

SPATIAL COMPARISON

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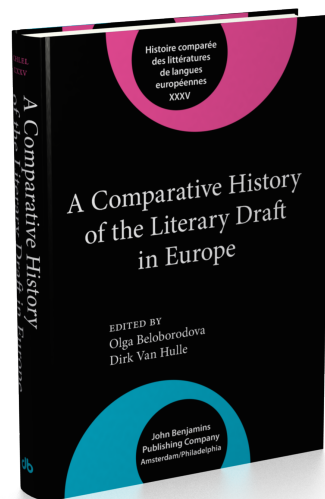
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A Comparative History of the Literary Draft in Europe

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Much like the previous one, the present section covers a lot of ground in more ways than the most straightforward – geographical – one. Moving roughly from North to South, the section is predictably diverse, and yet a number of elements seem to recur with astonishing frequency. One of these elements is drafts as an instrument of nation-building: this is especially clear in the chapter on Eastern European traditions (1.2.3). In a number of Eastern and Central European countries that suffered under European imperialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, drafts by local poets served as sources of inspiration to fight for their independence and claim their statehood. Caribbean postcolonial drafts, though geographically far removed, display a similar trend (Chapter 1.2.9): local Caribbean authors are keenly aware of their colonial past and emphasise their distinctive position in a range of ways, which leads to an extraordinary tradition that disrupts the entrenched distinction between private manuscripts and published books.

Another common element – closely connected to the previous one – is the treatment of drafts as objects of veneration, in the wake of the cult of national poets from the late eighteenth century onwards (such as Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz, Pessoa, to name but a few, in random order). Especially notable is the emergence of textual (and later genetic) studies as a discipline as a consequence of conscious and comprehensive manuscript preservation strategies deployed by authors such as Goethe and Hugo. In this connection, the donation by Hugo of his archive to the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Chapter 1.2.6) is a gesture whose importance cannot be overestimated. Arguably the oldest tradition of manuscript study is the Italian one (Chapter 1.2.7), as the tradition of preserving and studying autograph manuscripts goes back to the times of Petrarch, which partly explains the richness and deep theoretical grounding of this tradition. By contrast, Scandinavian and Finnish traditions are relatively young, but the range and scale of interest in manuscripts – as Chapter 1.2.1 demonstrates – is nonetheless impressive.

In some countries, the study of literary drafts was once permeated by ideology and censorship, which fortunately did not stand in the way of the emergence of a particularly strong and influential school (see Chapter 1.2.2 on the Russian tradition). Other traditions, such as the German one, are overshadowed by the dominance of one author's legacy (in this case, Goethe), and are trying to find a way to break through this dominance (see Chapter 1.2.5). By contrast, the chapter on Anglophone traditions (1.2.4) discusses a range of methodologies that have developed over time and across national borders. Drafts on the Iberian Peninsula (Chapter 1.2.8) are in turn marked by a linguistic diversity that reflects the heterogenous composition of the area and that is worth a comparative study in its own right.

1.2.1 Nordic traditions

The study of modern Finnish and Scandinavian manuscripts

Sakari Katajamäki

In the continental Nordic countries, the relatedness of the Scandinavian languages Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, and the status of Swedish as an official language of Finland have contributed to the transnational interaction in textual scholarship and edition philology. Historically, especially the Romantic, nation-oriented thought has influenced the way in which literary archives have been assembled and organised. In the twentieth century, many extensive Scandinavian and Finnish editorial projects of canonised nineteenth-century writers have had an important impact on the availability and usability of archival sources, and have enabled academic training in the use of literary manuscripts. Thus, even the most recent trends in the study of literary drafts are historically based on the infrastructures, practices and scholarly traditions derived from Romanticism.

Keywords: edition philology, genetic criticism, Finnish literature, historical-critical editions, Nordic literature, Nordic networking, Romanticism, Scandinavian literature, textual criticism, writers' archives

Introduction

According to the local Nordic definition, the concept of Scandinavian literature refers to the literary cultures of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, but in the typical English usage, it also includes two other Nordic countries, Finland and Iceland. In both senses, Scandinavian literature shares many cultural features and historical developments and, furthermore, borders in northern continental Europe have changed several times over the centuries. Old Norse and later especially three modern Scandinavian languages – Danish, Norwegian and Swedish – that mutually are rather easily understandable, have furthered the interchange of literary models and ideas. At the same time, they have facilitated the passage of literary influences from other European countries and other continents. Swedish is also the other official language of Finland and historically the dominating language of the literature written in Finland. Until 1809, Finland was a part of Sweden.

Historical affinities between the Nordic languages and existing language barriers have naturally influenced the Nordic scholarly community. Being a Uralic language, Finnish is not understandable on the basis of Scandinavian languages, whereas Icelandic belongs to the Scandinavian languages but is too remote for parallel language use. However, literary sources written in Old Norse connect many Nordic scholars who study medieval literature.¹

1. In English, the history of Nordic literature is included in the *Histories of Scandinavian Literature* series (University of Nebraska Press, 1993–2007).

The linguistic, cultural, historical, political and economic ties between the Nordic countries have also influenced scholarly cooperation in the area – not least in the study of literary manuscripts. One characteristic feature, having wide-ranging pan-Scandinavian effects on the field of textual scholarship, has been grand editorial projects on nationally important writers. These projects in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland have had a significant impact on forms of Scandinavian academic co-operation and thus on the paradigms of textual scholarship in general. In particular, historical-critical preferences, approaches using extensive source materials and the significance of printed sources in editing have also influenced the way literary manuscripts have been studied in Scandinavia.

Owing to the wide geographic and historical scope of this chapter, the practical definition of the topic requires a few explanations. The focus will be mainly on research on literature written in Scandinavian languages or in Finnish. This exclusion helps to show up the characteristic features of Nordic research and joint activities in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, albeit this demarcation leaves aside a great deal of high-level Nordic textual research, from classical philology to the study of non-European literatures. Obviously these different disciplines, determined by the languages of their primary sources, have not developed in isolation but have influenced each other. Another selection concerns the objects of textual study: this chapter concentrates on research on literature from the eighteenth century onwards and focuses especially on nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature because this decision helps to bring out research projects that strongly have influenced each other. By this exclusion, a lot of research on medieval Nordic literature has been left aside (see for example Bandle et al. 2002 and 2005; Fredriksen 2013, and Haugen 2007 and 2013).

Within these historical and linguistic frames, the most characteristic and paradigm-shifting fields of research have been large editorial projects on canonised writers in each country and Nordic networking in the field of edition philology. These activities have supported the academic status of textual scholarship and have also influenced such research on literary manuscripts that does not aim at scholarly editions.

Manuscripts within the scope of scholarly editing

The research on writers' archives has predominantly been a part of biographical research, utilising especially correspondence, diaries and other personal records, or carried out in the context of scholarly editing. Hence, the study of literary manuscripts is in major parts grounded in extensive editorial projects on canonised Nordic writers. Historically, these projects have, like in many other European countries, their roots in the national awakening that created the need for collecting nationally important texts and thus reflecting and building the past through scholarly editing, this occurring especially in the nineteenth century (see Van Hulle and Leerssen 2008). Later on, as these canonised texts and writers became integral parts of the local literary cultures, they were inevitable objects for scholarly editing in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. These literary and scholarly phases have naturally influenced the

practices of collecting, archiving and studying literary manuscripts and the self-reflection of the textual scholarship.

In many respects, the prevailing Scandinavian paradigms of textual research can be seen largely as a development from the turn of the twenty-first century, when the first digital edition projects were established and created new opportunities for analysing and representing literary texts. Although these new projects were ground-breaking from a methodological perspective, they nevertheless continued the canonising processes started due to the aforementioned national ambitions. One important pioneering project for the Nordic hybrid editions, combining printed volumes and online editions, has been the edition of Søren Kierkegaard's (1813–1855) writings, *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*. This edition, which began in 1994 and was completed in 2012, consists of 28 printed volumes of edited text and 27 volumes of commentaries, and corresponding online editions. In Denmark, this edition has had a substantial influence on scholarly training for Danish scholars and as such it has also influenced later Danish editions. Moreover, this edition project based on use of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) has served as an important benchmark for later Nordic editions.² Other important editions that have represented the literary manuscripts of canonical Danish writers have been, for instance, the works of N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) based on the first editions of his writings during his lifetime, and the ongoing digital manuscript edition of H.C. Andersen's (1805–1875) fairytales and stories, *Eventyr og Historier*, led by Ane Grum-Schwensen.³

In Norway, there have been especially two projects that have had a major role in the development of Scandinavian digital textual scholarship on modern writers and the usability of their literary remains. The first is *Wittgenstein's Nachlass. The Bergen Electronic Edition*. It consists of circa 20,000 pages of Wittgenstein's archive, containing diplomatic transcriptions and normalised versions along with digital images. The edition was originally published as a CD-ROM in 2000, as a joint publication by the Wittgenstein Archives at the University of Bergen and Oxford University Press. The edition has since been made available online. The other pioneering project has been *Henrik Ibsens Skrifter*, a complete historical-critical and annotated edition of Ibsen's writings. It was first published in seventeen printed volumes 2005–2010 and then as an online edition from 2014 onwards.⁴

The biggest Swedish ventures in editing concern the collected works of C.J.L. Almqvist (1793–1866) and August Strindberg (1849–1912). Almqvist's *Samlade Verk* is a project by the Swedish Society for Belles-Lettres (SVS) and the Almqvist Society, consisting of 60 volumes, of which approximately half have thus far been published as printed editions since 1993. It is mostly based on the first printings of Almqvist's works but contains several unpublished works,

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2. On *Søren Kierkegaards Skrifter*, see Dingstad 2013 and Rasmussen 2015. On digital editing and the use of TEI in the Nordic countries, see Dahlström and Ore 2013; Jørgensen et al. 2001 and Forssell and Herberts 2011.
 3. On the Grundtvig and Andersen editions, see Kondrup 2013 and <https://andersen.sdu.dk/ms/>.
 4. On these editions and the history of scholarly editing in Norway, see Gabler 2013; Jensen 2013; Lauvstad 2013, and Janss 2013.

too. The edition *August Strindbergs Samlade Verk*, altogether 72 volumes, started in 1979 and was completed in 2021.⁵

In Finland, the two dominant languages of the literary culture, Finnish and Swedish, have made the scholarly editing and its international cooperation broader and more diverse. The first extensive scholarly edition in Finnish literature was the collected writings of Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877), *Samlade Skrifter av Johan Ludvig Runeberg*. It was published in twenty volumes from 1933–2005 as a joint venture between the SVS and the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLS). In 2005, two initiatives began that were similar to the Kierkegaard and Ibsen editions in their aim to publish historical-critical editions as printed volumes and online editions. SLS started the project *Zacharias Topelius Skrifter* on Topelius' (1818–1898) writings comprising circa twenty volumes, while the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) decided to establish a unit for the scholarly editing of Finnish-language literature. This unit, Edith – Critical Editions of Finnish Literature, has subsequently edited the oeuvre of Aleksis Kivi (1834–1870), which will be finished as twelve printed volumes and corresponding digital editions. The next series will cover the dramas written by Minna Canth (1844–1897).⁶

Regarding editorial traditions, the Nordic editorial projects of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have often shared an emphasis on historical-critical editing influenced by German editorial traditions, even though the editions are not titled as being “historical-critical” (Henrikson 2005: 54–56). These ambitions of encompassing historical manuscripts and early printed editions in the editorial work have essentially improved the availability and usability of literary manuscripts and created several spin-off projects on the manuscripts by the same nineteenth-century writers.

Besides German influences on historical-critical editing, the infrastructure of Nordic scholarly editing has some institutional characteristics that intertwine with various kinds of manuscript studies and archival research. Many of the Nordic edition projects are carried out by similar societies that are separate from universities, yet have strong academic bonds with them: the Society for Danish Language and Literature (founded in 1911), The Norwegian Literature and Language Association (1953), the SVS in Sweden (1907), the SKS and SLS in Finland (1831 and 1885, respectively) (see Söderlund 2013).⁷ Within these institutions, the text-critical objectives have been tied into the general aims of the societies, which has also narrowed the scope of research. At the same time, these societies have facilitated long-term projects and the maintaining of digital resources as well as advancing education in the field. Moreover, the Finnish societies SKS and SLS maintain literary archives and thus can promote several kinds of research on literary drafts.⁸

5. On the history of scholarly editing in Sweden, see Henrikson 2013; Svedjedal 2013; Söderlund 2013, and Viklund 2013a.

6. On these editions, see Forssell 2013 and Hermansson 2013.

7. On the history of SVS, see Ståhle Sjönell & Söderlund 2007.

8. In Scandinavia, the edition-historical research has been rather active, due to institutional support, Nordic cooperation and large-scale edition projects that also reflect earlier editions of the same writers. These surveys also illuminate the use of archival material, even though the focus is on editorial

Thanks to the long-term editions on Nordic literature, several scholars have acquainted themselves with archives and manuscripts. As the editions have been published, archival materials have become more accessible for literary critics, who then can use edited texts, digital transcriptions, text-critical apparatuses and scanned documents as the starting point for new research projects. Moreover, the projects have functioned as scholarly training for young scholars, and editors have also developed academic courses related to the editions in progress.

At the same time edition projects have formed a good basis for scholarly cooperation in Scandinavia and Finland. Formally, the Nordic cooperation started in 1995 when the Nordic Network for Edition Philologists (NNE) was established, with roughly 250 members (Henrikson and Janss 2013b: 7; Kondrup 2017). Subsequently, the NNE has organised first annual and then biannual conferences in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland on various topics, such as annotating Nordic classics, digital editions, the materiality of books, philology and hermeneutics, and the use of editions. These kinds of theoretical and methodological angles could include all kinds of documents, yet, in practice, the topics of papers have mainly dealt with literature, due to the dominant role of literary edition projects within the participants' work. The organisers of each conference have also edited proceedings based on the conferences. Thus far, twelve books have been published in this series. Although these proceedings focus on editorial topics and in many cases discuss scholarly issues of printed books, they have also contributed to the textual research of literary manuscripts. During the past twenty years, this series, published in four countries, has become an important source for several kinds of research on Nordic literature. In addition to the bi-annual conferences and the book series, NNE has organised research training on scholarly editing in 2002–2004.

The choice of “edition philology” (*editionsfilologi* in Danish and Swedish, *edisjonsfilologi* in Norwegian, *editiofilologia* in Finnish) as the key concept of the network has naturally oriented the field of textual scholarship towards the question of scholarly editing, although other research interests have also been under discussion.⁹ As Johnny Kondrup notes in the introduction of his book *Editionfilologi*, in Sweden, the academic questions of the field have been more often discussed under the concept of *textual criticism* (2011: 15). This observation applies to Finland, too, where *textual criticism*, *scholarly editing*, and *textual scholarship* have often been chosen as the overarching concepts.

New interests in writers' archives and literary drafts

Like in other European countries, the recent dominant trends of Nordic literary criticism have not favoured the use of archival sources as a theoretically intriguing premise. Literary drafts have served academic interests usually as sources of sporadic factual information, and only

issues. See especially Henrikson and Janss 2013a; Wretö 1991; Forssell 2009; Ståhle Sjönell and Söderlund 2007; Henrikson 2018; Dingstad 2014; Kondrup and Nielsen 2014, and Kondrup et al. 2021.

9. The concept was first used in the Scandinavian languages in the context of NNE as the network was established. The international model for the word was the German word *Editionsphilologie* but it is also related to *Editionswissenschaft* (Kondrup 2011: 15).

occasionally they have been used as hermeneutically inspiring objects of study. The Nordic research discussed here represents a rich variety of different angles to literary drafts, and due to the rather marginal and sporadic nature of this kind of research, it is hard to outline any overall trends of the discipline. This general overview instead tries to introduce central pioneering monographs, compilations and projects in Finland, Denmark and Sweden, where modern manuscripts have garnered increasing interest over the past decades.

In Scandinavia and Finland, the archives of university libraries and the national archives are important in the field, but there are also several minor institutional archives that maintain writers' papers. These minor institutions have been active in promoting archival research within academia. One milestone in promoting private archives for Finnish literary scholars has been the essay collection *Lukemattomat sivut. Kirjallisuuden arkistot käytössä* [Countless/Unread Pages: Literary Archives in Use] (Hytinen and Kivilaakso 2010), in which literary critics deploy various angles to discuss the archives of Finnish writers from the 1870s to 1980s. Another important edited volume is *Arkistot ja kulttuuriperintö* [Archives and Cultural Heritage] which focuses on the active roles of archive institutions (Hupaniittu and Peltonen 2021).¹⁰ Both publications, as well as a recent special issue on the use of archives in literary criticism (Karhu, Kivilaakso, and Parente-Čapková 2023), are closely linked to the archives at the Finnish Literature Society (SKS), which gathers written and oral examples of the cultural heritage of Finland. A similar edited book is *Arkiv, minne, glömska* [Archives, Memory, Oblivion], which introduces the archives at the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (Ekrem et al. 2014).¹¹

In Denmark, one recent initiative has been *Danske forfatterarkiver* [The Archives of Writers in Denmark], edited by Anders Juhl Rasmussen and Thomas Hvid Kromann (2021). The topics of the book vary from eighteenth-century diaries to digital files, and the book draws upon the archives of several important Danish writers from a period of over 200 years: Jens Baggesen, H.C. Andersen, Søren Kierkegaard, Georg Brandes, Holger Drachmann, Johannes V. Jensen, Karen Blixen, Peter Seeberg, Klaus Høeck, and Morten Søndergaard.¹²

Over the course of the past few decades, an increasing interest in considering writers' creative processes has developed by using their archives. In Finland, the earliest genetic studies have concerned Marko Tapio's (1924–1973) novel *Aapo Heiskasen viikatetanssi* (Makkonen 1980, 1982), but it took three further decades before genetic research questions started to gain more interest within the field of literary criticism. In 2010, a special issue on textual scholar-

10. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are mine.

11. Related to Finnish-Swedish literature and literary critics' interest in literary manuscripts, see also Holmström 1989 and Ekman 1991. These enumerative studies are based on the archives at the Åbo Akademi University in Turku and focus on two Finnish-Swedish modernists, Hagar Olsson and Gunnar Björling.

12. On Peter Seeberg's archive at the Hald Hovedgaard, the Danish Centre for Writers and Translators in Viborg, see also Davidsen et al. 2005 and Juhl Rasmussen 2017 and 2018. On the archives of Danish writers, see also Thyrring Andersen 2019. In Sweden, Bertil Broomé (1977) has conducted an extensive survey on the early interest in collecting manuscripts.

ship was published in the leading Finnish journal on literary criticism (Katajamäki and Kokko 2010). It contained a short introduction to genetic criticism (Karhu 2010b) and other essays on textual scholarship and the use of archival sources. In the same year, a lexicon on textual scholarship was also published that introduces the terminology of textual criticism, genetic criticism and other fields of textual scholarship (Hallamaa et al. 2010).

Recently, textual research on Finnish literature has been mainly focused on poetry and based on the archives at the SKS. Hanna Karhu has particularly studied poet and translator Otto Manninen's (1872–1950) drafts and his writing processes, for instance from the angles of intertextuality, translation and unpublished drafts (Karhu 2010a, 2012, 2019). Veijo Pulkkinen has studied Aaro Hellaakoski's (1893–1952) manuscripts and proofs, among others, from the perspective of innovative typography, which in the case of Hellaakoski often continued as a co-operation with the typesetter (Pulkkinen 2013, 2017). Latterly Pulkkinen has studied typescripts as part of the writing processes of Finnish writers and, moreover, started to use writers' hard disks as the material for genetic research (Pulkkinen 2019, 2020a, 2020b). From earlier Finnish poetry, the main author of interest has been Aleksis Kivi, descending from the scholarly editing of his oeuvre (Kokko 2016; Katajamäki 2020a and 2020b; Kivi 2023).

New and wider interest in genetic criticism has arisen from 2017 onwards, when the new international series of GENESIS conferences was launched in Helsinki. This conference was organised by the SKS and ITEM – Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes in Paris. Moreover, the conference had institutional cooperation with other European institutions (Katajamäki and Pulkkinen 2023).¹³ The series has since continued in Krakow, Oxford, Taipei, and Bologna. During the same year (2017), a Finnish colloquium on genetic criticism was organised in Helsinki and led to a special issue of journal *Synteesi* (Katajamäki and Kokko 2019). What all these activities have had in common, is the idea of a shared interest in creative processes in literature and other fields of study.

One of the new initiatives regarding literary manuscripts and archives concerns literary translations and combines the perspectives of textual scholarship, translation studies and literary criticism. The ongoing research project "Traces of Translation in the Archives" (2021–2025), led by Sakari Katajamäki, focuses on Finnish archives, but organised in 2023 an international conference: *Trextuality*, the name of which refers to textuality, translation and transmission.

In Denmark, Ane Grum-Schwensen's doctoral thesis *Fra strøtanke til værk – En genetisk undersøgelse af de kreative processer i den sene del af H. C. Andersens forfatterskab* [From a stray thought to work – A genetic study of the creative processes in the latter part of H. C. Andersen's authorship] (2014) is a genetic study of the creative processes in the latter part of Andersen's authorship, focusing on his three tales from the 1860s and the 1870s, the drafts of which are kept in the Hans Christian Andersen Collections at The Royal Library in Copenhagen. A recent Danish initiative is a collection of essays titled *Genbesøgt. Inger Christensens efterladte*

13. GENESIS – HELSINKI: Creative Processes and Archives in Arts and Humanities. Helsinki, 7–9 June 2017. For a list of abstracts, see https://www.finlit.fi/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/genesis_abstracts.pdf

papirer [Revisited. Inger Christensen's literary remains] (Ringgaard and Kjærgård 2020), based on Christensen's (1935–2009) archive at The Royal Library.

An important Swedish milestone in promoting genetic perspectives to literary critics has been the collection of essays *Kladd, utkast, avskrift. Studier av litterära tillkomstprocesser* [Outline, rough draft, copy. Studies of literary creation processes] (2015), edited by Paula Henrikson and Jon Viklund from the Uppsala University. It comprises an introduction and eight essays that address the manuscripts of several nineteenth- and twentieth-century Swedish writers, such as Pär Lagerkvist, Clas Livijn, Karin Boye, Gunnar Ekelöf, and Åke Hodel (on Ekelöf in English, see also Viklund 2013b). One recent research project, The Astrid Lindgren Code (2020–2022) led by Malin Nauwerck, focuses on Lindgren's (1907–2002) notebooks that she wrote in shorthand. Altogether, 670 shorthand notepads are in the possession of the Astrid Lindgren Archive and the Swedish Institute for Children's Books (Nauwerck 2022).

Apart from occasional individual research projects from the late twentieth century to the turn of the century, the collective and paradigm-shifting interest of modern literary drafts from the angle of literary criticism seems to have started during the 2010s and 2020s in Finland and Scandinavia. The above-mentioned initiatives, combined with academic teaching, has made it easier to see the relevance of archival sources for various kinds of studies and not only scholarly editing.

Conclusion: The inheritors of Romantic thought

Despite the diversity of literary traditions and the heterogeneity of languages in Scandinavia and Finland, the relatedness of Scandinavian languages and the status of Swedish as an official language of Finland have contributed to the transnational features of literature and Nordic interaction in the humanities, not least within textual scholarship.

Regarding the study of modern manuscripts, Nordic research has historically been connected with the aims of creating national identities and advancing the national literary canon, with far-reaching consequences. The Romantic, nation-oriented endeavours have, among other things, had an impact on how the literary archives have been assembled and organised. Moreover, the scholarly editing of canonised writers has been a field of research that has drawn plenty of economic and human resources. The extensive Scandinavian and Finnish editorial projects have had an important impact on the availability and usability of archival sources and enabled academic training in the use of literary manuscripts. Along with these projects, a significant portion of the research on writers' archives and the international cooperation relating to it has been aggregated around the concept of edition philology that has become a part of professional identity.

During the past few decades, the use of archival material has diversified within textual scholarship and literary criticism. Among others, the new topics of research have included writers' creative processes illuminated by their drafts or hard disks. Besides this, there has been new interest in the writers' and translators' archives from archival and interdisciplinary perspectives. Moreover, the TEI transcriptions of literary manuscripts, transcribed in the edition pro-

jects, have been used from different perspectives of digital humanities. Even these new trends within the study of literary drafts are historically built on the infrastructures, practices and scholarly traditions descending from Romantic thought.

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1.2.2 Russian traditions

Textology, Pushkin studies and the digital future

Igor Pilshchikov

An umbrella term that defines the Russian traditions of textual criticism, history of text, and editorial technique is “textology.” The interest in the author’s manuscripts arose in Russia in the pre-Romantic age. Nineteenth-century positivist scholars of Aleksandr Pushkin’s writings were the first to start publishing his holographs. Pushkin editions became a testing ground and a paragon for all other editions of Russian classics. In the late 1920s, ex-formalists Boris Tomashevsky and Sergei Bondi revised the pre-revolutionary approach to presenting a set of drafts and variants. Instead of topographic transcriptions advocated by the Pushkin Commission of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, they developed the method of a layer-by-layer reproduction of literary autographs. Contemporary digital publication formats can effectively resolve this antinomy.

Keywords: textology, base text, creative history, holographs, topographic transcription, layer-by-layer reconstruction, printed and digital facsimiles

“Textology”: A brief history

Reflecting the division of Russian cultural history into pre-Petrine and post-Petrine periods, the Russian tradition of manuscript studies divides into two disciplines, which are virtually independent of each other. The first of them covers the medieval period from the earliest Old Church Slavic manuscripts to the seventeenth century (Likhachev 1962). The other discipline deals with Russian modernity – the period which begins with Peter the Great’s social and cultural reforms that brought abrupt westernisation and secularisation (Reiser 1970, 1978). Although both (sub)disciplines are called “textology,” they have different traditions and practices of text analysis and manuscript presentation. From the point of view of the present volume, the main difference between the two fields is that the Old Russian tradition was familiar with “extra-texts,” such as marginalia, inscriptions, unauthorised captions, etc. (Krys’ko 2018), but, unlike the modern times, literary drafts were uncommon in the Middle Ages.

In his 1928 book *Pisatel’ i kniga: Ocherk tekstologii* [The Writer and the Book. Textology: An Outline], Boris Tomashevsky gives the following definition of the discipline:

Modern philology has developed a certain system of textual criticism which is partly transferred from the experience of studying ancient texts and partly preconditioned by the peculiarity of the new material. This system of philological devices is commonly referred to as “textology.”
(Tomashevsky 1928: 10)¹

1. Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine.

Although the author refers to “textology” as a common term, it does not emerge before the mid-1910s (see a rare early example: Durylin 1916) and remains infrequent until the mid-1920s. It was in fact the above-mentioned work by Tomashevsky that has made it standard.

Boris Tomashevsky (1890–1957) was a Russian literary theorist, academic editor, historian of Russian literature and Russian-French literary relations, and scholar of Aleksandr Pushkin’s life and work (Pilshchikov 2021). In the early and mid-1920s, he participated in the activities of two groups associated with the Russian formalists: the Moscow Linguistic Circle (*Moskovskii Lingvisticheskii Kruzhok*, the MLC) and the Society for the Study of Poetic Language (*Obshchestvo izucheniia poeticheskogo iazyka*, OPOIaZ). Due to the official anti-formalist policy started in 1930–1931, Tomashevsky abandoned verse studies and poetics, to which he contributed significantly, and focused on Pushkin’s biography and textology. In 1948 he became the head of the Pushkin House’s Manuscript Department.

For a long time, Tomashevsky’s *Pisatel’ i kniga* was the only example of a systematic presentation of the basic concepts of editorial theory and practice in Russia. It consists of four chapters devoted to printed and manuscript sources, history of text, types of editions, and miscellaneous issues of editorial practice. The book advances new approaches to editorial theory and new methods of textual criticism as applied to modern age classics.

Tomashevsky defines textual criticism as “a practical discipline which in many respects is applied philology *sui generis*” (Tomashevsky 1928: 11). Although his book is not so much theoretical as practical, he nonetheless substantiates the most important textological principles. Most significantly, he challenged the concept of the “canonical” text advanced by the Pushkinist Modest Gofman (1887–1959), that is the idea that the text established by textual criticism can be stable (Gofman 1922b). Tomashevsky argues that new archival findings, new readings, and new interpretations change the text. There is no such edition that can establish the text once and for all. Although a static approach to editorial issues (establishing the definitive text) is unavoidable in popular and educational editions, in academic critical editions a dynamic approach is more appropriate, and the history of text – what the French *critique génétique* will later call “*avant-texte*” – comes to the fore:²

The literary historian must see in an individual work not only its static *form* (in a broad sense) and a closed, complete system; he must hypothesise and guess the traces of movement in the text. [...] The history of composing and editing a text gives material for this. The study of the history of text reveals not a static phenomenon but the literary process of its production and formation. By studying the poet’s designs [zamysly], we often discover the seemingly obscure connections between different works of the same author. [...] Therefore, the history of text (in a broad sense) gives the literary historian the material of the movement that does not lie on the surface of literature but is hidden in the author’s laboratory. (Tomashevsky 1928: 134)

2. French genetic criticism has become known in Russia through a volume edited by Ekaterina Dmitrieva (1999), which, in addition to a collection of representative texts, includes an informative preface and a glossary of terms.

Tomashevsky expands on the concept of dynamism developed by his one-time collaborator and OPOIaZ's foremost theoretician Yurii Tynianov (1894–1943). According to Tynianov, “the form of the literary work must be recognized as a dynamic phenomenon” (Tynianov [1924] 1981: 33). For him, “dynamics” was a compound characteristic of several fields of literary form: dynamics as the instability of the deformed verbal material in a poetic work, as opposed to the stability of the unaltered (i.e. aesthetically neutral) material; the formation of the “oscillating” components of meaning in poetry, as opposed to the stable meanings of the words in prose; the duration of the text (“successiveness,” in Tynianov’s terminology), as opposed to the text’s “simultaneity”; and historical variability or literary evolution as opposed to achronic staticity (Toddes et al. 1977: 510–511; Pilshchikov 2019 and 2022: 233). Tomashevsky added a new dimension to this multifaceted concept and complemented it with the dynamism of the (avant-)text(e). The difference between the two scholars is that, for Tynianov, the dynamism of literature is temporal and evolutionary, whereas the dynamics of the text “may be taken as such, outside of time, as pure movement” (Tynianov [1924] 1981: 33). In contrast, Tomashevsky conceives of textual dynamics as the historical, i.e. temporal, development embedded in the manuscript and printed variations of the text. On the other hand, since “each synchronic system has its own past and future as integral structural elements of the system” (Tynianov, Jakobson [1928] 2019: 280), the avant-textual dynamism also affects the definitive text’s synchrony:

As Boris Tomashevsky has shown in his fundamental work *Pisatel' i kniga* [...], different versions of the same work give the literary historian the opportunity to study dynamic processes in static objects. We might add that these may be perceived only in synchronic objects in which hidden forces of intangible development temporarily surface in a delicate equilibrium. The character of the “object” that expresses this equilibrium is not, however, static: It is a dynamic structure full of internal conflict that joins elements of different origin in a semantic unity. The scholar must arrange this inner dynamic into a temporal sequence, and sense the tension between the individual moments of the process through the tension between synchronic elements. (Červenka [1971] 1995: 66)

Tynianov’s dichotomy of successiveness and simultaneity manifests itself in the opposition of first reading and rereading. They are opposed to each other as “the orientation toward coming into being and the orientation toward being, toward text as a process and text as its outcome” (Gasparov 1988: 19), i.e., as Wilhelm von Humboldt’s *ἐνέργεια* [energy, activity] and *ἔργον* [work, product]. Tomashevsky applied these concepts to the process of text creation and its result.

Alternative theoretical foundations of textology, based on the German philological and philosophical tradition (the works of Friedrich Schleiermacher, August Böckh, Otto Stählin, and Georg Witkowski), were formulated by another former member of the Moscow Linguistic Circle, Grigorii Vinokur (1896–1947) in his book *Kritika poeticheskogo teksta* [Critique of the Poetic Text] (1927). Vinokur’s book, in its turn, was written in reply to the textological chapters in Tomashevsky’s *Pushkin: Sovremennye problemy istoriko-literaturnogo izucheniia* [Pushkin: Contemporary Problems of Historical-Literary Study], which features chapters on Pushkin editions and text sources (Tomashevsky 1925: 5–56). Vinokur’s goals were primarily methodolog-

ical: “For all the difference in our general concepts and intentions, I only outlined in my own way what I assume to be Tomashevsky’s formulations, but with what I consider to be greater consistency and logical accuracy” (Vinokur 1927:7). At the same time, Vinokur made it his task to solve the antinomies set by the polemic of Gofman and Tomashevsky, whose positions Vinokur defines as, respectively, “mechanical” and “sceptical”.

Kritika poeticheskogo teksta consists of seven chapters devoted to text selection in its relation to the author’s will, textual criticism in its relation to understanding texts, emendation of texts, selecting text sources, and the composition of critical editions. Vinokur emphasises textual criticism’s dependence on comprehension and interpretation. Both the emendation of text and the advocacy of traditional reading rely equally on a (different) understanding of the text (Vinokur 1927:30). For Vinokur, textual criticism (which he, following Schleiermacher, also called philological criticism) precedes the actual editorial issues: editorial technique is just a form of realisation of text critique.

Although in the 1930s and 1940s, several essential editions of Russian classical authors were published, no theoretical discussions of textual and editorial issues were held during the entire period of Joseph Stalin’s rule. The situation changed in 1952, less than a year before the dictator’s death (Afiani 2019). Unlike the 1950–1951 discussion of language theory, which started with the publication of Stalin’s article “Marxism and Problems of Linguistics” in the Communist Party’s central newspaper *Pravda* [Truth], the discussion of editorial theory was not initiated by Stalin himself. Nevertheless, it was also sanctioned by the top State and Party leadership and started with an editorial in *Pravda* entitled “Za vysokuiu ideinost’ v rabote izdatel’stv” [For the high level of ideological consciousness in the work of publishing houses] (20 May 1952, no. 141).

In response to the Party’s call-up, the Gorky Institute of World Literature of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (IMLI AN SSSR, Moscow) established the Sector of Textology entrusted with “instructional and supervisory functions” (Grishunin 1998:30). In May 1954, the Sector hosted a Textological Symposium, organised jointly by IMLI and the Institute of Russian Literature (a.k.a. the Pushkin House) of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (IRLI AN SSSR, Leningrad). The 1954 Symposium completely restored the concept of a “canonical” text, defined now as “the single definitive text of a literary work to be published in all editions” (Chronicle 1954:393). There is evidence that the principle of the “canonical” text re-emerged due to Stalin’s oral instruction (Grishunin 1998:29). At the Symposium, this concept was forwarded by the plenipotentiaries of the Soviet literary studies officialdom, the Pushkin scholar Dmitrii Blagoy (1893–1984) and the Belinsky and Dostoevsky scholar Vera Nechaeva (1895–1979), who was appointed Head of the IMLI Sector of Textology. Tomashevsky objected to them, but he and his few supporters remained in the absolute minority (Chronicle 1954:394, 396; Afiani 2019:53–55). The abstracts of Blagoy’s and Nechaeva’s talks were included in the Symposium chronicle (Chronicle 1954:392–393), enlarged versions were printed in a special booklet, and the full texts of their articles appeared in the first volume of the serial *Voprosy tekstologii* [Issues of Textology] published by IMLI in 1957–1967 (4 vols.).

The Stalinist version of textology included a nomenclature of editions, in which the “canonical” text should be presented in various forms. Blagoy (1957) classified all editions of Russian literary classics as belonging to one of three groups:

1. “Academic” editions, which present all of the author’s texts (including letters and diaries) and an exhaustive collection of published and manuscript redactions and variants of each text
2. “Scholarly” editions, which publish selected or individual literary works and letters and the most important variants
3. “Popular” editions

The goal of “academic” and “scholarly” editions is to establish the “canonical” text, and the aim of “popular” editions is to reproduce this text in a simplified form. The division into three types of editions lasted until the end of the Soviet era. The boundary between “academic” and “scholarly” publications disappeared in the post-Soviet period. “Popular” editions, no more controlled by the State, are now based on various sources, more or less successfully selected by the publishers.

After 1956, when Khrushchev’s “Thaw” started and the political climate changed, a compromise between the existing attitudes was temporarily established. Eventually, the concept of “canonical” text was mitigated and replaced by the notion of “base” (“osnovnoi”) text, a critical text printed in the main body of the edition, with other texts presented as its variants (Reiser 1970: 123–124; 1978: 13–14). In 1959, Tomashevsky’s *Pisatel’ i kniga* was republished with a preface and annotations by Boris Eikhenbaum (1886–1959), another OPOIaZ scholar who also switched from poetics to textual criticism and literary history. Eikhenbaum’s own book on the same subject, *Osnovy tekstologii* [The Foundations of Textology], remained unfinished; only its 60-page proposal written in 1953 was published posthumously (Eikhenbaum [1953] 1962).

A consensual definition of textology, accepted after the discussions, combined two approaches, Tomashevsky’s and Vinokur’s:

The term “textology” embraces the narrow concepts of “textual criticism” and “editorial technique” [...], or, more precisely, the modern understanding of the term “textology” coincides with the understanding of the term “editorial technique” in a broad sense.

(Berkov 1963: 89 n1)³

The most famous Russian Medievalist, Dmitrii Likhachev (1906–1999), suggested that the concept of “textology” should be extended to the study of all aspects of the history of a text in its cultural and historical context (Likhachev 1964: 3–8). Earlier, Nikolai Pksanov (1878–1969) had suggested a concept of text history as part of a “teleogenetic” method of the “creative history” of a verbal artwork (Pksanov 1923; see Grishunin 1998: 200–207). He edited the text of

3. Compare the title of Georg Witkowski’s methodological treatise: *Textkritik und Editionstechnik neuerer Schriftwerke* [Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique of Modern Literary Works] (Witkowski 1924).

Russia's best-known comedy in verse, Aleksandr Griboedov's *Gore ot uma* [Woe from Wit], for an Imperial Academy series called "*Akademicheskaiia biblioteka russkikh pisatelei*" [The Academic Library of Russian Writers] (1913) and, definitively, for the Soviet academic "*Literaturnye pamiatniki*" [Literary Masterpieces] series (1969). A detailed comparative analysis of the three manuscripts confirmed by the author and a vast number of copies enabled the scholar to "reconstruct the order and filiations of the manuscript versions, evaluate the variations, and excise counterfeits" (Piksanov 1969: 363). Piksanov defined his objective in this edition as follows: "to reconstruct the final text of Griboedov's ingenious work as precisely and exhaustively as possible, while at the same time providing the early redactions and variants, a document indispensable for understanding the history of the creation of *Woe from Wit*" (363). He also described his findings in a book entitled *Tvorcheskaia istoriia "Goria ot uma"* [The Creative History of *Woe from Wit*] (Piksanov 1928). Two later monographs on Lev Tolstoy's novels use a similar approach: *Tvorcheskaia istoriia "Anny Kareninoi"* [The Creative History of *Anna Karenina*] (1957) by Vladimir A. Zhdanov (1895–1971) and "*Voina i mir*" *L.N. Tolstogo: Sozdanie velikoi knigi* [Lev Tolstoy's *War and Peace*: A Creation of the Great Book] (1966) by Evelina Zaidenshnur (1902–1985).

Likhachev's broad definition, acutely disputed on the pages of the journal *Russkaia literatura* [Russian Literature] in a discussion initiated by Boris Bukhshtab in 1965, was not supported by many Soviet textologists (Grishunin 1998: 79–81; Afiani 2019: 57–58). In particular, it was not accepted in the first and, until very recently, the only Russophone university textbook of textual criticism, Solomon Reiser's *Paleografiia i tekstologiiia novogo vremeni* [The Palaeography and Textology of the Modern Time] (Reiser 1970).

Like Bukhshtab (1904–1985), Solomon Reiser (1905–1989) was an *ex-mladoformalist* [junior formalist], Eikhenbaum's former student, who soon switched to bibliography and textology. He also attended Tomashevsky's lectures at the State Institute of the History of Arts in the academic year 1926/1927, which were published the following year as *Pisatel' i kniga* (see Reiser 1970: 85; 1978: 3). The revised, standard edition of Reiser's textbook is split into two separate volumes. One of them is entitled *Russkaia paleografiia novogo vremeni (Neografiia)* [Russian Palaeography of the Modern Time (Neography)]. It consists of four chapters devoted to writing materials, writing tools, types of recording devices, and handwriting (Reiser 1982). The other bears the title *Osnovy tekstologii* [The Foundations of Textology] (Reiser 1978), i.e. the same title as both his mentor's unfinished monograph and a collaborative study by the IMLI Sector of Textology (Nechaeva 1962). Reiser's *Osnovy tekstologii* includes chapters on the issues of the "base text" (such as the author's will, text selection, presentation of variants, emendation, and orthographic regime), dating and authorship (including *dubia* and literary forgeries), edition types and their composition, and, eventually, the functions of commentary in textual criticism. Despite a more dogmatic approach, the IMLI compendium (Nechaeva 1962) contains similar chapters: the first section discusses edition types and their composition, dating and authorship (including anonyms and pseudonyms); the second section is devoted to the manuscript and printed sources, source selection, establishing the "canonical" text (including its orthographic regime), and the issues of other redactions and variants; the final section

focuses on the types and functions of commentary. Therefore, this agenda can be described as a consensus between various approaches. The most arguable notion is “the author’s (last) will,” which Eikhenbaum ([1953] 1962: 65) labelled a legal concept rather than a category of textual scholarship.

Pushkinistics and Pushkin editions

As everywhere else in Eastern and Central Europe, the interest in the writer’s manuscripts arose in Russia by the end of the Enlightenment with its pre-Romantic tendencies and even more so in the age of Romanticism. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Romantic idea that the poet’s life is as important as the poet’s works was refurbished as the positivist idea that every fact of any author’s biography and every line of any author’s oeuvre are equally significant for cultural history. The Pushkin scholars (Pushkinists), with their cult of Aleksandr Pushkin, were the first to start collecting and publishing his unfinished holographs and the manuscript versions of his published texts.

The first edition of a Russian author that “can be categorised as scholarly or critical” (Eikhenbaum [1953] 1962: 49) were Pushkin’s works in seven volumes (1855–1857) edited by Pavel Annenkov (1813–1887). He used the opportunity to publish newly found texts, but inconsistently – for aesthetic reasons, Annenkov excluded from Pushkin’s corpus what seemed to him weak and immature. The next generation of editors, such as Petr Efremov (1830–1907) and Petr Morozov (1854–1920), rebuked him for this. The first scholar to systematically study, describe, and partially transcribe Pushkin’s holographs was Viacheslav Yakushkin (1856–1912). In their editions of Pushkin’s works, Efremov and Morozov amply used his materials (Yakushkin 1884) as well as Annenkov’s. The most salient was the jubilee edition, launched in 1899 (Pushkin’s centenary) by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. It was edited by academician Leonid Maikov (1839–1900) and continued by Yakushkin and Morozov. The academic edition sought to “fully exhaust all of Pushkin’s draft manuscripts” (Yakushkin et al. 1905: xii) and developed a unique system of topographic transcriptions, respecting the spatial layout of revisions, to present autographs.

The first post-revolutionary decade witnessed a sharpened awareness of the issues of textual criticism. Tomashevsky and another former member of the MLC, Pushkinist Sergei Bondi (1891–1983) essentially revised the pre-revolutionary approach to textual scholarship and offered a new way of presenting a set of drafts and variants. Instead of topographic transcriptions, they developed a “layer-by-layer” method of publishing autographs. The new principles were applied in the Soviet academic edition of Pushkin.

The 1937–1949 edition of Pushkin’s complete works and letters was launched by the Soviet Academy of Sciences to commemorate the centenary of Pushkin’s death. It is a landmark edition that set the standard for subsequent scholarly editions of Russian classics in terms of textual interpretation and analysis, as well as the publication format for textological variations. However, despite the initial plans, the edition did not include Pushkin’s non-literary manuscripts published earlier by Mstislav Tsiavlovsky (1883–1947), Tatiana Zenger-Tsiavlovskaya

(1897–1978), and Lev Modzalevsky (1902–1948) under the title *Rukoiu Pushkina* [From Pushkin's Hand] (Tsiavlovsky et al. 1935).

The principles of reproducing Pushkin's autographs in the Imperial and Soviet academic editions are drastically different. Compare a fragment from the first redaction of Pushkin's narrative poem *Kavkazskii plennik* [The Prisoner of the Caucasus] edited by Yakushkin with the same passage edited by Bondi:

сх. веселого

Когда (же ст. милое) семей
Черкесъ въ отеческомъ жилище¹
Сидитъ вечернею порою
(нон)
И (уз) тлѣютъ угли въ пепелище²,
робко
И (молча) сидятъ у огня
(Ему) (предъ) нѣтъ
Встаетъ³ хованъ благосклонной
Съ пришельцу (утро) (встаетъ) (встаетъ)
(Пришельцу дружно руку жметъ)
отрадой
И гостю въ чашѣ благовоной
Чихиръ (веселой) подаетъ
Почемъ. На (вечной)
(Потомъ) (ночь) бурк(ой) въ саклѣ дымной
(Вкушаетъ) странникъ мирной сонъ
(Крош) (и) (его) гостеприимной
(И) (крош) (его) гостеприимной
И
На* утро покидаетъ онъ.
Ночлега Черкеса крошъ крошъ гостеприимной
Его хованъ

Второй набросокъ (на листѣ 23 об.) не выключаетъ
въ себѣ начальныхъ стиховъ.
(На утро)
(потомъ) подъ буркой въ
(На утро) (болѣе) (и) буркѣ) саклѣ онъ
(Передъ огнемъ)

IV.
Вставка в текст первой редакции после ст. 308 1 части основного текста.
(ЛБ 65, к. 17 об.)

Когда с веселого семей⁴
Черкес в отеческом жилище⁴
Сидит вечернею порой,
И тлѣют угли в пепелище,⁵
И спрянув с верного коня
В горах пустынных запоздалый
К нему войдет пришлец усталый
И робко⁶ сядет у огня
Встает хованъ благосклонный
10 [Пришельцу дружно руку жмет]⁷
И гостю в чаше благовоной
Чихирь отрадный⁸ подает
Потом на бурке в сакле дымной⁹
Вкушает странник мирный сон
На утро покидает он⁹
Ночлега¹¹ крош гостеприимный¹²

¹ а. И планки третейших молитв
² Полков хвалѣные молитв
³ милое
⁴ а. И закубанские дивичи
⁵ б. И им красавице дивичи
⁶ Когда же с мирной семей
⁷ Стих начат: а. И утѣш. б. И как
⁸ милое
⁹ Вм. ст. 9–10:
а. Как в тексте.
б. Пред ним хованъ благосклонный
С прихотом встает
а. Ему хованъ благосклонный
С прихотом руку жмет
¹⁰ веселый
¹¹ а. Потом под буркой в сакле дымной
б. Потом на бурке в сакле дымной
а. На митой бурке в сакле дымной
¹² Стих начат: а. И утѣш. б. Стих начат: И утѣш
11 Черкеса
¹² Вм. ст. 15–16.
а. И крош гостеприимный
На утро покидает он
б. Стих начат: И как (?) а. Стих начат: И если (?)
Далее следовало: Его хованъ

Figure 1. A. S. Pushkin. *Kavkazskii plennik* [The Prisoner of the Caucasus], edited by Yakushkin (in Pushkin 1899–1916: 2.456) and by Bondi (in Pushkin 1937–1949: 4.342)

Yakushkin uses different font sizes to differentiate between the main handwritten text and the interlinear insertions. The lines and individual words are printed in the same order as in the manuscript, not in the order of suggested reading. Tomashevsky protested against this approach (1928: 95–102). He opposed a layer-by-layer reconstruction to a topographic transcription using the antinomy of dynamics vs. statics:

A transcription makes it easier to read individual words, but reading a document as a whole in transcription is much more difficult than in the original manuscript, where the direction of lines, the form of individual words, the colour of the ink, etc., give a clue for how the parts of the written whole are interrelated. [...] On the other hand, transcription does little to understand the creative process, because it presents all at once, in the same form, without specifying the sequence. It [...] is static. (Tomashevsky 1928: 102)

Bondi presents the “topsoil” level of the draft as a coherent text and gives a layer-by-layer reconstruction in footnotes. Here is how he described the method:

The present methods make it possible to consider all the minutest details of the draft in their functional connections and present them to the reader. They allow us not only to read and reproduce all the written and deleted words, but to reproduce them in the context of Pushkin's work, as variants of a given verse line, a part of it, or an individual word. This, somewhat schematic, system of notation (the final reading of the draft is placed in the main text, and all previous ones are placed in footnotes, marked alphabetically in the sequence of being written) makes it possible to convey everything Pushkin wrote fully and in meaningful context and to a certain extent demonstrate how he worked on the text. Nevertheless, we cannot demonstrate the entire sequence of Pushkin's work in this way, primarily because we cannot always be sure that we know this sequence precisely. (Bondi 1936: 462)

Bondi points out that a coherent version (*svodka*; literally, 'synopsis') of the "topsoil" level of the draft is to a considerable extent hypothetical:

[The coherent version] should be the result of the textologist's clarification of the writer's work on a given draft and present the text that the writer arrived at after finishing (or abandoning) work on this draft. Bringing together (into a coherent whole) what was left out in the last stage of the work [...] the textologist is sometimes forced to extract the missing words or groups of words from what was crossed out. [...] By crossing out these words, the writer cancelled the previous "redaction" of this passage. Without substituting it with anything new, he left it unfinished. (Bondi 1937: 604)

For the positivists, the topographic transcription was an analogue of the popular nineteenth-century invention, photography, and its typographic counterpart, phototype. Or, as Yakushkin put it:

Even though typesetting a manuscript cannot exhaust and fix all its features and substitute for accurate photographs, facsimile, [...] a printed reproduction of a manuscript [...] is needed even when we use accurate photographs or an original manuscript. Since Pushkin's drafts are barely legible, their printed transcription is required [...]. In addition, only [...] printed transcriptions can place the use [of Pushkin's manuscripts] for establishing the text or its variants under the reader's control. (Yakushkin et al. 1905:XIII–XIV)

The topographic transcription pays more attention to spatiality, to the arrangement of words in the holograph represented as an artefact than to possible readings, i.e., the interpretation of the manuscript text in its development.

Another example is the presentation of the autograph of *Domik v Kolomne* [The Little House in Kolomna], Pushkin's comic poem in *ottava rima* (1830), in Gofman's edition and the Soviet academic edition (where the text of the poem was prepared by Eikhenbaum), compared with a facsimile of Pushkin's holograph. Consider octave III (see Figures 2a and 2b). In both editions, square brackets designate deleted words and phrases, and angle brackets represent conjectures (possible readings). Introduced by Gofman, this notation was supported by Tomashevsky (1928: 62–63) and remains part of the Russian textological tradition until now.

For the formalists and their allies, the layer-by-layer reproduction of a literary draft was an analogue of the newest invention, cinematography. Cinema prompted them with an idea

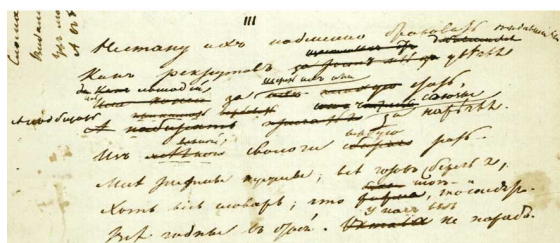


Figure 2a. A.S. Pushkin. *Domik v Kolomne* [The Little House in Kolomna], octave III PD 915, as reproduced in Pushkin 2013: 1.291, compared to the edition by Gofman 1922a: 41

III.
Не стану их надменно браковать дождавшихся
[шастливыхъ отъ] [добившихся]
Какъ рекрутовъ [за ростъ иль за] увѣчья
[да] [Какъ] лошадей шерсть ихъ или
Иль [Или коней] за [ихъ] [плохую] statt,
А подбирать принимать* [вербовать] [союзы]
[частицы] союзы
[А] [набирать] [причастья] да нарѣчья.
[всякой] вербую
Изъ мѣлкой* сволочи [сбираю] рать
Мнѣ рифмы нужны; всё готовы.сберечь ¹ я,
Хоть весь словарь; что [рифма], то солдатъ
У насъ вѣдь
Всѣ годны въ строй. [Октава ²] не парадъ.

III.
Не стану ихъ надменно браковать дождавшихся
[шастливыхъ отъ] [добившихся]
Какъ рекрутовъ [за ростъ иль за] увѣчья
[да] [Какъ] лошадей шерсть ихъ или
Иль [Или коней] за [ихъ] [плохую] statt,
А подбирать принимать* [вербовать] [союзы]
[частицы] союзы
[А] [набирать] [причастья] да нарѣчья.
[всякой] вербую
Изъ мѣлкой* сволочи [сбираю] рать
Мнѣ рифмы нужны; всё готовы.сберечь ¹ я,
Хоть весь словарь; что [рифма], то солдатъ
У насъ вѣдь
Всѣ годны въ строй. [Октава ²] не парадъ.

III
Не стану их надменно браковать
Как рекрутов, дождавшихся увечья ¹
Иль лошадей за шерсть их или statt, ²
А подбирать ³ союзы да наречья. ⁴
Из мелкой ⁵ сволочи вербую рать —
Мне рифмы нужны; всё готов сберечь я,
Хоть весь словарь; что слог — то и солдат. ⁷
Все годны в строй. У нас ведь не парад.

¹ [Дельвинг](?)

² а. Как рекрутов счастливых от увечья.

³ б. Как рекрутов, добившихся увечья.

⁴ [Как лошадей] Да лошадей за их плохую statt

⁵ а. принимать б. вербовать в. принимать

⁶ [Союз(ы)] частицы да наречья

⁷ Хоть весь словарь: что буква, то солдат

Figure 2b. A.S. Pushkin. *Domik v Kolomne* [The Little House in Kolomna], octave III Gofman 1922a: 41 compared to Pushkin 1937–1949: 5.374

of how a series of static snapshots can be perceived as a dynamic movement. At a meeting of the MLC on 1 September 1919, speaking in the debate on Viktor Shklovsky's talk "Plot composition in cinematic art," Tomashevsky noted that "cinema does not convey movement as such, but our perception is still a perception of motion. A curve is not equal to the polygonal chain inscribed in it, but the difference is lost when the number of the inscribed edges is infinite. Therefore we obtain the full illusion of physical motion" (qtd in Pilshchikov and Ustinov 2020: 402). Later, Shklovsky used this metaphor in his cinema studies. Tomashevsky applied a similar analogy to literary texts: "We have, as it were, snapshots of an object that is in continuous motion; these snapshots are scattered and distant from each other" (Tomashevsky 1928: 133). The texts "are disconnected traces of movement, separate 'points,'" the movement between which should be reconstructed (134). It is not a coincidence then that the first genuinely dynamic reconstruction of the sequential filling of Pushkin's manuscript – from the first line to additions, strikethroughs, and replacements and further to a filled sheet – was a documentary based on Bondi's textological reconstructions. The film *Rukopisi Pushkina* [Pushkin's Manuscripts], made from a script by Sergei Vladimirovsky (1902–1961) by animator Dmitrii K.

Antonov (1911–after 1987), was released in 1937 and re-edited in 1961.⁴ It is a perfect prototype for future digital visualisations of a layer-by-layer analysis.

Printed and digital facsimiles

In the twenty-first century, the antinomy of “transcription vs. layer-by-layer reproduction of variants” can be effectively resolved. Contemporary publication formats can include at least four representations of the same manuscript source: a facsimile, a topographic transcription, a layer-by-layer reconstruction, and a critical text (Pertsov and Pilshchikov 2011: 14). Such a multifaceted presentation of *avant-texte* is, of course, too bulky for a printed edition but perfectly accessible in digital format.

As early as the nineteenth century, some Old Russian manuscripts were published using phototypesetting. The first facsimiles of entire manuscripts in Russia that reproduced works of modern literature were black-and-white phototypes of Pushkin’s two manuscripts released in 1901, followed by zincographic colour facsimiles of his 17 other holographs released in 1911 (Tomashevsky 1928: 55–58). An important endeavour, that unfortunately had no continuation, was the 1939 phototype of Pushkin’s album of 1833–1835, accompanied by Bondi’s commentary and a complete transcription of the album made by Bondi and Zenger-Tsiavlovskaya (Krasnoborod’ko 1999: 22–26). In 1995–1997, the Pushkin House printed eight volumes of high-quality colour facsimiles of Pushkin’s notebooks, and in 2013, three volumes of his so-called “Boldino manuscripts” (without transcriptions; Pushkin 2013).

Facsimiles substantially complement both critical editions and original manuscripts because they not only preserve but also enhance the handwritten text. The scholarly curator of the Pushkin manuscript collection of the Pushkin House attests that “in 1994, while preparing a complete edition of Pushkin’s working notebooks, texts written in ‘fading’ pencil, barely distinguishable in the original, were in most cases ‘amplified’ [...]; as a result, pencil handwriting is sometimes better visible in modern facsimiles than in the original documents” (Krasnoborod’ko 1999: 25). However, it is an open-ended question to what extent an image can be enhanced for print to remain an authentic representation of the document, rather than becoming its arbitrarily edited version (Goldberg 2022).

Printed facsimiles are expensive, so the development of digital facsimiles is more promising. The advantages of the digital archives of literary manuscripts, such as remote access and zooming, are evident. In Russia, the United Digital Archive of Fedor Dostoevsky (also a Pushkin House project) is the most exhaustive.⁵ Online presentation of Pushkin’s holographs has also started. The experimental Digital Academic Edition of Pushkin contains trial e-publications of several works.⁶ Each section is devoted to a particular work and has three

4. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_IJyzvg1Uo (1937 version), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f5FHyngF7eo> (1961 version).

5. <https://dostoevskyarchive.pushdom.ru>.

6. <https://www.pushkin-digital.ru>.

subsections: “Text,” “Commentary,” and “Manuscripts and Other Sources.” The latter includes digital facsimiles of the autographs and layer-by-layer transcriptions, each portion synchronised with a corresponding segment of the holograph’s folio. This kind of edition is the future.

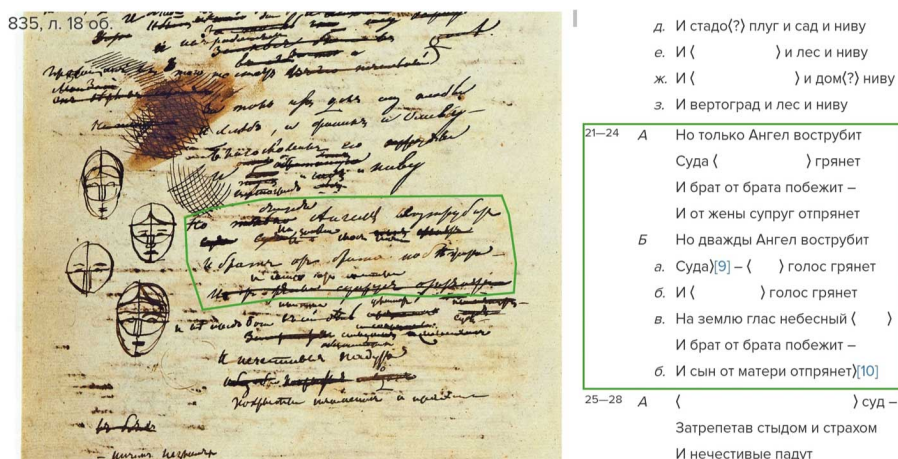


Figure 3. Excerpt from Pushkin’s “Podrazhaniia Koranu” [Imitations of the Koran] Screenshot of the Digital Academic Edition of Pushkin (<https://www.pushkin-digital.ru>), containing the facsimile and its transcription.

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1.2.3 Eastern European traditions

Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Slovak, and Ukrainian literary drafts

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This chapter refers to literature in five languages: Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian. Firstly, it presents the histories of Eastern European literary drafts. In this section answers to the following questions are delivered: from what time do the oldest surviving rough drafts date? How did the culture of archiving evolve? What impact did historical events have on the state of preservation of the documents? The focus then shifts to the issue of the genetic approach in Eastern European scholarship. The aim of this section is to discuss how creative writing processes were dealt with by different philological traditions. Finally, East European reception of *critique génétique* is presented.

Keywords: Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian literature, genetic criticism, rough draft, archives

Introduction: Defining “Eastern European tradition”

The purpose of this chapter is to explore two closely related problems. The first is the Eastern European history of the literary rough draft, treated as a part of the Eastern European history of literature. The second is Eastern European research on the literary rough draft (and more broadly: on the creative process), which has been an integral part of Eastern European textual scholarship, philology, editorial theory and practice, as well as literary studies. Even this general statement requires immediate critical commentary.

The very notion of “Eastern Europeanness” is an unobvious, disputable construct. There are no strong, unambiguous criteria to distinguish between “Western” and “Central” Europe, or to differentiate the “Central” section of our continent from the “Eastern” one. Neither geography (which, after all, even has difficulty clearly indicating the border between Europe and Asia) nor history, and even less so the history of culture, can provide such criteria. Particularly in the field of culture, the categorisation of any phenomenon as Central/Eastern European is always an act of interpretation, inevitably determined by one or another “interpretive community”. The use of the adjective “Eastern European” is thus conventional and pragmatic – as in the title of our chapter.

The meaning of the term “Eastern European traditions”, assumed for the purposes of our study, includes literatures (and literary studies) in five languages: Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian. Each of these languages has had a different history, functioned differently as a material for literary creation, as a space for inventing and disseminating ideas and,

finally, as a national and state-forming factor. By putting them together in one picture, we gain the opportunity to observe tendencies that are partly analogical and partly different.

Due to the limit on chapter size, the following comparative presentation of the five “Eastern European traditions” is inevitably short, not without unavoidable simplification. Nonetheless, we try to show as precisely as possible both the unique characteristics of each of the discussed “histories of the literary rough draft” (and the histories of research on the draft) and the similarities and connections between them.

Eastern European histories of the rough draft – in a nutshell

The “manuscript culture” in Eastern Europe began together with Christianity; the oldest documents of writing were made first in Latin (tenth century), then in vernacular languages.¹ The question posed in this section is: what are the oldest extant Eastern European “rough drafts”, understood as working holographs or autographed manuscripts that enable us to track the birth of the text of a literary work?

Some examples of such first drafts can be found in the early modern period and even in medieval times. The history of the Czech language and literature knows short lyrical or gnomic texts written on the margins of Latin or Czech manuscripts.² These notes have a draft character of some kind and date to the start of the fifteenth century; their status, however, is ambiguous, as it is difficult to say whether they are small poetic works or only *probatio pennae*.³ The same holds true in the case of the Slovak language.⁴ In the Polish language, one can identify the working holographs of sermons and a Bible translation as the oldest preserved rough drafts; a small collection of such documents comes from the late medieval and early modern periods (from fourteenth to seventeenth century). Similar documents relating to Ukrainian language and literature are considerably later: one of the oldest preserved rough manuscripts belongs to the most prominent representative of Ukrainian baroque, the writer and philosopher Hryhorii Skovoroda (1722–1794).⁵

However, all examples mentioned above are rare and exceptional. As a general rule, Eastern European rough drafts from the Middle Ages and early modernity are scarce and do not represent the creative process of the most significant authors or the origins of the greatest works

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1. The oldest Hungarian manuscript is called the *Funeral Speech and Prayer* [*Halotti beszéd és könyörgés*] and records the state of the Hungarian language around 1100. The oldest preserved manuscript of a literary work in Polish goes back to the thirteenth century. The first literary works with distinct features of the Ukrainian language come from the eleventh century.
 2. For example, short Czech written verse on the inside cover of “Sborník vyšehradský” [Vyšehrad manuscript] (Prague, NK, sign. F 9; see also on www.manuscriptorium.com).
 3. As Jakub Sichálek noted, if we know just one text source, we cannot decide whether it is an unfaithful reproduction of an existing text or a small poetic work in progress (2018: 223).
 4. For example, a draft of verses by Leonard of Uničov in the Novohrad tax register from 1457.
 5. We can trace his creative process and learn about its interesting features (like the author’s remarkable illustrations accompanying the literary texts) through his drafts from the 1760s–80s.

of that time. A good case in point is Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584), the greatest poet of the Polish Renaissance, who in his lifetime published in printed form many works in Polish and Latin but left only a few holographs to posterity (none of which can be described as a rough draft). This proportion is significant and representative: neither the Middle Ages nor the early modern era were conducive to the collection and storage of documents of the creative process. This tendency does not distinguish Eastern Europe from the West.

In each Eastern European literary tradition, it is possible to identify a “turning period” – the first to produce and leave for posterity a remarkable collection of rough drafts. We can also point out the concrete authors who can be seen as figures representative for these “turning periods”. Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), writer, poet, organiser of the Hungarian literary life, important figure of the Hungarian Enlightenment movement, and main animator of the Hungarian language reform, was probably the first Hungarian author who left a considerable part of his oeuvre to posterity. Between 1794 and 1801, he was imprisoned due to his involvement in a Jacobin conspiracy against the Habsburg Empire, and to avoid presumed censorship he planned a posthumous publication of his work of seven years’ captivity; to this end, he deliberately conserved his manuscripts and drafts. Consequently, his bequest contains not only vast correspondence, but also manuscripts of his memoirs, poems, translations, and different textual versions of his works (Szilágyi 2017). In the case of Czech, Polish, Slovak, and Ukrainian histories of literature, the beginnings of the “golden era of the draft” seem to appear a bit later: a significant quantity of working holographs of literary works were produced and left by the period of Romanticism (conventionally dated 1820s–1860s in Polish literature and Ukrainian literature, 1830s–1850s in Czech literature, 1836–1875 in Slovak literature).

Why do the first half of the nineteenth century and Romanticism play such an important role in the history (or histories) of the rough draft in Central and Eastern Europe? Two factors seem to be responsible for this.

First of all, it was during this period that each of the literatures considered here was shaped by particularly innovative poets full of creative energy, who left not only the completed, printed texts, but also a vast scriptural trace of their work. Polish Romanticism was dominated by four great individuals: Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849), Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–1859), and Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821–1883). As for Czech Romanticism, we ought to mention Karel Hynek Mácha (1810–1836), Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–1870), and Karel Sabina (1813–1877). The central figure of the Ukrainian Romantic period – and the entire Ukrainian literary canon – is Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861). The parallel Slovak list of outstanding authors includes Samo Chalupka (1812–1883), Andrej Sládkovič (1820–1872), Janko Kráľ (1822–1876), and Ján Botto (1829–1881).

Secondly, the Romantic period was particularly conducive to a specific cult of outstanding poets. In Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Ukrainian or Hungarian history, the typically Romantic “cult of genius” was additionally supported by political conditions. None of these nations possessed their statehood or independence in the nineteenth century: Czechs and Hungarians had been part of foreign imperial structures since the sixteenth century; Poles ultimately lost their statehood in 1795; Ukrainians were striving for their own state; the modern Slovak nation was

undergoing an intensive process of formation since the eighteenth century and the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, they all had their own political and cultural ambitions. In this situation, the celebration of the works of the great Romantics became a strategy for building national identity, which was under threat. And it was precisely as part of this reverence for “great poets” that their manuscripts – including their working manuscripts – were collected, preserved and metaphorised as national “relics” or “treasures”.

In consequence, the nineteenth century appeared to be crucial for establishing the tradition of preserving the manuscripts of the works central to Polish, Czech, and other Eastern European literatures: in brief, for the foundation of Eastern European “archiving culture”. This culture had, first of all, a non-institutional dimension. Karel Hynek Mácha’s drafts, later preserved in literary museums, were first recognised as part of Mácha’s valuable literary inheritance by his friends, colleagues, and editors of his early collected works. Analogically, Taras Shevchenko’s contemporaries saw the crucial importance of each line in each of the poet’s drafts already in his lifetime and shortly after his death. Despite difficult life circumstances, and the lack of his own housing which would enable keeping a personal archive, a relatively high number of the writer’s manuscripts survived and have been carefully preserved to this day.⁶ Sometimes, the role of curators was taken up by the descendants of the great Romantics: Władysław Mickiewicz (1838–1926), son of the most important Polish poet, devoted his entire life to commemorating his father, for example by collecting his holographs.

This spontaneous and individual model of collecting and preserving naturally inspired and stimulated institutional solutions: the nineteenth century saw the foundation of many Central and Eastern European institutions, whose mission was to archive the documents of national culture, including manuscripts (and drafts!) of both historical and contemporary writers. In 1802, the National Széchényi Library was established in Pest-Buda (currently, it holds the largest manuscript collection of Hungary). The year 1818 saw the founding of the National Museum in Prague, which was tasked with assembling manuscripts and printed books produced on Czech territory.⁷ Since 1863, manuscripts written in the Slovak language have been collected by *Matica slovenská*, a notable cultural institution that played the role of a library, museum and research centre.⁸ The first Polish public library was opened in Warsaw much earlier than the nineteenth century, before the loss of independence, but during Romanticism new institutions started their activities, such as *Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris* (1838), an institution whose main task was to collect and safeguard historical and contemporary books and documents of national significance.⁹ In 1894 the library of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv

6. Shevchenko’s friends and fans disseminated his texts in their handwritten copies. For some of the poet’s works, the manuscript was the only possible form of existence, since they were banned from publication in the Russian Empire.

7. These materials were located in the National Museum Library, where an independent department gathering the papers of Czech authors was founded in the 1890s; since 1923, this department has borne the name Literary Archive of the National Museum Library (LA NML).

8. Manuscripts are deposited in the Literary Archive of the Slovak National Library in Martin.

9. The Załuski Library, inaugurated in 1732 and officially proclaimed as the National Library in 1780.

was established; among other tasks, it collected manuscripts of Ukrainian authors. Although not limited to the field of literature, all those institutions paid attention to poets' and writers' archives.

To sum up, in the history of Central and Eastern European cultures and literatures, it was the nineteenth century that laid the foundation for the cultural phenomenon which can be named the "golden age of the rough draft". Since the Romantic period, the number of preserved and archived working manuscripts has been rising. The twentieth century brought to this region of Europe (as elsewhere in the world) an intensification of literary production and, in consequence, the proliferation of documents of the creative process (especially holographic rough drafts). On the other hand, the turbulent twentieth-century political history of Eastern Europe has resulted in the material destruction of many libraries, museums and archives, affecting the state of preservation of working holographs in Central and Eastern European countries. The scale of this process was so huge that the metaphorical term "manuscript-clasm" seems to work well here.

The siege of Budapest in 1944 and 1945 exposed the Hungarian capital to a military operation and caused major damage to public and private manuscript collections. Just a few months earlier, during the Warsaw Uprising (August to September 1944), the capital of Poland was changed into a battlefield between Polish insurgents and the German army; this led to the almost total destruction of the material substance of the city. Books and papers shared the fate of people and buildings.¹⁰ In the case of Ukrainian literature, the situation with the preservation of drafts and manuscripts, in general, is much worse for the authors of the 1920s–30s. They went down in history as the generation of the "Executed Renaissance" (*Rozstriliane vidrodzhennia*) as most of them were repressed on various charges and sentenced to exile or death by Stalin's totalitarian regime. As a result, their writings were often destroyed or lost. Also, many Ukrainian dissidents of the following decades, in particular representatives of *shistdesiatnyky*, the "sixtiers" movement, repeated the fate of their predecessors repressed in the 1930s. The Eastern European "manuscript-clasm" had also another sorrowful dimension. It was largely on the occupied Polish territory that the Holocaust, organised by the Third Reich, took place. The unimaginable tragedy of the Shoah involved the physical destruction of paper documents, including literary manuscripts (Leociak 2004; Shallcross 2011).¹¹

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10. Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907), Polish Symbolist playwright and painter, was especially fascinated with creativity; for example, he published an essay about *Hamlet*, devoted to Shakespeare's creative process (of course it was rather an act of pure fantasy than scholarship). During the Warsaw Uprising, Wyspiański's archive was burnt, together with numerous versions of his poetic plays. In this way, a poet who can be seen as the historical patron of Polish genetic criticism is at the same time not accessible for genetic research.
 11. Many final and rough-draft texts of Vasyl' Stus (1938–1985), one of the most important Ukrainian poets of the twentieth century, were lost after his convictions and stay in the camps. Those that have been preserved in his autographs and notes by friends often have at least a few versions that can be considered as "main" (Kolodkevych 2015: 23–25).

All in all, Eastern European archives – although deprived of so many important objects – are still full of holographic rough drafts from the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹² And, of course, the history of the draft still goes on. Technical modernisation has changed the construction of the rough draft since the beginning of the twenty-first century, when the computer (with Internet access) became the basic tool in the writer's studio; many poets of the younger generation draft their poems only in this way, without using paper. Consequently, their creative process leaves only digital traces. On the other hand, the potential of paper rough drafts is still not exhausted: the 2018 Nobel Prize winner in literature, the Polish author Olga Tokarczuk (born 1962, so belonging to the generation with predigital writing habits) uses notebooks and papers (apart from a computer) to create her novels and short stories.

Genetic approach in Eastern European textual scholarship: Beginnings and development

Each culture mentioned in this chapter – Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian – obviously has had a specific tradition of philology and literary criticism, and all those traditions had their specific approaches to the process of text creation.

The foundations of the modern Czech editorial tradition were established at the end of the eighteenth century in the works of the foremost philologist Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829). In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it was shaped by impulses coming mostly from German textual criticism and later on – due to political reasons – from the Russian School. In the second half of the last century a systematic theoretical and methodological basis for editorial work was established by the editors of the “Prague School”, namely Felix Vodička, Miroslav Červenka, Břetislav Štorek, and Rudolf Skřeček.

The basic disposition of Czech textual studies in the nineteenth century was centred around the works of the Romantic poet Karel Hynek Mácha, and for the twentieth, primarily around the work of Petr Bezruč, a poet who closed the age of Symbolism. The initial situation surrounding the work of K.H. Mácha provided Czech textual studies with some orientation regarding temporal and authorial attribution (as it had to come to terms with the sheer quantity of manuscript versions and their problematic authenticity), deciphering manuscripts, the issues of the fragmentary nature of texts, and the methodology of processing them for publishing. Bezruč's constantly evolving core collection, in turn, confronts the 1960s' textual studies, above all with the challenge of variants and their importance for text interpretation – a challenge that was successfully faced by the Czech structuralist school. In his seminal study *Variants and Stylistics* (1930), Jan Mukařovský, an outstanding theoretician of literature and one of the eminent figures of the Prague Linguistic Circle, showed that variants can be examined for reasons other than purely editorial: the focus was shifted towards nonprac-

12. From time to time there are also happy turns of action: manuscripts considered lost as a result of the war are found. Holographs and drafts of the Hungarian poet, writer, journalist and translator Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936) were believed to have been largely destroyed during the Second World War. However, thanks to András Veres' research, most of the manuscript of *Édes Anna's* (a novel from 1926) was discovered and published (Veres 2004).

tical textual studies and situated within text poetics (variants, also holographic drafts, relevant as evidence of changes in the author's style).¹³ Mukařovský's line of "genetically-oriented" research was creatively continued by Miroslav Červenka (1932–2005), in his 1971 work *Textual Criticism and Semiotics* (Červenka 1971), where rough drafts are regarded as material useful for studying the individual psychology of creation.¹⁴ Czech structuralist textual scholarship (together with Russian textology and Polish editorial theory and practice) stimulated Slovak textual studies, also with regard to genetically oriented research. The representative work of the Slovak research on text genesis and the author's creative process is Marianna Mináriková's (1930–2012) monograph *Textologické a štylistické problémy Kukučínovho diela* [Textological and Stylistic Problems of Kukučín's Work, 1972],¹⁵ while Nora Krausová (1920–2009), stimulated by such focused research, tried to use variability in the analysis of the generative process of the work.¹⁶

Likewise, in Poland the abundance of holographs and holographic rough drafts challenged the theory and practice of the editors, historians of literature, and interpreters of literary works. To visualise this situation, we can zoom in on one example. *Samuel Zborowski* (1844–1845), a hermetic play by Juliusz Słowacki, was never published during the author's lifetime. It was left to posterity in the form of circa 40 loose pages, full of deletions, marginal and interline additions, and alternative versions. Between 1901 and 1963, five different editions of *Samuel Zborowski* were prepared by six editors from three generations of Polish philologists: all of them tried to employ the classical pattern of a critical edition. As a result, some fragments of *Samuel Zborowski* were moved, depending on the individual editor's decision, from the main text to the apparatus – and vice versa. In fact, Polish editors tried to make Słowacki's "rough" text, what it never was: a completed, coherent dramatic text, divided into acts, with a clear assignment of each line to a particular character, with a logically developing action. Finally, it is only in the twenty-first century that the big editorial problem of *Samuel Zborowski* has found a new solution: in 2017, Marek Troszyński proposed the paper "genetic edition", which combines facsimiles of the original manuscript with a system of transcriptions presenting to the reader all parts and fragments of the text in the (reconstructed, hypothetical) order of their notation by the poet (Troszyński 2017).

Having said that, we must add that the creative process was quite widely discussed by Polish literary scholars of the twentieth century. The eminent philologist Stanisław Pigoń (1885–1968) even before the First World War started his systematic research on Adam Mickiewicz's holographs and drafts; in the last years of his life, he summarised this line of scholarly

13. This paper by Mukařovský's was also translated into German (Mukařovský 1968).

14. One of the few Czech works on textual scholarship to have been translated into German and English (see Červenka 1971, 1995).

15. In 1957–1974, she edited 21 volumes of Martin Kukučín's works.

16. Studies *Textológia a poetika* [Textology and Poetics, 1973] and *Literárny text ako proces produkcie* [The Literary Text as a Production Process, 1974] published in the journal *Slovenská literatúra* [Slovak Literature].

activity by publishing an important book entirely devoted to the history of the creation of Adam Mickiewicz's *Dziady* [The Forefathers' Eve] (Pigoń 1967).

"Researchers should study the genesis of work in its embryonic state, and the development of intentions from a vague thought to the finished work (the study of draft sketches, author's plans and assumptions, particular editions of a work); they must study *the psychology of creative process* of an author" – this postulate was formulated in Ukraine as early as in 1922 by Iieremiia Aizenshtok (1900–1980) (Aizenshtok 1922: 157).¹⁷ Ukrainian literary criticism took up this proposal almost immediately: in 1926 Pavlo Fylypovych (1891–1937) wrote a genetically oriented preface to the drama *U pushchi* [In the Forest] by Lesia Ukraïнка (Fylypovych 1926). As usual, genetic research appears where the archival situation enables this approach. The crucial factor in this case is that Lesia Ukraïнка (the pen name of Larysa Kosach, 1871–1913) was aware of the great importance of manuscripts: therefore, she asked her family to store her archive for the future correct editions of her works. Despite all dramatic developments of Ukrainian history and thanks to the efforts of her sister, almost all drafts have been preserved for a number of Ukraïнка's poems. Analogically, the vast collection of Shevchenko's drafts enabled the genetic research on his manuscripts, presented in dozens of articles and several monographs of the late 1930s to 2010s. Among others, researchers highlighted differences in Shevchenko's habits and pace while creating original texts and adaptations, for instance of biblical texts. Shevchenko usually wrote his original short and even longer poems really fast. These manuscripts contain just minor corrections. The autographs of his adaptations, by contrast, are multi-layered because of edits and the variability of certain lines: features that capture the author's uneasy creative attempts and explorations (Borodin 2010).¹⁸

To summarise: there were the home-grown, Eastern European traditions of academic, professional thinking about the dynamics of literary creation, directly determined by local archival situations (the state of preservation of holographic drafts) and inextricably linked to local literary critical landscapes (sets of tendencies in philology, history and theory of literature, editorial theory and practice). Those traditions, although they did not achieve the autonomous position of separate sub-disciplines, undisputedly had their own achievements and impact.

Having said that, one should bear in mind that the Eastern European history (or histories) of genetic studies in the general sense of the term was (or were) influenced by other scholarly traditions (most notably, Russian) and shaped by the process of reception of Western methodological and theoretical impulses. Among them, the French *critique génétique* played a crucial

17. Cf. his "embryonic" figure of speech with Almuth Grésillon's observation regarding the vocabulary of French scholars in the last decades of the twentieth century that "moves to human (pro)creation, which leads to a whole new series of metaphors: gestation, childbearing, begetting, parturition, embryo, offspring" (Grésillon 1997: 108).

18. Among other authors whose creative process has been studied with especially solid results, one may name prose writers of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Ivan Nechui-Levyts'kyi, Panas Myrnyi, Vasyl' Stefanyk, and Olha Kobylans'ka (Zubkov 1968; Syvachenko 1974). The whole raft of fascinating genetic studies has been accumulated in Larysa Miroshnuchenko's books (Miroshnuchenko 2001; Miroshnuchenko 2011).

role. To describe the Eastern European reception of genetic criticism, the metaphor of a network seems particularly useful. It allows us to see the international and cross-linguistic connections and relations as a system of circulation, in which ideas, terms and concepts are disseminated, transferred and exchanged.

External inspirations and their internalisation: *Critique génétique* in the Eastern European nexus

“Avant-texte, texte, après-texte” – this title, clearly referring to the French terminology, was given to the international textual studies colloquium in Mátrafüred (Hungary) in 1978 – apparently one of the first appearances of genetic criticism in the Eastern Bloc.¹⁹ Alongside the French guests and Hungarian hosts, conference participants included also scholars from Czechoslovakia, Germany (East and West: Berlin, Hamburg, Mainz, and Münster), USSR, Belgium and Switzerland.²⁰ The impact of this event is, at least to some degree, measurable: the colloquium not only started the Hungarian reception of *critique génétique* – later strengthened by the 1989 *Helikon* thematic issue – but also influenced Czech textual studies.²¹ Pavel Vašák, one of the 1978 colloquium participants, the next year published a Czech-language report on the event’s discussions (Vašák 1979), and then referred in his own studies to the works of Louis Hay, Almuth Grésillon and Jean-Louis Lebrave. The Hungarian conference had virtually no echoes in the Polish textology, which was, in turn, relatively well acquainted with Russian and Soviet studies on the textual creation process.²² The Polish reception of *critique génétique* started with a significant delay in the early 1990s.²³ In 1990, Zofia Mitosek, eminent theoretician of literature, published a journal article (later re-published in Mitosek’s popular academic handbook on the methodologies of literary studies, Mitosek 2004); in 1992 a French-Polish genetic conference (attended by Louis Hay) was organised in Poland by the University of War-

19. The conference proceedings were published in Hay and Nagy 1982.

20. Amongst the French guests were Raymonde Debray-Genette, Jean Bellemin-Noël and Louis Hay. See full list of participants: Hay and Nagy 1982: 7–10.

21. *Helikon* quarterly has been issued since 1955. The journal reports on international research results in literary studies. Its scope of interest covers literary theory, comparative literary studies, the theoretical, historical and methodological questions of modern world literature, and the border areas of cultural history and literature. It has published thematic issues since 1963. The first issue of 2021 deals with genetic criticism in theoretical and workshop studies.

22. In 1964 the Polish translation of Boris Eichenbaum’s 1919 article *Kak sdelana “Shinel” Gogolia* [How Gogol’s “Overcoat” is made] was published. This article, although focused on the construction of the finished work, contains also significant passages devoted to the rough drafts – in this way the classic text of Russian formalism demonstrated to the Polish readers the usefulness of the genetic approach. Another example of welcoming Eastern inspiration is a Polish translation (from 1976) of a book *Tvorcheskaia istoriia “Anny Kareninoi”; materialy i nabliudeniia* [History of creation of “Anna Karenina”; materials and remarks] by Vladimir Zhdanov.

23. By comparison, other French and Romanian tendencies in literary studies, like “critique thematique” or structuralism, were well known in Poland – through discussions and translations – in the 1970s.

saw and Parisian ITEM. From Poland our narrative should now shift back to the Czech Republic, as both Polish acts of reception mentioned above were quickly absorbed by Czech textual scholarship: the proceedings of the 1992 conference became the subject of Miloš Zelenka's methodological deliberations (Zelenka 1995), and Zofia Mitosek's handbook (with its final, genetic chapter) was later translated into Czech (2010). At the same time, the Czech culture of textual scholarship absorbed Western inspirations also via German: a review of the anthology *Literarische Schreibprozesse*, published as the 68th volume in the journal *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft* (1987), offered a look at such methods of genetically oriented criticism as *Produktionsästhetik*, intertextuality scholarship, and Eco's theory of the open work.²⁴ To complete the portrait of this East European "nexus," we should add that in the case of contemporary Ukrainian scholars, the acquaintance with *critique génétique* occurs mostly via Russian mediation and the collection titled *Geneticheskaia kritika vo Frantsii* [Genetic Criticism in France] (Dmitrieva 1999).²⁵

The Eastern European reception of *critique génétique* is still in progress. After several years marked mainly by the discursive presentations of French theory and practice, there finally appeared the long-awaited translations of the entire and representative book: *Génétique des Textes*, the classical "handbook of *critique génétique*" by Pierre-Marc de Biasi, was translated first into Polish (2015) and then into Czech (2018).

Today and tomorrow: Eastern European genetic criticism as work in progress

Provoked by the vast literary archives (in spite of the scale of historical manuscript-clasm), and based on the local, homegrown traditions supplied by the French, Anglophone, German or Russian inspirations, Eastern European genetic criticism can be described as "work in progress," as the project still opens to the future. During the first two decades of the twenty-first century, genetic studies were looking for their space among other tendencies of contemporary literary studies and, to say more broadly, contemporary humanities. This process continues.

One can already risk the thesis that the last dozen or so years, circa 2007–2020, have seen a clear intensification of Polish studies devoted to the text-making process. The evident quantitative growth of Polish genetic research in recent years can be illustrated by the fact that between 2007 and 2020, eight new books devoted (entirely or in significant part) to the text-forming process have been published. In Poland, however, genetic editing is – in spite of a few notable achievements – still deficient in comparison with genetic literature studies. Polish geneticists usually write about the genesis of Polish literary texts, rather than creating comprehensive, editorial representations of their genesis; this disproportion between literary

24. The authors of the review, Alice Jedličková and Dana Svobodová, name the text's processual conception as a constitutive trait of genetic criticism; as regards publishing activities, they note a distancing from the effort to "prepare" a singular "true text" (Jedličková and Svobodová 1989).

25. This collection served as a main source of information and a theoretical basis for Larysa Miroshnychenko (Miroshnychenko 2003), as well as for Myroslava Hnatiuk (Hnatiuk 2011: 18). In the recent articles, however, one can also notice references to the works of Polish "geneticists" (Haleta 2021).

discourse and editorial practice is highly noticeable. A similar situation can be observed in Ukraine, although single digital editions, those pioneering attempts at presenting Ukrainian classics in a new format, paid some attention to draft manuscripts too. The authors of the *Portal Shevchenka* (Shevchenko Portal) project, among other things, set an ambitious goal of displaying each line written by Shevchenko and preserved to this day. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of such easy access to authors' drafts, autographs, notes, and letters for researchers, all in one online resource, on one screen. However, the *Shevchenko Portal* is rather a prominent exception, while most Ukrainian classics have no electronic/digital projects representing the variability and processuality of their works.

Genetic theories are more intensively translated into editing practice in Hungary. Especially after 2000, several scholarly text editions have been produced according to genetic principles. Among numerous examples, particularly worth mentioning is the textological research conducted at the University of Debrecen under the leadership of Attila Debreczeni, which deals with the corpus of classical Hungarian literature, first and foremost the works of Ferenc Kazinczy and Vitéz Mihály Csokonai. The critical edition of Kazinczy's oeuvre started in the late nineties. A large number of variants required the application of the principles of genetic textology in addition to traditional critical text management. The critical edition of Csokonai's works was published in eleven volumes between 1975 and 2002, and the interrelation of the different variants led to the idea of genetic publishing. Both critical editions have their printed versions, but their major innovation lies in the creation of a digital edition. The Csokonai Critical Edition series is an exemplary work because the last volume of the series is Debreczeni's monograph (Debreczeni 2012) on the chronological order of Csokonai's works, which proposes to redefine basic textual concepts (text source, text state, text variant, text identity, authorised copy, archive copy, collector's copy) and to rethink the problem of text genesis (Szénási 2018: 358).

Nowadays, Hungarian textual scholarship is involved in the project of the critical edition of Mihály Babits' poems.²⁶ The large number of autograph fragments, draft texts, handwritten and typed fair copies in Babits' legacy, as well as numerous instances of duplicate publications, often with considerable differences in content in comparison to the manuscript, calls into question the practice of selecting a primary text and the enforceability of "authorial intent" underlain by the principles of *ultima manus* and *ultima editio*. The new critical editions – currently "in the making" – will replace the finality of the published work of art by demonstrating the continuity of its creation (Buda and Major 2019). To achieve this goal, the editors must develop an easily decoded genetic set of characters that can illustrate as many moments of the writing act as possible. In addition to renewing the methodology of text publishing, the project aims to refresh the content of the subject notes, breaking with positivism and biography-centric genetics.²⁷

26. Mihály Babits (1883–1941), Hungarian poet, writer and translator, one of the most important figures in Hungarian modernism.

27. The most important publication related to the preliminary work on the Babits critical edition is Kelevéz 1998.

After 2000, Czech textual critics and editors strived to present textual variants in a digital environment. In the Hybrid Scholarly Edition of the complete writings of František Gellner (2012), “Slezské písně” [Silesian Songs] by Petr Bezruč (2015) and K.H. Mácha’s poem “Máj” [May] (2019) editors concentrate on capturing the dynamic of literary texts and visualising it adequately. Recalling Peter Schillingsburg’s classical division of editorial methods, it can be said that this approach is essentially historically oriented, with traces of sociological orientation. These digital editions bring together and organise all the textual variants, such as drafts, manuscripts, fair copies, all the types of prints (magazine, book) and reviewed prints. Every text is presented to the reader in different ways: (1) as a facsimile, (2) as a transcription (in the case of manuscripts), (3) as a literary (diplomatic) edition of printed texts and (4) as a corrected and commented edition. Textual changes are furthermore registered in the apparatus section in the form of synoptical reading. These tools allow us to introduce new statistical methods into the research on variants. The digital part of the Hybrid Scholarly Edition does not aim to establish authoritative canonical reading, but rather to grasp the substantial fluidity of the text.

Modern, professional studies of the genesis of Eastern European literary works date back to the 1920s (if not earlier); their foundations have been laid circa a hundred years ago. Despite this long and productive history, the idea of the literary work as a multivariant phenomenon and the manuscript as a field for learning the creative process is itself still a “work in progress”. The Eastern European shift from the question “how was this made?” to “how was this being made?” is ongoing.

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1.2.4 Anglophone traditions

Dealing with drafts of modern literary manuscripts

Paul Eggert

Spurred on by new editions of works of modern literature in which manuscript materials are often extant, editorial theory since the 1980s has been laying the groundwork for the wider introduction of a genetic perspective on the works of Anglophone authors. Resistance to the idea from the 1940s is traced. The editing of writers' journals during the 1970s–1990s shows a hesitation to follow the brave lead of the Harvard edition of Emerson's *Journals* in recording in-text cancellations and additions. Editors' conceptions of the reader of their editions have evolved since 1950. The advent of the Cornell Wordsworth and Cornell Yeats editions broadened understanding of the editorial-archival function; the method has become accepted as the base-line responsibility of digital editors.

Keywords: draft manuscript, genetic criticism, genetic edition, anglophone scholarly editing, archival reporting, version, Emerson's *Journals*, Cornell Yeats, editorial theory, reading

Post-Second World War editorial dealings with the genesis of modern English literary manuscripts, including the journals and correspondence of literary figures, have been conflicted. Marked by growing recognition by some editors of its necessity and desirability, and then by ever more ingenious attempts to uncover and present the evidence of authorial first and second thoughts, such editions have been followed, often enough, by loud resistance to the whole enterprise. Genetic criticism and even genetic editions are not unknown in English, and there is recent evidence of newfound interest in both; but this has been achieved against a background in which the dominant tradition in scholarly editing until the 1980s, was bibliographical. The condition of the texts of Shakespeare's plays, for which virtually no holograph manuscript evidence has survived, meant that inquiry into the variant texts of the quarto and folio printings during and shortly after his lifetime could only be furthered by reconstruction of the working methods of the printshop – that is to say, by bibliographical enquiry – with the aim of identifying and thereby eliminating the habits of compositors, thus better approximating the text as Shakespeare had written it.

However, in recent decades hope has been waning among practising Shakespeare editors that bibliographical testimony alone would elicit the authorial text. Simultaneously since the 1980s, a new phase of editorial theory has been spurred on by new editorial projects involving works of later centuries in which manuscript, typescript or proof materials were often extant and where, in the case of novels, serial printings often preceded dual first editions in New York and London. These factors have been laying the groundwork – creating an appetite – for the wider introduction of a genetic perspective on the works of Anglophone authors. The forms of

it that may materialise will doubtless be affected not by European models alone but by the ways in which English pre-print literary artefacts have already been studied and edited. The history of such attempts, up until the advent of digital editions, is the subject of the present chapter, in which one main theme unexpectedly emerges: editors' changing imagining of their readerships.

The 1950s–1960s, and barbed-wire editions

Locating the source of the traditional Anglophone resistance to genetic methods of analysis in literary study is not hard. It was encapsulated in F.R. Leavis's memorable dismissal in 1943 of the Twickenham scholarly edition of Alexander Pope's *Dunciad*, edited by James Sutherland and published that same year. Leavis's review-essay, which originally appeared in *Scrutiny*, was reprinted in his influential collection *The Common Pursuit* in 1952. It was very much of its moment:

Yes, one concedes grudgingly, overcoming the inevitable revulsion, as one turns the pages of this new edition (The "Twickenham"), in which the poem trickles thinly through a desert of apparatus, to disappear time and again from sight – yes, there has to be a *Dunciad* annotated, garnished and be-prosed in this way. A very large proportion of the apparatus, after all, comes down from the eighteenth century with the poem, and the whole, though to read it all through will be worth no one's while, is enlightening documentation of the age that produced Pope and of which Pope made poetry [...] [T]hough this new monument of scholarship will have to go into all the libraries for reference, it is not the edition in which the *Dunciad* should be read. The material is one thing, the poetry another [...]. For eighteenth-century readers it must have been hard not to start away continually from the poetry to thinking about the particular historical victim and the grounds of Pope's animus against him; for modern readers it should be much easier to appreciate the poetry as poetry.
(Leavis 1952: 88)

In this passage Leavis was staving off two literary traditions simultaneously: on the one hand, the old tradition of *belles lettres* with its gentlemanly mixture of biography, literary history and assessment, against which his own more strenuous, purely literary-critical approach had been gradually defining itself since the 1920s; and, on the other hand, the modern professionalising stance of the literary historian and editor who, as here, provided the textual commentary, the display of textual variants and the historical annotation that added to and interpreted Pope's own notes.

For his part, Leavis stood up for "poetry as poetry". His demand was always for uninterrupted access to the work itself, which was understood to stand alone, concretely or organically. The aim was to elicit the inherent values of literary artworks so as to bring them to bear on the urgent cultural crises of his mid-century Existentialist period. The need was to learn to distinguish what Leavis in later years would call the moral intelligence of great writers from the dross

of second- and third-rate ones. This was the function of criticism; everything else got in the way.¹

The no-nonsense term *concrete* or *the concrete work* was a favourite one of Leavis's. Other critics were using it at the time, and it remained in influential circulation until at least the 1970s when, as an undergraduate, I first heard it used. The concrete work and the so-called Verbal Icon of the American New Critics in the 1950s were cognate ideas.²

Editions that disturbed this set of assumptions were not going to be welcomed by some, especially if they foregrounded evidence of the work's historical setting, its genesis and range of variant texts. The incipient tension between the literary critics and the literary scholars, as witnessed here, bubbled away just below the surface, until in the USA in 1968, it came to the boil. Early that year, Lewis Mumford – primarily a sociologist and social commentator, but also a literary critic – reviewed for the *New York Review of Books* (NYRB) the first six volumes of the Harvard edition of Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*.³ Emerson had left behind 179 journals and notebooks, nearly all preserved at the Houghton Library, Harvard. Most of them are bound in leather and of a usefully portable size. They were his everyday working archive for recording quotations, comments and ideas. He would often go back later to them, adding "afterthoughts, culling out and lining through passages used in lectures or essays, making cross-references, copying from one into another, indexing, or just reading" (Emerson 1960: xxxv). Given Emerson's status in American literature as the most prominent of the mid-nineteenth-century Transcendentalists, famous for his powerful essays, the editorial presentation of the journals was a matter of some moment. The editors announced that:

each journal would be presented intact [...] as units rather than broken up and [the contents] distributed by the date or supposed date of each entry [...] The other major premises were that minimum interference with the text, maximum intelligibility, and maximum feasible honesty with the reader were the proper attributes of a modern scholarly edition [...]. The text, while partially emended, comes as close to a literatim transcription into print as is feasible.
(Emerson 1960: xxxvii–xxxviii)

The genesis of Emerson's thinking that would ultimately take public form in his essays and other writings would be recorded in full in the Harvard edition.

Despite the logic of this position, in his review, entitled "Emerson behind Barbed Wire", Mumford diagnosed the editorial method as a radical departure from "literary values and humanistic aims":

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1. The literary scholars had their counterpart anxiety and duty: "To protect the Wordsworth manuscripts in the Dove Cottage Trustees' possession, in those Cold War days, heavy with the threat of nuclear apocalypse, Helen Darbishire had them microfilmed" (Butler and Green 1997: 96). Editing was itself another guarantee, one that was felt heavily in Germany.
 2. For René Wellek and Austin Warren in 1948, "the object of literary study [is] – the concrete work of art" (147). *The Verbal Icon* was the title of an influential work of New Criticism (Wimsatt and Beardsley 1954).
 3. The first volume had appeared in 1960; the last, volume 22, would appear in 1982.

[T]he editors committed two monumental errors of judgment [...] The first one was to print all the available material *seriatim*, mingling the important with the inconsequential, the living and maturing mind of Emerson with the debris of his daily existence; and the other was to magnify this original error by transcribing their accurate notations to the very pages that the potential readers of Emerson might wish to read freely, without stumbling over scholarly roadblocks and barricades. (Mumford 1968: 4)⁴

Mumford was objecting, as we might put it today, to the new edition's being more of a formalised rendering of the archival documents than a digested editorial intervention done for the benefit of the ordinary reader. He did not see a need for an editorial distinction between matter intended for publication as against purely private journal-keeping. So he objected to the system of symbolic notation that the editors used to capture Emerson's first thoughts, and cancellations and added wordings, what the editors called "the hard-headed things written for himself only, the personalia, sometimes even the false starts and unfinished sallies of thought, as well as the things which did go into the essays – all these are real facts to be valued along with the finished works in the study of Emerson, and all are needed for the revision of Emerson's reputation" (Emerson 1960: xxxiv).

Later that same year, 1968, Mumford was joined in his attack in the *NYRB* by the influential man of letters and literary critic, Edmund Wilson, who voiced sentiments of the same generation: like Mumford (and, incidentally, F.R. Leavis), he was born in 1895. Wilson's two-part broadside, "The Fruits of the MLA [Modern Language Association]" (1968), put the scholarly editing fraternity in America onto the back foot. The MLA's new Center for the Editing of American Authors (CEAA) had, in 1966, been awarded generous funding for the preparation of scholarly editions of national authors. Its constituency now had something to lose. Various letters to the editor contested or supported Wilson's arguments, and in due course the MLA published a selection of the letters in a booklet together with some new essays putting its side of the case (Modern Language Association 1969).⁵ Contributors stated that the format of the Emerson edition was not one that the CEAA encouraged new editors to adopt. For literary works, the clear text was the desired format: at least Mumford and those who shared his point of view could have no argument with that. The record of variant readings of other documents, manuscript and printed, in the textual apparatus would be a record of rejected readings, those *not* used by the editor to establish the clear reading text. It was designed primarily to guarantee and test the bona fides of the edition.

It was not a neutral variorum recording in its own right – a form of editing for which Fredson Bowers, the doyen of the critical editing movement in the USA in the 1960s and 1970s, had little time. In 1962 he referred to "the non-selective variorum principle, which should have no place in a critical definitive text and its apparatus" (Bowers 1962: 11). In order to give the move-

4. The account of Mumford and Wilson is partly adapted from Eggert 2009: 162–164.

5. For example, "The MLA Center for Editions has, since its inception in 1962, set as its objective the creation of a clear reading text, ready for popular publication, alongside the collection of variant readings and textual history that will show what lies behind the clear text" (Fisher 1969: 22).

ment he led a firmer footing, Bowers consciously narrowed its scope. The older *variorum* form of edition did not involve the critical establishment of a text: it merely accepted one in order to provide the basis for a collation of the other historical editions. Neither approach was specifically concerned with the literary draft, but at least the *variorum* approach embraced multiplicity, that is, the decisions of earlier editors. While Bowers on the other hand insisted all such editions must be collated for the purpose of possible emendation, there was little point in publishing “this sad record of editorial corruption” (Bowers 1962: 11). So the dispute was gradually defused, but it was at the cost of removing from the agenda for some decades any real challenge to Mumford’s “standpoint of humane letters” (Mumford 1968: 4). In effect, it was a strategic retreat to the already naturalised tenets of American New Criticism and its more pragmatic, less theorised British counterpart, practical criticism.

But it was also, I have come to believe, a reinforcement of a new understanding of the figure of the reader, one germane to the times. This 1950s–1960s reader could and should stand face to face with the work, without those much-complained-of scholarly impediments getting in the way, to facilitate the urgent task of finding in literature the cultural-moral values and historical understanding that were believed to be needed in this Existentialist period.

In comparison, the reader envisaged by the editors of the earlier, memorialising, turn-of-century complete-works editions was a different creature altogether. The Emerson-Forbes edition of Emerson’s *Journals* of 1909–14 is a good example. The reader was understood to be of a gentlemanly disposition, whose cultural outlook needed to be accommodated. The Harvard editors of the Emerson *Journals* in 1960 were in a good position to identify the shift:

In the first printing of the journals we lost much of Emerson. The Montaigne in him was unduly overshadowed by the Plotinus, the brooding doubter by the cosmic optimist, the private man in his freedom and infinitude by the public man in the confining garments of “the gentleman.” We also lost the full means of knowing his habits of writing, the extent of his sources and his use of them, his knowledge of the classics, and particularly the slow, intricate ways in which his thought grew, fascinating as a banyan tree in all its apparent lawlessness. (Emerson 1960: xxxiii)

In their Introduction to Volume 1, the Harvard editors substantiate these criticisms by showing in convincing detail how their forebears had selected, clipped, even cut-and-pasted passages from here and there in the original journals, and abridged wherever they deemed it necessary without reporting that they had done so, in order to purify Emerson for the reader of their editorial imagining.

Letters editions

Editors’ expectations of what readers of the 1950s and 1960s wanted from their editions of the collected letters of important literary figures were, in comparison to those of the Harvard editors, conservative, less adventurous and made fewer demands on their reader. The conscious bowdlerising typical of turn-of-century memorial editions was by the 1950s part of a faintly

embarrassing past in the world of letters; editing should be more straightforward in its presentation of the evidence. But to go further and allow the reader to look underneath the surface text was still widely considered *infra dig*. As with the texts of works, so with letters: the reader and the editorially clarified text should stand sturdily apart so that the one could deal with the other, only now with the help of expert historical and biographical annotation.

This seems to have been the spirit in which Gordon Haight's thorough multi-volume edition of George Eliot's letters was prepared. The first volume was published by Yale University Press during 1954–55. No facsimiles of the letters or illustrations of any kind are provided, only edited transcriptions. A reader uninterested in the originals or in checking the accuracy of the transcriptions is thereby assumed.⁶ Haight does the work for them. He expands manuscript abbreviations, retains the writer's spellings, but "With punctuation I have dealt a little more freely [...] to save rereading." "[M]y principal concern," Haight states, "has been the reader's convenience. To reproduce in type all the vagaries of manuscript is neither feasible nor desirable, and though I have tried to provide an accurate text, it is not an exact transcription" (G. Eliot 1954: xxxv).

When Harry T. Moore introduced his two-volume edition of D.H. Lawrence's letters in 1962 he was performing a conscious mid-century modernising. His predecessor as editor had been Aldous Huxley, in 1932 – only two years after Lawrence's death. In this decade, many of Lawrence's friends and admirers were solicitous about establishing his reputation as an artist and were attempting to beat off his detractors, a number of whom were going into print on the matter. In that combative context, Huxley excluded "[t]rivial notes", most business letters and a "certain number of passages that might have given pain to the person mentioned in them, or that deal with personalities which it did not seem right or decent to make public [...] Here and there, for obvious reasons, I have suppressed a name" (Huxley 1932: xxxiv). Enter Moore in 1962, bringing a by-now-established Lawrence more fully under the purview of professional literary critics.

In his essay-review of Moore's edition, F.R. Leavis let rip:

I have tried, but I find it impossible to be grateful to Professor Harry T. Moore for what he has "done for Lawrence". [...] [W]hat standing does he suppose he has in relation to the genius of whom he has taken academic possession ... [Reading the Introduction,] it is borne in on one how lamentably an industrious scholar, specializing in a great creative genius, may be unaware of his own limitations and misconceive his place in the scheme of things. [...] Lawrence has suffered too much from critical naïveté, and when it gets such countenance and alimentionation from an "authority" as Professor Moore gives it, and on a large scale, in the pages of a Lawrence classic, then there is a duty of protest. [...] Unhappily one cannot for long give oneself to the text without some fresh annoyance from the mis-conceived and obtruded editorial authority. (Leavis 1967: 167–169, 172)

6. Although symbols are declared for "Matter supplied by the editor" ([]) and for "Overscored but recoverable" readings (< >) (G. Eliot 1954: xxxvii), cases of the latter are rare, suggesting the record is only selective; but this is not stated in "The Text" (1954: xxxv–xxxvi).

For Leavis, Lawrence's importance to the health of the culture, including for diagnosing its contemporary disease, was too important to be delivered over into the hands of a scholar. Only the testimony of the properly attuned critic could be trusted. This kind of response – if usually expressed more moderately – helps explain the prevailing caution in the exercise of the scholarly editorial role in this period.

Predictably, Leavis had nothing to say about Moore's actual editing, other than to point out some errors. Moore was very much an editor of his time when he quoted Robert Halsband, who had observed in 1958: "When we decide to reproduce it [a handwritten letter] by means of typography, we have made a great concession; and once having made it we need not be stingy as to its extent" (Lawrence 1962: xxii; Halsband 1958: 30). Recording Lawrence's hesitations, deletions and second thoughts on the letter-documents was out of the question for this near-contemporary.

In 1979, the next stage of editorial unveiling of Lawrence's correspondence occurred when the first of eight comprehensive volumes of Lawrence's letters appeared from Cambridge University Press. The general editor doggedly stuck to his 1960s guns in defiantly declaring that "[t]he editors provide not a diplomatic transcription of Lawrence's manuscripts but an edited text which is accurate and reliable" (Lawrence 1979: xviii). The editors would deal with their archival-reporting responsibility by listing their silent categories of emendation without recording the individual instances (Lawrence 1979: xviii–xx) and by reporting deleted readings, not in systematic textual apparatus but in foot-of-page notes along with the rest of the annotation. The latter would be (and was) comprehensive, authoritative and brief: scholarship was to underpin everything the editors did, but it should not be allowed to flaunt itself. In comparison, in 1932 Huxley had not provided any annotation; and, in 1962, Moore's annotation was skimpy, although he did provide a glossary of recipients.

Letters projects that took shape in following decades – such as those for Joseph Conrad (1983–2007); Henry James (2006–) and Ernest Hemingway (2011–) have been less self-denying than the Lawrence project in regard to the display of the author's cancellations and additions. The editors have also been less prepared to regularise spelling and punctuation, to the extent that one might now almost say the diplomatic transcriptions from which reading texts used routinely to be distinguished have become common.⁷ Obviously, a different kind of reader had entered the editorial imaginary of letters editors by the 2000s, one professionally interested in authorial hesitations, dissemblings, revisions, and moments of breakthrough as materially manifested. The shift (dealt with below) followed a renewed interest in work-versions, and even drafts: in text-genesis, for short.

7. Interestingly, the Samuel Beckett letters (also a Cambridge University Press project) represented something of a return to 1980s self-denial (Beckett 2009–2016).

Editions of literary works in MS, and of writers' journals

The reception of the Harvard Emerson edition contrasts with that of the Harvard edition in 1955 of Emily Dickinson's late-nineteenth-century poetry, most of it unpublished or, if published, subjected to a thorough stylistic updating by her contemporaries and family. That she was a genius was clear by the 1950s. But that her very private and puzzling poems (if poems they were) should each be reduced to a single version, when she herself had allowed multiple versions to circulate and alternative readings to go unresolved, was not. The editor in 1955, Thomas Johnson, decided on a variorum presentation that would cover the undeniably relevant manuscript (and printed) evidence, which together with his decision to provide a clear-reading "principal representation" for each poem, meant that the edition passed muster with reviewers at the time, despite some ominous murmurings. The Harvard Emerson editors' decision to go that one step further and signal the author's changes of mind in the reading text itself was still five years in the future and was altogether another step.

When other important scholarly editions of writers' journals appeared in the following decades a hesitation to take that extra step was evident. In relation to the editorial presentation of modern literature, British university presses were not prominent innovators, and even less so the trade press. For instance, the Hogarth Press began publishing *The Diary of Virginia Woolf* in 1977; the fifth volume concluded the series in 1984. This, the first edition of what is a remarkable diary was aimed at a broader range of readers than most scholarly editions. In what had rapidly become a tradition (see G. Eliot 1954; Lawrence 1962), the record of Woolf's deletions and additions is selective, and the editor Anne Olivier Bell's regularisation of non-verbal features of the text would have struck her readers at the time as commonplace and sensible.⁸ Reflecting what was now almost another tradition in post-war letters editing, she recorded only the categories that she regularises, not the individual instances of her intervention – for why, she must have reasoned, would the ordinary reader need more? The edition's emphasis is on annotation, and here Bell's edition shines because it hews close to what most non-scholarly readers were believed to want: a clear text and explanation of what they probably wouldn't understand. But the journal's personal and private nature – materially witnessed in the vagaries of the manuscript hand – was always going to be partially misrepresented by its conversion to regularised typography. The refined analytical quest behind the twenty-one volumes of the Cornell Wordsworth (1975–2007), which I describe below, was evidently felt not to be worth

8. The tradition was superseded, if not systematically, in Lawrence (1979): see Eggert (2019: 70–72) for a discussion. Bell states that "[t]here is remarkably little crossed out or altered in these pages, considering the speed at which Virginia wrote; indeed the pace at which she wrote precluded those corrections and additions which are so striking a feature of her more pondered manuscripts. Where she has corrected herself, her corrections are followed. Very occasionally, her first thoughts or hesitations seem of enough interest to repeat, and they appear within angled brackets: < >" (Woolf 1977: x). But the reader can turn very many pages without finding any; and the absence of facsimiles prevents one checking the claim.

pursuing for Virginia Woolf, even though much of the necessary scholarly infrastructure was in place.⁹

Something of the same no-nonsense spirit would inform *The Journals of George Eliot* twenty years later in 1998. This Cambridge University Press one-volume edition brought together for the first time Eliot's diaries, journals and autobiographical travel writings in a comprehensible sequence. The editors Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston state that: "We endeavoured to make the journals accessible in every sense by supplying a diplomatic transcription of the manuscripts supported by unobtrusive editorial apparatus" (G. Eliot 1998:viii). But a facsimile page-image on page 222 shows, when the transcription is compared, that its deletions are *not* recorded: so the text is not strictly "diplomatic". And when the editors spell out their silent categories of emendation, they are very similar to Gordon Haight's in his *George Eliot Letters* (1954) and to Bell's in her *Virginia Woolf Diary*. Most of the editorial effort has gone into the sequencing of the diaries and journals, which required some expert disentangling, into the explanatory notes (which are authoritative but sparing) and into an excellent glossary-index, an innovation that melds the two forms, prevents repetition of notes and eliminates the need for cross-references.

A reader somewhere between the general reader and the scholarly one seems to have been envisaged for this edition and doubtless for many others – but who was doing the envisaging? Inevitably, publishers were complicit in the prevailing conservatism. Bowers's undermining the prominence that had been accorded the variorum edition and his embracing the ideal of the critically established clear reading text preserved the same post-war conception of the reader that the editors of writers' letters and journals were respecting – even while works' editors smuggled in the scholarly detail at the rear of the volume. With some notable exceptions including Harvard University Press and Cornell University Press, publishers had, through their dictation of volume design, a conservative effect on editorial methodology. Print could only contain so much detail, volumes could only run to so many pages, and the publishers were the ones who had to sell the editions. They needed to stay attuned to their markets by conceptualising the likely readers and purchasers of their products. Who would buy them: specialist academic libraries and professional literary critics and scholars? Or so-called general or common readers?

This broader readership was aimed at in 1975, as we have seen, for Virginia Woolf's *Diary*; and even at the beginning of the 1980s the expectation remained alive for the new Works of D.H. Lawrence series at Cambridge University Press. The early print runs were 5,000 copies, but this ambitious number would not long continue (Eggert 2019: 193). The climate of literary theory and editorial theory was shifting rapidly in the 1980s. The publishers' and the editors' conception of readership would gradually have to change with it.

9. Woolf's complete works were already available in collected form, as were her letters (2 vols., 1975, 1976), a biography by Quentin Bell of 1972, Leonard Woolf's 5-volume *Autobiography*, as well as the large archival collection of Woolf materials in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library: for citations, see Woolf 1977: 328.

Genesis on the table

At about the same time – from the mid 1970s, but with stirrings as early as the later 1960s – literary critics started taking a renewed interest in the relevance of versional study to their interpretations. This would surely break the Verbal Icon; but the evidence of the need to do so was mounting. The problem of the two endings of Dickens's *Great Expectations* and of Jane Austen's *Persuasion*, the long-debated merits of Wordsworth's *Prelude* in its final 1850 form as against that of 1805, as well as new scholarly editions that rejected received texts in favour of newly established earlier ones (such as the controversial Pennsylvania edition of Theodor Dreiser's novel *Sister Carrie* in 1981), were gradually stirring interest in a form of analysis that got in below the level of the work. It wasn't only bibliographical disputes about Shakespeare's quarto and folio texts any more.

So, for instance, in my PhD studies in the late 1970s I became interested in a debate that had recently sprung up about the different versions of the short stories that D.H. Lawrence gathered for his 1914 collection *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*.¹⁰ The stakes for Lawrence criticism were high because the stories' earlier printed forms in magazines as well as, in some cases, the extant manuscripts behind them, constituted distinctly different versions. How could they be explained? And how accommodated within literary-critical discourse? Consideration of the biographical (or bio-bibliographical) context was especially appealing since Lawrence's personal life was undergoing renewal at the same time as his fiction; and the revised short stories of 1914 provided a strongly predictive link to the revolutionary change evident in his great novels *The Rainbow*, published in September 1915, and *Women in Love*, when he wrote its first version in 1916. This versional study helped to clarify the mystery of how these remarkable novels, so very different from the previous, mainly realist novel *Sons and Lovers*, had so suddenly, almost miraculously, emerged.¹¹

Other author-specialisms in English would have a similar story to tell, although the timing might vary from case to case. I am aware of a number of books that appeared from the mid-1970s to the mid 1990s (and which were doubtless preceded by many relevant articles) that mixed textual criticism and literary criticism in their study of versions. Although they might now be labelled genetic criticism, they travelled under different names in those decades and often with broader remits.¹²

The role of new scholarly editions, and indeed the preceding work done in preparation, must have sparked some of this activity, although some complete works editions were long

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10. The principal examples were: Littlewood 1976, partly based on Littlewood 1966; Kalnins 1976a and 1976b; and Cushman 1978, incorporating versions of three earlier articles in *D.H. Lawrence Review*.
 11. Mark Kinkead-Weekes (1968) had laid the groundwork for explaining the mystery via a study of archival materials.
 12. See for example Laird 1975; Lawrence 1977; Gatrell 1988; McWhirter 1995; Carabine 1996; and, later, Eggert 2013.

delayed.¹³ Despite a prevailing commitment on the part of scholarly editors to clear reading texts based on final intentions, each edition brought new evidence to the table. The genesis of the work was routinely discussed in an introduction or separate essay on the texts, and some recorded early versions in textual apparatus. Novels set on university courses (especially those from Norton as early as the late 1970s and, later, the Penguin Classics) began including appendices listing the more significant variants between major early editions, permitting versional study in classes – although I suspect the pedagogical practice was relatively rare.

As poststructuralist perspectives, on loan from France, began to sweep through the Anglophone countries in the 1980s they did so with a puritan sense of mission that left final-intentions editions looking suddenly even more out of touch with intellectual fashion than they had under the previous New Critical regime. In France, genetic critics who had spent time with literary manuscripts and draft materials, and knew how to prize them, could – knowing the cultural background better – more elegantly adjust the theoretical defence of their empirical pursuit to their native context. Roland Barthes's account of text as tissue – “the generative idea that the text is made, is worked out in a perpetual interweaving” (Barthes 1975: 64) – could be shaped to fit genetic interest nicely, without the necessity of appeal, as in the Anglophone tradition, to authorial intention.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the failure of French modes of genetic criticism (and self-consciously genetic editing) to take firm hold in the Anglophone countries was noticeable in the 1990s and after, even as the homegrown varieties made headway against the poststructuralist tide – though not as a movement-with-a-label.

The Cornell Wordsworth and the Cornell Yeats

Some innovative scholarly editions were explicitly aiming to open up the textual development of works to view. The Cornell Wordsworth published its first volume in 1975 and the Cornell Yeats in 1982. Their volumes are, to differing degrees, more document-facing than reader-facing, more archival in their report than editorial in their service of the reader. Especially in the Cornell Yeats, the envisaged reader has become, indeed, a user: an interpreter in need of facsimile images and diplomatic transcriptions of those manuscript materials that the author would characteristically generate in his pursuit of the wording of a publishable text of each of his works.

The slightly earlier Cornell Wordsworth, which still had one foot planted in the Anglophone editorial tradition, paved the road to the Cornell Yeats.¹⁵ The Wordsworth is versional in orientation and organisation; versions of a poem are presented in reading texts “as it stood at

13. Hampered by permissions issues, new scholarly editions of T. S. Eliot's writings did not get going until the 2010s (T. S. Eliot 2014–2019), and similarly some other new series of Modernist writers had to wait until copyright expired: for details, see Eggert 2019: 70; 193.

14. See also Greetham 1999: 313.

15. A variorum edition, which recorded the variants in the Yeats printed volumes, already existed (Yeats 1966). This fact must have lightened the load and given the series greater freedom to chart its own course than the Wordsworth project enjoyed.

successive stages of its completion" (Parrish 1997: 98). Wordsworth had long been a problem for literary critics because he was an inveterate reviser. Some of the best poems of this very long-lived poet appeared many years, even decades, after they were first written (and, in the interim, were continually revised). The psychological distance Wordsworth had travelled between writing and publication led naturally enough to the question of whether his works should be edited as if there were two Wordsworths that happened to share the same name.

This paradox was a shocking idea at the time, but its logic was hard to deny. Ernst de Selincourt's edition in 1926 of the thirteen-book version of 1805 of Wordsworth's great long poem *The Prelude*, with the existing 1850 version on facing pages, put the question on the table; and it was reiterated in a changed critical climate in 1959 when Helen Darbishire's revised and heavily corrected edition of de Selincourt's appeared. *The Prelude* had first appeared upon Wordsworth's death in 1850 in the version that it had reached by that stage. His last significant revisions were carried out in 1839, but the early drafts dated back to 1798–99. By the 1960s and 1970s there was a felt need for editorial intervention to retrieve the early versions of all the poems, especially those written in what were considered his peak years before 1805 or (in a more relaxed view) 1815. So, the publication in 1992 of the volume called *Lyrical Ballads, and Other Poems, 1797–1800*, edited by James Butler and Karen Green, was an important moment in Wordsworth editorial scholarship.

In line with series policy of giving pride of place to "the earliest provisionally complete" text of any poem (Parrish 1997: 99), in this volume – whether or not poems had authorial versions later than 1800 – reading texts of poems that appeared in *Lyrical Ballads* in its various editions are taken from the first edition of 1798 (whose production Wordsworth supervised); or, if they were subsequently added to the contents, from the extant printer's copy of the 1800 edition. Both sources give the poems their sequence. Poems of the same period that did not appear in *Lyrical Ballads* have their reading texts established from manuscript; these are arranged chronologically. As in a variorum edition, these reading texts also serve as a base text for the apparatus, recording earlier and later readings in manuscript and print.

Some of Coleridge's poems originally appeared in *Lyrical Ballads* alongside Wordsworth's. They are removed from the 1798 or 1800 sequence and presented at the end of the volume: the logic of the edition is authorial throughout. Poems with versions that "differ significantly from what was later published in *Lyrical Ballads*" are edited separately (Wordsworth 1992: 36). But the most striking innovation was the provision of facsimile images of a great many draft materials (with transcriptions facing them) recording the genesis and development of poems Wordsworth never brought to finality or which were adapted for use in other poems. Here, the manuscript evidence is too interesting to omit but, say the editors, too complex to record without facsimiles to carry some of the load.

So, it can be argued that the Cornell Wordsworth had, since its first volume in 1975, gradually been cultivating a *genetic* interest in Wordsworth's writing processes – for editions are always an intervention in the literary-critical scene. As is often the case, however, not everyone was grateful. An influential review article by Jack Stillinger of earlier volumes in the series, "Textual Primitivism and the Editing of Wordsworth" of 1989, argued that privileging the ear-

lier Wordsworth in the Cornell manner alienated the rest of his work as a poet by reducing the later versions to apparatus recordings. The edition thereby made it difficult or even impossible in some cases to locate the reader's favourite poems in anything like the later canonical versions in which they had been commonly available. Stillinger also remained sceptical that retrieving the text of manuscript versions superseded by subsequent revision on the same manuscript – which Wordsworth therefore had not himself authorised for publication – was a legitimate editorial undertaking. Stillinger's position was a conservative one that flew in the face of much of the editorial theory that was developing in the late 1980s, even though his call for all versions to be published cloaked this fact.¹⁶

Editorial theory was changing, predominantly in favour of editors' obligation to expose the textual process that literary works typically undergo. The shift was later nicely encapsulated in the title of John Bryant's book of 2002 *The Fluid Text*. Editorial practice typically lags well behind changes in editorial theory, for there is never unanimity; and big series of scholarly editions, like great ocean liners, take time to change course. However, the relaxation of editorial goals in the 1990s helped more immediately to naturalise the aims of the new digital projects that were springing up and the logic of whose medium demanded a new approach. Providing facsimile images and transcriptions of all relevant text-bearing documents rapidly came to be accepted as the base-line responsibility of the digital editor-archivist. This was the necessary archival exposure on which editions could subsequently be based.

In retrospect, the Cornell Yeats, which followed the Wordsworth, can be seen as an important precursor of this digital turn. Yeats's late poem, "The Circus Animals' Desertion", is an illuminating example. The poet in old age reflects on what he has achieved while simultaneously realising his predicament: the images and ideas he has generated over a lifetime have been like circus animals that he had under his poetic whip; but they are now deserting him as he nears death and his powers attenuate. Presented in the Cornell volume, *Last Poems: Manuscript Materials*, edited by James Pethica (1997), the poem's development through its material forms occupies 34 pages in 17 openings: facsimiles on versos with facing transcriptions. Most of these documents concern the last stanza, with which Yeats had particular trouble.

Towards the end of the process after several manuscript attempts and three typescripts – when it looked as if the poem's text had reached stasis and when Yeats had already achieved a powerful form of the last stanza ("Why brood upon old triumph, prepare to die"; Yeats 1997: 391) – he began, restlessly, to experiment yet again, beginning on the last typescript he was correcting (see Figure 1) and then continuing twice more in manuscript, before finally arriving at the poem's famous, devastating conclusion:

... Now that my ladder's gone
I must lie down where all the ladders start
In the foul rag & bone shop of the heart. (Yeats 1997: 394–5)

16. See further Eggert 1995.

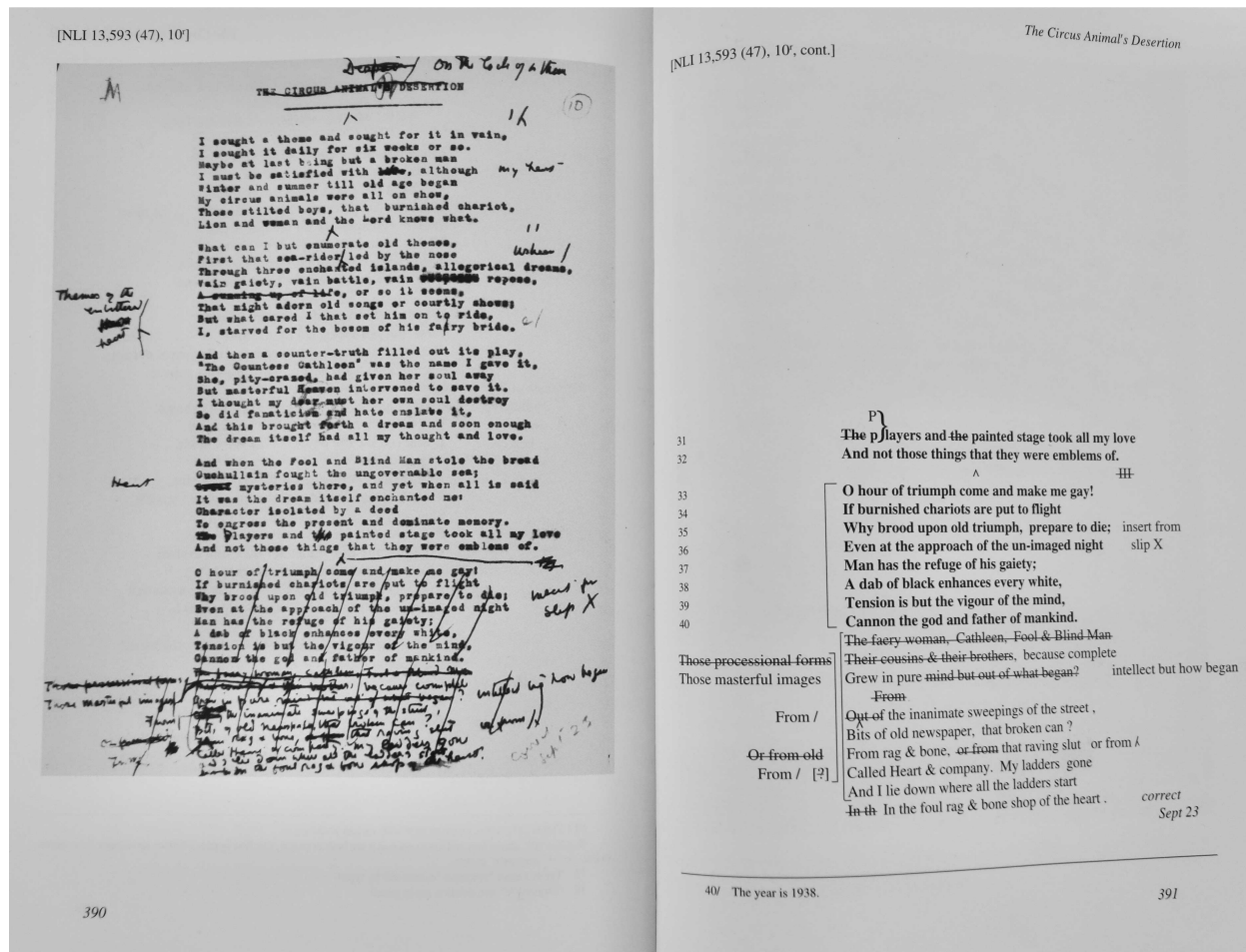


Figure 1. Last Poems: Manuscript Materials, ed. by James Pethica (1997: 390-391)

Given that this edition contains 463 pages of facsimile images of manuscript and revised typescripts corresponding to the mere 22 poems that were to go into *Last Poems* (which Yeats did not live to see into production), its claim to constitute a genetic edition is hard to dispute.¹⁷ It makes accessible the documentary and textual materials needed for genetic criticism: description of the plenitude of archival sources (mainly at the National Library of Ireland); arrangement of facsimiles of those sources into a chronological and textual sequence; and fully diplomatic transcription and commentary. The sequencing is the result of analysis and interpretation, and the transcription and commentary are interpretative, to greater or lesser degrees. All the editorial work explicitly or implicitly appeals to authorial intention: what words Yeats intended by these scribbled inscriptions (his drafting hand is an elusive one); in which order he inscribed this or that bundle of revisions; whether he intended this fragment to be inserted here or there; whether this document came before that one in the sequence of composition and revision; and so on.

The transcription employs an intuitive notation system for deletions, insertions and transpositions, which, when considered in synch with the visual evidence of the facsimile, is far simpler in principle than employing the underlying TEI encoding used for digital editions nowadays. Here, the eye does the computing, slowly making the necessary inferences about the movement of Yeats's restlessly revising hand. A discreet explanatory note at foot of page (see Figure 1) explains line 40's odd wording ("Cannon the god and father of mankind"): "The year is 1938" (Yeats 1997: 391). This concession to the reader is atypical: nearly all of the notes explain oddities in the inscription or sequencing of inscription, not the meaning. This is because the volume is more document-facing than reader-facing. On the slider between the archival expression and the editorial expression that *digital* editions typically inhabit, this print volume sits closer to the former than the latter.¹⁸

Conclusion

The dynamic of verbal invention that manuscripts typically reveal under analysis is flattened by the critical edition, which looks to establish a final text of the work. This latter methodology is often criticised as teleological – as heading in one more or less pre-ordained direction – despite the observable fact that text on the manuscript page is often more experimental than that. Yet critical editions may equally establish the text of versions: versional editing, especially but not only as applied to poetry, has been gaining traction since the 1990s.¹⁹ Later versions are not necessarily superior to earlier; and the felicities of some earlier fragments may be lost sight of when the passages of which they are a part are replaced by later ones. The challenge

17. Pethica sometimes adds a textual apparatus to the transcriptions to cover textual transmission through proofs and printed sources. For a definition of genetic editions, see Shillingsburg and Van Hulle 2015.

18. The slider is postulated in Eggert 2019: 83–92.

19. See for example the *Academy Editions of Australian Literature* (Eggert 1996–2007) and for resistance to its versional approach, see Eggert 2001.

then becomes how to keep the genetic process intelligible to the user-reader while tracing the journey of a work through manuscript and printed instantiations. Editorially revealing and critically describing the contours of the intellectual or creative journey that the writer was undertaking is to adopt a bio-textual perspective. It ideally needs to be complemented by an editorial one: that is, the capacity to look backwards at the emerging text from the knowledge of where the textual journey would ultimately arrive.

This tension between perspectives will likely be a productive one in the future, and I suspect it is where Anglophone genetic criticism and editing, as they develop further hand-in-hand, will ultimately settle. They will fashion themselves, in newly configured ways, around those vectors that have always been central to bibliographical analysis: the material object, textual agency (which brings intention with it), and chronology.²⁰ In this way editor-archivists will keep one eye on their readers: those literary critics who know instinctively how to deal with versions – the concept is not a challenge – and can readily appreciate that there might be rewards in taking the interest further.

Without this two-way conceptual support, currying interest in literary drafts at the sub-version level will be a harder sell. Structuralist definitions of text that would support such interest have never been naturalised into English textual criticism: neither the German historical-critical approach nor the French genetic-text approach. This is by no means a catastrophe. In 2001, in his multi-volume Princeton University Press edition of Coleridge's poetry, Jim Mays showed that an adaptation of German historical-critical apparatus that actively acknowledges authorial intention is perfectly possible without importing a philosophical position with it.²¹ The same may prove to be true of genetic editions and genetic criticism when fully absorbed into the Anglophone tradition.²²

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20. Hans Walter Gabler (2012: 31–32) has argued that, from the purview of editorial scholarship, intention is strictly “exogenous” to text. I replied that it is endogenous to the work, understood as unfolding over time both in composition and in reception (Eggert 2019: 171–177).
 21. What Mays calls his Variorum Text is a historical-critical apparatus of variant manuscript and printed texts, which “enable[s] the reader to hold in mind a sense of the way the poems move [...] I can promise a reader that the mechanics are simpler than most German and French counterparts, and that when they are understood and can be used without strain they communicate a sense of the fluid reality as it exists” (Coleridge 2001: I.cxxiii). In effect, the apparatus is what Gabler called a continuous manuscript text (Joyce 1984). Mays's apparatus captures all stages of authorial involvement as the poem moved from draft stages to fair copy to corrected transcript, and from print to print. The reading text is “[that] version of the poem which reflects Coleridge's concern, up to the time he lost interest (as he so often did). [...] In other cases the choice depends on recognising Coleridge's meaning before it was modified by second thoughts or other circumstances” (Coleridge 2001: I.cXLVI).
 22. In the opening chapters of *The Many Drafts of D.H. Lawrence*, Elliott Morsia (2020) provides a useful account of the theoretical positions behind French genetic criticism. Morsia's book, and Bloom and Rovera (2020), are signs of a new wave of Anglophone interest in genetic approaches.

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1.2.5 German traditions

Between author-centricity and dynamic texts

Katrin Henzel

In German-speaking countries, scientific, poetological as well as political criteria have shaped literary archives, especially during the nineteenth century – with impact on their selection of manuscripts regarding authors, epochs and genres to the present day. The historical-critical edition and the genetic edition as one of its subtypes can be seen as a *product* of these circumstances and will be considered in this chapter to point out the varying role of literary drafts on the perception and reception of literary works. This must also include a critical examination of the German editorial tradition that – although a gradual change is emerging – still predominantly concentrates on canonical works.

Keywords: textual growth, early Romanticism, Goethe, *Nachlass*, literary archive, historical-critical edition, genetic edition, author-centricity, nation building, the canon

Introduction: Benne's stage model

The chapter will start out by considering the basic early nineteenth-century poetological assumptions that led to a new way of looking at manuscripts. As a basis for my own considerations, I will use Christian Benne's six-stage model for the invention of manuscripts (2015: 37f.). Benne sees the rise of the manuscript as in competition with the print medium at least since the middle of the eighteenth century as the first stage out of six, followed by early Romantic theoretical reflection of the new meaning of handwriting ("die reflexive Durchdringung der neuen Bedeutung der Handschrift") which he equally marks as the significant breakthrough for the manuscript itself (Benne 2015: 37).¹ The third stage of the model concerns the implementation of these theoretical reflections as concrete instructions for literary writing' ("konkrete literarische Handlungsanweisungen", Benne 2015: 37). The authors now have to decide what to do with all their manuscripts and even need to justify a work without any archival material ("Nachlass", i.e. the artists' estates), as for instance due to censorship (Benne 2015: 38). Stage four marks the beginning of the institutionalisation and philological research of literary manuscripts during the second half of the nineteenth century by the foundation of literary archives, which makes the first historical-critical editions possible (Benne 2015: 38). This is followed by stage five, a perception of the aesthetics and epistemology inherent in the manuscripts as well as a textual scholarship primarily oriented to manuscripts accompanied by theories like

1. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations in this chapter are my own.

genetic criticism and models dealing with material aspects of texts over the last decades (Benne 2015: 38).

The development of textual scholarship also had a great impact on literary and cultural studies as well as on philosophy, which constitutes the last stage of Benne's model (2015: 38). In his extensive study, Benne himself concentrated on the first two stages whereas I will equally include the institutionalisation of literary archives and its impact on textual scholarship. Therefore, it also seems necessary to modify Benne's ideal-typical model by breaking the chronological order and showing direct connections not only between stages three and four but also between stages two and four, because immaterial as well as material influences shaped German textual scholarship.

Poetological preconditions of the revaluation of literary drafts

The unfinished as the true image of the world

The (re-)invention of the manuscript in German-speaking regions is usually located in the eighteenth century, but the lack of empirical studies (especially of popular customs) means that we still do not fully understand the shift towards process-oriented scholarship (Benne 2015: 28–30), although numerous materials and theoretical writings on the significance of the manuscript from and about this time have survived. On the contrary, the Romantic transcendental ideas of the pursuit of knowledge as a never-ending approximation and the related revaluation of open and unfinished artistic forms like the fragment are well researched. Mainly based on Schelling's natural philosophy, the Schlegel brothers and other Romanticists of the early period developed concepts of textual infiniteness that can be regarded as a modern form of an expressive author subject and that fundamentally changed the perspective: the printed and published book is just a moment within a continuous textual process, whereas the writing process itself is of interest and gets much more often described and represented in literary works in a way that Martin Stingelin called a *writing scene*. A *writing scene* problematises the writing, encouraging self-reflection (Stingelin 2004: 15).

This is in distinction to the *writing scene* as a material manifestation of writing on the document as a process. This automatically leads to the preference for experimental forms which concentrate on process-oriented writing and equally promote a new approach and awareness towards manuscripts in general. The Romanticist idea that a text can never be *perfect* and that this is *not* a deficiency is close to current theories defining the text as fluid and dynamic. For this, the Romantic *fragment* (and the aphorism as a special variant of it) in particular became a metaphor, and at the same time even a model, for writing and/while thinking in the sense of a heuristic tool (see McCarthy 2009: 107).

If we now transfer this semantics of the fragment to literary fragments in the case of a literary work that has not been finished by the author (like Kafka, or Hölderlin), the consequence for a published edition would be not to make a final arrangement but to let the users of the edition decide by offering texts of various status – or at least showing them the manuscripts. This can be easily put into best practice by a *facsimile edition* – even if it did not enjoy a good

reputation in German editing tradition for a long time since it was seen as expensive, feigning authenticity, and not being a *real* edition but a subgenre of the archival edition by not offering a final text. The case of Gerhard Schmid's facsimile edition of Georg Büchner's *Woyzeck* published in 1981 shows that the decision not to offer a final text but diplomatic transcriptions, and accepting the literary work as open, can be a significant research contribution and even marks a turning point in the given case (Kanzog 1984: 283).

Organic growth of texts

Besides the fragment, another Romantic artistic form might be interesting for the constitution of editions: the (literary) arabesque, which originates in ornamental arts of ancient Rome and from the Islamic tradition. The arabesque is classified by having neither a start, nor end, nor a centre; everything is linked instead ("Verkettung"; Oesterle 2013: 31) and can be rearranged and recombined (Grewe 2018: 622f., 633). The arabesque can be compared to the fragment, implying transcendental dimensions (Grewe 2018: 628). As "a *compositional principle* [...]" it also functioned as [...] a mode of bricolage" (Grewe 2018: 628): according to Oesterle, "Die romantische Arabeske ist eine Kunst der Diaphanie, die im Kunstprodukt noch die rohen Anfänge, in der Geltung die Genesis durchscheinen lässt" [The Romantic arabesque is an art of diaphaneity which still lets the raw beginnings shine through in the art product, and the genesis in the validity] (2013: 34). But what is even more interesting in the context of textual scholarship is that the arabesque can be seen as "a *specific form of patterning* [...]" in terms of a biological model of rank growth" (Grewe 2018: 628) – which directly leads us to Goethe's morphology. Even though Goethe never ceased to emphasise his aversion to German Romanticism, some of his poetological aspects are much closer to Romantic idealism than he might have admitted and fit into popular forms of nineteenth-century scientific thinking. His holistic approach to cultural phenomena through the use of natural scientific models, morphology being the most important of them all, is very close to the Schlegel brothers' understanding of culture and nature and verifiably influenced Schelling's philosophy (Wyder 2004: 47). But Goethe's model of organic growth, be it a plant or a text, differs in some aspects from the early Romantic idea of infiniteness and arabesque forms – it is thought to come to an end and is therefore teleological since Goethe assumed a natural lawfulness in every formation of being which he differentiates in *Bildung* versus *Gestalt*: "*Bildung* highlights both the dynamic and energetic processes at play in any work of formation, as well as the end product of these processes – the realised form, the formation itself" (Mehigan and Banki 2020: 385). Goethe formulated three laws in his *Metamorphosenlehre*, which determine nature as well as culture: (1) the law of steadiness, which means for societies that gradual consequences are to be preferred over revolutions, (2) the law of compensation, which includes the law of equalisation (type and metamorphosis permanently condition each other; in the field of art, this leads to harmony), (3) the last of the three laws is that of increase ("Steigerung"), which implies a constant movement and describes not only plants in their growth but also the lifelong learning and education of humans (Wyder 2004: 48–53).

The relationship between the general and the particular, between the whole and its single parts, is therefore equally suitable for describing the genesis of a text. The imagination of an

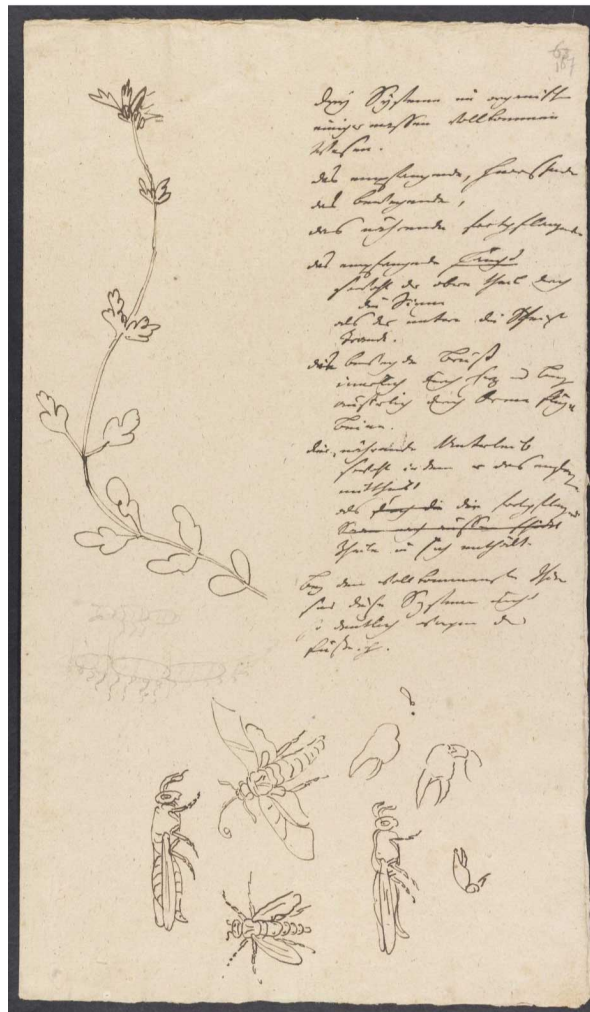


Figure 1. On the general morphology. Notes and drawings on a theory of ‘Gestalt’ (formation). Paralipomenon 238, preliminary work, 1 sheet, handwritten by Goethe. With drawings on the type of the annual higher plant and on the type of the insect, Corpus V B No. 86. GSA 26/LXIII,2,3, fol. 167^r. Klassik Stiftung Weimar

organic “growth” of literary texts not only became a metaphor but also led to new standards for historical-critical editions in German-speaking textual scholarship during the twentieth century, demanded for the first time by Reinhold Backmann in the context of the historical-critical edition of Grillparzer’s literary work (1924). He established a theory of macrogenesis of the work which should take into account “the natural course of development” (“den natürlichen Entwicklungsverlauf”, Backmann 1924: 637). Backmann is in favour of renewing the function of the variant apparatus.

Die ausschließliche Betonung der Schlußgestalt [...] auch im Apparat festzuhalten ist ein Fehler. Das ist ein alter Zopf, der uns von der falschen Methode her anhaftet. [...] Die Schlußlesart liefert nur die Stützworte. (1924: 637)

[To keep the exclusive emphasis on the final form [...] also in the apparatus is a mistake. This originates from the wrong method we need to get rid of. [...] The final reading supplies only the supporting words.]

Backmann concludes from these considerations for the design of the variant apparatus:

Praktisch gesprochen: der Betonung der letzten Gestalt in den Textdrucken hat eine Betonung der Anfangsgestalt im Apparat zu entsprechen. Sie muß der ruhende Pol werden, von dem aus sich die Verbindung bis zur Schlußgestalt leicht und glatt, weil in naturgemäßer Chronologie, schlagen läßt. Es ist ein Unding, ein Werden immer nur oder mit Vorliebe vom Endpunkt einer Bewegung darstellen zu wollen, man braucht dazu vor allem einen sicheren Ausgangspunkt. (1924: 637)

[Practically speaking: the emphasis of the last, printed text stage has to correspond to an emphasis of the first stage in the apparatus. It must become the resting pole, from which the connection to the final form can be made easily and smoothly, because of their natural chronology. It is an absurdity to want to represent a genesis always only or with the preference from its end, what one needs for it is a stable starting point.]

Experience has shown that such teleological models work for the visualisation of microgenetic phenomena but fail in showing genetic changes on the macro level, most prominently discussed by Gunter Martens who with regard to textual growth invalidates the teleological thought and rather grants a random textual genesis (Martens 1998: 108) – in a more evolution-theoretical sense, so to speak.

The materialisation of the holograph by its institutionalisation

The Romantic march through the institutions

From a certain perspective, the preference for the manuscript over the printed medium can also be seen as the Janus face of Romantic poetology: as already described, it is an expression of a new author subject who explicitly and materially reflects writing processes as part of the literary work and by this also can be seen as a symbol of *Weltflucht* [escape from the world] and individualisation. On the other hand, it marks a self-confident author whose fame depends on material traces and the necessity of installing personal archives as a symbol of power. This development goes firmly hand in hand with a new philological self-confidence – and we have to keep in mind that some Romantic authors were also active in the scientific community and in the civil service, which, in a sense, contrasts with the fate of their heroic characters in Romantic novels. This statement is comprehensible when we take a look at the academic field around 1800, where classical philologists lost more and more power in the area of politics and education, and new disciplines like modern philology successfully entered the field. In the discipline of textual

scholarship, for instance, Karl Lachmann's critical edition of Lessing's works, published from 1838 to 1840, is the first edition to apply principles of classical and ancient German philology to a contemporary author (Albrecht 2005: 315). In general, many representatives of Romanticism gained reputations at the universities and in the field of education. To name just one example, August Wilhelm Schlegel made a career in Prussia through his appointment as professor at the newly (in 1818) founded Bonn university (Hanneder 2017: 192–195; Paulin 2016: 415–519). Uwe Meves' collection of documents on the institutionalisation of German philology at Prussian universities in the nineteenth century provides an excellent overview of the involvement of Romantic scholars such as Schlegel and the Brothers Grimm (2011). While the influence of the Romantics in science and education within Prussia is of interest for the first half of the nineteenth century, for the second half it is the foundation of literary archives.

Literary archives in service of the author and nation building

The current situation of archives in Germany and German-speaking countries is special: there is an almost incalculable number of archives, museums and comparable institutions that collect manuscripts. A fundamental problem lies in the voluntary manner in which collections and single manuscripts are reported centrally to *Kalliope*, the national reporting office provided by the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin State Library).² But even if *Kalliope* does not cover all existing manuscripts, it is an indispensable research tool that also increasingly registers literary estates from Switzerland and Austria as well as estates of persons with German-speaking origins in other countries. Besides the fact that we do not know the total number and distribution of manuscripts, there are institutions other than the typical literary archives – the Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar (GSA), the German Literature Archive in Marbach (DLA) or the Swiss Literary Archives (SLA), to name the most important in German-speaking regions – larger manuscript departments within libraries like the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) with its Austrian Literary Archive (ÖLA), the Berlin State Library, the Bavarian State Library, or the Herzog August Library (HAB) in Wolfenbüttel, as well as university libraries, literary memorials and museums. Additionally, each of the numerous archives has its own system of manuscript registration, and they were also competitors for a long time. Fortunately, many of the institutions agreed on different collection focuses several decades ago, so that up to the present day, manuscripts of an author could mostly be gathered in one collection (Zeller 1978: 81). A clear division of responsibilities also simplifies bidding at manuscript auctions, increasing the likelihood of estates entering the public domain. A similar demand was already made by Wilhelm Dilthey in his famous speech (published as an article) *Archive für Literatur* (Dilthey 1889: 363, 367), which can be understood as a plea for the foundation of more literary archives – not, however, because of the scientific interest for literary drafts, but for political reasons (nation building) and for the purpose of veneration of the canonical authors. Dilthey values the printed final text even more than the manuscripts (Dilthey 1889: 363). What

2. <https://kalliope-verbund.info>

is interesting about his argument, however, is that he attributes to drafts the ability to break the hermeneutic circle:

Wir verstehen ein Werk aus dem Zusammenhang, in welchem es in der Seele seines Verfassers entstand, und wir verstehen diesen lebendigen seelischen Zusammenhang aus den einzelnen Werken. Diesem Zirkel in der hermeneutischen Operation entrinnen wir völlig nur da, wo Entwürfe und Briefe zwischen den vereinzelt und kühl dastehenden Druckwerken einen inneren lebensvollen Zusammenhang herstellen. (1889: 364)

[We understand a work from the context in which it arose in the soul of its author, and we understand this living spiritual context from the individual works. We escape this cycle in the hermeneutic operation entirely only where drafts and letters establish an inner life context between the printed works standing isolated and cold.]

The occasion for his statement was the founding of the GSA in 1885, and its background will now be discussed in more detail.

(Almost) Everything is about Goethe

The most prestigious literary archives for modern manuscripts are located in Weimar (GSA, the oldest) and Marbach (DLA, the largest, founded on the basis of the Schiller Museum in 1955). This of course is not a coincidence, but is related to the veneration of Goethe and Schiller as national poets during the second half of the nineteenth century, especially after the founding of the German Empire in 1871 (Golz 1996: 14) – even if one must admit that “[d]ie Geschichte der Sammlung von Autorennachlässen [...] definitiv nicht erst mit Goethe und Schiller [beginnt]” [the history of the collection of authors’ estates definitely does not begin with Goethe and Schiller] (Lütteken 2018: 76). In this context, Herbert Kopp-Oberstebrink uses the concept of a “cultural hero”, having (1) a “historico-political index” (Kopp-Oberstebrink 2017: 599), (2) a “heroic monumentality” (600), and by this being (3) a “figure at the transition between profanation and sacralisation, between culture and cult, between politico-historical external space and internal imaginary space” (599–600).

What would the GSA look like without Goethe’s own efforts to set up a private archive? We do not know. Goethe is considered the founder of the private (literary) archive in Germany, and Victor Hugo succeeded him in France. In May 1822, Goethe planned a new edition of his literary works and wrote an essay in this context named *Archiv des Dichters und Schriftstellers* [The Poet’s and Writer’s Archives] which was published in 1823 in his journal *Über Kunst und Altertum* [On Art and Antiquity] (Goethe 1903: 399). This essay is an impressive testimony to an author of great self-awareness, as well as to his awareness of the impact he had on the public opinion, and it provides insights into Goethe’s working methods:

Das Übel freilich, das daher entstand, war, daß bedeutende Vorsätze nicht einmal angetreten, manch löbliches Unternehmen im Stocken gelassen wurde. Ich enthielt mich, manches auszuführen, weil ich bei gesteigerter Bildung das Bessere zu leisten hoffte,

benutzte manches Gesammelte nicht, weil ich es vollständiger wünschte, zog keine Resultate aus dem Vorliegenden, weil ich übereilten Ausspruch fürchtete. (Goethe 1903: 26)

[The evil that resulted from this was, of course, that important projects were not even begun, many a praiseworthy enterprise fell by the wayside. Some things I omitted because I hoped to achieve better things with increased education, some things I had collected I did not use because I wanted them to be more complete, some things I did not draw from what was available because I feared hasty announcements.]

The author, who is interested in many subjects and works on different things at the same time, needs the archive to (re)organise his work. He even speaks of “Selbstrettung” [salvation]: “so fühlte ich mich in wehmüthige Verworrenheit versetzt, aus der ich mich [...] auf eine durchgreifende Weise zu retten unternahm” [I felt myself plunged into a melancholic confusion, from which I tried to save myself [...] in a thorough way] (Goethe 1903: 27). The archive is to bring order to the papers, “where nothing should be neglected nor unworthily respected” (“wobei nichts vernachlässigt noch unwürdig geachtet werden sollte”, Goethe 1903: 27). This means not only an equal treatment of subjects and genres, but also a revaluation of drafts, as Willer suggests: “Die Unabgeschlossenheit ist kein Defizit, sondern bedingt die Möglichkeit weiteren Tätigseins” [The incompleteness is not a deficit, but conditions the possibility of further activity] (Willer 2016: 100). Goethe is here again very close to Romantic ideals.

For the construction of his private archive, Goethe had hired a trained archivist, Friedrich Theodor David Kräuter, who created an inventory (see Figure 2) to facilitate Goethe’s work as well as to enable friends to access the archive after his death (Goethe 1903: 27). Archiving drafts therefore also means enabling posterity to reconstruct thoughts and ideas and thus to comprehend the work as a whole. Anett Lütteken put it more soberly: “Warum abwarten, bis andere auf die Idee kommen, dass etwas ins Archiv gehört, wenn man das auch selber regeln kann?” [Why wait until others get the idea that something belongs in the archive when you can handle it yourself?] (2018: 81). She further notes “that Goethe set a precedent for the German-speaking region and thus abandoned his rightful role in the literary ‘system’” (81). In fact, Goethe also determined the structure of the archive through his edition *letzter Hand* (final authorised edition), which equally became the inventory of the GSA and still shapes its structure today (Nutt-Kofoth 2017: 101). Goethe thus also had a significant influence on philology in the nineteenth century, as his archive served as the basis for standards and procedures in historical-critical editing. For Goethe scholars, however, the genesis of Goethe’s work was initially and for a long time not a priority. Instead, from the 1870s onward, the focus was entirely on the positivistically-influenced veneration of the new first national poet (Golz 1996: 14f.). When Grand Duchess Sophie of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach received Goethe’s estate in 1885 through the will of Goethe’s last grandson Walther Wolfgang von Goethe, this was the decisive event for the founding of the Goethe Archive in the same year, which was expanded in 1889 to include Schiller’s estate and has since been known as the Goethe and Schiller Archive, moving to the archive building in 1896 that still exists today:

<i>Inhalt.</i>	
	<i>Pag.</i>
<i>Eigen Biographisches.</i>	1.
<i>Auf mich und meine Werke Bezügliches.</i>	5.
<i>Eigen Literarisches.</i>	9.
<i>Eigen Poetisches.</i>	15.
<i>Keine Tagebücher.</i>	22.
<i>Eignes Gedrucktes.</i>	27.
<i>Correspondenz.</i>	31.
<i>Eignes und Fremdes über bildende Kunst.</i>	39.
<i>Theater.</i>	42.
<i>Baukunst.</i>	45.
<i>Kunst und Alterthum. (Journal.)</i>	47.
<i>Chromatica.</i>	49.
<i>Naturlehre, Chemie und Physik.</i>	55.
<i>Mineralogie und Bergwerkskunde.</i>	59.
<i>Naturgeschichte, und Botanik.</i>	65.
<i>Vergleichende Anatomie und Morphologie.</i>	69.
<i>Eigene Reisen.</i>	72.
<i>Fremde Reisen.</i>	79.
<i>Auswaertige Angelegenheiten.</i>	81.
<i>Herausgabe der Goetheschen Werke u. einzeln. Schriften.</i>	87.
<i>Antiquarisches, auf Kunst und Wissenschaft bezüglich.</i>	91.
<i>Auf Jena Bezügliches.</i>	95.
<i>Ausige Angelegenheiten.</i>	99.
<i>Fremd Literarisches und Poetisches.</i>	105.
<i>Fremd Biographisches.</i>	111.
<i>Privat Angelegenheiten u. eigene Nachlaßte.</i>	115.
<i>Varia.</i>	119.

Figure 2. Table of contents of the repertory of Goethe's repository by Friedrich Theodor David Kräuter with later submission and revision notes (1822). GSA 39/I,1a. Klassik Stiftung Weimar

Indem das Goethe-Archiv sich der philologischen Forschung öffnete, das Goethehaus öffentlich zugänglich wurde, begann Weimar seinen Rang als heimliche geistige Hauptstadt Deutschlands wiederzugewinnen. (Golz 1996: 17)

[With the Goethe Archive opening up to philological research and the Goethe House becoming accessible to the public, Weimar began to regain its status as Germany's secret intellectual capital.]

Between 1887 and 1919 a total of 143 volumes of the so-called "Weimar edition" or *Sophien-Ausgabe* were published, which made Goethe's literary work and biographical writings scientifically available to the public for the first time and set standards for historical-critical editions –

with the momentous image of seeing the editor as executor of the author's last will (Nutt-Kofoth 2005: 98). The author-centred, and thus also one-sided, view of the literary work and single texts in their final state within the framework of the historical-critical edition was virtually solidified by the Weimar edition of Goethe's works. Its real merit, however, is its critical apparatus, which may not look pretty, but was fundamental to research. A disadvantage, however, but a novelty at the time compared to the first two titled historical-critical editions of modern authors (i.e. the Lessing edition by Karl Lachmann from 1838–1840, and the Schiller edition by Karl Goedeke from 1867–1876), was that it contained only the variants themselves in the form of a negative apparatus instead of a footnote apparatus (Nutt-Kofoth 2005: 99f.), so that it was actually indispensable to consult the manuscripts in order to trace the individual textual stages and drafts. As Anett Lütteken puts it,

Die Philologen schufen sich im Zeichen der Blüte des Positivismus und der Verwissenschaftlichung des Umgangs mit Literatur und Autoren im Literaturarchiv genau die Arbeitssituation, die sie benötigten, um "ungestört" und an "ihr" Material gelangen und mit ihm umgehen zu können. (2018: 79)

[In the literary archive, philologists created exactly the working situation they needed in order to be able to access and deal with "their" material "undisturbed" in the sign of blossoming positivism and the scientification of the approach to literature and authors.]

In the context of the apparatus style, Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth refers to Friedrich Beißner, who in the 1930s started to develop a new form of apparatus design that received its most prominent form in his Hölderlin edition (2015: 100).

Conclusion: Rethinking German cultural heritage and the role of editions

To this day, complete works editions are very often subdivided into the different literary genres – a well-known exception is a strict chronological order as it was realised by the Munich edition of Goethe's works. This kind of order conforms to the basic typology of three main literary genres – poetic, dramatic, and epic – that still dominates today. Goethe himself provided a definition of this triad of genres, which he named "drei echte Naturformen der Poesie" [three real nature forms of poetry] (Goethe 1888: 118), but he emphasises that "real" literary texts normally do not belong to only one of these categories but share intersections with others. Goethe speaks of three circles, each forming points of intersection (Goethe 1888: 119). This hybridity of literary genres is one fact that is mostly ignored in editions – even by Goethe himself who enforced the arrangement of his *Ausgabe letzter Hand* ('final authorised edition', 1827–1830) in the hierarchical order of poetry, drama, and epic (Nutt-Kofoth 2005: 96f.). The other blind spot in editorial practice is the lack of awareness of new genres which have been established during this long-lasting period since around 1800. Fortunately, new types of editions have been implemented that take into account the new media, such as editions of radio plays. But, for instance, how do we deal with a literary text like Robert Walser's *Die leichte Hochachtung* (Walser 1985), whose transcript does not show any textual variants but nevertheless must be defined as a text

that has been continuously developed and changed during the writing process but without any material traces (Groddeck 2009)? Or how to deal with Josef Winkler's work that comments upon itself in nearly every direction so that a novel may become a draft for a subsequent novel by the same author, blurring the lines between text and draft? The special case of Josef Winkler shows that we cannot just talk of intertextual relationships between his texts, but have to think about new forms of text, pre-text, and *avant-texte*. We even have to rethink the text-status itself in cases where a novel like *Domra. Am Ufer des Ganges* (1996) consists of several and partially literal repetitions of everyday experiences and rituals at the river Ganges that make the novel itself read as an allegory of the eternal cycle of life through its narrative structure. Beyond *Domra*, Winkler's novella *Roppongi: Requiem für einen Vater* (2010) with its reports of the narrator's trips to India works as an intertextual commentary on *Domra*, but from another perspective because author and narrator have been separated more consequently. What can be called a pre-text here? The rethinking of the text-status goes along with a rethinking of the author (Gabler 2012). But not only the text and the literary work but also techniques of writing have a deep impact on the scientific handling of literary drafts. Emerging fields of research like digital forensics enable the reconstruction of digital working processes and make digital archives accessible, as the studies of Thomas Kling's poetic works show (Ries 2018). Moreover, scholars should not only take into account the appearance of new and/or changing genres but have a look beyond the archives to find what has not been collected and what is absent. Our perception of what a literary work is and what drafts are mainly depends on the situation within the literary archives. But we do have authors without a *Nachlass*, authors who never became canonical or have been decanonised for aesthetic, political or other reasons. One larger yet invisible group is that of female writers, mostly of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, whose literary works consist of letters, diaries and comparable *ego-documents* instead of literary texts in the narrow sense. There is often no need to compose numerous drafts to write a letter. There are only few women writers – to name Virginia Woolf as perhaps the most famous one – whose diary contains several variants of the text (Gabler 2018). Thus, a genetic edition would be a special case. Women writers of the early nineteenth century, for instance, were encouraged to write letters and diaries and engage with similar “female” genres, but not prose (and those who did have frequently been degraded as authors of “Kitsch”). Women writers instead used non-fictional genres and even genres of sometimes uncertain status as equivalents for novels and the like. Concerning Rahel Varnhagen, for instance, researchers have already stressed the necessity to redefine a literary work (not only) for her letters (Landfester 2001). One can also not ignore the profound damage the German literary archive of the twentieth century suffered due to the mass of missing documents of authors whose *Nachlass* has been destroyed “by war, expulsion, and extermination” (Raulff 2013: 31), which led to an imbalance of the whole literary and archival as well as the editorial landscape after the Second World War: “Es scheint, als hätten sich unter dem Trauma der Emigration ganze Ketten negativer Überlieferung gebildet” [It seems that under the trauma of emigration whole chains of negative records have been formed] (Raulff 2013: 211n5). Such a loss is irreversible and needs alternative ways to keep it within or bring it back into literary history and collective memory. The DLA in Marbach has

found such ways by extending the definition of a literary archive as well as combining it with the praxeological methods of a museum. In general, the DLA “follows its own collection guidelines. It distributes estates that enter the institution across its various departments, which then enter the materials into their own classification” (Thiemeyer 2017: 365). Finally, saying goodbye to author-centricity may bring forth new possibilities for editing collaborative works like stage performances (drama, opera, film and the like) by taking more into account the events themselves and the stakeholders involved. Such an approach could possibly improve the appreciation of genres like stage directions, directors’ books, casting lists and other interesting material that still is too often reduced to “supplementary material”. The critical edition could thus break away from its strict dependence on the literary archive and be a corrective to existing forms of exclusion because “scholarly editions are in fact an efficacious factor in canonisation” (Rockenberger 2016: 275).

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1.2.6 French traditions

Confronting the traces of creation

Franz Johansson

Victor Hugo's bequest of all his work documents to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1881 shook off a tradition characterised by a certain indifference to the manuscript in its material and historic existence. Despite some one-off undertakings, it was not until the 1960s that an original theory and a systematic method of examining manuscripts, and more particularly drafts in their various forms, was developed in France: genetic criticism's concerns and procedures, in their intention to understand the gestation processes of a work through each of its material traces, have spread throughout Europe and the world, and have become essential in the field of textual criticism.

Keywords: autograph, *avant-texte*, codicology, creative process, digital media, edition, genetic criticism, invention, philology, public / non-public

The key moment within the French tradition is without doubt the appearance during the 1960s and 70s of genetic criticism, a discipline that has been of decisive importance in the world of literary criticism and has had a profound impact on the methods of approach to manuscripts. Genetic criticism places at the centre of analysis not the text and, in a sense, not even the manuscript, but, very specifically, the draft or rather the drafts in plural. Its emergence was all the more remarkable because the tradition of literary studies in France has often followed a certain metaphysical path, neglecting the material and historical dimensions of the text. In symbolic terms, no modern manuscript in France has had an importance equivalent to the autographs of Petrarch or Boccaccio in the Italian tradition, in any case until Victor Hugo's bequest of all his manuscripts to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1881. This legacy, one of the pillars of the manuscript culture in France, represented a challenge to scholars that would only be fully met several decades later.

Philological practices

"With a few exceptions, future geneticists did not have the opportunity to analyse one single manuscript in the entire course of their studies" (Hay 1994: 15). It is in these terms that Louis Hay, one of the founders of genetic criticism, sums up the situation of research in France in the middle of the twentieth century. If he refers to the specific context of the fifties and sixties and, more precisely, to the "moment théorique" and the triumph of structuralism, his remarks depict more broadly a tradition going back at least to the nineteenth century, privileging methods of text interpretation to the detriment of an approach to texts in their material and historical dimen-

sions. The paucity of the philological tradition in France – a situation which contrasts with many other scholarly and critical traditions in Europe – and consequently the lack of familiarity with its methods of analysing manuscripts or even taking them into consideration, has been stressed several times (Hay 1994: 14–16; Espagne 2010: 19).

In this connection, a distinction must be made between the fields of medieval studies and modern literature. In the former an important philological tradition was established in the nineteenth century that has continued uninterruptedly to this day (Espagne 1997: 125). The first half of the nineteenth century was marked by an “Empirical period”, characterised by the rediscovery of many medieval texts, but also by a certain methodological indeterminacy until Gaston Paris introduced Karl Lachmann’s methods in France in the 1860s. If it is true that a rivalry was soon established with German researchers, it has never hindered dialogue, and its emulating effect encouraged the emergence of a specifically French philological tradition, which from Paul Meyer to Joseph Bédier and Michel Zink, is not short of important figures in medieval studies. Within the *Ecole des Chartes*, created in 1821, and the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, created in 1868, philology and the study of manuscripts has occupied to this day an important place in the training of medievalists and historiographers in France (Espagne 1997: 129).

There has been little permeability, however, between the protocols and methods of medievalists, naturally turned towards the manuscript horizon, and the approaches of researchers and critics in modern literature. The latter field is not lacking in variety, from the historical method of Renan to the biographical critique of Sainte-Beuve or the impressionist critique of Jules Lemaître. What these approaches have in common, however, is the complete neglect of manuscripts and drafts.

Reactions denouncing such a tendency should be noted. Victor Cousin’s attack in 1843 on the posthumous edition of Blaise Pascal’s *Pensées* is significant in this sense. The so-called Port-Royal edition (Pascal 1670) remained, in its successive versions, the only existing edition of the *Pensées* until the middle of the nineteenth century (and its reprints continued until 1907), even though it is a complete reworking of Pascal’s text, based on the copies taken from the manuscripts. In his *Rapport à l’Académie française sur la nécessité d’une nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage* (Cousin 1843), Cousin argued for the absolute need of an edition referring to the original manuscript, kept in the Bibliothèque Royale de France, and his case led to the first modern edition of the *Pensées* by Prosper Faugère (Pascal 1844). Although some of Cousin’s remarks and many of Faugère’s editorial choices may seem questionable, even if one refers to the philological criteria of the mid-nineteenth century (Lebrave 1992: 57–68), the fact remains that they have imposed the examination of manuscripts as a necessary basis for all subsequent editions of Pascal’s text.

Gustave Lanson, a very significant figure in the academic world at the turn of the twentieth century (so much so that the word “lansonnisme” was used to designate his influence) reacted against what he considered the subjectivist and impressionist tendencies in French criticism in his time, and called for the introduction of an objective and scientific basis in literary studies. Though his model of critical editions showed a high level of erudition, it did not include any

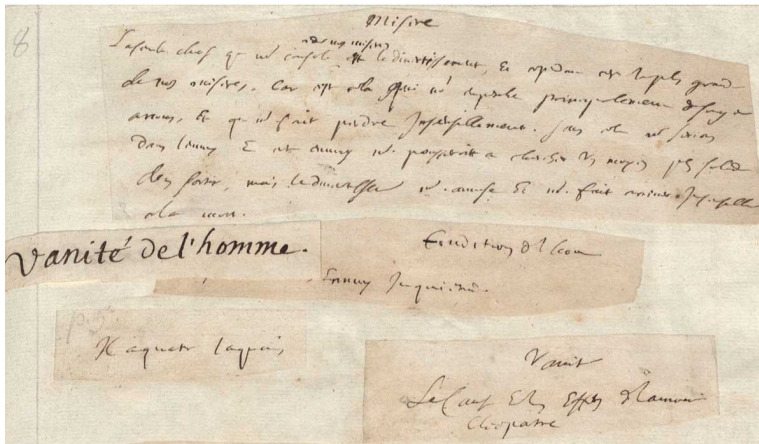


Figure 1. Blaise Pascal, *Pensées sur la Religion*, Département des manuscrits français 9202, f. 79, gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

recourse to the manuscripts, which in most cases were not available for scholars' examination (de Biasi 2011). It is only in much shorter and much less influential studies, such as “Un manuscrit de Paul et Virginie. Étude sur l'invention de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre” (Lanson 1903) that Lanson's interest in manuscripts shows itself and his – rather rudimentary – methods appear (Lebrave 1992: 52–53).

Among the more extensive undertakings that took place in the first half of the twentieth century, the most significant is probably Antoine Albalat's *Le Travail du style enseigné par les corrections manuscrites des grands écrivains* [The work of style taught by the handwritten corrections of great writers] (1903). The title announces quite explicitly the critic's programme and his bias: several authors are studied on the basis of a variable number of manuscripts of varying status; sometimes only the last drafts bearing a few corrections (for Chateaubriand), sometimes drafts corresponding to much earlier stages in the creative process are considered (for Flaubert). In this and some other contemporary undertakings, such as Henri Massis' (1906); Gustave Rudler's (1923) or Pierre Audiat's (1924), the attention is indeed focused on the drafts, as they bear witness to the writer's work and the transformational processes of the text. It seems, however, that these almost one-off approaches do not form a tradition. Even when they were carried by extremely influential names, such as Victor Cousin or Gustave Lanson, they did not initiate a long-term transmission, consolidating a theoretical and methodical apparatus of draft analysis. Referring to the manuscript and, more so, to the wider corpus of an author's drafts, did not impose itself in the working methods of French scholars (it is interesting to mention, however, that in Italy Gianfranco Contini acknowledged the influence of Albalat in his own work; Italia 2019: 53). When the revival embodied by genetic criticism came at the end of the 1960s, these theoretical undertakings were long forgotten and did not constitute a living heritage for the young generation of researchers. When, at a later stage, they were led to consider early twentieth-century studies, the “geneticists” did recognise some sporadic affinities with

their own goals and methods, but above all they stressed the absence of any consistent method and ultimately the relatively little interest most of the French scholars of the first half of the twentieth century showed toward the specific essence and logic of drafts (Lebrave 1992: 66–69; Hay 1994: 13–14; de Biasi 2010: 42–51).

The manuscripts' heritage: From Victor Hugo to Louis Aragon

Very few pre-eighteenth-century French autographs have been preserved and none has been of considerable symbolic importance, until the late attention paid to the original manuscript of Pascal's *Pensées*. The founding role that Goethe's literary archives may have had in Germany was played in France by Victor Hugo who, in the 1881 codicil to his will, stipulated: "Je donne tous mes manuscrits, et tout ce qui sera trouvé écrit ou dessiné par moi, à la bibliothèque nationale de Paris, qui sera un jour la Bibliothèque des États-Unis d'Europe" [I give all my manuscripts, and everything that will be found, written and drawn by me, to the National Library of Paris, which will one day be the Library of the United States of Europe] (de Biasi 2017: 37).¹ The importance of this bequest is due to the immensity of its volume as well as to the legendary stature of its author, of course, but also to its very physiognomy, the injunctions that accompany it and what they imply. This legacy presupposes, upstream, the meticulous conservation of all Hugo's manuscripts by the author (who handed over to the publisher only a copy of the text in order to keep the autograph manuscript safe and intact) and their careful protection during the vicissitudes of his life, especially during exile. Far from censoring or setting aside the drafts in any way, the testamentary instructions assign a precise place in a concerted publication to even the most informal notes ("the drafts, fragments, disjointed ideas, verse or prose, scattered here and there, either in notebooks or on loose sheets" are to be collected under the title of "Océan"), and Hugo points out the way these shattered and in appearance shapeless elements actually "tie up with the whole of [his] ideas, although without any apparent link" (de Biasi 2017: 37).

Hugo's bequest led to the creation of the institutional place to house it – what was to become the Department of Modern and Contemporary Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque nationale – and, at the same time, gave the modern manuscript a status in France. The conservation of the documents is explicitly coupled with their future publication, and thus calls indirectly for a specific method of reading, editing and interpreting working drafts (de Biasi 2017: 37).

Hugo's gesture will be followed by many other writers whose archives will in turn join the Bibliothèque nationale or other public institutions (Emile Zola's manuscripts, that other literary giant, were deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale at his death in 1904). We must not neglect the elements that lay the foundation for such gestures. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the autograph manuscript became a coveted object in France: actively acquired at public sales, it gave rise to collections of autographs sometimes very abundant and coherent (Grésillon 2016: 102–103). Interest in manuscripts could go far beyond mere curiosity or

1. Unless otherwise stated, all translations in this chapter are mine.

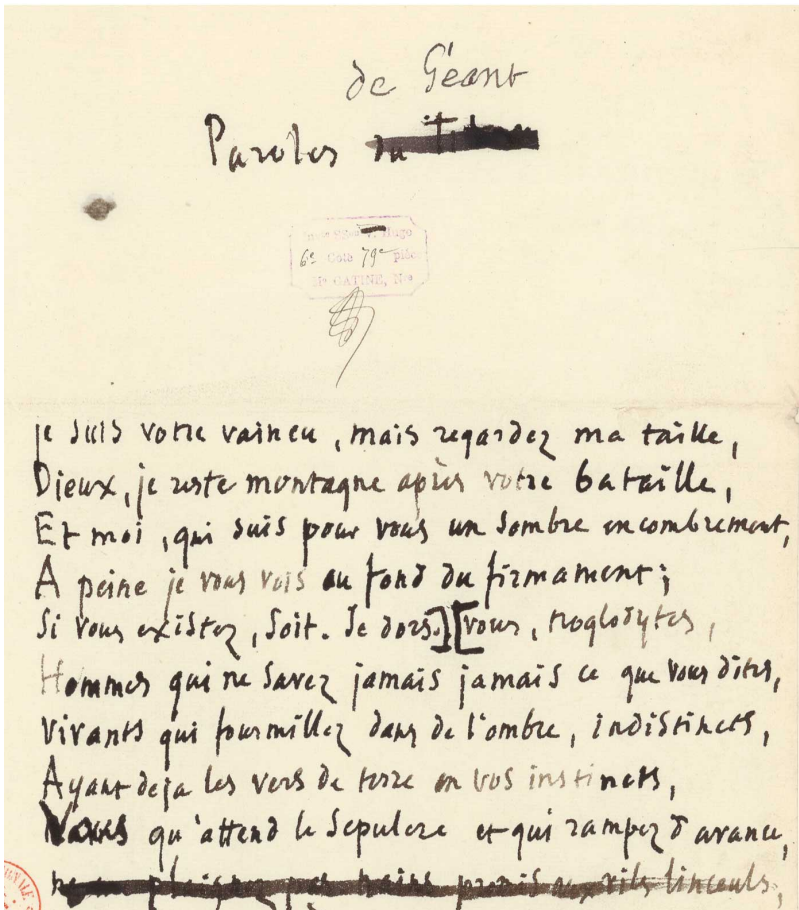


Figure 2. Victor Hugo, *La Légende des siècles* (pièces annexes), NAF 24758, f. 3, gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

fetishist attention. Charles de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul (1836–1907) undertook the systematic collection of drafts, proofs and letters by several French nineteenth-century writers, including Balzac, for whom he had a special devotion. At the same time, he published important bibliographical studies and participated in the *Œuvres complètes de H. de Balzac* [Complete works of H. de Balzac], the edition published by Michel Lévy from 1869 onwards (Pierrot 1994). After Lovenjoul's death in 1911, his collection was bequeathed to the Institut de France's Library. In the same way other important private collections will join public institutions, such as the Jacques Doucet collection, donated by the fashion designer to the University of Paris in 1929, becoming an essential archive of modern manuscripts in France (Coron and Nobécourt 2017).²

2. For more information on private collections of manuscripts in the UK and US, see Chapter 1.4.1 in this volume.

Important modern manuscript collections were emerging and made available to researchers at the beginning of the twentieth century. They continued to grow, especially after the Second World War, when the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) modified its policy of acquiring literary manuscripts by various means (purchase, pre-emption or donation). The creation of the Institut mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC) in 1988 deserves a special mention, as it houses archives of major importance specifically oriented towards contemporary writing and publishing.

Almost one hundred years later, another bequest of great symbolic significance echoed Victor Hugo's literary testament: Louis Aragon donated his and Elsa Triolet's 80,000-document archives. Very significantly, the archives were not entrusted to the Bibliothèque nationale de France or any other archiving institution, but to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (de Biasi 2020: 22–23). Aragon's speech addressed to the director of the CNRS in 1977 (published under the eloquent title: "D'un grand art nouveau: la recherche") gave his legacy a specific orientation. The aged writer expressed his desire to "make available to today's *researchers*, not only a certain number of manuscripts, in the sense of the publishers, but the papers of [his] mental life, the complex files without which, in [his] opinion, what is called a *manuscript* is but little" (Aragon 1979: 14), and thus stipulated the lesser importance that was to be given to the final manuscript, despite its prestige, compared to the "papers" or the "complex files" where "the author's hesitations, his secret steps, even his mistakes" may be surmised (Aragon 1979: 9). This legacy would play a decisive role in the institutionalisation of genetic criticism by encouraging the creation of the Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes (ITEM) in 1982.

Between Hugo and Aragon, it is important to mention the role played by another French writer, in terms of the construction of a discourse, and almost of a theory. Paul Valéry's "Cours de Poétique" at the Collège de France, from its inaugural session in 1937, constitutes a prefiguration – and not far from the immediate enunciation – of what would become genetic criticism (Hay 1994: 14). The particular meaning that Valéry gives to the word *poétique*, immediately linked to the Greek etymology of the word, comes very close to genetics: it undertakes the study of the literary *poiein*, the creative process in its most concrete implications. Over the finished work, "la chose faite", Valéry favours the act of making, "l'action qui fait", whose subtle complexity needs to be methodically examined (Valéry 2016: 957). The theory developed in the "Cours de poétique" may be related to a contemporary venture. Requested to imagine a provisional Museum of Literature for the 1937 World Exhibition in Paris, Valéry gave this project a singular orientation. Instead of a "history of the book" he chose to turn to what he called the *prehistory* of literary production, "the inner labour resulting in the work" (Valéry 1948: 317), considering how the manuscript may open up access to this inner work: it is therefore to be displayed not as an object of contemplation nor as a symbol of patrimonial value, but as the document bearing the "first act" of the writer's intellectual effort and likely to contain "the whole drama of the elaboration of a work and the fixation of the unstable" (Valéry 2016: 317).

Genetic criticism

What was eventually designated, after a period of instability and controversy, as “critique génétique”, emerged in France at the turn of the 1970s. A small research team dedicated to analysing the recent acquisition by the Bibliothèque nationale de France of a collection of Heine’s manuscripts expanded its scope to other researchers working on other corpora, giving rise in 1975 to the Centre d’Analyse des Manuscrits (CAM), which eventually developed into a permanent research laboratory in 1982: a joint unit of the CNRS and the Ecole Normale Supérieure, called Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes (ITEM). A partnership with France’s major conservation institutions – the BnF and the IMEC in particular – allowed ITEM’s researchers privileged access to extremely rich corpora, enabling large-scale works (on Flaubert, Zola, Proust and Valéry among many others).

The genetic approach represents a huge novelty in the panorama of French criticism. At a time when structuralism is triumphant, attentive to the abstract patterns of an autotelic vision of the text, genetic criticism makes a change of course by turning to the historical dimension of the writing process through the observation of its material traces (without denying the structuralist heritage). Thus, it introduces concerns that were particularly absent from the French scholarly and critical tradition, whereas they were much more present in other countries. It is undeniable, however, that genetic criticism also represented a great novelty on an international level. The way in which it approaches the manuscript is significantly different from all the traditions of textual criticism, from German *Editionswissenschaft* to Italian’s *filologia d’autore*, despite undeniable and essential points of convergence (Segre 1995: 30–31).³

Genetic criticism shifts the object of analysis from the work to its gestation, from the text to the foretext or *avant-texte*. In this choice it does not rely on intuition or speculation: the approach to the gestation process is solely based on its identifiable traces present in the working manuscripts in all their forms (Hay 1994: 19). The basic corpus of research is the genetic dossier, the set of all the documents that can attest to the creative process, from the first embryo of a project to the published form of a book (and even beyond, in the case of post-editorial reworking), including all kinds of plans, project notes, notebooks, rough drafts, sketches, fair copies, and so on. Likewise, it includes documents that are not “manuscripts” in the most rigorous sense of the term: typescripts (often accompanied by handwritten corrections and additions) which can be abundant and even predominant, digital files (in increasing numbers from the 1990s onwards) and partly print-based documents (corrected proofs, and, in some cases, post-editorial rework). To these should be added any other document likely to shed light on the work’s genesis, such as the author’s correspondence, diaries or interviews, and testimonies of third parties (de Biasi 2010: 151–178, Grésillon 2016: 223–233).

A question – in fact, a reproach – has been addressed to textual genetics: is it not simply an avatar of textual philology? (Espagne 2010) Undoubtedly, both share a number of concerns,

3. For more information on the German and Italian traditions, see the Chapters 1.2.5 and 1.2.7 in this volume.

protocols and conceptual instruments, starting with the need to meticulously identify, through codicological analysis, the material supports and the writing tools, and to date every element within the document as precisely as possible. Although there is no reason to think of them in a conflicting relationship, they do obey different orientations. Jean-Louis Lebrave sums them up as follows: “Philology is the science of texts, i.e. public writings, handwritten or not”, while genetic criticism aspires to become a “science of genesis documents, which are non-public writings” (Lebrave 1992: 69). Daniel Ferrer proposes to synthesise their divergence from this other set of oppositions: “textual criticism is a science of repetition and genetic criticism a science of invention; [...] the aim of textual criticism is to establish the text (by eliminating its variants), whereas genetic criticism destabilizes the text by confronting it with its actual or potential versions” (Ferrer 2016: 58).

Public texts vs. non-public drafts, establishing a text vs. destabilising it, confronting a space of repetition vs. analysing a space of invention: these poles draw indeed two distinct fields between which the dividing line is by no means hermetic though. It becomes considerably blurred when the *critica delle varianti* in Italy or recent critical editions in Germany closely examine the authors’ drafts as an almost autonomous system observing something radically different than the alterations introduced by copyists (Ferrer 2016: 58). Author’s variants cannot be seen as errors and dross to be discarded, but as approximations of an aesthetic form: from this perspective, they are fully considered as evidence of the dynamic dimension of writing, in other words, as genetic elements. Despite important and sometimes profound overlaps and convergences, differences do remain between genetic criticism and most methods and practices in textual criticism – if only those that are measured in operational terms. For instance, genetic criticism does not and cannot distinguish the body of text from the apparatus of variants: each of the constituent parts of the genetic dossier has an existence of its own. Emphasising the differences, Cesare Segre proposes the following distinction: genetic criticism deals with “macro-variants”, i.e. “changes so substantial that they affect the overall discourse”, while Italian *critica delle varianti* deals mainly with the “micro-variants”, working “very close to the text, on the alterations that immediately precede its editing, publication or republication” (Segre 1995: 30–31).

Throughout its fifty-year existence, genetic criticism has widely spread its theoretical apparatus and methods in Europe and the other continents to such an extent that its contribution in manuscript theory and editing has become indispensable. Its decisive importance in the field of textual studies is not to be seen in terms of conflict nor hegemony: it is not an intransigent orthodoxy stifling other approaches, but a “federating concept” that de Biasi defines in these terms:

the idea of a homogeneous disciplinary field with a global vocation, which corresponds at the same time to a *general theory* of creation as work and as a process, to *methods of analysis* conceived to elucidate exemplary creative itineraries and to make them modellable, and to the *experimental reality of traces* that can be constituted into scientific objects.

(de Biasi 2010: 175)

Though literary creation has been the privileged field of application of genetic criticism, important works have taken place in other fields such as philosophy (Nietzsche, Sartre), human sciences (linguistics in particular) or even sciences (Pasteur). The genetics of texts may be considered as a part of a generalised genetics, dealing with creation processes in every existing field – from music to painting, from cinema to architecture – some of which have recourse to the manuscript and the written draft in various forms (project, scenario, score), but whose scope go far beyond the perimeter of the text. By following this path, genetics does not only aspire to be “a science of written invention” (Ferrer 2010: 23), it aims to become “a transversal science of processes, for the entire archive of creation” (de Biasi 2010: 175).

Editing manuscripts

The vogue for autographs that developed from the nineteenth century onwards had its editorial side in the twentieth century, when techniques began to allow a satisfactory reproduction of the manuscript. In the 1920s, the publisher Edouard Champion launched an important collection of phototype reproductions of manuscripts by dead authors (Chateaubriand and Hugo), but above all by living writers. The collection gave rise to publications with a peculiar orientation: François Mauriac gave to print “a few pages from a manuscript” written before 1914 and never to be published: *Les beaux esprits de ce temps* (1924), Paul Valéry agreed to open up to the public the private space of his daily notebooks through the publication of *Cahier B 1910* (1924), and Jean Cocteau offered a sumptuous dialogue between text and drawings in *Le Mystère de Jean l'Oiseleur* (1924). Other publishing companies have taken over to satisfy the growing public curiosity about manuscripts, and today the Saint Pères publishing house, for instance, is exclusively dedicated to the publication of manuscripts in facsimile, from Hugo to Boris Vian, from Flaubert to Amélie Nothomb.

The collection “Les sentiers de la création” [The paths of creation] by the Swiss publisher Skira, which published 26 volumes between 1969 and 1976, deserves to be mentioned. Its objective is, as the name indicates, to take the reader in one way or another into the workshop of writers or painters. In *La Fabrique du pré* (Ponge 1971), Francis Ponge prefaced the finished state of his poem “Le Pré” with a facsimile of 91 drafts, representing the different states of the poem (Depaule 2014). The first volumes in the collection were Elsa Triolet’s *La mise en mots* (Triolet 1969) and Louis Aragon’s *Je n’ai jamais appris à écrire ou les Incipit* (Aragon 1969). These publications are rigorously contemporaneous with the emergence of genetic criticism, not only having deep affinities with it but also being aware of its interrogations and methods.

One of the essential outcomes of genetic criticism is genetic editions, which are probably not to be considered as a category within the field of critical editing: they have their own vocation and logic and differ in several respects from the various forms of text criticism and scholarly editing. A genetic edition does not aim, in particular, to establish an accurate text from its various published or manuscript versions: interested in the process of gestation itself, and not in its outcome, it is situated on the side of the *avant-texte* and not of the text. Thus, it does not necessarily place the publication of avant-textual documents under the sign of a text which

would have a completed or definitive status (Van Hulle 2013: 151). In this sense, certain editorial initiatives in the first decades of the twentieth century can be seen as interesting precursors of genetic editions, even if they are still far from its requirements. As early as 1906, Henri Massis published, under the title *Comment Emile Zola composait ses romans*, a transcription of almost the entire dossier of *L'Assommoir* and of the notes for *Les Rougon-Macquart*, recently deposited in the BnF (Massis 1906; Pagès 2017). In 1936, Gabrielle Leleu published a large sample of Flaubert's drafts for *Madame Bovary* (Flaubert 1936).

Though there is no set canon for genetic editing – choices vary depending on the corpus to be edited – a number of elements tend to recur. One is the facsimile reproduction of each of the documents presented. From a genetic perspective, the draft is not a purely textual reality, but a polysemantic document, in which the smallest characteristics of handwriting, the arrangement of signs and traces within the space of the page, the drawings or graffiti may have as much importance as any of the textual signs. If the transcription of the text is not sufficient to replace the scanned copy of the manuscript, it still has, in linearised or topographic forms, several functions to fulfil, starting with that of ensuring better legibility of the textual elements of the manuscript. The editing work does not only consist in the rough restitution and transcription of documents, but in their organised presentation and the proposing of accurate connections (de Biasi 2011: 151–178; Grésillon 2016: 222–233). In this sense, one could say the object proposed by genetic editions is not the genetic dossier as such, but rather the *avant-texte*, if we take into account the distinction between these two expressions as described by de Biasi:

The genetic dossier acquires the scientific status of an *avant-texte* when all its elements have been redeployed in an intelligible manner according to the diachrony that gave rise to them [...], deciphered, possibly transcribed and, above all, completely reclassified in the order of their appearance and according to the logic of their interactions. (de Biasi 2011: 69)

Genetic editions are not intended to replace critical editions, as they do not have the same orientation, do not pursue the same goals and do not necessarily address the same readers (in many cases, the complex material of a genetic edition is difficult to access and often restricted to a specialist audience). Yet critical editions and even current editions in France have been nourished in the last decades by the results of genetic criticism. More and more frequently the documents of the genetic dossier are present in non-genetic editions, sometimes reproduced in their entirety. Jean-Yves Tadié's edition of *A la recherche du temps perdu* published as part of Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (1987–1989), for which the critical apparatus includes an important selection of “Esquisses”, is a good example of this trend (Leriche 2013: 28).

In a sense, one can say genetics is changing the perimeters and the very notion of what is to be considered an author's oeuvre. In some cases especially, drafts and other avant-textual elements can no longer be seen as accessory or peripheral, but must be considered fully as a part of the author's oeuvre. Studying Paul Valéry without taking into account the immense series of his *Cahiers* or exploring Proust's work ignoring the *Sainte-Beuve* or the *Jean Santeuil* dossiers would be almost unconceivable today. Moreover, the editorial revolution represented by digital editions allows such corpora to be published without blurring or erasing their marks of incom-

pletion and without bending to an anthological choice: the drafts – or the “manuscripts oeuvre”, as Nathalie Mauriac Dyer and Kazuyoshi Yoshikawa put it – may be read and seen as such in their completeness (Leriche 2013: 28–29).

More than for other forms of publishing, digital editions appear to be the ideal, and almost necessary form for genetic editions. In merely operational terms, they allow a bypassing of the difficulties posed by paper publications, as the often considerable volume of avant-textual documents and the need to offer high definition facsimiles are difficult to reconcile with the material and financial constraints of a book. More profoundly, the reticular, rhizomic and dynamic patterns of gestation processes have deep affinities with digital structures, while they seem to be in constant contradiction with the linear order of the book (de Biasi 2010: 169–170, D'Iorio 2010).

Horizons and challenges

The so-called digital revolution has completely changed not only the approach to manuscripts but also their form and their very existence. On the one hand, it has provided new and often precious tools for the analysis of documents, for their reproduction and publication. Rigorously contemporary with this digital revolution, genetic criticism has played a pioneering role in the exploitation of these new resources (de Biasi 2010: 169). On a wider and deeper scale, digital media have influenced all forms of creation, textual or not, through every single step and operation. All kind of situations exist nowadays, including some in which pen and paper still play a predominant role. But, at the other end of the spectrum, literary forms are emerging which, from the most embryonic notations to their publication and distribution, rely exclusively on digital media. From this state of affairs, some have prophesied the end of genetic criticism, whose methods and tools were developed on the basis of the specific objects that are modern manuscripts. It is clear today that this prophecy was unfounded: if what can be called digital manuscripts are indeed a completely new reality in many respects – both for the writer working on a word processor and for the scholar accessing a digital document in order to analyse it – they have in no way abolished any form of continuity with pre-digital practices and have not, in any way, made the programme of genetic criticism – examining the gestation processes of written invention – impossible nor obsolete (Lebrave 2011: 146). With perhaps greater urgency and to a wider extent than for other scholars, geneticists must adapt and reinvent their work processes and tools, and perhaps develop a specific theory for digital writing. They will have to learn, with the indispensable help of computer forensics, this codicology of the digital age, to access all the traces from a modern hard disk or a floppy disk from the early eighties, and to decipher information presented as a series of 0s and 1s (Lebrave 2011). One thing is certain: far from having disappeared, the indices of the writing process have become overabundant, and endowed with extreme precision: when virtually every single act in the process of writing, with an accuracy of a tenth of a second, is recorded by the computer (de Biasi 2010: 171–172), one of the most immediate difficulties textual scholars have to face when dealing with digital documents is finding reference points in this overflow of data.

If there are drafts of an entirely new kind, there are of course new forms of writing specific to the digital age as well. From the moment he acquired and used his first computer in 1985, Jacques Derrida was aware of the radical way in which word processing transformed his writing practice – from the attitude of the body to the tempo of the writing – and of the fact that digital memory led to a rethinking of the notion of the archive (Derrida 2001: 63–65; Crasson and Lebrave and Pedrazzi 2019: 192–193). Within so-called digital literature, hypertext fiction remains somewhat marginal in France. On the other hand, blogs and websites have acquired a wide variety of forms and a very significant importance, giving rise to studies conducted from a genetic perspective (Deseilligny 2011; Johansson 2021).

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1.2.7 Italian traditions

From Humanism to authorial philology

Paola Italia

The history of genetic criticism in the Italian tradition starts with Humanism, and from Francesco Petrarch's "Codice degli Abbozzi" (fourteenth century). This chapter traces the framework of this tradition, highlighting how, with the simple but revolutionary gesture of leaving even the ugliest copies of his own masterpieces – the so-called "scartafacci" – to posterity, Petrarch created a model of an intellectual, a champion of classicism, the "style to be imitated". Petrarch's model left a trace of the toil of writing, the labor *limae*, which is considered the secret of style. From Machiavelli to Guicciardini, from Ariosto to Tasso, the "authorial function" has delivered a model of conservation and philology. After the triumph of the "scartafacci", two exemplary nineteenth-century cases (Manzoni and Leopardi) will be discussed, as well as the twentieth-century text production, in which the study of manuscripts, tormented by countless revisions, reveals a possible "grammar of corrections" and is flanked by crucial problems of authorship.

Keywords: authorial philology, genetic criticism, Humanism, authorial will, archival will, *scartafacci*, authorship

Humanistic genetic criticism: Petrarch

Since the 1970s, genetic criticism has spread throughout the world as a useful critical approach whereby the genesis of literary creation is studied through manuscript editions and analysis. Notably, however, genetic theory has developed out of the examination of autographic versions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary texts and has extended only recently to eighteenth-century works (Ferrand 2012; *Genesis* 2012). Furthermore, based on that analysis, it has been assumed that the creativity represented in manuscripts has existed only since the notion of creative genius was born, that is between the Enlightenment and Romanticism. Due to the large number of twentieth-century manuscripts that exist, a particular branch of genetic criticism has also been developed for studying modernist authors (Van Hulle 2008, 2014; Gabler 2018). But what happened before the eighteenth century? From the perspective of genetic criticism, authorial manuscripts from that time still constitute virgin territory.

In this respect, the Italian context is a fruitful area of investigation because, within Europe, it is the only one that features autographic manuscripts spanning the fourteenth century through to the twentieth, and that sees these manuscripts examined through the critical lens of a particular branch of philology. While born in the seventeenth century, this philological branch developed in earnest in the twentieth century, thanks to that period's Italian philological school, which was specifically devoted to the study of variants that result from the different intentions a given author has for their text (Isella 1987 and 2009; Italia and Raboni 2010).

Italy is also a special case because, in addition to having had a specific discipline devoted to editing authorial variants, namely *authorial philology* (Italia and Raboni 2021), it has, since the 1930s, developed a criticism based precisely on the study of these variants – that is, Gianfranco Contini's critique of variants, which, as we will see, is closely linked to the French tradition and, in a certain sense, to genetic criticism as well. The great wealth of manuscript documentation and a discipline dedicated to the study of ancient variants has also developed a methodology for studying the third dimension of maps, which is that of “time” (the “z” dimension), for the analysis beyond the visible spectrum of correction stratigraphies, a methodology developed on ancient and modern manuscripts (see *Manoscritti 2.0* and *Thesma Project*).

As mentioned above, and as recently also recognised by genetic criticism (Del Vento and Musitelli 2019), the Italian tradition is the only one in Europe that provides a vast number of authorially corrected manuscripts, from the Middle Ages to modern times. The first preserved document of an initial draft – the so-called “Codice degli abbozzi”, by Francesco Petrararch – is Italian and dates back to the mid-fourteenth century. Now kept in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Lat. 3196), this manuscript is the rough draft of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (*Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*), the most important collection of 366 everyday microtextual poems (365 plus the proemial sonnet). Written, corrected, and arranged between 1336 and 1374 (the year Petrarch died) into a general structure (macrotext) (Paolino 2000), it is a masterpiece of Italian Humanism and became a structural prototype of an author's collection, that is, a collection of poems assembled in an order determined by the will of the poet rather than, say, the order of writing. The *Canzoniere* became a model of European poetry for three centuries, influencing writers from Thomas Wyatt to William Shakespeare, and from Pierre de Ronsard to Luis de Góngora (Chines 2016).

Since Petrarch's death, his *scartafacci* – which, as legend has it, he kept in his fur, writing and correcting the texts during his walks – have come to be considered very precious objects. They were retained, along with the fair copy of the *Canzoniere* (BAV, Vat. Lat. 3195), as material objects of worship, and preserved sufficiently well as to be considered worthy of a critical edition, which was published by Francesco Ubaldini in 1642 in the very first “genetic edition” in print form. In this recently rediscovered work (Italia 2018a), Ubaldini re-evaluates the idea that the act of correction is the origin of literary style, starting with Virgil, who – according to Pliny – tended the fruits of his literary labour like a mother-bear licks its cubs (“Virgil, conforme ne racconta Plinio a guisa d'orsa leccando finiva i suoi parti”) (Ubaldini qtd in Italia 2018a).¹

But why should Petrarch's “Codice degli abbozzi” be considered the founding moment in authorial philology, not only in Italy but throughout Europe? Because it is in this work that Petrarch successfully reconceptualises the authorial text as an ever-changing organism, subject to alterations and modifications. The question is not whether the authors of the past were producers of authorial variants. Thanks to numerous indirect testimonies, studies by Pasquali ([1934] 1988) and other outstanding classical philologists (Canfora 2012; Dorandi 2020) have

1. Unless otherwise stated, all the translation in the chapter are mine.

shown that authorial variants have always existed and that, in the fourteenth century, the compositional process evolved from dictation to writing in the so-called “author’s book” (Petrucci 2017). We know this about St. Thomas Aquinas, Severinus Boethius, and Dante himself, who mentions two incipits of a sonnet in his *Vita nova*. Every author is an author of variants, because every act of writing is an act of correcting.

The point, rather, is that there are no remaining material documents of such variants because, before Petrarch, no author had an “archival will” (Albonico and Scaffai 2015; Italia 2020), no author believed it was important for these drafts *not* to be “given to Vulcano” (that is, to be burned), and no author thought that drafts were worthy of being preserved “non illorum dignitati, sed meo labori consulens” [not for their merit but for my effort] (*Rerum Familiarum Libri*, I, 1, 10), and that they therefore warranted being passed down for posterity. Prior to Petrarch, only the final work – the author’s last will – was important. What preceded it was not preserved, because it was either written on a perishable medium (such as wax tablets or poor quality paper (Cursi 2016)) or not considered preservable or valuable. It is with Petrarch, and the birth of the archival will, that we see profound changes in perspective. For the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch’s most important work, the poet wanted to preserve not only the definitive codex (Vat. Lat. 3195) but also the “Codice degli abbozzi” (Vat. Lat. 3196; the codex is available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3196), consisting of twenty sheets (of paper, as opposed to precious parchment) of draft material, which testify to the first versions, with corrections, of 57 poems. Some of these poems were then copied in Vat. Lat. 3195, while others remained unpublished in a draft state, replete with immediate and late corrections, discarded by Petrarch and reinserted later.

But why did Petrarch preserve this material? Because he believed that what was relevant to posterity was not only the final version of his work – a work that he left as the foundation of Humanism and classicism – but also the *labor limae* required to reach that final poetic value: “non illorum dignitati, sed meo labori consulens” [not for their merit but for my effort] (Petrarcha, *Rerum Familiarum Libri* I.1:10). The concept of an archival will is revolutionary, as it constitutes the basis for the concept of what is “classic”: that is, an author who becomes a model of life and style and must therefore be studied as a way of extracting, pedagogically, how that style was shaped. If genetic criticism existed in Italy as early as the seventeenth century, with Ubaldini’s first genetic edition, then Petrarch’s *scartafacci* show that the creative genius – as it might be recognised in an author’s style or in their way of making corrections – was not born with Romanticism but with Humanism, with the gesture with which an author considers their mistakes and corrections worthy of study, and entrusts these to posterity along with their *opus perfectum*.

It is the “authorial relationship” to literary drafts (Petrucci 2017: 63–64) that gives value to them. The significance for Petrarch, as well as for the scholars who followed him, of preserving and studying even the “bad” versions lies in the style that emerged from the *labor limae* – the “style to imitate” that we associate with “classicism” (Tatti 2015).

From Humanism to the Renaissance: Ariosto's fragments

It was in the fourteenth century that – thanks to Petrarch and Giovanni Boccaccio (whose *Decamerone* manuscripts have been preserved, even if we do not have its drafts, see Fiorilla and Iocca 2021) – autography became an integral, not to say fundamental, element of authorship. Yet the fifteenth century witnessed an erosion of the borders of autography, almost to the point of their disappearance, as a result of the often intimate collaboration between authors and the copyists working under their direction. In such instances, it would normally be impossible to get to the heart of the textual traditions because, when handwriting is not identified, texts remain a confused and indistinct jumble. However, submitting these texts to technical analysis that uses spectrometry and imaging and that is thus capable of providing scientific results, has proved extremely fruitful. It is not possible to draw up an intellectual history of the fourteenth century without taking the writing into account, that is without delving into the thick of humanistic writings. Only a deep analysis using spectrometry and imaging can put to rest recent doubts about Petrarch's contributions to Livio's corrections in the margins of the "Harley" Manuscript (MS 2493, British Library) – the famous "Livio Harleiano," owned and with marginalia by Petrarch, the father of Humanism. That said, the humanist approach to manuscripts truly started with his second reader, Lorenzo Valla. In fact, Valla not only signs his notes with "LV" but also attributes to Petrarch many reading, correction, and collation notes, some of which may not actually be his (Berté and Petoletti 2017). Given the humanists' particular way of working – constantly returning to their own texts as well as to ancient sources, and adopting a practice that featured erasures and superimposed layers as much as, if not more than, juxtapositions – a *manuscript analysis* method that allows for the rediscovery of textual amendments that can no longer be studied with the naked eye or other traditional instruments leads *ipso facto* to the recovery of entire areas of humanistic culture that were previously buried beneath the manuscript surface. This is to say nothing of the recovery of the actual documents: in many cases, the fading or acidity of the ink has resulted in the physical loss of pages that are central to our cultural history.

Since the linguistic question features so centrally in manuscript variants, the study of variants in manuscript materials from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is directly connected to issues of linguistic codification (Del Vento and Musitelli 2019). The Italian case is unique within the different European traditions, for historical and cultural reasons, because not only did Petrarch help to spread a "pedagogical" consideration of manuscripts and draft works, but also his *Canzoniere* became a model for a literary poetic language in the Italian vernacular, standardised through Pietro Bembo's edition of the *Canzoniere* (1501) and his *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525). The latter work presented a literary grammar based on Petrarch's poetry and Boccaccio's prose, and it gave birth to Petrarchism as a poetic style, which spread from Italy to the rest of Europe through to the eighteenth century. In this context, the preservation of autographs reinforces the idea of classicism, since it suggests that a text must be preserved, even in its earliest versions, precisely because it becomes a model of language and style.

The same principles that informed Petrarch's "archival will" can be found in the work by authors who lived in the age of Humanism and the Renaissance, as illustrated by the growing evidence of a large number of ancient authorial manuscripts, such as those by Poliziano and Leon Battista Alberti (fifteenth century) and Niccolò Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini, Giovanni della Casa, Baldassare Castiglione, Benedetto Varchi, and Pietro Bembo himself (sixteenth century), as well as the famous *Autograph Fragments* of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (see Figure 1).

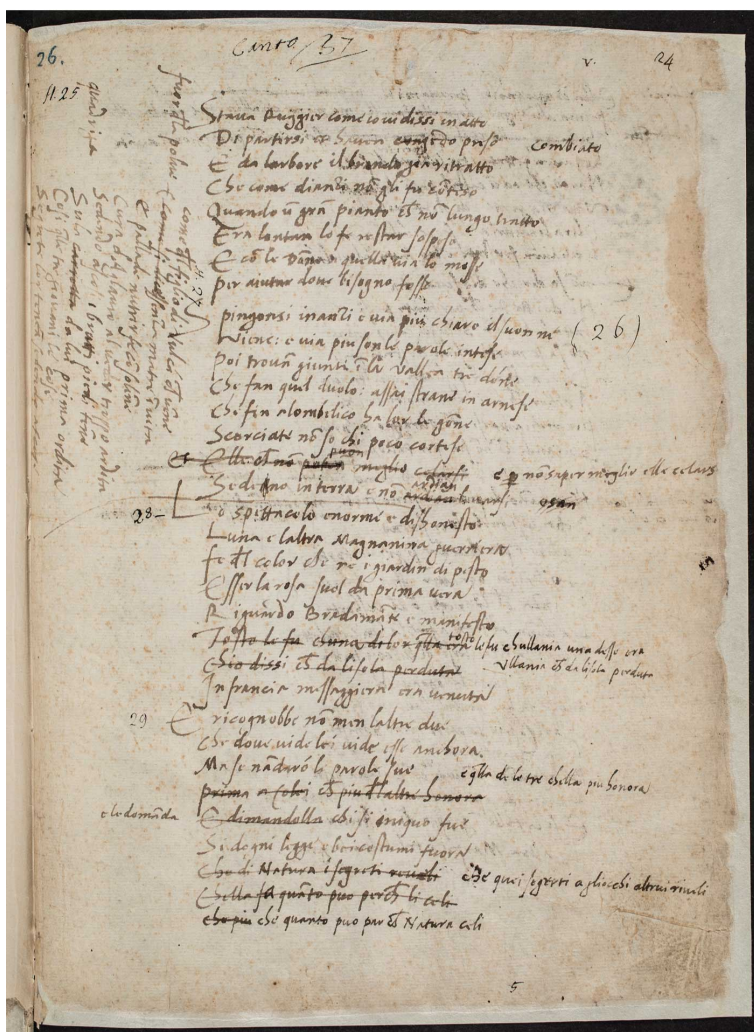


Figure 1. L. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, San Martino, ms. S.Mart.353

After Petrarch's manuscripts, the *Autograph Fragments* are the most important preserved early modern drafts, not only because they pertain to one of the founding texts of the chivalric

genre that has become a model throughout Europe, but also because, in the twentieth century, when writing a review of Debenedetti's 1937 critical edition of Ariosto's *Handwritten fragments: How Ariosto worked (Come lavorava l'Ariosto)*, the brilliant 24-year-old Gianfranco Contini founded the "criticism of variants" (Contini 1939). According to Contini, whose ideas have only recently been recognised as having been influenced by the French cultural milieu and Mallarmé and Valéry's theory of the fragment (Italia 2019a), and in opposition to the philosophy of the author's last will as proposed by Benedetto Croce (who coined the contemptuous definition of *scartafacci*), the dossier of first drafts has philosophical significance. In some scattered notes from 1944, recently discovered and published (Italia 2018b), Contini speaks of "poetry not as 'being' absolute presence (text = object) but as 'having to be' infinite evolution" ("o la poesia è un essere, una presenza assoluta (testo = oggetto) o è un dover essere, una evoluzione infinita") (qtd in Italia 2018b: 45). In relation to certain cases of *scartafacci*, from Petrarch's to Manzoni's, Contini states that the poetic value of the text lies not in the last will alone but in all of the author's previous corrections, which are – to quote Mallarmé – an "approximation to the value" (Contini 1992; Italia 2019a).

No less interesting are the cases of Michelangelo Buonarroti and Benedetto Varchi. Buonarroti's collection of poems, *Rime*, constitutes a single philological case of a double text (Campeggiani 2012), where the alternative variants coexist in double and even triple form, as if the literary texts were the equivalent of an unfinished sculpture. Varchi, for his part, authored the *Storia fiorentina* [Florentine History]. Countless of its hitherto unknown *scartafacci* are housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence, along with the very precious copy that features the author's late corrections as well as recognisable censorship interventions by the commissioner of the work, Cosimo I de' Medici, and his collaborator, Baccio Bandini (see Brancato and Lo Re 2015, and VASTO). Varchi was neither a trained historian nor a protagonist of those tumultuous years; rather, he was a mere spectator and, moreover, one whose sympathies were openly Republican. However, his position as official historian gave him free access to the private archives of the Duke and of the old Republic of Florence (the so-called Archive of the Reformations). This allowed Varchi to collect and transcribe a large number of documents, and – when added to the various histories and chronicles (including manuscripts) that enriched his extensive library, and to first-hand information (including what was gathered from the Republican exiles Iacopo Nardi and Giovanni Battista Busini) – these transcriptions formed the basis of the impressive work involved in drafting the *Florentine History*. Thus, a large number of draft excerpts exist, most of them kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. Such excerpts consist of summaries or notes, as opposed to narrative texts. The collection of this material was nonetheless guided by a certain order and logic, which stems from a fourfold principle of "truth, prudence, gravity, and grace", as informed by the urgency of organising matter and form according to an Aristotelian principle. Evidence of this can be seen in the various conceptual maps scattered throughout the manuscripts of sketches and drafts.

The novel and the new nineteenth-century poetry: Manzoni and Leopardi

The study of authors' *scartafacci* becomes even more intriguing when the author's work had a troubled psychological, literary and religious genesis, as is the case with Torquato Tasso's *La Gerusalemme liberata* [Jerusalem Delivered], whose entangled *scartafacci* have only recently come to light (Poma 2005; Russo 2020). With the Enlightenment, the archival will persists with a new idea of the self, as we can see through drafts by Giambattista Vico, Vittorio Alfieri (Zanardo 2019), Vincenzo Monti, and Giuseppe Parini (Isella 1987), and represents an interesting compositional *travail* due to the interweaving of literary creation and political problems, especially in the manuscripts of Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* [On Crimes and Punishments] and of Pietro Verri's *Osservazioni sulla tortura* [Observations on Torture] (Nava 2019; Verri 2018). A wider availability of paper led to a significant increase in the number of manuscripts. Moreover, the new status accorded to men of letters enabled the preservation of authorial archives, with a greater degree of preservation of the materials used to prepare the texts before they were sent to print. The man of letters would also individualise his status through the act of writing, marking his authorship on the page and returning to his works in a process of continuous improvement and authorial rewritings, which resulted in successive and differing editions and drafts of the manuscript text.

Once again, the intrinsic connection with the question of language, which held a central position throughout the nineteenth century, means that studying the emending layers not only provides insights into the genesis and evolution of the writing and the themes of the text, but also depicts a historical diagram of individual linguistic uses and their interrelations, as well as of the general evolution of the national literary language. The case study of Alessandro Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* [The Betrothed] (Milano, Biblioteca Braidense)² brings the latter aspect to the fore in both literary and linguistic terms, given the interconnection between issues related to establishing a national language and experimenting with a new genre, namely that of the novel.

The different versions of *I Promessi Sposi* – from the rough draft of *Fermo e Lucia* (now well known as *Gli sposi promessi*, see Italia 2019b) to the corrections to the manuscript for the first edition and the corrections added by Manzoni to the censor's copy – provide an exemplary documentary record of this process, which is at once literary and linguistic. A scientific analysis of the emending series of *I Promessi Sposi* would make it possible both to resolve the problems connected with the dating of the text, which remain unsolved even after the 2006 critical edition of the work, and to attribute the so-called “dubious variants” either to the first draft of the text or to the second (see Figure 2).

Even in the birth of modern poetry, which was both marked out and revived as a tradition by Giacomo Leopardi's *Canti* (Naples, Vittorio Emanuele III Library), there is an intrinsic connection between the history of the emending stratigraphies of manuscripts, and poetry's unique engagement with form, which is characterised by the continuous coming into being of the

2. See www.alessandromanzoni.org

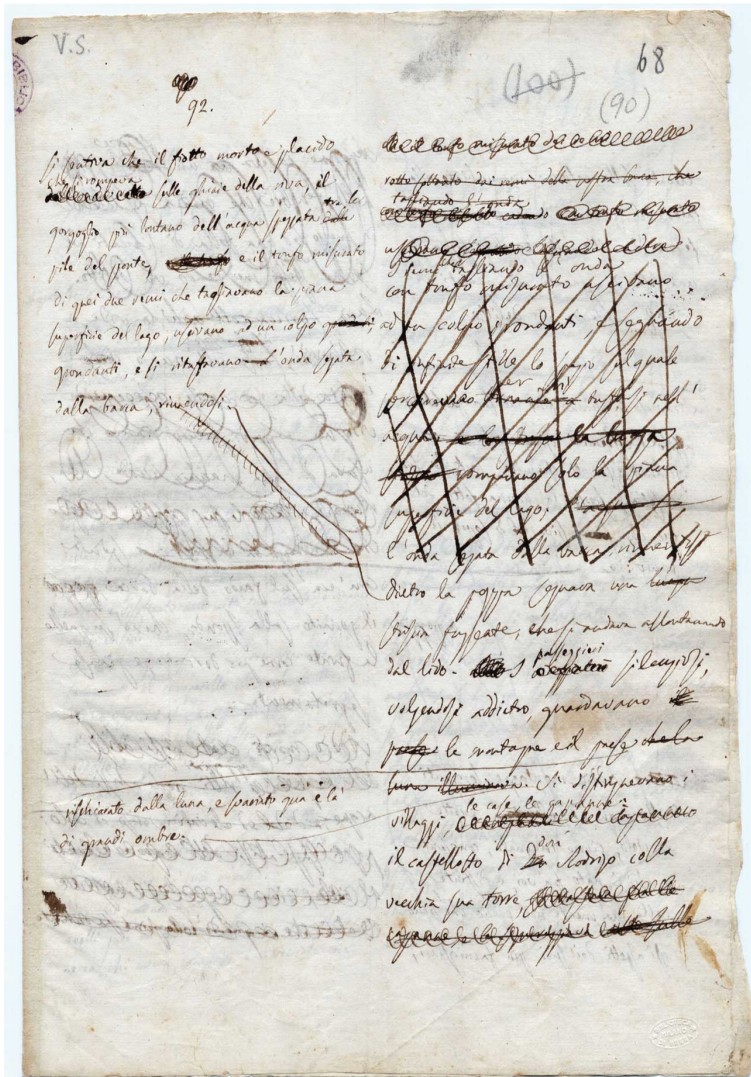


Figure 2. A. Manzoni, *Fermo e Lucia*, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, t. I, c. 92a

poetry on the author's pages. The hidden gems that Leopardi's manuscripts may have in store for us – to be uncovered by means of digital technology – relate not only to the variants of the *Canti* but also to the notes that the author placed in the margins of the text, which sometimes record the various readings that inspired the verses as well as the author's stylistic and linguistic considerations. Recently translated into English, the original manuscript of the *Zibaldone* might also contain some important discoveries, since subsequent additions to the first draft often significantly modify the development of Leopardi's thought. Not by chance, the textual examples of work by these major nineteenth-century authors establish a method for studying and representing manuscript corrections, which has led to the foundation of *Authorial Philol-*

ogy as a modern discipline for the study of authorial amendments (www.filologiadautore.it). The late nineteenth century witnessed a boom in autograph drafts from such authors as Giovanni Verga, Giovanni Pascoli, and Gabriele D'Annunzio.

Twentieth-century philology and criticism of variants: Montale and Gadda

The dynamics of the nineteenth century took on a radical form in the twentieth century, with an exponential increase in both the quantity of materials that were preserved by authors and available for study, and the importance of their variants. This was provoked, on the one hand, by the fragmented nature of the early twentieth century and the crisis of the novel, and on the other, by the poetics of modernism. The latter led to the arrival in Italy, from France, of the theorisation of the un-finished, a poetry dedicated to process rather than product, and whose point of arrival is always in progress. The study of variants and authorial handwriting is therefore an *indispensable process* carried out in parallel with the interpretation of the text itself. The text is no longer conceived of as a *datum* but rather, thanks to the contribution of Contini's critical study of variants, as a continuous "value approximation", presented as a means of providing a scientific basis for the study of numerous cases of apocrypha both in Italian literature and in twentieth-century European history. Scientific analysis of manuscripts might resolve numerous cases of *fakes*, from Eugenio Montale's *Diario postumo* [Posthumous Diary], which is considered apocryphal, to the forged diaries of Hitler and Mussolini.

The scientific analysis of twentieth-century manuscripts could also have a major impact on our knowledge about the connections between politics and literature, as illustrated by the recent critical edition of Carlo Emilio Gadda's *Eros e Priapo*. A particularly abundant source of stratigraphies and sheets of paper or pages that are stuck together can be found in the papers of Carlo Emilio Gadda, an author who was in the habit of returning to his writings incessantly, adding variants, corrections and revisions, and many of whose texts remain unpublished. The papers that were left to Alessandro Bonsanti and now held at the Archivio Contemporaneo of Gabinetto G.P. Vieusseux in Florence, were badly damaged by the 1966 flood. Although they were recovered in 2003, the flood damage rendered many of the pages illegible. This is the case for one of the notebooks of the *Giornale di guerra e di prigionia* [Journal of war and imprisonment]: namely, *Quaderno di Campagna II di Gadda* [Gadda's Campaign Notebook 2],³ which remains partly undiscovered to this day because it was completely washed out and then deposited at the *Fondo Gadda* [Gadda's Archive] in Florence. However, the Terahertz analysis technology could hypothetically generate numerous further discoveries, making it possible to examine texts concealed by sheets of paper in Gadda's *Cognizione del dolore* [The Experience of Pain] and *Adalgisa* (at the Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan).⁴

3. See also the webpage of the Thesma Project: <http://www.filologiadautore.it/wp/thesma-project-sapienza-ricerca-2014-2016/>

4. Terahertz analysis is a non-invasive analysis of the papers, using Terahertz ray (short waves in the range of 0,3 mm to 0,03 mm) to read even heavily deleted words or faded inks (see Flammini et al 2017).

In Italy after the Second World War, Contini's "criticism of variants" was applied to works by such great authors as Petrarch and Leopardi (Contini 1992), while a methodology for the representation of variants was developed by Dante Isella (one of Contini's students), with the critical editions of Parini's and Manzoni's works. Isella's contribution to the development of the field was foundational: his *Authorial Philology* (1987) was accompanied by the very first scientific model for representing authorial corrections, the edition of Gadda's drafts of *Racconto italiano di ignoto del novecento* [An Italian short story by an unknown twentieth-century author].⁵ In this critical edition, all of the different elements of the text are represented in different ways ("genetic", "evolutive" variants are separated from "alternative" variants and "metatextual notes" (Italia and Raboni 2010)) and – thanks to a pioneering use of spectrometry – different "layers" of the corrections have been separated, which allows instant corrections to be distinguished from ones added later.⁶

These philological methods and technologies have been subsequently applied to two ground-breaking critical editions, both published in 2006 and dedicated to the most important philological cases of prose and poetry of the nineteenth century. One of these editions is the first draft of Manzoni's *Promessi sposi: Fermo e Lucia*, which is an example of *scartafacci* characterised by a particularly complex correction stratification (Raboni 2017). The other edition is Leopardi's poems, *Idilli* [Idylls], which served as the case study for the first scientific representation of the author's variants (since Moroncini's 1927 critical edition) and was eventually followed by three other critical editions, including one by Franco Gavazzeni in 2006, as has recently been brought to the attention of the general public thanks to the WiKi Leopardi⁷ and Ecdosys Leopardi digital scholarly editions (DSEs).⁸ These critical editions develop for the first time a new model of apparatus, whereby the author's corrections are not represented in diplomatic form according to their position in the manuscript, but interpreted critically, with distinct correction phases identified. This reflects a significant difference compared to the model used in genetic criticism (for an account of these differences see Italia and Raboni 2021).

This innovation makes it possible to adopt a streamlined system of representing correction methods. It uses specific and unique abbreviations for single variants (deletions, insertions, displacements, variants taken from others, overwritten and underwritten variants), and numbers and letters for complex variants (identifying correction phases and sub-phases); moreover, thanks to its ability to identify a stratification of the editorial process, it allows the reader to distinguish between *instant variants* (corrections made at the time of writing, both in line and overwritten) and *late variants* (corrections made after the first draft was completed).

The result is a brand-new type of critical apparatus, separated from the text and capable of representing all correction phenomena in a *diachronic* and *systemic* way (Italia and Raboni 2010, 2021). Evidence of this can be seen in one simple but exemplary case found in the repre-

5. Isella's method is explained in Italia 2017 and Italia and Raboni 2021.

6. Terahertz and spectrometry (Thesma Project) and RTI (CHI-RTI 3D Leopardi)

7. See https://wikileopardi.altervista.org/wiki_leopardi/index.php?title=Wiki_Leopardi

8. See <https://leopardi.ecdosys.org/it/Home/>

sensation – in both the diplomatic and the authorial philology methods – of “La Ricordanza”, one of Leopardi’s *Idylls* (see “Come si fa un’edizione critica” [How to make a critical edition];⁹ Italia and Raboni 2020; and the digital critical edition with layers of corrections in Ecdosys Leopardi).

The critical edition that was made using the authorial philology method shows great differences when compared to the diplomatic edition, revealing the effectiveness of the former’s phase-based apparatus: an alphanumeric system uses numerical exponents to represent the diachrony of the corrections and alphabetical exponents to represent the pens used by the poet in the different correction phases of the text (Italia 2020). When fruitfully applied to *Fermo e Lucia* and to Leopardi’s *Idilli*, the diachronic and phase-based apparatus – which goes beyond the diplomatic representation of manuscripts used by genetic criticism – defines a very wide range of correction phenomena, capable of understanding all of the case studies of the author’s corrections. This is so much the case that the apparatus can be used for some fundamental editions of authorial philology in the twenty-first century, such as in Giorgio Bassani’s work (Haller 1977; Siciliano 2018; see Figure 3b) and Gadda’s manuscripts (Italia 2017, 2020; see Figure 3a).

The revolutionary intuition of Contini – who was strongly opposed to Croce’s historicist philosophy and his new “theory of the genesis of the text”, developed in France but based on the Italian literary tradition since Petrarch – changed the idea of the text in terms of its substance and endowed the genetic process with a hermeneutic value vis-à-vis the final work by addressing authorial actions and the agency implied by them. Yet the “criticism of variants” can be developed even further, as part of a more ambitious theoretical challenge, as is the objective of such a criticism, which may have unexpected consequences for the concepts of creativity and genius. Specifically, the theoretical challenge would be to use philology and computational analysis, as applied to the Italian context, to conduct comparative analyses of authors’ compositional and correction methods, since correction patterns offer the opportunity to identify style.

Two fascinating hypotheses can emerge as a result of this theoretical challenge being accepted and explored. According to one hypothesis, the correction patterns depend on *culture*, on *exogenous* elements (as argued by Menger 2009, who attributes creativity to social drives), with different authors tending to correct in similar ways if they belong to the same historical period. According to the other hypothesis, correction patterns depend on *nature*, on *endogenous* elements, and do not reflect cultural influences but the relationship that each individual has with the written page. In this context, the page is considered a surface that reflects not only the author’s individuality but also their relationship with the other, and the deep unconscious patterns that emerge and are formalised through their literary creation (see also Van Hulle 2014). But since every act of writing is an act of rewriting (Gabler 2018; Italia 2020), only a comparative study of corrections will allow for an unprecedented general history and theory of corrections to be written.

9. <http://www.filologiadautore.it/wp/come-si-fa-unedizione-critica/>

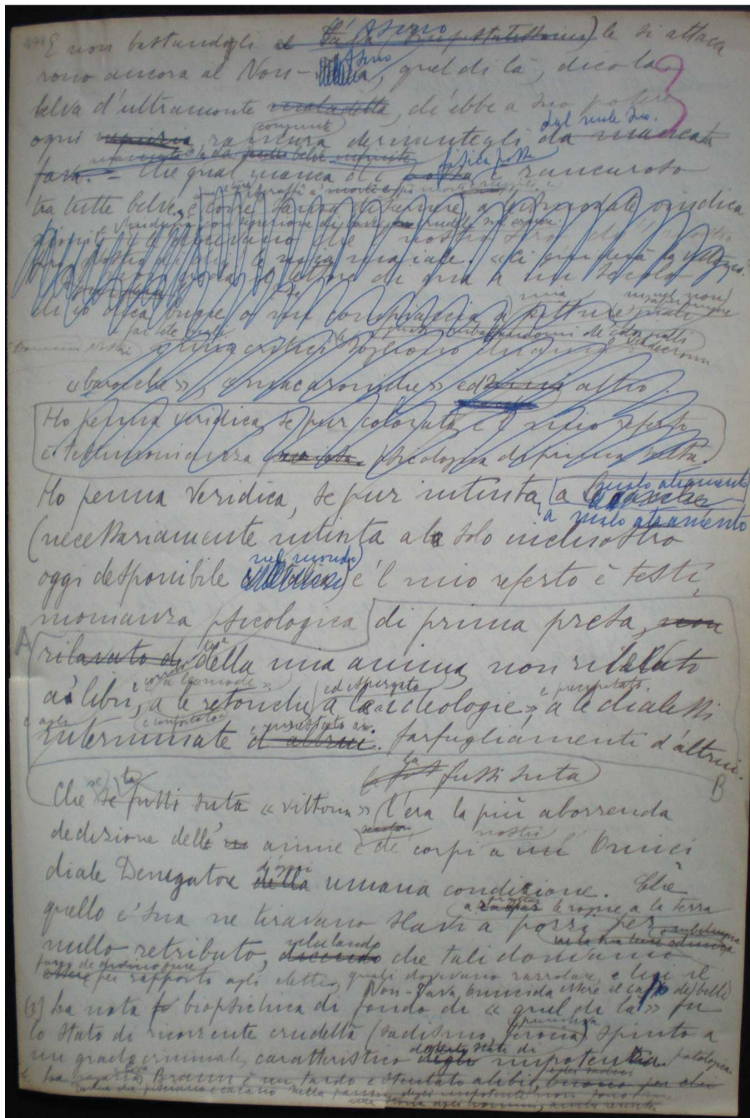


Figure 3a. C.E. Gadda, *Eros e Priapo*, c. 474, Archivio Liberati

A first analysis of some exemplary cases of the Italian modern tradition – Leopardi, Manzoni, Morante, Gadda, Bassani – has allowed us to recognise two types of writers: those who write using “a map” and those who write using “a compass” (Italia 2017). The writers who work using a map plan all of the phases of composition before starting their process; their plans look like a budget estimate; their *scartafacci* are a detailed conceptual map of the text they are about to write. The first drafts of their texts are therefore similar to clean copies because the design phase has already been completed, and they work by adding text (as in Gadda’s manuscripts). The “compass” writers, by contrast, do not know where they will go; they follow an inspiration

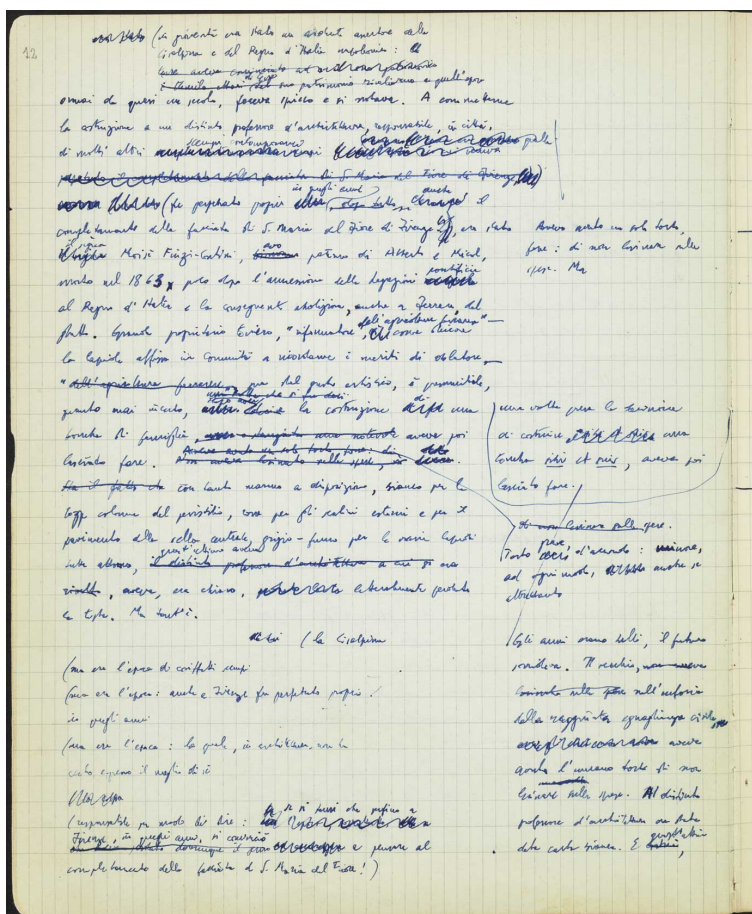


Figure 3b. G. Bassani, *Il Giardino dei Finzi Contini*, I, p. 12, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea

that propels them forward, from one variant to the next. Their drafts are a battlefield of ideas that compete for the physical space of the page (as in Manzoni's first drafts). These two typologies reflect two ways of relating an author's self to the text and produce corresponding correction methodologies.

But how many writers work using "a map" and how many are using "a compass"? And are there other ways to write a draft? Evidence from ancient and modern Italian *scartafacci* offers the perfect case study material that Italian philology is now ready to investigate and that may yield more innovative results in the future.

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1.2.8 Drafts on the Iberian Peninsula

João Dionísio

Previously unobserved in a global view, drafts belonging to Iberian literary and cultural traditions are here exploratorily approached in accordance with a wide sense of the term “draft”. The chapter is divided into four sections: following some preliminary remarks, several *desiderata* for a future history of drafts in the Iberian Peninsula are presented; the second section reflects upon the coincidence (or lack thereof) between intellectual property and scribal agency in the composition of drafts; the third is focused on the morphology and function of blank spaces in genetic materials; the conclusion discusses, and contests, the idea of the draft as an unsuitable transcription, arguing in turn for its status as a site where fluid authorial goals are enacted.

Keywords: draft, textual genetics, author, scribal hand, blank spaces

Introduction

The words more frequently used in the Iberian languages corresponding to “draft” generally refer to provisionality: *borrador*, in Spanish and Galician, as well as the Catalan *esborrany* and the Basque *zirriborro* are reminiscent of the act of deletion (*borra* designated in Castilian a piece of rough wool used for erasing); in Portuguese, in which *borrador* and *borrão* are also present, the more current *rascunho*, derived from the Spanish *rascuño* (scratch), can both point to some sort of spontaneous inscription or erasure. In accordance with such etymological memory, marks of spontaneity, revision, and, above all, provisionality are usually detected in holograph drafts via features such as: speedy, hard to decipher handwriting, interlinear insertions, heavy deletions, ink patches, pen trials and marginal doodles. Incidentally, this is how Daniel Ferrer presented a plate by Pablo Picasso that did not make it into the 1936 special edition of Paul Éluard’s *Les yeux fertiles* (Ferrer 2011: 36) – as a description that not only calls our attention to the textual instability which is inherent to drafts, but also to their occasional iconic dimension. Since the history of drafts in the Iberian Peninsula has never been attempted, the first part of this chapter concentrates on some preliminary *desiderata* for such an endeavour. The second part is based on the assumption that the elusiveness of holograph drafts is better perceived when, leaving aside the individual traits of a specific document, one tries to set a framework enabling the observer to recognise what falls in, and to compare entities belonging to, that category. Notwithstanding this, rather than endeavouring to put forth a thorough typology of literary and cultural drafts produced in the Iberian Peninsula, I would like to concentrate on a pair of tentative features of these documents that moderate expectations of reaching essentialist definitions: (1) the connection between intellectual property and writing agency, and (2) the function performed by blank spaces (in the layout and within the textualisation process). Finally, some brief remarks on the criteria for the selection of materials, as well as on the overall

interpretive framework. Viewed as “an essential link in the chain of transformations which have led from the work project to the definitive text” (de Biasi 1996: 27), a draft neither necessarily coincides with a documented stage of written composition, nor is it necessarily associated with a specific set of writing materials. Taking into consideration the heteromorphic and processual nature of drafts, as well as the diverse authorial *modi operandi* witnessed by extant genetic documentation, the data under observation is retrieved from library and archival documents pertaining to different Iberian literary traditions. Furthermore, this data will be interpreted according to lines of continuity and reshaping across successive historical periods, that is without underscoring the consequences of alleged fundamental breaks and absolute differences in the history of written communication (Goody 2000; Vauthier 2014: 342).

A future history

The history of drafts is only imaginable, let alone feasible, in a period when these types of documents are acknowledged as more than items to be dispensed with. For various reasons, this has not always been the case. Drafts have indeed come a long way, moving from discardable documents, to privately kept memorabilia, then commercial goods, and finally scholarly objects whose interest has been variously overshadowed by a product-oriented culture.

The way these transitions have occurred deserves a close look. For research on drafts as commercial goods, auction and antiquarian bookshop catalogues are a major source, giving precious information on the changing market value of these items, how they are priced vis-à-vis other types of documents (finished manuscripts, printed copies) by the same author, how they are targeted in the purchasing policies of public and private institutions, and so on. Another insight into the socio-economic history of drafts is provided by how cultural institutions have come to adopt the mission of preserving genetic materials. A seminal episode in this respect is the purchase by the National Library of Spain in 1969, for 5,100,000 pesetas (over € 30,000), of a collection of important manuscripts by the novelist and playwright Benito Pérez Galdós. The preservation of writers' archival materials has since then been the mission of other Spanish private and public institutions, for example, the Centro Cultural de la Generación del 27, which since its establishment in 1984 has focused on archives associated with the literary movement that included writers such as Jorge Guillén, Rafael Alberti and García Lorca (Blasco 2011: 48–49). In Portugal the largest set of writers' archives is kept by the Arquivo de Cultura Portuguesa Contemporânea, founded in 1981 and comprising more than 100 collections ranging from the nineteenth century to present times (Duarte and Oliveira 2007).

Despite the evidence of such a shifting perspective about genetic materials, the relevance of kept drafts for the study of textual culture has been frequently played down or even ignored. Suffice it to say that Lucia Binotti, reflecting upon the volume *Discursos* by the Madridian lawyer Gregorio López Madera, valued the 1595 version of this work by stating that it is not a “plain draft” (“simple borrador”; Binotti 1992: 225); similarly, Michel Garcia, who paid attention to a recently found version of the *Crónica del rey don Pedro III* (*Chronicle of Henry III*) by Pero López de Ayala (1332–1407), asserted that it should not be taken for a “mere draft”

(“mero borrador”; Garcia 2005: 228). While both these scholars illustrate the prevalent paradigm of product over process in the study of texts, the last few decades have witnessed the emergence of a new viewpoint regarding drafts, no longer taken as imperfect stages of a future definitive text, but rather as components of a given work in their own right. Telling examples of this changing perspective are the inclusion of the genetic materials of the Spanish poet Juan Ramón Jiménez as part of his work (Martínez Deyros 2018: 3) and, even more strikingly, the decision issued by the government of Portugal to treat the archival documents of Fernando Pessoa (1888–1935), including numerous drafts, as belonging to his oeuvre (DGBNP 2008). Notwithstanding the recentness of these episodes, some of the first traces of such a shifting perspective towards drafts date back to the Middle Ages, namely to the function of royal chroniclers. It is possible that, with the creation of this function, the genetic materials of historiographic works started to be seen as having more of an institutional than an individual status, meaning that it was not up to the chronicler to decide on their destruction – a change of pattern that would favour their conservation (Bautista 2014: 116–117).

Another aspect of this future history has to do with the scholarly framework of the research focused on drafts. Although the study of these documents has elicited the attention of several disciplines, such as traditional philology (Vasconcellos 1911) and stylistics (Spitzer 1960), for roughly 50 years now it has been at the core of genetic criticism. Depending on the criteria that are put forth, the identification of the beginnings of genetic orientations in the scholarly approach to written materials in the Iberian Peninsula will vary. In Portugal, one initial landmark (*avant la lettre*, as it were) would be Carolina Vasconcellos’s introduction to her 1885 edition of Sá de Miranda’s poetry (Miranda 1989), whereas the genetic critical edition of Fernando Pessoa’s works directed by Ivo Castro, initiated in 1990, is a recent milestone in this respect (Castro 2013). With reference to Spain, although the series *Juan Ramón Jiménez en el Archivo Histórico Nacional* (2008–2012) is in some quarters taken to be the first endeavour *strictu sensu* of genetic criticism in this country (Martínez Deyros 2018: 5), the reception of French textual genetics in Spanish bibliography can be detected earlier on, sometimes in close articulation with philology (the Spanish translation of Louis Hay’s article “L’écriture vive” came out in the Argentinian journal *Filologia* in 1994, only one year after its original publication). Incidentally, it would also be useful to take into account how genetic criticism has fitted into scholarly areas in Iberian universities, namely after the split of philology into literary studies and linguistics. At the University of Salamanca, according to the 2009–2010 scholarly guide, genetic criticism seems closer to literary studies, being either a free elective (*Fundamentos de crítica genética*) or a topic in the syllabus of literary theory in the degree in Literary Theory and Comparative Literature.¹ As to the University of Lisbon (Faculdade de Letras), genetic criticism is taught in two undergraduate courses (*Crítica textual*, *Edição de textos*) as part of both linguistics and literary studies.

1. Facultad de Filología, Universidad de Salamanca, Guía Académica 2009–2010. https://gredos.usal.es/bitstream/handle/10366/75374/FFL_GuiaAcademica_2009_2010.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

A history of drafts in the Iberian Peninsula through socio-economic, institutional and cultural lenses is still but a future venture. In anticipation of such an inclusive perspective on the subject, the following remarks seek to approach two dimensions that facilitate a comparative reflection upon these genetic materials: writing as a physical inscription and spatial organisation.

Hand matters

In general, the study of drafts depends in the first instance on the identification of the person performing the scribal function as being coincident with the intellectual author of the text. Such identification entails several difficulties for the earlier periods of literary history, mostly resulting from the scarce availability of autographical materials that may serve as reference points and also from the definition of functional criteria supporting the identification of the writing hand. For instance, advanced compositional rough drafts are frequently documented in marginal or interlinear corrections and annotations written down in a restricted letter module because of space constraints (De Biasi 1996: 35). A case in point is the *Sanlúcar de Barrameda* codex, which contains a copy of Juan de la Cruz's *Cántico Espiritual*. The transcription of this major work of mystical Spanish literature is marginally annotated and corrected by the author, but apart from a number of incontrovertible authorial interventions doubts have been raised about the hand that corrects several passages of *Cántico Espiritual* in this codex (Elia 1991: 79). Such doubts are not alien to the distinct spatial circumstances in which the main text and the glosses are written, which give rise to differences in letter forms, proportions, and aspect (Stokes 2009: 310). Additionally, it should be noted that, regardless of the different points of handwriting analysis, modern handwriting, because it varies more than the medieval does, is more liable to individual identification (Stokes 2009: 319). The all too general results, for this purpose, of a broad hand description can be illustrated by the way Carolina Michaëlis profiled the handwriting in a document witness containing the draft of several poems by the sixteenth-century Portuguese poet Sá de Miranda (BNP, cod. 3355): "Clear, moderate. Lacking decorative arabesques. Classical".² Such a description seems too close to the general traits of other contemporaneous poets' elegant calligraphy (Vasconcellos 1911: 9–10). Another type of difficulty results from the lack of uniformity and extreme cursivity of handwriting displayed in drafts, thus challenging the ways of analysing the writing ductus and angle, as well as the letter module and weight. This is the reason why palaeography has welcomed experimental approaches to cope with documents presenting such intense morphological variety, namely methods seeking to extract the more characteristic shapes of a letter, such as the one presented by Martínez Comeche in his study of the *Códice Durán-Masaveu* drafts by Lope de Vega (1562–1635), the preeminent and prolific writer of the Spanish Golden Age (Martínez Comeche 1995). In recent times, Sònia Boadas has used an array of techniques including spectral photography and X-ray fluorescence to study several holographs by Lope de Vega (Boadas 2020).

2. Unless otherwise noted, the translation of the passages quoted in this chapter is mine.

Without downplaying the relevance of autography for the study of drafts, it should be noted that from Antiquity to the Middle Ages and even in the Renaissance, the textual composition process would frequently be performed by two agents in a type of collaboration that also explains the scarcity of fully autographical documents dating back to those periods. Authors would dictate their text to a *notarius* or scribe, who then wrote it down through tachygraphic signs or Tironian notes. Only later would the text be fully written in a document witness to be read and revised by the author (Closa Farrés 1991: 128–129). Unsurprisingly, the depiction of literary creation as dependent upon a dual function of dictation and transcription of an oral discourse is found in a sermon by the Valencian Dominican friar and preacher S. Vicente Ferrer (1350–1419). There, the author is the one who performs an instruction given by God, similar to the scribe who writes down according to authorial dictation (Gimeno Blay 2007: 310–311). Likewise, in advising on how to make a translation from Latin into Portuguese, Duarte, King of Portugal (1391–1438) favours the functional division of composing and writing, suggesting that this was common practice in the late Middle Ages: “As to one person doing the mental work of rendering from Latin into the vernacular, and another person doing the writing, I am of the opinion that this is better than when the whole is done by one person” (adapted from Robinson 1997: 60). This functional division is again documented in the translations devised by the Castilian priest and statesman Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456) who counted on the writing agency of his secretary Juan Alfonso de Zamora (Morrás 1996: 62, 157). The material outcome of such collaboration, be it in the process of original composition or in the making of a translation, is that the first draft would frequently not be holographic.

As history evolved, the scribal function in initial stages of composition was increasingly taken by authors who sometimes were also responsible for handwritten clean copies. As is abundantly proven by Fernando Bouza, the *Siglo de Oro* [Golden Age] in the Iberian Peninsula is witness to an impressive culture of written copies, including some that were prepared by the authors of the texts themselves (Bouza 2001). New technological writing devices such as the typing machine or later the personal computer, while having extended human capabilities, contributed to the less visible role of handwriting (sometimes confined to a revisional function or not even that). In fact, these devices have turned into the standard way to produce clean copies, but also both rough and advanced compositional drafts, having become second nature to many writers. Such a status is illustrated by the following remark in a letter Fernando Pessoa sent to a fellow writer: “Em eu começando a fallar – e escrever à machina é para mim fallar –, custame a encontrar o travão” [As I start talking – and to me typewriting is the same as talking –, it is hard to find the break] (Pessoa 1998: 255). With respect to genetic documents in the digital age, it has been pointed out that it is odd to speak of drafts when one refers to electronic documents, audio recordings and web links that do not display evidence of rewriting operations (deletions, additions, inversions and displacements), while these are immediately visible on draft pages. But the very genetic dossier that brought about these remarks, that of the novel *El Dorado* by Robert Juan Cantavella (born 1976), is an example of the variety of *avant-texte* materials, since digital files appear side by side with a notebook that displays many pages with holographic notes (Vauthier 2014: 313, 317).

Blank spaces

Holograph drafts frequently have the aspect of a massive invasion of the available space on the page: the balanced organisation of space and inscription to be found in printed texts and clean copies is overturned, the margins and interlinear space being taken up by corrections, annotations, and instructions of different kinds. Take page 308 of *Códice Daza* (BNE, Res/284), a miscellaneous codex that conveys several drafts by Lope de Vega; or most of the draft that the Portuguese romantic writer Almeida Garrett (1799–1854) made of his play *Frei Luís de Sousa* (BGUC, Garrett papers, A I 14); or else the surviving holograph of the poem “Crucifixión” by García Lorca (1898–1936), which was supposed to be included in his masterwork *Poeta en Nueva York* (BNE, Mss/23213). It is as if they had been written down to satisfy some sort of *horror vacui* compulsion. Conversely, while the traditional background function of blank spaces capitulates to acts of written accretion and revision in rough drafts, the layout of advanced compositional drafts often displays a margin larger than usual to facilitate the insertion and reading of authorial revisions and instructions. Thus, the blank column (or columns) in the layout can be a clear indicator of multi-stage composition: a rough textualisation probably occurred before this stage, and a clean copy would possibly be made later.

This multi-stage process can be illustrated by *Crónica de Juan II*, a chronicle focused on the kingdom of King John II of Castile and León (1405–1454), composed over a period of roughly 50 years by Álvaro García de Santa. Two drafts of the second part of this chronicle are kept: a fragmentary draft containing different sections of the preliminary text referring to the period 1420–1430 (Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, ms. x-II-2) and a shorter draft, of chapters five to 23, related to the year 1425 (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códices, 1.369B; Bautista 2014: 110). The Escorial manuscript conveys a version written down in a single column flanked by large right and left margins, which were filled (besides interventions resulting from other agents) by holograph revision (Fernández-Ordoñez 2009: 93–94, 97; Bautista 2014: 112). Similar cases can often be found in different historical periods, textual revision being visible on the margins of the holograph of *Teatro de los teatros* by the playwright Francisco Antonio Bances Candamo (1662–1704; BNE, ms. 17459, f. 76; cf. Jauralde 2008: 42–44) and in the marginal annotations to the autograph of *Vida de D. Hugo de Moncada* by the erudite José de Vargas Ponce (1760–1821; BNE, ms. 5921, f.16v; cf. Jauralde 2015: 182–184). In turn, from the master of Portuguese oratory in the seventeenth century, the Jesuit priest António Vieira (1608–1697), the rough draft version of his defence before the Holy Office was already designed through such a layout arrangement (BNP cod. 681, f.120r; cf. Duarte 1994: 27; Vieira 2008). This points to a revisional use of marginal blank space in the initial stages of composition, a feature that is also detected in working papers of the unfinished novel *A Capital!* by the later Portuguese realist writer Eça de Queiroz (1845–1900; BNP, E1/287, f.13; Duarte 1994: 63).

Apart from spaces left blank, namely on the margins (and designed to be the locus of textual revision), another type of blank usually emerges in drafts, especially in the first stages of textualisation. As a matter of fact, noteworthy evidence of the textual incompleteness inherent to drafts is to be detected in the presence of intentional blanks in the text so that the author (or

the scribe) might fill them in at a later stage. This suggests that the writer is aware, even if only approximately, of the length of the text to be inserted on that spot and of the position it will take in the overall structure of the work. It is interesting to observe how these blanks play out in the aforementioned manuscripts of the second part of *Crónica de Juan II* by Álvaro García de Santa María.

In the Archivo Nacional draft, which according to Bautista served as the basis of the text conveyed by the Escorial codex, Álvaro García de Santa María did not initially write the closing of chapter six, having left a blank space and included in the left margin two notes on its possible content. Later he returned to this chapter and completely filled in the space previously left blank. Because this action has to do with the overall composition of a chapter section, it is clearly differentiated from other types of blanks displayed by the Escorial witness. The latter are often blanks that are a word or a few words long and expected to be filled in with precise pieces of information (for example, the number of foot soldiers and knights, number of days, an exact list of people). As to larger gaps, taking one third or half of a page, they have generally to do with direct speech, previewed but unwritten, or the transcription of the conditions of treaties or agreements (Fernández Ordoñez 2009: 94–95). Both of these shorter and larger blanks point to the existence of sources that are not available during a given writing stage and should be interpreted against the backdrop of a pursuit of accuracy. Such a pursuit is in accordance with the then prevailing style of historiography: a detailed, minute and inclusive account of facts as they take place (Bautista 2014: 108). Additionally, in the draft kept at the Archivo Nacional the changes related to textual organisation are more frequent and relevant than those in the Escorial draft, an observation that is consistent with the initial state of textualisation being represented by the former, when the distribution of the content had not been entirely established (Bautista 2014: 114, 129; Fernández Ordoñez 2009: 94).

Are these blanks noticeable in genres and times other than medieval historiography? Gaps designed to be filled in with historical data do indeed appear in holographs by later writers such as Almeida Garrett, who in the draft notes to his drama *Frei Luís de Sousa* intended to mention an official report of the Drama School, but failed to provide its date, having kept two short blank spaces (“which is dated □ of □ of 1840”) (University of Coimbra General Library (BGUC), Garrett papers, A I 16, f.163). This lacuna, which was duly filled in in the published text, illustrates the existence of lacunae that may surface in different stages of the writing process, but will more likely emerge in advanced stages of composition (Garrett 1844: 173). What about lacunae that do not result from factual information? How do blanks give shape to the tension between the rhetorical canons of *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* in poetry?

Fernando Pessoa’s theory of poetry is indebted to Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s description of how his poem “Kubla Khan” came into being. Having set out to write his vivid recollection of a dream, Coleridge penned “the lines that are [...] preserved” but did not complete them due to the interruption of a visitor who is held responsible for the fragmentary status of the poem. Indeed, as to the remainder of the dream, Coleridge says: “with the exception of some eight or ten scattered lines and images, all the rest had passed away” (Coleridge 1816: 53). Such a theory

of recollection seems to be in line with a passage of a letter that Pessoa wrote to an English publisher in 1916:

I sometimes hold that a poem [...] is a person, a living human being, belongs in bodily presence and real fleshy existence to another world, into which our imagination throws him, his aspect to us, as we read *him* in this world, being no more than the imperfect shadow of that reality of beauty which is divine elsewhere. (qtd in Patrício 2012: 145)

This is concluded by a “wishful thinking” note: “I hope some Day, after death, I shall meet in their real presences the few children of these I have as yet created and I hope I shall find them beautiful in their immortality” (qtd in Patrício 2012: 145). Thus, not this world, rather another world is the real address of a few poems by Pessoa, who was allowed to create them in their shadowy aspect, a mere glimpse of divine beauty. Beyond the use of Coleridge’s observation on “Kubla Khan,” it is hard not to see in Pessoa’s remarks the influence of Platonic ideas – namely, the double nature of the poem as a shadow projected in human life and a real presence elsewhere, a description possibly indebted to the allegory of the cave. This leads us to an obvious question: how does the continuous struggle for precise recollection that Pessoa puts forth as his view on poetic creation fit together with his many archive papers that display blank spaces of different lengths (word, phrase, line, stanza-long)? These blanks invite the observer to regard them as obtrusions in the recollection process, gaps that, once covered, pave the way to the manifestation of the poem in all its splendour. However, a close observation of Pessoa’s drafts suggests that things are not that straightforward.

The first known draft of Pessoa’s “Ela canta, pobre ceifeira” [She sings, poor reaper] a poem clearly inspired by Wordsworth’s “The Solitary Reaper,” may provide some insight into what is here at stake. The extant manuscript, written on 1 December 1914, contains a line that displays a blank space: “Voz cheia de □ e Sul!” [Voice full of □ and South!] (BNP, E3, 117–42a^r). The “I” of the poem tries here to describe the voice of the reaper, who is portrayed right from the start as someone singing an entrancing tune. In this first phrasing of the line the voice is doubly characterised, according to geography and to another undetermined category, giving the impression that as soon as Pessoa would find the right word to fill in the gap with, the composition of this passage would be concluded. However, in the margin, he rewrote the line almost entirely: “E a vida sabe a amor e a Sul!” [And life tastes of love and of South!]. Note that the end is kept unchanged, a fact hinting at the priority of decisions regarding rhyme words in the composition process (Defenu 2022), but the remainder of the line is subjected to a radical transformation: the focal point is no longer the voice of the reaper but a general reference to its effect on the listener. There is no clue in the initial version of this line that such a second version would come into being. The substantial change described above leads to the impression that this is neither a tip-of-the-tongue situation nor a plain faltering recollection, but rather proof of a structural understanding of text that goes on evolving until different stages of completion are reached, the extant words constraining the occurrence of blank spaces of varying length. Such a depiction is inconsistent with an image of the poet as a *medium* with occasional memory issues; for

blanks often have the aspect, as in the case of this poem, of signposts for a more profound textual change. This takes us to some final remarks on the nature of drafts.

Conclusion: *In mentis*

In mentis is the expression used by the nineteenth-century Portuguese poet António Nobre to refer to the date of composition of a few of his poems in a notebook bearing the title “Foundations”. It appears as an autograph annotation next to three poems in the notebook MSER 813, kept at the City Library of Porto: the sonnets “Primeiro amor” [First love] (“Made *in mentis* in 1883”), “A jovem Miss” [The young Miss] (“Made *in mentis* on bed. Porto, 1886”) and “Elegia” [Elegy] (“Made *in mentis* at the Theatre Principe, in 1886”) (Nobre 1983: 107, 109). Thus, this notebook could perhaps be seen as a privileged point of entry into the mental composition of these texts – and indeed rough drafts, in their seeming closeness to the stage of mental composition, have elicited approximations to concepts such as “inner speech”, “endophasia”, and so on. Nevertheless, as Almuth Grésillon has rightly pointed out, the “language of thought”, much unlike written productions, does not have an accessible linguistic shape (Grésillon 2002: 21–22).

While it is true that recent experiments on the practice of writing that were carried out by using functional magnetic resonance imaging have detected cerebral activity in different regions of the brain depending on whether the experiment subjects were novice or experienced writers (Erhard et al. 2014), and the interest (or the scepticism) such experiments have raised has been momentous, the linguistic shape of brain activity during literary composition has been (so far, at least) beyond reach and therefore the exemplar/copy transfer process in which medieval scribes were involved cannot practically be applied to rough drafts. Given the inaccessibility of a mental model, the view of the rough draft as a transcription is, for the time being, a theoretical standpoint mostly deprived of practical consequences. Ultimately, in the absence of an observable model, the draft cannot be compared but to what comes into written existence afterwards.

Despite being aware that the text is the outcome of a process whose stages are mostly or wholly inaccessible, Cesare Segre claims that every written act is a more or less tarnished reflection of a text whose consistency is purely mental (Segre 1999: 99–100; 410–411). Besides the light such a standpoint sheds on transmission mistakes made by authors, it seems practically to be of little consequence. Contrariwise, the theoretical inference from this perspective is of crucial importance for the understanding of drafts. In Segre’s eyes, regardless of the textual stage of the genetic process that one is considering, any extant version is fated to be a flawed approximation of an ideal entity. The double consequence is that any holograph draft would always be a copy (and genetic criticism would after all consist of a study of transmission), and the composition stages that would follow after the rough draft would enact a never-ending reverse pursuit. Segre’s nostalgic idealism is disputed by Hans Zeller, when he criticises the teleological view of a literary work, that is, “the teleological notion that the work itself has a goal, or that the author envisages one, and that in the course of time he brings his work nearer and nearer to it” (Zeller 1975: 242). Drafts are indeed sites of changing goals, a condition that even befits much

advanced stages of composition: the already mentioned Sanlúcar de Barrameda codex contains a fair copy of Juan de la Cruz's *Cántico Espiritual* marginally annotated and corrected by the author, who wrote the following on its title page: "Este libro és el borrador de que ya se sacó en limpio" [This notebook is the draft that has already been clean copied] (Elia 2008). A couple of centuries later Eça de Queirós, who was used to thoroughly revising his work at proof stage, would complain against the publication of the first version of his novel *O crime do Padre Amaro* (1875) without him having had access to a second set of proofs: "I give you a draft of the novel – and you, instead of publishing the novel, publish the draft" (Reis 1997). In the view of these authors, a draft is but a compositional stage (more stable in the case of Juan de la Cruz than in Eça de Queirós) still open to major changes and preceding any final stabilised form. Thus, drafts, no matter how basic or advanced, signal the fluidity of authorial goals and as such can only be retrospectively identified.

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1.2.9 Postcolonial traditions

Toward comparative genetic criticism through a Caribbean lens

Rachel Douglas

This chapter discusses literary drafts in the context of postcolonial endangered archival situations. My aim is to examine how certain archival situations, particularly across the Caribbean region, have impacted writers' creative processes, leading to a significant tradition of published books, which have a distinctive *manuscriptesque* aura.¹ What will become clear is that these postcolonial writers and their works purposefully straddle and disrupt the old spatial boundaries separating Caribbean islands from one another, and from Europe, and North America. This chapter looks at comparative genetic criticism through a decolonial Caribbean lens. Such a comparative approach to postcolonial literary drafts from the region is apt because the Caribbean space remains balkanised along old colonial linguistic lines to this day.

Keywords: postcolonial genetic criticism, *rasanblaj* (gathering/reassembling), rewriting, Caribbean, Haiti, endangered literary archives, Haitian boatpeople, Kamau Brathwaite, Dany Laferrière, Frankétienne

Introduction: Studying and preserving Caribbean literary drafts

The present chapter offers a new perspective on creative processes in the Caribbean context by examining how the literary drafts and different versions of published texts themselves deliberately try to cross spatial, linguistic, generic, and even material or digital borderlines as far as possible. While it is important not to use decolonisation as a metaphor, as Tuck and Yang have argued (2012), we can follow a decolonial approach to genetic criticism that is inspired by the geneses of important Caribbean literary works. This chapter builds a decolonial model of genetic criticism that is based on the fundamental Haitian/global South concept and process of *rasanblaj* (gathering and reassembling), which has been theorised most eloquently by Haitian artist-anthropologist Gina Athena Ulysse (2012, 2016, 2017).

The use of methods from genetic criticism in the Caribbean context can be particularly instructive. My work on key transformations in Caribbean literary drafts and different published versions is inspired by the innovative work of the *Institut des textes et manuscrits modernes* (ITEM), which is based in Paris as part of the French *Centre National de Recherche Scientifique*, and particularly by the “Francophone Manuscript” section. While genetic criticism has had considerable impact in France and some Francophone regions, it has not travelled

1. Here, I follow Walter Benjamin's use of the term “aura” where artworks are uniquely present in time and space in their own particular contexts (1992), which means that they cannot be reproduced as such.

so well to some other parts of the world. This chapter takes genetic criticism further toward the global South and speaks to the multilingual Caribbean region in particular. It tries to broaden the focus from a uniquely Francophone approach, which risks entrenching the monolingualism of genetic criticism. In particular, I am inspired by recent attempts by ITEM members to widen the scope of genetic criticism beyond France to Francophone authors, to literature written in other languages (Hispanic), and to other geographical locations (Argentina and Russia), the focus on Africa and the Caribbean, and new thematic directions including theatre, autobiography, letter writing, photography, and comics.

This chapter continues my previous work where I have tried to make genetic criticism methodologies speak to the Anglophone and Hispanophone Caribbean too (Douglas 2009, 2019), as well as the French-speaking parts of the region. In particular, my readings of Caribbean literature have been based on a genetic criticism-inspired approach to the sprawling drafts of *The Black Jacobins* in history and play form of the radical Marxist Caribbean thinker C. L. R. James. For some C. L. R. James scholars, the idea of genetic criticism is too literary and apolitical for such a fundamentally political person as James. However, I have found theatre genetic criticism extremely useful for reading the sprawling, unfinished, open drafts of his plays as the radical opposite of bourgeois, finished theatre, along the lines of Brazilian theatre practitioner, drama theorist, and political activist Augusto Boal's *Theater of the Oppressed* ([1974] 1979) politically engaged approaches to drama.

Another particular influence on this chapter is the special issue of *Genesis* from 2017 edited by Rudolf Mahrer and titled *Après le texte. De la réécriture après publication*. This was a welcome addition to genetic criticism scholarship because traditionally, there has been a strict cut-off point between the manuscript *avant-texte* or pre-text and the published text. Normally, the text is considered by most genetic critics to harden into a final, fixed form at the publication point, with authorial manuscript variants being studied only up until that definitive cut-off moment. As we will see, the Anglophone and Francophone Caribbean texts that I am discussing here continue to morph *after* publication, and this chapter will use genetic criticism methods to read variants across published textual versions too.

Why is such continued rewriting after first publication so prevalent in the Caribbean region? This is particularly the case because of the different archival situation there. The Caribbean and especially Haitian tradition of rewriting even, and especially after, publication is to a large extent shaped by the endangered situation of its archives, and particularly its literary archives. I am currently working with the British Library Endangered Archives Programme and the Prince Claus Fund Promotion and Preservation of the Haitian Arts and Culture Programme in collaboration with Haiti's National Archives and Haiti's National Museum, the Musée du Panthéon National Haïtien, to work on preserving and digitising its fragile and at-risk archival collections together with Digital Library of the Caribbean. In the context of the Anglophone Caribbean, Alison Donnell has focused on the precarity of writers' manuscripts as they are often in private hands and do not usually have a safeguarded institutional repository (see also

Cummings and Donnell 2020).² Across the Caribbean, disasters including earthquakes, hurricanes, landslides, and flooding have had a destructive impact on the region's archival and library collections. A fire sparked by a lightning strike destroyed major historical documents a two-storey block at the Barbados Archives Department in June 2024.³ In Grenada in 2004, the Public Library lost parts of its roof.⁴ One of the Anglophone Caribbean writers that features in this chapter is Kamau Brathwaite, originally from Barbados, who lost his extensive and significant private archives and what he termed his "Library of Alexandria". This was in the Irish Town mountains of Jamaica in 1988 due to Hurricane Gilbert, which he called the "Gilbattery" to emphasise the total destruction it wrought. In Haiti in 2010, a devastating earthquake led to massive loss of life (up to 300,000 people dead) and destruction of buildings (1.5 million people made homeless), and there were many invaluable cultural losses too, including literary archives. In the light of such repeating disasters, the work to digitise archival collections becomes ever more imperative. Important work in this regional context is being carried out by the Caribbean Digital Scholarship Collective, Digital Library of the Caribbean, the British Library Endangered Archives Programme, and the Modern Endangered Archives Program at UCLA.⁵

This precarious Caribbean archival situation has had a definite impact on the extensive rewriting both before and after publication. This chapter will look at the text-image ensembles of two Haitian writers Frankétienne and Dany Laferrière. Both are writing or have written by hand, inscribing fragile handwritten traces, and sometimes even publishing the final book in handwritten format. These writers are seeking the permanence of the printed text for their literary archives (notes and drafts), which are being produced in the physical book-form of every copy of the book. Here archive and published edition merge and blur. What these Caribbean writers produce are book-archives which have a *manuscriptesque* aura. Making multiple copies of these *manuscriptesque* book-archives can help to maximise their chances of survival against natural or manmade hazards, such as earthquakes, hurricanes, or dictatorships from destroying every copy. Reproducing the book-archives in printed form and inscribing the various stages of their genesis means that of the many copies of them, at least some should be able to withstand disasters physically. This is a similar strategy to the LOCKSS programme at Stanford University where the acronym literally stands for "Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe".⁶ These multiple print copies of Caribbean book-archives store textual information almost like a Portable Document Format or PDF. One French 1996 edition of Frankétienne's previously self-published Haitian one of *L'Oiseau schizophone* (1993) was faxed to the French publisher where it was printed on better quality paper.

2. See Alison Donnell's Leverhulme Network grant for the project "Caribbean Literary Heritage: Recovering the Lost Past and Safeguarding the Future", www.caribbeanliteraryheritage.com.

3. See <https://barbadostoday.bb/2024/06/18/historic-documents-destroyed-in-fire-at-archives-department/>.

4. See <https://thegrenadianvoice.com/hope-for-the-public-library>.

5. On the work of the Haiti Cultural Recovery Project, which became the Smithsonian Cultural Rescue Initiative, see <https://culturalrescue.si.edu/> and Kurin 2011.

6. <http://www.lockss.org/>

While these multiple printed copies are analogue in many respects, they also reach out beyond the text to digital transformations and remediation in different materials (on remediation, see Bolter and Grusin 1999). The works of Frankétienne, Brathwaite and Laferrière try to outwit the confines of the standard printed book. All three Caribbean writers produce A4 books that are objects to look at, as well as books to read.

Sycorax video style: Kamau Brathwaite's "hypertextual" typography

Brathwaite has tried to decolonise the book, computer, and digital technologies through what he dubs "Sycorax video style". These are his distinctive own-design fonts that reach out to the digital and reclaim Caliban's absent mother from William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. Sycorax video style is Brathwaite's Caribbean aesthetics and his *modus operandi* for constructing new visions of Caribbean culture, history, and identity. Self-representation from a Caribbean point of view is presented as crucial: "we have to have a presentation of ourselves", become "visible in [our] own image", and bring "self into focus" (Brathwaite 1992: 149; 1973: 53). According to Brathwaite, "we talk about aesthetics because we'll *look* different" (1992: 149). He is definitely the Caribbean writer who has gone furthest in making his works *look different* through his decades-long experimentation and his creation of "fonts with our faces on" (2002: 39). Sycorax, Caliban's mother who is only mentioned *in absentia* in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* becomes the writer's principal Caribbean cultural icon. Sycorax has increasingly dominated his symbolic universe embodying his version of Caribbean aesthetics. Beyond the cultural decolonisation of the old Caliban-Prospero binary opposition, Brathwaite writes in Sycorax and invents a new character: Stark, Caliban's sister. Both function as protectors of Caribbean cultural resources.

The distinctive style dubbed "Sycorax video style" is characterised visually by radical typographies ranging across a motley spectrum of font types and sizes (on Brathwaite's Sycorax video style, see Otto 2009). Brathwaite's texts have "hypertextual" features where the visual hyperactivity of the page resembles interactive web-based hypertext. Visually, Brathwaite's books often evoke the frames of the screen or browser windows, giving the impression of watching text being constituted on screen. The layout of the printed text takes us to the interface between print and hypertext. Brathwaite is always juxtaposing computer-generated graphics. Further signatures of Sycorax video style include the process of breaking up and reconstituting words to reveal latent meanings within. Violent line and word breaks are introduced through disruptive positioning of full stops, commas, slashes, chevrons, Greek letters, computer glyphs including boats, snakes, scrolls and oversized letters, mostly Xs and Ss (see Helstern 2000: 146–151).

The emphasis on the letter "X" recalls Caliban in Aimé Césaire's rewriting of Shakespeare in *Une tempête* (1969). Here, Caliban throws off his slave name and renames himself in a way reminiscent of Malcolm X where the "X" symbolises the lost African name and also resembles the brand many enslaved people bore on their bodies from a red hot iron brand. As for the stress on the letter "S", it brings to mind Sycorax. Symbols of Caribbean non-scribal communication systems are often recalled here, such as pre-Columbian petroglyphs or "Timehri"

from Guyana and also “Vèvè” – the sacred drawings of Haitian Vodou, symbols used to invoke the gods at a Vodou ceremony (see Mohammed 2009). The oversized Ss resemble the Vèvè for Vodou gods such as the serpent Danbala, creator of all life.

Sycorax video style continues Brathwaite’s search for an authentically Caribbean way of saying – what he calls Nation Language – now adding the dimension of a different Caribbean way of *seeing* (see Brathwaite 1984). “Dream Haiti” is Brathwaite’s long poem based on the plight of Haitian boat people struggling to make it to the US during the military coup of the 1990s. “Dream Haiti” was often held up by the writer himself as the exemplar of Sycorax video style. We can also trace the evolution of this style over the course of two decades of Brathwaite’s engagement with the subject of Haitian refugees in the multiple versions of this long poem. Changes to the content – the actual words themselves – may be minimal, but the visual appearance of the words on the page, and even the very shape of each page, morph greatly every time. Hearing has always been key for the dynamics of Brathwaite’s writing, but increasingly, seeing has become important too. Through Sycorax video style, the writer tried from the 1990s onwards to find a visual corollary for the distinctive sound of his poems.

“Postmodern” is the epithet which is often appended to the term “video style”. This is a trademark Brathwaitian pun to draw attention to its means of production: the computer that makes this whole new Caribbean way of seeing possible. Brathwaite has detailed his fights with what he calls “Prospero” publishers who refuse to reproduce Sycorax video style faithfully. This situation forced the previously successful author Brathwaite to self-publish with his own imprints Savacou, in the Caribbean, and Savacou North in New York. He oversaw the printing and layout at the New York printers. Some of these editions could only be purchased during Brathwaite’s lifetime from the author himself or his second wife. As for the computer and its technologies, they could potentially be seen as reincarnations of Prospero neocolonialism too. However, “writing in light” on the computer is actually perceived as a Caribbean ally capable of bringing writer and reader much closer to the spoken word (Brown 1989: 86–87). As a transformative medium, the Sycorax/Stark computer is presented as a gateway to new ways of seeing, enabling the poet to strive after radical transformation of language down to its concrete shape on the page. These metamorphoses and shape-shifts are often linked to mirror images.

One way in which Brathwaite gives text, voice and image to the plight of Haitian boatpeople is through visually striking mirror imagery. What makes the words on the pages of “Dream Haiti” (2007: 168–169) appear so odd is the reversal of the normal letters and words, meaning that “US Coast Guard Gutter” is actually spelled backwards (for details on this passage, see Shemak 2010: 84). This reversal of the words on the lifejacket operates a type of *Verfremdungseffekt à la Brecht*, an alienation effect which makes the words seem strange. Brathwaite pushes the boundaries of the English language as the text of “Dream Haiti” morphs from one version to the next. What changes here at once highlights the power of language, but also seeks to disrupt standard English. Now the readers must also navigate a language that has been made completely alien and foreign for us too. The effect of making English so strange is that we encounter the strange-looking language in a similar way to the majority of Haitian Kreyòl-speaking, often illiterate or semilliterate boatpeople; those Haitian migrants who cannot afford

visas or airfares. One major obstacle facing these boatpeople is the bureaucratic paperwork they are required to fill out in order to gain entry to the United States. Here we see how language is used as a powerful weapon of hostility, and not of hospitality. As readers therefore, we have the impression of encountering ourselves the hostile US Coast Guard military checkpoints of interdiction at sea.

Translation of the refugees' testimonies is a fundamental issue, as Shemak (2010) and Payen (2001, 2002) make clear, with the official US accounts tending to skew the story, or to tell only half of it. To this, I would add that not only non-translation, but also mistranslation and misrepresentation are key moves carried out by the Coast Guard representatives of US state power. Building on Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot's thinking about the active and transitive process of silencing the Haitian Revolution at all stages throughout the production of history, I argue that there are equally active and transitive processes of mistranslation and misrepresentation which are complicit with the processes of domination and control governing all of the US officials' interactions with the Haitian refugees. Here, we see the laws of hostility instead of hospitality towards Haitians. Emily Apter's notion of the "translation zone" connecting translation and transNation is highly relevant (2006) and translation of refugee testimony is a highly political act (see Shemak 2010: 60). While translation can facilitate their entry into the US, what is more likely is the active mistranslation, misrepresentation, silencing or skewing of the boatpeople's stories. Such mistranslation acts hinder hospitality, while reinforcing hostility and the likelihood of deportation back to Haiti.

There is also slippage between the usual word for a US Coast Guard vessel "cutter" and the startling word "gutter", which Brathwaite interpolates in its place. For centuries, Haitians have been constructed as diseased others who should be contained by US authorities. Throughout "Dream Haiti," Brathwaite refers to the US Coast Guard vessel by the name "Impeccable," and describes its steep-sided, "hard" inaccessible deck (2007: 200). This name suggests that the boat is kept unsullied at all costs by the would-be Haitian migrants who are treated as threatening human waste; disposable people who need to be contained and washed out through a process of cleansing (on the notion of "disposable" people, see Bales 2012; Seely, Malbert, and Lobb 2008, and Mayotte 1992). Rather than gain access to the squeaky-clean cutter, they are washed out through the renamed "gutter" or sewer for human waste, and sent back to where they came from.

Brathwaite links the absolute dehumanisation of the Haitian refugees through such modern inhospitable processing to the plight of those who crossed the sea of the Middle Passage in slaveships. In connection with slave voyages and Caribbean plantation slavery, Brathwaite frequently refers to "limbo" ("Dream Haiti" 186; "Caliban" 194–95; *Islands* 37–38). The limbo dance involves passing through the narrowest slit of space possible, contorting the limbs into a spider-like shape. Brathwaite is clear: it was through such limbo spider-like contortions that enslaved Africans survived the treacherous Middle Passages with their inner resources or soul "nam" intact. Like spiders, they could appear ostensibly dead, but survive such horrific experiences through limbo-like transformations. Brathwaite conceives of a "limbo gateway" as the passage through a narrow crack over the threshold into new worlds where radical transforma-

tion can occur. Limbo in this context also applies to the in-between geopolitical limbo space adrift in the middle of the sea between Haitian and US waters where Haitian refugees must pass through the hostile checkpoints of the US asylum process as they risk life and limb in the quest for a better life elsewhere.

Positives are hard to discern in “Dream Haiti”, but Brathwaite has elsewhere associated “limbo” with the Haitian Vodou *lwa* or god of the crossroads, Legba, and with the symbolic opening of the Haitian Revolutionary Toussaint Louverture’s name whom the Barbadian writer explicitly calls “Toussaint Legba Louverture” (2007: 189). Brathwaite’s mirroring of language creates a *rasanblaj* reassembly that passed through the limbo gateway so that the US Coast Guard officials no longer control everything. The poet wrests back control over the “limbo” in-between space of the page and the representations of Haitians on these pages. When faced with such mirror images as displayed above, we the readers have to actively reassemble the language fragments, which offers some possibilities for reimagining recovery and transformation through the limbo gateway between life and death, which is where the refugees are existing in the poem.

In this limbo space, the lifejacket of the US Coast Guard’s supposed search and rescue mission becomes instead a symbol of death, a tombstone, through the link to “coffin”. Through word slippage in some versions, this mutates to “coffle”: the chaining together of enslaved people; once again invoking the transatlantic slave trade. In places, it appears that the refugees are already dead, reflecting the high mortality rate among Haitian boatpeople during their quests to reach US shores: “we was all quite dead & bloated by this time & some of us had even start floatin on our blacks up to the scarface” (2007: 189). Here, the slippages and puns between the expected word “backs,” “surface,” and the surprising changes to “blacks” and “scarface” recall the racialisation of US refugee policy to this day (see Shemak 2010: 85).

Elsewhere, we hear of how the refugees or their advocates “went lobbyin lobbyin by w/ their heads up & down in the corvée of water & they arms still vainly tryin to reach Miami” (2007: 199). One word which sticks out in this text is the word “corvée”. In the context of the limbo space between Haiti and the US, this term is particularly loaded because it refers to the forced labour which the US troops implemented during their long military occupation of Haiti (1915–1934). Haitians were obliged to labour long hours in difficult conditions to build roads and other public works as ordered by the US occupiers. When Brathwaite invokes the word “corvée” here, he links the harsh treatment of Haitian boatpeople and the forced migration of enslaved Africans during the Middle Passage of slavery, with the nineteen-year US occupation as a second period of enforced slavery. Taking Haiti was an important part of the US strategy for strengthening their global domination (see Renda 2001 and Dalleo 2016).

In Brathwaite’s Sycorax video style, the page often resembles the computer screen, which functions as a mirror. Sycorax and Stark are the Vodou *lwa* or gods residing at the back of the computer and operating as female equivalents of Legba – the Vodou god of the crossroads. Sycorax video style turns the transformative space of the computer screen into a crossroads or gateway leading to new worlds (1994a: 317; 1994b: 658).

At the same time, Brathwaite talks about Sycorax video style taking him back to the Middle Ages and ancient times. He says that what he is trying to create are continuous illuminated scrolls. He also describes Sycorax video style taking him back to Ancient Egypt and the text/image possibilities of hieroglyphics, and beyond that of pre-Columbian Caribbean petroglyphs known as *timehri*. So “writing in light” on the computer is at once ancient and very modern. According to Brathwaite, it involves a process of video-thinking and a presentation – a representation – of illuminated scrolls.

Another type of screen is invoked: the TV screen. Haiti is key to Brathwaite’s indictments of TV voyeurism. CNN is represented as Brathwaite’s adversary as a major global TV news station which symbolises the style of round-the-clock 24-hour news coverage. CNN is in the poem the principal vehicle of the harrowing images he writes about in “Dream Haiti”. The writer describes the image of a little boy and calls out to the reader “you have seen him on tv” and “you wd now be watch” as if the reader would be bound to know the iconic images in question. When we talk about the CNN effect, we can see that the news channel is seen as a symbol of a phenomenon going beyond CNN itself (see Bahador 2007 and Robinson 2002). Media coverage, especially images, can act as catalysts for galvanising public opinion to pressurise governments to “do something” to end the suffering that viewers are watching on their TV screens.

The narrator frames his poem around watching these images on TV, making it clear that they instigate the very poem he is writing here. He also presents the world watching the rolling TV images passively as if they were just a film or TV drama. Brathwaite frames the text like a TV screen to draw attention to the distancing manner in which the Haitian boat people are contained within the frame. Nowhere does Brathwaite capture the dehumanising ability of such TV screens when he writes the media’s gross misrepresentation and objectification of the drowning little boy to the point that the boy becomes a smiling triangle – like the Cheshire cat in *Alice in Wonderland* – with the triangle also evoking the geometric shape most associated with the transatlantic slave trade (see Higman 1999). Brathwaite slams the media’s reductionist reification of the flesh-and-blood human boy.

Graphic novels and *rasanblaj*: Dany Laferrière and Frankétienne

Another Caribbean writer who invokes the frame of the screen is Haitian-Canadian writer Dany Laferrière. In recent years since 2018, he has produced graphic novels – a new departure for him. His work has always been very cinematic, visual and one of his major ambitions was to make films, which he has done in the past. In his first graphic novel *Autoportrait de Paris avec chat* (2018), he writes about moving to Paris ahead of his inauguration to the Académie Française – the bastion of the French language – to which Laferrière was the first Haitian and also the first Canadian to be elected. The book is like a film about his encounters with Paris through the story of image and dialogues between the writer and a black cat. Interestingly, both the Black writer and cat are represented as white. The graphic novels include Laferrière’s coloured drawings of the famous Haitian film theatre the Rex Theater, which was destroyed by the 2010 earthquake. All of the writer’s three graphic novels thus far combine sites of memory in the narrator’s

native Haiti and his adopted homes of Montreal and Paris as he repeatedly crosses geographical boundaries thanks to the power of his *Mèt tèt*, the Vodou *lwa* Legba. Many of the pages of his text-image ensemble graphic novels are panels which resemble comics (2018:11). As Scott McCloud reminds us, panels in comics allow time and space to merge and help to portray motion from one panel to the next (1994: 115). Laferrière's graphic novels present him as the eternal Baudelairean *flâneur*, exploring new and familiar spaces. The frame of Laferrière's graphic novels shift with each new page, continuously moving like the roving narrator.

According to the writer, “dessiner est une autre façon d’écrire” [drawing is another means of writing] (2018: 8). Laferrière's handwritten and hand-drawn graphic novels explicitly refer to the wide variety of materials he has used for writing, from his “old Remington 22” typewriter on which he wrote his infamous first novel in Montreal, typing with just one finger. He also redraws an iconic image of the writer typing on a park bench in the Square Saint-Louis, Montreal. He is recreating his self-fashioned images of the budding writer which were used to promote his scandalously titled debut novel *Comment faire l’amour avec un Nègre sans se fatiguer* (1985). The photo shows him sitting on a park bench barefoot – his shoes are beside him on the bench along with a bottle of alcohol (2020: 190). He has spoken about how he was consciously trying to insert himself in a long line of American writers: Hemingway, Kerouac, Bukowski, Miller, “des types cool qui boivent” (2000: 162), and he is typing on his typewriter. This self-image has been constructed, Laferrière tells us, to show “un type à l’aise dans sa peau” who is in the middle of writing and who is quite simply a writer at work. Laferrière describes how this photograph formed the basis of posters with which he plastered every bookstore and bar in Montreal. Just as he set out to conquer America back then in 1985, his twenty-first century graphic novels are part of his strategy to conquer Europe and more specifically the capital Paris of the old coloniser France. He bids “adieu”, a fond farewell to the obsolete typewriter, paying a final homage to his “old fighting companion” (2018: 312–313). Here, the writer talks about why he has returned to writing by hand. It seems to be a kind of revolt against the machine/computer, the digital turn, and an opportunity to slow down and capture fleeting moments, hesitations and corrections. His first draft is also the final printed text in luxurious full colour edition by French publisher Grasset and Canadian publisher Boréal. Every element is handwritten and hand-drawn, even down to the publication details. Always, Laferrière is trying to outwit the confines of the normal book, and travel beyond text alone.

These graphic novels engage with place, literary history, film history and also art history. Repeatedly, he engages particularly with Haitian visual art, which is often problematically referred to as “primitive” or “naive” art. Laferrière tells the story in *Vers d’autres rives* (2019) of how an American Dewitt Peters came to Haiti and set up “Le Centre d’art” with Haitian artists in the capital (see Figure 1).

The *Centre d’art* still exists to this day, although it was very damaged by the 2010 earthquake and had to be rebuilt and its artworks had to be salvaged. From the start, Laferrière has been very influenced by Haitian painting, which is crucial to what he calls his direct American style. What so captivates him about the power of this style of Haitian painting is its power to *penetrate* the viewer:

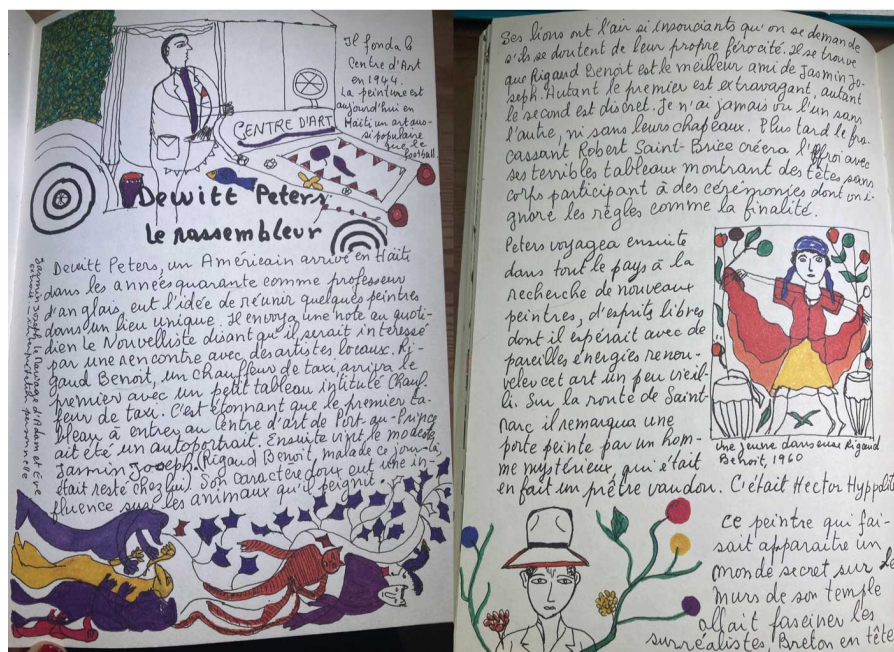


Figure 1. Dany Laferrière, *Vers d'autres rives* (2019)

Mais comme tout est sur le même plan dans la plupart des tableaux naïfs, on finit par se demander où est le point de fuite. Je l'ai cherché jusqu'à ce que j'aie découvert que c'était mon plexus qui servait de point de fuite. Donc voilà pourquoi je n'arrivais pas à pénétrer dans le tableau. C'est lui qui devait pénétrer en moi. (2000: 104)

[But as everything is on the same plane in most naive paintings, you end up wondering where the vanishing point is. I searched for it until I discovered that it was my solar plexus that served as the vanishing point. So that's why I couldn't penetrate the painting. It was the painting that had to penetrate me.]⁷

What he says is most powerful about these Haitian so-called primitive paintings is that they do not have a vanishing point. This lack of any vanishing point means that the viewer does not penetrate the picture; instead, it is the picture which penetrates the viewer to the core, punching them in the solar plexus. As there is no vanishing point, there is no perspective, and it is as if everything is on a single plane and one-dimensional.

In his graphic novels, Laferrière recreates many Haitian so-called primitive paintings by redrawing them himself. He reinterprets the Haitian greats: Hector Hyppolite, Tiga, Philomé Obin, and many others. All of his graphic novels are produced as he puts it "dans l'œil du peintre primitif" (2019):⁸ all from the perspective of a so-called primitive painter. For many years,

7. My translation.

8. This 2019 book does not have page numbers.

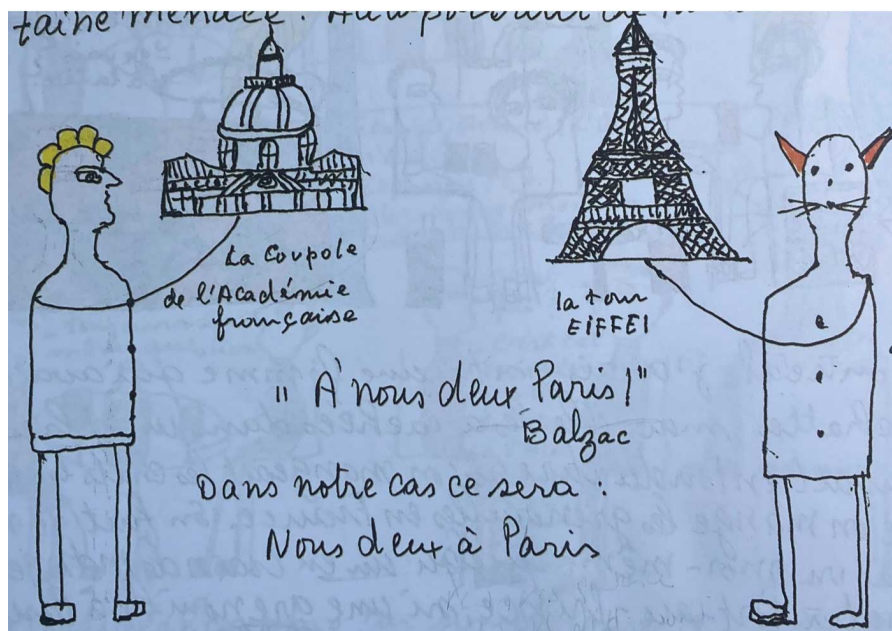


Figure 3. Dany Laferrière, “Nous deux à Paris”, from *Autoportrait* (2018)

change worlds] (2000: 137). Unlike C.L.R. James, Laferrière is not a radical, politically engaged intellectual. However, he does, like Brathwaite, focus on the plight of Haitian would-be immigrants who make treacherous journeys to reach the Americas. For our writer, exile is a personal choice and not a political necessity. Laferrière wants to cross all the spatial, generic, material, and linguistic boundaries. Of the city, he explicitly writes: “Une ville c’est le tissu urbain qui relie” [A city is the urban fabric which binds it together] (2018: 11). His graphic novels, especially *Autoportrait de Paris avec chat* weave together the urban fabric to re-present and reappropriate the foreign city; in this case Paris.

Another Haitian writer-artist and serial rewriter Frankétienne can give us great insight into the creative processes involved in the makings of text-image ensembles which go beyond the text. What I want to suggest is that we can uncover patterns of Caribbean *rasanblaj*: a fundamental concept and process of gathering, reassembling, and rebuilding, which is at the heart of Haitian culture. Haitian artist-anthropologist Gina Athena Ulysse has articulated the cultural dynamics of *rasanblaj* and has made a case for why it needs to be front and centre of the transdisciplinary Haitian studies agenda today. *Rasanblaj*, rewriting and reworking can be powerful decolonial tools for genetic criticism. The *rasanblaj* dynamic of self-fashioning is not derivative, nor from the global North. Instead, it takes a Haitian, global South worldview as its starting point for shaping and reshaping Caribbean books. When we look at Frankétienne’s A4 graphic novels, including *L’Oiseau schizophone*, *Héros-chimères*, *Miraculeuse*, and *Chaos Galaxie-Babel*, what we find is a hybrid, multipart collage – a *rasanblaj* – of texts, indian ink drawings, handwritten traces, redrawn photographs, and headlines from tumultuous periods in

Haiti's recent history, which the writer-artist pieces together. Across the multiple editions, there is graphicisation where Frankétienne introduces visual art and collage to his written work, and also degraphicisation where he writes certain images and symbols in actual words. *Rasanblaj* can be a Haitian-led survival tactic or protest, as seen during the Petrokaribe demonstrations of 2018–2019, and after disasters like the earthquake or Hurricane Matthew.

The creative processes of reworking which we find in Brathwaite, Laferrière and Frankétienne closely resemble the Haitian process of *rasanblaj*, of making do and building back the text and its images piece-by-piece as in a collage or mosaic. These Caribbean rewriters/reworkers give us an indication of how to approach genetic criticism and its tools from decolonial perspectives in postcolonial contexts. Here, the archival situation, the (often self-)publishing context and the political situation, for example censorship by the Duvalierist dictatorship, all have an impact on the frequent continuation of authorial rewriting after initial publication: the genesis and the *rasanblaj* continue.

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