming and suffering at the same time her own feminine identity ("simple femmellette" [540]), de Pizan renounces all authority from the outset. The author then becomes her own reader among readers, whose interpretation she guides through an empathic and imitative process.

The reception of Christine as historical figure is the subject of the second section of this fourth part: "Christine is among the medieval authors who have never ceased to be reinterpreted or quoted. Each era has reshaped Christine according to its own canons as if to preserve her universal significance" (607). Sarah Delale closes the circle of her book by analyzing the reception of the author and her work from the fifteenth century to the present day through interventionist reading, recreational publishing, literary creation in its different declinations as a cento, historical novel, etc. up to the production of icons with a symbolic function.

In the Conclusions, the scholar takes up and makes explicit the quotation from *Advision* that gives name and structure to the entire book (695): the diamond, which becomes obscure once set in gold, is the language of the poets; the cameo with its various faces corresponds to the allegorical figure

of *Opinion*, which stands for the verisimilar and for ambiguous answers; the ruby symbolizes the true word of philosophy. The form of the *dit* is then matched with the diamond, whose virtue does not fail despite its obscurity, and with the cameo as both are multiple and ambiguous. The narrative of the *livre en prose*, on the other hand, aspires to the clarity of the ruby.

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Guicciardini, Francesco. 2023. *Ricordi*, edited by Matteo Palumbo. Torino: Einaudi. ISBN 8806251716. Pp. 602 (i–xlvii).

Written between 1512 and 1530, Francesco Guicciardini's *Ricordi* (also known to English readers as *Maxims and Reflections* or *Counsels and Reflections*)[1] poses a challenging philological problem due to the different versions of his work that Guicciardini wrote during those years. This new edition, published with an introduction and a commentary by Matteo Palumbo, collects the most advanced and state-of-the-art results of the *Ricordi*'s philology. This includes the critical edition of Guicciardini's last version of *Ricordi*, published by Matteo Palumbo in 2009,[2] and the critical edition of the previous versions of the work, newly established by Pierre Jodogne.[3]

In the introduction, M. Palumbo points out how in Italy the interpretation of Guicciardini's work, particularly of *Ricordi*, is hindered by "the shadow

1. The best English translation, based on the critical text edited by Raffaele Spongano (Guicciardini 1951), is Guicciardini 1972. In 2000 an English edition was published by G. R. Berridge (Guicciardini 2000), which, however, takes up the 1890 translation by N. Hill Thomson, and rearranges the *Ricordi* on the basis of common thematic threads. In this review I'll refer to the book as *Ricordi*, and to the single aphorisms as *ricordo* (singular) or *ricordi* (plural), without capitalization.
2. Guicciardini 2009.
3. The description of the main manuscripts — Q1, Q2, B, and C — are in Guicciardini 1951.

of De Sanctis" (IX), the renowned idealist critic who, conceiving Italian literary history as the development of the spirit of a people, could not be but truly perplexed by a mercurial and programmatically unstable thought like that of Guicciardini (an idealistic reading of Guicciardini's thought would recognize it as a thought that dwells on the negative and antithetical phase of the movement of the spirit — which perhaps would not have displeased the Adorno of *Minima Moralia*). However, M. Palumbo notes that even more favorable critics, such as Vittorio De Capraris, tended to relegate *Ricordi* among Guicciardini's minor and, all in all, negligible works. One of the most important results of the present edition is undoubtedly that of having demonstrated the centrality of *Ricordi* in Guicciardini's entire production, as well as its great modernity ["This theoretical Guicciardini [. . .] still has got some unfinished business with his other readers, as well as with the new ones" (XI)].

M. Palumbo identifies the year 1951 as "a turning point between one season of studies and another" (X). Indeed, in that year, Raffaele Spongano published the first critical edition of *Ricordi*. In addition to that edition, there are the studies on the previous versions of the work by Mario Fubini and Emanuella Scarano,[4] Jean Louis Fournel and Jean-Claude Zancarini, and Amedeo Quondam, all studies by which the novelty of Guicciardini's thought in the development of modern ethics is "once and for all" acknowledged. These authors serve as the main references for M. Palumbo's commentary on *Ricordi*, along with a small (but carefully chosen) group of other scholars, from Nencioni to Mengaldo to Lavagetto. A point of contact between Guicciardini's way of writing *Ricordi* and M. Palumbo's commentary on the work is the practice of attentive bibliographical economy, a choice that is not immediate or easy but is effectively pursued throughout the commentary.

M. Palumbo recognizes the year 1527, referred to as the "*annus horribilis*", as a milestone in the formation of *Ricordi*. In various passages of version C, completed by 1530, M. Palumbo convincingly identifies the signs of the enormous uncertainty that spread throughout Italy after the sack of Rome. "Public life, the nature of governments, the role of ambassadors, and the private world [. . .] are all scrutinized as fragments of a shattered totality, which cannot be recomposed in any order whatsoever" (XIV), writes M. Palumbo, simultaneously highlighting four of the main thematic axes of *Ricordi* and his commentary.

4. Fubini 1947; Scarano 1980.

In Guicciardini's writing of *Ricordi*, M. Palumbo sees the "construction of a wisdom" (xiv), a wisdom constantly returning to the observation of particulars, making reflections that are never final. It is a wisdom in constant motion, sometimes even in apparently contradictory ways: Guicciardini's prose is "branched", with the aim of constant research of a "knowledge aware of the variety of circumstances" (xvii). This knowledge is achieved through "*discretion*" (a key term for Guicciardini), meaning the ability to circumscribe all the implications and logical aspects of specific problems, all while remaining "restless, alarmed every time by the risk of making mistakes" (7). Guicciardini's goal is knowledge primarily based on the direct experience of things: several times in *Ricordi*, Guicciardini warns against relying solely on book knowledge. The purpose of this knowledge is not the establishment of a set of rules — M. Palumbo warns that "there is no rule" (xvii) from the very first pages of his commentary — but rather the achievement of a "shifting disposition" (xvii) that provides orientation, albeit precarious, in the chaos of existence. In the most dramatic scenarios, it leads to a deeper awareness of the inevitability of that chaos.

At various points in his commentary, M. Palumbo proposes some interesting comparisons with other authors not necessarily aware of Guicciardini's work. These authors can be almost contemporary, like Montaigne, or much later, like Gramsci, Spengler, Svevo. Of particular relevance in this elusive and intermittent "Guicciardini's wave" is the case of Leopardi, an author M. Palumbo refers to several times in his commentary. Leopardi's negative philosophy appears to share many points of contact with Guicciardini's. In the impossibility of finding any rule in the political action that characterizes various *ricordi*, one is tempted to see a possible parallel with some political sections of *Zhuangzi*, a Chinese book dating back to an era between the 5th and 3rd centuries BCE. *Zhuangzi* shares with *Ricordi* a lively awareness of the irreducibility of a particular situation to a general rule; this affinity with one of the fundamental texts of Eastern knowledge can perhaps explain the profound interest that Guicciardini's work has recently sparked in Japan and China.[5]

On the other hand, the search for what Guicciardini's sources might have been, as M. Palumbo warns, is an arduous if not impossible undertaking because Guicciardini very rarely explicitly cites the authors he refers to (e.g., Tacitus). Concerning the influences of Stoic philosophy, the presence of Epictetus, and especially Seneca, among Guicciardini's readings can be considered certain (and the reader finds it duly indicated

5. Guicciardini 2012 and Guicciardini 1996.

in the commentary on individual passages), but in general M. Palumbo chooses, once again in coherence with the form of *Ricordi* itself, to "explain Guicciardini with Guicciardini" (xxiv). Therefore, while more extensive exploration of other contemporary authors could have shed light on the diffusion of the themes and problems developed in *Ricordi*, the commentary does not lack precise references to the works of authors such as Savonarola, Pomponazzi, Erasmus, and others. Inevitably, there are also numerous references to Machiavelli, who is a constant presence in M. Palumbo's notes on individual *ricordi*. Also, narrowing the focus is a choice that has the very important advantage of leading the reader towards an immersion in Guicciardini's conceptual and stylistic world, and to a full concentration on the content of the text of *Ricordi*, and this undoubtedly was also Guicciardini's own aim when he was writing.

As for Guicciardini's logical procedures, M. Palumbo refers to the studies of Carlo Diano, especially Diano's observation that Guicciardini's syllogism exhibits more of a Stoic than an Aristotelian feature. According to Diano, the Stoic syllogism primarily focuses on particular and contingent cases, while the Aristotelian syllogism is based on substances. Another important point of reference are Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo's observations on the logical connections and the phrase construction in Guicciardini. The commentary systematically follows the text in an analytical manner, concentrating on each *ricordo* through marginal notes and general note. These notes serve to clarify the most challenging aspects of Guicciardini's thought. In addition to emphasizing the uniqueness of each individual fragment of thought in *Ricordi*, M. Palumbo also highlights elements of continuity with other *ricordi*, the thematic threads to which Guicciardini returns most frequently, the reappearence of certain ideas in other works by Guicciardini, and, when necessary, offers insights into previous versions or corrections made by Guicciardini, so that the commentary moves in constant synergy with the philological operation behind the texts (see below).

The attention paid to the lexicon is particularly interesting. During the analysis of the various *ricordi*, M. Palumbo isolates individual words that take on a richer meaning in Guicciardini's work, starting with the title of the collection itself. While for his contemporary authors, the word "*ricordi*" usually meant "memoirs (intended for the circle of family members)", in Guicciardini, the term takes on the broader meaning of "warning, suggestion, advice" (hence, the difficulty of translating the title of the work into other languages) (xvi). Therefore, M. Palumbo, proceeding from *ricordo* to *ricordo*, isolates a set of key terms (such as *tormento*, *ingenuità*,

libertà, *uguaglianza*, *particulare*, and many others), each time emphasizing their significance and the unique semantic features they acquire in Guicciardini's language. Moreover, G. Palumbo and T. Zanato had already identified in *Ricordi* what Zanato called "shuttle words", i.e., terms that contribute to delineating elements of thematic continuity between distinct *ricordi*. A notable example of the complex semantic density characterizing Guicciardini's language is *interesse* ("interest"), a word that in *ricordo* 218 undergoes a sort of a lexical twist. In that specific passage, Guicciardini interprets it differently, as meaning that one's true interest should not be gain or material advantages, but "*l'honore*" and "*sapere mantenersi la riputazione et el buono nome*" ("honour" and "knowing how to maintain one's reputation and good name"). Hence, we can see how in Guicciardini, even individual words can be subject to the unstoppable mutability of everything. Also noteworthy are M. Palumbo's observations on logical connections, which are often decisive for unraveling Guicciardini's thought. Among the many examples, one can point out the use of *nondimeno* ("nonetheless"), explicitly linked to Machiavellian *nondimanco* — and, of course, to Carlo Ginzburg's recent work about it.

As mentioned previously, the critical text has been established by M. Palumbo's son, based on his recent diplomatic edition of *Ricordi*. In his introduction, G. Palumbo retraces the history of the various versions of *Ricordi*, providing stemmata that offer a detailed overview of the relationships between the different versions.

Starting in 1512, Guicciardini began to collect his reflections in a notebook (conventionally referred to as Q^1) which he then copied into a second notebook (Q^2), making changes and additions with new aphorisms. Between 1523 and 1524, Guicciardini wrote a further series of thoughts (A), but this version A only survives in copies by others. In 1528, Guicciardini reunited Q^2 and A in a new series (B), again adding new thoughts. Finally, in 1530, he wrote a new collection, which took the title of *Ricordi* and contained the final text (C). Before that, Guicciardini usually referred to his thoughts as *ghiribizi*, a word that can be translated as "whims" or "quirks". As noted by Spongano in his critical edition, B and C represent two texts that can only partially overlap. To explain this discrepancy, which significantly interrupts an otherwise uniform series of versions, G. Palumbo suggests, based on compelling but not necessarily undeniable textual clues (specifically, some marks Guicciardini made on C but not on B), the hypothesis that when writing C, Guicciardini did not have B at hand but that nevertheless he remembered it quite precisely.

Given this textual situation, in 1932, Michele Barbi proposed two possible solutions: either to opt for a "linear" edition, in which the main text of C would be followed by the previous versions as they were assembled by Guicciardini, or to create a "pyramidal" edition, in which each individual *ricordo* of C would have the corresponding sections of the other versions (if they existed) beneath it. This would mean that the structure of the other versions, particularly B, would be completely disrupted (though recoverable by the reader through apparatus notes). Spongano chose the latter solution. The studies following Spongano's edition, however, as well as M. Palumbo's commentary itself, have clearly highlighted how the various *ricordi*, although independent of each other, do not follow a random order, either in C or in B: this edition therefore preferred the linear solution. Thus, version C being obviously published as the main text, B maintains its original structure and is published in an appendix. Thus, even if this edition is the result of three distinct works, it holds together firmly in all its parts, and also as a whole. The editors have left open the problem of A, which would have required the recension and the subsequent collation of the surviving copies, a task that is anything but simple, as already noted by Barbi, and which can be considered the future final step for a fully complete critical edition of all the *Ricordi's* versions.

In his introduction to C's critical text, G. Palumbo reconstructs in detail the various phases summarized above, and then indicates the criteria by which the text has been published. Overall, the objective was to put the reader in contact, as near as one can get, with the materiality of C.G. Palumbo has set up a complex but very rational system of symbols, enabling the reader to recognize all the various interventions made by Guicciardini during the writing of C. One can thus quickly reconstruct the deletions, second thoughts and corrections implemented by Guicciardini during the drafting of C (and, as seen above, it is not uncommon for such variants and corrections to be useful in M. Palumbo's commentary). Furthermore, the *ricordi* that can be connected to B are also accompanied by references to the corresponding *ghiribizi* of B and, if applicable, also to Q^1 and Q^2. Even the graphic rendering of the text is consistent with the objective of offering the reader an image as faithful as possible to Guicciardini's original. Apart from minimal interventions on the use of the letter *h*, the separation of some words, and the use of capital letters, Guicciardini's handwriting has been closely maintained. The edition of B, newly edited by Jodogne based on Guicciardini's manuscript, introduces some corrections to the text that had been established by Spongano in 1951. Every single *ghiribizo* has at its bottom the correspondent versions of Q^1 and Q^2, if they exist. Jodogne

also adds some valuable observations on Guicciardini's use of diacritics. It is known that, at that time, the system of diacritical signs had not yet been established. Jodogne observes a significant evolution in Guicciardini himself in the use of his own diacritical signs, which are limited to a diagonal stroke, colons, and the still point (only used to indicate the end of every *ghiribizo*). Both G. Palumbo and Jodogne decided to adopt the modern usage, which is a fully acceptable choice given the profound difference between Guicciardini's usage of diacritics and ours. However, given the growing academic interest in the history of diacritics, it could be interesting to have a precise record in the apparatus of the interventions made. Furthermore, in the appendix to B, passages from A are reported that did not merge into B (for the text of A, the reconstruction proposed by Spongano is adopted). The transcription criteria adopted by Jodogne fully conform to those of G. Palumbo.

As a whole, this edition aims to restore and explore the writer's process from the moment of drafting his work to its final result and beyond, following a philological tradition that finds a recent point of reference in Dante Isella (explicitly referred to by G. Palumbo). Given the nature of *Ricordi* and its textual history, this is undoubtedly the best possible approach. The collaboration between the three scholars, which M. Palumbo himself describes as "an unparalleled joy" (xxv), offers the reader a truly coherent and coordinated edition, highly recommended for its scientific value.

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Among the many merits of the commendable projects for the electronic cataloguing of library manuscript collections (to name just one, *Manus On Line*), besides making codices inventories digitally available (and sometimes, depending on how the project is structured, their codicological descriptions as well), is that of bringing to light hidden treasures, stored for centuries on silent shelves, unknown to scholars. This is what happened to Daniele Conti in August 2020 during the final stage of the cataloging of the Palatino collection of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, when he discovered the codex marked Pal.E.B.15.9 striscia 1413, a manuscript composed of three distinct units but structured as one volume brought together by a single *concepteur*: one of these sections, consisting of circa one hundred papers containing writings on the history of Florence, includes the note "Niccolò Machiavelli", written by Giuliano de' Ricci, Machiavelli's nephew. Conti's impressive work provides scholars with a critical and annotated edition of these papers (and more).

The *Indice* is followed by a *Tavola delle abbreviazioni* divided into two macro-sections: the first contains the acronyms of the *Archivi, biblioteche e fondi* consulted; the second presents the *Abbreviazioni bibliografiche* relating to the *Opere* of Niccolò Machiavelli, to the *Fonti ed edizioni di riferimento* and, eventually, to *Letteratura critica e strumenti bibliografici* (this latter section, a reasoned and selected bibliography, within the *maremagnum* of contributions on the Segretario's work, is of great usefulness). Finally, we find the *Sigle* of the six examined codices repeatedly cited in the volume and of the printed works of the years 1796–1799.

Placed at the opening of the volume as a preface is an interesting contribution (*Qualche riga su una biblioteca fiorentina*) by David Speranzi, librarian of the Central Library of Florence. Here Speranzi retraces the sequence of events related to the Ricci di Santa Croce library collection and the discovery of the codex mentioned above. He appropriately recalls that "catalogazione, studio delle biblioteche antiche, dei loro inventari, dei segni di possesso, riconoscimenti di mani, ricostruzione di rapporti stemmatici, edizioni di testi sono tutte attività inestricabilmente legate l'una all'altra; che non possono fare a meno dell'altra. Sono, forse, semplicemente, soltanto filologia" ["cataloguing, the study of ancient libraries, their inventories, signs of ownership, recognition of hands, reconstruction of

stemmatic relations, and editions of texts are all inextricably linked to one another; which cannot do without the other. They are, perhaps, nothing but philology"] (xxix).

In the *Premessa*, the author draws attention to the need to locate Machiavelli's historiographical work within the intellectual milieu of the Florentine Cancelleria at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Cancelleria was a veritable laboratory in which, through a collective process, a new way of thinking about politics from an historical point of view (and from a political one about history) was formed and from which came a new genre of writings on the contemporary history of Florence: unfinished texts with a hybrid status, halfway between historiographical compilations and government writings. The Florentine Cancelleria was an environment in which historical research proceeded side by side with administrative tasks, in a productive exchange between private and bureaucratic desks. The author notes that, among the challenges associated with this work, there is, in addition to digging into the archival sources, the reflection on the relationship between autography and authorship in a text that is stratified in multiple draftings (not all of which can be traced back to a single compiler) and, by its very nature and origin, open to reworkings throughout its various phases of transmission. Indeed, the same degree of commitment should be made both to the study of these working and service materials and to the reconstruction of the Segretario's real library, as these writings "furono presenza costante, pronti a essere compulsati, sullo stesso tavolo su cui venivano strutturandosi i manoscritti originali dei capolavori del pensiero politico e militare machiavelliano" ["have been a constant presence, ready to be perused, on the same table on which the original manuscripts of Machiavelli's masterpieces of political and military thought were being structured"] (xxxiii).

We also consider indeed worthy of attention Conti's reflection, placed in the acknowledgments section, on the fact that the discovery of the codex at issue did not occur by mere chance but as part of a structured and well-directed cataloguing project. The enhancement of the library's cultural heritage and the scientific research will only be able to proceed fruitfully in the presence of a systematic — and not episodic — research into the fonds.

The volume continues with *Parte I*, which contains a very thorough *Studio introduttivo* divided into seven sections that document the stages of the critical editor's meticulous work by systematizing the proper tools of philology, palaeography, and history.

The first section, entitled *Tradizione e percorsi editoriali del 'laboratorio' storiografico della Cancelleria*, reminds the reader that, by provision of the Cancelleria reform of 1483, one of the Signoria's secretaries was entrusted with the task of drafting an annalistic chronicle of the city of Florence: a simple compilation, in which the dates were followed by brief textual nuclei. This work did not cease even after the fall of the regime in 1494 and during the subsequent, discontinuous governments it also saw, among its drafters, Machiavelli himself.

The Segretario was in fact the protagonist, together with his colleagues and the various assistants of the Cancelleria, of a perusal of documents to be considered preparatory to the actual historical writing that was carried out on chancery documents and on summaries of dispatches from Florentine ambassadors abroad. These notes were drafted into the so-called "quadernucci", a term that can have the double meaning of "register" or its codicological subspecies "fascicles", of different consistencies lacking both binding and aesthetic quality These notes were left in a disordered and fragmentary state, the same condition of the Machiavelli archive generally, until they were inherited by Machiavelli's grandson Giuliano de' Ricci, who was the first to organize his grandfather's papers; in fact, with the help of five assistants, he not only reorganized the papers, ordering them into "filze", but also assembled the most famous Machiavellian manuscript (marked Pal. E.B.15.10) known as Apografo Ricci, in which he brought together all the material that gradually emerged from the "quadernucci" organized in "scatole". He devoted particular care to the page layout, to prefixing introductory notes to the individual copied texts, and to accompanying them with brief exegetical notes.

A further and singular merit of De' Ricci was, moreover, the prudence he showed in conferring authorship credentials on writings whose autograph writings he had not inherited. In that regard, the authorship itself was the principle upon which he decided whether or not to accept inherited documents into the Apografo Ricci.

Thanks to his expertise and precision, Conti provides concrete examples of the exegetical and ecdotical strategies implemented by Giuliano, and retraces the tortuous paths of the handwritten and editorial transmission of the historical drafts. This scholarly labor recalls that involved in erudite preparation of the *editiones principes* of Machiavelli's writings in the six volumes of the *Opere* published by Cambiagi (1782–1783), and in the six volumes of the *Opere complete* edited by Gaetano Milanesi and Luigi Passerini, published by the Cenniniana Typography between 1873 and 1877.

In the second section, *Un'appendice all'Apografo Ricci*, the author provides an accurate codicological description of the Palatino codex examined, a manuscript that took on its current features on De' Ricci's desk in the second half of the sixteenth century and that, as previously mentioned, consists of three parts: the first a *Cronica domestica* by Donato Velluti; the third a fragment of the *Istoria fiorentina* by Domenico Buoninsegni; and the second, the Machiavellian section, the fragment "*Settenbre '96*", followed by historical excerpts, unpublished and unknown, covering a chronological span from April 1497 to September 1499, and a chronicle of events from June 1498 to September 1515. In the following pages, Conti pieces together the history of this codex, identifies, where possible, its copyists, and adduces philological, codicological, and historical evidence in favor of the Machiavellian authorship of the codex's antigraph.

In the third section, called *Frammento I*, the author examines the passage included in the first quadernuccio concerning the diplomatic mission of Cosimo de' Pazzi and Francesco Pepi to the imperial court, and analyzes the relationship between this witness and the printout made about it in 1796.

The fourth section, *Nuovi spogli storici*, covers a chronological span between May 1497 and September 1499, corresponding to the stay of some Florentine diplomats with Ludovico Sforza, and gives an account of the Segretario's work that consisted in filing the dispatches they received. The narrative cores are linear, their focus on the events of that time is internal, as it is filtered through the testimonies and judgments on those diplomatic negotiations expressed by the Florentine ambassadors. Conti, deepening his investigation into the archives, skillfully identifies the direct sources chosen and used by Machiavelli within the vast chancery documentation, and provides concrete examples by juxtaposing the narrative core with the original source. He even goes so far as to note that such a work of first-hand information perusal must necessarily be attributable to the period prior to the Segretario's removal from office, when he still could have access to all the documents preserved in the Republic archives.

The author thus underlines the importance of Machiavelli's work notes. According to Machiavelli, listing "le moderne cose" was not only the carrying out of an official duty, but also the beginning of a process of the historicization of a single event that had to be framed in terms of a detached critical evaluation. At the end of this section, there is also a *Nota al testo* in which the author explains the reasons behind his choices as an editor in relation to the *Nuovi spogli storici*, characterized by numerous reading uncertainties.

The fifth section *(Il Summario Palatino e Biagio Buonaccorsi tra Summario Riccardiano, Storia Fiorentina e Diario)*, perhaps the most complex and consistent one, introduces the figure of Biagio Buonaccorsi, coadjutor of the Segreteria and friend of Machiavelli, and traces the editorial process by which Buonaccorsi started from the information recorded in the *Summario Palatino* (as the third section of the Machiavellian part of the codex we are interested in is called) and arrived at drawing up his own, autonomous historical narrative. The latter is written, in an initial editorial phase, in the codex Riccardiano 1920 (defined as *Summario Riccardiano*: this is a terse annalistic compilation that serves as a starting point for the subsequent work); it then passes through an intermediate editing — which is revised in terms of content and form — reported in the codex Corsiniano 320, called *Storia fiorentina de' suoi tempi*, before leading to the *Diario*, which is structured as a fully developed historiographical work.

In this chapter, Conti skillfully reconstructs the relationships between the witnesses of the various drafting phases, arguing that the Palatino codex displays the original editing that is the basis for the subsequent versions of Buonaccorsi's historiographical work. According to the author's tight argumentation, the lost Palatino antigraph is Machiavelli's authentic handwriting, and must therefore be placed at the top of the manuscript tradition.

In addition to the more specifically philological aspects described above, what is of great interest in this chapter is not only the importance of the many consonances that exist between the historical elements present in the *Summario Palatino* and the cores of thought found in the Segretario's major works (the disapproval of the use of mercenary troops; the outlining of some peculiar features in Cesare Borgia's character; the description of Ramiro de Lorca's murder), but also the considerations of Machiavelli's behavior after his removal from office. He was not secluded in the exile of the Albergaccio, but, on the contrary, managed to keep abreast of the latest news in international and domestic politics.

This fifth section ends with a further reflection on the historiographical work carried out in the Cancelleria ("sotto lo scheletro narrativo del *Summario Palatino* [. . .] si può intravedere la molteplicità delle voci degli autori dei suoi ipotesti: un lavoro collettivo condotto gomito a gomito da segretari, coadiutori e altri funzionari" ["under the narrative skeleton of the *Summario Palatino* [. . .] one can glimpse the multiplicity of the voices of the authors of its hypotexts: a collective work carried out side by side by secretaries, assistants and other officials"] [clxxix]), and on the connection between autography and authorship, together with a *Nota al testo*, in which

Conti explains that his editorial choices were driven by a conservative criterion in relation to a text with various types of corruptions.

The sixth section of the introductory study features a *Nota linguistica:* after having reaffirmed with almost absolute certainty that the Palatino codex descended directly from a lost autograph by Machiavelli, the author analyzes the handwriting aspects (identifying two copyists employed in the preparation of the codex), the phonetic peculiarities (in terms of vocalism and consonantism), the morphology and syntax of the text (the latter presenting a degree of formalization "lontano dalla prosa d'arte e più vicino ai modi del parlato tipici della prosa media che caratterizza anche molta produzione cronachistica" ["far from art prose and closer to the speech patterns typical of the average prose that characterizes a lot of the chronicle production"] [ccxv]).

The seventh section contains the *Criteri di edizione* of the text: among the choices made by the editor we should point out the essentially conservative criteria for the transcription, the dissolution of the abbreviations and the adaptation to the prevailing extended form, the paragraphing of the texts according to the *cola* that correspond to a syntactic sentence, and the organization of the *Summario Palatino* into chapters in an attempt to follow the original chronological subdivision. Moreover, the extensive commentary is intended to serve as an aid to understanding the texts. It includes, among other information, the discussion of the sources that underlie the recounted elements. It is also worth emphasizing the decision to adopt peculiar typographical solutions to mark the references used in the *Summario Palatino* and *Riccardiano.*

The *Parte II* finally presents *Testi e Commento*, respectively of the *Frammento I*, the *Nuovi spogli storici,* and the *Summario Palatino.* The *Appendice I (Summario and Storia fiorentina XI–XV)* contains Biagio Buonaccorsi's texts, namely a new complete edition of the *Summario* and the re-edition of the section of the *Storia fiorentina* referring to the years 1508–1512, while the *Appendice II* contains the *Memorie delle guerre d'Italia dal 1498 al 1500* (an unknown witness of the textual history that led from Machiavelli's *Summario Palatino* to Buonaccorsi's *Diario*). The list of *Crediti Fotografici*, the *Indice dei manoscritti,* and the *Indice dei nomi* close the volume.

Among the many merits of this book — in addition to the obvious one of having given voice to Machiavelli's hitherto silent writings — are the numerous synoptic comparisons between different versions of a text, as well as the rich selection of images (which are provided, for example, where the transcription of a passage is reported) that allow us, in a way, to visualize

the page (or a part of it) of the codex and get a glimpse of its physical dimensions which, otherwise, one could only experience by analyzing the manuscripts *de visu* in the consultation rooms of libraries.

The expertise in the use of tools typical of different disciplines, the philological acuity, and the analytical depth make this volume a true lesson in method. The author's wish will certainly not fall on deaf ears: once the texts have been brought to light, "il testimone può passare agli storici della cultura politica, letteraria e storiografica fiorentina tra Quattro e Cinquecento" ["the baton can pass to historians of the Florentine political, literary and historiographical culture between the 15th and 16th centuries"] (clxxxii).

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Founded in 1979, the Society for Textual Scholarship is an international organization of scholars working in textual studies, editing and editorial theory, digital textualities, and issues of textual culture across a wide variety of disciplines. The Society welcomes scholars from literature (in all languages), history, musicology, classical and biblical studies, philosophy, art history, legal history, history of science and technology, computer science, library science, digital humanities, lexicography, epigraphy, paleography, codicology, cinema studies, theatre, linguistics, and textual and literary theory whose work explores the ideological structures and material processes that shape the transmission, reception, production, and interpretation of texts. The STS is devoted to providing a forum, in its conferences and its journal, for the discussion of the interdisciplinary implications of current textual research.

The Society's peer-reviewed journal *Textual Cultures* is published twice a year. *Textual Cultures* invites essays from scholars around the world in diverse languages including English, French, German, Spanish and Italian. All articles will appear also with abstracts in English. The submission process is now electronic; for submission instructions, visit the journal's informattion page @ http://www.textual-cultures.org/.

The Society's annual conferences encourage the exchange of ideas across disciplinary boundaries. An Affiliated Member of the Modern Language Association, the STS also hosts a session at the MLA's annual winter conference. For calls for papers and future conference information, please see the Society's website @ http://textualsociety.org.

Textual Cultures 16.2 (2023): 321–22. DOI 10.14434/tc.v16i2.36782

Three prizes given by the STS recognize outstanding work in the field:

The Fredson Bowers Prize is awarded for a distinguished essay in textual scholarship published in the previous two calendar years.

The Finneran Award recognizes the best edition or book about editorial theory and/or practice published in the English language during the preceding two calendar years.

The David C. Greetham Essay Prize is awarded to the best article published in the Society's journal during the two calendar years prior to the conference.

For general information regarding the Society for Textual Scholarship, please visit the Society's website (www.textual.org) or write to:

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