

TEMPORAL COMPARISON

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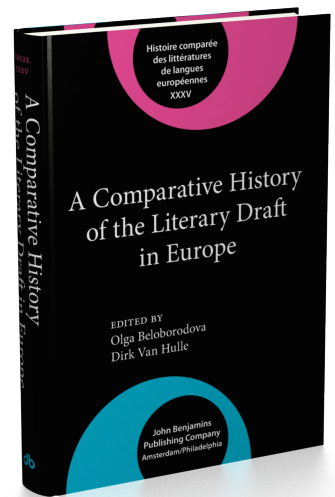
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A Comparative History of the Literary Draft in Europe

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TEMPORAL COMPARISON

As stated in the Introduction, the advent of the literary draft is usually considered to have begun in the middle of the eighteenth century, together with the rise of the so-called “Geniezeit” in the (proto-)Romantic period. However, this should be nuanced, as this section will show, for autograph manuscripts have been around before, and some have survived from the Middle Ages to this day. The fact that those surviving documents do not often bear many traces of creativity is deceptive: as Chapter 1.1.1 makes clear, many of the authors, especially those of noble descent, considered writing to be a menial chore and dictated their texts to scribes. Others, by contrast, took great care in crafting and decorating their manuscripts themselves. As we move to the early modern period, the body of autograph manuscripts grows steadily and includes a more wide-ranging list of authors (many of them women). Drawing on the comprehensive *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700* (CELM), Chapter 1.1.2 sketches the story of the autograph in early modern England, and in particular the difficulty of distinguishing between a draft and a fair copy, as few signs of revision are to be found. Likewise, many early modern manuscripts are hybrid, written by a scribe and revised or signed by the author (sometimes because the authors in question lacked the necessary writing skills or considered writing to be a chore for the lower classes). As we reach the age of Reason, the admiration for the great minds of eighteenth-century Europe has – until recently – obscured the fact that those great minds also struggled with creating their great works. Chapter 1.1.3 surveys the manuscripts by some of the most prominent authors of the Enlightenment and shows that the drafts as traces of their struggles have been preserved in surprisingly large numbers. In the nineteenth century, the number of autograph manuscripts soars, leading to an abundance that complicates the study of drafts due to their multiplicity, with the notion of ‘variants’ taking centre stage in textual studies (Chapter 1.1.4). The trend continues in the twentieth century (1.1.5), which brings yet another challenge – the different writing technologies. These different technologies – from the typewriter to personal computer – affect composition and revision strategies, the latter often being hybrid (a mix of handwritten rough drafts and typed versions). At the end, the chapter discusses the dominance of born-digital texts in the twenty-first century, and the discussion is picked up in the next Chapter (1.1.6), which explores the cognitive side of writing and suggests ways for genetic scholars to trace the seemingly ephemeral born-digital writing process, which leaves vestiges, nonetheless.

1.1.1 Medieval holograph manuscripts

Absence and ubiquity

Daniel Wakelin

While all medieval books are manuscripts, it is often said that few are authorial holographs; most are copies by other scribes for circulation. Many traces of composition have been lost, as that process occurred orally or on ephemeral materials. Nonetheless, some authorial holographs survive and show similar stages of composition and revision to the literary holographs of later periods. In addition, scribal copies themselves show evidence of rewriting that could potentially be considered a kind of authorship, thus making these copies into holographs for scribal authors, especially in works of pragmatic literacy. Authorial holographs are therefore not rare but ubiquitous.

Keywords: author, dictation, scribe, amanuensis, draft, copy, variance, revision, practical, letter

Like writers in other ages, those before the coming of print to Europe reflected on their work of composition and revision. Their images varied widely, from inspiration in dreams to dutiful imitation of the great *auctores*. Often, from the troubadours to Alfonso the Wise of Castile, they figured themselves as singers, but from the 1300s, beginning with Petrarch and various French authors, they increasingly imagined themselves writing. Guillaume de Machaut in the mid 1300s is rebuked in one of his poems not only for “daring” to doubt women’s love “by speaking” (“*osastes vous dire*”) but also for putting these doubts “in your books by writing” (“*dedens vos livres escrire*”), and the couplet couples the two modes, one spoken, one written (Machaut 2016: 182, ll. 1027–1028). Writers often captured the creative mind by metonymic reference to their pens: in one of his poems of the 1380s, Geoffrey Chaucer’s “*penne ... with which I write | Quaketh*” because of the sorrowful tale he must “endite” or compose, and he rhymes the process of composition with that of inscription (Chaucer 1984: 348, book IV, ll. 13–14). Imagined, too, were stages of revision, although in the collaborative culture of pre-Reformation Europe patrons or readers were often envisaged taking part in that, and in a fashion more corrective than creative (Wakelin 2014: 30–42). Yet beyond these imaginary scenes of writing, the real processes of literary drafting leave few remains – and beyond the material remains, creative thinking is as evanescent as it is in any age.

The manuscript remains of this age, though, before the coming of print (from the 1450s in Germany, then elsewhere across Europe in the 1460s to 1480s), differ from many made after it, in that these earlier manuscripts are in most cases scribal copies for circulation, and not authors’ rough drafts during composition. Among the tens of thousands of manuscripts before printing, the corpus of holographs is tiny. They do not capture the poet’s sceptical words as

they leap from his lips, or his emotion quaking as he writes. This is primarily a record not of composition but of publication and circulation.

That said, there are some superb authorial contributions to such manuscripts for publication. Many were themselves copied, corrected or decorated by the author's hand. Giovanni Boccaccio, for example, laid out copies of his works ingeniously, even adorning the catchwords – normally utilitarian markings to help keep the quires in order – with drawings which reflect his subtle awareness that his literary fame depended on the affordances of the book (Clarke 2018: 28, 34). Other authors, rather, organised and corrected copies primarily made by other artisans, or even supervised the work without laying a hand upon the surviving pages (Delsaux and Van Hemelryck 2014: 7, 54–55). One theologian Gerhoh of Reichersberg, for instance, had the other canons of his abbey copy his works but he troubled to correct their errors, finesse the punctuation and emend his own misquotations of authors (Frioli 2013); another, Ulrich von Lilienfeld, supervised the illuminators who provided hundreds of unique and tailor-made illustrations for his works (Roland 2013: 198). The most important study of autograph manuscripts, by Olivier Delsaux, has concluded and emphasised that such authorised manuscripts were just as authoritative as copies actually made by hand, before the later fetish for the touch of the creative person herself (Delsaux 2013: 458).¹ The latter would include, for example, poets such as Guillaume de Machaut who directed scribes to craft manuscripts which would shape the public and published image of them as authors. For instance, Machaut had a skilled artist, now known as the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, add to a compendium of his poetry an image of Machaut studying at a lectern, visited by Nature and her three children Sense, Rhetoric and Music: they render in images the reading and values which inspired his work (McGrady 2006: 37–38; Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1584, flyleaf D'). This is Machaut's vision for presenting his poem, but it is not his visual art. Some of these books made for authors are brilliantly conceived to fictionalise inspiration, but they reveal less of the creative process by which the mind materialises thought through the hand.

It was in only a small group of manuscripts for circulation that the touch of the authorial hand was itself of interest. That usually reflected not an interest in the creative crafting of sense, rhetoric and music but a political, ethical or spiritual concern with the manual work of the body writing. Religious communities recognised and revered the handwriting, like the other relics, of authoritative or semi-saintly figures (Delsaux 2013: 301). With a mix of institutional piety and authorial reverence, Thomas Gascoigne of the University of Oxford in the mid 1400s, repeatedly took notes of copies of the works of his holy and learned predecessor from the 1200s, Robert Grosseteste, which Grosseteste “wrote with his own hand” (*propria manu sua scripta*”; Gieben 1970: 61, 64). For others, making an autograph copy of a work could be a spiritual labour, a marker of spiritual friendship or of humanist *amicitia*, or sometimes all of the above, as for instance in a paraphrase of the Seven Psalms by Erhard Groß of Nuremburg (Lähnemann 1999). The number and nature of autograph copies of literary works changed with humanist fashions which fetishised the great writer of *bonae litterae* in the 1400s (Ouy 2014: 157). In such

1. The most useful terminology for these categories of manuscript is proposed by Delsaux (2013: 45–68).

cases, the author's handwriting became of importance not only for *what* it wrote or how it came to write that, but also for the fact *that* he wrote; it came to be the hand, the body, that mattered, and not only the traces of the creative process in the mind.

Lost first drafts

Even manuscripts for presentation to patrons can betray stages of rethinking, especially if the patron changed in the hurly-burly of political life. There are two historical works, for instance, by John Capgrave in England's political upheaval in the mid 1400s, which the prudent Capgrave revised to capture the attention of one monarch visiting his town, or a new monarch who then usurped him, for instance, by adding a new preface to one (Lucas 1997: 40, 84). But usually the processes of thinking and rethinking are less visible – behind the scenes of the extant presentation copies. There are very few working manuscripts surviving (Delsaux and Van Hemelryck 2014: 7). In particular the initial drafting process in the centuries before print can often only be reconstructed by deduction or guesswork.

Beyond the vicissitudes of survival for sources from so far back, much of the process of composition has dissolved into air, as many authors composed by oral dictation to an amanuensis: a process embedded in material conditions of class and gender but leaving no physical trace. As Christopher Cannon has noted (2016), several women authors, such as the mystics, who often would not have been as fully or at all educated in the manual skill of writing, report that they dictated. Cannon has proposed that this might have been the method also for male authors of a certain class that would have scorned manual work; such was often the class that would have had the time to pursue literary composition. This composing by voice can only be reconstructed speculatively from the texture of the final work and from circumstantial, meta-literary comment. There are risks in making such deductions about orality in the past that one enshrines ethnocentric or racist assumptions about orality in colonial and postcolonial cultures. It is to be stressed that works composed by voice (and indeed passed on that way) enjoy just as much complexity of diverse kinds as works composed by pen. Dictating could be a sign of intellectual bravura: famously, the magisterial theologian St Thomas Aquinas was reputed to dictate to three or sometimes four amanuenses at a time (Foster 1959: 51).

But there were many means for composing by hand and by St Thomas's day in the 1200s this was becoming more common. There were many text technologies whose affordances enabled the process of composing for oneself. By the 1200s, those media fostered habits such as record-keeping by the newly numerous bureaucrats of urbanisation, or note-taking of the kind favoured in scholastic reading at the new universities; these habits in turn encouraged the practice of thinking through writing for oneself (Delsaux 2013: 70, 88–89, 96). The first medium for this had been available for centuries and remained in use well into the eighteenth century: the use of wax tablets. Indeed, it has been suggested that this was the longest and most widely used text technology in Europe, even though comment on it by authors is rare and precious (Chartier 2007: 4). These tablets were wooden boards hinged or tied together, with wax over the top, into which one incised text with a stylus; the waning lines in wax were then transferred

to some more permanent substance, and the tablet was wiped smooth with the stylus's flat end (M. Brown 1994: 4). They could be used for practical texts, as often for financial accounts, and for learning in school; and there are vanishingly few literary drafts surviving. One pungent example is some verse, perhaps saucily amorous, on some wax tablets of the late 1300s recovered from the rubbish heap of a neighbourhood including brothels in York in England (M. Brown 1994: 12–13). But even with archaeological discoveries of wax tablets, like a stunningly rich corpus from Turku in Finland (Harjula 2012: 160–173), usually drafting remains a chimerical process: the point of these tablets was that, as in word processing, drafting could be erased. Incising in wax left barely more dents in our historical record than did dictating by voice.

Other drafts occur on parchment and, after it spread from Italian and Spanish realms to northern Europe, on paper, as the growth of cursive handwriting allowed quicker, easier jotting. Many traces of such throwaway writing survive only as fragments on flyleaves or in bindings, or on pieces of scrap material. From the 1100s and 1200s there are some rough jottings on the flyleaves or margins of other books, usually short Latin theological works (Ouy 2014: 183). Francesco Petrarca, Petrarch in English, wrote on the flyleaves and blank spaces of many of his books, sometimes biographical or bibliographical notes (known to palaeographers by the Italian term *tracce* or “traces”) but also drafts of short works of his own. The creative process exists alongside, and is sometimes obliquely related to, the much older books in which he adds these rough drafts (Signorini 2013: 242–243). There also survive *schedulae* or scraps of parchment left from making books, which were too dear to waste so were employed for all manner of more temporary writings, from schoolroom notes, to letters, to drafts; Aquinas is reported to have composed his *Summa contra gentiles* on such scraps (Kwakkel 2012: 245). Boccaccio even resorted to palimpsests, scraps of parchment two centuries old, scraped clean ready for reuse, for some of his rough drafts (V. Brown 1991: 44–45). Loose leaves could be especially useful in an author's revisions, adding passages to a work; that has been proposed for Boccaccio, for instance (e.g. Ouy 1982: 34; Padoan 2002: 110–2, 119). Given how fragmentary or slight they were, unsurprisingly few *schedulae* with literary drafts were preserved; little, they were liable to loss. But lost leaves like this hover as ghosts in textual criticism: these loose sheets are proposed, sometimes controversially, as explanations for textual variation in works known otherwise from later copies, such as William Langland's great English dream vision *Piers Plowman* (e.g. Warner 2011: 31, 37–40, 46–47, 57–58).

Such deductions about loose leaves typify this important source of evidence of authorial holographs: the resulting text, from which the textual critic can speculate to reconstruct imaginatively the process of drafting. In a world with less copious or affordable writing materials, stages of drafting were often less easy to weave seamlessly into the texture of the final work. One might contrast the endless tinkering made possible and invisible by word-processing; instead, stages of composing and recomposing by hand leave scars. This is famously so in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* in the 1390s, a story collection, where there are inconsistencies in which character tells which tale that reflect stages in the work's drafting, even though it only survives in posthumous scribal copies; in Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* a few discrete passages which cause the scribes problems seem to have been added to the poem, otherwise

based upon Boccaccio, in a separate stage of composition (Chaucer 1984: 39–41). That need not suggest that these works were circulated before the changes were made; but puzzles in the text and manuscripts do show that the works were composed over time, not emerging fully formed. Such deductions are, in a way, just an extension of the analyses of textual critics for centuries who reconstructed other kinds of authorial readings by hypothesising scribal tendencies of substitution and then working back from them. For instance, Michael Reeve (1994: 40) showed how variant passages in manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historie regum Britannie*, the foundational work of Arthurian literature (composed in the 1130s), likely descend from alternatives in the author's own rough drafts. The process of drafting is seldom studied in such work of recension, because the deductions must be speculative and could be circular. As has been noted of one text, a Spanish chronicle, what looks like damage done by "drafting" is more likely done by copyists and annotators, who were keen to intervene in general, and in chronicles in particular (Gómez Pérez 1963: 149–50). But the few examples which are known (in this chapter and elsewhere) might suggest the processes of composing which could result in the textual cruces passed on by copyists.

Given the reliance on wax, scraps and sound waves for composing, there are vanishingly few holograph manuscripts by authors composing their works in the first spurt of creativity – the *premier jet*. They are rare in French: for instance, there are fifty-four manuscripts of works by Christine de Pizan which she in some way supervised and authorised, but only one of the fifty-four is a draft of work in progress (Delsaux 2013: 158). No Anglo-Latin or English works from before the twelfth century are safely proven to be authorial holographs of any kind, and among the debatable cases none are first drafts (Lapidge 1994). From England in later centuries, among the dozen or so English and Latin authors whose works do survive in holograph, only one such survival might be the very first draft (Beadle 1994: 260); others seem working copies with second thoughts.² But a few valuable specimens do survive. From the early 1400s, the French poet Charles d'Orléans, for instance, has left a rough draft of a Latin prayer, "*Deus fragilitatis humane*". It is quickly jotted, with signs of crossing out and rethinking, then all struck through, recopied below, and modified in further small ways again (Ouy 2014: 183–184). In a fair copy of English lyrics by James Ryman dated 1492, on a flyleaf at the front the scribe, working later, jotted what look like first drafts of further lyrics: they are in different colours of ink, in different stints; they are in disorderly positions on the page and overlap each other; they contain more than one version of some phrases or lines, one often more regular in syllable count or more polished in style. The arrangement suggests that these are first drafts, and that the rest of the manuscript is holograph too (Wakelin 2014: 299–300). These are a few rare instances where known poets seem to be composing on spare pages – a few rare sightings of the first thoughts for new works.

2. For surveys of autographs from France, see Delsaux and Van Hemelryck (2014); from Italy, see Murano et al. (2012–) and Brunetti et al. (2009–2013); from Germany, see Honemann (2000a), introducing the database Honemann (2000b).

Surviving second drafts

Far more numerous are manuscripts of what would now be called second drafts, *du second jet*. These survive in greater numbers because the revisions were often made to copies, holograph or not, that were already more neatly and more fully complete than the first scraps on *schedulae* or such like (Delsaux 2013: 185). They survive from the 1100s onwards in many languages. In English in the late 1100s one Orm (or Orm) emended his verse *Ormmulum* (or Ormulum), even down to its orthography, in a massive book made of a freakish collection of parchment scraps (Beadle 1994: 253–254). In Latin there are several copies containing second drafts by Godefroid de Saint-Victor in the very late 1200s (Ouy 1982). While it might seem a shame not to have the first drafts to hand, from the white heat of invention, in fact the boundary between first drafts and second drafts is blurred: all additions to a manuscript *du second jet* are in a sense the first drafts of those sections; they can be short or can be long passages squeezed into the margins or on added leaves; and even when wording is not added but replaced, in a sense the replacements are first drafts of the new form of words.

There are some good examples of revision in works made by compilation from other sources. Compilation from sources was a kind of drafting that often had to be done by hand, not by dictation, given the slow method of reading which was needed before one could write; resultingly, numerous chronicles and histories survive in holograph copies, such as a set of histories from the Anglo-Norman realm and from the northern Netherlands often for limited circulation (Gumbert 2013: 40, 44–47; Delsaux 2014: 72). The process of reading can be viewed underway in revisions to some works of this kind, such as holograph chronicles by Hugues de Flavigny (Overgaauw 2013: 8–10) or Ranulph Higden. In his copy made c. 1340 of his Latin *Polychronicon*, a universal history, Higden added extra passages round the margins using little symbols known now as *signes de renvoi* to tie the additions to the earlier state of the text centre-page. He often began or ended these additions by noting his sources, such as Solinus, Isidore of Seville or Hugues de Saint-Victor, from whom the additions came (San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS 132, e.g. fols 6r, 10v). While these words are genuinely signs of rethinking with pen in hand, ironically these words are not entirely the author's own, but are quoted or paraphrased from others. Yet authors could also add more personal things: the would-be political theorist William Worcester in 1475 added to the margins of a fair copy of his political treatise *The Boke of Noblesse* two evocative anecdotes of what his former master, the veteran soldier Sir John Fastolf, had taught him about the exercise of war (London, British Library, MS Royal 18.B.xxii, fols 8r, 32v, 34r). Such additions can, perhaps, be considered the first drafts of these short sections.

But in other second drafts the fascination is in seeing rethinking: those moments are reminders that these works were objects of reflection, reconsideration – not simply dashed off in one burst. A sign of such care is how microscopic are the changes authors make. As Olivier Delsaux puts it (2013: 185), authors tend to emend the signifier more than the signified, form more than content. When they reviewed what were formerly “fair copies” by scribes, ready to serve as exemplars or be circulated themselves, some authors scoured the pages for correc-

tions, to ensure the work's circulation in authorised form, or for revisions, seemingly unwilling to stop rethinking (Ouy 2014: 172, 185). An interesting, if debatable, example is the aforementioned manuscript of English lyrics by James Ryman, thought to be autograph because of the first drafts on one blank page. Elsewhere, in the more polished copy of complete poems, the same hand, presumed Ryman's, makes twenty-three changes which do not shift sense or syntax but nudge the number of syllables in the line to the eight syllables found for most of the lyrics; this is metrical refinement (Wakelin 2014: 294–297). The hand modifies too the spelling of certain words (“comfort” into “confort”), and clarifies uncertain syntax (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.1.12, fol. 15r). Likewise, an English romance *Sir Ferumbras* survives partly on a rough sheet with various revisions, which was then used as a parchment wrapper for a full copy of the poem. The full copy in turn has further revisions on it, some in a slightly greyer ink (Hardman 2014). Many of the changes are fiddly and minute. For instance, on one pair of stanzas, he rewrites three refrain lines, changing the sense slightly but keeping the rhyme, by reusing the same rhyme words in new sentences and new orders (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 33, fol. 45r). It looks as though what patterned these revisions was sometimes sound or form. Despite the limited material resources for writing, authors could take precise care in redrafting the verbal detail, just as authors did in ages with more material resources. These second drafts imposed on earlier copies are not only more numerous than first drafts; they are in a way richer too, for they are like holograms, in which two states of the text oscillate, both visible. Reflection and retrospection are on show.

These later revisions did cause some problems for textual transmission in a manuscript culture which lacked the means to propagate or prohibit one or other version from circulating. Authors had to make their revisions in every exemplar from which others could copy; they often forgot, understandably, with such little details to emend (Ouy 2014: 185). Moreover, authors were not always strict about which version was to be authorised and seemed to have allowed more than one to circulate. Several works by major authors such as Eustache Deschamps or John Gower exist in more than one redaction in scribal copies. This is even the case where more than one holograph survives. Authors making fair copies of their works were of course liable to “scribal” errors just as much as any other copyist, and in their deliberate revisions they could be sporadic, inconsistent or unsuccessful. But retranscribing for oneself could also allow revising as one went: this is common in the autograph copies of the work of Boccaccio, for instance (Padoan, Zampieri and Lippi 1979: 2–4). Sometimes these alterations are visible on the page, made with techniques like those used for correcting: erasure, interlineation, crossing out. But often the changes must have occurred in intermediate exemplars or simply in the head before the hand wrote on the page; the revisions then can be inferred only by collating the author's two, differing copies. The English poet Thomas Hoccleve, for example, left two copies of his verse *ars moriendi* called *Lerne to Dye* which differ in twenty-six words in 672 lines (Bower 1989: 443–444). What motivated those changes is difficult to tell: in such duplicated copies, the process of revision again is invisible in any one book. For a literary critic, this is a challenge, as analysing the creative process requires not the analysis of the words on the page but of words *not* on the page, between two pages: what one can comment on is not any

one witness but disagreements between them. (Is such criticism not reading but *rereading*?) This is even truer where two authorised revisions survive not in authorial holographs but in scribal copies. Such manuscripts gesture to the immaterial aspects of revising – that is, rethinking – but do not bear physical traces of the material process of revising by hand.

Scribal copies as drafts

Those scribal copies usually superseded the rougher manuscripts of composition, which were less often kept. The authors' second drafts which survive (above) were often worth keeping despite the authorial interventions, which did not mar them too much, and not because of them. The fact that autograph drafts were not preserved suggests that people were not interested in the past genesis of the text (Delsaux 2013: 160–162, 180–182). Olivier Delsaux (2013: 183) has suggested, brilliantly, that authors did not preserve their manuscripts of composition because the particular author's unique phrasing was less important than the ideas which the author shared with the wider culture. That chimes with what is known of mentalities at the time.³ Yet I would suggest that copying closely and correcting ingeniously, if not always accurately (at least by comparison with modern editorial reconstructions of texts), show some interest in the *ipsissima verba*. This is evident in the fact that a good deal of scribal copying was close in result or at least intention, despite the understandable errors of an arduous physical craft: it is important to recuperate and not overlook that accuracy. It was complemented by more visible intervention by scribes in correcting, often to repair mechanical mistranscriptions (Wakelin 2014: 49–70) but also to improve problems in the texts they inherited. Close copying was a stance towards the text implying that it had reached a certain position of development in its wording and that the wording merited preservation. And more creative correction displayed some interest if not biographically in the author's wishes for his wording then formalistically in a coherent form of words (Wakelin 2014: 273–274).

Moreover, importantly, this close copying and these various kinds of correcting must not be taken for granted (nor praised as self-evidently valuable) for they were choices among a range of stances to the text. As is well known, scribes did feel able to engage with the text in different ways: they intervened by revising what they transcribed. Some editorial scholarship in the past deprecated the textual variance which resulted; since the 1990s it has been common to praise these variants and make them the focus of scholarship (Wakelin 2014: 44; Fisher 2012: 19–20). And in such variance, we do see something that might be considered evidence of a creative process of drafting and redrafting but by scribes. Any manuscript copy, with its variation, could theoretically be categorised as a holograph of an act of "scribal authorship", for as Matthew Fisher (2012) has argued, the line between authorship – copying from and adapting sources – and scribal labour was blurred. If there was not an interest in the genesis of the text in

3. That said, Delsaux (2013: 344–77) does also fascinatingly show authors' concern with the correct copying of the verbal detail of their works.

the past, there was a widespread use of the text as something generative into the future, which could be regenerated in new forms.

Whether it is possible to attribute to these copyists' variants the intentionality or creativity usually attributed to authors is debatable. First, it is striking how little of that scribal revision can be seen on the page, in the way that one can see revisions in holograph added by authors to copies. Most variant manuscripts do not reveal the processes of changing – say, by erased and rewritten passages – which reveal thought; they show the result of changes. (For one exception in a scribal revision over erasure of textual problems in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, see Wakelin 2014: 271–273.) The only evidence of such scribal revision is again not any one manuscript but a comparison between manuscripts. This divergence between two copies is as difficult to capture in its mobility, as Seeta Chaganti has noted (2018: 80–81), as dance. It is possible that we have lost “first drafts” of the variants by “scribal authors”, as we have those first drafts of most canonical authors. Given the massive losses of manuscripts, there might have been earlier exemplars in the textual tradition with revisions *currente calamo* on the page (“with the pen running”, as textual criticism calls it), but which are now lost. Such scruffily emended copies might be likelier to be lost than the fair copies then made from them. Or else scribal authorship might have occurred not *currente calamo* but *currente mente* (to adapt a phrase: with the mind running): between reading the exemplar and writing out the copy, by rethinking in the mind before moving the hand. That might invite qualitative judgements of some scribal authorship as less creative or less attentive, on the available evidence, than the work of some canonical authors, who can be seen inscribing second drafts of their own work. These scribal revisers do not, from surviving manuscripts, seem to go back to their first drafts of revised texts to revise them further. It might not be worth praising variant copying as authorship as strongly as one might praise the careful stages of work evident in other authors' holograph revisions.

Second, some changes might be conscious but unreflecting, almost automatic, especially those that are linguistic, such as revisions of dialect or archaism. Brilliant textual editors from A. E. Housman to George Kane argued that some scribal revisions to the literary work were habitual and often jejune: banalisation, bowdlerisation, intensification and such like (Wakelin 2014: 54–55; Fisher 2012: 17–19). Yet those habitual revisions were nonetheless parts of what counted as creativity: people simply created things according to canons of taste different from our own – for instance, emphasising smoothness, clarity or conventionality. These revisions can be considered part of a widespread “ordinary” creativity – following, borrowing, adapting, improvising – such as one might identify in folk art or traditional crafts. For instance, an English poem on the vices of the times exists in sixteen copies on flyleaves and a church wall in graffiti, each slightly different in the woes it bewails, but all completely conventional in their moaning and their moulding of a structure of lines rhymed by adjectives ending *-less*: “old man witless” or “wumman schameles” or “rewler recheles” (“old man witless”, “woman shameless”, “ruler reckless”) or whatever vexed the person scratching out the complaint (Mooney et al. ongoing). Misremembered, miscopied or revised? All are equally conventional but equally well adapting a formula.

An expansion of the criteria for creativity seems even more desirable for a particular group of works: informative or practical texts, which flourished in the 1300s and 1400s across Europe as pragmatic literacy spread. Such materials have been set aside in studies of literary autographs, due to understandable problems of definition (Delsaux and Van Hemelryck 2014: 8), but if one expands the category of “literary” to all learning – closer to the period’s categories of *litterae* or “letters” – then one might also expand the category of the literary holograph. For in such discourses of information and instruction, in medicine, science, management, craft, it was extremely common to rewrite what one transcribed, often to a great degree, or to commit to phrasing afresh on the page what was otherwise known by memory or ear. With the spread of pragmatic literacy, such writing also often took place in books made by people for their own use, with a distinctive personal involvement (Gumbert 2013: 39). On the one hand, as people redact information-content, they disregard the inherited wording (Varila 2016: 330–331). On the other hand, though, the consequence is not disengagement from the process of finding the right words but a mass participation in such activity, even by ordinary people in ordinary genres. The results range from the unexceptional to the excellent – concision, clarity, personal touches, playfulness, even flamboyant experiment with rhetorical and poetic models. Any copyist of practical texts could, in theory, become a composer of a new draft, and some might be evaluated on the scale on which one would evaluate literary drafters too.

The 1300s and 1400s see not only an efflorescence of literary holographs, then, but an efflorescence of holographs beyond what is usually seen as literary. And even for those works which modern scholarship normally considers as literary (poetry, long religious or philosophical works), there survive far fewer of the authors’ drafts or authorised copies than there do others’ copies, among which are many copies which in effect re-draft those works. The manuscripts of the last century or so before printing reveal the distribution of literary agency – the energy that made literature and learning thrive – among a wide variety of people, and not only in the hands, or handwriting, of a few literary giants. By contrast much of the handwriting of the giants is indeed evanescent: dictated to three secretaries, rubbed away from wax, thrown away on *schedulae*, transcribed by copyists or varied beyond editorial recovery. And for all these figures, composing and recomposing, the creative energy that generated different stages or restagings of the text exists on no page at all but must have existed in ideas in the mind between the physical copies which remain – visions more than revisions, text without materiality.

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1.1.2 Early modern holograph manuscripts

English literary manuscripts, 1450–1700

H. R. Woudhuysen

Early modern holograph manuscripts are particularly well served by Peter Beal's online *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700*. Using this resource, it is possible to study the autograph literary manuscripts of 236 named authors. The question of whether their holographs are drafts or fair copies is by no means always certain. Different sorts of manuscripts, the forms they take, and the occasions on which they were written are described and particular attention is paid to those by women. While often relying on professional scribes to produce fair copies, writers themselves tended to like revising those manuscripts, as well as to revise and correct their own autograph fair copies.

Keywords: manuscript, autograph, holograph, fair copy, scribes, Peter Beal, CELM

In 1973, R. R. Bowker commissioned a project to be known as the *Index of English Literary Manuscripts*. It was intended to catalogue and describe the literary manuscripts of English and Irish authors whose principal works were produced between 1450 and 1900; the authors were to be those listed in the *Concise Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (1958, 2e 1965). Eventually, four volumes in nine parts were published between 1980 and 1993 and, although in some volumes the choice of authors to be included had to be curtailed, the project was a remarkable one, providing, for the first time, an overview of thousands of literary manuscripts by major English authors from the late Middle Ages to the start of the twentieth century.

The first volume (in two parts) to appear was Peter Beal's *Index of Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1625*. A second volume was published, again in two parts (1987 and 1993), covering the period 1625 to 1700. Twenty years after the publication of the last part, with funding from the AHRC, the *Index* became an open access, online database, the *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450–1700* (CELM: <https://celm.folger.edu/>). The Catalogue is not just a searchable version of the *Index*, but a hugely expanded revision of it. The 123 authors covered in the *Index* were expanded to 237 (including an entry for the anonymous libel *Leicester's Commonwealth*); the number of individual manuscript entries grew from about 23,000 to 37,000. All the *Index* entries and the author introductions were revised, and among the many new entries there were 75 describing the manuscripts of women writers. CELM's contents can be viewed either by authors or by repositories.

The wealth of material in CELM about authors and their writings, their manuscripts, letters, documents, the books they owned, as well as the history of who collected these items, is extraordinary. Such a comprehensive, scholarly, wide-ranging, and accurate catalogue exists for no other period of English literature or for the literature of any other country. Manuscripts

in the hands of their authors are identified in CELM by the addition of an asterisk before the item number. This makes it possible to provide a general survey of early modern holograph manuscripts produced by literary authors in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. In both cases, “manuscripts” and “literary authors” are broadly understood to include poetry, prose, and drama, political, religious, and private writing, as well as personal and official papers. The unique achievement of CELM is to organise and describe this material in a systematic and searchable way.

CELM is the most recent and comprehensive manifestation of an interest in English authors’ manuscripts, especially autograph ones. In 1738, for example, in writing his life of John Milton, Thomas Birch made extensive use of the copies of the poems “in our Author’s own hand-writing in the Manuscript” at Trinity College, Cambridge (Milton 1738: 1.xxxix). Milton had used the Trinity Manuscript as a notebook for work on his early poems, including the great elegy “Lycidas” (CELM: *MnJ 11) and *A Mask Presented at Ludlow-Castle*, usually known as “Comus” (*MnJ 57), during the 1630s and 1640s. The manuscript had found its way into the College’s collections by 1736. Its value as evidence of a great poet writing, copying, and revising his work led to its reproduction in photographic facsimile in 1899, with an accompanying transcription (Milton 1899); a new set of photographs of the original manuscript was made in 1970 (Milton 1970). Parts of it were reproduced elsewhere, most notably in W.W. Greg’s *English Literary Autographs, 1550–1650* (Greg 1925–32: plate LII) and P.J. Croft’s *Autograph Poetry in the English Language* (Croft 1973: 47).

These catalogues and facsimiles all show the sense of insight and intimacy that seeing a writer’s works in autograph (even in facsimile) can inspire in the viewer. As a motto for the first volume of his *Index*, Beal chose part of John Donne’s Latin verse epistle to Richard Andrews, contrasting works that had been printed with those that remained in manuscript, “quae scripta manu sunt, veneranda magis” – [what is written out by hand is in greater reverence]. For his work, Croft printed an extract, “... this warm scribe my hand”, from John Keats’s poem “The Fall of Hyperion”. Literary drafts and holographs have what is sometimes described as authorial “presence”. Yet not everyone was impressed by being so close intellectually or imaginatively to a writer at work. Charles Lamb notoriously regretted the “evil hour” in which he was shown the Trinity Manuscript:¹

How it staggered me to see the fine things in their ore! interlined, corrected! as if their words were mortal, alterable, displaceable at pleasure! as if they might have been otherwise, and just as good! as if inspiration were made up of parts, and these fluctuating, successive, indifferent!
(Milton 1899: 4)

Although Lamb’s distress at seeing literary works come into being, paradoxically, reveals the awe in which he held them, there may also be something fundamentally mistaken in his exposition. The Trinity Manuscript is largely in the poet’s own hand, but it consists of a charac-

1. See also Chapters 1.1.4 and 1.4.1 in this volume.

teristic mixture of what appear to be drafts and fair copies, both showing signs of revision that took place as they were written and at various later dates.

It is not always possible to know for certain whether an early modern holograph is a draft or a fair copy. Almost all authorial drafts are holographs (although Milton because of his blindness is a special case), but not all holographs are drafts. A case in point is provided by the three pages written by Hand D in the manuscript of the play *Sir Thomas More* (CELM: *ShW 88). The pages are now attributed to Shakespeare, but it is not clear whether they show him in the act of composition or transcribing and revising his own work. In making fair copies of their own work, authors often make changes as they copy, so a neat distinction between deletions and revisions on and above (or below) the line is not sustainable. In the case of Shakespeare, the witness of his contemporaries John Heminges and William Condell further complicates the matter: “His mind and hand went together”, they wrote in the First Folio, “And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers” (Shakespeare 1623:A3^r). Shakespeare’s or Milton’s genius might well have resulted in their extraordinary facility of expression, so that what look like fair copies are in fact first drafts. If their thinking and writing really did go together, the training in mental habits that education in early modern England demanded played a part in this.

When looking at holographs from this period, what is striking is how few of them appear to be the immediate or first results of composition. Rather, they seem to emerge fairly fully formed, in need only of light revision and correction. The phenomenon is particularly noticeable in autograph letters. When one looks at letters of the period sent from one person to another, the vast majority contain few of the hesitations, false starts, deletions, insertions, and revisions that might be expected. A letter was a social event or a performance, and its meaning was bound up with its form, so that it was expected to look right. Before a pen was picked up, thought went into its style and contents, but there is little surviving evidence that letters were worked up from rough drafts or notes. More than 800 of Alexander Pope’s letters survive in his own hand, but no more than three unsent autograph drafts of his seem to survive. Yet Pope was a writer whose poetical manuscripts are rich in drafts and first thoughts (Pope 1956: 1.325, 489; 2.225). He was notoriously mean about small items, such as paper and candles, and it may be that he preferred not to waste paper on his drafts; it might also be that his reusing of scraps of paper for them meant that few survived. The three drafts just mentioned are all to be found in the scraps and fragments that were recycled for the translation of Homer’s *Iliad*, now in the British Library.

In thinking about holograph manuscripts, attention needs to be paid to the circumstances of their creation, their material forms, and onward transmission. A fair copy on parchment or fine white paper with gilt edges, made for presentation to a patron, represents a different sort of holograph manuscript from, say, a bound paper-book used for the composition of working drafts or from a fair copy of a work, made by a scribe or secretary, and then revised by its author. These circumstantial, generic, and material differences in the production and transmission of the holograph drafts listed in CELM will be the subject of the rest of this chapter.

Although CELM is not a complete record of all English literary manuscripts of the period, it does give a very good sample of the handwritten remains of major and minor authors. Of the 236 named authors in the work, for 23 of them no manuscript copies, autograph or scribal, of their writings are known. For 86 authors, no literary – in its widest sense – manuscript survives, although their hands can usually be seen at work in letters, documents, or printed books. There are 90 authors for whom only one, two, or three literary manuscripts wholly or partly in their hand are known. (A distinction is made here and throughout between the manuscript itself as a physical object and the number of individual items or works it includes.) Those are precious survivals, but they leave only 37 authors for whom a reasonably substantial number of manuscripts containing autograph material have been identified.

Most of the authors in CELM for whom no manuscripts of any kind are known were women, such as Anne Askew, Anne Dowriche, Emilia Lanier, Isabella Whitney, and Elizabeth Wilkinson or were attributed to women, such as “Constantia Munda” and “Ester Sowernam”. The roll-call of those writers for whom no literary manuscripts are known – putting letters and so on to one side – is formidable. It embraces such poets, north of the Border, as William Dunbar and Robert Henryson, and south of it, as Richard Lovelace, Andrew Marvell, Edmund Spenser, and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, dramatists, including Susanna Centlivre, George Farquhar, John Ford, Nathaniel Lee, John Lyly, Christopher Marlowe, Cyril Tourneur, Sir John Vanbrugh, John Webster, William Wycherley, and writers like Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, Robert Greene, Sir Thomas Malory, and Mary Herbert, Countess of Pembroke.

There are a significant number of authors, both male and female, for whom just a few autograph literary manuscripts survive. When these are considered with authors for whom autograph manuscripts survive in generous quantities, a clearer picture of the holograph draft and its different states and forms begins to emerge.

The evidence is clearest and most abundant not for poets and playwrights, but for theologians, scholars, heralds, antiquarian and political authors (their activities often went together), civil servants, medical men, travellers and soldiers, and philosophers of various kinds. Writing on these subjects in early modern England required just as much research and observation then as it does now, and research requires the taking of notes, the accumulation and preservation of knowledge and ideas. The vehicle for this sort of work was the notebook, which might relate to one specific work or to the gathering of notes for less directed use. In the case of John Evelyn, the preservation of the family archive makes it possible to see how many notebooks a man of varied interests might need. As a landowner, he kept a small pocket notebook relating to his estates and household (CELM *EvJ 65), one forming “A Booke of Promiscuous Notes, & Observations concerning Husbandry, Butlery &c.” (*EvJ 28), and one of “Trades: Seacrets & Receipts, Mechanical as they came casually to hand” (*EvJ 29). He wrote down “Adversaria Historical, Physical, Mathematical, Mechanicall &c. promiscuously set downe as they Occur in Reading, or Casual Discourse” (*EvJ 31), keeping notes on natural philosophy (*EvJ 26), chemistry (*EvJ 152), travel (*EvJ 57), and contemporary history (*EvJ 107). His special interests in the Dutch War (*EvJ 67–68) and in horticulture (*EvJ 73.5) needed space on paper. Nor did he

neglect the state of his soul, with notebooks devoted to religion (*EvJ 141), the New Testament (*EvJ 167–168), sermons (*EvJ 169), and to prayers and hymns (*EvJ 188, 190).

The survival of so many books of this kind owned by one individual is unusual; most authors are now known to have had only one or two notebooks, although no doubt some had many more. The Cambridge scholar Gabriel Harvey kept his academic notes in two (CELM *HvG 6–7). Samuel Pepys had two notebooks on the navy (*PpS 2–3). The mystical poet and priest Thomas Traherne had at least two volumes of this kind that are known as the “Early Notebook” (*TrT 138) and the “Ficino Notebook” (*TrT 233.5). Similarly, two notebooks relating to Sir Walter Raleigh’s interest in chemistry and medicine (*RaW 711) and geography (*RaW 728) have been identified; the miscellaneous nature of the second of these is indicated by the presence in it of a list of books and a poem. George Savile, First Marquess of Halifax, filled at least two notebooks (*HaG 67, 67.5) with gossip.

In one notebook (*BrT 40), Sir Thomas Browne combined copies of letters to him with a list of seeds sown in his garden; in another (*BrT 48), the formula “a series of miscellaneous Observations upon several subjects” had to be used to describe its contents. In addition to coats of arms, William Camden (*CmW 165) kept a note of those present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and his “account of Westminster School fees for 1596–7”. Edmund Waller wrote notes on philosophy and definitions of key terms, as well as some notes on the Bible in one book (*WaE 864). In 1608 and 1609, Francis Bacon transferred material from two notebooks into at least two new ones; he called the one that survives (*BcF 153) “Comentarius solutus siue Pandecta siue Ancilla Memoriae”.

Other sorts of handmaidens of memory or storehouses of knowledge took the form of commonplace books, like those in which Evelyn (CELM *EvJ 32) kept their extracts from classical authors. Robert Sidney had four substantial volumes of this kind (*SiR 61–64), all bound in vellum and possibly dating from his time in Flushing. Nine autograph commonplace books belonging to Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, survive (*HoH 102–110), with another three (*HoH 99–101) that could be categorised as belonging or being closely akin to the genre. Halifax’s “collection of autograph notes, memoranda and aphorisms, on historical, political, philosophical and miscellaneous subjects” would seem to include all these elements (*HaG 71).

Less expansive examples of authorial notes can be found and reflect their authors’ interests. Lancelot Andrewes jotted down notes for two sermons to be preached at court (CELM *AndL 13.5), in preparation for a legal case (*AndL 54.5), and relating to biblical chronology and government (*AndL 43). Three autograph sets of historical notes made by Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon, in connection with his great history of the Rebellion survive (*CIE 17–19); he also left devotional and theological notes (*CIE 48, 54). Two similar, but more extensive, miscellaneous historical collections were made by Halifax (*HaG 64–65). Raleigh’s notes on the sea (*RaW 692), Thomas Hobbes’s on fortifications (*HbT 68.5), and Evelyn’s relating to the Royal Society (*EvJ 46) all survive, as do some stray ones by Sir Robert Cotton (*CtR 539) and, by Bacon for a specific philosophical work, *Of the Colours of Good and Evil*, (*BcF 230). Notes made by the prolific poet Richard Corbett on the subject of Roman Catholics (*CoR 764.5) constitute his sole-surviving literary manuscript.

Such autograph notes are important witnesses to the ways writers worked and how they turned them into drafts. The two sorts of writing often went together, so that notes and drafts feature in the same manuscript. They can be seen together in three manuscripts written by Cotton that went into the making of *An Answer made by Command of Prince Henry* (CELM *CtR 19), *A Breife Abstract of the Question of Precedencie between England and Spaine* (*CtR 80), and a more miscellaneous collection (*CtR 530). Bacon's autograph drafts and notes for *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies* survive (*BcF 269) and a working collection of this kind from Halifax's pen, relating to more general political matters (*HaG 68). In one of his manuscript volumes (*EvJ 135.5), Evelyn included a draft dedicatory epistle for his book *Sylva*, a poem on the 1698 visit of Tsar Peter the Great, some notes on books and manuscripts, and additional notes on Greek and Latin vocabulary; further biographical and autobiographical drafts and notes by him and on the history of the Royal Society filled another book (*EvJ 137).

The survival of this sort of material is relatively rare and usually resulted from an archive being kept together or because an author's papers were thought to be of sufficient interest and importance to be preserved. In this way, Henry Howard's books joined the Arundel library and were eventually dispersed, but Cotton's autograph manuscripts were included in the Cottonian library; many of Hobbes's papers were kept at Chatsworth, Edward Herbert's at Powis Castle, Evelyn's came to Christ Church, Oxford, and Pepys's were safe in the library he presented to Magdalene College, Cambridge. William Drummond of Hawthornden gave his papers and some of his library to Edinburgh University Library. Clarendon's papers were kept by his family and deposited with the University of Oxford in 1759. Having secretaries and copyists, as Bacon, Clarendon, Sir John Harington, Henry Howard, Pepys, and others certainly did, helped to ensure the preservation as well as the transmission of their manuscripts, thereby making them available for study.

The loss of holograph manuscripts, whether drafts or finished copies, can be accounted for in a variety of ways. It is well known that during the hand-press period manuscripts sent to the printer were usually consumed in the process of being set. This was not always the case, and two of the most remarkable surviving partly autograph manuscripts that were used as printer's copy for their first editions are John Harington's translation of Books XIV to XLVI, with the "Briefe and Summarie Allegorie" of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* of 1591 (CELM *HrJ 8) and Book V of Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* of 1597 (*HkR 10). In Harington's case, the preservation of parts of the autograph of *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, used as the printer's copy in 1596 (*HrJ 317), suggests that the author might have made a practice of seeking to recover his manuscripts from the printing office. In other cases, the printers' copy might have been prepared by a scribe to disguise the work's authorship, as may have been the case with Halifax's anonymous *Observations upon a Late Libel* of 1681 (*HaG 43), or because the author could not write the copy, as happened with the manuscript of Book I of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (MnJ 22), first printed in 1667. A similar practice of destroying the author's draft once a holograph or scribal fair copy was made may have been common practice. In the past, authors might have sought to avoid the danger of the proliferation of versions of a work by sacrificing the original.

None of this – the demands of the press or the tidy sense of completion that fair copies created – fully explains why comparatively so few authorial autograph drafts survive. There were other reasons for this. Dramatists sold the manuscripts of their plays to theatrical companies and these versions of the scripts were easily lost, destroyed, or sent to the printer when their popularity made it expedient to do so. The *frisson* that later owners and spectators felt on seeing an autograph manuscript probably did not fully develop until the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there is copious evidence that autograph material played a part in the social relations between writers and patrons. In its simplest form this can be seen in the way that although a scribe might be employed to write the main text of a letter to someone of superior status, its author would usually provide a signature, often accompanied by an autograph subscription and/or a postscript. This is regularly the case – a sole example among many – with the letters of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. A signature, especially when carefully positioned with significant space around it, showed a degree of deference towards the recipient as well as the author's personal engagement in the communication.

The presentation manuscript provided a direct means by which to solicit patronage and favour. The Royal Manuscripts in the British Library provide a convenient place to look at this. They include Princess Elizabeth's autograph translations of her stepmother Katharine Parr's *Prayers and Meditations*, presented by her to her father, Henry VIII, in December 1545 (CELM *ElQ 65). This was part of a tradition of giving the monarch a New Year's Gift, to which the recipient responded with a present that could be transformed into money. On New Year's Day 1567, Thomas Wilson gave the Queen a short address, *Oratio de Clementia*, written in his own hand (*WiT 2). Verses on the coronation of Queen Anne, Princess Elizabeth's mother, in May 1533 were written in the hands of their authors John Leland and Nicholas Udall, and presumably presented to the Queen (*LeJ 8, *UdN 1). John Florio may have presented his autograph translation into Italian of James I's *Basilicon Doron* in about 1603 (*FloJ 2) to the King. Theatrical works, especially those performed at court, and royal entertainments made good presentation manuscripts. Ben Jonson presented his fair copy of *The Masque of Queens* to Prince Henry in 1609 (*JnB 685); this is relatively unusual for works of this kind because all twenty folio leaves are in Jonson's own hand. Poets might well do the same sort of thing, especially with shorter works. Samuel Daniel gave his nine-leaf autograph manuscript of *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie* to King James during his visit to Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland, on or about 23 April 1603 (*DaS 21).

Many authors either lacked the calligraphic skill or the time to make fair copies for presentation of their own works. One who decidedly did not lack the skill was the scribe Esther Inglis: all 62 of her manuscripts were written by her in a rich variety of hands, mostly for presentation; among the Royal Manuscripts, a copy of her *Emblemes Chrestiens*, in an embroidered binding of crimson satin, was presented to Prince Charles in 1624 (CELM *InE 8). Other authors had to rely on scribes, but left evidence of their own pens at work. When Nicholas Breton gave a copy of *An Inveictive against Treason* to the Duke of Lennox at some point between 1605 and 1613, a professional scribe copied the text of the work, but Breton supplied the autograph dedication (*BrN 39). Parts of the brief manuscript of John Marston's *The Argument of the Spectacle presented to*

the *Sacred Maiestys of great Brittan, and Denmark*, written in 1606, are in the author's hand (*MrJ 3). On 1 January 1576, George Gascoigne presented his manuscript of *The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte* to Queen Elizabeth; most of the manuscript is written in "a professional italic and secretary hand", but Gascoigne himself signed the dedicatory letter and probably contributed the drawings (*GaG 4). A different form of authorial contribution was made by Henry Howard to a scribal copy of the *Report of the Navy Commission* (*HoH 94) that he presented to James I in about 1609; besides manuscript corrections, Howard added autograph side-notes. This was his usual practice and occurs in other scribal manuscripts of his writings. It may have been thought to be part of the author's final task after a scribe had finished the copying, for Hooker wrote the side-notes in the copy (*HkR 10) of Book V of *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* that went to the printer.

Two volumes among the Royal Manuscripts are characteristic of the role authors played in preparing manuscripts for presentation or for further transmission. When James I commanded a copy of John Donne's Gunpowder Plot Sermon preached at St Paul's on 5 November 1622, he was presented with a scribal copy containing the preacher's autograph corrections (CELM *DnJ 4044.5). Some years before this, in about 1608, Bacon may have presented a manuscript consisting of three of his works to James (*BcF 99, 355–356); they were written by the same professional scribe, but in two of them Bacon seems to have made a few autograph corrections. Whether the King read the volume and whether he noticed the traces in it of his then Solicitor General's hand (if it is his) cannot be known, but the presence of Donne's and perhaps Bacon's revisions in the two manuscripts shows the authors wanted to give the King correct texts of their work and were willing to undertake that labour themselves, rather than depute it to their scribes.

A further refinement of the authorial presentation manuscript was of a printed book that an author adapted, corrected, or extended. The book was usually, but need not necessarily be, by the author, for another's work might lend itself to this treatment. On 18 February 1608, Harrington presented a copy of Francis Godwin, Bishop of Hereford's *A Catalogue of Bishops of England* (1601) to Prince Henry; it was the eve of the young man's fourteenth birthday. Harrington had heavily annotated the printed book with marginal notes, supplementing it with his autograph copy of *A Supplie or Addicion to the Catalogue of Bishops, to ye Yeare 1608* (CELM *HrJ 328), and other autograph and scribal material. Such elaborate treatment (the manuscript's binding bears the Prince's arms) contrasts with items that contain no more authorial holographs than the author's signature, such as Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* (*JnB 683) of January 1605 or Philip Massinger's *Serio, sed Serio* (*MsP 8) of January 1635. A slightly more unusual manuscript (*GgA 43), *An new Yeares guift to the Kings Majestie*, from January 1610, was written by a scribe or amanuensis on parchment, but the author of its six poems addressed to the Stuart Royal Family, Sir Arthur Gorges, signed the first leaf, which was written on paper.

These types of presentation gifts among the Royal Manuscripts can also be found and extended throughout surviving authorial manuscripts. For example, a second Marston manuscript (CELM *MrJ 6), containing *The Entertainment of the Dowager-Countess of Darby* of 1607, is partly scribal and partly autograph. The opening address and the concluding eclogue

on the Duchess's departure are in Marston's hand, along (probably) with "occasional deletions, corrections and additions" to the scribal text. In the 1630s, Richard Crashaw supplied a scribal manuscript copy (*CrR 337) of his Latin epigrams with an autograph title-page and a dedication to Benjamin Laney, the Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where Crashaw was an undergraduate. About the same time, the poet had six leaves bound into a copy of St Teresa of Avila's poems, printed at Antwerp in 1630; he had two of his own poems (*CrR 11, 65) copied on these leaves by a scribe, but supplied a title-page and preliminary inscription, as well as making some textual alterations to them. Breton was content to present his three dialogues, *Auspicante Jehovah*, *Auxilium memoriae Liber*, to Lord North (probably Dudley, 3rd Baron North) written in his own hand (*BrN 111), but employed a professional scribe for the text of his poem "An Invec-tive against Treason" (*BrN 39), writing the dedication to the Duke of Lennox himself. No other autograph literary manuscripts by Breton are known.

Presentation manuscripts tend by their nature to be formal occasions of writing in which the level of intimacy between the author and the recipient is hard to judge. The same applies to a greater or lesser extent with letters. They were frequently used as a vehicle for sending literary manuscripts either as part of the letter itself or as a separate enclosure. A 1596 Latin letter (CELM *AlW 138) from William Alabaster to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, included a poem by him. Two of Charles Sackville, 6th Earl of Dorset's four surviving literary manuscripts consist of drafts of his poem "On the Statue in the Privy Garden" in ten- and six-line versions (*DoC 210–211), one written on a pair of quarto leaves, the other on a single oblong leaf, but both "once folded as a letter or packet". Similarly, William Congreve's only known literary auto-graph (*CgW 3.5) consists of four untitled quatrains ("Faded Delia moues Compassion"), written in the 1690s on one side of a single quarto leaf "once folded as a letter or packet". When Aphra Behn wrote to Abigail Waller on 21 October 1687, she enclosed with the letter (*BeA 52) a four-page autograph copy (*BeA 10), with corrections, of her elegy on the death of Edmund Waller.

Behn's poem is her only known literary manuscript (although eighteen examples of her correspondence and documents survive). That is characteristic of women writers of the period and the paucity of their autograph literary manuscripts is much to be regretted. With some exceptions, when such manuscripts do survive, they are represented in small numbers of copies of what might be called personal writing. Margaret, Lady Hoby's diary (CELM *HoM 1) is her sole surviving manuscript. Only one piece is known from the pen of Joyce Jefferies, concerning her financial affairs (CELM *JeJ 1). Two other wives of knights, Anne Fanshawe and Grace Mildmay are each known by two autograph manuscripts. The former revised and corrected a scribal copy of her memoirs (*FaA 1) and wrote a book of medical and culinary receipts (*FaA 3). The latter wrote her own journal (*MiG 1) and kept a miscellaneous volume mainly of receipts of a medical kind (*MiG 4). In the case of Jane Cheyne and Elizabeth Egerton, the daughters of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, it is known that they kept an account book (*C&E 196), but the sole literary manuscript associated with them, a copy of Egerton's substantial *Meditations* on the Old and New Testament, is only "possibly autograph" (*C&E 189). The tendency to few but extensive manuscripts is shown in Lady Anne Clifford's

collection of family records in her three *Great Books*, written and illustrated by a variety of scribes, but with her annotations and corrections (*CdA 1). It is, however, challenged to an extent by Elizabeth I – but as Queen, it was likely that examples of her handwriting would be preserved – and the calligrapher Inglis, as well perhaps by Bathsua Makin. Three of Makin's autograph manuscripts, all presented to women on conjugate leaves, survive, one in Latin that was “originally folded as a packet” (*MaB 2) and two in English, one of which (*MaB 3) stands on its own, but the other (*MaB 4) forms part of a letter.

Some of these works challenge the notion of what constitutes a literary manuscript as much as they may stretch definitions of what a draft is. Beal's definition of a draft as “a composition still in a potential state of incompleteness” (Beal 2008: 128) raises the question of whether such works are ever finished or, in the quotation usually attributed to Paul Valéry, abandoned. Nevertheless, it is possible to look at literary manuscripts of the period and to see authors engaging with the struggle to complete their own work. One feature of this is to notice how often, although there may be multiple instances of a writer drafting or revising a work in manuscript, the number of such manuscripts surviving for each author is relatively small. A characteristic example of this is the Egerton Manuscript of Sir Thomas Wyatt's poems (CELM *WyT 7). This 1530s miscellany contains much of Wyatt's verse, including 29 pieces entirely or partly in his hand. These items cover a range between poems entirely in his hand to ones copied by other hands in which he has made one autograph alteration. Beal uses fourteen different formulas to describe Wyatt's various authorial interventions in the poems in the volume.

A certain amount of doubt has already been suggested about the nature of Shakespeare's and Milton's interventions in the two manuscripts most famously associated with them. The position with Sir Philip Sidney might be thought to be much clearer. Three literary manuscripts in Sidney's hand survive: a sonnet written in a printed book (CELM *SiP 31); the autograph draft of his defence of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester (*SiP 172); and the incomplete copy he made of his *Discourse of Irish Affairs* (*SiP 180). Although the sonnet is clearly a fair copy, it has several readings that differ from the text preserved in the 1598 edition of Sidney's writings. The draft *Defence* is clearly a working one in a state of incompleteness, and something of the same case could be made for the *Discourse*, apparently a fair copy, but with “occasional changes, deletions and additions” (Beal 1998: 113). When Sidney's brother, Robert, made a fair copy (*SiR 1) for his wife of his 60 poems, he introduced autograph revisions in 33 of them.

The story is the same with other collections of poetry, especially those prepared by scribes. Fulke Greville had his writings copied by professional penmen into six volumes, introducing revisions in his own hand into every volume (CELM *GrF 1, 10, 12, 15, 27–28). The Dr Williams Manuscript of George Herbert's poems (*HrG 2) may show the poet to have been less prone to revising his work in its scribal fair copies than Robert Sidney in his autograph fair copy, but he still left his mark on 26 of the manuscript's 78 poems. When it came to his own copies of his Latin poems in the same manuscript (*HrG 315, *HrG 325), Herbert felt no great need to revise them. In the Gower Manuscript (*CwT 10.5), containing fair copies by a professional scribe of 47 poems by Thomas Carew, the poet introduced autograph changes to seventeen of them; for three he just supplied titles. Henry King did more or less the same, with changes to thirteen

poems out of the 64 included in one manuscript (*KiH 3), written by Thomas Manne and his “imitator”. James Shirley confined himself to two poems in a calligraphic manuscript containing copies of 36 of his poems, adding a poem in his own fair copy to its final leaf (*ShJ 13).

When looking at authorial fair copies, the circumstances in and the purposes for which they were written need to be reconstructed. Like many authors, John Donne wrote poems in printed books, presumably for presentation to friends (CELM *DnJ 1–2); both poems are in Latin. His only known autograph English poem (*DnJ 1858) was a verse epistle sent to Lady Carew on a leaf of fine paper with its edges gilt for presentation. All of Jonson’s autograph poems are fair copies addressed, given, or sent to named individuals, except for a translation from Martial (*JnB 319), found on a folio leaf with a copy in Jonson’s hand of Sir Henry Wotton’s “The Character of Happy Life” (*WoH 2); its paper is fine and has gilt edges. A fair copy (*HeR 305) in Robert Herrick’s own hand of his elegy on a Fellow of a Cambridge college may have been, as was the then practice, pinned to the funeral coffin. When presenting their own writings to individuals or institutions, authors tended to be on their best calligraphic behaviour.

In contrast, for many poets and writers just a handful of clearly identifiable drafts survive. It is certainly possible to see Harvey at work on his writings, including the Skeltonic poem “The Schollers Looove”, in his so-called *Letter-Book* (CELM *HvG 8). The roughness of Robert Southwell’s verse translation “[The] Peeter Playnt” (*SoR 170) suggests that it was a working autograph draft. Edmund Waller’s draft of two sections of “Of a War with Spain, and a Fight at Sea” (*WaE 144) clearly shows the poet at work, revising and cancelling what he wrote; he seems to have used his daughters to make fair copies of his poems, which he then revised. John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester is one of the few poets for whom a collection of nine drafts and revised versions of his poems (and a prose scene from a play) survive in his own hand (*RoJ 70), along with eight autograph drafts of his wife’s poems.

A full taxonomy of the different sorts of venues and occasions for autograph compositions in England in the period from 1450 to 1700 has yet to be devised. When it is, the convenient opposition between rough draft and fair copy may well be seen to over-simplify matters.

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1.1.3 The eighteenth century*

The progressive emergence of eighteenth-century European literary manuscripts

Nathalie Ferrand

The eighteenth century used to enjoy a bad reputation among scholars interested in literary drafts, suffering from its situation between two great moments in the history of the literary manuscript: the medieval period, when the manuscript tradition was the sole possible channel of a work's dissemination, and the "contemporary" period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the importance accorded to the manuscript was that of a valuable testimony to "the genius of the author". Fortunately, new developments in scholarship have changed this situation in the course of the last few decades. The present chapter sets out to analyse the emergence into greater prominence, in the field of eighteenth-century studies, of drafts, sketches and manuscripts. The movement toward a growing interest in such documents has been nourished by textual genetics, an innovative critical approach which has led scholars to ascribe to them greater meaning in the interpretation of the author's action.

Keywords: *avant-textes*, genetic criticism, enlightenment, *transparence accrue* [increased transparency], marginalia, national treasure, scroll, reception theory, *Révolution*, codicology

Introduction: Why study the draft manuscripts of Enlightenment authors?

The theoretical effect of the study of literary manuscripts on the interpretation of the works they mediate can be compared to the phenomenon which art historians call *transparence accrue*. This phenomenon – a chemical degradation of the pigments sometimes observed in old paintings – causes the last layer of paint to become transparent, revealing the ghosts of "second thoughts" on the part of the artist. Thus, on a canvas by François Boucher, the phantom second outline of the foot which Diane the Huntress dips into a diaphanous pool of water allows us to make out a different state of the picture beneath that formed by this final application of paint.¹ Such "ghost states" prompt us to enquire into their role in the shaping of the work, as they provide us with clues to the artist's actual creative process. But if this phenomenon of *transparence accrue* is linked to an ageing of pictorial works of art which does, unfortunately, involve their degradation, the survival of literary drafts, by contrast, signifies a rejuvenation of our gaze upon these works as it brings us in contact with the nascent state or states of a creation. Beneath the literary works of long standing which we know well and are in the habit of interpreting

* This chapter, originally written in French, was translated into English by Alexander Reynolds.

1. *Le retour de chasse de Diane* by François Boucher (Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris).

with an eye to the shimmering surface of their textuality in its final state, those surviving drafts allow another light to filter through. They can be compared to a developing agent in photography, obliging us to pose questions regarding the way in which the works in question were conceived and written. Their erasures and additions are as many tracks and questions prompting reflection upon the complex processes of intellectual or aesthetic creation during this crucial period for the history of ideas and forms. Before being able to play this role, however, these literary manuscripts had to emerge from the shadows in which, for many years, they lay. For a long time, the eighteenth century enjoyed a bad reputation among scholars interested in literary drafts, suffering from its situation between two great moments in the history of the literary manuscript: the medieval period, during which the manuscript tradition was the sole possible channel of a work's dissemination, and the "contemporary" period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the importance accorded to the manuscript was that of a valuable testimony to "the genius of the author" and of an authentication of the creative process (Châtelain 2009). Fortunately, new developments in scholarship have profoundly changed this situation in the course of the last few decades. The present chapter – which will focus particularly on holographs – sets out to analyse the emergence into greater and greater prominence, in the field of eighteenth-century studies, of drafts, sketches and manuscripts comprising visibly deleted passages. The movement toward a growing interest in such documents has been nourished in part by an innovative critical approach (namely, textual genetics), which has led scholars to pay more attention to them and to ascribe to them much greater meaning in the interpretation of the author's action. Also important here has been the work of historians of writing practices, which has likewise contributed to better defining these corpora that were long considered insignificant.

Against an *idée reçue*

Contrary to its longstanding image as an era whose authors typically did away with their drafts and sketches, anxious to destroy, once the finished work was published, all traces testifying to the long and patient journey which had led them to the final form, the eighteenth century has in fact left us a wealth of manuscripts, often covered with erasures, which witness the thought and literature of the Enlightenment's searching for, and testing of, itself. Political concepts, such as the *volonté générale* in Rousseau's *Du Contrat social* (Bernardi 2006), as well as philosophical ones, such as the notions of entelechy and substance as advanced by Leibniz (Fichant 2019), all passed through long sequences of nuanced transformation before attaining a final formulation. Novels such as Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (Ferrand 2000, 2011, 2012a), Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*,² Laclos' *Les Liaisons dangereuses*,³ Alessandro Verri's *Le Avventure di Saffo*

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2. The holograph of the first part of Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*, which displays some 500 signs of revision, is preserved in the British Library (Egerton MS 1610). It can be accessed online.
 3. Laclos' working manuscript is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF; Français 12845) and can be consulted online on the Gallica website.

(Musitelli 2019), plays like those by Lesage or Beaumarchais, poetic works like Klopstock's *Messias* (Hurlebusch 2000), Parini's *Il Giorno* (Cadioli 2018) or André Chenier's *Les Bucoliques* (Guitton 1994), translations like Pope's rendering of the *Iliad*⁴ all offer us, thanks to the survival of manuscripts testifying to their individual geneses, a chance to observe various kinds of poetics in the very midst of their respective processes of execution. On this fascinating "construction site" of Enlightenment, formed by the successive drafts and versions of nascent works-to-be, emerges a space of thought and writing subject to constant alteration and adaptation, and shot through with all the aesthetic and ideological conflicts which troubled their authors in the course of these works' composition. No more than Athena sprang fully armed from the head of Zeus did Enlightenment spring out, in the dazzling clarity of a single moment of inspiration, from the brains of the authors of the eighteenth century. In other words, the traces of these Enlighteners' creative struggles are often as richly instructive as their honed and finished slogans which effectively changed the world.

Sometimes long known but made only partial use of, sometimes still awaiting their discoverer, these manuscripts (which do indeed continue to come to light all over Europe, with recent discoveries of the younger Crébillon's manuscripts in Madrid, and Potocki's in Poznań) demand to be contextualised vis-à-vis one another and understood as parts of a cultural whole – and this by means of a specific and appropriate critical approach. Such an approach must respect the integrity of these *avant-textes* which, far too often, find themselves sacrificed on the altar of editions which reduce their teeming complexity to just a handful of variants noted in an appendix. One should be concerned not just with describing but also with understanding the dynamics of invention which these *avant-textes* display, and attentive to the historical status of the manuscript and to the habits and conventions of writing in the *Ancien Régime*. Certainly, holograph manuscripts should not be the sole objects for a genetic study of the texts of this era. The enquiry must also include other "genetic witnesses" attesting to the processes by which the works in question were refashioned: secretaries' copies to which the authors have made some revisions (Voltaire, Montesquieu, Buffon, Diderot);⁵ printed copies with marginal annotations and reformulations (Vico, Klopstock),⁶ and so on. Or, moving as it were "upstream" rather than "downstream" from handwritten drafts to notebooks with excerpts from the author's reading (Winckelmann) and marginalia in the books from the author's personal library (Voltaire, Alfieri),⁷ all of these may represent the initial impulse toward some new work or even contain the embryo of this work's final text.

4. The manuscript is preserved at the British Library (Add MS 4807).

5. For Voltaire, see Cronk 2012; for Buffon, see Flourens 1860. Some of Buffon's manuscripts, such as that of his *Époques de la Nature*, are preserved at the Paris *Muséum national d'histoire naturelle*. This particular manuscript is written in the hand of Buffon's secretary, Trécourt, and includes a large number of corrections added in the hand of Buffon himself. See Schmitt 2007.

6. For Vico, see Cristofolini 1999.

7. Voltaire 2009–2018. For Voltaire, see Pink 2018. For Alfieri, see Del Vento 2019a.

Within the space of a few decades, thanks to a growing interest and to several groundbreaking publications, an entirely new landscape has opened up regarding eighteenth-century manuscripts. This new attention paid to all the formerly unsuspected potentialities of the manuscript as a source for literary interpretation coincides with a moment of new and greater material proximity to this fragile and precious document. Sometimes reproduced in sumptuous facsimile editions,⁸ the manuscript as an accessible object places readers in a relation of familiarity to something which fascinates in its obsolescence; digitised, it can be displayed on computers and other screens, accessed, magnified, and scrutinised with an unprecedented degree of precision and continuity. Certain eighteenth-century manuscripts are presently emerging, in the form of spectacular digitised images, into a broader public consciousness after having long led an existence hidden under lock and key away from the gaze of all but the very few, such as the manuscript of Giacomo Casanova's *Story of My Life* which was acquired in 2010 by France's *Bibliothèque Nationale* and accessible on the website Gallica (Lahouati 2012), or the scroll of De Sade's *120 Days of Sodom*, declared a National Treasure in 2017 and acquired in 2021 by the BnF (see Delon 2020). Nevertheless, these manuscripts remain largely incomprehensible without some accompanying work of decipherment and genetic reconstruction, the only way to convey their true sense and meaning.

The impulse behind genetic criticism

Right from its beginnings, genetic criticism attracted the attention of eighteenth-century experts as an approach which might be of interest in the investigation of bodies of manuscripts of special complexity, such as those of Rousseau and Diderot. One of the first publications by what would later become the *Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes* (ITEM, 1982), *Les Manuscrits: transcription, édition, signification* (1976), was authored by two eminent eighteenth-century scholars, Jean Varloot and Henri Coulet. Varloot had been part of the team responsible for the great edition of Diderot's *Œuvres complètes*, published by Hermann, and Coulet had just participated in the creation of the Pléiade edition of Rousseau's *Œuvres complètes*, with particular responsibility for the editing of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. He had argued, for a time, that an edition of some of the draft manuscripts of the latter novel needed also to be published (Coulet 1976). The two authors, Diderot and Rousseau, whose practices were so different from one another with regard to preserving their drafts,⁹ found themselves placed side by side with Hugo and Proust at the core of an "ideal programme" for textual genetics. The editing of Diderot's

8. See Delon 2007. This work presents, in the form of facsimiles with transcriptions placed on facing pages, the "notebooks of set phrases", a collection of literary drafts and sketches, some of which were later to be used in the composition of *Crimes de l'amour* (1800).

9. Rousseau was in the habit of preserving numerous drafts and amended copies of the works he published during his lifetime: preparatory states of the text which thus co-exist with its final state, itself often revised even after printing; Diderot, by contrast, tended to preserve very few drafts or sketches, left many works just in manuscript form without publishing them, and had recourse to copyists who cleaned up his texts and multiplied the versions.

texts was to require a patient enquiry into the dizzying complexity of his manuscripts (both handwritten originals and copies) and to reveal that the drafts consisted in a fluid and mobile matter, obliging us to redefine the very notion of “Diderot’s text”: that is to say, to cease to conceive of Diderot’s writing as having one final and definitive text and to think of it rather in terms of a chronology of “states of text”,¹⁰ always susceptible of being called into question by the discovery of some new manuscript. This monumental edition of Diderot, then, was constructed on the basis of a lucid avowal of the principle of its own fragility.

Ever since then, the dialogue between genetic criticism and Enlightenment studies has never ceased, even if it has been intermittent. This dialogue entered a new stage with *La Naissance du texte*, a work published under the direction of Louis Hay in 1989. Considering that Rousseau’s numerous manuscripts make of him an “exemplary witness”, as Jean Starobinski notes in a programmatic text entitled “Approaches to Textual Genetics”, a critical imperative requires that one must “know everything and reveal everything” which is to be found in the writer’s manuscripts (Starobinski 1989: 210). In his view, this new critical horizon allows the theory of the text to reconceive itself through contact with the *avant-textes*:¹¹ an experience through which the act of criticism makes itself an “act of knowledge”, the work on drafts and manuscripts transcending a mere “listing of papers, sketches, notebooks and sets of proofs” to become a real “experience of thought” (Starobinski 1989: 211).¹² In a stance directly contrary to that of a criticism which had refused to take into consideration the drafts of literary masterpieces for fear of compromising the spontaneous admiration typically felt for the work of art – a stance which had already been challenged by Gianfranco Contini in Italy as early as the 1940s (see Contini 1992) – a new intellectual programme has emerged:

Countering “reception theory” by defining rather the axes of the act of production, genetic criticism establishes a new way of looking at literature. Its object: literary manuscripts, insofar as they bear the traces of a dynamic, namely that of “the text in its becoming”. Its method: the exposure of the body and of the course of the writing, coupled with the construction of a series of hypotheses on the concrete operations involved in this writing. That at which it aims: literature as a doing, as activity, as movement. (Grésillon 1994: 7)

An innovative series of three works, *Manuscrits de la Révolution* I, II and III, which appeared between 1991 and 1994, succeeded in producing a new level of knowledge by presenting a substantial interconnected body of manuscripts by authors of the French Revolutionary period (Didier and Neefs 1991, 1992, 1994). Amidst this effervescence, a work of historical clarification regarding the polymorphous universe of the eighteenth-century manuscript appeared, as

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10. See Varloot 1988. Several works and studies testify to the extent to which the works of Diderot have been the object of genetic-critical reflection: see for instance Didier and Neefs 1986; Kahn and Lorenceau 1994.
 11. With regard to the way in which literary theory can indeed be renewed and reinvigorated through contact with drafts and sketches, see especially the theoretical models presented in Ferrer 2011.
 12. All the translations into English in this chapter are by Alexander Reynolds.

if on cue: *De Bonne main. La Communication manuscrite au XVIII^e siècle* (1993), edited by François Moureau.¹³ While showing the survival of the manuscript into the *Ancien Régime* period (immediately preceding the French Revolution) as a form of circulation and “publication” of written works – and not just of clandestine ones – this publication at the same time alerted the reader to the traps set by the polysemic nature of this term “manuscript”, which can designate objects of a whole range of different uses and functions. The eighteenth century, far from being a world which had been swept clean of manuscripts by the triumph of the printed book, was rather one in which manuscripts continued to play a role much more important than the one usually ascribed to them, not only in the production of writing but also in its dissemination. With this important publication, a certain methodological prudence began to gain ground that is careful to distinguish things appertaining to the author at work in his study (i.e. manuscript sheets and preparatory drafts and sketches belonging to the sphere of literary creation itself) from things appertaining to dissemination (i.e. those handwritten gazettes called *nouvelles à la main*, clandestine literary texts attempting to elude the censor, or “manuscript books”, often cheaper to produce than printed ones). Nevertheless, this newly emphasised role of the manuscript as a vector of communication with the public must not be allowed entirely to obscure its more private function as the supporting medium of genetic work: a function which is also well attested to (see for instance Gésillon and Lebrave 2000). By this time a historiography of writing practices had emerged within whose frame it was proving possible to discern and define much more effectively the status of the literary manuscript and to pursue research upon a much more precisely mapped terrain. In 2012, the journal *Genesis* (34) devoted, for the first time, a special issue to the eighteenth century, *Brouillons des Lumières* (Ferrand 2012a), thus expanding the number of authors from this era for whom preparatory “genetic dossiers” have now been prepared without their having yet been made the subjects of consistent and elaborate studies. This is the case, for example, of the Encyclopaedist D’Alembert; the correspondent, novelist and playwright Mme de Graffigny; and, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the mathematician Laplace. We may say that around the time of this publication a certain “critical mass” of studies on individual authors was achieved, one which brought about a fundamental modification in the cultural physiognomy of this period as regards its production of handwritten texts. To immerse oneself in the many thousands of sheets of handwritten drafts and sketches left behind by D’Alembert is to discover an immensely variegated body of writing composed of scientific manuscripts, manuscripts for the *Encyclopaedia*, and manuscripts of literary eulogies which reveal D’Alembert’s intellectual practices and writing strategies in all the different facets of his activity (Feret, Guilbaud and Passeron 2012). Mme de Graffigny (see Ionescu 2012) – today an author unknown to the general public but a major literary figure in her time (the Mme de Sévigné, as it were, of the first half of the eighteenth century) – has left us the materials of a barely less exceptional richness, preserved today in large part at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale. Such documents give scholars the sense of dealing

13. See also Moureau 2006, especially Part Four. On the uses of the manuscript for the circulation and “publication” of texts in Europe in earlier periods, see Love 1993; Richardson 2009; Bouza 2010.

with the immediate vitality of an act of writing, the various living dynamics of which must be analysed, but at the same time also the sense of a materiality which bears and supports this living act of writing and conditions it in very many ways.

In this same special issue, a clarifying summary of the contributions made by codicology (Bustarret 2004, 2012) to the study of the manuscripts of eighteenth-century authors showed its determining role in the description of material bearers of texts. The eighteenth century was a period in which so-called “cotton paper” (or “rag paper”) was still made in small craftsmen’s workshops. The watermarks and dates which these craftsmen inserted into the weave of the paper help us to establish the dates of composition of certain pieces of writing by Montesquieu, Condorcet (Rieucan 2013) or Diderot and thus to better understand the place of a text in the evolution of an author’s thought. More and more studies emerge of the different sources and uses of writers’ paper depending on their physical location (Casanova in Bohemia; Rousseau in France, Switzerland and Britain etc.), and these investigations are also providing precious information. The codicological approach reminds us that, for a writer of the eighteenth century, the composition of a work often began with the composition of the materials needed to physically support the act of writing – a practice that persisted as late as Jane Austen’s time (see Sutherland 2015). Even if they sometimes did succeed in acquiring pre-manufactured notebooks, writers of this period very often also purchased large numbers of loose sheets which they then folded in such a way as to form a notebook, often threading the pages together with their own hand and sometimes going on to structure the graphic spaces thus formed by tracing onto them horizontal lines or some sort of framing pattern.

Furthermore, except in the cases where the writer’s personal wealth was such that they could delegate such material tasks to a secretary, they would cut their own quill, mix their own ink and, once they had covered a page in writing, powder its surface, so as to dry it, with what Rousseau romantically describes, at one point in the *Confessions*, as “a powder of azure and silver”, the traces of which can still today, sometimes, be observed to scintillate beneath the electric lights of our libraries.

A new landscape of “working manuscripts”

What, then, is the current situation? If one compares the case studies produced over recent years, encouraged by the growth of awareness of the importance of a writer’s unpublished papers and by that “allure of the archives” (*Le goût de l’archive*, Farge 1989) which has come to inform the literary domain, scholars today find themselves in quite a new position. Those early decades of the eighteenth century which had hitherto seemed especially poor in extant manuscripts¹⁴ have now been enriched by several substantial new corpora. Like Mme de Grafigny (see above), who also belongs to this period, Alain-René Lesage, the author of *Gil Blas*,

14. As Roger Chartier notes, “[t]he French example thus confirms the rarity, indeed the exceptionality, of authors’ manuscripts prior to the middle of the eighteenth century” (2015: 52). Although it comes after the English one, the edition cited here is the French one, since the text is slightly different.

only a very small number of whose manuscripts were hitherto known, can now begin to be studied in his playwright's "workshop" thanks to fruitful studies carried out among the holdings of the library-museum of the Comédie-Française (see Bahier-Porte 2011).¹⁵ The specialist in the work of the Abbé Prévost, Jean Sgard, even succeeded recently to pick up the long-lost trail of the archives of the famous author of *Manon Lescault*, although this trail led, unfortunately, to the bitterly disappointing discovery that this archive, long preserved along with some other family papers by some descendants of the writer, was destroyed in a fire during World War I (Sgard 2011). We do not know what exactly this lost archive contained, but it is significant that the papers which composed it were preserved by their author and indeed by his family for a long time after his death. How many other personal archives have known the same fate? As Roger Chartier notes, "The existence of literary archives put together by the authors themselves has profound consequences for the establishment of just what is to count as their 'work'" (2015: 64). Some of these "deposits" (as one might say, using the term in its geological sense) of handwritten drafts and sketches are of considerable size and substance, such as the manuscripts of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, which are now scattered all across the world, with three principal sites of conservation (Paris and Neuchâtel as of 1794, then Geneva from the end of the nineteenth century onward). Within these archives, to whose vast extent no exact figure has yet been put, one may estimate the part consisting of manuscripts directly relating to Rousseau's literary and philosophical work (i.e., without taking account, for example, of his correspondence) at around 17,000 pages. Some 70% of these represent more or less advanced states or stages of works *published* during the author's lifetime (see Ferrand 2022). We have to do here, then, principally with working manuscripts or with copies deliberately retained by the author even *after publication* of the work concerned, which throw light upon his "writer's workshop", his methods, and his literary and conceptual inventiveness, and which are rich in information regarding the destiny of writers' papers during this era. To a far greater extent, no doubt, than one has hitherto supposed, we find among authors of the Age of Enlightenment an "archival intention" (to borrow Monica Zanardo's apt expression) – that is to say, a desire to preserve things witnessing the geneses of their works, and not just in the cases of works left unpublished. Thanks to research carried out in the libraries of France and Spain, we now see scholarship on the libertine novelist Crébillon (*fils*), a contemporary of Prévost's, a writer for many years generally believed to have left us no manuscript at all, enriched by two separate handwritten drafts of what was to become his novel *Ah quel conte! Conte politique et astronomique* (1754), texts which provide us with some understanding of the work's genesis.¹⁶ At the other end of the century, thanks to the patience of scholars specialised in the work of Jan Potocki and research carried out in Potocki's native Poland, some light has finally been shed on the dizzyingly rich

15. For recent discoveries which throw light on the early years of the eighteenth century, see Cormier and Herman 2011 and Mele 2010.

16. A manuscript draft of *Ah quel conte! Conte politique et astronomique* by Crébillon *fils* has been rediscovered in the National Library in Madrid, along with another at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: see Crébillon 2001.

and complex authorial “workshop” which produced his *Manuscript Found in Saragossa*. As if transforming fiction into reality, these scholars have succeeded in discovering, in Poland, several of Potocki’s own manuscripts for this work and have been able to show how it was in fact executed in (at least) two versions (from 1804 and 1810; see Potocki 2006, 2008). Research currently being carried out in the Czech Republic aims to unearth some of Casanova’s manuscripts of which literary criticism has as yet made no use. But we are also presently seeing a fuller exploitation, this time from a specifically genetic perspective, of manuscripts already known to specialists in their respective fields. This is the case, for example, for the papers of Louis-Sébastien Mercier, an inventory of which was made in the 1970s. Jean-Claude Bonnet has begun to reveal their potential by exploring, for example, the “neologic nebula” represented by the thousands of worksheets which went into the writing of *Néologie* (1801), one of the last important works by the brilliant and prolific author (see Mercier 2009 [1801]; Bonnet 2019). Investigation of these matters now takes the form of a comparative methodological dialogue across multiple European spaces (Ferrand 2019a), e.g. between France and Italy. *I manoscritti italiani del XVIII secolo. Un approccio genetico* (Del Vento and Ferrand 2018) showed the astonishing fecundity of the literary archives of eighteenth-century Italian authors.

It is widely recognised now that these authors paid far greater attention than it was ever thought they did to their “papers”. For some among them, they were priceless treasures. As Gérard Lahouati notes, “When his final hour approached, if [Casanova] said that he ‘hated death’, this is because it would deprive him of that one ‘true treasure’ which bound him to life: his papers” (Casanova 2013: 1151). Such “scrap papers” awoke a real intellectual interest much earlier in history than one might be inclined to think. Already at the very start of the eighteenth century, in 1711, the famous historian and philologist Lodovico Muratori studied the manuscripts of Petrarch as part of his editing of the latter’s *Rime*.¹⁷ Aware of the criticism he would attract for taking an interest in the *embryos* and *minutiae* of a great writer, Muratori nonetheless affirmed the importance of analysing Petrarch’s erasures in order to understand that imperfect path, sown with ambushes and dead ends, along with ingenious escapes from these, which leads to the creation of a great work. Some years later, in 1759 in Leipzig, Lessing expressed a similar stance vis-à-vis Klopstock’s draft manuscripts: “The alterations and corrections which a poet of Klopstock’s rank makes to his own work deserve not just to be noted but to be studied with the greatest care. We must learn from these the subtlest rules of art, because the procedures which our artistic masters judge it proper to follow must indeed count as rules” (Hay 1993: 15). Thus it was that in the course of the eighteenth century, writers gradually acquired the habit of looking into the manuscripts of their peers and masters with a view to finding lessons in style, a habit given theoretical articulation at the start of the following century by Mme de Staël in her *De la littérature*.¹⁸ Making a literary pilgrimage to Ferrara,

17. Muratori, indeed, was only pursuing here an initiative taken already in the seventeenth century by his precursor Ubaldini. See Ferrand 2019b: 12–17.

18. “One might compose a treatise on style using only the manuscripts of the great writers. Every erasure supposes a horde of ideas which continue to inspire the mind even without the mind’s knowing it,

the city of Ariosto, in 1783, Vittorio Alfieri demanded to be allowed to peruse the manuscripts of the great author of *Orlando Furioso*. There is a curious testimony to this visit, since Alfieri somehow obtained authorisation to add to the very manuscript of his illustrious predecessor a surprising (putting it mildly) and sacrilegious (putting it less mildly) *graffito*: “Vittorio Alfieri vide e venerò, 18 giugno 1783” (Del Vento 2019b: 8).

These discoveries modify the perception which we have today of literary work and of the way in which the notion of authorship comes to be constructed in the relation of the writer to their own and to others’ manuscriptural practice. This manuscriptural practice, moreover, can be a collective practice, performed by several hands, in cases where authors surround themselves with various friends and collaborators. Mme de Graffigny, who often evokes the difficulties of the writer’s work in her *Correspondence*, coined in this regard a pretty neologism, namely: *pénélopade*,¹⁹ the reference being, of course, to the author’s unpicking and undoing, every day, whatever they have done in the way of writing the day before. Let us leave the last word, then, to Mme de Graffigny:

My God, how overworked I am! I spent the entire afternoon yesterday putting the final touches to the beginning of this damned novel I am writing with the Abbé. [...] Today the Abbé came to dinner again and I am just now leaving the workshop.²⁰ It is almost eight o’clock. This is the fourth time that I have rewritten the whole thing, even if I don’t count the many pieces of scrap paper on which I’ve written out a hundred different ways each sentence that requires a little polish. What an awful profession! I’d rather make boots.²¹

Acknowledgements

The present chapter is based principally on French-language manuscripts (a corpus which extends, in the eighteenth century, well beyond that of texts written within the frontiers of France), although certain examples will be drawn from other linguistic regions of Europe.

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and it would be interesting to identify all these ideas and to thoroughly analyse them” (Staël [1800] 1991: 387).

- 19. Letter to Devaux dated 21 March 1745, in Graffigny 1985–2016 (2000):273.
- 20. By “workshop” (*atelier*) Mme de Graffigny means her study.
- 21. Letter to Devaux dated 13 September, 1744, in Graffigny 1985–2016 (1997):465–466.

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1.1.4 The nineteenth century

Textual studies in an age of abundance

Seamus Perry

Classical textual theory based itself on the idea of an authorial manuscript which was almost always missing; but textual studies of the modern period, as theorised by McGann, face a different problem: not an insufficiency of data but a surfeit of it. In fact, not all nineteenth-century authors thought to preserve their manuscripts, but many did, and the abundance of material produced by this change in literary culture creates a whole new set of challenges for the textual scholar. Where does textual authority lie in a complex field of multiple texts, both in draft and in successive print editions?

Keywords: drafts, nineteenth century, curation, Jerome McGann, variants, manuscripts

The manuscript plays a central and paradoxical role in classical textual theory: it is at once the true object of study and the one thing that, as it happens, you normally lack. “When an author’s manuscript is preserved, this has paramount authority, of course”, wrote Fredson Bowers with breezy authority in a much-noted essay: “the editor must choose the manuscript as his major authority” (Bowers 1964a: 226). But in the case of the early modern texts with which classical theory was occupied there almost never *is* such a manuscript: the task of scholarship is, therefore, to try and re-create it, working backwards through the imperfect printed texts that do exist to the implied manuscript that preceded them, what Greg called “the author’s original” – “the manuscript that stood immediately behind the print”, in Bowers’s words, “the text directly underneath the printed copy”; or what G. Thomas Tanselle, Greg’s most thoughtful follower, calls “the text as the author wished to have it presented to the public” (Bowers 1964b: 3, 8; Greg 1966: 384; Tanselle 1976: 172). When Jerome McGann took on this tradition of textual theory in *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983), one of his major objections to the classical position was purely empirical: by the time you get to the nineteenth century, the predicament which Greg and the others had to address has simply changed. The problem is no longer an absence of manuscript testimony but an abundance of it: a logic of scarcity has been replaced by one of excess. “He was dealing with a period from which relatively few manuscripts have survived”, Tanselle conceded in an essay about Greg, “but can the same procedure be applied to texts for which manuscripts do survive?”. In response to his question: “Greg’s own answer ... I think it can be plainly inferred from his essay, would be Yes”¹ (That is Tanselle’s answer too; 1975: 181). McGann’s response was that having a problem of *too much* rather than *not enough* constitutes a difference in kind, not merely in degree: it is a “special fact about modern texts”, as he puts it,

1. For a succinct but cogent dissent from this view, see P. Gaskell 1999: 153, 190–191.

that they are typically “a work for which we have the author’s original manuscript” (1983: 58, 18). That was the state of affairs which classical textual scholarship most desired. Tanselle thought that an edition should base itself on an early text, “one as near to the author’s manuscript as possible, if not that manuscript itself”; but it is not always easy to get what you wish for (Tanselle 1981: 65). A Romanticist or Victorianist seeking to return to that primal authority will find, typically, that “that manuscript itself” contains all kinds of complication, even when there is a singular “manuscript itself” in the first place and not a plurality of them, containing different versions, second thoughts, deletions, abandoned versions – everything, in short, that might be gathered under the capacious heading of “draft” material. In McGann’s words, “the ancestral series” envisaged by classical theory finds itself “invaded by still earlier, pre-publication forms” (1983: 39).

Obviously, draft readings can become a subject of enquiry only within a literary culture that preserves evidence of them, which normally means hanging on to manuscripts after a work has gone to press. Pierre-Marc de Biasi observes a general trend: “because of significant cultural and intellectual changes that modified thinking and behaviour in Europe from the latter half of the eighteenth century on, literary drafts have been preserved with some care by the writers themselves throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” (1996: 28). George Eliot, for a good example, required the manuscripts of her novels to be returned after the typesetters had done their work – “*Please keep the ms for yours truly!*”, wrote her husband on her behalf to Blackwood – which she then had bound and presented to Lewes; and, after his death, she bequeathed them to the British Museum (Eliot 1954–78: iii.250).² But such self-curation was far from ubiquitous. In her own copy of McGann’s book Marilyn Butler put a sceptical question mark in the margin by the claim that a modern text is one for which we have manuscript material, perhaps mindful that for some of the authors she had herself studied, such as Austen or Peacock, the provision of manuscript evidence is nowhere near as full as it is for, say, Wordsworth or Byron.³ And it is true of many nineteenth-century authors that they show, by modern standards, a striking lack of interest in the fate of their manuscripts once publication has happened, and sometimes even if it hasn’t: when he belatedly got round to collecting his verse, Coleridge had to write to Lady Beaumont to see if she still had the lines addressed to Wordsworth that he had given her years before and of which he had kept no copy (Coleridge 1956–1971: iv.564). That was perhaps an unusual degree of negligence, but many authors do not seem to have made much effort to gather their papers into any sort of archive. “[M]any manuscripts which scholars and collectors would consider precious were simply discarded by printers”, writes Allan C. Dooley: “we should be more surprised when they survive than when they do not” (Dooley 1992: 18). That some (not many) of Matthew Arnold’s poetical manuscripts are preserved and not others, for instance, appears entirely a matter of contingency: a draft of 22 lines from “Dover Beach” seems to have survived because it was written on the same piece of

2. A note announcing the bequest was also published in *The Athenæum* on 18 July 1891 (“The Manuscripts of Georges Eliot’s Works”, 97–98).

3. Private collection.

paper as Arnold's notes about Empedocles, which really were worth keeping; and Arnold may even have tried to erase the lines (which are in faint pencil) to prevent their continued existence (Tinker and Lowry 1940: 173). Edward FitzGerald describes Tennyson heedlessly despatching leaves to the fire as they returned from the printers, and using bits of other manuscripts to light his pipe, which hardly implies reverence (H. Tennyson 1897: i.198). Tennyson told one visitor that preserving "all the trifles of a man of genius" was a "diseased craving"; and he professed impatience with editions that presented all the variants of the manuscript record because he found the footnotes so distracting (Knight 1897: 265, 267).

A consideration of draft material often shakes that sense of poetic "inevitability" invoked by a certain kind of aesthetic judgement – such as that voiced by Coleridge when he recalls his bold insistence that it would be "scarcely more difficult to push a stone out from the pyramids with the bare hand than to alter a word, or the position of a word, in Milton or Shakespeare" (Coleridge 1975: 12). That kind of veneration is what is at stake in an often-quoted passage from Lamb, in which he remembers gazing in dismay at the Trinity manuscript of "Lycidas" and realising that the words were, far from merely given, in truth "mortal, alterable, displaceable at pleasure"; but Andrew Raven is quite right to observe that Lamb actually conveys a deep fascination with what he comically deplores, and such complicated feelings about the draft go on to characterise many nineteenth-century writers (Lamb 1929: 358; Raven 2017: 88).⁴ Tennyson, for instance, made his views clear; but at the same time he admitted to liking "those old Variorum Classics – all the Notes make the Text look precious"; and an immense amount of Tennyson manuscript material has come down to us that makes such an edition of his own works possible, so even he was evidently not wholly immune to what de Biasi identifies as the emergent spirit of the age (Knight 1897; Tennyson 1987–93). Caring for manuscripts was not only the practice of the writers themselves: the survival of such a large amount of Tennyson material is due in good part to the loving attentions of his family, especially his elder son Hallam; and much the same is true of the immense collection of Wordsworth papers now cared for by the Wordsworth Trust. It must have been important to Wordsworth's sense of himself as a writer that he lived within reach of the archive of himself, but its curation was quite as much a family business as an individual pursuit. Coleridge, his friend and collaborator, lacked such self-preservative instincts as well as such a supportive circle: where his manuscripts survive it is usually through the actions of admiring collectors, such as his early publisher Joseph Cottle, who gathered together a scrapbook, doubtless as a kind of memorial of his young friend's brilliance, or Elizabeth Smith of Bownham House in Gloucester, who, wanting a sample of his handwriting for her autograph collection, was obligingly sent a copy of "Kubla Khan" by Southey (Stillinger 1994: 28; Kelliher 1994). The "cultural and intellectual changes" that de Biasi mentions are usually associated with shifting conceptions of authorship and notions of "genius", notions which encourage people to regard a writer's manuscripts as a memento of his or her extraordinariness and, at least for more scholarly readers, a record of the mystery of creative process; and such developments naturally foster habits of preservation and curation (Van Hulle

4. See also Chapters 1.1.2 and 1.4.1 in this volume.

2019: 4). It must have been a sense of the special genius of Byron which inspired Murray to gather such a horde of his papers in Albemarle Street, for instance: the claims of *Emma*, of which no manuscript survives, were evidently less compelling. George Smith seems to have hung on to the manuscripts of the Charlotte Brontë novels that he published for similarly reverential reasons, and, after his widow's death, they were presented to the British Museum as a national treasure: the novels of Charlotte's sisters were brought to press by a less tender-minded publisher and the manuscripts from which he worked seem to have been simply thrown away, the normal thing to do (Bell 1933: 79–80). Dickens's manuscripts (after *Oliver Twist*) were efficiently curated by John Forster, his biographer, who subsequently had all but a few that Dickens himself gifted to friends bound up with the author's working notes and presented them to the Victoria and Albert Museum. Gerard Manley Hopkins had what his editor calls "a priestly lack of solicitude for his artistic creations", but nevertheless came to think he should "keep my verses together in one place": this responsibility he chose to delegate to Robert Bridges, who largely constituted his readership ("You are my public", Hopkins told him) as well as acting as the curator of his archive and eventually as his editor (Hopkins 1990: xxxiv; Hopkins 2013: i.333, i.282). By the end of the century the instinct to preserve was becoming firmly embedded in the literary culture, as witnessed by the example of Thomas Hardy, whose manuscripts were judiciously distributed around the great libraries and museums, a process originally sparked by the enterprising Sydney Cockerell asking him if he might like to donate something to the Fitzwilliam. Hardy duly responded with *Jude the Obscure* and *Times' Laughingstocks*, and then, using Cockerell as both adviser and go-between, went on to present gifts to the British Museum (*The Dynasts* and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*), Birmingham Museum (*Wessex Words*), the Bodleian (*Poems of the Past and Present*), as well as the Library of Congress (*A Group of Noble Dames*) and the Royal Library at Windsor (*The Trumpet Major*) (Hardy 1978–2012: iv.178–179, 180–181, 182).⁵ Such largesse clearly implies a sense of the importance of the material, though Hardy was old-fashioned enough to admit himself "rather appalled at the temerity of presenting these old MSS", and he was grateful to Cockerell for his intercessions: "It would, I feel, not be quite becoming for a writer to send his MSS to a museum on his own judgment" (iv.181). When to his surprise, in early 1918, the manuscript of *Far From the Madding Crowd* turned up, he was content for it to be auctioned for the Red Cross, though with the gruff caveat "if anybody will buy it" (v.243). Perhaps his sense of the value of such material, both cultural and monetary, had grown by the time he drew up his will, in which the manuscript of *Moments of Vision* was left to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and *Winter Words* to Queen's College, Oxford. His motivation in both cases was gratitude for being elected to an Honorary Fellowship; this was also what lay behind Robert Browning's bequest of his later poetical manuscripts, handsomely bound in brown morocco, to Balliol College, which had elected him an honorary Fellow in 1867. The retention of these papers evidently represented a significant change of heart on Browning's part as few manuscripts of his earlier poems survive: *The Ring and the Book* does, but only because

5. See also the list of "Archives" in Michael Milgate's essay on Hardy in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

it came into George Smith's private collection (Dooley 1992: 19; and, in general, see Millgate 1992).

As in Hardy's case and George Eliot's and most of the others I have mentioned, the manuscripts that Browning gave to Balliol were printer's copy which had been returned to the author, though that does not mean they are textually very clean: according to its editor, for example, something like a fifth of the lines of *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day* show revision of some kind (Mynors 1963: 363; Browning 2009: 7). "She would wait patiently, searching for the right term, until it presented itself to her", said Elizabeth Gaskell of Charlotte Brontë: "She never wrote down a sentence until she clearly understood what she wanted to say, had deliberately chosen the words, and arranged them in their right order" (E. Gaskell 2009: 246–247). But even Brontë's unusually tidy manuscripts have changes in them: perhaps one alteration for every two leaves, estimates Margaret Smith, the editor of *Jane Eyre*, mostly local improvements in phrasing but some quite substantial in their implication (Brontë 1980: xxxi). Printing houses clearly did not expect their "fair copy" to be an immaculate presentation of the text as "the author wished to have it presented to the public", though those wishes might be more or less deduced: Dickens, for an extreme example, usually wrote against the clock and consequently sent off immensely complicated copy full of interlineations and erasures, though to judge by the minimal corrections effected in proof the printers seem to have managed pretty well (Butt and Tillotson 1957: 21). Generally speaking, quite a lot of revision is still occurring on the page in printer's copy, so trying to establish a distinction between genuine "rough drafts" and later manuscripts that merely capture a work's "*preparation for publication*" – that is, putting "the finishing touches to a text all but complete and only grooming its appearance by fiddling with a few minor details" – seems not to make much sense, or at least to describe a practical rather than a theoretical difference (de Biasi 1996: 30). Additionally, an author such as Browning, who seems in this respect broadly exemplary, clearly regarded proof stage as an integral part of the writing process: doing the proofs was "a good deal of resolute work", as he said, speaking of the labours on the proofs of *Parleyings* (Browning 2009: 7). Part of McGann's objection to the classical tradition was that the whole theory depended on a conception of lonely authorial integrity undone by the corruption of print – a conception which seemed simply to misrepresent the role that authors have very commonly played, working collaboratively with their printers and publishers and editors and proof-readers and all the rest, to bring their writings before the public. Austen seems quite prepared to have had her text revised by William Gifford at Murray's, for instance; and Clare frequently expressed gratitude for the interventions made by his publishers in his poems (Sutherland 2012: 123–126; Leader 1996: 206–261). The more "social" conception of authorship that arises from such examples was not McGann's invention, as he would be the first to say: in *A Critique* he cites prominently James Thorpe and Philip Gaskell, both of whom saw authorial intention realised within the collaborative process of publication rather than existing in its pristine form at the moment just before that process began (see for example Thorpe 1972; P. Gaskell 1972; both qtd in McGann 1983); and the implication of such a position is that proofs can also be construed as part of the "draft" history of a literary work. Proofs have a kind of double life, existing at once in the

world of print (because they are type-set) and also in the world of manuscript (because they are amended by hand); but since authors often make changes at proof stage that are new additions or re-thinkings, rather than merely the restoration of original manuscript readings that have been misrepresented by fallible printers, the inclusion of corrected proofs in any consideration of the draft seems in principle beyond dispute: such papers are, in Hannah Sullivan's phrase, "*draftier* than they look" (Sullivan 2016: 88).

Every thing, said Bishop Butler, is what it is and not another thing (Butler 1836: 24); and the other thing that every literary work is not is the work that it would have been had the decisions taken in draft not been taken. The great question, says Hans Walter Gabler, is "whether the process of the writing is, or is not, integral to the product of the writing"; but whatever the validity of the proposition in the abstract, the issue naturally remains notional in those many real-life cases in which we don't have a clue what "the process of the writing" might have been: readers of "Tintern Abbey" or *Wuthering Heights* or "My Last Duchess" will most likely remain forever untroubled by a knowledge of the history of their original becoming (Gabler 1999: 62). But in many other cases we do have traces of that history and it has an interest which is, loosely speaking, biographical: the drafts imply something about the development of a writer. There may be changes of addition (new words put in), omission (words struck out), replacement (words re-chosen), or re-arrangement (words swapped about); and from the appearance of the draft one may often infer the sequence of such changes so that the manuscript becomes a static picture that implies a dynamic "process", in Gabler's word. But, as he says elsewhere, the evidence provided by a draft "cannot be reduced to text only": this is perhaps the main principle of genetic criticism, yet even much older traditions of textual scholarship acknowledged the importance of what the Shelley scholar Neville Rogers called "manuscript surroundings" (Gabler 2018: 211; Rogers 1967: 44). For a start, as in Shelley's case, the manuscript may contain many things besides words, such as the curious but suggestive drawings that punctuate the maze of his manuscript writings, images which are in a literal sense unreadable but nevertheless obviously meaningful.⁶ In other ways, too, the manuscript may suggest contexts for composition which the printed text does not convey, such as traces of collaboration; or, by the physical proximity of the draft literary work to other sorts of writing, it may imply meaningful but unexpected connections at work in the author's mind. The contents of Shelley's notebooks are often extremely diverse, mingling fragments of verse with discursive prose and other notes, so that, say, "The Cloud" emerges in the company of a discussion of sexual ethics and statistical information about milk production; and the same is true, for example, of the notebook in which Wordsworth wrote the earliest lines of *The Prelude*, which also includes Dorothy's account of their travels in Germany and some notes on German grammar, as well as William's account of meeting Klopstock and a fragment of an essay on morals (Rogers 1967: 7–8; Wordsworth 1977b: 3). One draft of Wordsworth's *Home at Grasmere* is an especially interesting case: it is written in an interleaved copy of Coleridge's *Poems, on Various Subjects*, so that, for example, Wordsworth's broadly pantheistic lines about "Natures kind &

6. Shelley's drawings are discussed in Moore Goslee 2011.

It is naturally difficult to make any meaningful generalisation about the textual changes that drafts reveal: a range of examples seems the best thing to offer, and Wordsworth is a good place to start as his own twin habits of revision and retentiveness have left one of the fullest draft archives of all nineteenth-century poets: you could say, indeed, that his greatest long poem, universally known as *The Prelude*, a title he did not give it, is nothing but an archive of drafts. The poem evolved through fifty-two years of manuscript and never arrived at a settled version, so any reading text is a matter of more or less principled picking and choosing. “No two editors will come up with the same text of thirteen-book *The Prelude* (or of any *Prelude*, for that matter)”, Jonathan Wordsworth was fond of saying, with a kind of morose pleasure at the impossibility of it all: he calculated that seventeen distinct versions could be found, each the result of a phase of thorough-going revision, with much more associated material besides (J. Wordsworth 1992: 105, 88). The manuscripts show changes both within themselves and between them. Here, from MS JJ (in which the first stirrings of *The Prelude* appear – see Figure 1).

W
[?]ith what strange utterance did
wind
the loud dry
Blow through my ears, what colours
what motion did
The co the cloud
the colours of the sky
not
Wh The sky was then
no sky
Of earth & with what motion move the cloud,
As on the perilous brink cliff

ridge cliff alone
While on the perilous edge I hung
With what strange utterance did the loud
dry wind
Blow through my ears the sky seemed not
a sky
Of earth, and with what motion moved
the clouds

“The horizontal line marks a fresh start”, says Stephen Parrish, its editor (Wordsworth 1977b: 109): the material above the line seems written quickly, even impatiently, with imprecise deletions and misspellings and punctuation missing. Below the deep breath of the line he is gathering his thoughts, though clearly still improvising. The idea of the “colours of the sky” is dropped because, you could speculate, Wordsworth realised that this episode had to be principally sonic if the governing idea of nature’s punitive “utterance” was to work. But, as with Bushell’s suggestion that “edge” had to go because it was “too unspecific”, such a thought can only be speculation (Bushell 2009: 97);⁷ and in that case one could, after all, reflect that “edge” is the word for something concrete and topographical in the Lakes (as in “Striding” or “Swirrell”) – or that Wordsworth will go on to imagine his Boy of Winander at the moment when “the stars had just begun / To move along the edges of the hills” (V.391–392) and depict the “steep hill’s edge” from which poor Lucy Gray descends to her doom. The evidence of draft readings is more often intriguing than conclusive about authorial purpose. For comparison, the text that belatedly appeared in 1850 is this:

While on the perilous ridge I hung alone,
 With what strange utterance did the loud dry wind
 Blow through my ear! the sky seemed not a sky
 Of earth—and with what motion moved the clouds! (Wordsworth 1850: 17)

Wordsworth’s draft of the cliff-hanging boy is able to leave certain decisions unresolved (“ridge” or “cliff”?) that publication needs to see settled one way or the other. The 1850 text is obviously more formally presented: the punctuation is sorted out, and “my ear” has a poetic decorum. The changes are nowhere near as marked as they are elsewhere in Wordsworth’s long history of revision, a subject of perennial interest at least to his scholarly readers. To take just one example: the lasting psychological effect of moments such as the one he evokes in his cliff-hanging story is described as “fructifying” in the two-part *Prelude* of 1798–1799, but in later drafts as “vivifying” and, still later, as “renovating”, rewordings which are important as they imply rather different ways of thinking about the matter (Wordsworth 1959: 445).

You often get a similar sense of something working itself out in the draft’s vivid present tense in Byron. Zachary Leader judiciously singled out this stanza from *Don Juan* about Juan’s lovesick woes as an example of Byron at work, displaying a self-referential humour: the young man longs for

A Bosom on which he his head might lay,
 And hear the heart beat with the love it granted
~~And feel the nameless tumult~~

7. Although Bushell also imagines a literary critic thinking the word “too specific and narrow for Wordsworth’s desired communication” and replacing it with something with “a more topographical sense of context and scale” (92).

An eye for once might
 That heart which
 And feel the joy of loving doubled
 That
 And—several other things which I forget—
 Or which at least I need not mention yet.

(Leader 1996: 88, 89; and see Byron 1980–1993: v.39)

The draft represents a “series of false starts from which Byron turns in comic defeat”, as Leader says: the joke (“several things which I forget”) still works if you are reading the printed page innocent of any knowledge of its back-history, but it is funnier if you do know it (Leader 1996: 89). *Don Juan* has a special relationship with its draft prehistory because it has a perpetual interest in contingency and the possibility of things being otherwise – “*not* what *was*, / But what *was not*” (VI.437–438: Byron 1980–1993: v.316) – which is what, textually speaking, drafts often represent. The abandoned manuscript chapters of *Persuasion* and *Great Expectations* would be prominent examples on a large scale.⁸ On a smaller scale, for an example, Gerard Manley Hopkins writes as the opening line in his first two drafts of “The Windhover”: “I caught this morning morning’s minion, king / Of daylight’s dauphin”. But when he revised the transcription of the poem made by Robert Bridges he corrected the text by introducing a very daring line-break: “I caught this morning morning’s minion, king– / Dom of daylight’s dauphin”, doubtless (as Mackenzie suggests) to avoid the unwanted interpretation that the windhover was “king of the dauphin of daylight” when of course *it* is the dauphin itself (Hopkins 1990: 380). Splitting a word over a line like that might look like the sort of stylistic audacity that would come early in the life of a poem, but this one actually arose six years after the original draft. Hopkins made other changes to Bridges’s text too, one of the most interesting being the amendment of the poem’s climax, “pride, plume, here / Buckle! & the fire that breaks from thee then” to “pride, plume, here / Buckle! AND the fire that breaks from thee then”: his emphatic capitals reproduce in a different way the stress that had been signalled in the first two drafts by a *sforzando* sign, the significance of which Bridges had evidently missed (383). The insistence of the revision in draft is really telling you something here: it is when the falcon buckles that the fire breaks out most splendidly, just as Christ is at his most magnificent when most humiliated on the Cross, and this the capitals insist upon by saying, as it were, “AND” and not the word you might have expected to find here, “but” or “yet” or “nevertheless” or whatever else might be used to register simple contradiction.

Drafts often expose wordings that feel as though they must always have been thus as the result of having once been something else, though the critical significance of such a discovery will naturally differ from case to case. It is interesting to witness George Eliot reining in her animosity as she compares the education of Rosamond Vincy and Mary Garth: the parenthesis

8. In fact, almost none of the manuscript of the original ending of *Great Expectations* survives, but it was set in type before Dickens abandoned it and the proof is extant (see Dickens 2008: 443).

in “The two girls [...] had been at the same provincial school together (Mary as an articulated pupil)” began as “(Mary at the lower price which did not include such finishing touches such as lessons in getting in and out of a carriage)” (Eliot 1986; 1992: 106). A reader familiar with Tennyson’s poem “Tithonus” from the best-selling *Enoch Arden* volume might have been no less surprised to learn that the plangent line “And after many a summer dies the swan” had begun in a draft of thirty years before as “And after many summers dies the rose”: the revisions were effected in manuscript before Tennyson sent it to Thackeray for its first publication in the *Cornhill* (Tennyson 1987: ii.607). The longevity of the swan obviously makes better sense in the context than the brevity of the rose, and brings in the idea of the swan-song too, appropriate for a dramatic monologue voiced by one who is dying, albeit perpetually. Similarly, it is striking to watch the great line in A. E. Housman’s “The Recruit”, “And go, and luck go with you”, grow from “And luck to all your marching” to “And [?take] good luck from Ludlow” to “And keep your friends in mind, lad” to “And friends and home will mind you” to “You take their hearts to march with” and only belatedly to the final version. Striking, too, that a Housman adjective that looks like it must have been present from the very conception of its poem – “the thymy wold” – actually began as the rather drabber “midland” (Housman 1997: 5, 41). A related sense of concealed comedy is captured in the earliest surviving draft of Arthur Hugh Clough’s most famous poem. I imagine most people would have put money on “struggle” being one of the first things that Clough thought of when he sat down to write, but in draft the opening line reads:

Say not – the nought availeth

Norrington remarked that the poem we know might have been printed from this draft, though his reflection that “[t]he fourth word of the first line would need to have been supplied” rather begs a question (Norrington 1948: 33).

The work of drafting can be discerned in the absence of physical drafts, in circumstances where their existence can only be inferred by observing discrepancies between a surviving manuscript and its published version: we can surmise either a missing later manuscript sent to the printer in which the change was made, or, more plausibly in many cases, second thoughts that were implemented in proof. Some writers proceed, lamented a contemporary (Frederic Saunders, *The Author’s Printing and Publishing Assistant*, 1839), “as if they actually considered that they could not satisfactorily Correct their Work, until they saw it in print” (qtd in Dooley 1992: 35). Such things can be small improving tweaks, or tidying-up: in *Jane Eyre*, for instance, Bertha Rochester has a “dark” visage in the fair copy but a “wild” one in the first edition; “Reason sits on the throne and holds the reins” in manuscript, which is an odd thing to say, but in the printed text “Reason sits firm and holds the reins” (Brontë 1980: xxxiv, xxii, 203). Other changes can be more substantial: George Eliot significantly reworked the resonant closing paragraphs of *Middlemarch*, removing an acerbic reference to “the view that to renounce an advantage to oneself which might be got from the folly or ignorance of others is a sign of mental weakness” (1986; 1992: 824). Byron took the opportunity of proof stage to add two stanzas of contumely about Donna Inez in *Don Juan* (Byron 1980–1993: v.13–14). Other writers can be seen not adding but abandoning parts of their draft once the work moves to publication.

Dickens would often drop passages if he had inadvertently produced too much copy for the latest instalment: according to Butt and Tillotson it was normally the jokes that went (Butt and Tillotson 1957: 22, 97). There might be a good case for appealing to the authority of the draft in such circumstances and re-instating the cancelled passages in a modern edition, as there would for passages excised from a work by some external agency such a censor or a timid editor; but, to argue the other side, Dickens's decision not to retain them in the volume publication of the novel in question implies his final endorsement of the emergent text. Christina Rossetti, a very different case, also removed rather than added things as she moved from the privacy of manuscript to the publicity of print: McGann observes that she "not infrequently established her final texts by cutting away the original openings and conclusions" (McGann 1988: 210). So, for instance, the draft of "The Bourne", a cryptic two-stanza lyric, initially had a dozen verses which make clear that the enigmatic "we" of the published poem, beautifully haunted by the possibility of intimate address, was originally the clearly generalised "we" of a theological perspective. The loveliness of the tiny "Song" from *Goblin Market* lies in the enigma of its reference, but its manuscript version began with three stanzas that sketched in an explanatory frame narrative ("They told me that she would not live" ... "And so I sit and sing her song, / And muse upon the past"): the omission, which presumably occurred in a lost fair copy or in a strike-through on proof, makes for the much greater poem (Rossetti 1979–1990: i.142, 280, 40, 242–243).

Attending to draft material is of great value for the appreciation of nineteenth-century writers; but two caveats suggest themselves. One important fact that is difficult to keep fully to mind throughout is the inevitable incompleteness of the archive with which the critic is dealing: even in the case of Wordsworth or Tennyson, where the manuscript record that has survived seems extremely full, it is unlikely to be *complete* (and we have no way of knowing how incomplete it is) – so the stories we tell about composition are always likely to be full of holes in a way which is naturally difficult to theorise. And of course many poets write before they have ever got to paper: "*No one knows* what the poets have done with their verses, as they revise them in their mind before they are written down", said Tennyson, not unreasonably (Knight 1897: 267). A second point is that an emphasis on drafts (I am thinking here of early "genetic criticism") can work to diminish attention to what happens to works once they have been published: in an odd way, such an emphasis on the catastrophe of publication replicates the insistence of classical textual scholars on the priority of manuscript, but finds a different virtue in it – not straightforward authority but a new kind of pluralistic authority in which the unreadable pre-text dissolves into all its interesting possibilities. More recent practitioners of genetic criticism have properly recognised the significance of "*réécriture après publication*" (Mahrer 2017: 24). Van Hulle has theorised this textual phenomenon in terms of "epigenetics", a concept borrowed from biology where it nominates the effect that changing environmental factors have on the expression of an organism's unchanging genetic code (Van Hulle 2014: 20–21): publication is envisaged as a kind of exposure to an ecosystem of reception and response which naturally modifies the organism of the text. It is indeed difficult to see why the changes that authors make in successive editions of their writings should be conceptually distinguishable from those they made before those writings appeared before the world set in type – insisting

on their difference would, as Hannah Sullivan puts it, “invest the moment of publication with almost alchemical significance” (Sullivan 2016: 82). For instance, Hardy’s bleakly lovely line in “During Wind and Rain”, “Down their carved names the rain-drop ploughs”, was the fruit of a protracted labour which wasn’t all restricted to the covert life of manuscript: the first draft has “On their chiselled names the lichen grows”, which changed in its first printed appearances into “Down their chiselled names the rain-drop ploughs”, before finally becoming the line we recognise in the *Collected Poems* of 1923 (Hardy 1982–95: ii.240). Hardy is far from unusual in regarding his printed texts as, in a manner, perpetually draft-like: Whitman would be only an extreme example. “Aux yeux de ces amateurs d’inquiétude et de perfection, un ouvrage n’est jamais *achevé*, – mot qui pour eux n’a aucun sens, – mais *abandonné*”, Valéry said, thinking of his own *Cimetière Marin*, a sentiment popularised in the English-speaking world by Auden’s succinct version of it: “A poem is never finished, only abandoned” (Valéry 1957–1960: i.1497; Auden 2015: v.79). Sometimes the condition of the drafts and the publication history have a kind of reciprocity. Wordsworth had second thoughts about his poem “Old Man Travelling” once it was published in *Lyrical Ballads* (1798): there, it ended with six lines in which the enigmatic and emblematic old man spoke for himself, revealing the point of his painful journey; but the lines were cut in the edition of 1800 and subsequently as though Wordsworth thought them, on reflection, extraneous to the poem. The lines consequently have an odd half-life within the oeuvre, part of the poem and not part of it; and that sense of both belonging and yet not belonging is, you could say, already discernible in the fair copy manuscript, where the six lines are written in a different ink and appear to be a later addition to the first version of the poem (Wordsworth 1940–1949: iv.247). In ways such as these, the study of drafts and the study of post-publication revision enjoy a natural collaboration and may prove mutually illuminating.

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1.1.5 The twentieth century

Nib, type, word

Bryony Randall

This chapter offers an overview of tendencies in manuscript revision habits over the twentieth century, providing examples from twenty different writers. While the typewriter was already widely used by the end of the nineteenth century, handwriting remained the primary mode of initial literary composition until well into the twentieth; the first section of this chapter explores this practice and variations on it. Around mid-century, writers were more actively exploring the creative opportunities offered by composition on a typewriter. The chapter's final section explores the effect of word-processing technologies on authors' revision habits, as well as the advent of the "born digital" manuscript, and the challenge presented by the digital archive.

Keywords: revision, composition, editing, draft, holograph, typewriter, typescript, word processor, error, archive

The generation, and subsequent preservation, curation and archiving of physical literary drafts accelerated rapidly in the twentieth century. Developments in printing technology and material manufacture made it increasingly possible, practically and financially, for authors to revise their work and for publishers to accept multiple revised versions of a work before its publication. As paper became cheaper, and methods of reproduction proliferated, even relatively impecunious writers were able to produce multiple drafts of a work in the process of composition; well-known authors also became increasingly aware of the potential value (both artistic and financial) of their archive. But critics have suggested that the proliferation of the literary draft in this period was not simply a response to practicalities. Hannah Sullivan, in her book *The Work of Revision*, has argued that revision was effectively reinvented in the modernist period, by contrast with the emphasis on unmediated inspiration which governed Romantic aesthetics:

The association of revision and literary value is the legacy of high modernism and the print culture that nourished it. Modernist writers [...] used revision, an action that implies retrospection, not for stylistic tidying-up but to *make it new* through large-scale transformations of length, structure, perspective, and genre. (Sullivan 2013: 2)

While many may point out that there is extensive evidence for authors before the modernist period engaging in and valuing the process of revision, it is unarguable that revision was clearly highly valued, and extensively practised, in this period, as voluminous records of this process attest. As a result, Sullivan argues, by the mid-twentieth century frequent revision was not

just possible, but expected – as “revisedness” became a symptom of literary value’ (Sullivan 2013: 240).

This principle of frequent revision shows no signs of disappearing – indeed, it has become a mainstay of the practice and pedagogy of creative writing (see Sullivan 2013: 2, 240). And the innovations of the digital age have of course facilitated the embedding of the principle of revision, since – once one has made the initial outlay for a word processing personal computer – revision is effectively cost-free (at least in financial terms). A writer can delete as much of a work as she likes and start again, free of the concern for wasted paper or ink that might have troubled writers from earlier ages, and can indulge, in principle indefinitely, in the revision associated with literary value.

The key technological advance put in the hands of writers during the first part of the twentieth century was, of course, the typewriter. Commercially available from the 1870s onwards, by 1900 typewriters were also widely in use domestically. While there were still individuals whose job it was solely to type (now more often called typists than, as previously, also called “typewriters”), this new technology and the skill required to operate it was becoming so widespread as to make it highly likely that authors would do at least some of their own typing, although final versions for submissions to publishers were still invariably professionally typed. The standard approach was for authors to produce a first holograph draft, which might itself be revised in holograph; type up the draft (or have it typed); make holograph revisions to the typescript, and repeat as required until the typescript was ready for submission. There were of course variations to this practice. T.S. Eliot, for example, apparently preferred typewriting to handwriting – although he used both methods – having sustained a rowing injury to his hand as a young man (Ricks and McCue 2015: 549), and confirmed that he composed “partly on the typewriter” (Eliot 1959: np). Ford Madox Ford dictated drafts of his *The Good Soldier*, and the manuscript (with his own marginal insertions) is “probably the work of three amanuenses”, all writers themselves: H.D., Richard Aldington and Brigit Patmore (Stannard 1995: 179). Henry James famously dictated his work to his amanuensis Theodora Bosanquet, beginning in 1907; the possible correlation between James’s move to dictation and the prolix style of his later works has been frequently noted since, and its plausibility reinforced by Bosanquet’s description of James’s own exception to his usual practice: “Plays, and short stories, if they were to remain within the bounds of possible publication in a magazine, he usually wrote by hand, knowing that the manual labour of writing would be his best aid to the desired brevity” (Bosanquet 1924: 248). But James also revised Bosanquet’s typescripts by hand. Indeed the ubiquity of this particular practice was such that, as Sullivan puts it, the “classic genetic document of high modernism is a typescript with manuscript marginalia” (Sullivan 2015: 7).

Further revisions could then be added at proof stage, and depending on how accommodating the publisher was able to be, these might be extensive. For example, Eugene Jolas, editor of *transition*, the journal which published Joyce’s *Work in Progress* (eventually to be published as *Finnegans Wake*), described repeated correction of proofs which “in [Joyce’s] case, meant inevitably amplification and refinement of minutiae” (Jolas 1932: 252). In one instance, a four-page addition was sent to be published after the first four hundred copies of the issue had

been stitched; the journal having accommodated this addition, yet more last-minute corrections came by telegraph. This admittedly rather extreme example arose from the unusual relationship in this case between the publisher and the author, in which “[t]he publication schedule of *transition* more or less revolved around the availability of Joyce’s chapters” (Crispi et al. 2007: 22), as well as Joyce’s own distinctive, highly accretive, composition method. Joyce had developed early on, and continued throughout his writing career, the practice of writing down observations and reflections as they struck him on whatever material was to hand – including, for example, stationery provided gratis in restaurants (Crispi et al. 2007: 34). He would then incorporate these notes into his drafts, striking each through as he used them. Once this material was gathered into a continuous draft, Joyce continued to revise but “hardly ever deleted anything” (Attridge 2006: 58). Joyce himself described his process in striking terms, accepting the epithet “scissors and paste man” (Joyce 1966: 297), and elsewhere pronouncing himself – rather more positively – “one of the greatest engineers, if not the greatest” (Joyce 1966: 297). Conceiving of his work in this way meant he was even able, at one point, to consider the possibility of handing the final drafting of *Finnegans Wake* – once he had constructed its entire plan – over to someone else (Crispi et al. 2007: 23).

The composition process of Joyce’s contemporary Virginia Woolf was rather more conventional, and once established in her writing career her working day tended to follow the same pattern: in the morning she wrote drafts in longhand, usually in notebooks with a standard left-hand margin, and in her characteristic purple ink (her husband Leonard, also a writer, used green); in the afternoons she revised the work that she had typed up, sometimes more than once at different times (as evidenced by her use of different writing materials). But Woolf, like many authors in the age of type (and to this day), retained throughout her life a visceral relationship with the manual act of handwriting and its tools. Numerous diary entries record, only perhaps half playfully, her attribution of the ability to write in a certain way to the employment of a certain pen. In autumn 1918, finding herself unable to use her usual dip pen, she is compelled to “take a Waterman [a fountain pen], profoundly though I distrust them, & disbelieve in their capacity to convey the nobler & profounder thoughts” (Woolf 1977a: 207); six months later she disdains the “muffled respectability of a fountain pen” (Woolf 1977a: 250). Indeed, Ted Bishop, describing Woolf’s consistent preference for a dip pen called a J-pen, observes that she preferred the same nib that her mother used; reflecting on Woolf’s claims in her feminist polemic *A Room of One’s Own* that “We think back through our mothers if we are women” and “a woman writing thinks back through her mothers” (Woolf 1993: 69, 88), Bishop suggests that “with the J-nib Woolf was both thinking and writing back through her mother” (Bishop 2019: 12). “How delightful to feel [a sentence] form & curve under my fingers!” she exclaimed in a diary entry of 1935; “A typed sentence somehow differs; for one thing it is formed out of what is already there” (Woolf 1982: 286). Typing, she observes, “rigidifies the mind; as if ones hand were half numb” (Woolf 1977b: 507).

The argument that the process of typing inhibits fluency, flattens out originality, and stifles creativity, was perhaps most emphatically and influentially expressed in Martin Heidegger’s commentary from the 1940s: “The typewriter tears writing from the essential realm of the

hand, i.e., the realm of the word. The word itself turns into something ‘typed’” (Heidegger 1992: 81). Heidegger observes that – as Woolf’s own frequent apologies for typing letters also suggest – “in the time of the first dominance of the typewriter, a letter written on this machine still stood for a breach of good manners”; and goes on to state that “Mechanical writing [...] degrades the word to a means of communication [...] it conceals the handwriting and thereby the character. The typewriter makes everyone look the same” (Heidegger 1992: 81). Rex Ferguson quotes the media theorist Friedrich Kittler in a passage which summarises this nexus of attitudes towards the typewriter:

As Friedrich Kittler puts it: “The typewriter became a discursive machine-gun” (if this language seems hyperbolic we should consider the fact that Remington were predominantly gun manufacturers). Amongst other things, what this machine gun hits, and kills, is the presence of unique individuality in the writer’s words. (Ferguson 2014: 51)¹

But examining how writers in the twentieth century have, in fact, employed or responded to typing as part of their revision or composition process produces a more nuanced picture.

The process of typing – whether by an author themselves, or by another – is of course associated with the introduction of error. There is no equivalent for the “typo” in a handwritten manuscript; the occasional slip of the pen or poorly formed letter, perhaps, but in handwriting such things tend to fall on a continuum, rather than what usually appears as a clear case of the wrong letter, missed punctuation point, or even omitted line. However, the relationship between typographical error and the literary draft is complex. There are of course frequent examples where typescripts significantly departed from what was contained in the previous document. A particularly egregious example is described by the General Editors of the Cambridge University Press edition of D. H. Lawrence: “the occasion when a typist turned over two pages of MS at once, and the result happened to make sense” (Boulton 1992: vii). The text thus mistreated was Lawrence’s 1923 short story “The Ladybird”. Neither Lawrence nor anyone else apparently noticed the error, however, and the story was published and republished without the two missing pages, until the passage was printed for the first time in 1973 (Finney 1973: 191–192), and restored to the story for the first time in Dieter Mehl’s 1999 edition for Cambridge University Press. Lawrence was far from being unusual in apparently overlooking – whether deliberately or otherwise – departures from his manuscript in typed versions. Joyce, for example, while being “as attentive as he could be to the errors the typists inevitably introduced [...] rarely checked this newer text against his own previous version” (Crispi et al. 2007: 34); “the errors and mistakes that were then introduced in the process of typing up became an important part of the textual history of the novel” (Sullivan 2015: 7; Sullivan has *Ulysses* specifically in mind here but the claim applies across the body of Joyce’s work – see Creasy 2011).

The particular difficulties that might arise where the lexical, syntactical or typographical innovations of modernist texts meet the errors that typing might introduce are nowhere more

1. Ferguson goes on to critique this stance; see also Connor 1999.

Authors also found the typewriter more amenable to composing certain types of texts, and different elements within texts. For example, Ernest Hemingway's mixed, if meticulous, literary composition process began with him making longhand drafts, in pencil, on onionskin typewriter paper, while standing up. Each page, as it was completed, was clipped face down on top of the previous one. It was only "when the writing is going fast and well, or when the writing is, for him at least, simple: dialogue, for instance" Hemingway moved to use the typewriter (Hemingway 1958: np). He began writing his correspondence on a typewriter in early 1917, and his typewritten letters also display idiosyncrasies which (*pace* Heidegger) make it clear that "[t]ypewriters do *not* make everyone look the same" (Allen 2014: 106). Indeed, Hemingway's fondness for the typewriter was such that he composed a playful ode to his new Corona typewriter in 1921, appreciating the machine's machine-gun acoustics (Allen 2014: 102).

Hemingway's switching between writing tools can perhaps be taken as representative of a gradual shift which took place "around mid-century from using the typewriter primarily as a device of remediation – for typing up – and using it as a primary compositional tool" (Sullivan 2013: 254). Tennessee Williams apparently composed his work largely on a typewriter (Williams 1981: 146), as did Lawrence Durrell for his prose works, though not his poetry (Durrell 1998: 50). William Trevor began writing short stories when he was employed by an advertising firm, finding himself with time on his hands and access to a typewriter (Trevor 1989: 112). Rather surprisingly, while Joyce Carol Oates composed her early novels on a typewriter – "first draft straight through, then revisions, then final draft" – she subsequently shifted to drafting in longhand (Oates 1978: 202). For some, however, the aesthetics of type itself, together with the particular physical process of typing, was integral to the creative process.

Perhaps the best-known instance of an author actively embracing typing as a medium for composition is Jack Kerouac's 1957 novel *On the Road*. Truman Capote's oft-cited assessment of Jack Kerouac's work – "It isn't writing at all, it's typing" (qtd in Goody 2011: 117) – is the ultimate popular expression of a Heideggerean negative attitude to typing: as something not only different from, but anathema to, the creative process of writing. Capote's jibe is of course intended as an assessment of the quality of the product, not simply a description of the process, but no doubt was also intended to evoke the widely circulated myth (initiated by Kerouac himself) that *On the Road* was composed in a matter of weeks, in a single paragraph, on a continuous roll of typewriter paper. In reality, the famous scroll of *On the Road* was composed of sheets of paper cut and taped together, and Kerouac's writing was informed not just by his own spontaneous inspiration, but by notebooks, letters and a chapter guide (Cunnell 2007: 23–24). But nevertheless, Alex Goody suggests, "the typewriting is central, a way for Kerouac who, as friends recall, was an amazingly fast typist, to channel and record directly, to reproduce the immediacy of subjective experience", indeed that "it is through typewriting that Kerouac perceived his ideas of spontaneous writing" (Goody 2011: 118). What is more, the appeal of the analogy between the single paragraph of visually consistent type flowing out of the typewriter, and the long, straight roads of the United States, is of course clear, and no doubt encouraged the perpetuation of the original myth.

Another writer in whose work one detects an intrinsic relationship between the typewriter and aesthetic form is Frank O'Hara, the mid-century New York poet for whom "speed and spontaneity were of the essence" in his creative process (he is particularly well-known for his so-called lunch poems, composed during his breaks from his paid employment in the Museum of Modern Art), and who exclusively composed his works on a typewriter (Perloff 1977: 6). O'Hara conceived of his relationship with the typewriter as equivalent to that between a pianist and his instrument; as Marshall McLuhan would later observe, "[s]eated at the typewriter, the poet, much in the manner of the jazz musician, has the experience of performing as composition" (McLuhan 1964: 283–284). Marjorie Perloff describes the effect on O'Hara's verse form of his "playing the typewriter", producing texts that with his "special emphasis on speed and spontaneity" he rarely revised by more than a phrase or two (Perloff 1977: 6).

Perloff argues that O'Hara's attachment to the typewriter as writing instrument generated an emphasis in his works on "visual prosody" (Perloff 1977: 6), which may seem inapt to the musical metaphor. But O'Hara's contemporary Charles Olson also wrote about the creative benefits of composition on the typewriter in terms which help explain the connection: "It is the advantage of the typewriter that, due to its rigidity and its space precisions, it can for a poet, indicate exactly the breath, the pauses, the suspensions even of syllables, the juxtaposition even of parts of phrases, which he intends" (Olson 1997: 245). Brendan Gillott's commentary on the value that Olson attached to apparent typographical errors also clarifies the ways in which the apparent drawbacks of composition or reproduction on a typewriter might in fact have benefits: "the usefulness of typos in this context is twofold: they register the energies of the moment, the immediate blow of the typewriter, thereby preserving the scene of writing precisely in the inscriptive act; equally they [...] delegitimis[e] the idea of poetic production as concerned with textual perfection, mastery or virtuosity, with that conception of art as superlative craftsmanship" (Gillott 2018: np). Typographical error, here, becomes both an important way of recording the scene of composition, and aligns with a de-hierarchised literary aesthetic.

Composition by type, with all its particular characteristics, is fully embraced in the 1960s and 1970s. One striking engagement with the typescript form is Andy Warhol's novel *a*, where the typescript was published as the final version, taking advantage of the fact that the typewriter "gave the writing body an immediate means of producing a standardised, seemingly completed, type-based text" (Benzon 2010: 92). As Paul Benzon puts it, "the content of *a* is simultaneously initial, transitional, final, and residual" (Benzon 2010: 104); it represents all the various states that one might expect a work to inhabit, within one single document. However, of more influence and longevity is the genre of typewriter poem, often seen as a subgenre of concrete poetry; key practitioners of the form include Sylvester Houédard and Bob Cobbing. While typewriter poems may have gone through more than one version, they are by definition composed on typewriters and fully exploit opportunities for experimentation with the nexus between the visual and the textual that the regularity of type provides; both the typewriter poem and typewriter art remain (contiguous) forms of interest to contemporary creative practitioners (see for example Spinoso 2020).

During the 1970s, 80s and 90s, the typewriter remained a key tool for the production of literary drafts. In a 1978 interview, Margaret Drabble explained that

I really just rattle along [...] because I've always been short of time [Drabble was bringing up a young family]. I've always been saving up the time to work so that by the time I actually get to the typewriter I usually have a very good idea of what I've got to get through. It's all there waiting. (Drabble 1978: np)

As a result, Drabble explained, she rewrote very little. Marilynne Robinson describes her own writing practice similarly, decades later, "Most of my revision occurs before I put words down on the paper" (Robinson 2008: np). Other writers of course revised extensively on the page. Philip Roth's composition process involved the production of

a hundred pages or more before there's a paragraph that's alive. Okay, I say to myself, that's your beginning, start there; that's the first paragraph of the book. I'll go over the first six months of work and underline in red a paragraph, a sentence, sometimes no more than a phrase, that has some life in it, and then I'll type all these out on one page [at the time, on an IBM golf-ball typewriter]. Usually it doesn't come to more than one page, but if I'm lucky, that's the start of page one. (Roth 1984: 217)

When asked whether he would ever begin with an ending, he responded "For all I know I *am* beginning with an ending. My page one can wind up a year later as page two hundred, if it's still even around." (Roth 1984: 218). The difference between these writing processes may be one reason (among many, no doubt) why Roth's archive at the Library of Congress comprises 255 boxes, compared to 90 in the Drabble archive at the University of Cambridge; Robinson's (admittedly an author with a less voluminous fiction output than the other two) at Yale, to date contains only sixteen.

It is perhaps surprising how frequently late twentieth and even early twenty-first century authors opt to draft their work longhand. Some, indeed, embrace what might be seen as the problematic qualities of longhand composition: the novelist Kazuo Ishiguro describes wanting his initial drafts – written by pen on a desk with a writing slope – to be "more or less illegible to anyone apart from myself" (although since he transferred a significant archive, including some handwritten manuscript drafts, to an archive at the Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas, in 2015, he presumably conceived these as potentially decipherable by others). He describes adding thoughts as they occur to him without reference to "style or coherence". Ishiguro uses this material to "plan the whole thing out" and then more carefully writes out subsequent drafts, revising individual passages frequently but rarely going beyond a third full draft (Ishiguro 2008: np).

But by the final decades of the twentieth century, a new writing instrument of course became available to authors which would dramatically change the process of revision: the word processor. Ted Hughes described how in the early 1980s a children's writing competition, for which he had for many years acted as a judge, suddenly received much longer works than in previous years: "these were pieces that children had composed on word processors", char-

acterised by being “very inventive and always extraordinarily fluent [...] but without exception extremely boring. [...] Every sentence is too long. Everything is taken a bit too far, too attenuated”. He found that his own experimentation with composing directly onto a typewriter also generated longer, and more eloquent, works, but always preferred writing by hand, with all the physical and psychological resistance that process entails, finding that “things become automatically more compressed, more summary and, perhaps, psychologically denser”. “I think I recognize among some modern novels,” said Hughes, “the supersonic hand of the word processor uncurbed” – comparable, as Joyce Carol Oates also comments, to the prolixity of Henry James once he started dictating his work (Hughes 1995: np; Oates 1978: 202).

Around the turn of the twenty-first century, then, we find authors with a range of writing technologies at their disposal: handwriting, typewriting, word processing, and also voice dictation, which by this stage could be done straight into a machine rather than via an amanuensis (as employed by the author Richard Powers; see Van Hulle 2014: 235). Major authors such as Don DeLillo and Julian Barnes were still composing on typewriters in the 1990s and into the 2000s; Barnes objecting that word processors “tend to make things look finished sooner than they are” (Barnes 2000: 83; DeLillo 1993: np). Barnes’s commentary suggests the need for some level of estrangement from one’s own work which some authors clearly regard as an important part of the revision process. John Berryman, for example, placed drafts of his poems under glassine to prevent him from touching them as he contemplated them for hours at a time; he would then add corrections and repeat the process until he was ready to type the poem up (Berryman 1972: 198). By contrast, Ian McEwan was a “grateful convert to computers”, finding that “word processing is more intimate” than the typewriter, which he reflects on as a “gross mechanical obstruction”. Rather than experiencing word processed text as prematurely finished, McEwan enjoys “the provisional nature of unprinted material held in the computer’s memory” and the potential this offers for constant reworking (McEwan 2002: 40–41).

A generation of authors are now emerging whose work is born digital: drafted and even revised entirely on screen – although evidence suggests most writers still print out drafts on which to edit by hand (in a recent survey of 118 emerging writers, only 8.2% wrote using digital formats only; Becker and Nogues 2012: 495, 496). The radical transformation in the way an author might conceptualise the draft brought about by word processing technology is perhaps best expressed in Zadie Smith’s description of her, admittedly quite unusual, revision process. Because Smith edits as she goes along, “there are no first, second, third drafts. There is only one draft, and when it’s done, it’s done” (Smith 2009: 107). This might imply an impoverishment of the literary archive; a scholar investigating Smith’s revision process will, on the face of it, have no access to material they can examine themselves, and only Smith’s own commentary, such as it is, to go on. But the picture in relation to born-digital material is more complex. For example, the question arises of where revisions might be found other than on the document of the draft itself. Smith eschews the internet, both as consumer and producer, as part of her writing practice in any case; she famously acknowledged the internet-blocking software she had used while composing in her novel *NW* “for creating the time” (Smith 2012: 335), but also avoids what she sees as the distractions of social media. By contrast Margaret Atwood has embraced

the internet in many forms, including keeping blogs, being active on X (formerly Twitter), and self-publishing work online. The fact that Atwood has shared so much of her work online, and indeed incorporated feedback she has received online into revised versions of her work, means that evidence of her composition and revision process might be found scattered across X feeds, websites and possibly other social media. However, and while it has long been true that evidence of revision to a text might be found on various documents not restricted to the draft itself (indeed that this is so is a key principle of genetic textual scholarship), the forms in which revisions to Atwood's texts might be found are widely dispersed, and potentially ephemeral.

The question of ephemerality seems to be a particular concern in relation to born-digital material, including the problem of hardware and software becoming obsolete and the degradation of materials, such as floppy disks, on which digital drafts may be found. In responding to this challenge Dirk Van Hulle argues that “[c]hange cannot be prevented, but it can be curated” (Van Hulle 2014: 239); after all, the problem of the degradation of material objects is not a new one to archivists and textual scholars. However, critics have taken different positions on the broader implications of the digital draft – or “digiscript” (Van Hulle 2014: 231). Observing that “a writer producing born-digital poetry or fiction can censor or alter an already active work without leaving any traces of the action”, Sullivan has proposed (following David Greetham) that we might now find ourselves in a situation comparable to scholars of the pre-modern period, with access only to a finished text (Sullivan 2013: 269). Rather than necessarily lamenting this situation, however, Sullivan suggests that desiring access to material traces of revision might be a symptom of an “outmoded notion of what text *is* [...] carrying forward from print the idea that texts present themselves in discrete versions” (Sullivan 2013: 268). Van Hulle, however, makes a case for the value of technology which, for example, can register every keystroke made on a computer, or indeed the auto-save functions automatically included in more recent word processing packages, and concludes that “[t]he research object of genetic criticism therefore does not seem to be vanishing in the computer age, but rather the contrary” (Van Hulle 2014: 238, 240). From this perspective, the problem for the (textual) scholar of twenty-first century literature may not be a paucity of draft material, but an excess. While “[m]ore than 25,000 pages survive of the textual record of *Finnegans Wake*, a book of just 628 pages” (Crispi 2007: 31), these figures may be dwarfed by the voluminous quantities of draft material potentially available to the digiscript scholar.

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1.1.6 The twenty-first century

From paper notebooks to keystroke logging

Lamyk Bekius & Dirk Van Hulle

In the twenty-first century, the digital medium has become an indispensable part of the literary writing process and can hardly be neglected in the study of the literary draft from this – yet very recent – millennium. In this chapter, we examine four manifestations of the twenty-first century literary draft on a spectrum ranging from fully analogue to fully digital: the paper draft of Ian McEwan's *Atonement*, the self-archived digital draft of Bart Moeyaert's *Het paradijs*, the hybrid draft of Gie Bogaert's *Roosevelt*, and the keystroke logging draft of David Troch's story "Mondini". These types of drafts offer their respective levels of granularity to examine the writing process, and especially the latter type of draft presents us with a hitherto unprecedented degree of detail, opening up the document's nanogenesis.

Keywords: genetic criticism, analogue draft, digital draft, hybrid draft, born-digital literature, writing process, keystroke logging, nanogenesis

Introduction

When the literary draft or "modern manuscript" became an object of study in its own right (either as an aspect of bibliography or as the central focal point of genetic criticism), it was almost self-evidently thought of in terms of ink on paper. The past few decades have seen a rather fundamental shift from analogue to digital writing processes, and the question arises whether the discipline's object of study is disappearing. Initially, the increase of digital working methods led to the fear that this heralded the end of genetic criticism (Mathijsen 2009). Since then, several explorations of the digital literary writing process that explore digital files, file formats, and media types (Vauthier 2016; Vászari 2019) or use computer forensic techniques to research the digital files (Ries 2018), have proven this doomsday scenario to be unwarranted. It is true that, given the speed of current digital developments, literary drafts are likely to appear increasingly – if not mostly – in a digital format. Yet, this does not imply the obsolescence of pen and paper. This chapter examines four manifestations of the twenty-first century literary draft on a spectrum ranging from fully analogue to fully digital to show the wide range of possibilities to study the literary draft in the twenty-first century:

1. The paper draft is still quite popular amongst writers of the twenty-first century, especially in the early stages of their work's genesis, as for instance in the case of Ian McEwan's *Atonement*.

2. Digital drafts provide an often-random snapshot of the writing process, concealing the intermediate steps, as in the digital drafts of Bart Moeyaert's works.
3. Hybrid drafts, in which analogue material is used in combination with writing in a digital environment, illustrate the interaction between analogue drafting and digital writing in present-day writing processes, as in the genesis of Gie Bogaert's novel *Roosevelt*.
4. In writings recorded with keystroke logging software, however, the information about the key-ins challenges genetic criticism's traditional focus on, among others, cancelled and substituted words for our understanding of the creative process. In addition, the software also captures the moment in time of each keystroke, which enables a reconstruction of the sequentiality and duration of the writing and the revisions, as in the keystroke-logged drafts of David Troch. Moreover, this new kind of material allows us to examine the writing process on a hitherto unprecedented level of granularity, enabling a new type of nano-genetic research (Bekius 2021; Van Hulle 2021).

Most genetic studies of born-digital writing processes work with self-archived born-digital materials received directly from the authors in question (see, for example, Vauthier 2016; Crombez and Cassiers 2017; Vászari 2019). And so are we. We therefore want to stress that this study is far from comprehensive and merely draws the contours of a spectrum of shapes that the literary draft is taking in the twenty-first century.

The paper draft: Ian McEwan's *Atonement*

At the beginning of the century, many writing processes were hybrid, as in the case of *Atonement*, a novel whose first part takes place in 1935 at the estate of the Tallis family (McEwan 2001). The beautiful love story between Cecilia Tallis and the housekeeper's son, Robby, takes an unexpected turn when Cecilia's younger sister, the thirteen-year-old Briony Tallis accuses Robby of a crime he did not commit. The accusation is based on an incorrect observation, which is ironic since Briony takes pride in her observational skills as an aspiring writer. Although McEwan made use of a computer to process his text from a certain moment onwards, large parts of the first draft were written in large, green A4 spiral copybooks, held at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center in Austin, Texas. In the first sketches, starting on folio 21v of "Notebook 1", McEwan initially tried to use the character Robbie as the main focaliser. But he soon realised that this "privileged access" to Robbie was a "dead end". Asking himself questions in his notebook, such as "What is good about this story?", he self-critically concludes that it is "Only Briony really", because of her role as "the writer, the watcher, the fantasist" and because of her "eagerness to stretch the language" (HRC, McEwan, *Atonement*, Notebook 1, Box 1, Folder 8, fol. 30v; qtd in Van Hulle 2022: 35). This moment of self-interrogation suggests an important role of the draft as a vehicle for critical self-reflection.

The conceptual note already indicates that the story is narrated at the "end of the century", which marks the novel as a conscious effort to look back and evaluate the century from a literary point of view. In many ways, *Atonement* is indeed a retrospective analysis of literary

Modernism's legacy. But at the moment of the conceptual note, early in the creative process, the author was not sure yet who would be the narrator. He temporarily considered the possibility that Briony, realising her terrible deed, would commit suicide out of shame, and that Cecilia would tell the story as an 88-year-old. This brief consideration was soon dismissed, however, by means of the addition: "but she's dead!" (HRC, McEwan, *Atonement*, Notebook 1, Box 1, Folder 8, fol. 30v; qtd in Van Hulle 2022: 36) The whole point of the plot is, indeed, that the narrator imagines a version of the story in which the lovers survive the war, whereas they have actually died, separated from each other. In the conceptual note, the nature of the "violent moment" is not decided yet; it could be "even a murder", or "A rape?", but what is already clear is that the "Story is an atonement". And then, as if McEwan is developing his thoughts on the novel as he is writing them down, he decides who will be the victim and who the real rapist; what will be the nature of Briony's "terrible deed": "Briony names Robbie – who goes down. Only after the death of her older sister, sixty-five years later, can Briony reveal, in fiction, her terrible deed" (HRC, McEwan, *Atonement*, Notebook 1, Box 1, Folder 8, fol. 30v; qtd in Van Hulle 2022: 35). The concept for the novel does not yet correspond entirely with the plotline of the published version – because eventually McEwan will see to it that Cecilia also dies during the war, as does Robbie – but the note does contain the basic elements, including the central notion of "atonement". It not only concerns the plotline, but also such narratological matters as the choice of focalisation, shifting it from Robbie to Briony.

McEwan does make use of the computer, but mainly as a word processor, in a similar way as twentieth-century authors used a typewriter. At regular intervals, a version was printed out, on which McEwan made corrections. All these drafts suggest the importance of being able to be not only a writer, but also – and importantly – a reader of one's own work. Even in the digital age, paper still seems to be an excellent medium to take a distance from the act of writing and to re-vise, literally, to look again at the text produced so far and let it affect the ensuing creative process.

The self-archived digital draft: Bart Moeyaert's *Het paradijs*¹

The Flemish author Bart Moeyaert (1964 –) provided us with a USB-stick with the digital drafts of the Haydn trilogy – a project with the Nederlands Blazers Ensemble (NBE). The trilogy consists of *De schepping* [Creation] (2003), based on Joseph Haydn's "Die Schöpfung"; *Het paradijs* [Paradise] (2010), based on "Die Jahreszeiten"; and *De hemel* [Heaven] (2015), based on "Die Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuze". The texts by Moeyaert were both performed as a family concert and published as children's books. In 2020, the stories were collected in *Het hele leven* and marketed for adults (Moeyaert 2020). The files of the trilogy were arranged by the author per title. In this section, we will analyse only the content of the digital files, although it is possible to even dig deeper and discover "hidden" layers by means of digital forensic tools, when the original hard drive is available (Ries 2018).

1. Unless otherwise stated, all translations in the following sections are by Lamyk Bekius.

The files for *De schepping* confront us with the limits of self-archived material for genetic criticism. The folder contains only one Word document with a version of the text, called “NED_Boek_DeSchepping kopie.doc”, and one Word document with two revisions “AanpassingDeSchepping kopie.doc”. For *De hemel*, on the other hand, the extant material is abundant. The folder lists 50 documents, revealing not only the long history of this story, but also showing how the writing processes of different works were intertwined. The folder of *Het paradijs* contains 26 files, which will be the focus of our brief analysis. Of these, 24 files hold versions of the text at different stages of composition.²

In an interview with Karen Ghonem-Woets, Moeyaert stated that during writing he was aware of the potential danger that he would just be writing the story of creation all over again (Moeyaert in Ghonem-Woets 2012: 87). For as long as he had the sense that he was repeating a trick, he would never be able to finish the story. Therefore, he looked for other perspectives. First, he considered approaching the topic from the perspective of God, but that idea did not work either, “het gaf niet de minste spanning. Mannetje, vrouwtje, appel, slang” [it did not generate the slightest tension. Man, woman, apple, snake] (Moeyaert in Ghonem-Woets 2012: 87). It is this search for another perspective and interpretation of the creation story that emerges from the digital files. Moeyaert started writing from the perspective of a male first-person narrator, but then decided to approach the story from the perspective of God, also as first-person narrator.

This search for the right focalisation already transpires in the file names, ten of which indicate that the story is being told from God’s perspective.³ As soon as the story was written from this perspective, the apple and snake entered the stage as well. One of the documents mentions the tree of knowledge for the first time: “En ginds staat de boom waar ik jullie van gesproken heb vóór jullie vertrokken – weet je nog welke boom dat was?” [And over there is the tree I told you about before you left – do you remember which tree it was?].⁴ An allusion is also made to the presence of the snake: “De kop zag er ongeveer hetzelfde uit als de staart. De toekomst gleed

2. The first file was created on 20 February 2009, and last modified on 23 June 2009 (‘N_PROBEER_vanhetparadijs kopie.doc’). The last file was created on 20 February 2010, and last modified on 27 April 2010 (‘PARADIJS_BM_DEFFERSIE kopie.doc’)

3. ‘HET_PARADIJS_MOEYAERT_18_02_2010_GODSTANDPUNT kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_240210GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_250210GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_280210GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_020310GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_030310GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_040310GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_050310GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_080310GOD kopie.doc’;
 ‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_090310GOD kopie.doc’.

4. Modified by Moeyaert on 3 March 2010 (‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_030310GOD kopie.doc’).

nagenoeg geruisloos tussen de benen van de man door.” [The head looked nearly the same as the tail. The future slipped almost silently between the man’s legs].

In the next document, dated 4 March, these allusions to the tree and the snake are made more explicit. God now clearly states that the man and the woman are not allowed to eat from this particular tree, and God recognises the snake of which he had made only one.

The paragraph about the snake is modified and expanded in the next document (last modified on 5 March 2010). The following insertions that Moeyaert made in this document foretell the evil that comes along with the snake: “De camelia die daarnet nog zoet geurde, stonk ineens naar bagger” [The camellia that had smelled so sweet only a minute ago, suddenly reeked of dredge] and “Hoe dan ook werd de man sissend het zwijgen opgelegd. De lucht knetterde zachtjes en ik dimde het licht” [Anyway, the man was hissed off. The air crackled gently and I dimmed the light].

The following document (dated 8 March 2010) mentions that the woman talked to a few animals, most of which did not reply. This version also refers to an apple. The woman suggests giving the name “apple green” to a particular shade of green. Then she asks whether he is in the mood for apple pie or perhaps prefers a change. He wants change, she wants apple pie. What this version does not clarify, however, is whether the woman thinks of apples and apple pie because of her conversation with one of the animals.

That is what becomes clear in the next document (dated 9 March 2010). The man finds the woman with the snake on her lap. After her conversation with the snake, she is hungry. All these adjustments fit in with Moeyaert’s search for the right perspective. As long as he kept writing from God’s perspective, the story remained focused on a man, a woman, an apple, and a snake.

But then, in the file created only the day after, the perspective suddenly changes again: the story is no longer narrated by God but by a male first-person narrator.⁵ As soon as God was no longer present, Moeyaert seems to have felt free to also discard the tree and the snake. He could write his own book of genesis. Only the apple pie remained.

The files given by Moeyaert indicate that the amount of information one can find in digital drafts is tied to – and largely determined by – the author’s working method and his habits of saving the files. Intermediate stages within one document might be discovered using digital forensic methods, e.g., a hex-editor, a binary parser, an undelete tool or a file carver (Ries 2018). But even without these techniques, the digital files by Moeyaert already indicate that, in case the author saved intermediate draft stages, a digital writing process can leave sufficient traces to enable genetic analysis.

The hybrid draft: Gie Bogaert’s *Roosevelt*

For each of his novels, the Flemish novelist Gie Bogaert (1958 –) divides his writing process into two stages. During the first stage – “the creative process” as Bogaert calls it – he makes notes in an Atoma notebook.⁶ This special kind of notebook allows him to rearrange the pages and

5. Dated 10 March (‘HET_PARADIJS_BARTMOEYAERT_10_03-10 kopie.doc’).

insert all kinds of other documents. In the notebook he devises the concept and the structure of the novel, writes character descriptions, and inserts source material, including printouts from digital sources. This notebook has to give him a sense of being “finished” before he can start with the second part of the writing process: the “linguistic creative process”. This part consists of the actual writing of the novel, which takes place digitally in a word processor. Bogaert’s drafts are therefore hybrid; they are partly analogue and partly digital.

Bogaert used the same working method to write his tenth novel *Roosevelt* (2016), with one difference: the “linguistic creative process” was logged with the keystroke logging software Inputlog (Leijten and Van Waes 2013). Inputlog is developed to be as non-intrusive as possible; the author writes in a word processor they are already familiar with – in this case Microsoft Word – and in the background the software logs every keystroke and mouse movement. In addition to collecting keystroke information, Inputlog also saves the Word document in a separate folder with the date and the session number each time the software is activated and de-activated. This results in a “session-version” of the text for each session, which enables researchers to examine the text’s gradual development. In this section we will primarily focus on this concept of the session-version.⁷ By focussing on the microgenesis, we want to address the relation between the analogue notebook and the digital Word document in Bogaert’s writing process.

Roosevelt is a city novel with a square – the Franklin Roosevelt square in Antwerp – as its central narrator, describing the whereabouts of an eclectic range of characters during one warm day in June. Since the square is not only one of the narrators but also the most important setting, descriptions of the square can be found throughout the novel. To account for realistic descriptions of the square, Bogaert went to the actual Franklin Roosevelt square in Antwerp to observe and make notes of everything that caught his eye. For example, the section narrated by the square, “Franklin”, within the overarching chapter “Vier uur” [Four o’clock] describes the urban scenery on the square at the start of the afternoon rush hour. For this timeframe, Bogaert wrote in the notebook, among other things, that it is getting more crowded; that a lot of busses and trams pass by; that he smells people’s sweat, deodorant and perfume; that a tram shows advertisements for Turkey; that someone splashes water at somebody else; and that the police officers stop a group of adolescents for ignoring the traffic light. To the latter note he added: “conversatie weergeven?” [show conversation?].

During the second phase, the “linguistic creative process”, Bogaert uses the word processor to transform his observations into observations made by the square Franklin. Some appear almost in the same wording in the novel as they were first written down in the notebook, while

6. This is how Bogaert, in a private conversation, described his own writing process. He elaborates on the importance of the Atoma notebook for his writing process in a video for the Belgian publishing house Standaard Uitgeverij: <https://youtu.be/EhRFiw-RZOY>

7. We will discuss the keystroke logging data in more detail in section 4, as we focus on the draft material of David Troch.

others are modified more extensively or serve as inspiration for a dialogue. Whenever Bogaert uses one of his observations, he marks it with a tick.

In total, there are 23 session-versions of this section narrated by Franklin. The first session-version of this section was written during writing session 267 (30 March 2015) and consists of a short list, which addresses the afternoon rush and refers to the relevant section in the Atoma-notebook: “Over de namiddagdrukte. K. 78!” [About the afternoon rush. K. 78!].⁸ This note indicates Bogaert’s plans to incorporate some of his observations in this section.

In session 285 (27 April 2015) Bogaert deletes the preparatory note and inserts a fragment of text that he had apparently already written elsewhere. In this fragment, some of the observations from the notebook are already included. During the writing session, Bogaert adds even more observations based on the Atoma notebook, such as the note about the police and the boys; the observation that a tram shows advertisements for Turkey, and that a boy splashes water at a girl. This latter observation is also slightly modified: “Een jongen spuit water naar meisjes” [A boy splashes water at girls] is changed into “Kijk hoe die jongen water spuit naar meisjes” [Look at that boy splashing water at girls]. This modification changes the general remark into a statement by Franklin, addressing the reader and urging them to “look”. Modifying sentences to make an appeal to the reader’s spatial and sensory imagination is exemplary for the transition from note to draft during Bogaert’s writing process.

The modification that addresses the readers’ spatial imagination can be related to a note, in a smaller font, that Bogaert inserts in the next writing session and in which he listed several verbs in the imperative mood that are related to looking, smelling, and listening. During this session, Bogaert immediately starts putting this into practice. For instance, next to the general note “Sweat odours” he adds “Do you smell the sweat?”. In addition, after the question “Hoor je ze?” [Do you hear them?] – “them” being smoking bus drivers – he adds some utterances of the bus drivers about passing women: “Amaai, zo’n kont” [Wow, what a butt]. Bogaert also starts changing some details from the observations, for example, in session 286, the tram publicity for Turkey is now advertising more specifically for Istanbul. This session-version therefore shows how making things more specific is the key to the gradual contextualisation and fictionalisation of the observations.

In sessions 287 to 290 (28–30 April 2015) Bogaert keeps refining and contextualising the observations from the notebook. He writes the dialogue between the police officers and the boys who ignored the traffic light – as he planned in the notebook. In session 287, the sentence about the tram advertising for Istanbul is modified again; now it is a tourist bus advertising for Istanbul. In the course of session 289 all the notes Bogaert wrote to himself have been addressed and deleted.

After session 290, another 14 sessions follow to finetune this section narrated by Franklin. In these sessions Bogaert mainly focuses on refining the formulations by making surface revisions (on the level of the word and the sentence). Again, the advertisement for Istanbul is a

8. “K.78” refers to page 78 in the Atoma notebook (Bogaert’s numbering). It concerns the page that contains Bogaert’s notes from the square, specifically those made at four o’clock.

good example, for it is changed two more times. The first modification, in session 291, changes the structure of the sentence from “Een toeristenbus maakt reclame voor Istanbul” [A tourist bus advertises for Istanbul] to “Op een toeristenbus wordt reclame voor Istanbul gemaakt” [On a tourist bus, Istanbul is being advertised]. In the second modification, in session 292, Bogaert specifies that the tourist bus is advertising *a summer holiday* in Istanbul. Details from the initial observation during the writer’s initial “field trip” on the square are thus gradually and systematically chiselled to make the contours sharper. Sometimes, however, this careful chiselling goes so far that it is simply undone. That is what happened to the sentence about the advertisement: it eventually did not make it into the published text.

In Bogaert’s writing process, notes from the notebook are often first typed out and then gradually become more specific. Content wise, the whole novel is almost entirely conceived on paper, and the digital part of the genesis is mainly a matter of linguistic and stylistic processing. As Inputlog saved the Word document at the start and end of each writing session, the result is an abundance of data to analyse the interaction between the analogue “creative process” and the digital “linguistic processing”.

The keystroke logging draft: “Mondini” by David Troch

We discussed Bogaert’s drafts with a focus on the microgenesis by analysing the inter-document variation between the session-versions. As such, we disregarded the keystroke logging data and therefore also the exact order of the intra-document text production. That is what we would like to focus on in this chapter’s last section. When the writing process is recorded with a keystroke logger, the draft versions (including the keystroke logging data) contain valuable information about the sequentiality of text production and revision. These fine-grained keystroke logging data enable a new type of nanogenetic research. Central to the nanogenesis is the author’s movement through the text, which can be deduced from the order in which the text was typed; the way in which letters and words were deleted; passages abandoned mid-sentence; and the exact sequence of the production of new text and revisions (Bekius 2021). To illustrate the fine granularity of keystroke logging, we will discuss an example from the writing process of the Flemish author David Troch (1977 –) as he worked on his story “Mondini” (Troch 2020).⁹ The story is set in a post-apocalyptic future. A man fled from the drought and heat caused by climate change and lost his partner and daughter on the way. He now tries to survive on his own, in a small apartment in a mountain village in Italy, called Mondini.

In the final version of the story, there is a clear connection between the second and the tenth paragraph. In the second paragraph, the narrator muses on how much the interaction between people has changed: people used to wink at each other, flirt, buy each other a drink,

9. For the NWO funded project “Track Changes: Textual Scholarship and the Challenge of Digital Literary Writing” (Huygens Institute and University of Antwerp), David Troch logged his writing process with Inputlog between 8 August and 4 October 2020. We owe a debt of gratitude to Floor Buschenhenke, who assisted the participating authors in logging their processes, and of course to Troch, for his willingness to participate.

share a cigarette, and end up in bed with each other. In the tenth paragraph, the first-person narrator recalls a memory of his partner Evelina. One of the things he remembers is that she came home after buying cigarettes, and that, after a series of minor events, she lit a cigarette and offered one to him in exactly the same way as after the first wink she ever gave him.

When first reading the second paragraph, the reader could interpret it as a description of how people used to interact *in general*, like winking at each other and sharing a cigarette, before climate change affected the world and made people fear each other. Only when the reader gets to the tenth paragraph does the second paragraph acquire additional meaning. After reading this *particular* memory of Evelina offering the first-person narrator a cigarette in exactly the same way as after that first wink, the reader understands that the sentence in the second paragraph was not just a description of old, long-gone – yet very recognisable – behaviour, but a description of how the first-person narrator met his partner. She was the one who winked at him, they flirted with each other and shared a cigarette and later the bed. This raises the question when the connection between these two paragraphs was made. Was this connection already present from the moment those paragraphs were both incorporated in the document or was it only established later in the writing process?

The reconstructions of Troch's writing process show that he only made this connection explicit in the 24th writing session: on 27 August 2020, Troch adds to the narrator's description of Evelina in the tenth paragraph that she offered him a cigarette in the same way as she did after that first wink. Only now does it become explicit that the cigarette mentioned in the second paragraph is not just any cigarette. The particular memory would be of little interest without the recognisability of its general character, while the general statement would have been rather bland without the *couleur locale* of the particular memory. It is the combination that turns this into good literature.

Thanks to keystroke logging, it is now possible to see when the author made that connection. The nanogenetic analysis shows that this actually happened much earlier than session 24, namely in session 15: on 19 August 2020, Troch started this session by revising the second paragraph, making the description of the interaction between people more specific. Before the revisions, the paragraph stated in rather colourless, general terms that people used to greet each other, have a chat, and maybe even invite each other for a drink. After the revisions, the sentence specifies that people greeted each other, flirted with each other, offered each other a glass, and ended up in bed with each other. But there is no mention of the cigarette – yet.

After these revisions in the second paragraph, Troch continues making revisions, he adds new sentences to the story, and makes a decision as to the name of the narrator's partner: Evelina. He adds her name to a sentence in the tenth paragraph about imagining that she has just gone out to buy some cigarettes. Re-reading this sentence was therefore most likely the incentive for the subsequent revisions. Immediately after changing the name in the tenth paragraph, Troch moves his cursor back to the second paragraph to add: "shared a cigarette" and "winked at each other".

By means of the nanogenesis, we can infer that the addition of sharing a cigarette was triggered by the rereading of the sentence about Evelina. The moving of the cursor between these

revisions allows us to see that Troch made a connection between the sentences in paragraph two and ten in session 15, which means that he envisioned this relation long *before* this connection is made explicit in the text in session 24. In this way, the nanogenetic analysis provides information about how this cohesion in the text is established during the writing process and, indirectly, it may also shed light on the cognitive processes involved in (creative) writing as studied in writing studies according to models such as the ones proposed by Linda Flower and John R. Hayes.

In Hayes' 2012 model of the writing process, the various cognitive functions at work in a writing process are categorised as "proposer", "evaluator", "translator" and "transcriber" (371). The "proposer" is the part of the mental writing process that suggests an idea; if the "evaluator" agrees to it, the "translator" translates it into a linguistic form, after which the "transcriber" is activated to create the actual written text (Lindgren et al. 2019). The (external) text produced so far is, in Hayes' model (2012), therefore controlled by the internal transcriber. But as Lindgren et al. observe, the interaction between the text produced so far and the internal writing process remains ambiguous, and they state that there are dynamic ways in which the text produced so far may feed into the internal writing processes (2019: 348). After re-reading the text, the author might be dissatisfied with certain parts of it; in that case "the proposer would suggest a new idea that is evaluated and translated into linguistic form before being transcribed" (348). It is this "feedback loop from the text produced so far into the internal writing process and back again" that we see at work in the example above (348). Troch re-read the sentence about Evelina going for cigarettes in the tenth paragraph; this led to a suggestion of the "proposer" that is then being evaluated, translated into linguistic form, and eventually transcribed into the second paragraph. In other words, without the possibility to "enter the author's mind", the fine granularity of nanogenetic data does enable us to come closer to an understanding of the underlying cognitive processes.

Still, what the "proposer" suggested remains internal and the approximation of these internal cognitive processes may be asymptotic: we can come closer, but the curve may never meet the line at any finite distance. Numerous questions remain unanswered. Were the additions about the flirting meant to make this a personal memory, and did the "proposer" suggest adding the cigarette to the second paragraph after Troch was reminded that Evelina smoked while re-reading the tenth paragraph? Or was the second paragraph still intended as a general description and was the addition of the cigarette primarily proposed to indicate that smoking was also something typical of the past? Or did the re-reading itself prompt the idea of colouring the general description with a personal memory? Or was it something completely different? This indicates that even when we have access to nanoscopic data of the writing process, internal parts of the writing process can still not be fully understood. However, this does not diminish the fact that we can get closer to the writer's decision-making process than ever before.

Conclusion: Levels of granularity

Whereas, at the beginning of the century, critics were pessimistic about the future of the literary draft as an object of research, recent developments in genetic criticism show that the shift from analogue to digital does not necessarily entail the disappearance of research data. Instead of a lack, there is sometimes an abundance of traces, and it is this new overload of information that we are learning to cope with. In the case of keystroke logging software applied to born-digital works, the data may not be “traces” but rather “records”, but what the resulting granularity of data opens up is a new level of nanogenetic research. The question now is how useful this nanogenesis is for genetic criticism.

First, it is simply a matter of *Dasein*. The author’s willingness to log their writing process constitutes unique data of this process, and with it, a unique opportunity for genetic criticism. To the question why he wanted to climb Mount Everest, George Leigh Mallory answered: “Because it’s there” (Green 2005; Van Hulle 2007: 12). In the same manner, we can argue that we should not squander this opportunity. The data is there, why not investigate its potential? Then again, is it relevant to know that at 5:54 pm, or 5:54 and 35 seconds to be pedantic, a writer typed the word “speling” and one second later corrected the typo? Probably not, but this is also not the reason why a nanogenetic analysis may be interesting for genetic criticism.

Second, to take on another metaphor, it is precisely a nanogenetic analysis that increases the probability of finding the needle, such as a meaningful revision campaign, in the haystack of keystroke logging data. To imagine the potential of this development, it is useful to end with a small thought experiment, supposing Franz Kafka would have written *Das Schloss* on a computer. At the draft stage, there was a remarkable shift from a first-person to a third-person narration. Dorrit Cohn examined the shift in the novel’s manuscript: “all *ichs* [are] subsequently deleted and replaced by *K.s*” (Cohn 1968: 28). Cohn observed that “[t]he *K.* initial was for the first time directly placed into the manuscript toward the beginning of Chapter III of the published text, in the course of the first dialogue with Frieda in the bar of the Herrenhof” (29). She therefore argues that (the difficulty of) the writing of this scene with Frieda may have invoked the shift in person, but clarifies that this is, naturally, not entirely certain: “it may well be that Kafka’s motivation for transposing the manuscript worked by slow accumulation rather than sudden insight” (41).

But if we, hypothetically, imagine Kafka writing *The Castle* on a computer and logging his writing process along the way, we may then also imagine gaining a better understanding of the temporal aspect of this *K.* revision. For example, we would be able to investigate the time that elapsed before the first *K.* appeared in the text – did Kafka pause before writing the *K.* or did it happen in one flow? We would be able to examine whether the first directly placed *K.* was written prior to the substitutions of the *ichs* by *K.s* in the manuscript or whether he started the first-person to the third-person revision before continuing writing the third-person narrative directly.

Cohn also tried to discover which other revisions in the relevant part of the manuscript could be connected to the *K.* revision. Only for three out of ten revisions that Cohn listed as

possibly connected with the *K.* revision was she able to tell with certainty that they were made during or after the *K.* revision. Trying to uncover this based on keystroke logging data would not cause any uncertainties since the order of the revisions would be extracted from the data. It goes without saying that this is only the order of the *actions* of the revisions and not an indication of the moment the *idea* for the revision came to mind. But nevertheless, the keystroke logging data reduce the speculative element when we make connections between writing actions. Why then would we rather dismiss than explore the potential of this unique type of twenty-first century draft?

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